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CORNELL UNIVERSITY EAST ASIA PAPERS

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FROM POLITICS TO LIFESTYLES:  
JAPAN IN PRINT, 1987

Edited by  
Frank Baldwin



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**East Asia Program  
Cornell University  
Ithaca, New York 14853**

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## PREFACE

When The Asia Foundation established the Translation Service Center in Tokyo ten years ago, its mission was to provide informed Japanese opinion on contemporary issues to the U.S. public. Although today Americans are far more aware of the importance of the bilateral relationship with Japan, most news stories continue to focus on points of friction, principally in trade. Thoughtful Japanese views on most subjects are available only through a few of the largest newspapers or publications distributed to a limited audience immediately concerned with U.S.-Japan relations.

The Translation Service Center each week makes available to over 250 newspapers throughout the United States three or more articles representative of Japanese thinking on a wide range of political and social topics as well as economic issues. Our objective remains unchanged: to present an undoctored picture of what opinion leaders in Japan are saying to each other.

This is not an easy task. In the first instance, articles must be in a format that will appeal to U.S. editors and be of interest to American readers. The high-quality product to which we aspire is made possible through the dedication of skilled translators and a team of Japanese and American editors who strive to represent the author's intent faithfully while adjusting style to bridge the cultural divide. Tsutomu Kano, Dr. Frank Baldwin, Robert Ricketts and Suzanne Trumbull are past masters of this art.

Readership of TSC articles continues to expand. We hope that by highlighting points of common interest as well as problem areas, and by showing that there is no such thing as a monolithic Japanese approach, we can defuse some of the emotionalism in U.S. media treatment of Japan.

The work of the Translation Service Center is made possible through support from institutions that share these objectives. We are especially grateful to the Japan-United States Friendship Commission for a generous annual grant and to the Japan Foundation, which distributes

the Center's articles to additional publications and academic institutions throughout the world. We also wish to acknowledge grants from IBM Japan, the Burlington Northern Foundation, General Motors Overseas Corporation, AT&T/Ricoh, Borg-Warner Foundation and Nissan Motor Corporation U.S.A.

Articles in this collection were translated by Herbert E. Brauer, Torkil Christensen, Julie Kuma, Frank Moorhead, Wayne Root, Mark Schilling, Peter Schuetz, Samuel W. Spiteri, Malcolm Sullivan, Lynn Wakabayashi and William Wetherall.

Above all, we are indebted to the Japanese authors and the publications in which the pieces first appeared for permission to translate and distribute their work.

This is the third anthology of Center articles to be published in the Cornell University East Asia Paper series. Those in this volume all appeared in 1987. Collectively we believe they provide a fair picture of what is on the contemporary Japanese mind.

Albert L. Seligmann  
Japan Representative  
The Asia Foundation

Director  
Translation Service Center

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION. . . . .	1
National Security . . . . .	5
U.S.-Japan Relations. . . . .	16
Industry and Business . . . . .	45
Education . . . . .	68
Lifestyles and Attitudes . . . . .	85
Common Problems . . . . .	129



## INTRODUCTION

The Translation Service Center distributed 174 articles in 1987, of which 52 are included in this volume. They have been arranged in six subject categories: national security, U.S.-Japan relations, industry and business, education, lifestyles and attitudes, and common problems. Within each section, the pieces are in chronological order. All Japanese names follow the U.S. newspaper style of placing the surname last.

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In January 1987, the Japanese government adopted new defense-spending criteria to replace the ceiling of 1 percent of gross national product, which was scrapped in late 1986. Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) leaders indicated the arms budget would remain around 1 percent till 1991. The public seemed to accept higher military spending as unavoidable because of U.S. Congressional complaints about Japan's "free ride" on security and the threat of protectionist legislation.

Liberals warned that Japan, despite repeated assurances to the contrary, was well on its way to becoming a major military power. Mikio Sumiya deplored the move, attributing the "rightward drift" to "public silence and apathy." Kazuo Yasuhara calculated Japan's defense expenditures by the NATO formula and found that Japan was No. 3 in military spending. Hideki Tomizawa called for a Japanese Marshall Plan to recycle trade surpluses and enable Japan to make a nonmilitary contribution to world stability. He urged that a multibillion dollar fund be established in Tokyo to help the developing nations, and several economists and politicians made similar proposals.

Japan-U.S. relations hit a postwar low in 1987, according to Tadahiro Mitsuhashi. As Tokyo's trade surplus with Washington swelled to \$59 billion, American patience shortened. In April, President Ronald Reagan imposed sanctions on Japan's electronic industry for allegedly dumping semiconductors. Japanese were already worried that the appreciating yen, which eventually rose 23.8 percent -- from ¥160.10 to 122.00 -- against the dollar in 1987, would trigger deindustrialization

and unemployment when Japanese products were priced out of overseas markets. The other shoe fell in June when Toshiba Machine Co.'s illegal sale of propeller-milling machinery to the Soviet Union was revealed. Congress vowed retaliation and the scene of representatives smashing a Toshiba radiocassette, replayed in the Japanese media, touched off a wave of anger and fear.

Many commentators warned that Japan was vulnerable because 40 percent of its exports go to the U.S. market, but it must avoid becoming a scapegoat for Washington's trade and fiscal failures. America-bashing became acceptable as Osamu Shimomura's "It's All America's Fault" dissected the follies of Reaganomics. Columnists called on the government to resist unfair pressure and criticized the Nakasone administration's unwillingness to stand up and talk back.

Writers like Tadahiro Mitsuhashi and Daizo Kusayanagi vented their anger with wit and irony. Others were blunt: Japan should stop cringing every time a U.S. politician sounds off and learn to play hardball.

Diligence was blamed for Japan's trade surplus and "stimulating domestic demand" was touted as the solution. Japanese still work long hours, usually a six-day week, and the country is 20 years behind the West in shortening the work week, according to Hirofumi Fukumoto. A sense of being overworked makes many Japanese scoff at the idea that they are rich. Attitudes toward work are changing among the younger generation, who derive less satisfaction from a job than their elders and want more leisure time.

Physicist Shoji Tanaka, whose research team at the University of Tokyo confirmed the Nobel Prize-winning discovery by two Swiss scientists of a ceramic material superconductive at temperatures higher than believed possible, urged Japan and the United States to "take the lead in international cooperation to develop applied (superconductive) technology." He warned that no country or corporation should control materials that will "revolutionize nearly all forms of electricity use."

However, Japanese scientists were excluded from a July conference in Washington on superconductivity, and the two nations are in a race for superiority in this dynamic field. Noboru Makino suggested

bilateral competition be avoided by a division of labor, with the United States concentrating on military applications and Japan on consumer applications. That such a proposal could be seriously made indicates the enormous assumption gap that sometimes befuddles dialogue across the Pacific.

Making Tokyo livable again by decentralizing the capital was an old idea that resurfaced in 1987 as a solution to soaring land prices. The scheme got a boost from Noboru Takeshita, who became prime minister on Nov. 6 and desperately sought innovative ideas. Amidst widespread skepticism about the concept, some commentators pointed out that superconductive materials may lead to high-speed transportation -- magnetically levitated trains -- that shifts decentralization from a politician's pipe dream to a feasible alternative to overcrowded Tokyo.

A joint U.S.-Japan study of each other's educational systems released in early January sparked countless articles about Japan's schools. Whereas the U.S. Education Department praised many features of education in Japan, the Japanese press emphasized problems: the intense pressure on adolescents to prepare for college entrance examinations; rote learning and memorization; the expense of preparatory and cram schools, and conformity, even regimentation, in dress and conduct codes.

A major theme of public discourse throughout the year was the contrast between Japan's nominal affluence, as measured in dollar-denominated statistics on per capita income and GNP, and the reality of cramped housing, inflated land prices that rule out home ownership for most young couples, and the yen's low purchasing power. Land prices in Tokyo and other urban areas rose about 70 percent from 1985 to 1987. Hideo Inaba noted that although Japanese in their 40s now have much higher incomes than he did at that age, they are worse off because the cost of essentials has risen even faster.

Yet as articles on Tokyo's "couch potatoes" and the tuxedo fad show, affluence is not a myth created by foreign-exchange values. Young people have plenty of disposable income and they are spending it in ways that often disconcert their seniors.

Naohiro Amaya wondered "What comes after affluence?" He sees the first generation of Japanese to grow up in prosperity drifting without a

clear sense of national goals. Calling for a "value system for postindustrial Japan," Amaya seems to advocate a bolder role in international affairs, "the philosophy, vision and courage of samurai." Amaya's writings help to shape amorphous public opinion into a new consensus, but for what purpose is unclear.

AIDS is a problem common to Japan and the United States, though on vastly different scales. A Kobe prostitute died in January from AIDS, becoming Japan's first female victim. Sensational press and television coverage caused near hysteria in the Kansai area and secondary tremors across the nation. Hemophiliacs, exposed to the deadly virus through contaminated imported blood, were the largest group at risk, both to the disease and public ostracism, according to Yoshiaki Yoshida. By October, there were 59 AIDS patients, including 34 hemophiliacs.

An ancient malady -- anti-Semitism -- belatedly received press attention. More than 80 anti-Semitic books have been published in the last few years, according to Yasushi Yamaguchi, and they are a "mishmash of hackneyed mischief" that reflect "national anxiety" over Japan's economy. Shuichi Kato saw the "Jewish conspiracy" boom as veiled anti-Americanism, a know-nothing backlash against incessant U.S. economic pressure. Angry criticism of the books in the United States and condemnation by Yamaguchi, Kato and others finally seemed to dim the vile genre's appeal.

Frank Baldwin  
Editor  
Translation Service Center

## National Security

### Arms Spending Revives Fears of Militarism

By Mikio SUMIYA, President

Tokyo Women's Christian College

(From Sekai magazine, March 1987)

In late January, the Japanese government abolished the ceiling on defense spending of 1 percent of gross national product (GNP) which we have maintained since 1976. The rightward drift, compounded by public silence and apathy, is reminiscent of the 1930s when Japan moved toward war, first with China and then with the United States.

Chief Cabinet Secretary Masaharu Gotoda indicated that arms budgets will stay at around 1 percent of GNP through fiscal 1990. After that, no one knows what will happen.

There is a consensus here that we should maintain a moderate military capability. Even the Cabinet decision in January paid lip service to this: "Japan's fundamental defense concept under the Peace Constitution is to maintain an exclusively defensive posture and not to become a military threat to other nations."

But official rhetoric aside, the frightening reality for Japanese is that the country is well on the way to becoming a major military power.

Admittedly, the 1-percent limit was not arrived at scientifically;

it was not the result of a strategic assessment of potential threats and available resources. Nor is there much quantitative difference between the old cap and the 1.004 percent of GNP Japan will spend on arms in fiscal 1987.

The real issue is the principle of a small, defensive military establishment. In the 1960s and 1970s, the economy was booming and GNP rose rapidly. Military expenditure doubled during each of the five-year defense build-up plans from 1962 through 1976. The Miki Cabinet's decision in November 1976 put the brakes on. The 1-percent ceiling symbolized Japan's aversion to war and the arms race.

The limit was a promise to the Japanese people and the countries of Asia that Japan would not become a military threat. Conversely, abolition of the ceiling signals a major change in Japan's defense policy.

Opponents often argue that the restriction hurts Japan at a time when our trade surplus with the United States has angered Congress and fanned protectionism. Many U.S. politicians charge Japan with a "free ride" on defense and attribute our economic success to minimal security costs.

But the hawks' argument is seriously flawed. Even with a tight lid on arms spending, Japan has joined the ranks of the important military powers.

Most Asian nations have serious external security concerns, and some like the Philippines also face guerrilla insurrections. Consequently, defense expenditures in the region range from 3 percent to 5 percent of GNP.

Prior to the yen's appreciation in late 1985, Asian countries had GNPs ranging from one-fifteenth to one-thirtieth of Japan's. Spending 4 percent of GNP on defense was equivalent, in absolute terms, to between one-fourth and one-tenth of Japan's annual military budget.

Put another way, Japan spent between four and 10 times more on defense than other nations in the region. In Asia, only China allocates more funds to the military.

Even with the 1-percent ceiling, Japan ranked eighth in arms

spending, after the United States, the Soviet Union, China, West Germany, France, Saudi Arabia and Britain. At current exchange rates, Japan is No.3 (the Y3.51 trillion outlay is worth \$23.4 billion).

No wonder that China and many other Asian countries expressed serious concern when we scrapped the limit.

During World War II, Japan invaded China and Southeast Asia, and the military occupation was often brutal. Although Japanese have conveniently forgotten the destruction and atrocities, Asians have not.

Japan is now an economic superpower that overshadows the region. Growing numbers of Asian intellectuals believe we are turning their countries into economic satellites that we exploit for resources and markets. Recent Thai student demonstrations against Japan showed the resentment.

Asians are beginning to feel as apprehensive about our growing military might as our economic clout. The Japanese mass media and public think such fears are misplaced. After all, people say, as a percentage of GNP, we spend less on arms.

But our neighbors are not interested in percentages. They see the large sums of money Japan allocates annually and the steady build-up of forces, all within a 1 percent framework.

Many people say that unless Tokyo agrees to U.S. demands to play a larger military role in the region, Washington will retaliate with trade sanctions. Some even argue that since the United States spends 6 percent of its GNP on defense, Japan should do likewise.

The Pentagon reportedly welcomed removal of the 1 percent limit. Fortunately, leaders like Secretary of State George Shultz are more sensible. In Congressional testimony in January, he said it would be better for Japan to increase economic aid to the developing countries than to raise military spending.

Japan has a choice: guns at home or butter (actually rice) overseas. Which will it be? In view of what militarism did to us the last time, and the grave debt and development problems facing the Third World today, the answer is clear. Even at the risk of irritating the United States, Japan should reaffirm its commitment to peace, stick to the 1 percent level on arms and put the money saved into foreign aid.

Japan today reminds me of the early 1930s when militarism took hold. There was no effective opposition to the military and ultranationalist zealots. Japanese should have learned a lesson from that horrible experience. But unless we hold the line on arms spending, we will again find ourselves on the slippery slope toward military adventurism.

\* \* \* \* \*

### Japan's Military as No.3?

By Kazuo YASUHARA, Editorial Writer

(From the Mainichi Shimbun, March 3, 1987)

Japan is a superpower with many faces. We have been an economic superstar since our gross national product (GNP) surpassed West Germany's in 1968, putting us one step behind the United States. Divine intervention in the guise of a powerful yen has added new achievements, if you believe the statistics.

Recently, our monstrous trade surplus boosted us to No.1 in that department. We also have the distinction of depending more on government bonds for national revenues than any other country. It is estimated that bonds will account for 19.4 percent of the general accounts budget for FY1987, compared to 15.4 percent for second-place France.

Japan is also a leading foreign-aid donor. In 1985, we were second only to the United States in official development assistance. We were No.1 in overseas direct investment and, at the end of 1985, held top spot for foreign net assets.

Recently, pundits have lauded Japan for having one of the world's highest per capita national incomes. Our 1986 per capita GNP of about \$16,000 matches that of the United States. Even our average wage level now compares favorably with the U.S. figure.

In most cases, this outstanding performance is due to the precipitous rise of the yen. One unexpected spin-off of the mighty Japanese currency has been to rocket the defense budget into the stratosphere.

The military outlays of Great Britain, West Germany, and France when converted to yen (\$1 = Y160) are between Y3.5 and Y4 trillion. These figures are based on NATO calculations, which include military pensions. The Japanese defense budget for FY1987 is Y3.5 trillion, but if Y1.5 trillion in military pensions is added, the total reaches Y5 trillion.

In budgetary terms, Japan has surpassed Western Europe to become the world's third largest military superpower, after the United States and the Soviet Union.

Japan's superinflated stock market is also in a class by itself. Although GNP has grown about 10 times in the last 20 years, the average price of shares in the first section of the Tokyo Stock Exchange has soared like a toy balloon, increasing 20-fold. U.S. stock values merely doubled during the same period.

Superpower Japan has a face for every season. People pick and choose, emphasizing the facet that suits their purpose or predilection. But the choice carries a heavy responsibility.

Politicians who portray Japan as a deficit-ridden giant should also stress the need for fiscal belt-tightening and cutting the bureaucracy. Those who take pride in our gargantuan trade surplus must logically argue for expanded domestic demand and increased government bonds and investment to offset it.

People who lionize our large overseas direct investment also have to consider the consequences. The outflow of productive capital could lead to deindustrialization and growing unemployment at home.

Investors who tout the fast action on the Tokyo stock market are playing the money game. They know the balloon will eventually burst but don't care. They just want to make their pile now.

Trumpeting Japan's high per capita national income is big business' way of attacking the high wage level. The Labor Affairs Committee of the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations (Nikkeiren) cites labor

costs as a factor diminishing international competitiveness and urges minimum wage hikes.

Although business leaders use the powerful yen for their own ends, they conveniently ignore another consequence of our strong currency: Japan's status as the third largest military power.

This silence is surprising. The Cabinet lifted the ceiling on defense spending in January. The military-industrial establishment must be worried that talk of Japan's becoming a military superpower will arouse public opposition and make it difficult to expand the armed forces rapidly.

As for me, I would rather see Japan and the Japanese as they really are, through my own eyes instead of through the distorting lens of statistics. But that's not easy: There are as many "Japans" as there are Japanese.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### A Farewell to Arms

By Tetsuya CHIKUSHI, Senior Staff Writer

(From the Asahi Shimbun, June 16, 1987)

As Tokyo ponders how to defuse trade tensions with Washington, the cry of "free ride" on defense echoes across Capitol Hill. Japanese feel guilty and harassed, and Americans are angry and impatient. But we should stick to the ideals of the U.S.-inspired postwar Constitution and reject militarism.

Trade and national security are inseparably linked in the bilateral relationship. Under the mutual security treaty, the United States has spent massively for Japan's defense, and its economy has suffered. We have flourished in the shade of the American nuclear umbrella, building a powerful, export-oriented economy that now beggars our neighbor across the Pacific.

Okinawa, Japan's southernmost island chain and the "Keystone of the Pacific" to U.S. strategic planners, is a microcosm of the trade-defense entanglement. The subtropical archipelago has more than 75 percent of all U.S. military bases in Japan.

Until Okinawa reverted to Japan in 1972, U.S. military personnel stationed there enjoyed extra-territorial privileges under an American civil administration. U.S. prestige and authority were backed up by the strong dollar. The military was almighty, and after hours, servicemen owned the base towns.

But the decline of the U.S. currency, especially since late 1985, sparked by the bilateral trade imbalance, has produced a dramatic reversal of fortunes. Yesterday's proud rulers today pinch pennies and keep a low profile.

Okinawa is rife with riches-to-rags stories about the U.S. military. Okinawan society reveres longevity, and a person's 97th birthday is a festive event. Villagers who hope to reach that venerable age line up to receive ritual cups of a local liquor. Anyone can join the celebration. Recently, impecunious Americans were in the queues.

Off-duty military personnel no longer swagger through Okinawa's entertainment districts. They loiter outside bars, hoping some kind drunk will offer them a drink. Bartenders warn their countrymen not to spoil the Americans with free booze.

Marines or airmen who nurse a drink too long may be asked to leave. If trouble starts, bar owners promptly call the police, who have become adept at subduing unruly servicemen.

Increasingly, even military dependents are taking part-time jobs off-base to earn spending money. One Okinawan told me his dream was to hire an American officer's wife as a maid. This fantasy is psychological revenge, a way of venting the resentment many Okinawans feel toward the former occupation forces. It also underscores the dramatic shift in the relative strengths of the U.S. and Japanese economies.

The Japanese government helps the U.S. military by paying more of the non-military base expenses. But this largesse does not ease the plight of individual Americans in Okinawa who are struggling to make ends meet.

In the days when the dollar was strong and U.S. military might unchallenged, a Japanese foreign minister known for his quick wit was asked off the record what the United States meant to Japan. "The honorable Mr. Watchdog," he quipped.

The foreign minister intended no offense. He meant that although the security treaty requires Washington to defend Japan, we are under no similar obligation if America is attacked.

Our trade surplus with the United States last year was \$59 billion, and Congress is fed up with Japan. We ask ourselves if Washington would risk all-out war with the Soviet Union to defend us. Many Americans must wonder why their taxes go to protect a parvenu power that will not defend itself.

Although Tokyo has tried to keep trade and national security separate, defense clouds the economic problems. Koichi Kato, former director general of the Defense Agency, admits: "Militarily, we owe the Americans a huge debt. When they accuse us of flooding their markets and destabilizing trade, we would like to argue back, but we can't. We feel guilty about our free ride on defense."

Japan has three options for delinking trade and defense. First, we can increase arms spending and shoulder a much larger share of the security-pact burden. Second, we can abrogate the treaty and develop an independent military capacity, including our own nuclear arsenal.

A third option is to champion detente and urge an end to the arms race, which saps the economic vitality of both the United States and the Soviet Union. After all, Japan achieved rapid economic growth since 1945 by rejecting militarization.

The last option would make Japan a model of peaceful development for the 21st century. But if that is our choice, we must act, not just talk.

Economically, we should coordinate policy with other nations. Politically, we must reaffirm our commitment to the 1947 "Peace" Constitution and resist pressures to become a military power. Finally, we should earmark a generous part of our trade surplus to assist the

developing world. Bidding a farewell to arms is the path to peace and prosperity.

\* \* \* \* \*

Needed: A Japanese Marshall Plan

By Hideki TOMIZAWA, Associate Editor for Political Affairs

(From the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, August 31, 1987)

After World War II, the United States revived the shattered economies of Western Europe by generously sharing its hard-earned wealth via the Marshall Plan. Today, it is Japan's turn to help the world economy by launching a similar assistance program.

But contributing some of our vast trade surplus to aid the developing countries is easier said than done. Tightfisted Tokyo officials balk at the idea of giving something for nothing.

At the Venice summit of seven industrial democracies in June, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone pledged to recycle more than \$20 billion in new and completely untied funds to the developing world over the next three years. The plan was announced together with an emergency economic package to boost domestic demand and imports, and reduce Japan's huge trade surplus.

The aid proposal won immediate accolades from fellow summiteers and potential recipients. Exploratory talks quickly got underway with Indonesia, the Philippines, Argentina, Bolivia and Turkey. But these countries lost their initial enthusiasm as details of the scheme unfolded, and many are now openly critical.

Of the \$20 billion, Tokyo plans to earmark less than a billion dollars as outright grants; a meager \$3 billion to \$5 billion is being offered in low-interest loans through Japan's Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund. The remaining \$15 billion -- three-quarters of the entire package -- is to be made available via the World Bank, the Export-Import Bank of Japan and private lending institutions.

Nakasone's announcement of Third World financial assistance, which coincided with the 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, included a pledge to set aside \$500 million in grants for the least-developed countries. Pundits here hailed the initiative as a Japanese Marshall Plan.

But on closer inspection, Tokyo's aid proposal bears little resemblance to America's postwar recovery scheme for Europe. Its strings-attached provisions suggest calculated self-interest, not selfless generosity.

The Marshall Plan, announced in 1947 by then Secretary of State George C. Marshall, offered maximum U.S. reconstruction aid to West European nations anxious to rebuild free, independent economies. Between 1948 and 1952, relief funds totaling over \$13 billion (approximately \$60 billion in 1987 dollars) were channelled to recipient countries. Most of the financial outlay was in the form of untied grants.

Ultimately, the benefits accruing to the U.S. economy were far greater than the plan's architects had anticipated. European markets provided a crucial outlet for excess American production capacity built up during the war, facilitating the economy's transition to a peacetime footing. The Marshall program enabled the United States to dominate West European markets and broaden the scope of its overseas investment.

The scheme also dovetailed with the 1947 Truman Doctrine, which provided military aid to America's European allies to combat Communism. The Marshall and Truman programs became the twin pillars of U.S. foreign policy in the postwar era, heightening Cold War tensions between East and West.

At the Venice summit, President Ronald Reagan lauded the plan's achievements. It created a sense of community among European countries, he said, turning former enemies into staunch allies.

Of course, the aura of self-sacrifice that surrounded the plan disguised a healthy dose of self-interest. But it was based on enlightened self-interest.

The U.S. government willingly placed its powerful economy and large trade surplus at the service of the postwar world. It gave unstintingly

in order to receive. The ambitious rescue effort remains a prime example of how to stimulate international demand while contributing to world peace and prosperity.

Economically, Japan is now in a position comparable to that of the United States in 1945. We must abandon our penny-pinching, merchant mentality and begin to act like the major economic power we have become. Instead of waiting for world opinion to prod us to action, we should develop a genuine overseas assistance program commensurate with our ability to give.

Recently, Susumu Nikaido, a senior advisor to the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, proposed a Global New Deal to lessen trade tensions and speed Third World development. Eishiro Saito, chairman of the Federation of Economic Organizations, has called for the establishment of a large international fund here to assist the developing nations.

Unlike Japan's self-serving summit proposal, these assistance plans are based on a global vision of our responsibilities and a realistic assessment of world needs. Reaching this goal, however, will require a national consensus that places service to humanity above the bottom line.

\* \* \* \* \*

## U.S.-Japan Relations

My America: Beloved, Provocative, Mysterious  
by Shimpei TOKIWA, Writer  
(From the Yomiuri Shimbun, February 3, 1987)

Ever since the 1950s when I started to translate essays and fiction by American writers, the United States has been part of my life. I've often thought about what America means to me. It's been my meal ticket, of course, but that's only a small part of it.

One way to describe the relationship is to think of America as a woman -- beautiful, arrogant, spirited, placid, uncouth. For a long time, I was a distant admirer. The lady was way out of my class.

Reviewing a book of mine, writer Kuniko Mukoda likened me to "a love-sick teenager infatuated with a woman called America. She is voluptuous and extravagant, yet she keeps her frying pan spotless and goes to church on Sundays." At the time, I was already well into middle age.

My love affair with the States was always one-sided. Anyone so pro-American should have been invited by the State Department to tour the country all-expenses paid. But somehow the free ticket never came.

I still remember the first copy of Life magazine I saw. The wealth and dynamism of American society was mind-boggling. That was in February 1946, only six months after Japan's surrender ended World War

II. I was a 14-year-old middle-school student in a poor hick town in northern Japan. I felt the same wonder later when I first drank Coca-Cola, used Kleenex and ate pizza.

I knew the words "pizza," "Coke," and "Kleenex," of course, but I had never seen these esoteric items. I experienced America first as words in novels and short stories. The actual products came to Japan much later.

For two decades after the war, New York City was a composite image gleaned from magazines, books and films. I was certain I knew the Big Apple without ever having been there. But when I finally went in the mid-1960s, the city was overwhelming.

Today, my visits include hours of trekking around New York, gazing at everything from glitzy Fifth Avenue show windows to cheap hotels on the Bowery. I devour the city with my eyes, ears and feet. I pore over the New York Times and the Daily News, and read magazines like the New Yorker and New York.

Sitting in an East Village bar with a drink is like reliving a scene from a novel I translated years ago. I am really happy just to be there. It's the same rush a man feels when he finally meets the woman he's been looking for all his life.

Visiting New York makes me feel I've come a long way. But I still wonder how this odyssey happened to a country boy like me. I speak very little English and don't make much of an impression. Nobody would mistake me for an executive from a Fortune 500 Japanese corporation.

I am still self-conscious in a New York bookstore. I always imagine the clerk thinking, "Why is this little Oriental buying books on the Mafia? What does he know about American gangsters?"

I know it's silly. I shouldn't worry about what other people think, but I do. That's why I won't wear a T-shirt and jeans in public. Or sneakers, for that matter.

Japanese men my age have a hang-up about looking foolish. We've never learned to dance. We're afraid of making mistakes when we speak English. We're workaholics because we don't know how to relax.

In the 1950s, I had only a vague sense of America. It was so far

away to young Japanese then, in the days before easy overseas travel and affluence.

My father, of course, never even thought about visiting the United States. New York was a different cosmos to him.

I'll probably always feel ambivalent about America. This is true of my generation, I think. Young people today have no trouble speaking English. They grew up with U.S. pop culture -- music, movies, casual clothes. They take the United States for granted. It's always been part of their world. They can jet there in eight hours. There is no complicated love-hate relationship.

People sometimes ask me why I'm hooked on New York, not London or Paris. I answer facetiously: "I met her and liked her. There's nothing I can do about it. She changed my life."

That was supposed to be the theme of my recent prize-winning novel "Distant America." I wanted to describe the inchoate feelings of my youth. The account needed a time, place and personae. It turned into a love story set in the 1950s about a translator who lived from hand to mouth and dreamed of America, and an aspiring actress.

It's been a long journey from rural Iwate Prefecture to New York. America is just as unpredictable now as when I first fell for her. If my father were still alive, he would frown and say, "You're 55 and you're still involved with that girl?"

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Japan the Scapegoat

by Masataka KOSAKA, Professor of International Relations,  
Kyoto University

(From the Tokyo Shimbun, February 15, 1987)

Waving the magic wand of protectionist legislation over Japan won't

make America's foreign trade deficit disappear because we didn'tt cause it in the first place. Japan must open its own market; however, to avoid being made the scapegoat for U.S. economic failures.

No one denies that Washington's enormous current account deficit of \$140.57 billion in 1986 must be reduced. The question is how. The simplistic solution is to protect domestic industries by shutting out imports.

But protectionism endangers the postwar free-trade system that, for all its imperfections, has brought most of the world unprecedented economic growth and prosperity. Also, many debtor nations depend on earnings from exports to the United States to pay the interest on their loans. The "tough" trade bill Congress is considering would hurt their economies and cripple debt-servicing plans.

In any case, Washington can'tt legislate its international balance of payments into the black. The real causes of the trade imbalance are the diminished competitiveness of American industry and the huge federal budget deficit; until those problems are addressed, U.S. trade figures will stay in the red.

Until about 18 months ago the United States could blame some of its difficulties on the inflated value of the dollar. Protectionist pressure waned somewhat when the yen began to appreciate against the U.S. currency from October 1985. Then Congress got angry again when the balance of payments failed to improve despite the yen's rise of more than 40 percent.

The lag is due partly to the time it takes for trade figures to reflect the full impact of currency realignments. Actually, U.S. exports did go up late last year, and Japan's fell. But the improvement was too small to make a dent in the American trade deficit. Tinkering with exchange rates won't solve a \$140.57 billion shortfall.

It is futile for Washington to blame Japan for the bilateral imbalance while turning a blind eye to its own fiscal follies and lagging industries. Even if we abolished all our import quotas and removed every non-tariff barrier, it would have only a minor impact on Japan's \$58 billion surplus with the United States and the overall U.S.

balance of payments. Tokyo trade negotiators have repeatedly made this point to the American side. The onus rests on the United States.

The fierce independence of the legislative and executive arms of the U.S. government complicates the task. Everyone agrees the budget deficit should be reduced, but Congress and the president differ on where to cut spending. Pressure from constituents makes it hard for legislators to slash popular programs. The result is that the red ink flows on and on, like the Mississippi River.

Nevertheless, the only way to improve the U.S. trade performance in the long run is to reduce the fiscal deficit. But belaboring the obvious won't do any good. Japan can only get the point across by action.

Our objective is twofold: to not be a scapegoat and to get Americans to acknowledge their own responsibility for the trade imbalance.

We must boldly remove all barriers to market access, while stimulating domestic demand to reduce our traditional reliance on export-led growth. Americans should be given no pretext to blame us for their own problems.

People only admit their mistakes and begin to do something about them when they run out of excuses. Meanwhile, we must resist unreasonable demands.

This won't be easy, of course. We need a finely tuned mix of liberalization in Tokyo and straight talk to Washington. It's the only way we can weather the protectionist storm blowing across the Pacific.

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The Best Revenge

by A Staff Writer

(From the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, April 24, 1987)

Japan-bashing reached new heights last April when the U.S. govern-

ment imposed retaliatory tariffs on Japanese electronic products. For all Japanese whose blood pressure rose to dangerous levels, here's how we can get revenge.

Abolish all restrictions on foreign imports. We'll let everything in, from rice to citrus fruits and supercomputers. After all, since World War II, we have opened our market under Western pressure, albeit reluctantly, and the result is that we have a much more powerful economy.

Although U.S. protectionist policies are obviously a form of mass suicide, we should say nothing. We'd sit back, knowing smirks on our faces, and watch the folly unfold.

To counter accusations of dumping, we should raise the prices of our quality products as high as possible -- to the point where the U.S. Justice Department suspects a cartel is fixing prices. This will trigger inflation in America.

Turning the yen into a key currency comparable to the dollar will force Washington to change its monetary policy. With the yen as an international alternative, the United States will no longer be able to cover its trade deficit by printing more greenbacks. Aware that the dollar's value will keep falling, other nations will refuse to accept it.

The worst thing that could happen to the United States would be for Japan to yield to Washington's pressure and shift from an export-oriented economy to one fueled by domestic demand. Reducing the trade surplus will end capital outflows. America would have to borrow money elsewhere, leading to higher domestic interest rates and a recession.

Ideally, as Japan increases imports it will buy more from the United States, but under a market system there is no guarantee of this. Chances are Japan will buy products from Europe or the newly industrializing countries. If this happens, Washington will no longer have a scapegoat -- Japan's closed market -- to blame.

We also need a long-term retaliatory strategy. It might include diversification of our export markets and overseas capital investment, and even the gradual creation, over 40 to 50 years, of an Asian Common

Market. The United States will still be important to Japan, but we would no longer have to kowtow to Washington.

Finally, we should generously fund programs to teach the Japanese language. Internationalization is a two-way street. Japanese culture must be diffused abroad and become part of global civilization.

We will offer positions to Americans, here and overseas, who are proficient in Japanese -- reading, writing and speaking. They must have language fluency to handle all aspects of a job. These qualified individuals eventually will be promoted to executive positions and receive all the perks of lifetime employment.

Americans who can't cut the mustard won't be able to blame their failure on Japanese ethnocentrism. They'll have to admit linguistic incompetence. Those who complain that the Japanese language is a nontariff barrier will have to put up or shut up.

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#### Pacific War Replay: Yen vs. Dollar

by Daizo KUSAYANAGI, Columnist

(From the Sankei Shimbun, May 4, 1987)

Japan and the United States are replaying the Pacific War. This time instead of naval power and B-29s, the weapon is currency values. At stake today is Japan's survival as an industrial economy. The outcome is uncertain as the Americans prepare for a final assault on the beleaguered yen.

When dealers on the London foreign exchange market talk about the "long term," they mean 10 minutes. A 3 p.m. forecast of future trends is valid only until 3:40. Beyond that, any prediction is like looking into a black hole in space.

Behind this exchange-rate volatility is what management specialist

Peter Drucker has called the decoupling phenomenon. Transactions in credit and capital now occur completely independent of, and on a vastly greater scale than, the movement of goods and services. The semiconductor dispute between Tokyo and Washington is a minor skirmish compared with the exchange-rate battles being fought on a global scale.

The trick in currency speculation is to buy low and sell high, or sell low and buy back when the price has fallen even lower. You don't have to be a professional to make money the first way. Even a bright junior high school student could do it.

But the second method requires a sense of the market and perfect timing. A speculator, for example, sells dollars when the rate is Y140 to \$1, on the assumption that the dollar will drop further. Then when the U.S. currency hits \$1 to Y135, he buys back dollars and takes a Y5 profit. When the transactions involve millions of dollars and are done with great frequency, a trader can amass huge profits.

At present there is no mechanism to stabilize the foreign-exchange market. Every attempt by monetary authorities since January has failed. Currency dealers laugh at their announcements. The continued appreciation of the yen shows that governments have lost control.

The yen's rapid rise against the dollar, which threatens to price Japanese goods out of foreign markets, resembles the course of the Pacific War. After Adm. William Halsey's task force dealt the Imperial Navy a mortal blow at the Battle of Midway in June 1942, U.S. forces launched their island-hopping campaign. They struck first at Guadalcanal, then Saipan, Iwojima and finally Okinawa.

The G-5 conference of finance ministers and central bankers in September 1985 triggered the yen's rise against the dollar. In a few months the yen soared from Y245 to Y200. This was the equivalent of Japan's loss of four aircraft carriers at Midway.

The next setback was the meeting in October 1986 between Finance Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker. It produced a ceasefire at Y160 to \$1. But the truce was quickly broken, and the yen took off again. This corresponded to Japan's loss of Guadalcanal in 1943.

After the six industrial nations supposedly agreed on exchange

market intervention in Paris last February, the yen went to Y150 to the dollar. The damage to our economy was analagous to the American capture of Saipan in July 1944, which brought Japan's major cities under attack by land-based U.S. bombers.

Prime Minister Nakasone could not stem the tide at the Washington summit with President Reagan in April, and the yen rose to Y140. The impact was the same as when Iwojima, only 760 miles from Tokyo, fell into U.S. hands in March 1945.

Riding the momentum of these victories, America's "Greenback Brigade" of treasury and trade officials broke the Y140 line and headed for their next target -- Y120. That would be a catastrophe for Japan similar to the U.S. invasion of Okinawa in April 1945.

Washington's final objective is probably an exchange rate of Y100 to \$1. That represents Japan's total defeat and Gen. Douglas MacArthur's triumphant entry into Tokyo.

The feeling on Wall Street is that "as long as inflation doesn't get out of hand, gradual appreciation of the yen is welcome." Whether Washington pushes ahead to Okinawa -- Y120 to \$1 -- depends on the results of future Treasury note auctions.

Japan must take defensive measures. If the U.S. government refuses to issue yen-denominated bonds, we will have to take other steps. We must not lose the Pacific War twice.

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### Japan's America Bashing

by Ichiro HIROSE, Chief Editorial Writer

(From the Tokyo Shimbun, May 11, 1987)

Japan and the United States have one thing in common in the current trade dispute: Neither side knows what it is doing. Some Japanese, angered by Washington's constant emotional attacks, have turned to America-bashing.

In his latest book, "It's All America's Fault," economist Osamu Shimomura brilliantly describes the evolution of Japan's huge trade surplus with the United States -- \$59 billion last year -- and the decline of American economic preeminence.

Shimomura systematically demolishes the pet ideas of politicians and business leaders alike. "The Reagan tax cut destabilized the world economy," according to Shimomura, and "complete liberalization of Japan's markets won't cure the malaise." He warns, "Massive government spending to stimulate domestic demand will destroy the Japanese economy," dismissing the solution advocated by both the Reagan and Nakasone administrations.

Shimomura shows that the yen's appreciation against the dollar will have little impact on the trade surplus. The two nations must reduce economic activity, America by importing less and Japan by cutting exports 30 percent, he says.

I think Shimomura is probably correct, but President Ronald Reagan seems completely unaware that his supply-side economics caused the current mess. At the April meeting in Washington with Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, the president fondly credited tax cuts with ending the recession and curbing inflation in the United States. Nakasone also advocates expansionary policies.

Japan is terrified of U.S. protectionism, particularly the wilder features of the omnibus trade bill now before the U.S. Senate. But Washington is already restricting many imports in order to protect domestic producers. Developing countries have always shielded their fledgling industries; Japan did it in the past, too. Given the universality of the practice, and the perilous state of the U.S. manufacturing sector, there is no reason why Japan cannot live with American protectionism.

The semiconductor dispute shows how hard it is to fight a trade war. The Reagan administration has imposed tariffs on \$300 million worth of Japanese electronic products because of alleged dumping of computer chips. But it is American consumers who have been hurt most by this action.

Yet both Tokyo and Washington see the sanctions as retaliation

against Japan. This "us-vs.-them" mind-set ignores global economic interdependence. Just as generals are always prepared to fight the last war, trade-war strategists are using the antiquated tariff tactics of the 1930s.

No matter how much the government heats up the economy or opens the Japanese market to foreign goods and services, the impact on the trade imbalance will be minimal. According to the Nomura Research Institute, a leading think tank, expanding domestic demand by ¥5 trillion (\$35 billion at current exchange rates) would only reduce the surplus by \$3 billion.

The Nakasone administration has pledged to encourage economic growth and slash the surplus. Very shortly, when this approach fails, Japan will again be accused of breaking promises.

Bilateral trade problems must be corrected by methods other than government pump priming. In the process, Japan's economy will turn sluggish due to slowing exports and industrial production. That is the point to boost domestic demand. Shimomura flatly says the economy does not have the momentum for such expansion anyway.

Opening the Japanese market further will not help the United States slash its trade deficit; only Washington can do that. But liberalization would strengthen the Japanese economy in the long run and raise our standard of living.

Japanese agriculture, for example, is inefficient and a burden on the taxpayer because of expensive support programs and protectionist measures, Shimomura says. He wants the farm sector as open to foreign competition as other industries. He believes that if all restrictions on imported rice were removed, Japanese farmers would quickly develop agribusinesses that could compete with overseas producers.

Shimomura is wrong to blame everything on the Americans. After all, Japan is hardly a paragon of free trade. Foreign products and companies are hamstrung by regulations and nontariff barriers. Japanese consumers should have access to imported goods at reasonable prices.

Furthermore, our export drives have often caused hardship for trading partners and disrupted the global economy. Japanese corporations have flooded foreign markets, destroying local manufacturers and

dominating whole industries. No wonder there is widespread resentment at Japanese trading practices. Aggressive marketing and ruthless competition have taken a toll.

Most Japan-bashing in Washington is emotional buck-passing, an attempt to blame us for failed U.S. fiscal and industrial policies. Nevertheless, we ignore this anger at our peril. Even among good friends, the person who wins every mahjong game is unpopular; after a while he is not invited to play.

Shimomura's America-bashing is a hard-nosed, rational argument. He makes a very convincing case from a Japanese point of view. But what happens when Japan-bashing and America-bashing put the two economic superpowers on a collision course?

A reviewer praised Shimomura's rigorous analysis while noting the underlying nationalism: "It makes us feel good, but if followed to its ultimate conclusion, Japan will be the pariah of the international community."

Some of the U.S. Congress's recent moves are emotional politics that disregard economic realities. Shimomura's book is a rational response that ignores political realities. Both are equally mischievous and counterproductive.

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Your Rice, Our Semiconductors

by Yoichiro ICHIOKA, Associate Editor

(From the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, June 26, 1987)

Washington is pressing Japan to buy U.S. rice while balking at the idea of relying on Japanese semiconductors. Is this like comparing apples and oranges? I don't think so. Rice is as important to Japan's survival as microchips are to the Pentagon.

A bill now before Congress is designed to apply leverage on

countries that shut out American rice. The Japanese market, which uses 10 million tons of rice a year, is a prime target for U.S. rice growers.

Economic rationalism and consumers' interests dictate that Japan liberalize imports of all agricultural products, rice included.

According to the 1986 white paper on agriculture, the producer's price of rice was 5.6 times higher in Japan than in the United States. The discrepancy must be even greater now, since that figure was based on an exchange rate of Y170 to the dollar, not the current Y150.

Given the vast difference in the amount of farmland in Japan and the United States, rice will cost at least three times more to produce here no matter how much farmers streamline their operations.

Japan might eventually have to import some rice to satisfy domestic demand. We already buy almost 98 percent of our soybeans, a traditional source of protein, from the United States. Who knows -- someday we may find ourselves eating California rice, too.

But Americans have to appreciate what a serious step this would be. How would they like to depend on imported wheat? Rice is literally the staff of life for us.

We still remember the hundreds of Japanese who starved to death during and immediately after World War II. We also have bitter memories of President Nixon's embargo on soybean exports to Japan in June 1973. Nor have we forgotten President Carter's ban on wheat sales to the Soviet Union following the invasion of Afghanistan.

Many Japanese fear that Washington would cut off supplies in a pinch. Igoro Ito, chairman of Hokuren, a large Hokkaido-based feed company, asks, "If there were a global food shortage, what country would continue to export food if it meant cutting into its own supply?" Tokyo homemaker Keiko Kaneko expresses a widespread sentiment when she says, "We can't eat semiconductors."

When I mentioned these anxieties to an American journalist, he countered, "There's a big difference between Japan and the Soviet Union. Japan is our ally. Look how much we buy from you. Our economies are interdependent."

That is precisely my point. So why should relying upon Japan for semiconductors pose a threat to U.S. national security?

A December 1981 report by the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Trade warns bluntly, "Semiconductors have been described as the 'oil' of industry in the remainder of this century. If so, Japan has become a 'Saudi Arabia.'

"If Japan becomes the world leader in high technology products, she will be driving us. She will control when certain technologies and processes -- including those important for defense -- can leave Japan."

A Pentagon study takes the same tack. The "Report of Defense Science Board Task Force on Defense Semiconductor Dependency," published by the Department of Defense in February, defines semiconductors as "the key to leadership in electronics." The report states that the United States is losing its "leadership in commercial volume production" and "will soon depend on foreign sources for state-of-the-art technology in semiconductors" -- an "unacceptable situation."

What semiconductors are to U.S. national security, rice is to Japan. There is genuine anxiety at the prospect of depending on another country for our staple food. But if Japanese should trust the United States as an ally, then by the same logic Americans should trust us on semiconductors.

Let's be honest about the Japanese-American alliance. It is solid now, but only 42 years ago we were bitter enemies. Historically and culturally, our ties are much weaker than those binding the United States and Britain. We can't take each other for granted. Good relations require constant effort -- on both sides -- to understand the other's point of view.

Japanese politicians can't see beyond the narrow interests of their constituencies. Breadth of vision that encompasses the long-range national interest is in short supply.

The dearth of statesmanship affects Washington, too. U.S. politicians extol the virtues of free trade one moment and demand protectionism the next, whichever is to their immediate benefit.

We must both resist demagoguery. Japanese-American interdependence and consumer interests on both sides of the Pacific should guide trade policy.

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Harakiri Doesn't Cut It With Americans  
by Tadae TAKUBO, Professor, Kyorin University  
(From the Sankei Shimbun, July 4, 1987)

In the United States, when a business executive commits a serious error of judgment, he gets the ax. In Japan, instead, often a superior steps down. Resignation here is the modern equivalent of a samurai's ritual suicide -- harakiri. But harakiri doesn't cut it with Americans. They see it as an admission of guilt, not a personal act of atonement for a subordinate's failure.

Recent revelations that a Toshiba subsidiary sold advanced technology with military applications to the Soviet Union caused shock and outrage in the United States. The subsidiary's violation of the COCOM (Coordinating Committee for Export Control) ban on high-tech exports to Communist bloc countries also stunned the parent company. On July 1, Toshiba Chairman Shoichi Saba and President Sugiichiro Watari resigned.

The next day Saba visited U.S. Ambassador Mike Mansfield to explain that his resignation was a gesture of apology. But Uncle Sam will not be placated. Washington wants firm assurances that Japan will not again allow corporate moneygrubbing to jeopardize Western security.

At their final press conference, Saba and Watari stressed that Toshiba Corporation was not involved in the incident. "But as the parent company, with a 50.1 percent share of Toshiba Machinery," they said in a statement, "we feel responsible."

This assertion is patently absurd. Toshiba Corporation has no reason to say it's sorry if it wasn't aware of the deal. Westerners involved in an automobile accident know better than to apologize. The French adage applies: "He who excuses himself accuses himself." In the West, even a polite expression of regret is regarded as a confession of wrongdoing and can lead to costly lawsuits.

The Toshiba executives were playing to an all-Japanese audience. Hajime Tamura, minister of International Trade and Industry, said he was impressed by the resignations and called them "a momentous decision, an extraordinary step."

Tamura should know better. People who think typical Japanese solutions will work in Washington are living in a fool's paradise. Rep. Duncan Hunter, D-Calif. and several colleagues reacted to the Toshiba resignations by calling a press conference on Capitol Hill and smashing a Toshiba radio with sledgehammers.

MITI and the Foreign Ministry both insist that the United States is satisfied with the Japanese government's handling of the Toshiba case.

But actually it doesn't matter whether the Reagan administration has let Tokyo off the hook or not. The Republicans lost control of the Senate in 1986 and are a minority in both houses. Japan must deal with an angry, frustrated Democratic Congress. Until that fact sinks in, there is no hope for a solution.

The illegally exported precision milling machines were installed at Leningrad's Baltic Shipyard and used to reduce submarine propeller noise. Toshiba engineers visited the shipyard several times to provide technical assistance.

The Pentagon is understandably furious. Retooling has made Soviet nuclear-powered submarines quieter, much more difficult to track, and virtually impossible to identify using standard sonar equipment.

U.S. officials expressed their concern to the Japanese government several times in late 1986, but Tokyo did nothing until May. Then MITI suspended Toshiba Machinery's exports to the Eastern bloc for one year. The gesture was too little too late.

The Toshiba incident gives me an eerie sense of déjà vu. When the U.S. Embassy staff in Teheran was taken hostage in November 1979, President Jimmy Carter asked the late Prime Minister Masahiro Ohira to join an embargo on Iranian oil. Tokyo agreed, but the United States soon discovered that Japanese trading companies were paying high prices for Iranian crude on the sly.

I was in Washington at the time and asked a Tokyo trade official with the Japanese Embassy about the anticipated U.S. reaction. His glib self-confidence astounded me. "We have good inside information," he said. "Take it from me. The Americans won't do a thing about it."

He couldn't have been more mistaken. Immediately afterward, during a meeting in Paris with Foreign Minister Saburo Okita, Secretary

of State Cyrus Vance attacked Japan's callous behavior. Hasn't Tokyo again misjudged its ally?

Norway, Toshiba Machine's accomplice in the scandal, has bent over backward to make amends. The prime minister sent a personal letter of regret to President Reagan and dispatched his defense minister to Washington. Moreover, the Norwegian government dissolved the state-run Kongsberg Vaapenfabrikk which secretly sold the Soviets numerically controlled devices.

Oslo took full responsibility for the scandal. Tokyo let two Toshiba executives take the rap. By any standard, Norway has behaved much more like a true ally.

The surreptitious purchase of Iranian crude in 1979 was a serious breach of good faith -- like kicking a friend who has just been mugged. But the Kongsberg-Toshiba deal is more than dirty pool; it threatens the security of our Western allies.

Any country that doesn't take its own defense seriously and puts its friends at risk deserves to be called an economic animal. Unless we mend our ways, Japan will find itself alone in a hostile world.

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#### Nice Guys Finish Last

by Kanji NISHIO, Professor of German,  
University of Electro-Communications  
(From the Yomiuri Shimbun, July 19, 1987)

In May, a survey of California college students revealed that 49 percent of respondents could not locate Japan on the map. A decade ago, the news would have raised a hairshirt lament here about our obscure role in world affairs. Today, Japanese see it as proof of the low intellectual level of U.S. students.

The educators who conducted the survey blame American introversion

for students' ignorance of geopolitics. They warn that unless the scope of classroom instruction is broadened, the United States will lose its position as a world leader.

This frank assessment shows that Americans have finally begun to admit some of their shortcomings. In this, they are way ahead of Europeans, who are convinced they are the center of world civilization. A West German businessman, for example, once told me, "The day Germany has to ask Japan for advice is the day we go kaput."

Japanese have generally agreed with Western claims of cultural superiority. Internationalization has meant uncritically adopting European ideas and values. Of course, we haven't assimilated everything; Japan still has things to learn from the West.

Today, however, acerbic Western criticism of Japan's export-oriented economy has awakened us to the self-centered world-view and value system of Christian culture.

U.S. officials, for example, insist that Japan honor its pledge to expand domestic demand. They want results, not empty promises. But when it comes to reducing the U.S. federal deficit -- which President Ronald Reagan has agreed to do at recent summit conferences -- Americans are long on rhetoric and short on action. If the Reagan administration were serious, it would have raised taxes long ago.

National security is another example. Washington pressures us to boost defense spending; yet the last thing it wants is a major military rival in the Pacific. America can't have it both ways.

The United States urges us to play a political role in world affairs commensurate with our economic might. But if we took Washington at its word and attempted to make our influence felt in the Philippines or South Korea; we would be in a lot of trouble. Fearing the loss of its hegemony in the Far East, America would not brook Japanese interference.

In June; the House of Representatives approved a bill calling on Japan to increase defense outlays to 3 percent of its gross national product. The bill stipulates that when spending falls below 3 percent, Japan will pay the balance to support U.S. forces stationed here. This is the outrageous arrogance of a superpower.

American politicians seem to have declared open season on Japan. In April, Washington retaliated against our semiconductor industry with special tariffs. Japanese were angry, but many also had trouble suppressing a wry smile at such childish antics.

Some may object that affluence has made us insolent. But a century ago, when European colonialism dominated the world, Westerners were far haughtier than the Japanese today. Americans, too, are not immune to imperial hubris.

Self-righteous, myopic Americans need to broaden their horizons. Japanese need to see the world more clearly, too, although in a different sense.

The United States will not sit idly by as we successfully challenge its technological and economic supremacy. A further decline in American industrial performance could elicit far more drastic retaliation against Japan, for example, embargoes of energy and other raw materials.

Japanese are blissfully unaware of the danger. This country may be an economic superpower, but when it comes to Realpolitik, we are like innocent children. The U.S. reaction to Japanese economic prowess may come with hurricane force. Unless we grow up fast, Japan could be devastated.

We should see Western arrogance for what it is and stop cringing every time a U.S. politician lambasts our "parochial mentality." Japan, too, must play hardball if it wants to join the major leagues. As the Americans say, nice guys finish last.

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Real Samurai Don't Eat Crow

by Masao KANASASHI, Senior Staff Writer

(From the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, July 20, 1987)

Like a slumping sumo grand champion who is forced out of the ring

by an opponent's charge, Japanese politicians crumple wimpishly at the first signs of Japan-bashing in Washington.

The government's handling of Toshiba Machine Co.'s illegal sale of sensitive technology to the Soviet Union was confused and comical. Minister of International Trade and Industry (MITI) Hajime Tamura rushed off to Washington to apologize abjectly. Later, he ran around Tokyo asking key Cabinet ministers and Diet (parliament) members to forgive his ministry's oversight failure.

During Diet deliberations, Cabinet members contradicted each other about whether Toshiba Machine's milling equipment was crucial in reducing Soviet submarine propeller noise. Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari said, "While I don't have any concrete evidence, there does appear to be a direct connection." How could he discuss the issue without reliable information?

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone subsequently admitted that U.S. intelligence data indicated there were grounds for "strong suspicion." But the government refused to release the Pentagon reports, invoking military secrecy and diplomatic confidentiality to deny parliament the information.

Panicked by the timing -- the protectionist omnibus trade bill was before Congress -- the Nakasone administration decided the best tactic was an apology. Because Japan had violated COCOM (Coordinating Committee for Export Control) rules, leaders reasoned, this was not the moment to quibble. Any attempt to tell Tokyo's side of the story would only infuriate Capitol Hill. The consensus here was simply to admit that we were wrong. Damage control became top priority.

The U.S. side was highhanded and unreasonable. For one thing, the facts were far from clear. Although American officials claimed that Soviet propellers had become quieter as a direct result of Toshiba Machinery's technology, they presented no convincing proof. Some Japanese experts doubt the company's role was so important.

The scandal set off a new wave of U.S. complaints about our defense policy and strident demands that we increase military spending. Americans felt an ally they have faithfully defended had betrayed them.

To the United States, military supremacy over the Soviet Union is a matter of national survival, and Washington bears an enormous financial burden for Western security. Since World War II, however, Japan's commitment to defense has been minimal. By devoting our energy and money to industrial expansion and trade instead, we have become a major economic power.

Americans have long resented Japan's "free ride" on defense, and Toshiba Machine's illegal deal was the last straw. The worst emotional outburst occurred in early July when six members of Congress smashed a Toshiba radio with sledgehammers.

Our relationship with the United States is the keystone of Japan's foreign policy. Yet even among allies, national interests and defense requirements vary. The U.S.-Japan mutual security treaty recognizes that each country has a different role to play. Japan has met its obligations under the pact for 35 years. Congressional complaints that we do nothing are unfounded.

The Tokyo-Washington relationship has changed enormously in recent years. In the late 1970s, when Masayoshi Ohira was prime minister, bilateral ties were described as a "common destiny." Since Nakasone took office in late 1981, we have cooperated closely with the United States in security and other fields.

Japan's defeat in World War II, including the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and our 1947 "peace" Constitution shape our attitudes toward defense. We live close to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China; our strategic environment is totally different from the United States. Although allied with the West, Japan is a sovereign country with its own national interests.

While Japan has been basking in the amicable glow of the personal relationship between Nakasone and President Reagan, the United States has steadily escalated its demands on us. We should stop the panicky apologizing and learn how to hang tough, American-style.

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America-bashing Is a No-win Game  
 by Shunsuke KAMEI, Professor of English,  
 University of Tokyo  
 (From the Asahi Shimbun, August 5, 1987)

(Editor's Note: Prof. Kamei is a noted Walt Whitman scholar and specialist on American pop culture. His latest book is a study of Marilyn Monroe.)

Japan-bashing in the United States has sparked a backlash on this side of the Pacific that bodes ill for bilateral relations. Opinion leaders here have begun to vaunt the superiority of Japanese culture. Denigrating things American is in vogue.

Cultural nationalism and recriminations are a no-win game. Nobody likes to be bullied, but we should try to understand what makes Americans tick. They have to pay us the same courtesy.

Despite our 40-year partnership with the United States, most Japanese, including our political leaders, have very superficial notions about U.S. values. Americans cherish freedom and democracy, the ideals of the Founding Fathers. Many felt these were endangered by Toshiba Machine's illegal sale of strategic technology to the Soviet Union. The Toshiba Corporation subsidiary's secret deal with the Russians was an unforgivable act of perfidy.

Americans are outspoken. When something bothers them, they let you know. To us, the spectacle of U.S. legislators wielding sledgehammers against a Toshiba radiocassette player was ridiculous. But the American public identified with the lawmakers and applauded the action.

Irritation with Japan partly reflects a growing anxiety about the future. Our carmakers, for example, have badly hurt the U.S. automobile industry, once America's pride. We don't fully appreciate the insecurity this has generated. Our huge trade surplus with the United States, \$59 billion in 1986 alone, also contributes to American self-doubt.

Unlike Japan, which is group-oriented and ethnically homogeneous,

America is a nation of immigrants. Cultural and racial diversity gives it a special dynamism. Each individual has to carve out his own niche in society; the quest for a personal identity creates anxiety.

Japanese don't realize how much U.S. culture has changed. Gone is the complacent America of the 1950s that we remember from the movies. Today, the tone is tougher -- the difference, say, between Marilyn Monroe and rock superstar Madonna whose taut, hard-driving style exemplifies the late 1980s.

In the United States, you have to raise your voice to make yourself heard. Japanese are given to understatement; when Americans shout at us, we get angry. Choleric critics here accuse Americans of lacking class. The United States is materialistic, devoid of spiritual or moral values, they charge.

But cultural chauvinism isn't the answer. We shouldn't take offense when Americans sound off about trade, defense and other bilateral issues. It's their national character.

We need to understand how the average person there thinks and lives. At the same time, Americans should be wary of stereotypes. We are not all workaholics, and there are many different lifestyles here.

I'm a congenital optimist. When Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone took office in 1981, he said that Washington-Tokyo relations were at the crisis stage. Nevertheless, some aspects of Japanese culture were very popular. Yuppies were lining up at sushi bars and installing hot tubs. Conflicts of interest were inevitable, but I felt that national differences could be ironed out.

This May, an Asahi Shimbun public opinion poll found that half of all U.S. respondents believed that bilateral ties were in poor shape; 40 percent of Japanese queried agreed. Things are bad, but I remain confident about the future.

The close personal relationship between Prime Minister Nakasone and President Ronald Reagan seemed to herald better mutual understanding. The two leaders met frequently, pledging to strengthen military cooperation and lessen trade friction. But Ron-Yasu diplomacy was undermined as Japan's trade imbalance soared and criticism on Capitol Hill became increasingly strident.

Unlike Zenko Suzuki and Jimmy Carter, their indecisive predecessors, Nakasone and Reagan exude self-confidence. They look and talk like politicians. Both carefully cultivate that image, which is probably why they hit it off so well. Nakasone's straight-talking pronouncements were tailor-made for Americans.

Americans don't go for nuance or guarded, ambiguous statements. They prefer to air their differences. The Ron-Yasu relationship had a frank, no-nonsense quality that was reassuring. The duo seemed capable of solving any problem.

Yet Reagan has been unable to control the burgeoning federal deficit, and Nakasone has not opened the Japanese market wider. These failures have limited their ability to correct the bilateral trade mess.

Nakasone's term of office ends in October. The next prime minister will bring a change of style to the U.S.-Japan relationship. He will need a clearer understanding of the United States if we are to settle our differences.

Nakasone's derogatory comment about the intellectual level of U.S. minorities last year angered Americans. Racial discrimination is a pressing social problem in the United States, but the society is trying to eradicate it. The new premier must appreciate this and respect American sensitivities.

In the present climate of distrust, Japan needs a strong personality at the helm. In domestic politics, we expect our politicians to be discreet. Calling a spade a spade is often bad form. But in dealing with America, only a dynamic leader can command respect. We need a bold statesman, not a bashful wimp.

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## Talking Back to Uncle Sam

by Tadahiro MITSUHASHI, Senior correspondent, London

(From the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, August 11, 1987)

Japan may be an economic giant, but from Western Europe we look like a political lightweight. Our economy is too dependent on the U.S. market: When Uncle Sam flexes his muscles on trade, we panic. But spineless submission only encourages more Japan-bashing. We should not be afraid to tell Washington to back off.

The United States has taken a tough, inflexible stance on trade. In April, President Ronald Reagan imposed sanctions on the Japanese electronics industry. In July, Congress threatened new retaliation over Toshiba Machine Co.'s secret sale of sensitive high technology to the Soviet Union. Then the Senate passed an omnibus trade bill requiring the president to take punitive action against nations engaging in unfair trade. Lawmakers named Japan as a prime target.

Of course, in some ways, we have it coming. American outrage over the mercenary behavior of Toshiba Machine Co. -- selling out Western security for a fast buck -- is fully justified. But to lash out against us with protectionist legislation and stir up anti-Japanese sentiment is vindictive and destructive. Worst of all, we have to sit back and take it.

Japan-U.S. relations are at their lowest ebb since World War II. The main reason is our reliance on the U.S. market, which has become excessive in the last five years.

Today, the United States absorbs about 40 percent of our total exports. In 1975, U.S.-bound Japanese goods accounted for less than a quarter of the total; this figure rose only slightly over the next few years, reaching 26 percent in 1980. Since President Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, our exports to America have increased dramatically.

By selling 40 percent of our outbound production to a single trading partner, we are putting too many eggs in one basket. Our economy is hostage to the U.S. market, and we cannot talk back to Washington.

The Japanese market; on the other hand, absorbs only about 10 percent of all U.S. exports. The resulting trade gap enables Washington to bully us. Why listen to a trade partner that buys only a fraction of your goods?

In the business world, market diversification is the name of the game. Most large corporations, as a matter of policy; do not sell more than 30 percent of their output to a single client. Management regards this ratio as the outer limit. Japanese sales to the United States far exceed the danger point.

West Germany, France and Italy each ships only about 10 percent of its total foreign-bound trade to the United States. Even England markets a mere 15 percent of its exports in the United States.

Economic independence gives Europe geopolitical leeway. In early August, Washington's West European allies refused a U.S. request to dispatch minesweepers to the Persian Gulf to protect shipping lanes. They sent a loud, clear "no" to the Reagan administration on the grounds that military involvement in the Gulf was not in their national interests. (Later, Britain and France cooperated when mines endangered their own vessels.) But Japan, because of its stake in trade with the United States, cannot flatly reject a "request" from Washington.

Japan has two options. The first is to form a common market with the United States. But that would mean opening our markets as wide as those in America. We would also have to resign ourselves to becoming, in effect, the 51st state. There is little chance we will choose this route.

The alternative is to become a self-reliant economic power by diversifying our export markets and expanding our overseas assistance. The United States is our most important ally, both politically and economically, and nothing should change that. But we must rectify the lopsided bilateral relationship that allows Washington to do all the talking and requires Tokyo to do all the listening.

As we seek new trade opportunities, we must also help the developing countries build their economies. Japan should earmark a part of its annual gross national product for overseas development assistance and open new markets in the Third World.

Earlier this year, Washington strongly protested Toshiba Machine's clandestine deal with the Soviets. In response, Tokyo has stiffened penalties for violators of Japan's export-control laws and the ban on selling strategic technology to Communist bloc countries.

But excessive zeal in enforcing these regulations will reduce our trade with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and increase economic dependence on the United States. That would exacerbate, not ameliorate, the Japan-U.S. trade conflict.

U.S. and Soviet leaders may soon conclude an agreement to eliminate intermediate nuclear forces (INF). An accord would reduce East-West tensions and spur U.S.-Soviet economic exchanges. Japan should be prepared to trade equally with both East and West. The free-market principle demands no less. But first we must learn to say "no" to our pushy ally across the Pacific.

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### Let the Palate Decide

by Junnosuke IMAIZUMI, Senior Staff Writer

(From the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, August 23, 1987)

When it comes to rice, the cheaper, the better, right? Wrong, if you are Japanese. Today, we eat less rice than a decade ago but insist on the very best. And nothing compares to the finest native grain. Japanese farmers have little to fear from California rice.

Recent consumer surveys here show that only one housewife in 10 chooses the cheapest rice on the shelf. Seventy percent place palate over pocketbook and buy top-quality grades for the dinner table.

The U.S. Rice Millers' Association is campaigning to lift Japan's ban on rice imports. The California variety is grown at only a fraction of what it costs to produce Japanese rice, which is the world's most expensive because of government price supports. Our powerful farm lobby

is up in arms over America's latest grain gambit, which it claims could destroy Japan's rice-based agriculture.

So far the debate has centered exclusively on relative production costs and retail prices. A more important consideration is taste. California rice may be cheaper, but nothing hits the spot like a first-rate Japanese variety.

Japanese are very particular about food. Farm products from all over the world reach our shores, but only a select few become standard fare.

Chinese greens, for example, were very popular for a while, but few greengrocers stock them today. Although mutton from Australia and New Zealand is cheap and plentiful, most Japanese do not eat it regularly. Tropical fruits enjoyed a brief boom, but the novelty soon wore off; they remain exotic delicacies.

The U.S.-Japan cherry war is another example. This year, large quantities of American cherries reached Japan just as the home-grown product hit the market. The U.S. variety is known for its sweet, full flavor and low cost; importers were sure they had a winner.

Anticipating the American onslaught, our growers countered with an aggressive sales promotion campaign. The U.S. crop was also slightly off-taste this year. Importers took a heavy loss.

But the real reason U.S. cherries lost out was Japanese preference for the native fruit. For most of us, the rosy tint and bittersweet flavor of domestic cherries signal the beginning of summer. There is no substitute for the real thing.

My guess is that the same goes for rice, but we need more reliable information. The Ministry of Agriculture and the National Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives are determined to hold the line against cheap foreign rice and refuse to comment on comparative quality.

The semi-governmental Japan Grain Inspection Association ranks domestic rice by flavor. Professional food tasters sample different strains cooked under identical conditions. An association spokesman claims that foreign rice has not yet been tested officially.

Speaking on condition of anonymity, an agriculture ministry official concedes that the California grain "might be good enough for

fried rice." But he says, "Top-grade imports would cost about the same as standard domestic rice after shipping and handling charges are added."

Today, our diet includes more wheat products and less rice than in the past. Rice is still the staple food, but we want gourmet varieties. About 10 years ago, many rice growers anticipated changing tastes and began planting preferred strains.

Lunchrooms catering to office workers now advertise pick-of-the-crop Sasanishiki or Koshihikari. Large chain restaurants report better business when they switch from standard to high-quality brands.

"Japanese rice is just too delicious," says Ken Kaiko, noted writer and epicurean. "Every glutinous, pearly grain sparkles. Cooked in a salty broth, rice is a meal in itself."

Open the market to U.S. rice! Japanese agriculture is in no danger. Our farmers should be more confident. The palate, not the market place, will decide.

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## Industry and Business

Japan's Workers: Long Hours, Less Job Satisfaction

by Hirofumi FUKUMOTO, Free-lance journalist

(From the Asahi Journal, Jan. 2-9, 1987)

Japanese still work longer hours than Americans but job satisfaction has declined sharply, according to a recent Ministry of Labor survey.

The study on working hours in 1985, the latest year for which statistics are available, found that the five-day week is rare in Japan. Most people put in a six-day, 48-hour week.

The proportion of companies working only five days a week at least once a month actually declined slightly, from 51.2 percent in 1984 to 49.1 percent. Firms operating on the 40-hour-week system common in most Western countries dropped from 6.7 percent to 6.1 percent. The largest group, 49.6 percent in all, still have a six-day week.

The number of hours on the job varied greatly depending on the size of a business. A total of 35.5 percent of large companies (1,000 or more employees) allow their personnel two days off each week, compared with only 3 percent of small companies (30-99 employees.)

The Ministry of Labor advocates a shorter working week. A spokesman for the Labor Standards Bureau, who requested anonymity, says: "Young people in particular want more leisure time. The five-day week

is an important fringe benefit that helps recruit quality personnel, so it is to most companies' advantage. We can't expect small firms to implement it overnight, but they should start to reduce working hours in stages.

"If everybody acts together, no employer will have to worry that his labor practices are out of line. We suggest that each industry's trade association work out a phased reduction in hours."

The Labor Ministry has a three-point program to cut working hours: at least one two-day weekend off per month to start with; full use of authorized annual leave and consecutive days off -- one- or two-week vacations -- rather than sporadic holidays; and less overtime.

The transportation industry reportedly has the longest working hours. A survey conducted in 1984 by the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) found that workers in transportation and communications put in 344.5 hours of overtime per year, almost 100 hours more than employees in the manufacturing sector. The same survey showed that large companies granted 15.3 more days off per year than small firms with less than 30 people.

"These figures are for corporations with unions," says Setsuko Ohashi of Sohyo. "Conditions are much worse for unorganized labor."

A 1983 survey by the Labor Ministry showed that Japanese work an average of 2,152 hours annually (including overtime), far more than the British who were next at 1,938 hours. The survey covered only the manufacturing sector; inclusion of the transportation, construction and service industries would have significantly raised total hours.

The 40-hour week was instituted in the United States in the 1930s, and it later spread to France and eventually throughout Europe. Even in Britain, almost 90 percent of the workforce had Saturdays off by 1968.

Japan is 20 years behind the West in shortening working hours. Are the Japanese really that enthusiastic about their jobs? In 1979, the Leisure Development Center conducted a 13-country poll on where people found fulfillment -- in work, leisure or family life.

Forty percent of Japanese cited work, with the family next (39 percent) and leisure last (20 percent). Americans gave work the lowest

priority (27 percent), compared to leisure (41 percent) and the family (32 percent).

Japanese think of themselves as having the strongest work ethic, but actually they were fourth behind Italians (44 percent), West Germans (42 percent) and the British (41 percent). Of these four countries, Japanese gave leisure the lowest fulfillment rating.

The number of Japanese who identify completely with their job is gradually decreasing. A 1967 opinion poll conducted by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation found that 54 percent of respondents put work above other activities; by 1980, this figure had dropped to 35 percent.

This trend is particularly strong among young people. A 1986 survey by the Leisure Development Center discovered that only 25.5 percent of people in their 20s listed work as their most satisfying activity, compared with 36 percent of people in their 30s, 50.4 percent in their 40s, 46.5 percent in their 50s and 33.9 percent in the over-60 age bracket.

The center's study showed that the most popular pastime was eating out. This was followed by short automobile excursions, sightseeing trips, drinking in bars, and visiting public facilities such as zoos, botanical gardens, aquariums and museums. The favorite entertainment of 20-49-year-old males was drinking, followed by eating out. Neither activity is creative nor requires physical exercise.

Motoyuki Miyano, managing director of the Leisure Development Center, says, "In the last few years, women have learned how to use their leisure time effectively. We have begun to see middle-aged and older women taking dancing lessons, for example. They are finding ways to express themselves."

"Men in their 30s and 40s are preoccupied with their careers and have little free time," says Miyano. "The younger generation, of course, is more interested in relaxation than work."

Miyano, formerly with the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, is convinced Japan will surpass the United States in gross national product. He is afraid that if Japanese continue to work long hours they will be accused of being "unfair competitors."

"The five-day week can easily be introduced," says Miyano. "Once government offices and the banks close on Saturdays, a great many businesses will follow suit. All we need is political leadership. Unfortunately, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is not willing to act."

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### What Makes a Good Businessman?

by Chiyoji MISAWA, President, Misawa Homes

(From the Bungei Shunju, February 1987)

(Editor's Note: The writer is president of Misawa Homes, the largest builder of wooden homes in Japan and a leader in prefabricated houses.)

I should have stayed out of the test room, but when I saw my staff scurrying around to get ready for the company employment examination, curiosity got the better of me. "What sort of test do college graduates have to pass to join the firm, anyway?" I wondered. That was my second mistake.

With no thought for the consequences, I requested copies of the test and a set of answers. "I'd like to try it myself," I told my assistant.

At this stage, I was still in control. To avoid the potential embarrassment of poor results, I decided to take the test and mark it in the privacy of my own home.

That evening, I gave a copy of the test to my son, a high school student, and we both set to work. I was surprised to find that the exam was full of logic problems and geometrical figures. It was a test of abstract reasoning, not general knowledge.

I performed abysmally the first time around. Incredulous, I took

it again. The second try was not much better -- I scored a pathetic 65 out of a possible 136.

The proud words of our personnel manager as I left the office taunted me: "Applicants who score less than 80 are not even considered. Only those with 90 or above get an interview with top management."

I remembered when I interviewed applicants. Most of the youngsters who showed promise scored at least 100.

Where did that leave me? Was I stupid? Should I resign as president of Misawa Homes? "I beat you, Dad!" crowed my son, as though unaware of my acute discomfiture.

Only high school students have the powers of concentration needed for this kind of test, I thought glumly. But that was cold comfort for a company chief executive officer who had just been bested by his adolescent son.

I should have left well-enough alone. But the next day, I asked the personnel manager to check my test results. "I think I've got the grading system wrong," I said. When the manager had rescored the test, he handed it back with an apologetic look. There was no mistake.

Other staff members tried to cheer me up. "You were polishing your glasses all day. You probably couldn't see out of them properly," one said, "and that must have ruined your concentration."

My embarrassment was complete. I spent several uncomfortable days trying to rationalize my poor performance and compulsively discussed my failure with everyone I met. I got a lot of quizzical looks, but there were also some soothing words. By then, I was grasping at straws.

Kiyoshi Takahashi, vice-president of the Dai-Ichi Kangyo Bank, said, "Today's company entrance exams test only sight and hearing. But smell, taste and touch are also important in business."

Right on! Perceptive people usually have a keen nose for business, and you can't get a feel for the job without a good sense of touch. A businessman without an appetite for action won't do his company much good, and appetite involves taste. In the age of the mighty yen and industrial restructuring, these neglected senses may be vital for economic survival.

"At Dai-Ichi Kangyo," Takahashi continued, "we find that people who score highest on these tests tend to be uptight all the time."

I heaved a sigh of relief. Here was solid ground for not axing the president!

Another friend suggested the novel theory that we can only learn so much in our lifetime. This is a variation on the popular belief that you can only drink a given amount of alcohol in your lifetime. If you booze too much when you're young, you damage your liver and have to cut down as you get older.

The same goes for studying, my friend said. High-school grinds who cram to pass college entrance exams for the top universities burn themselves out. Tokyo University graduates get into the best companies, but many never open a book again.

There was some truth to my friend's assertion, and I quickly regained my usual good spirits.

When you've been in business as long as I have, you learn that the most accurate test of aptitude is how much you like your work.

Each year during the company's recruiting drive, I give a pep talk to all the prospective applicants. I urge them to choose a job they like.

"If you fail the entrance test and still have your heart set on Misawa Homes," I tell them, "come in and talk to our personnel people again. If they can't help you, drop by my house. I'dl be happy to talk to you."

Every year two or three young people visit me at home. If they are obviously unsuitable, I advise them to look somewhere else. But we usually find one or two worth hiring, and they often turn out to be highly competent.

What a relief to discover that business aptitude depends more on job enthusiasm than the ability to perform on paper tests. Otherwise, someone else would be sitting in my chair today.

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Superconductivity: A Breakthrough for Humanity

By Shoji TANAKA, Professor of Physical Engineering,

University of Tokyo

(From the Yomiuri Shimbun, April 15, 1987)

Revolutionary breakthroughs in the field of superconductivity, promising huge savings in energy consumption, have triggered a frantic race among physicists worldwide. As the leaders in science and technology, Japan and the United States should prevent monopoly control of superconductors and ensure this asset is used for humanity.

Last December, our research group at the University of Tokyo, confirming the amazing discovery of Swiss scientists, found that a metal oxide ceramic became superconductive at 405 degrees below zero Fahrenheit, or 30 on the Kelvin scale. We reported our findings at a scientific meeting in Boston the same month, and the rest is history.

Superconducting materials transmit electricity with no loss of power due to resistance. Since December, physicists have been working around the clock to find new substances that will function this way at increasingly high temperatures.

Recently many researchers have found materials whose electrical resistance exhibits anomalies near 40 degrees below zero Fahrenheit, or 230 Kelvin. (The Kelvin scale starts at zero and indicates the total absence of heat.) It is only a matter of time before these are shown to be superconductive.

Breakthroughs have occurred at an astonishing pace. I would not be surprised to hear any day that someone has discovered a material that is superconductive at room temperature, or 65 to 75 degrees Fahrenheit, which could be applied to almost any commercial use of electricity.

Physicists have dreamed of a room-temperature superconductor because it would enormously stimulate basic research in physics and trigger a new industrial revolution. Most scholars thought the discovery was decades away. Now it appears to be just around the corner.

The applications of superconductivity will revolutionize nearly all forms of electricity use. Business Week magazine compared it to the invention of the light bulb and the transistor, while experts in the Soviet Union ranked it with the discovery of nuclear fission. Few people can even begin to imagine the impact on society.

Potential applications include trains traveling at the speed of jet aircraft on an electromagnetic cushion and linear-powered automobiles running along tracks laid on expressways. Ships will use electromagnetic propulsion systems rather than screw propellers; spacecraft launchings and landings will be much easier.

Superconductive circuitry will enable engineers to cram complex artificial intelligence into a large-scale integrated chip; household appliances will become amazingly sophisticated.

The elimination of power loss caused by resistance will save billions of dollars in energy costs. If, for example, generating efficiency can be improved by 30 percent to 40 percent, we may be able to phase out either oil-based generators or nuclear power.

Humankind will have huge quantities of clean energy. I compare superconductivity to the discovery by Fritz Haber, a German chemist, of nitrogen fixation. It led to the mass production of fertilizers and made a major contribution to agriculture everywhere. Without Haber's research, the world could not support a population of 5 billion people. Room-temperature superconductivity has similar global implications.

On March 30, Sen. David Durenberger, R-Minn., introduced a bill, the Superconductivity Competition Act, to strengthen the U.S. position in this field vis-a-vis Japan. Although the microchip dispute was undoubtedly a factor, this is a rash, nationalistic move.

It would be very dangerous if one country or corporation controlled the new materials. Japan and the United States should take the lead in international cooperation to develop applied technology. As the product of human intellect, superconductors should be the common property of all people.

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The 21st Century: 'Made in East Asia'  
by Ichio TAKENAKA, Director,  
National Economic Research Institute  
(From the Tokyo Shimbun, May 21, 1987)

Japan and the newly industrializing countries (NICs) of East Asia -- South Korea and Taiwan -- are battling fiercely for markets. But instead of clear-cut winners and losers, the competition is producing greater economic interdependence. An East Asian common market is emerging as countries vie to supply each other's factories with high-quality, low-cost components.

Turnabout is fair play. In the next 15 years, Japan's assault on the U.S. auto market will probably be replayed here, with Japanese consumers buying relatively cheap South Korean and Taiwanese cars. By the 21st century, imports from these two nations are expected to reach 20 percent to 30 percent of all domestic vehicle sales.

This scenario does not put Japan's auto industry up on blocks. Korean and Taiwanese cars use many Japanese components. In the future, Japanese models will rely increasingly on parts manufactured in Taiwan and South Korea. The resulting horizontal division of labor will benefit producers and consumers alike and make "made-in" labels meaningless.

The food processing, garment and electrical appliance industries here already depend on processed materials and parts from several Asian countries. Automobiles and high-tech products will soon join the list.

During the 1970s, Japan shifted labor-intensive industries such as textiles to South Korea and Taiwan by establishing subsidiaries and joint ventures. Now as comparative advantage shifts southward, these industries are relocating to China and Southeast Asia. Structural reorganization is creating unprecedented opportunities for regional prosperity.

Taiwan's per capita gross national product (GNP) is \$3,500 and South Korea's has reached \$2,300. Japan achieved similar levels of growth in the mid-1960s. Seoul, site of the 1988 Olympic Games, is

putting up skyscrapers and modernizing transportation networks, just as Tokyo did in 1964 when it hosted the games. Taipei is also in the middle of a construction boom.

Taiwanese and South Korean economists are mulling problems that preoccupied their Japanese counterparts just a few years ago: how to expand strategic industries, develop a viable, independent technological base, and foster small- and medium-sized enterprises. Both countries worry about pressure from Washington to revalue their currencies against the dollar.

The transition from developing country to NIC status is slow and painful. But once take-off is achieved, there is no stopping a determined NIC from becoming an advanced industrial nation.

Taiwan and South Korea already seem to be duplicating Japan's success story and may have entered the most dynamic stage of economic expansion. In 1986, they recorded average annual growth rates of 10.8 percent and 12.5 percent, respectively.

The two countries have a combined population of about 60 million. If they maintain GNP growth of about 10 percent, they will pose a serious challenge to Japan's economy. But their expanding domestic markets will also open up new opportunities for Japanese investment.

Together, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea have about 180 million potential consumers, far more than the United Kingdom, West Germany and France combined. Furthermore, just next door live 1.1 billion Chinese. China remains underdeveloped in many areas, but Deng Xiaoping's modernization policy stresses economic growth and education. East Asia will be the cutting edge of world economic growth in the next century.

Japan has a key role to play in developing an interdependent, affluent Asia: We must provide the institutional framework for basic research and applied technology. But we lack the technostucture -- university facilities and research institutes -- that has given the United States a lead in advanced research and development.

Japanese R&D centers are collections of private enterprises seeking piecemeal technical improvements to enhance product performance. Most lack vital input from university programs in basic and applied research, a requisite for long-term technical innovation.

Japan must also train the Asian managers and technicians who will engineer East Asia's growth. U.S. colleges now have about 350,000 foreign students, Japanese universities a mere 10,000. We must open our undergraduate and graduate programs to large numbers of foreign students and foster a cosmopolitan environment where Japanese and Asians can learn from each other.

Our \$16,000 per capita GNP puts us on a par with Americans, yet we have produced only four Nobel Prize winners in the sciences, compared to 138 in the United States. This gap must be narrowed quickly if Japan is to provide technical expertise for the Asian century.

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I Smuggled Technology to the Russians  
 by Hitori KUMAGAI, Former Moscow Representative  
 Wako Koeki Co.  
 (From the Bungei Shunju, August 1987)

When the secret cargo was loaded aboard, the sleek Russian freighter immediately pulled away from its mooring and headed for Leningrad. The moment the vessel cleared Tokyo Bay on that spring day in 1983, the crime was done: Japanese companies had illegally sold propeller-milling machinery that would enable Soviet submarines to operate almost silently and avoid detection by the U.S. Navy.

As widely reported in the press, I revealed this clandestine transaction to COCOM (Coordinating Committee for Export Control). Why did I blow the whistle? I could no longer be part of the dirty business of high-tech smuggling to the communist world.

About 50 Japanese trading companies do business with the Soviet Union, and nearly all have offices and representatives in Moscow. They range from giant conglomerates like Mitsui & Co. and Mitsubishi Corp. to two- or three-man operations. Every firm at one time or another has violated Japanese export regulations. Although I don't have concrete

proof, I've spent many years trading with the U.S.S.R. and I know exactly how things are done.

The Ministry of International Trade and Industry regulates sales to the Eastern bloc under its export control ordinance. A seller must first obtain MITI approval, and then submit the cargo to customs inspection.

MITI maintains a list of strategic goods which corresponds to the COCOM list of controlled items. The ministry usually disapproves requests to sell these products. The stipulations are detailed and complex; companies dealing with the Soviet Union must know them inside out. Traders carefully analyze whether a high-tech item they want to sell conflicts with the COCOM/MITI lists.

The Soviet Union is particularly interested in advanced technology and products with military applications. Japanese businessmen rack their brains to find ways to export such items. To survive in the cutthroat business of trading with Moscow, you have to be alert to every possible deal.

#### The Deal

"We want robots that can manufacture propellers for large ships. As the world's leading shipbuilder, Japan must be producing such industrial robots by now! If you can quote us a price, we'll start negotiations right away."

The speaker was Igor A. Osipov, vice-president of the Technology Machine Import Corp (TMIC). He made the remark at a Moscow party in October 1979 hosted by visiting executives of Wako Koeki Co., the firm I represented there.

Japanese trade reps in Moscow called Osipov a "K-man," our code word for the KGB. In any case, I immediately telexed the head office in Tokyo to look for ship-propeller robots.

A Toshiba Machine Co. official came to Moscow in January 1980 to start detailed technical negotiations. During the talks it gradually became clear the Soviets wanted a milling machine that could produce a simultaneously controlled, nine-axis propeller.

Anatoliy P. Troitskiy, a Soviet trading corporation official and

also a KGB member, participated in the technical discussions from the start. Three men from the Baltic Naval Shipyard represented the end-users: the head of the propeller manufacturing plant, the chief engineer and a programming engineer.

But during the negotiations, these three men merely said they were "from Leningrad." The name, location of the shipyard, and their duties were revealed later when we visited the facility to install the machinery.

Wako Koeki couldn't possibly reject the propeller inquiry. To do business in the Soviet Union, a company must have a branch or liaison office in Moscow. The Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade decides on applications, and the screening process and paperwork can take three to five years. To incur official displeasure and lose that toehold means complete exclusion from Soviet trade.

Wako Koeki's request for a Moscow office had been approved only two years earlier, and Osipov made the request personally. Even if it had been clear from the outset that the Soviets were looking for machinery on the COCOM list, we couldn't have rebuffed them. Rather, we saw it as a potentially lucrative opportunity and decided to work with the manufacturer and go after the contract.

As talks proceeded, we had to figure out how to smuggle the sensitive machinery out of Japan. COCOM and MITI regulations prohibit the export of metal-processing machine tools that are capable of simultaneously working more than two axes. There was no chance of getting MITI approval for a nine-axis propeller-milling machine. At this point, Norway's Kongsberg Vaapenfabrik came into the picture. We worked out the following scenario.

#### The Scenario

First, get permission to export a two-axis machine. Then purchase a two-axis numerically controlled machine tool from Kongsberg and attach it to Toshiba Machine's nine-axis model. Customs officials cannot assemble the 250-ton unit and discover its nine-axis function.

Meanwhile, we send the computer programs for the nine-axis machine

to Kongsberg. Norway's export regulations are relatively lax and the software programs can be added to documents for a different machine and sent on to the Soviet Union.

Kongsberg is the perfect partner because they are negotiating the sale of a programming center for the Baltic Shipyard with TMIC. The center will analyze data from the propeller blueprints and input the information to the numerically controlled device attached to the nine-axis tools.

The two-axis machine can be easily converted into a nine-axis numerically controlled tool. It takes about an hour to do the necessary rewiring and replace a few printed circuits.

That was our plan. Just after we had solved all the technical problems and were about to draft a contract, Toshiba Machine notified my firm that they wanted to use C. Itoh & Co. as sales agent.

#### A New Player

Toshiba Machine explained that C. Itoh & Co. had handled its sales to the Soviet Union for many years and would object strongly if we got the contract. Toshiba Machine executives were afraid that switching to us would arouse suspicion everywhere -- in government circles, within their own firm and throughout the industry. Eventually, it was decided that although C. Itoh & Co. would be the official sales agent, Wako Koeki would still receive a commission.

The three companies agreed on a division of labor. Toshiba Machine was to manufacture the hardware, Wako Koeki would be the contact with the Soviet side, and C. Itoh & Co. would take care of export and shipping procedures.

At first, TMIC strongly objected to bringing another player into the game, but the Russians finally consented. Five organizations were now linked in the plot: Toshiba Machine, Wako Koeki, C. Itoh & Co., the Soviet corporation and Kongsberg Vaapenfabrik.

The original price quoted for one milling machine was \$5 million. After prolonged haggling over the price, the Soviets ordered four machines and asked for a 20 percent discount, claiming they would order additional spare parts. For an order on this scale, this was a fairly

modest demand. Nevertheless, we rejected it, confident that no one else would dare sell a nine-axis propeller milling tool to the Soviet Union.

The Russians would probably have accepted the original price, but we gave them a 13 percent discount. The unit price was set at \$4,350,000 for a total of \$17,430,000.

Twenty people gathered at C. Itoh & Co.'s Moscow office on April 24, 1981 for the contract-signing formalities. They included TMIC officials and representatives from Toshiba Machine, C. Itoh & Co. and Wako Koeki.

Both sides initialled each page of the 120-page contract (33 pages of text and 87 pages of attachments). The senior Soviet official and the general manager of C. Itoh's Moscow office signed the last page. We all applauded, the cosigners shook hands and a party followed to celebrate the deal.

#### Smuggling Subterfuges

Japanese trading companies use eight basic methods to evade COCOM and government restrictions and sell strategic materials to the Eastern bloc. All the trading companies get around the rules. The Toshiba Machine Co. scandal is only the tip of the iceberg.

-- Dual contracts. Traders prepare double documentation. On the official contract, they understate specifications and features. This agreement is used to obtain an export license, clear customs, and arrange payment procedures.

Meanwhile, a secret contract is also signed for high-performance, specialized machinery. This version states correct specifications and quality standards. Second contracts are used mainly to export turn-key plants and large-scale machinery.

If the invoice and packing list match the goods, customs officials cannot detect the discrepancies. No one can gauge the capacity of a dismantled plant packed into hundreds of cases. Moreover, it is physically impossible to assemble and test run a plant or huge machinery during a dockside check.

-- Camouflage. An item's real industrial function is concealed in

various ways. A harmless looking electric panel, for example, is fitted onto a restricted product. The panel's signal lamps, switches and meters work when the power is turned on, but these are a facade and not connected to the machinery itself. Inspectors never remove the outer panel and check all the components inside.

This masking technique is used to sneak relatively compact machinery through customs. Strategic materials such as experimental equipment and testing devices are easily sold to the Soviet Union this way. Diagrams of the equipment and wiring, and user's manuals, are shipped separately. Confidential documents, which indicate a sale's sensitive high-tech capability, are given to employees going to Moscow on business. They hand them directly to a Soviet contact.

Integrated-circuit (IC) testing devices, magnetic-materials testing machinery, optical equipment and numerous other products are sold to the U.S.S.R. in this manner.

#### Strange Carrying-on

-- Hand Luggage. Many small items are taken out of Japan in carry-on luggage by businessmen flying to the Soviet Union. With electronics, the more sophisticated the technology the smaller the product. The embargoed list includes semiconductors, diodes, light absorbent elements, image-magnifying tubes and ICs.

These electronic products are so small and light that a substantial order can be put in one piece of hand luggage. One suitcaseful of IC's would equip the Soviet Union's total missile arsenal with guidance devices. Fairly large equipment is also disassembled and carried by hand.

Payments for illegal exports are added on to bills for regular sales; the transactions are handled through banking channels. There is little chance of being caught.

-- Office of Trade Representative. Items are delivered directly to Russian trade officials in Tokyo, who pay for them in cash. The products are shipped by the Soviet Embassy and are exempt from a customs check. However, this method creates tax problems for trading companies and they prefer not to use it.

### Small is Deceptive

-- Dismantlement. A sale is separated into many small units to disguise the entity. An IC manufacturing plant, for example, is divided into different lots: measuring instruments, valves, furnaces, conveyor belts and meters. Each portion is contracted for and shipped separately. As long as each contract is for non-embargoed items, MITI will approve the deal. A variant of this technique is to ship the elements as spare parts for a plant that has already been delivered.

Certain restricted core components cannot be slipped past the inspectors this way. They have to be camouflaged, carried to Moscow or delivered to Soviet trade officials in Japan.

-- Regional customs offices. Traders avoid major customs offices like Yokohama and Kobe in favor of smaller ports like Niigata on the Japan Sea from which there is regular service to Nakhodka. Procedures are relatively simple there, and it is easy to fool local customs officials with doctored technical explanations. Shipments are approved if all the documents are in order.

To be doubly sure, traders sometimes vacuum-pack crucial items. If the seal is broken, the packaging is ruined. No regional customs official will insist on checking a vacuum-packed item for fear of the prohibitive repacking costs.

### Third-Country Routes

-- Third countries. Goods are often sold to the Soviet Union via third countries that are not members of COCOM. Japanese traders use companies in Switzerland, Austria, Hong Kong and Singapore that will risk selling banned material to make a quick profit. An alternative is to set up dummy firms in these countries and route shipments through them.

-- Moscow trade shows. MITI sometimes allows controlled items to be exhibited at Moscow trade fairs, on condition that they are brought back to this country. After the show, the Japanese company loans the equipment to a Soviet research institute for a while. Specialists then use reverse engineering techniques to uncover the technological secrets. This is all prearranged by the trading firm.

In the Toshiba Machine affair, we skillfully combined duplicate documentation and a third-country firm to get the propeller-milling machines to the Soviet Union.

None of the Japanese businessmen were pro-communist or had any ideological motivation. We were typical hard-working, white-collar employees and good family men.

Progressive intellectuals, academics and part of the mass media in Japan are woefully mistaken about this sale. Some claimed that it was insignificant, while others dismissed the affair as just more of Washington's Japan-bashing. Let there be no mistake about it: This was a flagrant violation of COCOM regulations.

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#### Make Bras, Not Weapons

by Noboru MAKINO, Chairman, Mitsubishi Research Institute

(From the Sankei Shimbun, October 2, 1987)

Looking into their crystal ball, Japanese scientists predict that the hot high-tech fields of the 1990s will be software for artificial intelligence, superconductivity and a holistic approach to biotechnology.

That's the conclusion of Technology Forecast, a widely-read survey conducted by the Science and Technology Agency every five years. The report summarizes responses from about 2,000 Japanese scientists and engineers involved with cutting-edge technology projects at universities, government laboratories, and private firms.

Research and development communities around the world study the survey because it represents the current thinking of Japan's scientific establishment.

As chairman of the Technology Forecast Committee, which conducts the review, I have closely followed Japan's R&D progress for over two

decades. Popular interest in science and technology has fluctuated sharply during this period.

The first forecast (1971) coincided with a boom in futurology and was widely discussed in the press. However, the second survey (1976) met a hostile public reaction and was virtually ignored by the mass media. At the time, as a result of serious environmental pollution, technology was regarded as evil, a threat to human health and values.

As industrial pollution was brought under control, popular animosity against untried technology gave way to fresh enthusiasm for science and its applications. The public was keenly interested in the 1981 report.

Leading researchers were asked to prioritize development projects, give target dates for completion, list constraints hampering attainment, and enumerate the organizational and financial resources involved.

The current forecast shows that new pacesetters have emerged in the three major branches of high technology -- information, new materials and biotechnology.

The dynamic area of information science is sophisticated software for interfacing telecommunication networks, expert systems (a kind of artificial intelligence), circuit designing, and verification and protection of programs.

In the 1990s, software sales are expected to far outpace those of computer hardware. Programs to control integrated circuits and sensors for artificial intelligence -- a core technology of the next decade -- will be crucial.

Incidentally, this trend explains U.S. demands for the protection of intellectual property. The United States runs a huge surplus with Japan in this category -- software, patents, copyrights and scientific information (Japan leads in hardware sales).

In an effort to protect these assets, Washington wants the issue of intellectual property rights included in the Uruguay round of multilateral trade negotiations. In recent years, U.S. and Japanese firms have had many disputes over software and patents. Japan, too, must map out a policy on this problem.

In new materials, the second branch of the high-tech triad, there was amazing progress in the development of superconductive materials at higher temperatures. These substances can transmit power without loss or resistance and will revolutionize commercial uses of electricity.

Breakthroughs have occurred so rapidly that we had to delay release of the Technology Forecast for four months. The survey was completed by November 1986, and tabulation went smoothly. We planned to issue the forecast on schedule last April with this finding: "superconductive materials with a critical temperature higher than liquid nitrogen (-195c or 77.4k) will become available for commercial application not later than 2011."

But while we were preparing the report, several scientists actually discovered such materials! With our prediction already outdated, we had to send out additional questionnaires to specialists in this field.

The United States is committed to the race for superconductive materials and is warily watching Japan. These substances will be essential for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and for making silent submarines.

The United States and Japan should work out a division of labor on superconductive materials. Americans should pursue basic research and its military applications -- space, aviation and weaponry -- while Japanese concentrate on industrial and consumer applications.

The United States used carbon fibers to make lighter, sturdier aircraft and adopted shape-memory alloys for moon-landing equipment, for example. Japan developed superior golf shafts and brassieres from the same technologies. Such specialization serves both countries well.

Japan should not challenge the United States in those areas of superconductivity research where it is ahead. To drive America further into a high-technology corner will hurt us in the long run.

The third exciting field is technology that approximates living organisms. Unlike biotechnology, which tampers with the genes, this field does not create new organisms. It is based on an Oriental concept of overall harmony or synergy.

This approach includes the sustenance of human life through research into cancer, aging and proteins; design of computers with capabilities similar to human learning and memorizing mechanisms; development of biochips and biological computers; engineering applications of the energy-conversion process in living organisms; and production technology that utilizes plant phototrophism.

Many scientists in Japan are urging the government to organize an international project in holistic life science. In fact, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone proposed a Human Frontier Science Project (HFSP) at the Venice summit last June.

Japan is often attacked for its huge trade surpluses and predatory business methods. We should promote innovative research like the HFSP to show Japan can make a life-sustaining contribution to the community of nations.

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#### Breaking Up Japan, Inc.

by Masayoshi TAKEMURA, Member of Parliament

(From the Yomiuri Shimbun, November 19, 1987)

Time is running out for Tokyo. Congested and expensive, the metropolis will soon be unlivable. Japan needs a new capital to symbolize our status as an economic superpower and the greater world role we'll play in the 21st century.

Located on a 77-sq.-mile site and housing a population of 800,000, the new city ideally would be 90 to 150 miles from Tokyo but accessible in 30 minutes by levitated commuter trains.

Parliament and nearly all the central government bureaucracy would be relocated there. The judicial branch might be shifted to another area, a spatial separation of powers. The imperial palace should remain in Tokyo.

"Project Heart" is my tentative name for this undertaking. Later

we'll need an appropriate Japanese name, but this English sobriquet will suffice for the time being. It conveys the concept: the new capital would be the nation's political and administrative heart. I want this Japanese District of Columbia to represent the cosmopolitan spirit of a nation constructively engaged with the world community.

Japan's capital has been relocated many times in the past for religious or political reasons. The transfers inspired support for new, dynamic leadership. There are imperatives for decentralization, also.

Japan is on the threshold of a third opening to the world. In the 19th century, under the threat of Commodore Matthew Perry's gunboats, we ended 250 years of self-imposed seclusion. After World War II, Japan reformed its political and social systems: militarism gave way to democracy and social equality.

Now we face the momentous challenge of internationalization. Sweeping changes will shake our political and economic institutions, affecting popular attitudes. No corner of Japanese life will be untouched. We need an inspiring vision, a sense of a brave new tomorrow, to channel our energy and enthusiasm.

This brings me back to Project Heart. A new capital would give Japan a futuristic image, setting off a chain reaction that would revitalize every town in the land.

Project Heart must be an uncompromising search for excellence. While carefully preserving natural beauty, the capital's urban landscape should evoke the esthetic charm of an old Kyoto street. I see a blend of tradition and the ultra-modern amenities of life in a bustling, high-tech metropolis.

Completion should be targeted for early in the 21st century. That gives us two decades for debate, planning and construction. The cost would be about Y20 trillion (\$155 billion at current exchange rates). Project Heart would generate annual economic growth equivalent to 1 percent of our gross national product.

Most of the funds could be raised through real estate bonds. The

bonds would simultaneously facilitate the allotment of land for private development and provide capital for construction. By rough estimate, private buyers would pay about Y167,000 (\$1,300) per sq. yard.

The success of the project depends on acquisition of a site at the lowest price possible and the consent of local residents. Ruinous land speculation can be prevented by a method adopted in France. There the government is empowered to freeze real estate values in an area long before a major development plan is approved.

Such a gigantic project requires strong popular support. Extensive public debate and a national consensus must precede the go-ahead signal. This phase could take three years.

Building a new capital, a task similar to hosting the 1964 Olympics, only on a vaster scale, would capture the popular imagination. Shorn of its political functions, Tokyo could become the world's leading business and financial center.

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## Education

Who Makes Japanese Universities A Wasteland?  
by Chikara KUBOTA, Lecturer, Teikyo University  
(From the Asahi Shimbun, January 6, 1987)

College entrance exam season is here again, a very tough time for high school seniors. It's no fun for college faculties either. We teachers face the annual identity crisis about our profession. Do we provide intellectual training? Or are we part of the leisure industry, nursemaids in a four-year day-care center for adolescents?

Consider the following episodes. I didn't make them up. They are all actual exchanges that my colleagues or I had with applicants during admission interviews.

No. 1 Prof: Why did you apply to the sociology department?

Student: Because I like ... geography and history.

No. 2 Prof: What led you to choose the economics department?

Student: Econ majors have a better chance of getting a job than literature and law grads. Economics comes in handy, whatever you do.

Prof: What type of job are you interested in?

Student: Civil service.

Prof: That's a broad field. Specifically, what kind of work do you have in mind?

Student: I'm not sure.

Prof: Well, what area of economics do you want to study?

Student: I don't know.

No. 3 Prof: Why did you pick a school in Tokyo so far from your hometown?

Student: Well, you know; I took a practice entrance exam, and people told me that this would be the safest place for somebody with a score like mine. And uh, besides, um; my mom said I had to get into someplace this year. It's not a good idea, she says, for girls to spend an extra year at a cram school trying for a good college.

No. 4 Prof: What do you look forward to most in the coming four years as an English literature major?

Student: Joining the tennis, skiing and skin diving clubs. And going to America or some other country to study English conversation.

I've always felt that it's time to quit teaching when you begin to harp on the faults of today's youth or talk about how different things were in the good old days. Unfortunately, it looks like I've reached that stage. But before turning in my faculty I.D. card, let me offer some advice.

High school seniors! Please don't come to college just because you have nothing better to do.

Granted; colleges play a multidimensional role in society. They are no longer ivory towers cloistered from the real world. That's why student bodies are highly diverse.

Yet no matter how colleges change; students are here for academic training. The primary reason for going to college is to get an education. Only those who want to study deserve to be here. But a great many young people flock to college who shouldn't be here at all.

Students often say they go to college to enjoy the "campus scene." They rationalize their frivolity with remarks like "Having fun is a kind of learning." Only the diligent are qualified to say that. Those who do the assigned reading, attend classes, and think about what they're taught have earned the ski trips and rock concerts.

Unmotivated students ruin college for both the serious ones who

want to learn and the instructors who do their best to teach them. These lazy airheads are largely responsible for the criticism of Japanese higher education as a wasteland. They perpetuate the stereotype of undergraduates who major in mahjong and rarely enter a classroom.

So, do some soul-searching high school seniors. If you don't really have an academic purpose, please spend the next four years somewhere else.

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Our Schools Can't Cope with Cosmopolitan Kids  
 by Yasuhiro KOBAYASHI, Staff Writer  
 (From the Asahi Shimbun, January 14, 1987)

Japanese children who spend a few years in the United States or other foreign countries face a difficult reentry into their own society. On returning to Japan, they do not fit into the school system, and it is not comfortable with them, either.

According to Ministry of Education statistics issued in May 1986, almost 40,000 school-age boys and girls are living overseas, more than 16,000 in the United States alone. Every year 10,000 leave Japan, and about the same number return.

Businesses are increasingly sending personnel abroad to staff international operations, and usually the families go along. Not many years ago, only the largest corporations allowed dependents to accompany an employee, but now even fairly small companies do. The assignments are often for three or four years.

One angry mother has written a best-selling book about the parochial attitudes she found in the schools when her family returned to Japan after six years in New York. In "Under One Blue Sky," Chikako Osawa relates the experience of her son Tatsuya in the sixth grade of a local public school.

Just as the boy seemed to be adjusting to his new environment, classmates began harassing him. His belongings were hidden, and pencil shavings were slipped into his lunch. Classmates roughed him up, jeering that "Americans belong in America." An anonymous note told him to "drop dead."

As if peer persecution were not bad enough, Tatsuya's teachers began to chide him for his un-Japanese mannerisms. The stress caused an ulcer, and the boy had to transfer to an international school.

Midori Namiki, senior counselor at the International Student Education Center, says, "The education system has made a modest attempt to accommodate returning children. Eighty schools and 13 school districts have been designated for special programs such as extra instruction in the Japanese language. More than 100 universities have set up special admission quotas for such students. But the attitudes of other kids and educators haven't changed at all."

Namiki relates her astonishment on finding that English classes at a junior high school with many students who had lived abroad were no more advanced than at ordinary schools. The teacher confessed that he had reduced the time allotted to conversation in class. The returnees did not dare speak English well for fear of being bullied.

Tetsuya Kobayashi, professor of comparative education at Kyoto University, says, "The Japanese educational system was designed for people who were expected to spend their entire lives in this country. Conformity to the norm is the implicit premise.

"Returnees are treated as problem children because they don't fit in. All the emphasis is on getting them to adapt. But some educators are finally beginning to suspect that maybe the fault lies with the schools, not these children."

A 1986 report, "Education for Internationalization," advocates a more open-minded approach. The authors blame the adjustment problems of returnees on educators' reluctance to acknowledge that every individual develops differently.

The study says "A pedagogical approach that attempts to force

every child into a narrow mold of 'Japaneseness' is incompatible with a cosmopolitan society whose salient feature is acceptance of cultural diversity."

One of the authors, Koji Kato of the National Institute for Educational Research, admits that this is still a minority viewpoint. He hopes that eventually the educational establishment can be weaned away from its preoccupation with "Japanizing" returning youngsters. Kato says, "Our aim is to adapt the schools to different kinds of children instead of making these kids adjust to the schools."

Kato and his family have lived overseas, so he knows the problems of returnees firsthand. Like author Osawa, he says the experience opened his eyes to the ethnocentrism of Japanese society.

Kato knows reforms will not be easy. "After all, we are trying to change people's basic assumptions. We want teachers and administrators to accept diversity rather than impose uniformity."

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### Blackboard Boredom

by Yasuhiro SAITO, Senior Staff Writer

(From the Yomiuri Shimbun, January 19, 1987)

In January, the U.S. Department of Education issued a study, "Japanese Education Today," that praised primary and secondary education here. But the U.S. experts seem to have a very superficial understanding of our senior high schools.

Although compulsory education ends at 9th grade, the study admiringly noted that over 90 percent of teen-agers go on to senior high. Statistics do not tell the whole story, however, because many of those youngsters have no interest in studying. Their bodies are in class, but their minds are playing truant.

The media headline dropout stories because there are statistics to illustrate the problem. But academic nonexertion is a much greater

plague to the schools.

High-school entrance exams are just around the corner. All over Japan, bleary-eyed 15-year olds are burning the midnight oil. What a waste of youthful energy if the only result of all that effort is a new crop of goof-offs.

The vice-principal of a Tokyo high school, who spoke on condition of anonymity, says, "The number of students who have no intention of studying is certainly on the rise. Most of them just sit in class and do no work. Even the worst slackers -- those who are always late, leave early or skip classes altogether -- don't drop out. They plead with us to be allowed to graduate.

"They don't take school work seriously, they lack drive. A two-hour class exhausts them. Midway through they put their heads on the desks and snooze."

When a teacher was absent recently, the vice-principal monitored his examinations. He found that some students nonchalantly wandered in in the middle of the tests. Their buddies shouted jibes at the latecomers.

The school administrator suggested to one student who never opens a book, "Why don't you quit school?" The boy retorted, "I pay my school fees. I've got a right to be here." The vice-principal says, "I can't figure out why he bothers to show up."

The school cannot force underachievers to repeat a year because of pressure from the local board of education and parents. Some frustrated teachers feel that, "Kids who come to school simply because they have nothing better to do should quit. That would solve the problem."

A Ministry of Education report says, "The lethargic, uninterested students do not cause trouble, so teachers tend to ignore them. Only when the students refuse to go to school or run away from home do teachers realize there is something wrong." But the ministry underestimates the nuisance effect of unmotivated students.

In 1984, the National Federation of Education Research Institutes conducted a nationwide survey of student classroom behavior. The study

found that 90 percent of high school teachers complained about "apathetic staring into space" and 85 percent reported "talking in class."

A glance at high-school newspaper headlines shows that apathy is widespread. "Is school for play?" "What are we here for?" "School's a drag! It makes me sleepy." "Have you left the school grounds without permission? More than half the students say yes." "Extra-curricular activities -- What a bore!"

An editorial in a student newspaper in Toyama Prefecture says: "We all complain, 'I hate this school. It turns me off.' We refuse to answer when the teacher calls on us in class. We giggle and chatter away. We never do anything voluntarily; the teacher has to order us. We just kill time until classes are over. Even at sports meets we don't cheer for our team. There is no school spirit. At this rate we'll never discover our potential. We'll just drift out of school."

U.S. researchers were not impressed with higher education in Japan because so many lackadaisical students go on to college. But the root of the problem is in the secondary schools. Why do so many boys and girls go to high school when it is not compulsory?

Here are some of the common reasons teen-agers give. "All my friends go to high school, so if I don't, everybody will think I'm lazy or a dummy." "You have to have at least a high school diploma to get a decent job and marry well." "My parents and teachers want me to go." The motivation is external; there is no personal desire to learn.

It's not fair to blame only the kids. The high schools track students strictly according to grade-point average. Classes are dull, often just drill sessions to prepare for college entrance exams. Schools are factories that mechanically process students labelled "college material" or "job market." Regardless of who is at fault, the current situation clearly is bad for everyone -- students (and their parents), teachers and the country.

Japanese society overemphasizes academic background and graduation from a prestigious college. Fortunately, high school is not the only route to a university education; an equivalency examination offers another option. Youngsters who pass this test can skip high school

completely. Vocational high school graduates are now able to go on to college. Affluent parents can spare their children from "examination hell" by sending them overseas for higher education.

Although the alternatives are limited, teen-agers don't have to go to high school. They should not waste those precious years staring out a classroom window. That means staying true to themselves and not caring about what other people think. I hope all those 9th graders will talk to their parents and reconsider the choices. Do they want to spend the next three years in blackboard boredom?

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#### Christian Alternative to Examination Hell

By Hisaya SHIRAI, Senior Staff Writer

(From the Asahi Shimbun, January 26, 1987)

Nestled deep in the mountains of Yamagata Prefecture in snowy northern Japan is a novel experiment in secondary education. A small Christian school offers an alternative to the usual high school: an emphasis on thinking instead of memorizing.

The Independent Christian Academy (ICA) strives for well-rounded personal development through a spartan work-study program. The curriculum is based on Christian principles. Corporal punishment, not uncommon in high schools here, is banned, and teen-age violence unknown. To assure maximum effectiveness, the academy limits enrollment to 78 pupils.

The school is located in an isolated corner of Oguni Township, a 30-minute taxi ride from the nearest train station. As the taxi turns a bend in the road, giant Japanese and Hebrew characters loom up to proclaim an Old Testament truth: "Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom." The proverb is blazoned on the wall of the school's main building.

Pulling into the schoolyard, the taxi driver remarks that there isn't much snow this year -- just the meter or so that has already fallen. How, I wondered, can you run a successful school in the boondocks of Yamagata.

One reason is the academy's distinguished history. Principal Sukeyoshi Suzuki, 87, founded the school at the request of Kanzo Uchimura (1861-1930), a pioneering Christian educator and philosopher. Suzuki was a member of Uchimura's Bible study group while a university student in Tokyo.

In the mid-1920s, Uchimura was looking for a rural location to base his proselytizing activities. One day he opened a map and, scanning Yamagata prefecture, placed his finger on Oguni Township.

Uchimura sent Suzuki to the region to select a school site. After his mentor's death in 1930, Suzuki resigned a teaching position at Tokyo Imperial University and moved to Oguni. In 1934, he established the Independent Christian Academy based on Uchimura's philosophy.

Suzuki recalls the early days. "Fifty years ago, children in the nearby village went to work after finishing elementary school; nobody thought of giving them more education. I began by teaching, for free, the people who worked for me. At first, there were only two or three students."

"The village had no electricity. I set up a generator at the school and started a small factory to make eating utensils and other daily necessities. That's how our work-study program began."

After World War II, the academy was accredited as a regular high school. The physical facilities compare poorly with those of urban private high schools, but they are adequate.

Inside the main building are the principal's office, a teacher's lounge, a business office, classrooms, and an all-weather gymnasium. A boy's dormitory is also attached. Arranged around the main structure are living quarters for the faculty and a girl's dormitory. A cafeteria, kitchen, auditorium and small library stand next door.

The curriculum conforms to Ministry of Education guidelines and also includes courses not offered in the regular school system. "We

seek true knowledge here; based on the teachings of Christ," Suzuki says. "Our aim is to promote the full personal growth of students."

Each grade, for example, spends an hour a week on Bible study, and the Japanese-language teacher devotes another hour to one of Kanzo Uchimura's biblical commentaries. Following the traditional tutoring method, the teacher writes the text on the blackboard. Students copy it faithfully by hand, just as students of another era copied sutras. The teacher then explains the passage's meaning.

Two of the three hours allotted each week to physical exercise are spent working around the school. During the remaining hour, students loosen up stiff bodies with Danish gymnastic exercises popular in Japan before 1945. One hour of English class is devoted to singing hymns in English accompanied by a pipe organ.

Students are also encouraged to discover the joy of reading. Freshmen tackle Uchimura's "The Greatest Legacy to Future Generations." The sophomore class is introduced to Swiss philosopher Carl Hilty's "Happiness." Third-year students hone their minds on Plato's "Apology of Socrates."

Many critics have noted that the average high school in Japan, public or private, overemphasizes preparing children for college-entrance exams. A school's reputation is determined by the number of its graduates admitted to prestigious universities.

These stiff tests require students to answer many questions in a short period of time. High schools teach their students to respond rapidly and mechanically to questions. Thoughtful replies or original interpretations are discouraged.

Teen-agers spend what should be the most carefree years of their lives in rote learning. The pressure-cooker approach also deprives society of the creative, critical minds required to sustain a democracy.

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone has urged the restructuring of Japanese education to provide more flexibility and meet increasingly complex social needs. But many wonder whether our school system can be saved.

"From a pedagogical point of view," Suzuki says, "high schools with the best college-admittance rates are really the worst. And the so-called top universities are the least suitable for those who really want to study."

"This kind of education destroys the desire to learn. At our school, it is taboo. We teach children to respect knowledge and to study because they enjoy it, not in order to get high marks."

The Independent Christian Academy has no official catalogue and does not advertise, relying on word of mouth for students. The school has three to four times the number of applicants it can admit, ample evidence that many parents and children are determined to avoid the educational rat race.

Another independent Christian school similar to the Oguni academy is scheduled to open in Shimane Prefecture in western Japan in April 1988.

Suzuki's 78 students come from all over Japan. Only five are from the Oguni area, and the others live in dormitories together with about 20 teachers.

Families send the students a monthly allowance of \$300, which they deposit in their private savings accounts. Tuition is \$65 per month. Most of the rest goes for room and board; students keep \$13 for spending money.

Faculty receive a monthly salary of \$500. There are no bonuses, but rural Yamagata is inexpensive and they manage comfortably.

I stayed overnight at ICA to see how students and faculty live. Girl students take turns cooking the three daily meals, which are prepared under the guidance of a teacher who is also a licensed nutritionist.

Meals are ample. Supper consisted of rice boiled with fried beancurd and mushrooms, batter-fried potato slices, vermicelli and wakame seaweed in vinegar, and cabbage broth. We had half an apple for dessert.

The simple fare needs more seasoning, I think, but there are second helpings of rice, and everyone gets plenty to eat. Some students miss home cooking at first, but they soon adjust.

There are few frills at the academy. Television, rock music and jazz, and competitive sports, including baseball, are not permitted. Competition breeds greed and envy, says Suzuki.

Boys have crew cuts and wear ill-fitting old school uniforms, in line with the academy's austerity policy. Students are not allowed to go into town by themselves.

But once classes are over, almost everyone participates in club activities. The students are lively and interested. Boredom, the hallmark of so many high schools, is missing.

The most popular extracurricular activity is the Livestock Club, which raises five cows. I watched three manure-specked boys in the cow shed bed the animals down for the evening.

The Glee Club's a cappella choir attracts students of both sexes. Judging from a practice session, they put on a creditable performance.

The Weather Watchers Club was busy recording the daily high and low temperatures, snowfall, and the movements of high- and low-pressure fronts. Because it was winter, the Astrology and Botany clubs were inactive.

What do students like about ICA? A 12th grade boy from Tokyo says: "Out here in the wilderness, the idea of God seems natural. There are no outside temptations to distract us.

"When I go back to Tokyo for holidays, I meet my old junior high school friends. Their off-color jokes and juvenile interests sometimes distress me. There's more to life than that. I feel sorry for them. When I challenge their assumptions, they just laugh and call me a country bumpkin."

Students at the academy are independent-minded, happy young people determined to live their own lives. Success in worldly affairs is less important than being true to themselves. Education experts could learn a lot from this oasis in the wasteland of secondary schooling.

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## Sweat-shop Education

by Michiya SHIMBORI, Professor of Education,

Mukogawa Women's University

(From the Sankei Shimbun, February 13, 1987)

Japan's Labor Standards Law prohibits long hours and child labor, but school children here often put in 10- to 12-hour days. While adults are gradually reducing time on the job and getting more leisure, youngsters find even their after-school activities highly structured and semi-obligatory.

The workplace and classroom require regular attendance and a certain level of performance. Both working adults and their school-age children divide the day into free time and labor or school time.

Numerous surveys and firsthand observations by educators, however, indicate some glaring inconsistencies in this analogy.

As in other industrial democracies, Japanese now work fewer hours than ever before. Sensitive to foreign charges of "workaholism," the Ministry of Labor and corporate employers have cut labor hours. Automation has boosted per capita productivity, and unions now demand paid vacations and more time off. To cope with the current business slump, companies are promoting work sharing, slashing overtime, laying off some workers and urging or forcing others to retire early.

The five-day week and longer holidays are becoming common in Japan. Employees may soon be working only four days out of seven and enjoying one-month annual leaves like many people in the West.

Today, an increasing number of people feel their private lives and leisure time are more important than their jobs. They seek fulfillment through personal pursuits. Hard work and company loyalty are old-fashioned.

But although most adults advocate shorter work hours, few favor reducing the school week to five days. Admission to the country's top universities still governs access to the best jobs. Parents want their children to pass the tough entrance exams to good high schools that

prepare their students for the leading colleges. Saturday morning classes are probably here to stay.

Under the School Education Law, first-graders must attend 850 classes per year, each 45-minutes long. By sixth grade, the number has climbed to 1,015. In junior high school, students have to complete 1,050 50-minute classes.

Classroom time depends on the grade and school, but the average pupil arrives at 8 a.m. and leaves at 3 p.m. He or she spends nearly as much time studying as a grown-up who works a 9-to-5 job.

Furthermore, children now remain longer at school. Many stay on after the last bell because there is little point in going home early. The number of families where both parents work has increased; no one is at home to meet the child. Classmates are also after-hours playmates, and there is very little playing space in urban neighborhoods.

Even this "leisure" time is closely regulated by school authorities. Most pupils remain after hours to participate in clubs and other activities, and many schools now include these in their curriculums.

Some educators advocate using club participation as a yardstick to evaluate individual aptitude. This assessment, they say, counterbalances over-reliance on grades and entrance exam scores.

Extracurricular activities encourage children to develop social skills, a well-rounded personality and a sense of independence. Thus participation should be voluntary. Grading club performance alongside academic achievement forces schools to make these activities mandatory.

As a result, junior and senior high schoolers are increasingly roped into after-hours activities. They stay at school until 7 p.m. or even later on weekdays, and often spend Sundays and even summer vacations on special projects.

An even more serious problem is the cram school system. Extracurricular events are like overtime -- the student remains on the school grounds, just as a worker stays at the office or factory. But attending a prep academy is the equivalent of taking a second job.

Many college students now attend vocational or professional schools in their spare time. They are physically mature and can

easily slip in a special course between regular classes. Besides, the extra work is not compulsoryt

But primary and secondary school children are still growing. Kids are not strong enough to handle a school day that extends into the evening or their time off on the weekend. They need sleep and time to relax.

Workers are protected by the Labor Standards Law. School-age kids, too, need a bill of rights. Parents and educators must protect our children from Japan's sweat-shop education systemt

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### Japanese Conformity Is Underwear Deep

by Yoshifusa SAITO, Lawyer

(From the Mainichi Shimbun, June 11, 1987)

Many Japanese junior high schools regiment student behavior with tough conduct and dress codes. In the name of preventing juvenile delinquency, some schools ignore studentst right to privacy. Parents and children must resist the intrusiveness of authoritarian educators.

To ensure that all students wore white underwear on an annual four-day school trip, the authorities at a junior high in Okazaki City, Aichi Prefecture, required everyone to bring their undergarments for inspection the day before the tour.

About one-third of the junior high schools in Fukui Prefecture check students' underwear before school trips. Some kids said they were embarrassed, and a few parents said the schools had gone too fart After all, the students already wear identical uniforms.

Legal specialists are increasingly concerned about abuses of studentst rights. The Japan Federation of Bar Associations set up a task force to study revision of the Juvenile Law. As chairman, I edited the Federation's "Handbook on Children's Rights."

Schools have no legal authority to inspect underclothing. Article

13 of the Constitution states "All of the people shall be respected as individuals." In personal matters Japanese citizens are guaranteed freedom of choice. Underwear is certainly personal; teachers have absolutely no right to violate a student's privacy.

The schools argue that "inappropriate dress is a sign of an unruly spirit. Nonconformity leads to extravagance." But in a materialistic consumer society, why should students be singled out and told that they cannot buy or wear certain things?

Children must learn to stand on their own two feet and decide matters for themselves. Then they will not be cowed by peer pressure or, later in life, dazzled by advertising and fads. Excessive restrictions breed resentment, not self-discipline. Adults must trust adolescents if they want them to behave maturely.

Discipline in Japan's primary schools is actually rather relaxed. But as soon as kids enter junior high school, suddenly everything from haircuts to clothing is strictly regulated.

Just when adolescents should be learning independence and self-control, their natural development into adults is arrested by trivial rules. Teenagers need supervision and advice, but that is very different from coercion and repression.

Some school codes are ludicrous -- mandatory, close-cropped haircuts for boys, for example. Students must wear white socks; even a small, colored applique is forbidden. It is amazing how educators get away with this arbitrary nonsense.

Administrators and teachers apparently believe public schools are a special domain where they can issue any regulations they deem necessary to control students. That seems to be the only rationale for school rules.

This claim is on shaky legal ground, however. In a 1976 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that a teacher's authority was balanced by pupils' rights. The Court rejected a teacher-student relationship of control and obedience, and most specialists on educational law agree.

Teachers argue that detailed rules and strict guidelines deter

delinquency. But I think that dying your hair in defiance of school rules, for example, is an expression of deep-rooted frustration and rebellion against school and family.

Kids who adopt outlandish hair styles or wear unconventional dress are sending distress signals. They may not be able to keep up with classwork or perhaps there is trouble at home. Teachers must recognize the danger signs.

Admonishing kids about their appearance will not prevent delinquency. A teacher has to care enough to find out what is troubling a child, the underlying causes.

Many parents expect schools to discipline their children for them. With more mothers working, parents and children spend less time together, and parental authority is weaker.

But mothers and fathers cannot expect schools to be surrogates. The United Nation's Declaration of the Rights of the Child says parents are primarily responsible for the education and training of their children.

That stake in their offsprings' welfare entitles parents to speak out against demeaning school policies. Students, parents and teachers should jointly draw up regulations. Discipline and dress codes must give youngsters enough leeway to learn from their own mistakes.

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## **Lifestyles and Attitudes**

Affluent Japanese Want More Elbow Room at Home

by the Tokyo Shimbun Editorial Staff

(From the Tokyo Shimbun, January 5, 1987)

Hitoshi Tanaka is a key player in the escalating Japan-U.S. trade conflict. As division chief in the Foreign Ministry's North American Affairs Bureau, he believes in person-to-person diplomacy. Tanaka learned during a tour in Washington that the best way to build trust with his U.S. counterparts is to do as the Americans do -- invite people home for a meal with the family.

But Tanaka's philosophy is difficult to follow in crowded Japan. A U.S. diplomat he had known well in Washington was in Tokyo recently and looking forward to a visit with the Tanakas. To Tanaka's great embarrassment, his home was too small to entertain his guest comfortably.

"We enjoyed having dinner parties when we lived in the United States," Tanaka says. "Now, we've just had another child, and entertaining is hard on my wife. But the real problem is our cramped quarters. Houses here are just too tiny to have guests."

An economic superpower should provide adequate housing for its citizens. For a high-ranking official like Tanaka to be caught in this predicament is absurd.

The Tanakas sublet a tiny three-bedroom condominium in Mejiro, a

Tokyo residential area. They are the envy of other foreign service families who live in even smaller public housing or in distant suburbs an hour's commute from the office.

Three years ago in Washington, the Tanakas rented a house with nearly four times as much floor space for the same price they pay now. During their stay in the U.S. capital, they invited American friends and their families to their home at least once a week.

All that is history now. In 1986, the Tanakas entertained at home only twice. His last guest was Steven Saunders, formerly with the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. Saunders was startled by the low ceiling in Tanaka's home, and he looked as if he had been squeezed into the chair at their small dining-room table.

In Washington, Saunders who is stocky and average height for an American, never seemed particularly big. It was a shock to see him stoop to enter the apartment.

Tanaka says, "No room in our place is large enough to entertain in properly. The living room looks directly into the kitchen. And it's a hassle keeping the kids quiet. After a while, you don't feel like having company any more."

Although Tanaka is tough on visiting American officials at the negotiating table, he cringes with embarrassment at the thought of inviting them to his tiny dinner table when the talks are over.

Tadashi Fujimoto, a Tokyo lawyer specializing in real estate, says exorbitant land prices are the culprit. A white-collar employee with an annual income of between \$40,000 and \$50,000 can probably afford housing in the \$130,000 range. But for that price, the best he can get is a poky two-bedroom condominium about an hour outside of Tokyo. The daily commute often includes a bus, train and subway.

"This is deplorable," Fujimoto says, "and it's the government's fault for not controlling astronomical land prices. We also need to ease traffic and improve the transportation network in order to shorten commuting time."

Based on a survey he conducted, Fujimoto estimates that between 30 percent and 40 percent of Tokyo's population live in dwellings that would be considered substandard in the West.

The Mitsui Real Estate Development Company recently compared housing in the \$130,000 bracket in several industrial countries. In Los Angeles, \$130,000 buys a two-bedroom townhouse about 30 minutes from downtown by car with 1.6 times as much space as its Tokyo equivalent.

In Stockholm, you get a three-bedroom house double the size in Tokyo and only 10 minutes from center city by auto. In Hamburg, the house has four bedrooms and a terrace, 2,000 square feet of land, and is a 20-minute car trip from downtown.

Japan's crowded living conditions are not only hard on the pocket-book and travel time but also affect mental health. The need for privacy is especially acute here, says Kazuo Hayakawa, professor of environmental hygiene at Kobe University.

"Many hypertensive persons are calmer after they buy an automobile," Hayakawa says. "They need a private space of their own. This also partly explains why so many of the elderly seek out-patient care they really don't require, and why adolescents spend a lot of time in Japan's ubiquitous coffee shops or get into trouble on the streets. They want to escape from their tiny rooms."

Ei Komada of the Institute of Public Health studied the effect of housing on the mental and physical well-being of 2,800 Tokyo households. He estimated that each person needs at least 6.5 square yards of room area to maintain emotional stability. People with less personal space suffer mental stress and more medical problems. Poor housing is a social malady with pathological results.

In 1986, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) surveyed Japan's urban problems. Its report called urban amenities and housing facilities here "underdeveloped" and urged the Japanese government to assign these problems top priority.

The West, of course, has its own axe to grind. The OECD notes that improving housing and the urban infrastructure would increase domestic demand and put a brake on Japan's export drive. At least in this area, our interests and those of our major trade partners converge.

Japan has achieved great affluence through hard work and rapid industrial growth. Now it is time we got housing we can stand tall in.

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The Numbers Game of Affluence

by Shigeru SAITO, Staff Writer

(From the Sankei Shimbun, January 6, 1987)

Statistics show Japan rapidly catching up with the United States as the world's richest nation, but we don't feel particularly affluent. This is neither modesty nor hypocrisy. The nation's wealth -- exaggerated by the strong yen -- rests on a flimsy foundation.

In 1985, Japan had the world's seventh largest per-capita gross domestic product. Last year, in nominal terms, it leapfrogged into second place. But people know their own lives have not improved much. Indeed, the quality of life in the United States still fills Japanese visitors with rueful envy.

The yen's appreciation is behind many of Japan's rosy figures. It has risen 40 percent against the dollar since September 1985, when the Group of Five (G-5) finance ministers and central bankers agreed to intervene in money markets to push down the U.S. currency's value.

Japan's estimated gross national product (GNP) for fiscal 1986 (ending in March 1987) is Y335 trillion. Converted into dollars at the pre-G-5 exchange rate of Y250 to the dollar, this amount yields a GNP of \$1.3 trillion, about one-third that of the U.S. (\$3.8 trillion). Since January, the yen has hovered around Y150. Recalculating Japan's GNP at this rate boasts it to \$2.2 trillion -- over half the U.S. figure.

The same magic can be worked on average hourly wages in the manufacturing sector. In 1984, America led the world with \$9.17, followed by Canada and Japan. But an exchange rate of Y150 automatically puts Japan in first place with \$9.85.

Obviously the Japanese aren't poor. The 5 million who travel overseas every year return loaded down with purchases. Big-city department stores and boutiques overflow with designer-brand clothing, handbags and other luxury goods from around the world. Foreign visitors often say that Japanese women are the best dressed in the world.

Golf courses cater to millions of players on weekends and

holidays, and tennis courts are booked solid. Sunday evenings the highways are lined bumper to bumper with people driving home from excursions.

In fashion, food, and leisure, we have an amazing range of choices. No wonder the rest of the world thinks Japan is rich. But the average person here is skeptical.

Koichi Kato, a conservative politician who represents a rural constituency in the Diet (parliament), says, "If I start talking to the folks in my district about how Japan is the second richest country in the world and how our per capita national income is on a par with the United States, there is a stony silence. The audience relaxes a bit when I assure them that I know they don't feel that well off.

"Basically, people can't believe they're as rich as everyone says because Japan doesn't have a solid stock of wealth built up over time, like Europe or North America."

The disparity is especially severe in housing. Japan's "rabbit hutches" are much smaller than houses or apartments in the United States or Europe, and more people live in them per room.

Eishiro Saito, chairman of the powerful business lobby Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren), says, "Terribly inadequate housing is the main reason we find it hard to accept the idea that Japan is so rich."

The cost of living is high, too. Center-city Tokyo land sells for \$20,000 a square foot. This expensive overhead bumps up the cost of goods and services.

According to figures issued by the Japan Institute for Social and Economic Affairs, in July 1985, one kilogram (2.2 lbs.) of beef retailed for the equivalent of \$14.79 in Tokyo, more than twice the New York price of \$7.25. A five-kilometer (3.1 mi) taxi ride in Tokyo costs \$1.25 more than in any other major city except London.

Japan's infrastructure also lags far behind that of the other developed nations. According to a Fuji Bank report, only 33 percent of residences in Japan are connected to underground sewage systems, compared with 97 percent in Britain. Tokyo's seven square feet of

public park per person is one-twentieth of Bonn's park space. New York has three times more paved road per automobile than Tokyo.

"Britain consolidated its economic underpinnings in the 19th century, America in the 20th century," notes Fuji Bank Chairman Takuji Matsuzawa. "Now that we're approaching the 21st century, it's time Japan did the same."

Western comfort rests on a firm infrastructure of public facilities and private housing. By comparison, Japan's recent affluence, mainly reflecting changed currency values, seems like a mirage.

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#### Japan's Controversial Shrine for the War Dead

by Kichitaro KATSUDA

Professor of Political Science, Kyoto University

(From the Sankei Shimbun, January 10, 1987)

One of the most emotional issues in Japan since 1945 is Yasukuni Shrine, the Shinto holy site dedicated to the country's war dead. The heart of the controversy is the enshrinement of men who led Japan into war against the United States.

On Aug. 15, 1985, the 40th anniversary of Japan's defeat in World War II, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone became the first postwar premier to worship officially at the shrine. China, South Korea and other Asian countries criticized the act as approval of Japan's prewar past.

Beijing cited the deification of 14 Class-A war criminals as particularly provocative. In deference to Chinese feelings, Nakasone has not returned to Yasukuni, and conservative politicians have suggested the leaders be enshrined separately.

In January, Tadashi Itagaki, a member of the House of Councillors (upper house of parliament), asked the descendants of Class-A war criminals to remove their names from Yasukuni Shrine. This would

placate China, Itagaki thinks, and enable government officials to attend services at Yasukuni.

I was astonished at Teruo Tojo's absolute rejection of the proposal. He is the son of Gen. Hideki Tojo, who was prime minister when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and was executed in 1948.

Teruo Tojo gave two reasons. First, official worship at Yasukuni is an internal Japanese affair; the views of Chinese and Koreans are irrelevant. Secondly, disenshrinement of Class-A war criminals under foreign pressure would amount to approval of the Tokyo War Crimes Trial's verdict and an admission that Japan committed aggression.

Of course, the Tokyo Trials were a vengeful act of punishment by the victors. The ex post facto legal rationale obviously violated standard criminal procedure. Unlike the case against the Nazi leaders of Germany, there was no proof of a "conspiracy to wage aggressive war" by the Japanese defendants. Even Joseph B. Keenan, chief counsel for the prosecution, never clearly defined "aggressive war." The proceedings were badly flawed. Gen. Douglas MacArthur reportedly said later that the Tokyo Trials were a mistake.

Nevertheless, to reject the trials is not to exonerate Japanese militarism, and certainly not to approve of it. Nor does criticism of that tribunal diminish the political responsibility of our leaders. Not even Justice Radhabinod Pal, the Indian member who found all the defendants not guilty, exculpated Japan as a nation.

Shintoism holds that after death even a person who committed immoral acts during his lifetime becomes a kami, or god, and that his soul is consoled by prayer. Japanese Buddhism's tenet that everyone becomes a Buddha after death accords with this spiritual ethos, an undercurrent of ancient Japanese culture.

No one objects to the Tojo family privately praying for the general. But a line must be drawn somewhere. Although a Shinto kami is not a supreme being like the Christian God, it does signify a sacred force superior to mere mortals.

Common sense suggests that official worship by the prime minister and Cabinet at a shrine that venerates senior wartime leaders as "gods"

would be controversial. People other than the Chinese and Koreans could also easily conclude that "Japanese feel no remorse whatever for World War II," or that "Japan may revert to militarism." Japanese who scoff at this concern are pitifully out of touch with reality. Yasukuni is not simply a domestic political matter.

Gen. Tojo's famous line justifying the attacks on the United States and Great Britain comes to mind. He declared that the nation sometimes must take great risks and quoted the proverb, "Close your eyes and jump off Kiyomizu Temple."

If the general himself were going to jump from that towering edifice in Kyoto, it would be one thing. But he led the whole nation into a catastrophe that ended with millions dead, our cities in ashes, and the country defeated. Leaders must take responsibility for their decisions.

Facing the consequences takes character. Gen. Korechika Anami, war minister in 1945, and Adm. Takijiro Onishi, originator of the Kamikaze suicide units, upheld the samurai code of death before dishonor. Both committed ritual harakiri to atone for their role in Japan's defeat. To endure voluntarily an excruciatingly painful death was the essence of the samurai spirit and the Japanese aesthetic ideal of expiation for failure.

The Field Regulations issued when Gen. Tojo was war minister ordered Japanese servicemen not to be taken prisoner alive. Thousands of men killed themselves in the Pacific and Southeast Asia rather than surrender. In some Pacific island battles, Saipan for example, hundreds of civilians also committed suicide to avoid capture.

Why didn't Japan's leaders tell our soldiers that the 1929 Geneva Convention recognized the rights of prisoners of war? Most of the Class-B and Class-C war criminals convicted for atrocities or mistreatment of Allied prisoners did not know they were violating international law. Our wartime leaders deserved the death penalty for this negligence alone.

If a medium could communicate with the other world, Gen. Tojo and the other Class-A criminals might say, "We don't deserve to be with the brave souls at Yasukuni. Please remove our names from the roll."

If most of the senior officials in 1945 had emulated Prince Fumimaro Kono and Gen. Hajime Sugiyama and committed suicide, there might have been no Tokyo Trials. Defeated Japan would have been spared the travesty of victor's arrogance masquerading as justice.

The Chinese do not absolve errant leaders. The tomb of Gen. Yue Fei (1103-1141), the patriotic hero of the Southern Sung dynasty, is near Hangzhou. Close by are statues of the bound, kneeling figures of the prime minister and three others who blocked Yue Fei's attempt to drive invaders from northern China. It all happened more than 800 years ago, but Chinese visitors to the tomb still spit on the traitors' statues. Japan's invasion of China was only half a century ago.

Japanese are more tolerant of the dead. There is a Buddhist temple on Mt. Izu, a scenic spot west of Tokyo, dedicated to the seven Class-A war criminals who were hanged. The abbess is a relative of Gen. Iwane Matsui who was executed after the Tokyo Trials for the 1937 Rape of Nanking. There is a monument to the seven "brave patriots" inscribed by former Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida. I once visited the temple to pray for the repose of their souls and make a modest offering. Surely the Chinese have no objection to this private memorial.

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### Crazy About Comic Books

by Akiko HASHIMOTO, Staff Writer

(From the Sankei Shimbun, February 3, 1987)

Japanese are proud of their high literacy rate, but increasingly when they pick up something to read, it is a comic book. The popularity of comics, or "manga," reflects the TV generation's shift from print to visual media. Major publishers are cashing in on the manga boom by packaging hard information in visually soft comic-book form.

Comic books feature stories about sex, violence and sports,

providing escapist entertainment for the young and not-so-young alike. Recently major publishing houses have borrowed the manga format for serious topics aimed at a wider audience. Today, bookstands are packed with an array of comic books on subjects ranging from classical Japanese literature to stocks and bonds, and inheritance problems.

Some of the biggest comic-book hits deal with economic issues. The strong yen and falling interest rates have encouraged many Japanese to play the money market with their savings. Newcomers to the game turn to manga to learn how to invest.

If you find Alvin Toffler's "The Third Wave" heavy going, a comic-book version may help. The popularized edition has already sold more than 30,000 copies, putting it on a par with best-selling non-fiction.

But the blockbuster is the "Japanese Economy for Beginners," a fictionalized comic-book discussion of current economic problems. The cloth-bound manga, which costs \$6.50, sold over 250,000 copies during its first two months on the bookstands.

The hero of the comic, Kudo-san, works for Santomo, a large trading company. The story begins in Detroit in 1980, where an angry mob of unemployed auto workers is milling around a "Toyosan." "Let's smash the Jap car," says one. The scene switches back to Tokyo where Kudo discusses the ins and outs of U.S.-Japan trade friction with Santomo employees.

In subsequent chapters, Kudo introduces the reader to the fiscal deficit, the impact of the strong yen, efforts to restructure the export-oriented economy, and Japan's internationalized financial market. The comic's action-packed scenarios are supplemented by economic data in marginal annotations. Many companies are reportedly buying the comic book in bulk for use in training new employees.

Nervous about that job interview? There's a manga with tips on how to make a good impression. The young woman new on the job can brush up on business etiquette with the comic book "The Perfect Secretary."

College students are avid manga fans. Comics take up extensive shelf space in university bookstores. Popular titles include "Das Kapital," "Einstein," "Freud," and "Zengakuren," a history of Japan's radical postwar student movement.

Comics are also used in some college survey courses. Students at Shizuoka University read the manga "Modern Japanese History for Boys and Girls." A high-school literature class in Kyoto assigns a comic-book version of the Japanese classic "The Tale of Genji" as supplementary reading.

Most people are intimidated by thick law tomes. But make them accessible in comic-book form, and presto -- cheap, instant legal advice. The Mitsubishi Trust and Banking Corporation scored a hit with "Inheritance Made Easy," a story cartoon on the legal rights and obligations of heirs. Mitsubishi distributed free copies of the do-it-yourself manga to all its local branches.

Readers see children arguing over the division of their father's estate. The eldest son says, "Since I'll take care of Mom, I'm entitled to the house." He proposes to give his younger brother a rental property and a sister the stocks and bonds.

The heirs cannot agree, and a nasty dispute ensues. But as they argue, family members give the reader pertinent information and inside legal tips about inheritance.

An "instant-info" comic series explains intricate customs and etiquette. The volume on ceremonies tells what to do for births, marriages, funerals and other rites of passage. In "Home Care," cartoon characters illustrate nursing techniques for the bedridden elderly. Do your eating habits offend? "Table Manners" is the answer. Each title in the series has sold 30,000 copies.

Comic books also dispense medical advice. The fast-selling "Family Clinic" series outlines the causes, prevention and treatment for the most prevalent ailments. The titles include "Diabetes," "Heart Disease," "High Blood Pressure," "Kidney Disorders" and "Problems of the Liver."

Political parties have also turned to the manga format to sell their programs. The ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was the first to use comics for campaign purposes. In 1981, it published "Why We Need the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty" and "Scramble!"

The former reviewed events leading up to the revision of the

treaty in 1960 and sold a record 1.5 million copies. "Scramble!" outlines the LDP's national security policy through the dialogue of a father-and-son judo team that has just returned from strife-torn Iran.

Two years ago, Momoyama Juntenkan, an Osaka cosmetics firm, published its corporate history in comic-book form to commemorate the company's centennial. Tracing the firm's growth from 1885, the manga included graphic illustrations of World War II and Japan's postwar reconstruction. Although not for sale, the volume was an instant success, and a publisher has since produced a commercial edition.

A spokesman for Momoya Juntenkan explains: "Our younger employees are products of the comic-book generation. A dry company history with a few commemorative photographs wouldn't appeal to them. By presenting the company's development in graphic form, we get the founder's basic philosophy across better."

Even the 300-year old Kabuki theater has not remained aloof from the world of manga. Last November Tokyo's Kabukiza Theater included a matinee performance based on a comic-strip series by young cartoonist Hinako Sugiura. Sugiura's work describes life in Yoshiwara, the entertainment quarter of Edo (now Tokyo) during the Tokugawa era (1603-1867).

Manga are an effective way of simplifying complex information and concepts. Many Japanese now turn to them for quick answers to life's problems. But this comic-book culture could discourage serious reading and creative thinking. Then what would happen to Japan's vaunted "high intellectual level"?

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Getting Ready for the Third Millennium  
by Takeshi UMEHARA, Philosopher  
(From the Mainichi Shimbun, February 23, 1987)

As the world approaches the 21st century, a fin de siècle gloom descends on our materialistic civilization. The United States battles the killer AIDS virus while the Soviet Union recovers from the world's worst nuclear-power accident.

The arms race has brought us to the brink of an atomic holocaust. The doomsday prophecies of the 16th-century French astrologer Nostradamus seem just around the corner. Japanese might find an alternative to these grim Western scenarios in our ancient Shinto religion.

The turn of the century will also mark the 2000th anniversary of the birth of Jesus Christ. Some Christians wonder if the biblical prophesy of the Apocalypse and Christ's Second Coming is also about to be fulfilled. Will the multitudes rise from the dead and stand before the Last Judgment?

If the apostle Paul is right and Christ really intends to return, then the year 2000 is none too soon. I hope Jesus saves humanity from its folly.

The Second Advent and the Last Judgment are the core of Christian belief. But only a few seem to take these predictions very seriously.

Westerners are in a quandary. Most believe in both modern science and Christianity. They must somehow reconcile the conflicting claims of rational thought and religious belief. Scientific reasoning dismisses the Resurrection of the Dead and the Last Judgment as untestable hypotheses based on faith, not fact. But as Christians, even scientists must accept the basic dogma.

Science and technology have given us modern medicine, but they have also opened up the Pandora's box of nuclear physics and created weapons of mass destruction. Our scientific civilization, however, has its roots in Judeo-Christian thought. The West dominates the world politically and culturally. To survive into the next century, we must

rethink the premises of both science and Christianity.

A good place to start is monotheistic Christianity's polar opposite: the particularistic, polytheistic religion of primitive societies. Here, the world is governed by an eternal cycle of life, death and rebirth. Humans are an organic part of the natural universe, not its master.

Homo sapiens has walked the planet for about 500,000 years, and hunters and gatherers dominated it for the first 490,000. Agrarian society lasted a short 10,000 years; industrial society has been around for a mere 300.

Historians usually view the shift from agricultural to industrial production as the most crucial for humanity and downplay the earlier transition from stone-age hunting to sedentary farming. Modern society sees nothing worthwhile in the paleolithic value system.

But I think the primitive hunters had a sophisticated spiritual culture of animistic beliefs. What else could have enabled them to survive for nearly 500,000 years? They believed in the immortality and transmigration of souls. Death was simply a temporary separation of the spirit from a physical body, and after a short stay in the other world, the spirit returned to inhabit another life-form, human or animal.

In animism, the immortal spirit goes through a series of rebirths, casting off one body after another. A man's spirit may return to life periodically over several generations through his descendants.

But in Christian doctrine, souls assume their former physical appearance. The idea that each person has a unique, individual soul probably derives from the Egyptians, who built gigantic pyramids to preserve the physical body, the soul's dwelling place, for eternity. This belief found its way into Greek and Jewish thought and today forms the basis of Western theology.

A second difference is the frequency of rebirth. In animism, the spirit repeatedly passes between this world and the other. Christians, however, believe that body and soul are resurrected only once, at the Last Judgment.

Belief in rebirth reflects the deep-seated, egocentric desire of

human beings to live forever. It also points to something deeper. In animistic religions, people are a part of nature. But in monotheistic Christianity, they not only stand outside the natural order but over it. The Last Judgment expresses the arrogance of a self-sustaining agrarian world determined to subdue and exploit nature.

The Christian concept of a soul residing permanently in a single mortal body becomes the secular postulate of the immortality and omnipotence of the rational mind, the basic premise of Western philosophic thought. The idea that history is evolving from life on earth to life in heaven supports the notions of limitless progress and utopia on earth.

Imbued with scientific values, contemporary people are uncomfortable with the Resurrection of the Dead and the Last Judgment. But without these "irrational" notions, all that remains is a "rational" belief in the supremacy of self and human progress.

Our unshakable faith in the preeminence of reason and progress has enabled us to build a highly advanced civilization. Great cities like New York and Tokyo are a tribute to the human intellect and modern science.

But the specter of universal destruction casts a pall over civilization. AIDS and Chernobyl are symptomatic of the decay of Western materialism. Perceptive observers read in these tragic events signs of the impending collapse of industrial society.

Modern man first lost his belief in God, and then his moral standards. The result is a crisis of personal and collective identity. Meanwhile, our insatiable appetite for a better material life threatens the natural environment.

Western scientific civilization no longer has the answers. The religion of our paleolithic ancestors suggests an alternative. Humanity will either tame its appetite for opulence and live in harmony with nature or face global annihilation.

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The Marathon: A Way of Life

by Yukio OSHIMA, staff writer

(From the Mainichi Shimbun, February 25, 1987)

Marathon fever is sweeping Japan. Turn on the television any Sunday afternoon and you're likely to see a marathon in progress. More than 40 are now held annually here. Long-distance races are no longer the preserve of serious athletes.

When the weekend rolls around, people everywhere put on their running shoes and head for the starting line. Like me, many are middle aged.

I've run in marathons for the past seven years. Last winter, at the ripe age of 49, I finally achieved my personal goal of completing the race in less than three hours. And I did it twice!

I'm a plodder compared with marathon stars like Toshihiko Seko and Takayuki Nakayama. Nevertheless, running has made me healthier and happier. The marathon is more than just sweat and endurance. It's a way of life.

Recently, TV ratings for long-distance events have soared. In the Tokyo area, last year's International Women's Relay had an audience rating of 30.3 percent, the Tokyo International Marathon got 29.5 percent, and the Osaka International Women's Marathon had 26 percent. In the Osaka region, the female marathon registered a startling 35.9 percent of viewers.

Other televised sporting events pale by comparison. Last year, the fourth game in pro baseball's championship series earned a 10.9 percent rating. Only 13.9 percent of the audience watched the opening day of the January sumo tournament, and the Japan rugby playoffs got 10.6 percent. Something about the weary, lonely figure of the long-distance runner appeals to us.

More and more people are participating in marathons. The Lake Kawaguchi Marathon recently drew nearly 12,000 runners, six times the number five years ago. More than 24,000 have signed up for this year's 30-kilometer Ome premarathon in Tokyo.

Many Japanese now compete abroad as well. At the Honolulu Marathon in December, over one-third of the entrants -- about 3,800 people -- were from Japan, a 60-percent increase over 1985. Ten years ago only one Japanese contestant made the trip to Honolulu.

I started my running career in the spring of 1980, jogging casually once or twice a week near home or around the Imperial Palace in downtown Tokyo on my lunch break. I didn't care about my time and had no intention of trying a marathon. I never pushed myself to the point of discomfort.

The morning after a night on the town, I would jog to get rid of a hangover. I looked forward to the first beer after an evening run.

Before I realized it, I was hooked on running. I jogged more often and for longer distances. In 1982, I took part in my first long-distance race, the Miura International Half Marathon.

Next I ran in Canada's Victoria Half Marathon while covering the event for my newspaper. I began to dream of completing a full race. I finally achieved that goal in 1983 at Sakura near Tokyo, where I finished with a time of 3 hours and 22 minutes. I participated in three regular marathons here before competing in the 1986 Boston Marathon, a childhood dream.

Late last year, I broke the three-hour barrier by fifteen seconds at the Bofu Marathon in western Honshu. Crossing the finishing line, I collapsed, ecstatic, into the arms of a close friend whose whole family had turned out to support me.

This year, I bettered my time slightly in another race with a 2:59:21 finish. Although I cherish no illusions about contending with the frontrunners, I fit all the training I can into my daily schedule by running 28 kilometers to and from the office. I also train on my days off.

There are about 6 million joggers and runners in Japan, but only 1,500 (53 of them women) can do the marathon in under three hours. It thrills me to think that at age 49, I'm one of this select group.

The marathon is proof that age is not as great an obstacle to physical performance as the pessimists claim. When I was young, I had little interest in sports. But I remember being in a cross-country race

of all the seniors in my high school. My time for the 20 kilometers was 1:24:5. Last year, I ran the same distance in about 1 hour and 18 minutes, a full 6 minutes faster than at age 17.

My time was nothing to brag about, but getting faster with the years is exciting. I'm not the only middle-aged runner who is improving. Top-class athletes aside, marathoners of all ages are faster these days. Even if you're over 40, the heart, lungs and legs work better with practice. The point is to enjoy running and stick with it.

Running doesn't confer immortality, but it does enhance the quality of the remaining years. If health and youth were the only motives for running, however, most enthusiasts would have quit by now.

The sheer enjoyment derived from physical exertion is good tonic. But equally important is the feeling of freedom that comes with this sport. Running satisfies a romantic impulse.

A marathon might seem like monotonous fare for TV, but many viewers see the long, grueling race as an allegory of their own lives. For life is a kind of long-distance race. Vicarious participation gives watchers the courage to tough out the bad times and run their personal race with dignity. This may explain the sport's high TV ratings and the large number of middle-aged marathoners.

The official marathon distance is 42.195 kilometers (26 miles and 385 yards), but to be able to run that far requires many more miles of preparation. While training, the jogger gets to know the locality better. Long runs take you from congested urban areas into the surrounding countryside, and each outing brings new discoveries. You learn to appreciate the seasons, and also develop close friendships with fellow joggers from all walks of life.

The biggest payoff, of course, is finishing the race. Some people say long-distance running is just another addiction. But it's a high that benefits both body and soul.

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Rich Japanese Can't Make Ends Meet  
 by Hidezo INABA, Chairman  
 Japan Industrial Policy Research Institute  
 (From the Sankei Shimbun, March 24, 1987)

After years of scrimping and hard work, Japan has achieved the impossible dream: Our economy is outdistancing that of the United States. But although we pat ourselves on the back, few of us seem to be enjoying the fruits of our labor. Spiraling land and consumer prices deny the Japanese middle class the good life.

A recent talk with an old friend -- call him Sato -- made me realize how tight things have become. Like me, Sato is nearing 80, and although he still works, retirement is around the corner. Reviewing Japan's progress since World War II, he reminded me of the facts of economic life in the late 1980s.

In 1945, Japan lay in ruins. Much of our heavy industry had been destroyed, and the economy was on the verge of collapse. We had to start over from scratch.

"Prospects were bleak," Sato reminisced. Reconstruction was a formidable task. Millions were inadequately housed, and mass starvation threatened. Unemployment was high, inflation rampant. To make matters worse, we had to accommodate 6 million repatriates from former Japanese colonies and occupied territories.

It was a time of great deprivation, but all Japanese were in the same boat. We were determined to rebuild the country, and everyone pitched in and did their best. "In a way," Sato said, "those were the good old days."

Now we are the world's most affluent nation. The average worker makes more money, nominally at least, than his American counterpart. For many years, Japan was a debtor state. Today, other countries owe us nearly \$300 billion. Our vast wealth has triggered trade disputes with the United States and Europe. Japan-bashing has become an international sport.

At this point, Sato looked me in the eye and said, "The politi-

cians and mass media tell us we're No.1, but I don't believe a word of it. You're an economist. Explain this." He related the following story.

"We raised three children. Our eldest boy, Taro, is now 50 and a department chief of a leading company. He earns about \$80,000 a year and seems to be doing fine. I was flabbergasted when he asked me for financial advice."

About 10 years ago, after the oil shock had inflated land and other commodity prices, Taro bought a house for Y45 million (\$320,000 at today's exchange rate). His father guaranteed the mortgage and helped a little with the initial payments. Over the 25-year life of the mortgage, Taro must pay twice the original cost, or about Y90 million (\$640,000), in principal and interest. Yearly installments amount to more than Y3 million (\$21,000).

Taro has four children, two of whom started university this spring. Education expenses are crushing. One child failed the college entrance exam last year and needed an extra year of private preparatory school.

Just getting the kids into a university was hard enough. Now Taro has to pay admissions fees, tuition and related school costs. Because the universities are far from home, he must also shell out \$700 a month for room and board for each. If the children had not been accepted this year, he would have had a hefty bill for cram school and special tutoring.

"I was floored," Sato said, "when my eldest boy told me he was thinking of selling his house to finance the children's education. The house is shabbier than mine and located in a congested neighborhood, but he says he can sell it for Y90 million, twice what he paid for it and enough to cover the mortgage.

"During my working life, I only made a fraction of what Taro has already earned. I was able to buy a house, raise three children and put them through college. Japan may be the world's richest nation, but something's terribly wrong when white-collar workers in top firms can't afford to buy a house or even pay for their children's education."

Sato's story took me by surprise. Thinking about his son's quandary, I realized that most people probably have the same problems.

I own my house and the land it stands on. I raised five children and put them through college all by myself, without an inheritance. But that was a long time ago.

When I bought my house plot in the mid-1960s, it cost ¥9 million (\$64,000). Today, the price would be more than 30 times that amount. The house was a rental property, and I had to renovate it, but the total cash outlay was only a few million yen.

Tuition costs and other educational expenses were very cheap then. I didn't have to send my kids to a cram school or hire private tutors. My means were modest, but I led a normal life, free of the worries that plague people today.

Incomes have grown steadily over the years, but the cost of essentials -- food, housing, education -- has risen even faster. Although we boast the world's highest per capita income, our standard of living is not world-class. People who work hard just get deeper in debt.

This discrepancy is one of the most pressing issues facing the country. A radical solution is required, but neither the ruling Liberal Democratic Party nor the opposition has the will to look for it. The politicians' benign neglect of the ordinary citizen is inexcusable.

Our leaders pay lip service to "government for the people." Parrotting this empty phrase while doing nothing to address real problems undermines people's faith in their political institutions.

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### Adrift Without Values

by Naohiro AMAYA, President, Japan Economic Foundation

(From the Tokyo Shimbun, March 26, 1987)

I have never forgotten a saying from my middle school English textbook: "We eat to live, not live to eat." It sums up Japan's need

for new goals: What comes after affluence?

Humankind has always been haunted by fear of hunger and natural disasters. The struggle for survival made life a tough, serious business.

Even as recently as the 1920s, people starved in rural parts of northern Japan. Toward the end of World War II and immediately afterwards, millions of Japanese were badly undernourished. We dreamed of adequate clothing and a decent meal. Today, for the first time in our history, we have a comfortable life.

Japanese per capita income, in dollar terms, has caught up with that of Americans. We have the world's largest trade surplus and are by far the top creditor nation, with more than \$200 billion invested abroad. Our situation is almost too good to be true. But now that our basic needs are satisfied, we must think about the meaning of life.

To achieve their full potential, human beings need goals, values and ideals. In the past, Japanese were obsessed with making money and raising the gross national product (GNP), so we could catch up with the United States and Europe economically.

A hungry man naturally wants to fill his belly first. But the satiated person who calls for more is a glutton or piggish, or both. It's time Japanese drew up a spiritual menu.

Values are very hard to agree on. When religion was a vibrant force in people's lives, there were clearly defined rules. Today, religious creeds have lost that compelling power. In traditional societies, the sanction of the past created a strong consensus. But the younger generation nowadays is unfettered by tradition. (In Japan, they have been dubbed the "new species.")

A charismatic figure who embodies popular aspirations can set norms for a society. That was the Japanese emperor's role before World War II; since 1945 the institution no longer has that function.

Ideology expresses a value system. At one time Marxism seemed to be a dynamic, idealistic doctrine, but people have become disillusioned with it.

Affluence has eroded our sense of purpose and direction. As a nation, we no longer have to work hard to get ahead. We are already

there. The question is, where do we go now, and why?

The classic way of setting social goals in periods of flux or moral confusion is to give the people bread and circuses. In ancient Rome, rulers diverted the plebians with spectacles like gladiator fights and chariot races. Dazzled by riches and pleasure, the people shared a collective fantasy that theirs was the good life.

Rome gorged itself on dreams of prosperity until decadence and indifference ended the party. Barbarian hordes didn't destroy the Roman empire; it decayed from within. Japanese today are as prosperous as the Romans. We too may be wasting our energy and new-found wealth on circuses.

Japan has become an economic superpower, but what our contribution to the world will be -- our goals, values and commitment -- is still unclear. As a nation of merchants concerned only with the bottom line, we just appease others when our trading style causes trouble.

Most people try to retain some shred of individuality to distinguish themselves from the mass. But all too often, they assert trivial differences. With the gods dead and materialism supreme, Japanese are adrift on an uncharted sea without a moral compass.

We need the philosophy, vision and courage of samurai. We will soon discover that earning a trillion-dollar GNP was child's play compared with creating a value system for postindustrial Japan.

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### Japanese Women: Our Pampered Princesses

by Shigehiko TOYAMA, Professor of English Literature,

Ochanomizu Women's University

(From the Sankei Shimbun, April 4, 1987)

The modern Japanese woman doesn't like to work with her hands and avoids men who do. Sensitive to changing values, women's choice of a husband seems to indicate the direction of social change. Thirty years

ago, prospective brides stopped marrying farmers, who today are a vanishing breed. Now women refuse to wed small entrepreneurs.

If it's true that female preferences foreshadow new trends, this country's future is bleak. A recent survey shows that women harbor a growing antipathy toward our closest ally, the United States.

A matchmaker I know confided that young women bridle at the suggestion of marrying a small-business proprietor. Many of the families who ask her to find a suitable wife for the eldest son own small but prosperous stores in the Tokyo area. The would-be groom is usually healthy and often good-looking, but the young women all say no. A man set to take over his father's store or enterprise can offer financial security, but there are few bridal candidates.

"A family business just isn't chic," the go-between said with a resigned sigh. "Many women now have college degrees. They don't want to spend their lives tending shop and they cringe at the thought of serving customers."

It is a familiar story. In the late 1950s, women began entering college in record numbers. The most popular majors then were French and English literature. Coeds were motivated more by the snob appeal of these subjects than by genuine academic interest.

Many were from farming families. They chose Western literature in a bid to acquire culture -- and avoid being married off to a local farmer. Their parents probably sensed this hidden agenda but did not interfere.

With fewer marriageable women willing to live on the farm, young men left the countryside for city jobs and a better chance of finding a wife. The rural exodus robbed farm communities, particularly mountain villages, of manpower.

In many rural areas, the men who stayed behind remained single of necessity. Some villages have even recruited brides from the Philippines and other countries, an arrangement that could soon become commonplace.

If female tastes in men are any indication, the family enterprise seems headed the way of the family farm. That raises serious concern for the country's future.

Women insist on white-collar or professional work, both for themselves and their husbands. But the notion that hands-on occupations are low-brow or degrading is wrong. Productive physical work is intrinsically satisfying. Feminine fads like jogging and aerobics are poor substitutes.

For people who have done manual labor all their lives, a desk job shuffling papers seems like utopia. But Japanese society owes much of its vitality to farmers and small proprietors.

Modern women lack an understanding of international affairs, a shortcoming that also augers ill. A recent opinion poll conducted by the Prime Minister's Office shows a dramatic decline in the number of females who feel some affinity with the United States.

Women friendly to America accounted for 60.4 percent of all respondents, a sharp point drop from the 72.6 percent recorded in 1985. In comparison, 79 percent of all men polled in 1985 had a positive attitude toward America, as against 75.5 percent this time -- a decrease of only 3.5 percent.

Women who felt antipathy rather than friendship for the United States rose from 20.7 percent to 33.6 percent, the percentage of men from 18.7 percent to 22.1 percent.

In other words, one woman in three felt unfriendly toward America. If female opinion is any indication, U.S.-Japan relations are in for rough times.

Japanese do not welcome foreigners in general. In the late 1970s, we were criticized abroad for our reluctance to accept Indochinese refugees. Despite the fact that the "boat people" gladly do work that Japanese shun, we have not made them welcome.

Recently, large numbers of Southeast Asian laborers have overstayed visas to work here illegally. Japanese complain about black-market labor but do nothing to regularize the status of such workers.

There is a strong xenophobic strain in our culture. We distinguish between two categories of foreigner: the fair-skinned Euro-American variety and all the others. Few Westerners choose to live in Japan, and that suits us fine. We are relieved that they keep their distance. But we give other foreigners who want to work here the cold shoulder.

Farmers take foreign brides because Japanese women are afraid to do a real day's work. The mothers of today's dainty debutantes, a generation whose diligence and dedication helped create Japan's affluence, should teach their daughters the value of honest labor.

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### There's No Glory in an Abacus

by Naohiro AMAYA, Executive Director

Dentsu Institute for Human Studies

(From the Tokyo Shimbun, June 24, 1987)

Does Japan have the soul of a merchant or a samurai? It's time to decide if we are a nation of salesmen or statesmen. There's no glory in an abacus, so I vote for grandeur.

A country that controls its own military and economic destiny and can exert its will over other governments is a leader. One that carefully accommodates others, using diplomacy for business advantage, is a mercantile nation. Sometimes when I think disparagingly of the second role, I call it a peddler nation.

Historically, leading nations have always been large, populous and endowed with natural resources. The Roman Empire, China; France under Napoleon, Great Britain in its heyday, the United States and the Soviet Union have all had strong ideological systems and great confidence in the superiority of their values.

The outstanding mercantilists -- Phoenicia, Athens, Carthage, Venice, Holland and Singapore -- are mere dots on the map. None is known for a distinctive ideology or international initiatives. Quick seizure of economic opportunity is their hallmark.

Japan lacks land and resources, but with 122 million people, we are more than just a trader. Our enormous industrial might puts us in a different category.

To stay in the race, both great and lesser states need the latest

technology. In the mid-19th century, China was preeminent in East Asia, but Japan's rapid modernization gave us the industrial and military edge.

Ruling an empire requires a strong central authority and an effective bureaucracy. The great danger is that political leadership and officialdom usually become entrenched and corrupt. A mercantile nation has an advantage if it keeps the government small enough to adapt pragmatically to rapidly changing circumstances.

How well a government functions and whether moments of good fortune are used to advantage ultimately depend on leadership. Talent at the top is particularly crucial to a trading state because of its narrow margin for error and maneuver.

At the moment, Japan is somewhere in between a mercantile nation and a true world leader. Our choice is to continue the way we are -- a strong silver medalist -- or go for the gold. Do we have the strength and guts to make it?

As long as Japan remains a merchant-cum-industrialist, we must always defer to the United States. We have to swallow our pride, accept insults and not argue back. Otherwise, we may lose the American market.

If that is too high a price to pay, we have to raise our sights and become a leader. We would need our own ideology, independent defense and economic policies, and leaders who can perform on the world stage.

Shortages of land and resources preclude Japan from ever becoming a classic imperialistic state. But by keeping our government apparatus small and efficient, we can compete with the best.

No matter what Japan decides, the future is fraught with peril. But for me, the choice is clear. Failure in the quest for glory is far more noble than failure in the pursuit of profit.

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## Dogged Loyalty Barks Again

by Keigo OKONOGI, Professor of Psychiatry, Keio University

(From the Voice, July 1987)

A Tokyo TV program recently featured a dog in Okinawa who swam a long distance across open sea to meet his lover. Many people were moved by what seemed to be a romantic tale of pure love. Although a charming story, it reminded me of an anthropomorphic myth used to inculcate loyalty in World War II.

It turned out that there were no females on the dog's own island. So each mating season, he swam to an adjacent island where there was ample female companionship. His affection was not limited to one sweetheart; he sired pups with several paramours.

Reality and fantasy often collide when human beings impute their own emotions to dogs and other animals. It would be nice to take the swimming dog as a tale of canine conjugality and leave it at that. But if school teachers discussed this story in class, would they treat it critically?

A scientific explanation of the dog's behavior would help children develop the ability to recognize reality. But in these cases, just as in puppy love, everyone is inclined to ignore the facts and romanticize behavior.

The most famous Japanese tale that attributes human values to an animal is the story of Hachiko, the loyal dog of the 1930s. His bronze statue in front of Tokyo's Shibuya station, a favorite meeting place, marks the spot where the dog always waited for his master, a university professor, to return home. Even after his owner died, Hachiko went there every day for months.

The dog came to mind twice recently. First I saw an advertisement for a new movie, "Loyal Hachiko." Then I received a letter from an American psychoanalyst friend saying that he was coming to Japan. I wrote him: "When you get to Tokyo, I want to take you to see the statue of Hachiko. Our friendship actually began when I read your article mentioning the dog."

It happened about 15 years ago when I was reading a professional journal and suddenly came across Hachiko's name. I had mixed feelings about the article. Instead of being a paragon of faithfulness, the dog was described as a dumb mutt.

The author said that one of the differences between Homo sapiens and dogs is that the latter cannot comprehend the death of another creature. Since a dog cannot conceive of a master never returning, it will wait stupidly a long time. The psychoanalyst cited Hachiko as an example of dog's low cognitive ability.

To me, who from childhood had felt vague affection and respect for Hachiko, this seemed like heresy. I thought, "That's how a foreigner who doesn't share Japan's collective fantasies would see it." Yet scientifically the American was correct.

Today, I feel uncomfortable about the loyalty aspect of the Hachiko story. In the feudal age, a samurai was expected to serve his lord faithfully, no matter how stupid or tyrannical he was. In the recent past, Japanese were indoctrinated to believe that, no matter who the political leader or what the state policy, they owed blind obedience to the nation. Hachiko was used as a symbol of selfless devotion.

There is a great difference between a pet dog and one that symbolizes fanatic dedication. I am sure many Japanese soldiers tried to emulate Hachiko by sacrificing their lives for the country in World War II. After the conflict, the survivors turned this loyalty toward their companies. The object changed; the mind-set remained.

But the time has come for Japanese to discard this mentality of unquestioning loyalty. We need a spiritual reconditioning, and it must start in the schools.

Teachers should discredit old myths like Hachiko. Students must be told that his vigil was typical canine conduct because dogs have low intelligence, do not understand a master's death, and cannot adjust their behavior.

I am worried about a revival of the Hachiko ethic. A shaggy-dog movie about love between a pet and its owner would be harmless, but I

fear for Japan's future if another generation is enthralled by Hachiko's mystique of loyalty

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### The Emperor and Okinawa

By Moriaki ARAKI, Professor of Japanese History,

Osaka Prefectural University

Former President, Okinawa University

(From the Asahi Journal, July 24<sup>o</sup> 1987)

People in Okinawa, Japan's southernmost prefecture, have mixed feelings about hosting the National Athletic Meet in late October. A proposed imperial visit, cancelled because of Emperor Hirohito's illness, has stirred bitter memories of wartime suffering. The games will also mark the 15th anniversary of the Ryukyu islands reversion to Japanese control in 1972, a reminder of the long postwar occupation by U.S. military forces.

Crown Prince Akihito and Crown Princess Michiko will attend in place of the emperor. When the royal couple first visited the islands in 1975, there were violent protests, including a firebomb attack.

Okinawa is the only part of Japan proper where ground combat occurred during World War II. It was also the only major island group to remain under U.S. military control after the San Francisco Peace Treaty went into effect in 1952.

The United States ruled the prefecture for 27 years, and 75 percent of all U.S. military installations in Japan are still there. The bases not only occupy some of Okinawa's best land, but they would make the archipelago a prime military target if war broke out between Washington and Moscow.

Many Okinawans blame the emperor for these misfortunes. The announcement that he would visit Okinawa for the first time since Japan's defeat revived questions about his wartime role.

On July 2, media accredited to the Okinawa prefectural government -- 16 national and local newspapers, television networks and news services -- requested a press conference with the emperor during his visit. The Imperial Household Agency rejected the request, citing a long-standing policy of not granting interviews with the royal family.

But these issues cannot be swept under the rug. History shows that the emperor bears responsibility for the war, the 1945 invasion of Okinawa, and the prolonged U.S. occupation of the Ryukyus.

A Jiji Press public opinion poll conducted in April 1986, just before the 60th anniversary of the emperor's coronation, found that 46.3 percent of respondents held the monarch at least partly accountable for World War II; 33.9 percent absolved him of blame.

Conservative politicians and business leaders often ascribe Japan's prosperity to the continuity of the constitutional monarchy. But during the first third of the emperor's 61-year reign Japan experienced devastation and defeat.

Before 1945, Japan's armed forces were commonly called the "emperor's soldiers." Behind the patriotic rhetoric was a reality: The emperor was supreme commander of the Imperial Army and Navy. That is why he was always in military attire for public appearances. Crown Prince Hirohito wore a naval officer's uniform during a 1921 visit to Okinawao

The Japanese militarists who invaded Manchuria in 1931 and led the nation to war pledged allegiance to the emperor, not the government or parliament. The monarch cannot deny complicity in the tragic events between 1931 and 1945. He is also responsible for prolonging the conflict.

In February 1945, U.S. forces captured Saipan, destroyed the Japanese fleet off of Leyte, and defeated the Imperial Army in the Philippines. As the campaign against Japan intensified, B-29 bombers raided the main islands.

These events produced alarm in Tokyo. Koichi Kido, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, noted the deterioration of Japan's strategic position in his diary. It was imperative, he wrote, that the senior statesmen around impress upon the emperor the seriousness of the situation.

On Feb. 14, 1945, Prince Fumimaro Konoe, former prime minister and imperial favorite, met with the emperor to express concern. He presented a cogent assessment of the war and its possible aftermath in a memorial, which is preserved in the Kido diary.

"I believe that defeat, although tragic and regrettable, is inevitable," Konoe said. He noted, however, that public opinion in America and Britain had "not yet gone so far as to demand a fundamental change in our national polity" -- the imperial institution. The greatest threat to the emperor system, he said, was the possibility of a communist revolution after defeat.

Konoe continued: "If we accept the premise of defeat, then prolonging the war with no hope of victory simply plays into the hands of the communists and their sympathizers." He urged Japan to seek an immediate end to the war in order to keep the imperial system intact.

The prince felt the military was misleading the emperor. The major obstacle to peace, he noted, was the clique of ultranationalist officers who had started the war. Konoe believed they had lost confidence in their ability to win the war but resisted peace overtures to save face.

The emperor, however, did not share this optimistic appraisal of America's postwar intentions. Japan's military advisors, he replied, believed that the United States intended to eliminate the imperial institution. He pressed the prince on this point.

Konoe gently admonished his sovereign for allowing the army to cloud his thinking. He accused military extremists of exaggerating the threat to the Throne in order to exhort the nation to further battle and suggested they be purged.

Hirohito was unmoved by this logic. "Unless a further effort is made to win some victories," he said, "it will be difficult to consider such moves."

The prince was undaunted. "It would be splendid if we won some battles," he said demurely, "but I wonder if time is on our side?" Konoe intimated that the end was near; unless Japan acted in the very near future, it would be too late. He was proposing, in effect, immediate negotiations.

Confronting the befuddled monarch must have been difficult for a loyal aristocrat. After expressing his opinions, Konoe concluded, "If I have erred in assessing the situation, I beg Your Majesty to reprove me." The prince's ironic parting remarks reflect his disappointment and frustration at having failed to change the emperor's mind.

Konoe's fears of left-wing revolution were exaggerated, but his appraisal of the war's probable outcome was astute. Emperor Hirohito, however, seemed determined to make a last desperate bid to alter the outcome. "Unless we win a few victories," he told the prince, "it will be difficult to consider such a move." That position turned Okinawa into a charnel house.

In the last months of the war, the militarists declared that all Japanese would die for the emperor. As U.S. forces invaded Okinawa in April 1945, Japanese troops used civilians as cannon fodder. Men, women and children were ordered to commit suicide rather than be captured, and thousands obeyed. About 150,000 civilians and 110,000 soldiers died in the fighting. More than 50,000 Americans were killed or wounded.

If the emperor had heeded Konoe's advice, more than 250,000 deaths could have been averted. Had he opted for peace then, Japan would probably have been spared the horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Okinawans are cool to the royal visit in late October for another reason. In September 1947, Hirohito sent a secret message via a trusted official to William Sebald, political adviser to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, enthusiastically endorsing long-term U.S. military control over Okinawa.

Sebald recorded his conversation with the envoy, Hidenari Terasaki, in a Sept. 20 memorandum to Gen. MacArthur entitled "Emperor of Japan's Opinion Concerning the Future of the Ryukyu Islands." Sebald also informed the State Department.

In 1979, a Japanese scholar found the top-secret document in the U.S. National Archives. Opposition politicians raised the issue in the Diet (parliament) and a bitter controversy ensued.

According to Sebald's account, Terasaki expressed the emperor's hope that the U.S. military would remain in Okinawa and other Ryukyu islands. The emperor believed that a protracted American occupation would ward off the Russians and Chinese after a peace treaty was signed.

The emperor, Sebald wrote, hoped that the occupation would last from 25 to 50 years, or even longer. The monarch suggested a lease to the U.S. government that would assure Japanese sovereignty over the islands.

Emperor Hirohito must not ignore the feelings of those who suffered because of his actions. Although he will not attend the National Athletic Meet, failure to address these issues before the games start would be morally reprehensible and an affront to the people of Okinawa.

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#### Tokyo's 'Couch Potatoes'

(From the Sankei Shimbun, August 27, 1987)

The 'couch-potato' lifestyle is sprouting fast among young Japanese urbanites. Shunning the complications of personal relationships, they keep their workplace and school contacts to a minimum. For Tokyoites in their 20s, a good time is to pop a movie into the videocassette recorder and spend the evening alone, curled up on the sofa with a bag of potato chips. These new urban recluses revel in their own company.

Dubbed the "new species" by older Japanese who often deplore their unconventional behavior, the younger generation appears to be the vanguard of a major social trend. The American variety was recently crowned by New York Magazine as successors to the yuppies.

Self-contained loners have little interest in romance, apparently because they are unwilling to sacrifice their favorite pastimes for someone else. Flirtation and falling in love, once the preoccupation of youth, is going out of fashion.

One indication is the sharp drop in suicides among star-crossed lovers. According to statistics compiled by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department; in 1982 there were 23 "love suicides" -- a man and woman killing themselves together -- in Tokyo. The number was 20 in both 1984 and 1985; and fell sharply to 10 in 1986. In the first six

months of 1987 there were only four double suicides.

Modish city dwellers dislike group games such as mahjong, which is usually played with four people. Mahjong parlors, once crowded with young male white-collar employees and students, are going out of business.

The Tokyo Mahjong Association reports that in 1978 there were 9,541 mahjong establishments in the capital. By June 1987, the number had dropped to 6,485.

Yoshitaka Yamashita, 54, runs the Top Mahjong Parlor near Waseda University, which has a student body of 40,000. "Until a few years ago, my patrons, mainly undergraduates and young businessmen, always begged us to stay open past regular closing time," he said. "That seldom happens these days."

After-hours socializing is also on the couch potato's list of things to avoid. They prefer video, late-night television and computer games to parties or bar-hopping. Young adults have the same interests as teen-agers.

Video rental shops around Tokyo are crowded with office workers from early evening. Still wearing their conservative business suits, they browse through the cinema classics and the latest box-office hits for an evening's entertainment.

Software for computer games sells well, too. At the Ishimaru Denki store in Akihabara, Tokyo's discount electronics mecca, a sales manager said, "As soon as new software comes out, we get a steady stream of young singles buying it."

TV stations have also latched on to the new trend, launching a series of late-night shows for the stay-at-homes. A spokesman for Fujitv's programming division said, "Our after-11 p.m. programming is youth oriented. We slate movies and variety shows for this audience segment, and we're getting a 3 percent to 5 percent rating. That's unheard of for this time slot." In October Fujitv began all-night broadcasting.

Potato chip sales are also crisp. Snack-food consumption increased sharply from about 1985. "The market's already worth \$2 billion a year, and it's growing at 5 percent annually," said a spokesman for S&B Shokuhin Co., a leading instant-food maker. "Our main

customers are kids who eat chips between meals and young adults who don't bother to prepare an evening meal for themselves.

Hideki Morita (not his real name), 27, is a typical Tokyo bachelor. He starts work at his center-city job with a major tire manufacturer by 9 a.m. and, with overtime, finishes up about 7:30 p.m.

On the way back to his tiny apartment, Morita buys beer, potato chips and other junk food at a local supermarket. Then he picks up a film at a video rental shop. At home, he settles down to an evening of beer, VCR and late-night TV.

"My boss and colleagues often try to get me to go out drinking with them, but I usually decline," Morita said. "It's too much trouble always being careful about what I say and how I behave."

Morita has five or six female friends, but marriage is the last thing on his mind. "If I ever got serious with one of them, I'd have to take her out to dinner or the movies, entertain her. I'd never have any time for myself."

Psychoanalyst Susumu Oda of Tsukuba University said, "I was intrigued to find that people with this lifestyle are called couch potatoes in the United States. The trend first appeared in Japan in the mid-1970s."

In the past, rebellious adolescents would storm out of the house or even run away. Now, they tend to lock themselves in their rooms and refuse to go to school, Oda said. The pattern continues in later life. Many university students these days hole up in their dormitory and skip classes. Interest in extracurricular activities is down.

Oda theorizes that this passivity stems from the youngsters' inability to mature into independent adults. They have a narcissistic dependency on the womb-like security of their own rooms.

This is a TV and computer generation. From an early age the display screen has given them vicarious contact with the outside world. Real personal relationships can be painful and are avoided.

"By the time the Pacman kids are in their late 30s, telecommuting from electronic cottages will be the norm," Oda said. "This isolated, individualistic work style is totally at odds with the traditional groupist, consensus style that built Japan's industrial economy."

According to Oda, "Japanese-style management is endangered by the potato chip and the computer chip."

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### Tuxedo Junction on the Ginza

by Yoshiro MORI, Diet member and former minister of education

(From the Chuo Koron September 1987)

In Japan, like everywhere else I suppose, adults don't have much good to say about young people. Here, we call them "the new species" and regard them as a "me generation" of easy-going, unconventional individualists.

I used to think the criticism was an unfair exaggeration. But when I see youngsters decked out in tuxedos, cummerbunds and black bow ties for informal graduation parties or friends' wedding receptions, I don't know. They really do seem different.

I was born in Ishikawa, a rural prefecture in central Japan. The only formal wear I saw when I was a child were adults' ceremonial kimonos and the cutaway coat and striped trousers the school principal wore at graduations and other official occasions. Many years later at my wedding, of course, I donned morning dress like the principal.

To tell the truth, the first time I heard the term black tie was in 1976, at age 37; just after my appointment as vice-minister in the cabinet headed by Prime Minister Takeo Miki. I was asked to attend a state banquet for a foreign dignitary at the government guest house. The invitation specified black tie. "Well, no problem," I thought, "I'll just wear the new tie I bought for the funeral last week." Little did I know.

The day of the dinner, I wondered what kind of suit to wear. The invitation only mentioned the color of the tie, so I checked with the prime minister's secretary. With a surprised look, he informed me politely that black tie meant a tuxedo.

"But I don't have one," I confessed. "Oh, that's no problem," the secretary replied serenely. "You can rent an outfit from a department store. And ask for the right shoes and socks while you're at it."

I rushed to the nearest department store, but no luck. Although relatively tall for a Japanese, I'm broad in the beam. The store had trousers to accommodate my ample girth, but they were too long, and I tripped over the cuffs when I tried to walk. I would have been a laughingstock. I telephoned my regrets, pleading a sudden indisposition.

A bellyache works once; twice, and people start to smirk. I called the deputy chief cabinet secretary, a senior schoolmate from college days, and suggested jocularly that he find me a tuxedo so I could avoid a relapse. He ordered a custom-made tux and presented it to me as a gift. Since then, I have attended many formal dinners, including one of President Ronald Reagan's inaugural banquets in Washington, D.C.

I also discovered that white tie means tails, formal evening wear. I had a tail coat made when I became deputy chief cabinet secretary under Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda in 1978. But few receptions or parties require that level of formality, and I only wore it once. It hangs in the closet next to my tuxedo.

Recently, I was invited to the wedding of a famous politician's son. The invitation said formal dress. But I had forgotten how to wear a bow tie. Did the peaks of the black butterfly bow face up or down? My wife chose this moment to be my sartorial advisor. "Down!" she said. "Up!" I insisted. Around we went as the minutes ticked away.

Finally, we checked an old photo, and I was right. A well-deserved pat on the back for me, I thought. At last I knew how to wear a tux. At the reception there were 1,000 male guests in tuxedos! It struck me how Japan had changed: Ten years ago, I didn't even know what black tie meant.

Recently, someone gave me a bolt of top-quality cloth and a gift certificate for the tailoring. I handed it to my eldest son, who is 22, and told him, "You've joined the workaday world now, get yourself a suit."

"Any style?" he asked. "Suit yourself," I said magnanimously. Wouldn't you know it? The rascal ordered a tuxedo -- a very elegant one at that. He still doesn't own a conservative suit, but off he goes to parties in black tie, cummerbund and spencer jacket. Who can figure out the younger generation?

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### Designing the 21st Century

By Ikko TANAKA, graphic designer

(From the Asahi Shimbun, October 19, 1987)

Move over Madison Avenue! Japanese are challenging Americans for the front rank in advertising and graphic design.

Ad agencies in New York, Paris and Milan now carefully watch the latest trends in Tokyo. Leading public relations firms organize seminars on Japanese commercial design. The Annual of Advertising Art in Japan, a high-priced, deluxe yearbook published by the Tokyo Art Directors Club, is must reading for ad artists around the world.

One reason for the fascination with Japanese graphics is the sheer volume of creative output here. During the rapid economic growth of the 1960s, Japanese companies relied heavily on mass publicity to outsell competitors, pouring money and talent into television, radio and magazine ads. Advertising became a fast-growth industry in its own right.

At the final screening of artwork for the Annual, I am always amazed at the enormous quantity and variety. The ads come in all sizes, shapes and colors and occupy more floor space than a high school gymnasium. The sheer volume testifies to the cutthroat competition in advertising here.

It takes something special to catch the judge's eye in this visual feast. The most attractive ads uniquely combine medium, message and unconventional illustrative techniques. They convey an affinity with

the world around us. They also make a statement, urging us to stop and reflect on the quality of our lives.

The vogue currently enjoyed by Japanese advertising also reflects the emergence of a modern yet distinctively native cultural style. Since the late 19th century, Western and Japanese cultural patterns have been carefully separated here, both in the popular imagination and in artistic practice. Recently, however, the differences have begun to blur.

Cultural fusion sometimes captures the best of both worlds; at other times, it seems to destroy a specifically Japanese form of expression. But for better or for worse, hybridization is here to stay.

Some kimonos, for example, are now worn like Western one-piece dresses. "Nouvelle cuisine" combines French haute cuisine with traditional Japanese cooking techniques and ingredients. Cafes feature rock-garden settings.

Advertising capitalizes on the diversity of Japan's pop culture. A plethora of images and sentiments are juxtaposed to produce a surprising sophistication that the viewing public finds irresistible. The free-wheeling exuberance of Japanese graphics are the envy of artists abroad.

Our graphic artists invented a new cultural mode by writing English and French loan words -- normally "spelled" in the phonetic syllabary -- with elegant Chinese pictograms. This melange creates a momentary disorientation that many consider refreshingly postmodern.

We make some of the world's most advanced technology yet impart to both function and design an Oriental sense of proportion and harmony. We delight in playing cat and mouse with Japanese and Western motifs, alternately distorting, harmonizing and fusing them. This plasticity and our superb craftsmanship fascinate our Western colleagues, who have been forced to reexamine their long-held notions of cultural superiority.

Japanese advertising is also very entertaining. Our monolingual, highly cohesive and affluent society loves puns, jokes and playfulness in communication.

The hard-sell Madison Avenue approach does not go over well here. The most effective ads aim for the funny bone or appeal to the emotions by evoking a shared sense of community.

Parody is a popular method. A familiar summer commercial bills its product as "The Beer That's Cool." A signboard at a popular recreation park mimics it with "The Pool That's Cool."

Astute designers now pay equal attention to form and content, delivering their message in direct but hip language. That calls for suavity, wit and the common touch.

Japan's commercial designers are showing the world that graphic art has come of age. In this genre we glimpse the dynamic, global culture of the 21st century.

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#### Antiheroes As Role Models

By Tamotsu SENGOKU, Director, Japan Youth Research Institute

(From the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, September 12, 1987)

More than 70 percent of Japanese high school students read comic books, compared with fewer than 20 percent in the United States, according to a survey conducted by the Japan Youth Research Institute, of which I am director.

The survey also shows that fictional sports stars and serious achievers once popular with adolescents here have been replaced by antiheroes who prefer to goof off.

Both Japanese and American high school students say their studies are what they talk about most at school. Next are nonacademic topics such as professional sports, fashion and popular music, which are discussed with nearly equal intensity in both countries.

But when the conversation shifts to other subjects, Japanese students prefer to talk about cartoon strips; a teen-ager who does not read them is labelled "square" and shunned by others. Equivalent topics

in the United States are after-school activities -- the football team or school play -- and the cliques' weekend plans.

The quickest way for a Japanese high school teacher to make a hit with his students is to mention such popular comic series as "Captain Tsubasa" or "Touch." Comic books are an alternative subculture for students, a realm of fun and adventure. The exciting world of fantasy is the antithesis of school rules and dress codes that regulate everything from haircuts to hemlines.

Why are our adolescents so addicted to comics? This phenomenon is an exception to the usual tendency of Japanese to imitate what Americans do. The answer must lie in some corner of the national psyche.

In 1960, sparked by the late Premier Hayato Ikeda's plan to double national incomes within a decade, Japan entered a period of rapid economic growth. Boom times ended with the first oil crisis in 1973, and we downshifted to a slower rate of expansion.

Comic books mirrored these changes in the economy. "Star of the Giants" was a typical strip of the early 1960s. It was the saga of a young boy whose father trained him rigorously to become a baseball player. Through countless hours of grueling practice he developed skills, discipline and courage. These were the same qualities that characterized workaholic businessmen in the 1960s.

After 1974, comic books changed dramatically. The new era was represented by "Muscleman," which chronicles the adventures of a weak, clumsy wrestler who makes excuses and a quick exit when faced with a tough opponent. His triumphs are often due to luck or his energy food -- garlic, whose strong smell many people find offensive. How strange that such an antihero became the rage with Japanese kids.

Reader preferences shifted 180 degrees: from the earnestness of "Star of the Giants" to the slapstick of "Muscleman." U.S. comics, however, seem impervious to sudden economic fluctuations. The same formulas continue: political satire, domestic comedy like "Blondie," adventure and science fiction.

Such values as hard work and justice are made fun of in Japan today. The humor of television comedian Sanma Akashiya, a favorite among college and high school students, ridicules diligence and proper

behavior. He lusts after women and money with an honesty that audiences find irresistible.

U.S. journalists ascribe the Japanese passion for comic books to the "pressure-cooker" theory. Everyone here is under intense stress, according to this analysis. Teenagers must study for the highly competitive college entrance examinations and adults have to boost the gross national product. Comic books are the escapism of choice.

Japanese children are constantly enjoined to do well in school. Teachers and parents urge them to keep plugging away "like little Takeshi who studies so hard." Given this constant background noise -- "do your homework," "improve your grades" -- kids naturally seek relief in the funnies.

The pressure theory is correct as far as it goes, but it overlooks the collapse of moral values like self-sacrifice and personal responsibility. There are no comic strips about achieving success through hard work or fighting for truth and justice.

The shift from adversity-builds-character themes to nihilistic humor accompanied the erosion of traditional values. Japanese now accept pluralistic standards; conformity has eased somewhat. They feel it is all right for one person to be an overachiever and another to prefer the slow lane. Even the Provisional Council on Educational Reform urges respect for students' individuality.

The consensus on goals -- scholastic achievement, for example -- has disappeared, replaced by a tolerance for doing your own thing. Many high school students no longer feel compelled to imitate hard-working Takeshi; they are comfortable with an easygoing approach to life.

Our survey found Japanese and American high school students also differ in their attitudes toward growing up. Although most U.S. respondents say that they want to become independent adults "as soon as possible," only a minority here are enthusiastic about reaching maturity.

Most Japanese teen-agers would rather remain students as long as possible. That way they are free to enjoy themselves and postpone tough decisions about careers and marriage. Peter Pan is their role model.

The syndrome has spread to many adults who now question the hard-

work ethic. Freed from sexual taboos they wish they could revert to adolescence.

The straight often sanctimonious, achievement-oriented Japanese school system has been invaded by a ribald disdain for pretension and anything serious. But I don't find anything comical about Muscleman or this perversion of values.

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## Common Problems

### AIDS Panic

by Yoshiaki ISHIDA, Chairman,

Kyoto Branch, Hemophiliacs Association of Japan

(From the Asahi Shimbun February 9, 1987)

The death of Japan's first female AIDS patient in January touched off sensational media coverage and near panic. Hastily drafted legislation threatens the rights of AIDS victims, especially hemophiliacs.

The Ministry of Health and Welfare quickly drew up guide-lines to control the killer disease. A draft bill was approved by the ruling Liberal Democratic party (LDP) on March 6 and will soon be submitted to the Diet (parliament).

The key points are: 1) Doctors must report AIDS patients and virus carriers to local authorities, and 2) prefectural governors can order testing and questioning of suspected carriers. Hemophiliacs and their families oppose this legislation.

Out of 35 AIDS cases in Japan, 14 are hemophiliacs and 11 have already died. Several thousand more have been exposed to the virus. Recognizing the potential catastrophe, we have voluntarily been tested for AIDS and are following competent medical advice.

Blood plasma has been heat-treated since August 1985, so there will be no further infection from contaminated blood. The problem now is to prevent virus carriers from infecting their spouses and children. The

hemophiliac community and their doctors can control this. No new laws are required.

Some schools have always refused to admit hemophiliac children, pleading a lack of medical facilities to treat sudden bleeding. Many employers have automatically rejected applicants with this disease. To this insidious, unofficial discrimination will now be added the stigma of official sanctions.

We want a public health program that both stops the AIDS epidemic and safeguards our privacy. Innocent children with hemophilia must not become pariahs, banned from school and marked for life as objects of loathing and fear.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the Hemophiliac Association of Japan. Our history has been a battle over blood plasma. Medical progress and improved facilities have dramatically reduced our financial burden. Major surgery is now possible through the use of concentrated blood plasma, and patients are allowed to inject themselves. The age-old battle against hemophilia seemed almost won.

Then the AIDS virus turned up in plasma imported mainly from the United States. The public should bear in mind that hemophiliacs were not exposed to AIDS through licentious behavior. They were put at risk by plasma approved by public health authorities.

Even after the discovery of the deadly virus in plasma, the government, claiming inadequate domestic supplies, did not stop imports. For several years, until heat-treated plasma became available, hemophiliacs were forced to use contaminated blood.

The Hemophiliac Association encourages patients to openly acknowledge their illness, not to furtively conceal it. We urge them to lead a normal life. We have made enormous strides in improving public understanding, but now the government's AIDS bill will turn the clock back.

In Japan, more than half the confirmed AIDS carriers are hemophiliacs. Although the number of people involved is small, that does not diminish their human rights. We oppose any legislation that violates our constitutional rights and privacy.

Our greatest fear is the Japanese mob psychology, the tendency

toward mass hysteria. In the present witch-hunt mood, many are clamoring for draconian controls. Public health officials must devise careful measures; not endorse the community's fear.

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Preparing for the Fourth Wave

By Masanori MORIOKA,

Director, C. Itoh & Co., Ltd.

(From the Toyo Keizai, February 28, 1987)

For Japan to sustain its economic momentum into the 21st century, we must strengthen the scientific base of applied technology and radically improve our national infrastructure. If we succeed, Japan will be an even more dynamic society.

Humanity is riding what Alvin Toffler has dubbed the "Third Wave" revolutionary breakthroughs in electronics; new industrial materials and biotechnology. But another wave is already in the offing.

One ripple is the 5th generation of computers; which will enhance our mental and physical capacities with artificial intelligence. This Fourth Wave will liberate humankind from its dependence on oil, as nuclear fusion supplies cheap; efficient energy. It will take us to unexploited regions -- the ocean floor, the Arctic and Antarctica -- and the colonization of space.

Over the past 10 years, Japan's spending on research and development has trebled. Although we are now second only to the United States; the annual outlay is still one-third the American amount. By 2001, the United States is expected to be spending about \$670 billion annually on R&D. Japan must narrow the spending gap to one-half; allocating at least \$335 billion a year by that time.

This is a tall order; but Japan has no choice. Unless we expand basic research in all fields; we will fall behind. Over the next 15 years the United States will increasingly restrict access to its

scientific and technical information. The American effort to protect intellectual property is already underway.

More money alone will not be enough. By the year 2001, Japan will need about 2.5 million people in R&D, three times the current number. This means new investments in training and laboratories by both the public and private sectors.

We face three major challenges in building a stronger infrastructure. First, there is the population explosion in Tokyo and neighboring prefectures. The capital region has 38 million people now, and that figure will rise to 45 million by 2001. To avoid overcrowding, we must devise bold plans to relocate facilities.

Fortunately, practical solutions already exist: advanced telecommunications combined with a new transportation system of linear-motor trains traveling at speeds up to 500 kph. Some of Tokyo's functions could be transferred to outlying areas, such as the base of Mt. Fuji or Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture. The idea is feasible because information can be processed in real time and travel time to Tokyo could be cut by half or more.

The second item on our agenda is to increase Japan's land area. In March 1986, the Federation of Economic Organizations, the major big-business group, proposed construction of an artificial offshore island. This scheme would add territory and give the domestic economy a much-needed boost.

Japan has the resources -- both technical and financial -- to build several man-made islands. All we need is to coordinate public and private capital and management expertise, and agree to amortize the cost with user fees.

Housing is the third task. By early in the next century, about half of Japan's 39 million residential units will have to be replaced. As we rebuild those aging structures, there will be a golden opportunity to move people out of their cramped "rabbit hutches" into more spacious quarters. Tax incentives for investment in quality housing would finally give Japanese a little elbow room.

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## Female Journalists Barred from Shinto Rites

by Rika YOSHINO, Staff Writer

(From the Mainichi Shimbun, February 20, 1987)

An ancient prejudice against women recently barred two Japanese female reporters from covering religious events. Both journalists were excluded because of Shinto beliefs that women are not ritually pure and cause calamities.

On Feb. 8, Yumi Akiyoshi, 24, a reporter for the Chugoku newspaper, was covering an archery festival at the Nunakuma Shrine in Fukuyama City, Hiroshima Prefecture. To get a better vantage point for photos, she went up on the archers' platform with male journalists. Priests said women were not allowed and removed her from that sacred area.

A few days later in a rural town in Akita Prefecture in northern Japan, Fumiko Hanada, 43, of the Moriyoshi Times was excluded from a Shinto rite at a tunnel site. Priests were praying for the safety of construction workers.

Although sexual discrimination is still an unpleasant reality in Japan, such flagrant treatment of female reporters on assignment is outrageous.

Shinto clergymen insist "the issue is religious, an entirely different dimension from secular sexual equality." But to me as a woman, that is mumbo jumbo to justify male supremacy.

Shigeki Oku, 61, chief priest of the Nunakuma Shrine, is explicit: "Exclusion of women is a Shinto precept, an old custom. The ceremony would be ruined if women entered an area restricted to men who have undergone a purification ritual."

The prohibition on women participating in religious rites stems from the Shinto belief that they are defiled. Buddhism as well, often considered females inherently impure. At one time women were thought incapable of attaining nirvana. Many Buddhist centers, including the famous Mt. Koya outside Osaka, used to ban female pilgrims.

The mountain tunnel in Akita Prefecture is another example of

irrational discrimination. According to tradition, the mountain deity is female. If other women trespass, the jealous goddess will cause havoc -- cave-ins and leakage.

The construction industry has carefully observed this superstition. In March 1985, women were banned from the blasting-through ceremony for the underseas tunnel between Hokkaido and Honshu, the world's longest tunnel. Workers' wives and women reporters were allowed into the site only eight months later, after all the boring was completed.

A construction supervisor, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said, "Most of the workers have old-fashioned ideas. They realize it's a superstition but are afraid of a bad leak or flash flood if women enter the area. We can't ignore the workers' feelings. After all, they're risking their lives under dangerous conditions."

Sumo, the national sport of Japan, is also closed to women. One of the entrants in the 1978 Kid's Sumo Tournament in Tokyo, an annual event staged to help popularize sumo and encourage physical fitness, was a girl. She was disqualified because of her sex.

Dewanoumi, 49, a director of the Sumo Association, says, "You can't fight old customs. In this day and age nobody believes that females are polluted. But that doesn't mean men and women have to compete against each other in everything. There's no way girls can excel in sumo. I think the line must be drawn somewhere. Sumo should be a man's sport."

There is a common theme in this masculine logic. Men know there is no scientific basis for the notion that women are contaminated or cause misfortune, yet they perpetuate the idea. Men want to preserve some fields of male supremacy where women cannot intrude.

Some victories have been won in the struggle against such discrimination. City officials and construction companies tried to keep women away from a tunnel-breakthrough ceremony on the highway linking Kyoto and Shiga Prefecture. A female member of the Otsu city assembly, Keiko Takada, 50, demanded and received a public apology, and attended the ceremony.

Barriers have crumbled in religion, too. Women are allowed to visit Mt. Koya, and their Buddhist training regimen is no different from men's.

Yoko Morosawa, 62, a specialist on women's history, says, "Exclusion of women from religious rites is absurd. In ancient times priestesses handled sacred matters. But as men created a patriarchal society, they charged that women were inferior and unclean, and they became the priests. In areas where male domination is still deeply ingrained, customs and rules excluding women persist."

Sexual equality and religion are not separate spheres of life. On the contrary, enforcement or relaxation of the ritual taboo on women indicates attitudes toward human rights.

Chief priest Oku of the Nunakuma Shrine says, "The local women don't complain a bit. It's outsiders who stir up trouble." He adds that the males-only festival is supported by the whole community, including women.

I think those women have been conditioned to accept their lot. But this sexist ceremony survives because Hiroshima is a conservative prefecture and male supremacy is still taken for granted.

Feminist Morosawa says, "Religious rites inevitably change over time. Women should give history a nudge and hasten the process by speaking out. The exclusion of women reporters from a public event like a shrine festival clearly violates the Constitution."

Amen! No female reporter thinks of herself as a "woman reporter." We are journalists who happen to be women. Why should we be harassed because of our gender.

Yumi Akiyoshi, the reporter involved in the shrine controversy, says, "Being treated as 'unclean' outraged me more than I would have imagined. This experience will influence all my work in the future."

The indignity went beyond religious prejudice against women. "The attitude was that women should stay in their place and cower before men," she says.

"Until this happened, I never challenged convention. It's much easier to go along. But this incident gave me a chance to attack an insulting anachronism."

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Economic Fears Fuel Anti-Semitism

by Yasushi YAMAGUCHI, Professor of Political Science,

Osaka City University

(From the Asahi Shimbun, April 8, 1987)

Two U.S. congressmen recently protested to Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone about the flood of anti-Semitic literature in Japan. The international Jewish conspiracy theory is nonsense, but it sells books here.

As a specialist on modern Germany, I have written extensively about the Hitler era and anti-Semitism. But until I read of the joint letter by Sen. Arlen Specter R-Pa. and Rep. Charles E. Schumer D-N.Y. I was unaware that more than 80 anti-Semitic books had been published in Japan in the last few years.

Japanese know very little about Judaism. The Jewish community here is tiny; nearly all are expatriates from the United States or Europe. Yet some of these books have sold several hundred thousand copies. They reportedly have been avidly read at the Bank of Japan, our elitist central bank!

I bought two of the books by Masami Uno: "The Truth About the Jews," and "The Jewish Threat to Japan." Their combined sales exceed 650,000 copies.

Most of Uno's arguments are specious. He constantly cites the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" as evidence of a "Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world." The Protocols are a notorious forgery by the secret police of Tsarist Russia.

To support his charges, Uno makes many sweeping assertions. He says America's "five great financial groups" and "U.S. multinational corporations" are controlled by "international Jewish capital." No proof is given.

Uno lists several major events that changed world history, including the Great Depression, and says Jews were behind them. But again, he fails to explain how these disparate episodes constitute a Jewish conspiracy.

That these books are a mishmash of hackneyed mischief is obvious from a quick reading. I hate to think that the intellectual level of readers here, particularly the staff of the Bank of Japan, is so low that they would be taken in by this crude humbug.

American sociologist Herbert Passin, who attacked these books in an April magazine article, and the two congressmen link this anti-Semitic literature to Prime Minister Nakasone's disparaging remark last year about certain U.S. minority groups. They see the two events as evidence of growing racism among Japanese.

There is racism in Japan. But I don't think it alone explains the popularity of these books. They are best sellers because of widespread anxiety about the recession and collapse of Japan's economy.

Uno lays all Japan's problems at Jewry's door. He says, "The increase in the yen's value is the first skirmish in a Jewish campaign to take over Japan and that the scheme to "open Japanese markets" is directed by "international Jewish capital." He even claims that foreign complaints about Japan's huge trade surplus are a new "ABCD encirclement" similar to the anti-Japanese bloc formed by Americans, British, Chinese and the Dutch just before the Pacific War.

Uno also prophesies that Jewish money interests will create "a worldwide financial panic" and "destroy Japan by reviving the gold standard." By playing on Japanese fears of economic ruin, Uno can make some readers wonder if there isn't something to the Jewish conspiracy notion.

Uno's central theme reminds me of Adolph Hitler's "Mein Kampf" with its assertion of a Jewish plan to dominate the world. In one section, Hitler predicts "Japan will be destroyed by the Jews."

Anti-Semitism takes many forms. It fanned Nazism because it was linked to the sense of national crisis Germans felt after World War I. There is a similar explanation for the sudden popularity of anti-Semitic publications here. These books and Nakasone's racist comment are both expressions of Japanese nationalism.

Nakasone's remark was a manifestation of the new sense of Japanese superiority or cultural nationalism related to our economic power and the supposedly unique efficiency of Japanese-style management.

The anti-Jewish books, on the other hand, are more a reflection of national anxiety. The rapid rise in the yen -- more than 40 percent since September 1985 -- has aroused fears of a loss of international competitiveness and deindustrialization. Constant U.S. and Europe attacks on Japan's trade surplus only increase our apprehension.

Ethnocentrism and trade friction are entirely separate issues. But there is a very real danger that a sense of cultural superiority could coalesce with a persecution complex: Japan the victim, denied its hard-earned place in the sun.

The last time Japanese and German nationalism developed this aggrieved national psychology, the result was World War II. In light of this bitter history, the scapegoating should stop -- be it Japan-bashing in Washington or conspiracy theories in Tokyo. It's time for Japanese and Americans to reason together.

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Madame Butterfly Flies the Coop  
 by Seiko TANABE, Author  
 (From the Chuo Koron, June 1987)

Japanese middle-class women once revered their hard-working, ambitious husbands, but the modern generation demands emotional satisfaction as well as social status. The result is a quiet feminine revolt against uncaring, egocentric spouses.

Many younger women find themselves unhappily married. Usually, a wife discovers that the man she married for his impressive academic credentials and brilliant career prospects is an insufferable boor who takes her for granted. Unlike their mother's generation, which was taught to obey and endure uncomplainingly, young married women nowadays are likely to dump the clod.

There was a typical case in the Asahi newspaper's "Letters" column recently, a lengthy complaint by a 28-year-old Osaka woman. Married

three years, Yuriko Tanaka (not her real name) dislikes her husband, a graduate of a name college who works for a major corporation.

Yuriko's friends congratulate her on the ideal catch, but she is dissatisfied: The couple can't communicate emotionally. Groomed from childhood for the fast lane, her husband has never experienced a real setback; he lacks compassion for people less fortunate or lucky than himself.

The husband seems to think everybody else is a fool. He is even contemptuous of his own parents. Comments by his wife draw an automatic "You don't know what you're talking about, dummy."

To Yuriko, her husband is the ignoramus. The only part of the newspaper he reads is the work-related business pages. He never reads a novel and has no outside interests. On weekends, he doesn't know what to do with himself.

"This is the kind of narrow, superficial person Japan's high-pressure status-crazy education system turns out -- someone of no use to anyone except the company," Yuriko writes bitterly. But it is her fault, she says, for being impressed by him. "Maybe he's right," Yuriko concluded, "Perhaps I am a fool."

Such feminine discontent is usually aired in the popular women's magazines, where it elicits sympathetic responses from knowing soul sisters. But the Asahi is also read by millions of men, many of them in the top echelons of society. Publication of an acerbic critique of the value system that produces witless wonders like Yuriko Tanaka's husband is encouraging.

In the last few years, more and more emotionally frustrated wives have lambasted their aloof spouses in print. The women all chose mates according to the same criteria: a diploma from a prestigious university, a good job in government or business, and passably good looks.

These women discovered afterwards that Mr. Right was self-centered and supercilious. The numerous letters from turned-off women appearing in the press suggest an epidemic of disaffection.

Many of the comments about lackluster husbands should probably be

taken with a grain of salt. Still, one wonders if these lemons, so feckless at home, are really on the ball at work.

A few years ago, I was in a social situation where I had to chat with the vice-president of a big corporation. I expected a man in his position to be urbane, interesting, a raconteur.

What a shock when his entire conversation consisted of bragging about his alma mater! His equally brilliant son, he pointedly added, had also attended the same school. The preening arrogance of this corporate peacock! I thought to myself, "If a dope like this can make it to the boardroom, you would have to be brain dead to fail in business."

If I sound bitter, it's because I was raised to respect men. I was born in 1928, and women of my day were taught to defer to masculine pride and authority. Thus I was all the more disappointed to discover the truth: The giants were actually pygmies.

Ineffectual elitists make inept fathers and husbands. What happens when women, unable to tolerate male vanity and emotional immaturity any longer, lose respect for their husbands and abandon the role of mother and homemaker?

Many unloved women will end the charade and walk out. The shockwaves are potentially more traumatic than Japan's defeat in World War II.

In 1945, the average citizen blamed the disaster on the Army, Navy and the Tokyo Imperial University, whose graduates entered government service and planned and led the war. The masses still resent the prewar best and brightest who brought the nation to ruin.

But women retained their illusions about men. They worked hard alongside their husbands to rebuild society, helping to achieve Japan's phenomenal postwar recovery.

Today, our faith in men has been strained to the breaking point. Many women have given up on finding personal fulfillment in the marital relationship. The pampered, emotional eunuchs they have for mates don't even realize the marriage is collapsing. When the inevitable blow-up occurs, the perplexed husband will wonder, "What's got into her?"

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Is Japanese Anti-Semitism Covert Anti-Americanism?

by Shuichi KATO, M.D. and Writer

(From the Asahi Shimbun, June 15, 1987)

About 80 anti-Semitic books have been published in Japan in the last few years, some of them selling several hundred thousand copies each. The common theme is a conspiracy the Jews, who control the United States, are behind trade sanctions against Japan. Jews have become a safe surrogate target for anti-Americanism.

Jews, of course, don't run the United States. On the contrary, victims of hostility and prejudice, they have often been excluded from power. The whole idea of a Jewish conspiracy to destroy our economy and dominate the world is ridiculous.

Why has such nonsense made the best-seller list now?

One reason is the popularity of American culture among young Japanese who have adopted the customs, lifestyles and prejudices of U.S. society. The Japanese bias against blacks, despite the fact that there are virtually none here, reflects racism in the United States. If fascination with things American continues, anti-Semitism may well spread here.

Trade friction is a second factor. The United States and the Common Market, angry at Japan's economic invasion and balance of payments surplus, are putting tremendous pressure on Tokyo to open markets and revalue the yen against the dollar. Although some demands are just, others are outrageous. Meanwhile, the recession and growing unemployment have made us feel persecuted. The simplest explanation for our problems is a conspiracy against Japan, however unrealistic.

Conspiracy theories thrive on fear of the unknown. It is easy to blame witches for misfortune, since one has never been seen. From colonial Salem to John Updike's "The Witches of Eastwick," people believe in witchcraft

Few Americans have eaten a meal with a Communist Party member.

The U.S. public believes the Soviet Union is the Evil Empire and everything bad in the world is the result of communist wickedness. They don't realize that "comrades" are also human beings.

The Jewish community here is very small and most Japanese have never talked to a Jew. They haven't sat next to one on the Bullet train from Tokyo to Osaka, for example, and chatted for a few hours. Most Japanese don't take a Jewish conspiracy seriously but think it's an intriguing thesis.

Anti-Semitism is the only way Japanese can safely vent their anti-American feelings. We know our prosperity depends on the United States. That's why there is little criticism of the Nakasone administration's attempts to appease Washington. Frustration at kowtowing to Uncle Sam is converted into anti-Semitism. Jews are the scapegoats for Japan-bashing.

So few Jews live here that the recent spate of hate literature probably has done little harm. But as a barometer of latent hostility to the United States, the implications are ominous.

Another factor is Japanese ethnocentrism. We make a sharp distinction between "us" and "them." Attitudes and behavior differ dramatically depending on whether a person is a member of the in-group or an outsider. This criterion determines relationships among Japanese; it applies in spades to foreigners, the ultimate outsiders.

We tend to divide the world into two categories: Japanese and non-Japanese. Our sense of national identity is so strong that when we meet foreigners, other criteria -- sex, age, or occupation -- fade far into the background. It doesn't matter if the person is a man or woman, young or old, a doctor or call girl. A foreigner is first, last and always a foreigner.

This penchant for lumping all foreigners together has meant that Japanese do not make ethnic distinctions, at least for Caucasians. No one cares whether a foreigner is a Jew or not. Traditionally, Japanese have not been anti-Semitic.

This is not to say we are free of prejudice. Certain minorities

here, such as Koreans, have been severely discriminated against. That domestic prejudice could easily turn into anti-black or anti-Jewish sentiments.

Because Japanese know nothing about Judaism or Israel, they think of Jews as a distinct race. The popular image of Jews is a cross between Einstein and Shakespeare's Shylock, the epitomes of intelligence and greed. Fascination with conspiracy theories may herald an upswing in racial prejudice.

Anti-Semitism here is probably a temporary phenomenon. But the factors behind it -- the Japanese sense of victimization and the anti-American backlash -- will not disappear overnight.

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The Chrysanthemum and Anti-Semitism  
By Tetsuya CHIKUSHI, Senior Staff Writer  
(From the Asahi Shimbun, June 17, 1987)

"What's an old shibboleth like this doing in Japan?" an American friend asked incredulously one day. He was referring to "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion," a forged 19th-century document alleging a Jewish plot to dominate the world, which has cropped up recently in a rash of anti-Semitic books.

Titles like "The Truth About the Jews" and "The Jewish Threat to Japan" have sold several hundred thousand copies. Even Japan's banking elite is reportedly reading these fanciful accounts of a Jewish conspiracy against Japan.

The sudden popularity of anti-Semitic books reflects a shift in Japan's economic fortunes. The yen's rapid appreciation and spreading deindustrialization have sapped our confidence. We need somebody to blame.

The "Protocols," first published in Russia in 1905, was reportedly fabricated by the Czarist secret police, who used it to justify pogroms

The forgery describes a secret meeting in the late 19th century where Jewish elders purportedly worked out a strategy to destroy Christian society and bring the world under Jewish control.

The book became a pillar of Western anti-Semitism. The Nazis revived it in the 1930s to legitimize anti-Jewish laws and later the Holocaust. Although this inflammatory nonsense was thoroughly discredited after 1945, it resurfaces occasionally in places where anti-Semitism persists.

But why in Japan? Best-selling authors like Masumi Uno cite it frequently, warning of a plot to sacrifice Japan on the alter of "international Jewish capital." Publishers, caught in a business downturn, are pushing the Jewish conspiracy theme to boost sagging sales.

These books -- more than 80 to date -- spout some version of a Jewish strategy for world domination. Jews, who allegedly control the Western economies, have orchestrated the sharp increase in the yen's value. Uno even says that Jewish financiers are using Japan's huge trade surplus as an excuse to destroy our economy.

Ironically, Japan is one of the few countries with no history of anti-Semitism. In fact, Japanese-Jewish ties have been exceptionally amicable.

The reason is partly Japan's policy toward Jews in Asia just before and during World War II. Many countries, including some of the anti-Axis nations, refused entry to Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler. Denial of sanctuary often meant certain death. Although Japan was allied with Nazi Germany, it was the only country in the world to accept Jewish refugees unconditionally.

When the Third Reich learned that Tokyo was granting asylum to Jews, a death squad was dispatched to Japanese-occupied Shanghai, where about 15,000 Jews had found refuge, to round up and exterminate them. The situation was complex, but in the end, Japan prevented a massacre of Jews in Asia.

After World War II, Japanese-Jewish cooperation helped to build sound trade relations between Japan and the United States. This country was in ruins, and our only exports were cheap, shoddy goods. Jewish businessmen introduced Japanese products to the U.S. market. In the

early postwar years, they handled about 70 percent of Japan's U.S. trade.

As the quality of our products improved, these middlemen reaped enormous profits. Jews earned the envy and enmity of other American businessmen, who dubbed the close Jewish-Japanese relationship the "J-J connection."

You only have to browse in a Tokyo bookstore to understand why Jewish conspiracy theories sell so well here today. Next to the rows of anti-Semitic books are best sellers on the occult, fortunetelling and prophesy. Japanese are worried about the future. Economic restructuring has caused a wave of bankruptcies and unemployment is rising. The national mood is pessimistic.

People crave simple answers. Arguments pinning the blame for the current economic malaise on a particular group are reassuring and, however absurd, readily believed.

Japanese pride themselves on their cultural refinement and intellectual achievements. But the uncritical acceptance of a racist myth shows an abysmal ignorance of history and international politics. It is a sad commentary on our spiritual condition, too.

Survival in a world of cutthroat economic competition requires clear thinking, shrewd bargaining and fair play. Irrational scapegoating of Jews is a crime against the truth that gravely damages Japan.

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Ollie North and the Kwantung Army

By Shuichi KATO, M.D., Literary Critic

(From the Asahi Shimbun, August 17, 1987)

Last Aug. 15 marked the 42nd anniversary of the end of the Pacific war. My thoughts on the course of U.S.-Japan relations since 1945 were colored by the congressional investigation of the Iran-Contra scandal that had just ended in Washington.

Reading the testimony of Lt. Col. Oliver North sent chills down my spine: The marine's underhanded activities and sanctimonious attitude reminded me of the Japanese army officers who occupied Manchuria in 1931 and led Japan down the path to war.

Most Japanese alive today were born after 1945. Although they cannot be held accountable for the war and its aftermath, they must understand that past in order to avoid repeating it.

In a sense, the war is not over; the legacy of defeat and occupation is still with us. The San Francisco Peace Treaty and the U.S.-Japan security treaty, simultaneously signed in September 1951, have left us at Uncle Sam's beck and call.

Today, the United States maintains military bases throughout Japan. Washington pressures us to increase our defense budget, restrain exports and boost domestic consumption. We have given in to almost all of these demands without a quibble.

In a famous essay, novelist Shohei Ooka "talks" to his comrades-in-arms who died in the Philippines during the final days of World War II. Ooka's call to the war dead was a plea to the living to reject war and rearmament. The Iran-Contra hearings, with their haunting overtone of 1931, made me wonder if the novelist's plea had any effect here.

Lt. Col. North, then a National Security Council aide, played a central role in the secret arms sales to the Iran and the diversion of profits to the Contras. The clandestine operation ignored the will of Congress, which has outlawed both military aid to the Contras and weapons' sales to countries that engage in or support terrorism.

In mid-July, columnist James Reston wrote that for North, the ends justified the means. His objective was to topple the Sandinista administration, a sovereign government. The means was an undercover plot to sidestep the congressional ban on military assistance to rebel forces.

North testified that everything he did was authorized by his superiors and insisted that his conduct was proper. Convinced of the righteousness of his cause, North felt no remorse about deceiving Congress, breaking U.S. law, or betraying the American people.

The colonel's covert activities recall the Japanese Kwangtung Army, whose objective was to gain control of northeast China. Convinced that

its goals were in the national interest, the army command deceived Tokyo about plans for continental conquest.

In September 1931, two colonels blew up the tracks of the South Manchuria Railway outside Mukden and blamed the explosion on Chinese forces. The incident was an excuse to establish a puppet state in Manchuria. The officers misled both the Japanese government and public

The Kwangtung Army officers and Lt. Col. North set themselves above civilian rule. Both were supremely confident in their own judgment.

North was convinced that only he and a coterie of NSC and White House staffers were qualified to decide whether to support terrorist tactics against the Nicaraguan government. They trusted neither the American people, Congress, nor even the secretaries of State or Defense.

Military interference in politics after 1931 led Japan to war. A cabal of ultranationalist officers arrogated the right to set national goals and imposed them on the government in the name of the emperor. The results were catastrophic for Japan and the world.

The United States, of course, cannot be compared with prewar Japan. When press allegations of wrongdoing in the Iran-Contra affair surfaced in November 1986, the U.S. Congress quickly launched an investigation. In the 1930s, the Japanese Diet (parliament) was powerless to subpoena military leaders. The Kwangtung Army acted with impunity.

In both cases, however, military officers believed that their objectives justified disreputable methods. The secretive, arrogant way they defined their agenda is strikingly similar, and equally dangerous.

The most unsettling aspect of Lt. Col. North's performance was his success in playing to the gallery -- the television audience. The mass media lionized North as a man of honor caught in a no-win situation.

The colonel, whose brilliant military career was blazoned across his uniform, came across as a hero, the all-American boy who made it to the top through sheer dedication and hard work. Americans seemed to adore this man who had intentionally deceived them.

In July, columnist David S. Broder of The Washington Post quoted a Michigan housewife as saying, without a trace of irony, "The people here would like to elect Ollie president, just as soon as he's out of jail."

Her explanation: "We expect people in Washington to lie to us. At least he tells you when he is lying and when he isn't."

In prewar Japan, the military lied to the people and invaded China. But the vast majority of Japanese supported this aggression and later the Pacific war. Popular sympathy for Lt Col. North in America seems to reflect the same philosophy: Our country, right or wrong.

On Aug. 15, 1945, the day Japan surrendered, novelist Ooka was in an American prisoner-of-war camp. "The Japanese soldiers were utterly apathetic, as if they didn't care," Ooka later wrote. "I wondered if this was the way people naturally respond to defeat, or the result of a year's captivity."

I was an intern at a hospital in Japan when the war ended. The indifference I saw was the reaction of a people who had fanatically supported a war of aggression and lost. It wasn't uniquely Japanese. A defeated people anywhere would have responded the same way.

Ooka's essay appears in a collection of his writings published this year. Today, as Japan rearms at U.S. insistence and the danger of nuclear warfare looms large, a handful of people like Ooka bid us remember the devastation caused by reckless militarism. If only the dead of World War II could talk.

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