

gicho Station, then Yokohama International Port Terminal and the handsome red brick transit warehouses, built in 1891, that are one of Yokohama's symbols, and finally docks at the eastern end of Yamashita Park, a strip of green along the shore created by dumping the rubble left by the 1923 earthquake into the sea. Two larger excursion boats there offer tours of the harbor, with its ore boats, auto transports, integrated steel mills and LNG storage—a glimpse inside the Keihin industrial belt.

Yamashita Park is a good starting point for exploring Yokohama's old city center. The old Hotel New Grand, MacArthur's first headquarters during the Occupation, is straight ahead, and the Silk Museum, on the site of the original offices of Jardine, Matheson, the first foreign trader to open shop in Yokohama, is a brief stroll to the right or west. The museum celebrates the product that, until the Great Depression, was Yokohama's greatest export. Next door to the Silk Museum are the Yokohama City Archives, which offer special exhibits on local history and maps showing other points of interest in the area.

Continuing further to the west carries one out of the old foreign quarter and into the Japanese quarter, now a business district that happily preserves much prewar Western-style architecture. The Kanagawa Prefectural Museum, housed in the old Yokohama Specie Bank building on Bashamichi, has a good collection of woodblock prints of the Yokohama school. The insurance company owning its neighbor, another German Baroque structure, has recently bowed to preservationist pressure by agreeing to replace the Baroque facade after rebuilding on the site. Sakuragicho Station, the starting point of Japan's railroad history, is nearby.

In the opposite direction from Yamashita Park, past the new Doll Museum, stands the Bluff, once a foreign preserve. Its gracious neighborhoods still preserve an air of spaciousness unusual in urban Japan. The Yamate Museum, opposite the Foreign Cemetery on the Bluff, offers a collection of treaty-port period artifacts and maps in an example

of the wooden Western-style dwellings Japanese carpenters built for the foreign community. A sign at the next corner, by the church, points the way to the Toys Club, a tiny museum of tin toys including generations of robots, dancing mice and fire engines. The paths down past the cemetery lead to Motomachi, a street famous for its high-fashion shops.

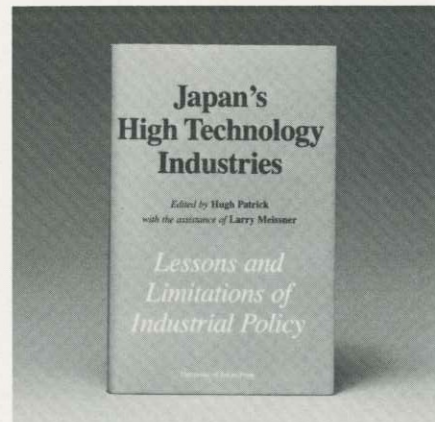
Just across the bridge, back west toward Yamashita Park, is Chinatown. Since the Yokohama Chinese community is largely southern Chinese, the emphasis in its scores of Chinese restaurants is on Cantonese cooking—including *dim sum*—but Peking and Szechuan restaurants are also to be found.

For food plus nightlife, continue west to the bright lights of the Bashamichi and Isezakicho districts. Isezakicho, now an attractive mall, grew up outside the checkpoint as a mercantile and entertainment district. Its narrow sidestreets are full of bars, jazz clubs and restaurants offering everything edible to suit every taste, including those of sailors from ships calling at Yokohama. One sign of their influence is the cluster of Greek restaurants and bars near the Bandobashi subway station.

To historians, Yokohama symbolizes the Meiji success story—the boldness of those who hauled Japan into the industrial world by its bootstraps, who voiced democratic ideas and did away with the feudal system, who risked contact with foreigners to learn what they had to teach. Today, when Japan is again being urged to open itself to the world, Yokohama's story has renewed significance.

Ruth McCreery

Yokohama-based writer and translator



this subject, however, has produced diverse views ranging from industrial policy as a systemic feature of Japanese capitalism to industrial policy as an instrument for building comparative advantage and as a dynamic response to changing circumstances. Proponents of the former view emphasize the centrality of industrial policy in the process of Japanese economic and industrial expansion, while advocates of the latter view tend to minimize industrial policy's role. Such perspectival diversity emanates from differing disciplinary orientations, the former reflecting a political-science approach and the latter an economics approach. However, both accept industrial policy's importance, albeit with varying emphases.

In Japan, industrial policy has not been a subject of political controversy, since it has been recognized as an integral part of the industrial development process.

This book caps the debate. As Hugh Patrick says in his introduction summarizing the industrial policy debate, "This book aims to provide a careful, objective analysis and evaluation of Japanese high-technology industrial policy and assess its relevance for the United States." It is made clear right at the outset that no attempt has been made to provide any theoretical conceptualization of industrial policy, although certain issues are addressed by Patrick and Ken'ichi Imai, in his chapter on high-technology industrial policy. The major concern appears to be the operational part of industrial policy.

Yasusuke Murakami, in his chapter, provides an extremely provocative framework encompassing a broad historical context and identifying the historical and cultural specificity of Japan's technology development process. "The pattern of industrialization is different depending on the type of civilization to which a society belongs," he writes. Murakami seeks to identify a sort of structural linkage in the continuously evolving patterns of technology development and implicitly sees Japan's technology development policy as a new evolving pattern. Industrial policy's period specificity has also been recognized by other authors, namely Patrick, Daniel Okimoto and Imai, but in a more restrictive sense.

The Ministry of International Trade and Industry has been rather forthright in defending

Bookshelf

Japan's High Technology Industries: Lessons and Limitations of Industrial Policy

Edited by Hugh Patrick

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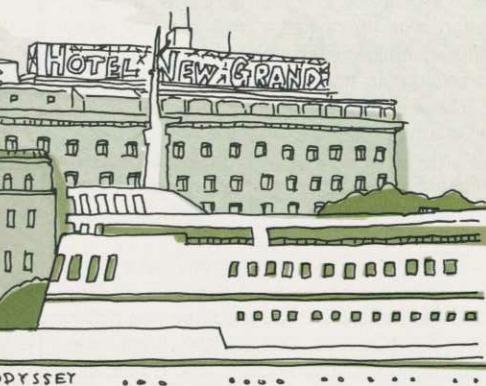
Published in Japan and Asia by the University of Tokyo Press

1986, Tokyo

277 pages; ¥6,000

The term industrial policy has become a major concern in recent years among both scholars and people concerned with public policy in the United States. The heat was essentially generated by the U.S. Semiconductor Industry Association's report depicting Japanese industrial policy in terms of industrial "targeting," and the public policy debate over industrial policy has remained enmeshed in political and ideological considerations ever since.

The search for scholarly understanding of



industrial policy, as well as in unveiling conceptual underpinnings, but no explanation is offered to define the nature of "new technologies." Since this book is concerned with Japan's high-technology industries, the issue has been briefly addressed by Patrick and Imai, respectively, in theoretical and specific-industry contexts. Besides the attributes of new technologies enumerated by Patrick, the commercial aspects of technology development are also worth considering, all the more so in Japan's case. In this volume, biotechnology, the only high-tech area in which Japan maintains a lead by virtue of its accumulated knowledge of fermentation technology, has been rightly chosen as a test case for assessing the Japanese approach to high-tech industries. And "biotechnology is viewed as reaching a stage of development at which, during the next five, 10, and 20 years, its many commercial applications, with complementary developments, will yield an extremely high rate of return on resources committed." In his detailed analysis, Gary Saxonhouse clearly demonstrates that despite biotechnology's obvious promise for business and its potential for fundamentally transforming the entire socioeconomic structure, biotechnology has not been a beneficiary of any preferential government treatment at all—especially in comparison with policy in the U.S., which has allocated massive public funds for R&D in this field.

This comparative tone runs through the entire book. The differences between Japanese and American technology development policies are discussed even more sharply by Kozo Yamamura in an analysis of their differing attitudes toward joint research and antitrust. The difference is largely due to different levels of technology advancement and different financial market conditions obtaining in the two countries rather than the outcome of specifically targeted policies seeking to enhance any comparative advantage. Moreover, it may be pointed out, joint research by a group of companies is not an oligopolistic activity or an industrial targeting activity but may be seen as an extension of group-oriented social behavior at the business level. The *keiretsu* system is another example. Nor can it be said with any certainty that there is no cooperative research in the United States. Defense research, which has been a major source of American high technology, is often organized through cooperation among various companies, and government funding for such research is far more in the U.S. than in Japan.

But can these differences be characterized as systemic? Are Japanese policy instruments aimed at industrial targeting? Okimoto tackles these and other stereotypes about the Japanese economy and explains the operational mechanism of Japan's industrial policy in detail. He implies (and has explained in detail elsewhere) that industrial policy in Japan evolved the way it did primarily due to Japan's relative technological backwardness. But once a gap was closed, state support for that specific technology development dried up. Compared to the traditional policy instruments

of economic growth in other countries, Japanese industrial policy is distinctive not as much in its formulation as in its operation.

According to MITI, the formulation of industrial policy is based on the belief that the market does not necessarily operate efficiently, but at the same time government intervention is premised on the belief that it is only through the strength of market mechanisms that the factors of production can realize their full potential and in turn enhance technology push factors. Okimoto deals with this aspect of industrial policy. But MITI not only promotes market competition; at times it also adopts restrictive measures to correct the ill effects of "excessive competition." Taken together these two aspects suggest that MITI's major concern has been to avoid a zero-sum game and to create positive conditions in which business can flourish through a zero-plus game.

One of the major themes that run through the book is whether there are any lessons for America in Japanese technology development policy. George C. Eads and Richard R. Nelson specifically address this question in their joint contribution, saying that at a basic level the U.S. and Japanese policies do not differ in their intent and whatever differences remain at the operational level put serious limitations on the lessons of the Japanese model for America. In any case, much of what Japan has practiced as industrial policy is itself based on American experience. United States industrial policy is that of a technology leader, while Japan's is that of a pursuer. Japan's policy may be more appropriately described as a commercial technology development policy. So long as this difference remains, there will be limitations to the Japanese experience's model value. America's own past experience with technology policy may be a better guide than any attempt to emulate Japanese policies.

This book will go a long way toward correcting some of the stereotypes and misperceptions that exist about the Japanese economy.

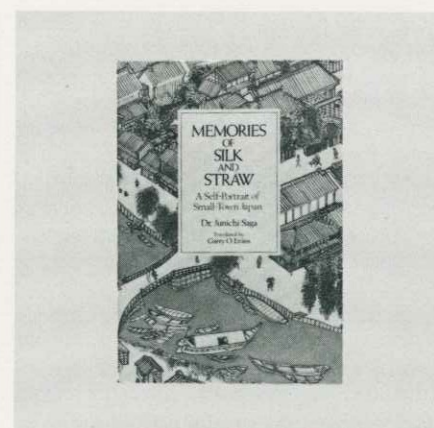
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Memories of Silk and Straw: A Self-Portrait of Small-Town Japan

By Junichi Saga
Published by Kodansha International
1987, Tokyo
258 pages; ¥3,500

Memories of Silk and Straw is one of the most delightful books to come out of Japan in a long time. The memories are those of townspeople and peasants living in and around the town of Tsuchiura during the early years of this century. Tsuchiura, 70 km northeast of Tokyo in Ibaragi Prefecture, is on the shores of Lake Kasumigaura. Since this marshy area was not



well-suited for rice farming, it was relatively poor. The "silk" and "straw" of the title refer to the different classes of people whose reminiscences make up this book. Silk denotes the upper classes, straw the peasants.

These reminiscences were compiled by Junichi Saga, a local physician, who, as Japan grew more and more modern and more and more wealthy, was intrigued by the stories he heard from his older patients about growing up at a time when the country was barely out of the feudal period. Dr. Saga started taping the tales that his patients told him, and then, as he grew more fascinated by the material he was acquiring, he went out with his tape recorder after office hours and taped anyone who would talk to him.

This book is a distillation of hundreds of hours of interviews. It contains the recollections of 58 men and women, each speaking in his or her own words. The fisherman's wife, the tofu maker, the geisha, the reed thatcher, the midwife, the boy who daily carried fresh eggs to Tokyo in a giant backpack, the charcoal maker, in fact an entire cross section of society is represented.

We get a vivid picture of small-town life in provincial Japan. The rice farmers, mostly tenant farmers, were often hard put to pay the landlord his yearly quota of rice, because too much rain in this low-lying area could spoil the crop. In bad years, tenants camped out on the landlord's doorstep, begging him to reduce their rent so they would not lose the land they were farming. In good years, when they came to pay their rent, the landlord gave each farmer a meal of all the rice and salted salmon he could eat, plus unlimited sake to drink. Fish was a delicacy to these peasants, normally eaten only on holidays, and they put away huge quantities of it at the landlord's table before returning home.

Those who were not fortunate enough to live on a farm or over a shop often lived in rows of tenements in Tsuchiura's back alleys, constructed by landlords who collected the night soil from tenants and sold it to farmers for use as fertilizer.

The fishermen who lived in this watery area generally had a somewhat better life than the tenant farmers. Lake Kasumigaura was rich in fish, so much so that people sometimes caught more than they could sell. The advan-

tage of being a fisherman instead of a farmer, according to a fisherman's wife, is that fishermen received cash the same day they hauled in a catch, whereas farmers worked in the fields every day but never received any money until the harvest was in.

While life for a fisherman may have been relatively better than that for a farmer, the life of a fisherman's wife was, in her own words, "never sweet and easy." Mrs. Nemoto, born in 1899, describes how she used to get up at about 1:00 a.m. to draw water from the well, carry it back to the house and cook the rice. They got out on the lake as early as possible, in order to stake out a good position for fishing. After a day's hard work on the lake, they returned home in midafternoon and she cooked and cleaned the house. Then she tended their few paddy fields. "The only chance I ever had to do any laundry was at ten or eleven at night, and I'd end up hanging it out by the light of the moon. Mind you, clothes weren't washed anything like as often as they are now—there just wasn't time."

Mrs. Nemoto helped her husband on the

boat even when she was nine months pregnant. In her second pregnancy, contractions started on the boat and they didn't make it back to land in time. Their daughter was born on the boat, and they named her Urako, or "child of the lake."

Several people in this book speak of the process of "thinning out," whereby unwanted children were smothered at birth. One woman describes how she had been not only smothered, but, according to her mother, bound up in rags as well. Later, to everyone's surprise, the bundle of rags started moving. When they unwrapped the bundle, it screamed so lustily that they decided the child must be fated to live. So, not wishing to bring bad luck down on the household, they allowed the young female infant to live. In spite of being ugly, a husband was eventually found for her.

Poverty was apparent in other ways as well. "We never wore shoes," says one man. "Both farmers and fishermen went barefoot all the year round. It was only after the war that country people started wearing shoes . . ." When it rained, the farmers in those days used to wear

straw raincoats and bamboo hats. In the hot summer months, they wore short coats made of straw. These kept the sun off while allowing air to circulate. They were worn by peasants in this area until as late as the 1950s, according to the village blacksmith. This same smith describes how his family could not afford kerosene for a wick, much less oil for a lamp. In order to do his homework when he was in primary school, he used to catch fireflies in a bag (not a jar; none was available) and study by their glow.

Memories of Silk and Straw will be most rewarding reading for anyone who wants a sense of what it was like to live in the Japan of another era. These times are now fortunately well in the past, but the hard work of the people who lived through them, the dedication with which they went about their work and the good-naturedness that prevailed in the face of adversity are still very much a part of life in Japan today.

Mary Coriander
Tokyo-based writer

Taste of Tokyo

Kisso

Most visitors to Japan, having gone to all the trouble of getting here, wish to experience a typical Japanese meal at least once before they depart. Yet in fact, it is far more difficult than one would imagine to find a moderately priced restaurant offering traditional Japanese cuisine. Indeed, when it comes to *kaiseki ryori* (*kaiseki* cuisine), the zenith of traditional Japanese fare, even most Japanese would quail before the expensive-looking restaurant portals.

But gourmets take heart. At Kisso, located in the basement of the Axis Building in Roppongi, it is possible not only to enjoy authentic *kaiseki ryori*, but to do so on a relatively modest budget.

An explanation is in order. About 1,000 years ago, there was found in Japanese court society a cuisine called *honzen ryori*, which took hours to eat because of the complicated ceremonies involved. As a counterpoint to this cumbersome fare, a simple yet substantial party cuisine was developed. It is this simplified meal that became established some 200 years ago in the Edo period as *kaiseki ryori*.

The standard *kaiseki ryori* menu consists of seven items: *sashimi* (sliced raw fish), *suimono* (Japanese-style consommé), *kuchitori-bachi* (hors d'oeuvre served in a small bowl), *umani* (vegetables of the season boiled in *dashi* (broth)), *yaki-zakana* (broiled fish), *sunomono* (vinegared vegetables or seafood), and *miso* (soybean paste) soup.

Kisso means "good tidings" in Japanese. It is a felicitous choice. Stepping inside, the diner is first struck by the austere simplicity of the interior. With the passing of time, however, one realizes that much money has been spent on honing a delicately sophisticated sensibility. Large black-and-red lacquered tables and the natural grain of the unpainted counter create a restful atmosphere that lulls the guest into forgetting the dust and din of the city outside and draws him into a world of fantasy.

The utensils and all other appointments are in perfect harmony with the high tone of traditional Japanese *kaiseki ryori*. The West intrudes only in the extensive list of excellent French wines. A highly skilled sommelier is present to assist the guest in experiencing with his own palate a harmonious blend of the Orient and the Occident. No wonder that Kisso

was featured in the December 11, 1983, edition of the *New York Times* under the headline, "Life Beyond the Ginza Glitter."

Kisso offers three dinner courses priced at ¥8,000, ¥10,000 and ¥12,000, excluding drinks. The lunchtime offering is ¥2,000. *Minikaiseki* is also available for ¥3,500, as is *kaiseki* with a glass of wine for ¥5,000. Visitors should try without fail the Japanese cuisine offered by Kisso. I recommend it with the greatest confidence.

(Yoshimichi Hori, editor-in-chief)

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Roppongi 5-chome, Minato-ku
Telephone: (03) 582-4191
Business hours: 11:30–14:00; 17:30–21:00
(last order). Closed Sundays

