

Outside Tokyo

Yokohama: Symbol of Meiji Success

Yokohama, 30 minutes south from Tokyo Station on the JR Tokaido or Yokosuka line, is Japan's second-largest city, with a population of more than 3 million. As Japan's leading port, Yokohama is the world's third busiest, topped only by Rotterdam and Singapore.

No one would have imagined, 130 years ago, that Yokohama would become what it is today. In 1854, when Commodore Matthew C. Perry sailed his black ships deep into Tokyo Bay to force the shogun to allow U.S. ships access to Japanese ports, Yokohama was a backwater, its only distinction an excellent harbor, sheltered and deep, with its potential for overseas trade. That, however, was just what the firmly isolationist policy of the Tokugawa shoguns opposed: no oceangoing ships, no foreign trade and no foreigners with their dangerous religious and political ideas.

The modern history of Yokohama began just four years later, in 1858. At that time, Kanagawa, a post town on the Tokaido, the main highway between Edo and Kyoto, was the treaty port on Tokyo Bay. It was there that foreign consuls first took up residence, in temples that survive as postwar reconstructions, in what is now the Higashi Kanagawa district of Yokohama. Their stay was brief, however, for Japanese officials were worried about the foreigners' exposed position in the bustling post town and the international reprisals that would follow if they were cut down by xenophobic swordsmen.

Reluctantly the consuls removed to the suggested alternative, the nearby fishing village of Yokohama, which they were appalled to discover was a tiny, impoverished village on a marshy, mosquito-infested spit of shore, far from the highway and the centers of power. The villagers were relocated to the far side of a canal built to join the existing streams and to form, with the sea, a moat around the foreign settlement. A checkpoint or *kan* set up at the entrance gave the area its present name, Kannai, "within the checkpoint."

From village to city

Its isolation quickly ended, however, when a road was built to link the new settlement with the Tokaido; it was soon busy with loads of raw silk en route to the port. Between its proximity to the capital and its excellent harbor, Yokohama attracted foreign traders, followed by Japanese merchants and financial institutions, and a lively commercial community grew up. Ambitious Japanese flocked to Yokohama

and what they learned gave the city a long list of firsts in the 1860s and 1870s: the first railroad in Japan, the first illuminating gas works, modern water supply and sewer system, telegraph, photographer's shop, match factory and overseas mail service. Other innovations met the peculiar needs of the foreign community—the first ice cream shop and laundry, the first restaurant serving Western-style food, the first brewery and bakery, along with Western-style buildings, a modern hospital, shops selling Western-style clothing and the first public restroom.

By the 1880s, Yokohama's foreign population had topped 3,000, and it grew to nearly 5,000 in the 1890s, when more than half the foreigners resident in all the treaty ports lived in Yokohama. Over half were Chinese, the first Chinese having come as managers and clerks in Hong Kong-based trading firms.

The Kannai had Japanese houses and shops to the west, foreign houses to the east, with foreign residences spilling out of the Kannai up to the top of the bluff overlooking it on the east. The city, with its Western-style buildings, large foreign community and stores offering exotic goods, was the place to go for things Western, whether one needed a pair of gloves or a chance to learn English.

Despite massive destruction by the great earthquake of 1923 and World War II air raids, Yokohama's downtown retains the city plan set in the 1860s. Its international origins, moreover, give Yokohama a distinct identity. Its association with alien ideas, its foreign communities, tree-lined streets and old, Western-style buildings, combined with the human scale of the compact city center, make Kannai a refreshing contrast to the endless sprawl of Tokyo.

Leave the train at Yokohama Station, however, and the city presents its newest face, consumerism rampant. Here are the major department stores, including the Sogo, which claims to be the world's largest, together with hundreds of boutiques and restaurants, in miles of underground and vertical malls. No wonder many who live in the southern part of Tokyo choose to come here to shop—the Yo-

kohama Station area sells almost everything in a much more compact radius than Tokyo's shopping districts.

This new part of the city owes its existence to transportation needs. In the 1860s, the Tokaido ran along a slight rise of land beneath the bluffs that rear sharply up from the flat, heavily built-up area that now surrounds the station. The Kanagawa post town was on the hillside to the far right, while the highway curved inland to the left, with a new branch running down to the Kannai, to the left and rear. What is now the Yokohama Station area was under water, a deep inlet in the bay. When plans were made, in 1869, to build a railroad between Yokohama, starting at what is now Sakuragicho Station at the east end of the Kannai, and Tokyo, building the straightest possible route meant doing something about that inlet: building a dike across its mouth on which tracks could be laid. The salt lake behind the dike was gradually filled in, and the inlet eventually became some of the most valuable real estate in Japan.

Seeing the city today

The visitor can still reach Sakuragicho and the Kannai from Yokohama Station in a few minutes by trains that continue along the original route, but on a sunny day it is more relaxing and more informative to approach the old heart of the city by sea.

A comfortable, inexpensive water taxi, the *Sea Bass*, leaves every half hour from a pier to the left of the Sogo Department Store on the east side of Yokohama Station. It slips past the Sogo and neighboring warehouses and barges, then comes upon a huge landfill project. The site being developed is the Minato Mirai 21 (Future Port 21) project. This ¥320 billion development is scheduled to include intelligent office buildings, condominiums, a convention center and an art museum, all to link the new Yokohama Station area with the Kannai while opening the 21st century city to its seagoing, international heritage.

The water taxi passes the *Nippon Maru*, an old windjammer open to visitors near Sakura-



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.

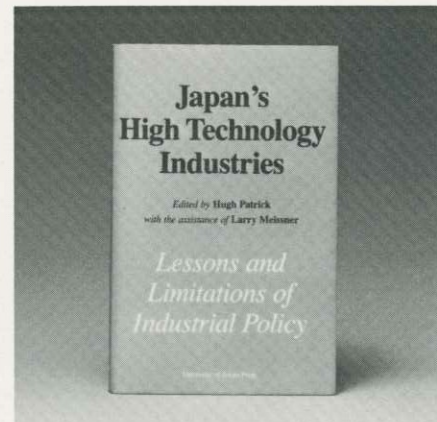
Just across the bridge, back west toward Yamashita Park, is Chinatown. Since the Yokohama Chinese community is largely southern Chinese, the emphasis in its scores of Chinese restaurants is on Cantonese cooking—including *dim sum*—but Peking and Szechuan restaurants are also to be found.

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.

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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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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

