

Japanese and Western literature with his detailed practical knowledge of the situation at Japan's universities, to analyse all aspects of the role of the university system for regional disparities. This book sets an excellent example for geographical studies on a certain sector of a country or region. It proves that cultural aspects can be successfully integrated into regional research, and thus regional policies can be adapted to local conditions without losing the global context. This study should not be ignored by anyone interested in social or economic studies of Japan, as the education system is crucial for the explanation of many other phenomena. A Japanese translation would add a new aspect to the discussion on education in Japan, as there exists no other study as comprehensive as this.

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GLENN D. HOOK and MICHAEL A. WEINER (eds.), *The Internationalization of Japan*. London: Routledge, 1992. XX, 325 pages, £ 50.00 (ISBN 0-415-07138-0)

This volume contains 17 contributions - mostly by Japanese academics - to a symposium held at Sheffield University in September 1989. They cover economic, political, sociological and educational aspects of the current "internationalization" of Japan. Predictably, the resulting collection of articles is uneven both in quality and focus: no less than six authors offer their own extensive and multifaceted definitions of that elusive buzz-word "internationalization", which in the Japanese form *kokusaika* often represents a slogan rather than cosmopolitan practices or attitudes.

In two most interesting introductory chapters Andrew Gamble and Richard Falk cover an expansive Anglo-Saxon definition of "internationalization": hegemonic roles of Britain and of the US. Gamble, a professor at Sheffield, traces the British fascination with the (inevitable) decline of great powers like the UK and the US. Professor Falk of Princeton in contrast sees a continued world role for the US in a possible "creative division of labour" with Japan, the latter playing essentially a pay master role for US global endeavors.

Both authors, however, fail to spell out the consequences of what they see as "the emergence of Japan as the leading world economy" (Gamble, p. 30), with the country however lacking "the military capability and

political will to reinforce its formidable economic and cultural capacity" (Falk, p. 33).

In an article on the North American and Asian strategy of Japan's car industry Professor Koichi Shimokawa of Hosei University gives a glimpse of what is in store economically: After reporting Japanese firms' misgivings about the shortcomings of the education, "quality" and loyalty of the US "indigenous" workforce and the unreliability of its component manufacturers (p. 152), he concludes: "The single greatest challenge to Japanese industry is whether it can alter the traditional labour practices and production systems in the US and the Asian NIEs. It will probably not be possible to impose a complete transformation, but ... It will be through the gradual modification of existing practices and the careful introduction of Japanese technology and methods that a new industrial culture will emerge" (p. 170).

Welcome to the brave new Japanized world.

Most Japanese authors, however, use more subtle "external" and "internal" definitions of "internationalization" - "external" meaning increased physical and human exchanges with the world, and "internal" implying attitudinal changes of the ethnocentric Japanese towards the unloved outsiders (*gaijin*) from abroad.

*Prima facie*, the statistics of "external internationalization" appear impressive. Each year some 9 million Japanese travel abroad. 270,000 Japanese reside abroad, including 40,000 children, and 60,000 students who study mostly in the US. Worldwide, Japanese companies have hired some 1,6 million foreign employees (but none of them for any executive function in Japan). 2 million foreigners visit Japan each year, 950,000 foreigners live in Japan, mostly long-term Korean (700,000) and Chinese (130,000) residents, making up less than 1% of Japan's population of 123 million, and there are 25,000 foreign students at Japanese universities.

Three articles focus on immigration to Japan and on the deplorable situation of the estimated 150,000 illegal foreign laborers - mostly Filipino, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Korean, Thai and Taiwanese. The men work in construction, metal working sweat shops and in unskilled services, doing dirty, dangerous and menial work which Japanese workers no longer wish to do. The women (Filipina and Thai mostly) work in Japan's sex industry. All of these illegal laborers are paid substandard wages without social benefits or medical care, are bullied by gangster-affiliated labour contractors, are subjected to police harassment and continuously threatened with deportation (14,000 are deported each year). Kazuo Nimura documents well the Japanese mainstream unions' support

of deportation policies and for a continued ban on immigration of unskilled labour (pp. 251/2). At the height of Japan's labour shortage the unions claimed to fear increased unemployment and reduced wages and working conditions as a result of immigration.

Yet, a certain level of illegal employment is *de facto* tolerated by the public authorities. Ryuhei Hatsuse observes rightly: "This 'decision of indecision' has resulted in a tacit acceptance of the status quo and of the continued exploitation of migrant workers by unscrupulous employers and labour brokers" (p. 230).

Takekazu Ehara of Kyoto University deals with "internationalized education". Yet he also has to admit systematic discrimination of Japanese returnee children (some 11,000 each year) in Japan's conformist and examination-oriented education system. Demanding that Japan's schools and universities should promote "empathy, understanding of other peoples and cultures and a feeling of responsibility towards world problems" (p. 22), the late Yasushi Sugiyama has to concede the failure of the Japanese education system to promote this desired "internal internationalization" which is also evident in Japanese public stone-heartedness vis-à-vis the plight of foreign refugees, animal species threatened by extinction, human rights abuses or environmental degradation abroad. His sad conclusion: "Closed mindedness in the character and attitude of the Japanese people ... appears one of the major obstacles to their internationalization" (p. 85).

While most of the 17 articles are readable, instructive and by and large critical self-appraisals, there are four exceptions: Ipeei Yamazawa (Hitotsubashi University) on "Gearing economic policy to international harmony" and Susumu Takahashi (Tokyo University) on the "Internationalization of Kanagawa Prefecture", have produced propaganda pieces on official economic policies and on the splendid governor of Kanagawa prefecture respectively, articles which are short of critical evaluation and informative value.

Even more annoying is the article by Taizo Yakushiji (Keio University) on "Japan's political change towards internationalization". Not only does he manage to get all his references to European history wrong, his command of and judgement on Japanese politics and contemporary history are equally weak. A selection: Prewar Japan was not managed by senior bureaucrats guided by "noblesse oblige" (p. 174): There was plentiful corruption, repression and imperialist aggression. In 1932 the political system did not come to an "abrupt end" (p. 174), it continued, albeit with a strengthened role of the army and navy. The "LDP's

factional system is an innovative device which enables the party to avoid internal political paralysis" (p. 183). Most political analysts, including LDP politicians, would disagree. Yakushiji's American analogies are frightfully off the mark: He observes "American mass democracy at the local level in Japan" (p. 177), sees the "Americanization of voting patterns" in Japanese politics (p. 188) and calls corrupt ex-Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka a "typical grass roots politician in the American mould" (p. 177), overlooking the fact that Chicago-style "machine politics" - which has been perfected by the LDP's gerontocracy - in the US did not survive the 1960s. As for political corruption, the recruit scandal did not surface under Nakasone's rule, as Yakushiji seems to believe (p.188), but under his successor Takeshita in 1989.

Finally, there is an article by Professor Masao Honibe providing a thoroughly researched legal analysis of data protection in Japan. There is nothing wrong with the chapter - if only there were but the faintest connection to the overall theme of the book.

In concluding the volume, Shuichi Kato addresses "internationalization" as a slogan and for what it *de facto* stands in Japan: a "desire for smoother communication and for better cultural exchange" (p. 311) in the face of growing friction with North America and Europe, where some industrial sectors are under serious threat by the Japanese export drive, and with the Third World whose natural resources Japan had remorselessly exploited. In the view of this reviewer the "internationalization" concept propagated by the nationalist Nakasone administration was (and remains) intended to make Japan, its power elite and its cadres fit for Japan's planned roles as a regional hegemonic power and as global corporate headquarters.

Fortunately, however, Kato concludes on a skeptical note as regards the prospects of success of the "internal internationalization": Japanese traditional values which reject outsiders and minority opinions in favour of insiders and conformity are seen as thoroughly persistent. Kato is equally critical of the quantitative "successes" of external internationalization: Larger Japanese expatriate colonies simply mean more autarchy of these self-chosen ghettos and less communication with the host country. Equally pointless is organized group tourism abroad. With the Japanese mind unlikely to change, *kokusaika* risks becoming a discarded slogan when a more aggressive and short-sighted Japanese neo-nationalism finally takes over, Kato rightly warns.

In sum, Hook and Weiner have compiled an interesting volume with mostly stimulating articles on the trendiest Japanese slogan of the late

1980s. The book largely succeeds in extracting substance from public relations. It leaves, however, unanswered that key question: Whither Japan, the economic superpower, bared of diplomatic and PR niceties in the neo-nationalist future?

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