

Any discussion of "intelligence", "feminism" and "individualism" in any European language would have led to a very similar conclusion. - D.P. MARTINEZ succeeds in proving that the inhabitants of sight-seeing spots like the pearl-divers' paradise of Kuzaki are not only victims of tourism, but "are as capable of practising 'touristic imperialism' as are the visitors to their village". What keeps their village together in the face of tourism seems to be devotion to traditional and exclusive religious activities. It would have been desirable to hear more about this seemingly important point. Michael ASHKENAZI does treat it, but only to introduce his method of "corporate analysis" of Japanese society. It is an important finding that though Japan may be labeled as a group-oriented society, the concrete meaning of "group" varies from case to case. Ashkenazi calls them "interconnected corporate units, each one exhibiting its own autonomy". Finally, Arne KALLAND presents a short history of the Japanese concept of the "closed sea" as opposed to the Western "open sea" concept and its consequences for fishing rights and coastal management. This form of maritime politics secured the livelihood of (a restricted number of) fishermen and prevented them from overfishing and overcapitalization. Further research into the global history of sea tenure could indeed offer valuable alternatives to the "narrow Western conception of the sea".

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SEIZABURO SATO, KENICHI KOYAMA AND SHUMPEI KUMON, *Postwar Politician. The Life of Former Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira*. Tokyo/New York: Kodansha, 1990. 640 pages, US\$ 39.95

As Masayoshi Ito rightly points out in his postscript, this is only the second biography ever published in a Western language on a leading Japanese post-war politician (the first being John D. Dower's biography of Shigeru Yoshida (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

From 1960 until his death in 1980 Masayoshi Ohira was a key actor in Japan's political scene. He was Japan's last Prime Minister who originated from Yoshida's school of elite bureaucrats to join the LDP parliamentary faction.

Ohira - in contrast to today's "second generation" LDP leaders - had an eventful, varied life and developed a complex, introverted and intellectually oriented personality, thus providing fascinating material for any biographer attempting to chart the man's developments, his values, motives and achievements.

The authors, professors of social science at leading Japanese universities, have produced a remarkable volume. It is thoroughly researched, well arranged and succeeds in that most difficult task of all biographers: to reconstruct plausibly Ohira as a person, as an intellectual and as a successful public servant and senior politician. In spite of its length - 590 pages of largely chronological narrative - the book remains readable and offers fascinating insights for anyone interested in the inner workings of Japan's political scene. The authors, who had served on some of Ohira's prime ministerial advisory councils, have produced an "authorised" biography, with access to private archives and with the active support of the Ohira Memorial Foundation.

Their partisanship is, however, by and large unobtrusive and not completely uncritical. While clearly sympathetic to their subject, the book is no hagiography. Sometimes, however, the reader is asked to read between the lines. This is particularly evident when it comes to Ohira's local support organization, possible "pork barrel politics" in the constituency, his management of the "Kochikai" (the former Ikeda faction which Ohira led from 1971 until 1980) and its finance, and the intra LDP power struggles he had to undertake and survive. These significant omissions somehow mar the authors' otherwise convincing portrait of Ohira as an intelligent, diligent, and conscientious conservative politician, who rose through the ranks virtually due to the quality and persistence of his hard and dedicated loyal work.

Masayoshi Ohira was born in 1910 as the third son of a farmer of average standing in rural Kagawa prefecture on Shikoku island. Against all odds, he graduated from middle and high school and in 1933 entered what is today's Hitotsubashi University. After passing the higher civil service examination, Ohira joined the Ministry of Finance (MOF) in 1936 as an elite track official. One year later at the tender age of 27 he was appointed a director at the Yokohama Tax Office. After two years he was promoted to head of the finance administration in Japanese-occupied Inner Mongolia. During the war he eventually returned to Tokyo to work in various middle management MOF taxation and budget functions, including a short spell as secretary to Finance Minister Juichi Tsushima in the spring of 1945. Ohira continued his MOF career uninterrupted after the war (his family home was burned down during one of the Tokyo air raids). In 1949 he became secretary to Finance Minister Ikeda (Prime Minister between 1960-64) until he left MOF to be elected as a Member of Parliament for Kagawa's 2nd District in 1952, being reelected to the Diet ten times since. Ohira rapidly rose in the LDP, continuing to deal with fiscal affairs.

Already in 1957 he was appointed deputy chairman of the LDP's Policy Research Council, and in 1960 he became Premier Ikeda's trusted Chief

Cabinet Secretary until appointed Foreign Minister (1962-64). Later Ohira served as Minister of International Trade and Industry (1968-70), again as Foreign Minister (1972-74), then as Minister of Finance (1974-76), LDP Secretary General (1976-78) and, finally, was elected prime minister of Japan on 7.12.1978. He served in this function until his death by heart attack on 12th June 1980 amidst a full rebellion within the LDP in which the Fukuda and Miki factions had temporarily allied themselves with the opposition parties. His death contributed to a landslide LDP victory on 22.6.1980, placing his successor Zenko Suzuki firmly in office.

In their chronological account of Ohira's life the authors clearly play safe in sticking to the official versions of the political events. Sometimes the reader feels uneasy for obviously not being told the full story. Messieurs Sato and Co. are after all "authorized" academics, not investigative journalists. About Ohira's local and national support organization we hear very little in the book, except for their early familial and "old-boy" beginnings. Its long-term manager, his older brother, later served as a three-term mayor of Toyohama until his death in 1976. Furthermore, we learn next to nothing about how local support was organized, how campaign funds were spent, or - even more of a taboo - how they were collected. Still, the reader learns a lot about contemporary Japanese politics and its inner workings. Most of Ohira's contemporaries are still active in key roles on Japan's political stage.

What strikes one most is the absolute predominance of factional movements and occasional warfare in the minds and actions of Japan's political leaders. Maneuvers to succeed as faction chief or prime minister seem to absorb most of their energies and imagination. The government's agenda appears by contrast to be more the result of accidents (scandals, elections, foreign policy disasters) than of conscious programmatic design. Prime Minister Ohira's political career appears as a reflection of this observation - as would the biography of almost any other leading Japanese post-war LDP politician.

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