

Research Note

Japanese Responses to the Process of Globalization

— Positive, Negative, or Ambiguous? —

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Introduction

It is said that the earth was a beautifully shining blue star to the eyes of astronauts in space shuttles orbiting around it. Naturally, they could not recognize the lines called 'national boundaries,' demarcating the nations on the surface of this beautiful earth. This epoch-making human experience is said to have contributed to enhancing the idea among many peoples on the earth that they are all in the same boat, sharing the same common destiny.

The Japanese are not behind other peoples in sharing this idea. Idealistic universalism has often been hunted for in the course of Japanese history. Immediately after the end of World War II a famous novelist (by name of Naoya Shiga) proposed to adopt French as the Japanese national language hoping that the Japanese could get rid of their narrow ethnocentric nationalism (which, of course, had destroyed this nation bitterly enough in the Pacific War), by adopting this universal language. Historically speaking, this nation was not as closed to the outside world as it was frequently said to be. Some scholars even argued that the first imperial court which integrated Nippon for the first time in the fourth century (The Imperial Court under queen Himiko) was originated from a nomad tribe coming from the Chinese Continent (*Kiba Minzoku Seifuku Setu*=The Theory of Nomad Conquest of Japan). Consequently many people migrated from the Chinese Continent through the Korean peninsula and even from Southeast Asia, thus blending themselves into the present Japanese people. We can also point out several periods in the course of Japanese history when Japanese introduced, absorbed, and modified many foreign cultural ingredients to enrich their own culture, Buddhism in the Heian

period (the eighth to twelfth century) and Christianity in the Momoyama period (the sixteenth century), to mention a few.

As for the usage of 'internationalization' and 'globalization', these two words are roughly used interchangeably though there is a slight difference in nuance. Needless to say, the former is employed to imply the process of increase in the relationship among nations, or modern sovereign states, including political, economic, and cultural, while the latter is to indicate the process of involving more and more peoples from different countries into the common activities which spread beyond the national boundaries. It also suggests the increase of relationships among the people of different nations and of different levels, including both 'governmental' and 'non-governmental'.

The construction of this article is as follows; first some of the reality in terms of Japanese internationalization will be presented; then its peculiar characteristics (against the 'ideal type' of internationalization) will be examined. Then, reasons for such 'peculiarity' will be searched for, this task being followed by some of my personal views on the prospect of Japanese internationalization in the years to come, which, frankly speaking, is still a puzzle to me as well as to many Japanese.

Undeniable Facts: Japanese Involvement in Globalization

In order to clarify the facts about Japanese involvement in the globalization process of contemporary human history, the following five aspects are to be examined, namely 1) *mono* or material goods, 2) *kane* or money, 3) *gyōho* or information, 4) *hito* or human beings, and 5) *kokoro* or spirit.

1) *Mono* or material goods

The first and most salient aspect of Japanese involvement into the international activities is 'economic'. The Japanese are notoriously known as an 'economic animal' all over the world, aggressively active in selling the products 'made in Japan' which they produce rather efficiently, but cannot consume all by themselves. Since the end of the Second World War, the Japanese have been determined to establish a trading nation concentrating their efforts on the development of economic activities. Despite some criticism that they were what is called a 'free-rider', protected under the American military umbrella, Japan simply worried about nothing but the growth of their own economy, of which the momentum first took place with the beginning of the Korean War. During the 1960s the 'Double-Income Program' was introduced and Japanese economy had expanded to the point that it became the second largest in the Free World only surpassed by the United States of America. The present general picture of Japanese foreign trade is as follows:

The statistics of custom clearance indicate that Japan's total foreign trade, including exports and imports, was 273,321 million dollars in 1983, a tiny increase of 0.9 percent over 1982. While the amount of exports showed a rise of 5.8 percent over the previous year, reflecting, among other things, economic recovery in the United States, imports suffered a 4.2 percent decline due mainly to reduced crude oil prices. As a result, Japan's trade surplus soared by 13,634 million dollars over 1982 to 20,534 million dollars. The surplus rose above the 20-billion-dollar mark for the first time, recording the highest level in history. (*Nippon: a charted survey of Japan 1984-85*, p. 81)

Surrounded by the protectionist climate on the part of the United States and Europe, the Japanese are compelled to import more goods from foreign countries and to consume more in their domestic market. It is said today that when you sit at the 'Sushi-Bar' (one of the most favorite and traditional

Japanese cuisine using various kinds of seafood including raw fish) in Tokyo, you can see Sushi materials all coming from every corner of the earth: salmon from Canada, shrimp from Indonesia, and tuna from the Pacific. Adding to a variety of Japanese 'sake' (traditional alcoholic), Japanese people are now drinking 'wines' from all over the world: German, Italian, Austrian, Californian, and of course, French. The statistics also show that this nation consumes wool second only to the United States in terms of quantity where you cannot see even a single sheep (except, maybe, in Hokkaido).

2) *Kane* or money

The Japanese trade surplus has caused some problems within and without the country. The accumulated money spilling over the levels of substantial needs of everyday life is now going into the 'money game' or 'zaiteku' (financial technology = to make money through the transaction of stocks and bonds, or even 'golf club membership fee') and contributes to push up the price of land, the most scarce resource in this country. The fact is also widely known that the Japanese 'dollar' has been invading the United States and Australia, buying everything that can be bought, such as real estates such as houses, land, and stocks and bonds, which have caused the rise of the price of these items in the respective local markets. Japanese institutional investors are buying much of the US national bonds, thus helping the debt-ridden finance of the United States. The Japanese affluent money is also going abroad too; in the private sector much has been invested to establish the subsidiaries of Japanese companies in many areas of the world corresponding to the different needs of the business, seeking for high quality labor power at cheap prices or the opportunity of producing local goods to alleviate the increasing trade friction with developed countries. Japanese government has been generous enough to increase its ODA share in recent years. It is said that the development assistance of Japan provided to developing countries has shown an increase in quantity, and also remarkable improvement in quality. The forms of assistance have been diversified, and the terms and conditions of assistance have been improved. (*Statistical Handbook of Japan*, 1987, p. 141) The increase of the

ODA during ten years since 1977 is 2.5 times on a yen basis, and four times on a dollar basis. In 1985 the total disbursement of Japanese Development Assistance was 12,928 million dollars, of which 67.8 percent was bilateral. The major part of bilateral ODA has been extended to Asian countries which are interrelated with Japan geographically, historically and economically. (op., cit.) As for the regional distribution of bilateral ODA in the same year, 67.7 percent was supplied to Asian countries, 9.9 percent to African countries, 8.8 percent to Latin American countries, and 7.9 percent to Middle East.

3) *Jyōho* or information

Japanese people are well known for their exceptional 'appetite' for foreign knowledge. With its fairly large market and high literacy on the part of the people, the book business is flourishing, and of course other information or cultural industries are, too. Even a difficult philosophical work of, for example, French Structuralism, is translated into Japanese quickly though it does not sell much, I suspect. In the entire course of Japanese history we witness the eagerness of Japanese people to learn things foreign, first from the Chinese Continent, and later from the West, which is to say, Europe and America. Recently I was surprised to find statistics which showed a tremendous increase of international telephone calls since 1970, which tells that in 1970 there were 2,180,000 single counts while in 1989 there were 68,900,000 counts, an almost 31 fold increase during these fifteen years. Since June of this year (1989) NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) officially inaugurated the satellite-transmitted broadcasting which is available to anybody with a simple convertor and antenna set. Thanks to this new program I could watch the Wimbledon Tennis Tournament and the US Open Women's Golf Tournament in real time although my bio-rhythm was severely disturbed. Today every morning I can watch news programs of different foreign stations, including American, French, British, Soviet, Italian, Korean, Chinese and some others. Unlike the countries in Europe, for example, where it is not unusual to listen to the radio or watch television programs of neighboring countries, Japan as an insular country has had no such experience of direct contact with foreign mass

media which bring a variety of information into this nation. It has been often said that the Japanese are not very good at foreign languages when it comes to verbal communication. They cannot communicate with foreigners even in preliminary English after having studied English six years, three years both in middle school and high school. The situation will be drastically changed if young Japanese are brought up in the new information surroundings I mentioned above.

4) *Hito* or human being

In 1985 a gross total of 4,934,000 Japanese and 2,269,000 foreigners entered Japan, and 4,984,000 Japanese and 2,229,000 foreigners departed, according to data supplied by the immigration and emigration offices. The figures in the last few years revealed themselves in a continuous up trend in terms of the human mobility across the Japanese border. Inside Japan there is a slight increasing tendency in terms of the number of foreigners who have made the 'Alien Registration,' which is required for those foreigners who want to stay in this nation more than a year. A controversy about this legislation is that it requires foreigners to have their fingerprints taken, to which some of them are protesting as, according to their argument, it violates human rights, treating them as if they were 'criminals.' These foreigners number approximately eighty hundred thousand, of which 80 percent are Koreans and Chinese. Among these people, there are the third generation Koreans and Chinese who settled in this country as early as the pre-War period. Excluding this category of foreigners, it is completely clear that the Japanese have a very few foreigners among themselves to interact on an everyday life base. The number of foreign students today is a little less than 20 thousand, and according to the UNESCO's Statistical Yearbook the ratio of foreign students in institutions of higher education in Japan was 0.4 percent in 1983, while the comparable figures in France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and the United States are, 11.4, 5.3, 5.1, 2.6, respectively. Today in Japan there is an ongoing debate over whether it is appropriate to open or to close the door for foreigners to access to the Japanese labor market. In these several years there has been a remarkable increase of illegal

workers in this country, most of whom are coming from poor Asian nations such as the Philippines, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. In 1986 there were 7006 Filipinos who were forcefully deported, this being 70.8 percent of the total deported illegal workers in that year. Currently, Japanese government does not issue visas for manual workers from developing countries, who could earn an amount of money in a day here in Japan for which they have to work a month back in their own countries. It is perfectly natural that these people want to come to Japan to work, but there is a consistent fear on the part of Japanese people that once opened there would be an endless flow of foreign workers which virtually could not be stopped, seeing even a single fact that in rural China today there is a potential jobless population (due to the recent 'modernization of agriculture' in that country) roughly equivalent to the current population of Japan. This fear overshadows the rational argument that having foreigners living in this country just next 'to you' would contribute to widen people's perspectives and to enhance Japan's 'internationalization'. The following article (*The Japan Times*, July 22, Saturday 1989) reveals a tiny part of the huge 'iceberg' (how eager the Chinese are to come to Japan to work!) which can be seen on the surface of the water.

Kushiro, Hokkaido Pref. (Kyodo)

Sixteen Chinese students enrolled in a Japanese language school in Akancho, Hokkaido, are missing, and school officials believe they left in search of work, a school spokesman said Thursday. School authorities said the missing students are aged between 19 and 35. Nineteen other Chinese students are enrolled in Asuka Gakuin, which began classes in late June. The school has received word from two of the missing students but is still looking for the 14 others, they said. According to the school authorities, one male student and one female student left the school's premises July 2, saying they were going shopping in Kushiro. They did not return. — — — After the disappearance of the two students, another left the school July 12, followed by 13 more between Sunday and

Tuesday. Six left letters saying they were going to Tokyo to work.

Incidentally the headline of this article says; "School officials believe Chinese left to find jobs."

The fact is that in these several years many Japanese language schools were established all over Japan, some of which were not officially recognized as a qualified institution of this kind due to its poor teaching staff or facilities, and that they are usually, to its utmost capacity, filled with Chinese students, whose 'true' motive is to work (even as part-timers) in this country.

5) *Kokoro* or spirit

At the outset of the Meiji Restoration(1868) the Japanese were determined to introduce Western technology (which undoubtedly surpassed that of Japan) 'to enrich the nation and to build up the modern military system' (*Fukoku Kyōhei*) but also strongly determined not to bring in the 'Western Spirit' so that this nation would not be contaminated by the Western 'morality' which would be alien or irrelevant to its people — — — Japanese spirit should be firmly protected (*Wakon Yōsai*) = Japanese spirit and Western technology). Though to some extent it cannot be denied that the Western technology was a Trojan Horse, the Japanese were successful in maintaining their own cultural identity or spiritual purity. The students of Christianity are always surprised, for example, by the fact that during a little bit more than a century only roughly one percent of the entire population of Japan converted themselves into Christianity while in Korea Christian belief widely penetrated into the heart of the Koreans. Here *kokoro* means not only psychological traits but also the very basis of value-judgement of the people, particularly in the view of Nature, Man, and Society. It is a very basic infrastructure of culture, which could be least transmitted from one culture to the other and understood by foreigners. There were some Japanese intellectuals, like Soseki Natume (1867–1916), who understood the modern western spirit-individualistic, rational and lonely-, but with it he was never comfortable in this society, where the principle of human morality is based on, according to Dr. Takeo Doi, 'Amāe' (psychological indulgence or

dependence). The prototype of this mentality can be found in 'baby', Dr. Doi tells us, who is completely depending on 'mother'. The Japanese spirit may cause many troubles in Japanese relationship with foreigners as it does not fit to 'the international common sense' or 'the standards of modern industrialized countries', but could we really understand the Iranian Islamic Fundamentalism?

Some peculiar characteristics of Japanese internationalization: their causes and consequences

In a normative definition, internationalization means (to one nation or to one country) that it becomes a full-fledged member of the global community, a citizen fully responsible for international affairs. Applying this definition to the case of Japan, one can easily recognize that Japan is not (and was never) 'internationalized'. In order to describe this situation, let me employ the concept of 'status inconsistency' in the theory of social stratification. Suppose that there exists a multi-dimensional social stratification system among nations. Definitely Japan comes in the upper stratum in terms of economic scale (GNP, for example), but in what other dimension may she rank high in comparison with other industrialized democracies? Militarily her defence forces are not inferior to those of other countries. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute reports that although the Japanese Constitution declares the renunciation of war and non-maintenance of military forces the country adopted a mid-term program estimate in July 1982, which estimates the growth of the nation's outlays for self-defense purposes at 6.3 to 8.0 percent per year at the 1982 price, and Japan's military expenditure ranks eighth among nations in the world and is by no means a small amount. But there exists a very strong feeling among the Japanese that these forces should not be dispatched outside the country even at the request of the United Nations to which Japan has been exclusively committed. In April 1982, the American embassy in Beirut was destroyed by a car bomb which killed 63 people, including 17 Americans. In October, suicidal truck bombers drove into the barracks of the U.S. Marines and French forces, killing 241 Americans and 58 French paratroopers. These were mainly soldiers from

America, France and Italy, who were stationed there as the UN forces to maintain and supervise a cease-fire in Lebanon. Japan, which heavily depends on oil from this area, did not send troops to perform the same kind of 'international responsibility' simply because their Constitution would not permit them to do so. Many criticized Japan saying that she might pour money but never the blood of Japanese youth. Again, in the field of human exchange, Japan has firmly closed the labor market to foreigners. It is not only the number of foreign workers in Japan which is extremely small but also the way the Japanese treat them in terms of 'human rights'. It was only as late as in 1982 when Japan finally ratified 'The International Refugee Act' and made some social security benefits available to foreigners who 'have residence in this country'. The door to public servants has been firmly closed for many years to foreigners because 'to become public servants who take part in the making and performing of the national will, one has to have Japanese nationality.' It was in September 1987 that for the first time in Japanese university history after World War II a British citizen was appointed as a 'foreign research public servant' in a national institution. Even today there are only 24 college professors who are working for public institutions in this country (1988).

The contemporary Japan as a nation is said to be a huge economic power retreated into an 'international moratorium', just like a kid who refuses to be (treated as) a grown-up because he fears the role he should play. Let me enumerate some of the reasons why; first of all, Japan cannot imagine her international role except as that of economic activities. She still freshly remembers the bitter experience of the War, where she tried to fight for some 'legitimate cause' (to emancipate Asians from the Western colonial rule, or to establish the East-Asian Co-prosperity Zone, etc.) against the 'entire' world and lost. Without having a discrete 'philosophy of life' the Japanese have been adapting themselves rather skillfully to the ever-changing international surroundings. So far it has worked, and nothing is worth changing. Secondly, Japan has always been a 'peripheral' nation at the edge of the great civilizations. She is accustomed to receive the elements of these great civilizations which she absorbed in order to enrich her own. Again

everything goes well so far. Thirdly, Japan as an insular nation has hardly had the experience of developing 'two-way' active exchanges with other countries. In addition to this, the nation actually closed the country almost 250 years since the beginning of the seventeenth century, while during this period many modernizing events took place in the world, especially in the West, of which the Japanese were seldom aware. Finally, belonging to the oriental family, the Japanese inevitably have some ambiguity in relationships with foreigners. They tend to feel superior to other Asians in general, because only they as Japanese could attain modernization comparable to the achievement of Western nations, and they tend to feel inferior to Westerners in general because they simply succeeded by borrowing the fruits of Western civilization, and simply imitated them to achieve their own modernization. Nothing original, nothing creative, can be claimed by the Japanese. They are very conscious of this 'inferiority complex,' together with a racial (ethnic) origin, which had nothing to do with the modern historical development of human beings. We remember the fact that until recently in South Africa the Japanese were treated as 'honorable whites', which suggests the very core of Japanese racial (color) consciousness. Some Asians call the Japanese 'bananas,' contemptuously, as the Japanese look like Asians (yellow in color) but lose the Asian identity (white in content).

Since the popular debate on 'Nihon-ron' (who are Japanese? what is Japanese-ness? what is Japanese society? what is Japanese culture? what makes Japan so successful? and so on so forth) actually began several years ago, many things have been said, but it is appropriate to divide the arguments into two categories. First is the particularistic theory which says that Japan is unique, incomparable to other cultures or societies, and the second is the universalist theory which says that there is no secret about Japanese success, and that any nation can imitate her to attain the comparable achievement in modernization in general and in the economy in particular. In my personal view both extremist theories are wrong. Truth exists in-between. It is true that Japan is a non-western nation which attained a high level of performance in material matters, a fore-runner in some

fields of high technology, but still conserving some of the social morality, social habits, sensitive attitudes toward nature (maybe toward the moon but not toward the whales), and so on. The geo-political and historical backgrounds cannot be overlooked because these conditions were unique to this nation sometimes in a favorable way and sometimes in an unfavorable way.

In the final analysis, it is that Japan is suffering from a severe 'status inconsistency' in the system of international stratification. The hypothetical theory suggests that those suffering from status inconsistency tend to behave to correct the situation to recover to consistency. But the question remains on what level or stratum they try to correct the situation. If Japan tries to correct the situation on a higher level, it means that she should risk the envy and antipathy of other countries by beefing up her military forces and taking on more important political roles in international affairs. Japan should propose an idealistic 'ideology' to appeal to different peoples on the earth which even the Japanese themselves still are not sure. In the last part of this article, I will examine some of these problems.

Prospect through Retrospect

Here is a response from an American who observed the recent Summit in Paris (I do not know whether he noticed the position of Japanese prime minister in the memorial picture of the participants, Mr. Uno standing at the extreme right in line, that is to say, far away from the center), which is relevant to the material to be examined here in connection with the Japanese position in the process of 'globalization'.

The major issue facing the Free World's economy was not addressed at the economic summit in Paris. It is: What can be done about Japan? Because money and politics are linked, the emergence of Japan as the principal creditor nation will soon reshuffle the world economy and hence international relations. Japan will want to share the driver's seat, but there is no room in the current power structure. Ultimately a tripolar structure in world trade and

finance is likely to emerge—with the United States isolated at one lonely pole. In this mercantilist world, Europe, already looking inward, will form one block; Japan will foster a new coprosperity area in Asia in which the Soviet Union may well be an active partner; and the United States will be left with the unappealing task of building a trading area out of the leftovers. It is no secret that there is worldwide resentment against Japan. This arises in part from sheer envy of Japan's success. But it is also due to the fact that Japan remains, by the standards of modern industrialized nations, a closed society, with apparently little genuine interest in the progress of the larger world economy. Japan, having been a free rider in world affairs for so many years, is inexperienced and shy, yet tempted to play a big-time role.

Just as Japan cannot make up its mind whether to play the world power game full out, the major industrialized countries and electorates cannot get accustomed to treating Japan other than as a very distant, rich and awkward relative who shows up at family gatherings uninvited and mostly unwelcome. The rich uncle from America, who used to dominate the table, may have been naive and even foolishly jovial, but the rich Japanese relative does not fit in. In 1945, when the victorious United States was reshaping the world economic system, Lord Keynes told his British colleagues, "They have the money but we have the brains!" Today the fear is that Japan may have both.

(By Rudiger Dornbusch, *The Washington Post*, cited from *The Japan Times*, July 22, 1989)

Dornbusch clearly represents a typical Western view of Japan, sharing the idea that Japan is the rich but uninvited relative in the global family gatherings whom they do not know how to treat. Still here is an 'enigma' of Japan, a mystical oriental 'smile' which would irritate the Westerners as they cannot understand what it means. He also suggests the scenario that the world economy will be

divided into three blocs, one emerging in Europe, the second appearing in Asia and the Pacific, and the third to be formed in the rest of the world under the leadership of the United States. And, then, what would happen among these three blocs?

It is true that though we are talking about the 'diminishing earth,' geography is still vital in terms of the international relations. There underlies the historical past, old and recent, which again determines what kind of relations countries would develop in connection with the rest of the world. Thus, Europe seems to have decided to integrate itself into a new 'United States of Europe' despite the past long antagonism among its member nations (or rather, we have to say, because of it).

Looking back on the history in a moment, we can easily notice some patterns of 'globalization' which are completely dissimilar to the one we have now. The first pattern is the 'conquest' of the ancient empires. Here the globalization process means the expansion of an empire, which killed, exploited, and dominated. It surely contributes to increase the flow of people, material goods, and information including some cultural elements such as languages and religious beliefs, but the very process itself declined when the empire dissolved. The second pattern is the modern colonialism which began in the sixteenth century in Europe. Three incentives existed in Europe which facilitated this process of globalization; 1) to find something precious and strange, 2) to discover the unknown land on the earth, and 3) to disseminate Christianity, all these three incentives did not exist among Muslims, the Chinese, or the Japanese. There was Japanese potentiality, yes? The number of 'guns' used during the civil wars in this country immediately before the establishment of the Tokugawa-Bakufu era (1603) is said to be larger than that of all guns existing in Europe at that time. The third pattern is the World Wars. Many people moved all around the world. Many nations and countries were willingly or not involved in this world-wide scaled historical events only to kill the enemy. And now we are witness to the fourth pattern of the process of globalization which really began just around 45 years ago on this earth, which, for the first time in human history, does not accompany with it any killing, any exploitation, and any domination.

The Japanese are still ambiguous whether they should take some responsible roles in international affairs stepping over the boundary of economic activities though some voices agitate Japan should do. They argue that Japan should cease to be the 'free rider'. But there does not seem to be any world-wide consensus among various nations on what they expect Japan to do (role-expectation). Even mutually contradictory expectations are coming from different partners, which brings about a 'double-bind' effect, and, as a result, the Japanese cannot move either way.

Is it possible in the coming 21st century that Japan becomes a small self-sustaining country attracting no special attention of the world, living a frugal life in this far eastern corner of the world? Maybe the answer is no. The certain social 'inertia' which has been already built in the system of Japanese society will continue to function, pushing Japan to the point to realize the prophecy (made by an American futurologist) that the 21st century is the Japanese century! Then, Japanese involvement in the process of globalization will be inevitably deeper in nature and larger in scale. The 'inertia', or 'driving force', is, as all agree to identify it, the economic capacity of this nation where Japan becomes an unprecedented large scale trading nation.

One of the common, shortcomings of trading nations is that they usually lack the 'philosophy'. They tend to think everything can be bought with money and to forget there are things which are so invaluable to human beings that cannot be bought. Japanese should have a 'philosophy' in their commitment of the process of contemporary globalization, with which they could avoid unnecessary misunderstandings or resentment of the other peoples to this nation. Some of the basic principles of this philosophy are already clearly stipulated in the Japanese Constitution; peace, democracy, human rights, and environment protection. In order to be able to appeal this philosophy to the world, it is necessary for the Japanese themselves to practice it in their own country. Unfortunately, Japan today is not an 'ideal' society. The domestic politics is always manipulated by various 'interest groups' whose perspectives are narrow and shallow, and the least 'global'. People in a mass consumption society are so busy to fulfill

their own promises that they forget the existence of less fortunate people in other parts of the world. The recent Upper House election witnessed a very unusual result of the votes in the Northern part of Japan where farmers supported and elected a socialist councillor because they were not satisfied with the LDP's (the governmental party since 1955) agricultural policy any more which contains liberalization of some of the agricultural products they also produce. An adjustment of domestic economic structure to the mutually benefiting trade relationship seems to be very difficult, but rearrangement of the social structure to adapt to the new international order will be much more difficult.

Japanese society today is suffering from these internal problems which arise in the process of social changes including 'internationalization'. The drastic increase of Japan's ODA was also a controversial issue in the last Upper House election (1988). On the one hand, the LDP government introduced (in a slightly awkward way) the unpopular consumption tax (3 percent) just immediately before the election with the excuse that it was necessary to prepare a strong finance and cushion to cope with the coming 'aged' society. Those who were crying for the abolishment of this tax vehemently criticized the government for the increase of ODA. Seeing this contradiction (and some others for that matter), Japanese success in its globalization seems to depend entirely on whether its society can change itself so that its own structure is compatible with the process of globalization.

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