1 OF 1

JPRS L/9021 7 April 1980

# Japan Report

(FOUO 9/80)



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## JAPAN REPORT

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CONTENTS	PAGE
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL	
Detailed Study of Ohira's Political Methods (Hokaji Mino; BUSINESS JAPAN, Feb 80)	1
JCP Announces New Organizational Setup, Personnel Lineup (AKAHATA, 15 Mar 80)	7
'TOKYO SHIMBUN' Lists Expected Candidates in Upper House Elections	10
(TOKYO SHIMBUN, 13 Mar 80)	10
'YOMIURI' Polls Upper House Members on Coming Election (YOMIURI SHIMBUN, 22 Mar 80)	21
'AKAHATA' Editorial on Upper House Elections (JPS, 22 Mar 80)	24
LDP Presidential Election: Calm Before Storm (Raisuke Honda; THE DAILY YOMIURI, 17 Mar 80)	26
'YOMIURI' Reports on LDP's Young Rebels (Raisuke Honda; THE DAILY YOMIURI, 29 Feb 80)	28
Dispute Between JSP and JCP Analyzed (Hideo Matsuoka; MAINICHI DAILY NEWS, 11 Mar 80)	30
Japanese Embassy Entrusting Important Diplomatic Jobs to American Enterprises (Yoshijisa Komori; THE MAINICHI DAILY NEWS,	
3 Mar 80)	2.2

- a - [III - ASIA - 111 FOUO]

## LOW OLLTOTHE GOE ONFI

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Budget Making Criticized as Slipshod (Raisuke Honda; THE DAILY YOMIURI, 7 Mar 80)	36
'YOMIURI' on Administrative Reform (Editorial; THE DAILY YOMIURI, 15 Mar 80)	38
ECONOMIC	
Expert Forecasts Upward Capital Spending by Manufacturers (Hisao Kanamori; NIKKEI BUSINESS, 25 Feb 80)	40
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY	
Government S&T Policy Criticized, Lack of Head Office, Master Plan Cited (NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN, 31 Jan 80)	43
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY	
MITI To Set Up Advanced Machine Tool Association (NIKKAN KOGYO SHIMBUN, 21 Feb 80)	47
Low Temperature Process for Alumina Ceramics Developed (NIKKAN KOGYO SHIMBUN, 30 Aug 79)	49
Nitride Ceramic Sintering Process Under Development (NIKKEI SANGYO SHIMBUN, 20 Oct 79)	51

- b -

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

DETAILED STUDY OF OHIRA'S POLITICAL METHODS

Tokyo BUSINESS JAPAN in English Feb 80 pp 31-33

[Article by Hokaji Mino, editor of BUSINESS JAPAN]

[Text]

MAN, unless he resides on an uninhabited island, cannot live alone. As long as a great number of people live together in a crowded society, people-to-people contact, social interchange and social intercourse are bound to occur. In Japanese, such relationships are called en (karma relations). People in olden times said, "Even a chance meeting is due to the karma in a previous life."

Such en or relations, between people grow stronger and develop into what is known as jinmyaku (a chain of relations). In other words, the people-to-people links are thought of as a sanmyaku, or a series of mountains joined together. In Japan, jinmyaku plays an especially important role.

Jinmyaku is also to be found in Europe and the United States, but in Japan it usually takes the form of the boss-follower relationship.

The foreigner who engages in business in Japan without an understanding of this tradition is bound to fail. I have prepared a report on jinmyaku in Japan divided into three parts. Part I deals with politicians, Part II with business and financial leaders, and Part III with government officials. It is hoped that this report will be of some help to foreign businessmen.

It appears as if Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira is quietly seeking to achieve a "charismatic type of rule." This expression was used by the German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920), who in his book Various Patterns of Rules defines charisma as follows: (Note: This is a translation of a Japanese version published by Sobunsha in September 1970).

"Charisma is what is regarded as the extraordinary trait of a person (originally, it was considered to be based on magical conditions in the case of a prophet, a medical practitioner, a man wise in the ways of the law, a hunting instructor, or a military hero). Because of such a trait, he is judged to be blessed with the possession of supernatural, superhuman, or, at the least, extraordinary strength and

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character most people do not have; he might also be considered a messenger from god or a model man, and, for this reason, be regarded highly as a leader."

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It is doubtful whether Ohira is regarded as a charismatic leader, and merely because he seeks charisma, it will not become a part of him. However, it is a fact that Ohira, against the background of mysterious power, is strongly evolving his own political methods.

Frankly speaking, there is no better evidence of this than the general elections held in October. The preceding Miki and Fukuda governments which had wanted badly to dissolve the Diet and hold general elections were finally unable to do so. But Ohira managed to pull it off. In the success of the bovine-like Ohira, as compared to the failure of Miki, who fancied himself as the child of the parliament, and Fukuda, called the prince of the political world, we can sense a power that surpasses reason.

In considering what sustains his charisma-like trait, we cannot disregard Ohira's skill in *jinmyaku*-building, his clever manipulation of people, and his audacity in utilizing connections.

Ohira initially surfaced in a vital political post on July 19, 1960, as Cabinet Secretary in the first Ikeda government. At that time, Zenko Suzuki, Ohira's senior by two years in the Ministry of Finance, joined the cabinet as Minister of Posts & Telecommunications. Today, he is positioned at the extreme right wing of the Ohira jinmyaku and is the No. 2 man in the Ohira faction.

The Deputy Cabinet Secretary is Heiji Ogawa, who is also one of the leaders of the Ohira faction. Ohira remained as Cabinet Secretary in the second Ikeda cabinet established on December 8 of the same year and in the reshuffled third Ikeda cabinet formed on July 18, 1961. He conceived and introduced the Ikeda government's catchphrases "magnanimity and perseverance" and "low profile."

In the second reorganized cabinet, Kenji Fukunaga, also Ohira's senior in the Finance Ministry by a year, became Labor Minister, and Yasuji Hattori, Deputy Cabinet Secretary. Both Fukunaga and Hattori today belong to the Ohira faction.

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Naturally, at the time of the Ikeda administration, an Ohira faction did not exist. The Ikeda faction (Kochi-kai), led by the Prime Minister, was at the peak of its strength and influence. With 55 lower house members, it represented the largest faction in the LDP.

In August 1965, Ikeda died and Shigesaburo Maeo took over the leadership of the faction. Twice, in December 1966 and in November 1968, he stood as a candidate for the presidency of the LDP, but was defeated. In 1970, Ohira became the faction's head. The commonly shared logic of the LDP Diet members is that anyone who is unable to become party president (and thus prime minister) is unfit to be the boss of a faction or jinmyaku.

At the time, the Maeo faction consisted of 44 lower house members whom Ohira managed to place in his own camp. Of all the Maeo faction officers, Zentaro Kosaka is practically the only one who is considered today not to belong to any faction. Although Maeo and Kiichi

Miyazawa, who is reportedly close to Maeo, belong to the Ohira faction, they are not necessarily a part of the Ohira jinmyaku. Compared to Zenko Suzuki and Kunikichi Saito, they are some distance away.

In any event, Ohira, as generally explained above, took over the former Ikeda jinmyaku and, with that as the footing, climbed up to the position of LDP president and prime minister. The strength of the Tanaka "corps," led by his sworn friend Kakuei Tanaka, played a big part, but it has capant be desired that Ohira's persistent efforts to also cannot be denied that Ohira's persistent efforts to huild jinmyaku connections, without forever depending on Ikeda legacy, worked in his favor.

For instance, in the general elections in December 1976, a person named Masakata Tozawa was elected to the lower house for the first time from the third electoral district of Kanagawa Prefecture. He was the deputy minister of welfare at the time of the rescue of Hiroo Onoda, the last surviving Japanese soldier on Lubang Island in the Philippines. As soon as he was elected, he was persuaded to join the Ohira faction. When he was the deputy welfare minister, the welfare minister was Kunikichi Saito, who had also served as deputy minister of welfare and was Togawa's senior in the ministry by many years. Hence, it was hardly likely that Ohira would overlook such a man.

Ohira is not the only one who engages in such practice; bosses of all political factions do the same thing. After all, under the democratic system, numbers count and majority means strength.

The higher the level of the jinmyaku, with such bosses as Masayoshi Ohira, Takeo Fukuda and Yasuhiro Nakasone at the summit, and the wider it is spread, the easier it is to acquire the seat of power. Accordingly, one theory has it that "three Ms" sum up to the road to strength in democracy. They are: money, majority and machiavel-

lianism.
"Money" is equivalent to kinmyaku (financial connections), tions) and "majority" to jinmyaku (human connections), while Ohira's "machiavellianism" is related to the charisma mentioned at the beginning of this article. Let me explain the situation as it relates to Ohira with respect to the above-mentioned "three Ms."

The Ministry of Home Affairs published in the July 28, 1979 issue of the Official Gazette the political funds financial report for fiscal 1978. Ordinarily, the Official Gazette is hardly read, but this issue became a best-seller since all the business enterprises which had contributed funds to the political parties and organizations quickly sought to obtain a copy. All copies were bought up immediately after they went on sale.

According to the report, the Ohira faction's political organizations, the "New Industrial Policy Study Group" and "New Government Financing Study Group," collected political funds totaling ¥699,150,000 in 1978, an increase of 30.3% over the preceding year. The amount was below that of the Fukuda faction (¥773,465,000, up 23.8%), but the growth rate was the highest. That is why newspapers that day carried big headlines, such as "Sharp Increase in

Ohira's Money Sources.'

It is clear that the LDP's presidential election held in December 1978 helped to increase the money sources for

both the Ohira and Fukuda factions.

The "degree of transparency" with respect to such money sources becomes more opaque with each passing year. For example, the aforementioned New Government Financing Study Group collected corporate donations of ¥124,970,000, but they were all in units of ¥1 million or less, and the company names are unknown. The same situation applies to the other factions.

Should the corporate names be revealed, the fund sources, directly linked to the various factions' treasury, would become known. For this reason, they wrack their brains to try to keep the contributors' names a secret.

How about expenditures? The published amounts reported to the Ministry of Home Affairs show that the Ohira faction distributed ¥440 million to a political organization consisting of 30 lower house and 21 upper house members, the largest of the five LDP factions. More specifically, in June and October 1978, cash in units of ¥1 million and ¥2 million was allocated to the faction's Diet members. Some members were given ¥1 million on five occasions while others were paid ¥3 million or ¥4 million. In July,

¥10 million was contributed to the LDP's Kagawa prefectural chapter, Ohira's home province. In addition, just prior to the party presidential election in October and November, expenditures for materials and advertising escalated.

On four occasions, the aforementioned New Industrial Policy Study Group transferred ¥50 million each time to the New Government Financing Study Group for a total of ¥200 million. The amounts were registered in the latter's books as donated income. In general, the Ohira faction's payments in 1978 were large in comparison to its income. It is unclear, insofar as the accounting records are concerned, from what account the ¥400 million or so paid to the Ohira faction Diet members was drawn.

It can thus be seen that money and majority, i.e., kinmyaku and jinmyaku, are the front and back of the same coin. It is impossible to tell which is which. Since Ohira managed to unseat Fukuda from the prime minis-

Unita managed to unseat Pukuda from the prime ministership in the party presidential election, it can be said that the "two Ms" were extremely effective.

What remains is the other "M"—machiavellianism.

As most of you probably known, this term is taken from Machiavelli (1469-1527), the political scholar who lived during the period of the Italian Renaissance. In his book The Price, he expressed the view that any means, however

unscrupulous, is justified in achieving political power.

It must be admitted that from the 15th to the 16th century, various amoral means and stratagems were openly employed both in Japan and Western Europe to seize political power. Needless to say, the wiles of the period would not apply to the present 20th century; modern-day machiavellianism is more complex, more sophisticated, and more clever.

However, we have had, as usual, some crude intrigues,

such as the Watergate affair which drove Nixon from the presidency, the "rollover" land deals (in which the same property exchanges hands over and over again, each time at a higher price, before finally being sold and registered in the final purchaser's name) that led to the downfall of ex-Prime Minister Tanaka, and the Lockheed bribery scandal uncovered following his departure. Ohira, an ex-Finance Ministry official and a very cautious man, is unlikely to commit the blunders of Nixon and Tanaka.

Nicknamed "Otosan" (Father), Ohira appears sage-like at a glance and imparts a rustic impression, but, actually, he is quite cultured as can be seen from the fact that his braintrusts include many intellectuals.

Ohira currently has nine different braintrusts advising him on policies. Including those who overlap, the members total 208, the principal ones being Tadao Umesao, Tadao Uchida, Saburo Okita, Masamichi Inoki, Shichihei Yamamoto and Manabu Sasa.

According to a Mainichi Shimbun (Newspaper) report, dated July 23, 1979, one of the braintrusts includes scholars, producers, writers, composers, etc., who are reportedly against power and the Liberal Democratic Party.

If this story is true, how can they be members of Ohira's braintrust? If they are genuinely against power and the LDP, they should not have joined initially. But this is not the case. Intellectuals like to say such things, but at heart they feel differently.

It must be admitted Ohira has a good grasp of psychology, he is surely far more clever than the simple-minded intellectual members of his braintrust who declare that they are against the LDP.

In any event, it was the idea of this group to have Ohira attend a rock music concert and to have him say in Kagawa Prefecture, his home province, "One becomes an idiot after living in Tokyo for three generations." By having Ohira assume a posture of identifying with the young and make remarks that would be favorably received by voters in the provinces, the group can only be described as extremely pro-LDP and not at all anti-LDP.

Changing the subject, the New Liberal Club was recently rocked by an internal dispute. Its leader, Yohei Kono, made a remark to the effect that the LDP—especially Ohira's supporters—had contrived the series of internal bickerings that led up to the departure of former Secretary General Takeo Nishioka from the party. Naturally, Nishioka reacted strongly to this statement and even went so far as to demand a public debate.

To a third party, the real story as to whether the LDP was the contriver or not is obscure. But from the standpoint of political machiavellianism, it is possible. Just as Castro's Cuba is a thorn in the side of the United States, the NLC is an eyesore to the LDP.

I have a different theory about the NLC's internal squabble. It was, in short, a confrontation and clash between the Kono and Nishioka jinmyaku, or supporters. It is said that when three MPs get together, a faction is created. The NLC was split into the Kono and Nishioka factions.

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At the outset, the NLC as a whole was regarded as the Kono faction, but in reality it was not; a faction linked to the Secretary General had been formed. In the ensuing competition for hegemony, the Kono faction emerged victorious and the Nishioka faction retreated in defeat. During this time, it is unlikely Ohira did anything; for even standing idly by, the NLC grew weaker by itself. In this instance, too, I felt as if I had caught a glimpse of Ohira's mysterious charisma.

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6

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

JCP ANNOUNCES NEW ORGANIZATIONAL SETUP, PERSONNEL LINEUP

OW201351 Tokyo AKAHATA in Japanese 15 Mar 80 p 2 OW

[14 March announcement by Japan Communist Party Secretariat Chief Tetsuzo Fuwa at a press conference in the Diet building on new organizational setup and personnel lineup of the Japan Communist Party Central Committee]

- [Text] 1. At its meeting on 14 March, the Presidium of the Central Committee made the following decision on the appointment of secretariat members and editorial committee members of the central organ and on the new organizational setup and personnel lineup of the Central Committee which was elected at the 15th party congress.
- 2. In this new organizational setup, a number of new departments and bureaus have been established for independent activities with an eye to displaying, in a more concentrated manner, the leadership of the party center in major fields and in dealing with weighty tasks, based on the policy formulated at the party congress. Citing examples, the united front promotion committee has been established under the chairmanship of the Presidium vice chairman; the labor bureau and the women's and children's bureau have been set up as independent bureaus; and the residents movement and housing complex department and the aged and handicapped people policy department have also been established under the mass movement committee.
- 3. At the same time, to promote the overall activity of the party center effectively the election bureau and the autonomy bureau have been amalgamated as the election and autonomy bureau, and the organization bureau and the education bureau as the party construction bureau. Showing another example of amalgamation among departments and bureaus, the finance bureau and the administrative department have been merged into the finance and administration bureau.

Secretariat: Chief: Tetsuzo Fuwa; Deputy Chiefs: Shoichi Ichikawa, Mitsuhiro Kaneko, Tadato Miyamoto; Members: Hiroshi Arabori, Nobuo Kuwahara, Masaru Kojima; Shoji Niihara.

7

- Central Organ Editorial Committee: Chairman: Toshio Sakaki; Members: Junichi Konno, Yatsushi Kitani, Norio Nishii, Yoshinori Yoshioka, Masana Wada, Masateru Endo, Sukehiro Sato, Takao Sekiguchi, Hiroshi Tsukahira, Takeo Moritani, Yukie Yamato, Tsuneo Yokota.
- Headquarters for House of Councilors elections: Chief: Tetsuzo Fuwa; Chief secretary: Yoshiro Hida.

International Committee: Chairman: Tomio Nishizawa; International Department chief: Hiroshi Tachiki.

Policies Committee: Chairman: Koichiro Ueda; Economic Policy Committee chairman: Akira Kudo; Security and Foreign Policy Committee chairman: Yoshinori Yoshioka.

Diet Policy Committee: Chairman: Senmei Matsumoto.

United Front Promotion Committee: Chairman: Hiroshi Murakami; Chief secretary: Junkichi Shimoji.

Labor Bureau: Chief: Hiroshi Arabori.

Women's and Children's Bureau: Bureau chief: Sadako Ogasawara; Women's Department chief: Ikuko Yamanaka; Children's Department chief: Yoko Suzuki.

Mass Movement Committee: Chairman: Yasuyoshi Miyata; Farmers and Fishermen Department chief: Shojiro Omitani; Citizens and Middle-and-Small Enterprise Department chief: Izumi Yoshitani; Youth and Student Department chief: Noriaki Urata; Residents Movement and Housing Complex Department Chief: Nobuhide Imai; Peace, Base, and Solidarity Department chief: Hisayoshi Tsugawa; "Buraku" Measures Department chief: Saburo Kimura; Spc.ts Policy Department chief: Iwao Teramae; Measures for Aged and Handicapped People Department chief: Sayaka Tomita.

Culture and Intellectuals Bureau: Bureau chief: Shunichi Nishizawa; Culture Department chief: Shunichi Nishizawa; Cultivation Department chief: Kenjiro Yamahara; Science and Technology Department chief: Zenkichi Asami; Religion Committee chairman: Shunichi Nishizawa.

Elections and Municipalities Bureau: Bureau chief: Yoshiro Hida; Election Policy Department chief: Yoshiro Hida; Municipalities Department chief: Yoshiyuki Kaneko.

Propaganda Bureau: Bureau chief: Hiroshi Murakami; Public Relations Department chief: Masuhide Okazaki.

Publishing Bureau: Bureau chief: Fumio Yamashita.

Laws and Regulations Policy Department chief: Eizo Kobayashi.

8

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

'TOKYO SHIMBUN' LISTS EXPECTED CANDIDATES IN UPPER HOUSE ELECTIONS

OW201252 Tokyo TOKYO SHIMBUN in Japanese 13 Mar 80 Morning Edition P 7 OW

[Excerpts] The most important focal point in the forthcoming House of Councillors elections is "whether or not they will upset the present balance of strength between the ruling and opposition camps." A majority in the upper house (252 seats) is 127 seats. Of the seats currently held by the Liberal-Democratic Party [LDP], 66 are not up for elections. Therefore, if the LDP is to prevent an upset, it has to win 61 or more seats in this summer's elections.

#### Numbers of candidates:

(A indicates total number of candidates, B number of candidates running from a national constituency, C number of national constitutency seats up for election, D number of candidates running from local constituencies, E number of local constituency seats up for election, F total number of seats up for election, G number of seats currently held and not up for election, and H the present strength)

	A	В	С	D	E	F	G	Н
LDP	74	23	14	51	44	58	66	124
Socialist Party	47	11	10	36	17	27	25	52
Komeito	14	9	9	5	5	14	14	28
Communist Party	52	6	6	46	5	11	5	16
Democratic Socialist								
Party	10	4	3	6	1	4	6	10
New Liberal Club	Q	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Socialist Citizens								
League	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	3
Various factions and i	n-							
dependents	39	6	3	33	3	6	5	11
Vacancies			4		1	5		5
Tota1	237	60	50	177	76	126	126	252

10

Namelist of expected candidates:

National Constituency (50 seats up for election):

LDP (23 candidates):

Satoru Eto, 73, former transport minister, incumbent; Hiroshi Okada, 69, president of the Federation of Military Pension Associations, incumbent; Yuji Osada, 62, director general of the Science and Technology Agency, incumbent; Minoru Genta, 75, chairman of the LDP National Defense Department, incumbent; Eizaburo Saito, 66, parliamentary vice minister of labor, incumbent; Shigenobu Sakano, 62, former vice minister of construction, incumbent; Akiko Santo, 37, parliamentary vice minister of the Environment Agency, incumbent; Iichiro Hatoyama, 61, former foreign minister, incumbent; Shigesada Marushige, 63, former director general of the Environment Agency, incumbent; Teru Miyata, 58, former vice minister of agriculture and fisheries, incumbent; Yoshiko Yamaguchi (Official name: Yoshiko Otaka), 60, director of the LDP Women's Affairs Bureau, incumbent, Tadashi Itagaki, 55, bureau chief of the Bereaved Families Association, new candidate; Takashi Inoue, 55, former vice minister of construction, new; Taichiro Okawara, 57, former vice minister of agriculture and fisheries, new; Saburo Okabe, 53, adviser to the National Federation of Land Improvement Associations, new; Kiyoshi Kajiwara, 58, former bureau chief of the Transport Ministry, new; Keizo Sekiguchi, 53, board member of the Federation of Dentists Associations, new; Tomoharu Tazawa, 47, executive officer of an unidentified organization, new; Masami Tanaka, 62, former health and welfare minister, new; Sachiko Teranuma, 53, vice chairwoman of the Federation of Nurses Associations, new; Isao Matsuura, former vice minister of home affairs, new; Masakuni Murakami, 47, vice minister of the "Seicho-no-Ie" group, new; Takahide Myotoma, 45, executive officer of an unidentified organization, new.

Socialist Party (11 candidates):

Noboru Agune, 67, vice chairman of the Socialist Party, incumbent; Masaru Anno, 51, vice chairman of the party's committee on prices, incumbent [dropped candidacy after release of this list because of alleged involvement in the KDD scandal]; Terumi Kasuya, 55, deputy director of the party's education department, incumbent; Jinichi Katayama, 57, deputy director of the party's social and labor affairs department, incumbent; Tetsu Noda, 54, director of the party's public employee affairs bureau, incumbent; Tomoyuki Fukuma, 52, adviser to the Federation of Electric Appliance Workers Unions, incumbent; Eiichi Matsumoto, 59, member of the Executive Committee of the "Buraku" Liberation League, incumbent; Kesajiro Meguro, 57, chairman of the price countermeasures committee, incumbent; Hideo Yasunaga, 60, chairman of the party's education committee, incumbent; Shizuo Wada, 53, official of the Municipality Workers Union, incumbent; Kazumi Suzuki, 50, chairman of the National Monopoly Corporation Workers Union, new.

11

[OW201259] Komeito (9 candidates):

Sumio Ota, 46, director of the Komeito Gifu Prefectural headquarters, incumbent; Keiten Shioide, 57, chairman of the science and technology committee, incumbent; Kazuhiro Suzuki, 55, Komeito vice chairman, incumbent; Bunzo Ninomiya, 60, Komeito vice chairman, incumbent; Fusao Fujiwara, 50, director of the Komeito Miyagi Prefectural headquarters, incumbent; Akinori Mineyama, 44, chairman of the judicial affairs committee, incumbent; Kiyoyuki Okawa, member of the party's Central Committee, new; Hiroshi Tsuruoka, 47, member of the party's Central Committee, new; Tetsuzo Nakano, 53, director of the Komeito Saga Prefectural headquarters, new.

Communist Party (6 candidates):

Toshio Komaki, 59, vice chairman of the party's education council, incumbent; Hiroshi Tachiki, 49, member of the party's Presidium, incumbent; Isao Naito, 49, lawyer, incumbent; Ikuko Yamanaka, 47, director of the party's women's affairs department, incumbent; Takeshi Watanabe, 64, member of the party's Central Committee, incumbent; Tadataka Kondo, 47, lawyer, former upper house member.

Democratic Socialist Party (4 candidates):

Michikazu Etani, 55, official of the National Textile Workers Union, incumbent; Tetsuya Tabuchi, 54, member of the party's Central Executive Committee, incumbent; Nagatoshi Mukai, 69, vice chairman of the party, incumbent; Ikuo Ito, 49, deputy director of the party's organizational affairs bureau, new.

New Liberal Club: (Undecided)

Socialist Citizens League (1 candidate):

Yutaka Hata, vice chairman of the League, incumbent.

Various factions, independents (6 candidates):

Togo Kajino, 35, vice chairman of the Marxist Workers League, new; Yukio Aoshima, 47, writer for radio and television programs, independent, incumbent; Fusae Ichikawa, 86, official of the Fujin Senkyo Kaikan Hall, independent, incumbent; Tonosuka Otani, 73, official of the Disabled Veterans Association, independent, incumbent; Colombia Top (Official name: Yasushi Shimomura), 57, president of the Manzai Comedian's Association, independent, incumbent; Shigeru Aoki, 57, member of the committee of the Salarymen's Association, independent, incumbent.

Local constitutencies (76 seats up for election):

Tokyo metropolis (4 seats at state):

Kiyomasa Kato, 63, former lower house member, Socialist Party, new; Tadao Miki, 44, Komeito Labor Affairs Bureau chief, incumbent; Koichiro Ueda, 43,

12 .

JCP vice chairman, incumbent; Hiroomi Kurisu, 60, former chairman of the joint staff council of the Defense Agency, Democratic Socialist Party, new; Yoko Tsuchida, 34, official of the Labor Party, new; Ken Yasui, 68, speaker of the House of Councillors, independent, incumbent (recommended by the LDP).

Kanagawa Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

Akira Hatano, 68, chairman of the LDP Transport Committee, incumbent; Shiro Takada, vice president of the Socialist Party's Policy Deliberation Council, incumbent; Hatsue Koizumi, 38, deputy director of the JCP Women's Affairs Department, new; Keitaro Hironaga, 60, associate professor of Takushoku University, Democratic Socialist Party, new; Itaru Toma, 36, Kanagawa Prefectural official of the Labor Party, new; Hiroshi Hara, Kanagawa Prefectural chairman of the Marxist Workers League, new; Hiroshi Onishi, former television commentator, independent, new (recommended by the New Liberal Club).

Saitama Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

Yoshitaka Nao, 62, former speaker of the Saitama Prefectural Assembly, LDP, new; Hideyuki Seya, 61, adviser to the Saitama Prefectural chapter of the Socialist Party, incumbent; Tsuneo Yajima, 48, chairman of the policy committee of the JCP Saitama Prefectural chapter; Masato Maki, 32, member of the Saitama Prefectural committee of the Marxist Workers League, new; Eitaro Itoyama, 37, parliamentary vice minister of agriculture and fisheries, independent, incumbent.

Chiba Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

(LDP candidates undecided); Misao Akagiri, 59, former chairman of the Chiba Prefectural Council of Labor Unions, Socialist Party, incumbent; Sachiko Yoshino, 54, former member of the Nagareyama City Council, JCP, new; Shichiro Sato, 37, chairman of the Chiba Prefectural chapter of the Labor Party, new; Hachiro Nishi, 31, official of the Marxist Workers League, new.

Ibaraki Prefecture (2 seats at stake)

Jiro Iwakami, 66, chairman of the board of directors of an unidentified school, LDP, incumbent; Ikuo Soneda, 55, former vice minister of health and welfare, LDP, new; Osamu Yatabe, 48, chairman of the posts and telecommunications committee, Socialist Party, incumbent; Setsuo Yamada, 32, chairman of the JCP Ibaraki Prefectural chapter, new.

Tochigi Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

Tomoharu Oshima, 63, chairman of the education committee, LDP, incumbent; Mayumi Moriyama, 52, former Labor Ministry bureau chief, LDP, new; Kyo Otsuka, 62, chairman of the Socialist Party Tochigi Prefectural chapter, incumbent; Yoshitoki Eguchi, 58, official of the JSP Tochigi Prefectural chapter, new; Shin Sato, 59, councilor to the Democratic Socialist Party

13

Policy Deliberation Council, new; Susumu Hasumi, 47, former secretary of an unidentified member of the House of Representatives, independent, new.

Gunma Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

Susumu Mogami, 38, vice chairman of the LDP Organizational Committee, incumbent; Koichi Fukuda, secretary of an unidentified member of the House of Representatives, LDP, new; Yuzuru Yamada, 55, official of the Gunam Prefectural Workers Cooperative Union, Socialist Party, new; Kurazo Inagaki, 55, chairman of the education committee of the JCP Gunma Prefectural chapter, new.

Hokkaido (4 seats at stake)

Masamitsu Iwamoto, 50, former member of the Hokkaido Assembly, LDP, new; Masaaki Takagi, 50, former member of the Hokkaido Assembly, LDP, new; Takaaki Tsushima, 55, vice chairman of the Socialist Party Committee on Prices, incumbent; Takashi Sakashita, 57, former mayor of Hamatonbetsu, Socialist Party, new; Takehiko Aizawa, 46, director of the Komeito Hokkaido chapter headquarters, incumbent; Sadako Ogasawara, 59, member of the JCP Central Committee Presidium, incumbent; Taku Sakagi, 30, chairman of the Marxist Workers League Hokkaido chapter, new; Kiyobumi Namekawa, 33, chairman of the Labor Party Hokkaido chapter, new.

Aomori Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Tatsuo Yamazaki, 57, director of the LDP Science and Technology Department, incumbent; Reizaburo Sagawa, 51, chairman of the Aomori Prefectural Council of Labor unions, Socialist Party, new; Katsuro Fuji, 37, member of the Standing Committee of the JCP Aomori Prefectural chapter, new.

Iwate Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Sakari Masuda, 66, vice chairman of the LDP Agricultural Policy Council, incumbent; Yoshio Miyawaki, 40, chairman of the Policy Committee of the JCP Iwate Prefectural chapter, new; Seikichi Takahashi, 56, director of the Iwate Prefectural Government Enterprise Bureau, independent, new (recommended by the Socialist Party).

Miyagi Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Kaname Endo, 64, parliamentary vice minister of finance, LDP, incumbent; Osamu Takahashi, 51, chairman of the Miyagi Prefectural Council of Labor Unions, Socialist Party, new; Goro Shizukuishi, 45, chairman of the policy committee of the JCP Miyagi Prefectural chapter, new; Zenshichi Saito, 64, chairman of the Agricultural Cooperative Union of an unidentified municipality, independent, new.

14

Akita Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Mitsuru Sasaki, 53, director of the LDP Environment Department, incumbent; Masaharu Sawada, 57, former member of the House of Representatives, Socialist Party, former member of the upper house; Shoji Ito, 34, former secretary of an unidentified member of the House of Representatives, JCP, new.

Yamagata Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Tokichi Abiko, 76, director of the LDP Judicial Affairs Department, incumbent; Miyako Sudo, 45, former member of the Yamagata Prefectural Assembly, JCP, new; Soichiro Sato, 52, instructor of the NHK Research Institute, independent, new; (jointly recommended by the Socialist Party, Komeito, Democratic Socialist Party, Socialist Citizens League).

Fukushima Prefecture (2 seats at stake): '

Shogo Suzuki, 68, president of the Fukushima Prefectural Federation of Forestry Associations, LDP, incumbent; Eisaku Sato, 40, former vice president of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, LDP, new; Tadashi Yaoita, 74, former member of the House of Representatives, Socialist Party, new; Kiyoharu Mogami, 30, member of the Standing Committee of the JCP Fukushima Prefectural chapter, new.

Shizuoka Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

Shiya Totsuka, 40, parliamentary vice minister of international trade and industry, LDP, incumbent; Sakae Fujita, 49, Shizuoka Shimbun Editorial Committee member, LDP, new; Shinji Aoki, 53, chairman of the disaster countermeasures committee, Socialist Party, incumbent; Hiroshi Yamada, 57, chairman of the education committee of the JCP Shizuoka Prefectural chapter, new; Hiroshi Shiina, 36, vice chairman of the Marxist Workers League, new.

[OW201311] Niigata Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

Shin Hasegawa, 61, parliamentary vice minister of posts and telecommunications, LDP, incumbent; Hiroshi Shitoma, 52, chairman of the audit committee, Socialist Party, incumbent; Hisaaki Maruyama, 41, chairman of the education committee of the JCP Niigata Prefectural chapter, new.

Toyama Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Minoru Yoshida, 69, chairman of the energy committee, LDP, incumbent; (Socialist Party candidate undecided); Naoki Tanbo, 30, chairman of the agriculture and fisheries committee of the JCP Toyama Prefecture chapter, new.

15

Ishikawa Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Takaaki Yasuda, 63, director of the LDP Labor Affairs Department, incumbent; (Socialist Party candidate undecided); Kenji Kawakami, 39, official of the JCP Ishikawa Prefectural chapter, new.

Fukui Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Tazaburo Kumagai, 73, former director general of the Science and Technology Agency, LDP, incumbent; Kazuhiko Tsuji, 55, chairman of the Fukui Prefectural Workers and Farmers Association, Socialist Party, former upper house member; Kazuo Yoshida, 54, former member of the Fukui Prefectural Assembly, JCP, new.

Yamanashi Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Taro Nakamura, 62, vice chairman of the LDP Diet Policy Committee, incumbent; Chuzo Hara, 62, former member of the Yamanashi Prefectural Assembly, Socialist Party, new; Shinsaku Sakurai, 39, official of the JCP Yamanashi Prefectural chapter; new.

Nagano Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

Tadao Natsume, 71, parliamentary vice minister of the Science and Technology Agency, LDP, incumbent; Ippei Koyama, 65, chairman of the pollution and transportation committee, Socialist Party, incumbent; Hideo Kijima, 33, lawyer, JCP, new.

Gifu Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Heigo Fujii, 74, president of the LDP Gifu Prefectural chapter, incumbent; (Socialist Party candidate undecided); Kyozo Gugihara, 44, official of the JCP Gifu Prefectural chapter, new.

Aichi Prefecture (3 seats at stake):

Hiroshi Oki, 52, former consul general, LDP, new; Shoji Morishita, 53, former director of the Socialist Party General Affairs Bureau, incumbent; Kazuhiro Nishida, 32, chairman of the policy committee of the JCP Aichi Prefectural chapter, new; Shigenobu Miharu, 63, chairman of the Democratic Socialist Party Aichi Prefectural chapter, incumbent; Susumu Tani, 38, vice chairman of the Marxist Workers League, new; Kentaro Takagi, 69, former president of Nagoya University, independent, new (recommended by Komeito).

Mie Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Juro Saito, 40, chairman of the trade and industry committee, LDP, incumbent; (Socialist Party candidate undecided): Kazuo Matsubara, 54, director of the education department of the JCP Mie Prefectural chapter, new; Kaoru Sugimoto, 32, official of the Labor Party Mie Prefectural chapter, new.

Shiga Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Kunio Mochizuki, 62, parliamentary vice minister of the National Land Agency, LDP, incumbent; (Socialist Party candidate undecided); Hisako Kiriyama, 41, director of the women's affairs department of the JCP Shiga Prefectural chapter, new.

Kyoto (2 seats at stake):

Minoru Ueda, 65, vice president of the LDP Dietmen's Association, incumbent; Shozo Sugiyama, 44, deputy director of the Socialist Party International Affairs Department; new; Shinnosuke Kamiya, 55, vice chairman of the JCP Diet Policy Committee, incumbent; Akio Kenjo, 32, chairman of the Labor Party Kyoto chapter, new (expected to be jointly nominated by Komeito and the Democratic Socialist Party).

Osaka (3 seats at stake):

Taro Nakayama, 55, chairman of the steering committee, LDP, incumbent; Masaya Makiuchi, 41, secretary general of the Socialist Party Kyoto chapter, new; Giichiro Shiroki, 60, chairman of the Komeito Regulatory Committee, incumbent; Atushi Hashimoto, 51, vice chairman of the JCP Diet Polity Committee, incumbent; Yasuo Fujita, 30, official of the Labor Party Osaka chapter, new; Akira Yamamoto, 36, chairman of the Marxist Workers League Osaka chapter, new; Eiichi Nakamura, 50, television personality, new (recommended by the Democratic Socialist Party and New Liberal Club).

[OW201317] Hyogo Prefecture (3 seats at stake):

Ichiro Nakanishi, 64, vice chairman of the LDP Agricultural Policy Council, incumbent; Shoji Motooka, 48, chairman of the Hyogo Prefectural Council of Labor Unions, Socialist Party, new; Hideo Yahara, 50, chairman of the Komeito Hyogo Prefectural chapter, incumbent; Yoko Yasutake, 51, director of the JCP Trade and Industry Department, incumbent; Eiko Nikiyama, 46, lawyer, Democratic Socialist Party, new; Toshiaki Asari, 30, chairman of the Labor Party Hyogo Prefectural chapter; Toshio Yamada, 32, official of the Marxist Workers League, new.

Nara Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

(LDP candidate undecided); Toshimi Kawamoto, 57, former member of the House of Representatives, Socialist Party, new; Kanako Kitano, 38, director of the women's affairs department of the JCP Nara Prefectural chapter, new.

Wakayama Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Isao Maeda, 37, deputy director of the LDP Youth Bureau, incumbent; (Socialist Party candidate undecided); Kiyoshi Kuroki, 40, member of the standing committee of the JCP Wakayama Prefectural chapter, new.

17 .

Tottori Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Jiro Ishiyaburi, 71, chairman of the foreign relations committee, LDP, incumbent; Osamu Niimi, 65, former member of the Tottori Prefectural Assembly, Socialist Party, new; Mutsumi Yasuda, 42, vice chairman of the JCP Tottori Prefectural chapter, new.

Shimane Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Hisaoki Kamei, 40, former vice minister of posts and telecommunications, LDP, incumbent; Daikichi Ishibashi, 48, chairman of the Shimane Prefectural chapter of the Local and Municipal Government Workers Union, Socialist Party, new; Yoichi Katsube, 49, vice chairman of the JCP Shimane Prefectural chapter, new.

Okayama Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

Takenori Kato, 64, vice chairman of the LDP Dietmen's Association, incumbent; Kumao Terada, 67, adviser to the Socialist Party Okayama Prefectural chapter, incumbent; Oooru Oda, 52, official of the JCP Okayama Prefectural chapter, new; (the Democratic Socialist Party and Socialist Citizens League in negotiation on jointly sponsoring a candidate).

Hiroshima Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

Itsuo Nagano, 61, former governor, LDP, incumbent; Manzo Hamamoto, 59, adviser to the Socialist Party Hiroshima Prefectural chapter, incumbent; Katsuyoshi Moriwaki, 45, chairman of the welfare committee of the JCP Hiroshima Prefectural chapter, new; Hiroyuki Konishi, 43, associate professor of Kinki University, Democratic Socialist Party, new.

Yamaguchi Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

(LDP candidate undecided); Tetsuo Hamanishi, 54, chairman of the district headquarters of the National Communications Workers Union, Socialist Party, new: Yoshio Takahashi, 50, former member of the Hikaru City Council, Communist Party, new.

Tokushima Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Ken Naito, 47, member of the Tokushima Prefectural Assembly, LDP, new; Akio Takehara, 52, director of the education department of the JCP Tokushima Prefectural chapter, new; Teiichi Maeda, 49, chairman of the Tokushima Prefectural Council of Labor Unions, independent, new (recommended by the Socialist Party).

Kagawa Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Takushi Hirai, 48, parliamentary vice minister of justice, LDP, incumbent; (Socialist Party candidate undecided); Shoji Kashi, 30, official of the JCP Kagawa Prefectural chapter, new.

13

Ehime Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Yukio Nakagawa, 63, member of the Ehime Prefectural Assembly, LDP, new; Yoshizo Saheki, 54, chairman of the Ehime Prefectural Council of Labor Unions, Socialist Party, new; Minoru Motooka, 58, vice chairman of the JCP Ehime Prefectural chapter, new; Taizo Saionji, 45, president of the Book Stores Association, independent, new.

Kochi Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Kanzo Tanigawa, 59, former member of the House of Representatives, LDP, new; Masaka Ebuchi, 40, secretary general of the Socialist Party Kochi Prefectural chapter, new; Tadaaki Wada, 40, chairman of the committee on prices of the JCP Kochi Prefectural chapter, new; Shoichi Ban, 56, former minister to China, independent, new (recommended by the Democratic Socialist Party).

Fukuoka Prefecture (3 seats at stake):

Shuji Kurauchi, 62, former member of the House of Representatives, LDP, new; Kazuyoshi Kimura, 44, former member of the Fukuoka Prefectural Assembly, LDP, new; Isamu Koyanagi, 68, vice chairman of the Socialist Party Policy Council, incumbent; Yoshiharu Kuwana, 49, member of the Komeito Central Committee, incumbent; Kazuaki Ozawa, 48, vice chairman of the JCP Fukuoka Prefectural chapter, new; Junji Fujii, 33, official of the Labor Party Fukuoka Prefectural chapter, new; Hiroshi Masaki, 36, official of the Marxist Workers League, new.

[OW201321] Saga Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Hidemaro Fukuoka, 70, president of the National Federation of Commercial Organizations, LDP, new; Yukihiko Numada, 47, chairman of the Saga Prefectural Council of Labor Unions, Socialist Party, new; Masakatsu Hirabayashi, 32, chairman of the policy committee of the JCP Saga Prefectural chapter, new.

Nagasaki Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Takiichiro Hatsumura, 66, chairman of the LDP Committee on Offshore Island Affairs, incumbent; Tatsuhiko Tatsuta, 53, chairman of the Socialist Party Nagasaki Prefectural chapter, former upper house member; Yasuo Furuki, 48, director of labor union affairs of the JCP Nagasaki Prefectural chapter, new;

Kumamoto Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

Kiyomitsu Sonoda, 60, director general of the National Land Agency, LDP, incumbent; Yukio Tashiro, 63, deputy director of the LDP Trade and Industry Department, incumbent; Masaomi Uogaeri, 42, director of the secretariat of the Kumamoto Prefectural Council of Labor Unions, new; Kazuya Awata, 44, chairman of the education committee of the JCP Kumamoto Prefecture, new.

19

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Oita Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Masao Goto, 66, chairman of the committee on local administration, LDP, incumbent; (the Socialist Party, Komeito, the Democratic Socialist Party are negotiating on a joint candidate); Koichi Hamada, 41, member of the standing committee of the JCP Oita Prefectural chapter, new.

Miyazaki Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Masahisa Kamijo, 69, deputy secretary general of the LDP, incumbent; Hideo Shimizu, 53, secretary general of the Socialist Party Miyazaki Prefectural chapter, new; Koji Hamada, 40, official of the JCP Miyazaki Prefectural chapter.

Kagoshima Prefecture (2 seats at stake):

Yoshio Inoue, 57, deputy director of the LDP Agriculture and Forestry Department, incumbent; Shinjiro Kawahara, 62, official of the Kagoshima Prefectural Federation of Agricultural Administrative Organizations, LDP, new; Wataru Kubo, 51, chairman of the social and labor affairs committee, Socialist Party, incumbent; Tokuichiro Kameda, 42, lawyer, JCP, new.

Okinawa Prefecture (1 seat at stake):

Shinei Kyan, 67, chairman of the Reformist Joint Struggle Council, independent, incumbent (recommended by the Socialist Party, JCP and the Socialist Masses Party); Hoei Ohama, 52, president of the Okinawa Prefectural Association of Medical Doctors, independent, new.

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CSO: 4105

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

'YOMIURI' POLLS UPPER HOUSE MEMBERS ON COMING ELECTION

OW260401 Tokyo YOMIURI SHIMBUN in Japanese 22 Mar 80 Morning Edition p 6 OW

[Tabulation of answers given by 180 out of the 247 upper house members to a recent YOMIURI survey on the coming upper house election]

[Text] [Question] On what issues do you plan to appeal to the electorate in the coming upper house election? Please choose only three of the items listed below:

[Answer]	Total	LDP	JSP	Komei	JPS	DSP	NLC	SDL	Niin	Independents
Fiscal Reconstruc-										
tion issue:	41	19	13	2		3		1	1	2
Tax increase issue:		1	4	2		•		-	-	_
Prices, utility	•	-	-•	-						
fees, business con-	-									
dition:	118	38	37	21	12	5	1	1	2	1
Rectification of										
official disci-										
pline:	52	17	12	7	7	1	2		4	2
Administrative										
reform issue:	31	9	1	7		8	3 1	1	1	1
Defense issue:	58	29	9		12	5	1	1	1	
Resources and										
energy issue:	70	42	8	9		7	1	1	1	1 .
Land and housing										
issue:	8	3	3	2						
Welfare and annuity										
issue:	48	13	20	9	2	1	1		1	1
Education issue:	27	12	7	4	1				2	1
Fisheries issue:	23	14	4	3	2					
Possible reversal										
of relative ruling,	•									
opposition		_	_	•						
strength:	28	7	9	9				3	2	
Other issues:	8	3	2					T	2	

21

[Question] How do you forecast the outcome of the coming election? We realize that this is a hard question to answer.

[Answer]	Total	LDP	JSP	Komei	JCP	DSP	NLC	SDL	Niin	Independents
Relative strength of the ruling and opposition party										
will reverse:	58		20	26	4	4		2	2	
Margin of relative										
strength between th	1e									
ruling and opposit	ion									
parties will furthe	er									
narrow down:	36	4	20		2	3	2	1	3	1
There will be litt!	Le									
change in the rela-	•									
tive strength:	69	59	2		2	3	1			2
An LDP landslide										
victory will put an	ı									
end to the equi-										
strength complica-										
tions:	5	5								
Others:	5				5					
No reply:	7	6	1							

[Question] With the formulation of Socialist-Komei and Komei-DSP coalition concepts, arguments about a coalition are rife. What kind of coalition do you think desirable?

[Answer]	Tota1	LDP	JSP	Komei	JCP	DSP	NLC	SDL	Niin	Independents
LDP-NLC coalition:	11	11								
LDP-DSP coalition:	8	8								
LDP-Komei coalition	: 1	1								
LDP and multiple										•
centrist parties:	8	4				1	2			1
LDP splinters and										-
centrists:	9	3				4	1			1
LDP splinters and										
JSP, Komei, and DSP	: 3		2					1		
Centrist Komei and										
DSP as center:	3					3				
JSP, Komei, DSP as										
center:	37		7	26		1		2	1	
All opposition with										
JSP, JCP as center:	4		1						3	

[Table continued on following page]

22

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Total LDP JSP Komei JCP DSP NLC SDL Niin Independents

Others: (93)

A) LDP alone: 47

B) JSP-Komei as

axis:

C) Democratic coalition:

13

31

D) Others:

2

No reply:

1

1

1

1

(Note: Some respondents gave more than one answer to the same question)

[Abbreviations: LDP, Liberal Democratic Party; JSP, Japan Socialist Party; JCP, Japan Communist Party; DSP, Democratic Socialist Party; NLC, New Liberal Club; Niin, Niin Club; SDL, Socialist Democratic League-

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CSO: 4105

23

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

'AKAHATA' EDITORIAL ON UPPER HOUSE ELECTIONS

OW220943 Tokyo JPS in English 0901 GMT 22 Mar 80 OW

["'Condemn Election Campaign Manipulating Religious Groups': 'AKAHATA' Editorial"--JPS headline]

[Text] Tokyo Mar 22 JPS--In preparation for the House of Councilors election, the first Diet election in the 1980's, some political parties and religious organizations are increasing their "campaign manipulating religious groups."

The Komei Party has Sokagakkai, a Buddhist Nichiren sect organization, as its integral partner in its campaign. Ten out of the 23 candidate-nominees of the Liberal-Democratic Party for the national constituency of the House of Councilors elections are enjoying full support from various religious organizations. The same is true of the Democratic Socialist Party.

These religious organizations include Seicho-no-iya, the Shinto Shrine Agency, and the World Salvation Church, which are involved in movements for such fascistic political objectives as the revival of imperial rule and the state-ownership of Yasukuni Shrine (a Shinto Shrine where war-dead are enshrined).

AKAHATA on March 22 carried an editorial entitled "Condemn Election Campaign Manipulating Religious Groups." In defense of freedom of religion, which includes freedom of preaching and of propagation, and the democratic principle of separation of politics and religion, the editorial said, "together with serious religious people, we firmly oppose use of religion for political purposes."

"Of course religious organizations have the right to participate in political life in broad sense of the word," the editorial said, "but this should have nothing in common with coercion of support for a particular political party on the whole membership of a religious organization. Such coercion amounts to a double infringement of principle of democracy, to the extent that it violates the fundamental human rights of adherents, and overrides the principle of separation of politics and religion, which is stipulated in the constitution (Article 20).

24

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The editorial said: "All religious people desiring for the happiness and peace of the people are urged to cooperate and take action with the people of each sector in further developing the struggle against the attempt to turn Japan into a fascistic country, for the defense of freedom of religion, separation of politics and religion, and for peace and democracy."

CSO: 4120

25

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

LDP PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: CALM BEFORE STORM

Tokyo THE DAILY YOMIURI in English 17 Mar 80 p 3

[Article from "Political Beat" column by Raisuke Honda]

[Text]

Antileadership forces within the Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) such as the Fukuda, Nakasone and Miki factions have recently remained silent, apparently unable to pick up their cues to launch a frontal etteck or Primer Minister Obligation. frontal attack on Prime Minister Ohira

ohira, intent on tackling inflation after having the fiscal 1980 budget passed through the House of Representatives, appears at ease due to the silence of his rivals. However, there are also signs of another anti-Ohira campaign.

The premier, in a new bid to consolidate his leadership, is scheduled to hold a series of talks around the middle of this week with such antileadership faction leaders as former premiers Takeo Fukuda and Takeo Miki as well as former party sec-retary-general Yasuhiro Nakasone. The talks are for "party unity" before the coming House of Councilors election.

One of the major reasons for the in-activeness on the part of the anti-Ohira intraparty forces may be that ex-premier Miki, who used to call Ohira on important occasions, has recently remained

Miki attacked Ohira last autumn for his failure to have an election reform bill passed through the Dlet. He also played an active role in the 40-day power strug-gle within the LDP that followed a party setback in the lower house election.

During the past few months, however, Miki has remained mute, except for making remarks critical of the party leadership in connection with the recent disclosure of alleged gambling in Las Vegas by LDP Dietman Koichi Hamada.

What has made Mike silent over party affairs seems closely related to the moves of his most influential faction member Toshio Komoto.

Komoto, one of the prospective candidates in the forthcoming presidential election of the LDP this autumn, staged very aggressive drives for recruiting pro-Komoto party members from late last year through

early this spring.

The Komoto faction's new member recruitment campaign has proved so successful that nearly 1 million of the 3 million registered members of the LDP

are reportedly Komoto supporters.
Komoto, however, is under heavy fire from other LDP faction members for allegedly having used "tricky" tactics in having party dues for the new members covered with money of his own campaigners.

Some LDP sources claim that Komoto spent as much as \$2 billion toward paying the party dues of the newly recruited

ing the party dues of the newly recruited pro-Komoto members.

Although Komoto has thus become a strong candidate for the LDP presidency, his image as a "money-power candidate" has also grown in and out of the LDP. His boss, Miki, known as advocator of "antimoney-power reform" of the party setup, has, therefore, been obliged to remain silent. main silent.

main silent.

Meanwhile, Fukuda, another strong
Ohira rival, has also remained silent.

Shortly before the passage of the budget
through the lower house, there was a
rumor that Fukuda had met secretly with
Ikko Kasuga, former chairman of the
Democratic-Socialist Party, presumably in

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an attempt to defy Ohira by causing confusion over the budget issue in the house's

an attempt to dery Ohira by causing confusion over the budget issue in the house's plenary session.

The plenary session passed the budget, however, without any anti-Ohira moves by Fukuda faction members.

Another Ohira rival, former LDP secretary-general Nakasone, who is reportedly chagrined at being outdone by Komoto in the LDP presidential race, seems to be doing his utmost to make up the leeway and cannot afford to make any anti-Ohira moves.

Despite the outward tranquility in the anti-Ohira camp, senior members of each antileadership faction have often held talks in preparation for a full-scale drive against the party leadership, according to informed sources.

Attention has thus been focused on whether the planned talks between Ohira and antileadership faction leaders this week will help strengthen party solidarity or trigger a frontal attack on Ohira by his intraparty rivals.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

'YOMIURI' REPORTS ON LDP'S YOUNG REBELS

Tokyo THE DAILY YOMIURI in English 29 Feb 80 p 3

larticle from "Political Beat" column by Raisuke Hondal

[Text]

A group of younger-generation politicians, who aspire to power within the Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP), are engaged in behind-the-scenes maneuvering to destroy the still strong influences of former prime minister Kakuei Tanaka in

former prime minister Kakuei Tanaka in the party and thus "rejuvenate the LDF.
Taking the lead in these moves are Shin Kanemaru, the party Diet policy board chairman affiliated with the Tanaka faction, and Kazuo Tamaki, an LDF House of Councilors member with no factional affiliation. affiliation.

affiliation.

According to LDP sources, other prime movers of party rejuvenation include Finance Minister Noboru Takeshita of the Tanaka faction, the party's Policy Board Chairman Shintaro Abe of the Fukuda faction and former agriculture, forestry and fisheries minister Ichiro Nakagawa, also of the Fukuda faction.

also of the Fukuda faction.

And other active participants are former member of the Nakasone faction and former agriculture, forestry and fisheries minister Michio Watanabe and former education minister Toshiki Kaifu of the Miki faction, the sources say.

The party sources give the following factors behind the movement to rejuvenate the party leadership.

Since the birth of the cabinet led by Kakuei Tanaka that followed the Saty cabinet in 1972, the ruling party has been under the rigid control of the five major intraparty factions, or the Ohira, Tanaka, Fukuda, Nakasone and Miki factions:

Although nearly 10 years have passed since then, there is no sign that the dominance of the five factions over party affairs may be loosened in the foreseeable

affairs may be loosened in the foreseeable future, the sources point out.

In fact, the five major factions have been expanding their strength respectively by absorbing minor factions and nonfactional members since the LDP's major setback in the general election last autumn.

The three former premiers, Takeo Fukuda, Takeo Miki and Tanaka have been consolidating their power bases and continue to have big voices in party de-

Tanaka, in particular, has retained surprisingly strong influence despite the fact that he now is being tried in the Lockheed payoff scandal, so that the current Ohira administration is often called a "cabinet in the shadow of Tanaka."

Under the circumstances, the sources say, such "future candidates" for the post of LDP leader as Takeshita and Abe may well be growing desperate.

If the existing party control by the faction leaders continues for several more faction by the yourser assistants are bound to

years, the younger appirants are bound to have a very short period of time in which they will be able to wield their own influence.

nuence.

The faction headed by Tenaka, in particular, will make allout efforts to maintain its strong party influence it give support to the former premier in his court battle, the sources speculate.

to the former premier in the court battle, the sources speculate.

Considering his size of 61. Tanaka, if successful in maintaining his faction's strength, will be ahigh continue to exert strong influence over the party for at least a dozen more years.

Should this happen, then Takeshita and other younger aspirants to power, will be kept in a holding position far too long, the sources say.

the sources say.

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Takeshita along with Kanemaru, who are related to each other, have therefore embarked on the party's rejuvenation campaign by recruiting other like-minded LDP members, the sources say.

In a related move, the Policy Study Council on Religious Matters, comprised of a group of LDP Dietmen led by Tamaki, has recently come out with a proposal calling for both lower and upper house LDP members to cut their ties with factions before the forthcoming upper house election. election.

In line with the proposal, lower house member Takashi Sato of the Fukuda faction, who serves as secretary-general of the council, has already expressed his intention to secede from the faction.

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Kanemaru describes Sato's action as the "first significant step forward" toward rejuvenation of the party setup, adding: "There will be very interesting developments in several months to come."

Although he did not say so specifically, Kanemaru appears to be hinting that his group will launch a full-scale campaign to liquidate all intraparty faction with a frontal attack against the leaders of the five major factions.

It is difficult to say that Kanemaru and his supporters will be successful since the faction leaders still have far more influence in the party than the younger rebels.

rebels.

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

DISPUTE BETWEEN JSP AND JCP ANALYZED

Tokyo MAINICHI DAILY NEWS in English 11 Mar 80 p 4

[Zooming-In Column by Hideo Matsuoka: "All-Out Socialist-Communist War?"]

[Text]

An all-out war has broken out between the Socialists and Communists of Japan. The Socialist-Komeito policy alliance for a coalition government sent the Communist dander up through the roof at the party's recent convention. Drawing a bead on the Socialist leadership. Communist Chairman Kenji Miyamoto said the Socialist Party was corrupted, and had walked out on the working class and trampled on the basic principles of reformism. It was lacerating language.

The Socialists did not take it sitting down. Having lost sight of the real enemy, which is the bourgeois government, they said. Communists were now lighting into the forces of social democracy, revealing their true identity as an enemy of democracy.

The confrontation is escalating without an end. We may be seeing a Russo-Chinese proxy war on Japan's political scene.

Are not Communists riled beyond the Socialists' expectation? In agreeing to exclude Communists from the Socialist-Komeito alliance, the Socialists must have expected some angry words from the Communists, but not the latest fusillade of barbs.

#### Coalition

The Socialists allied with the Komeiites primarily in the hope that it would work to their advantage in the coming House of Councillors election. The alliance is explained as "a policy agreement for establishing a coalition government during the first half of the 1980s." The present political situation, however, offers no such prospects. It is more likely that the proposed coalition government will stay just a proposal, with the publicized, policy agreement never getting a chance to be practiced by a real government. The alliance and the publicity that surrounds it are more useful in the upcoming election than in realizing a coalition government.

At the general meeting of Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan) in early February, Secretary General Mitsuo Tomizuka declared: "The coming House of Councillors election is more important than arguing whether the Socialist-Komeito alliance means a switch in the Socialist policy line. If our forces lose this election, there will be no tuture for us." It was as good as saying that the Socialist-Komeito alliance was just for

30

own party. Toward that end, they could deploy a variety of programs, such as upgrading party members' study program to improve membership quality, penetration into labor unions, organizing civic movements and others."

## Unrewarding Chaos

The latest outburst by Miyamoto has this passage: "It only creates an unrewarding chaos to expect any normal response from the Socialist Party which is fast shifting to the right." This is what I have been preaching to the Communists for these two years. I had thought the Communist leaders I talked to understood my judgment, although they did not overtly back my theory. Judging by the Communist outburst at the Socialists, the Communist leaders I have talked to did not understand my assertions. Since before World War II, I have known the repeated grouping together and falling apart among leftist elements. The Communist leaders would have done better by giving more respect to my

If they had heeded my advice, the Communists today would be taking the Socialist-Komeito alliance more coolly, convinced that the inevitable ultimate has come. There will be less frustration on the part of the Communists. It was in this sense that I said the ferocity of the Communist wrath was a surprise to me as much as it should have been to the Socialists.

For the Communist Party, however, formation of a people's front is an all-important goal of the Communist program. Old stories of World War II vintage aside, it was only two months after the

end of the war that Communist Yoshio Shiga, then just released from Fuchu Prison, called at the office where preparations were being made for organizing a Socialist Party, and called for electoral consumption. Of course, the Japan Socialist Party cannot shelve or ditch the alliance right after the election as something that has served out its usefulness. If it did so, the party leadership's morals would be called into question. So, the alliance will have to live on. In thus upholding the alliance, the Socialists hoped that the Communists would understand their predicament. Well, they did not.

#### JCP In Lower House

The Japan Communist Party more than doubled its seats in the House of Representatives in the last general election, to 41 from 19. The party, glowing over the victory, had expected to have its voice heard better in the reformist camp of the political world. No way. Instead of increased respect, the elated Communists were getting unfriendly elbows from all around in the reformist camp. They were virtually being ostracized. If this did not make the Communists fume, what: will? The Japan Socialist Party since its inception has been a combination of rightist and leftist factions. The rightists, after 20 years in the intraparty limbo, are back in leadership, making Communists all the more wary of the Socialist Party. Hence the bitter Communist-Socialist confrontation.

The ferocity of the Communist blast at the Socialists was as much a surprise to me as it was to the Socialists. For more than two years I have been advising high-ranking Communists at various

31

meetings against attempts for a united front with Socialists. My pet preaching to Communists at such meetings would run like this: "There is virtually no possibility for a Communist-Socialist united front, and it is simply a loss of working energy for Communists to seek such a front. Communists, instead, should concentrate their main energy in strengthening their a Communist-Socialist common front. During that year, Communists made three formal approaches to Socialists on the subject.

Suehiro Nishio of the Socialist Party received the Communist delegation once, but turned off the later delegations at the door, saying "The number of your delegations will not change my no'."

## People's Front

When Sanzo Nosaka returned to Japan in January. 1946 from his exile in Yanan, China, the first thing he proposed was formation of a democratic people's union. It was intended as the first step toward organizing a nationwide people's front. People's front is the only vehicle for the minority Communists to ride into political leadership.

It was against this background that the Japan Communist Party drew up a platform on a government of a democratic alliance seven years ago. Even in that platform, the central forces of the

alliance were to be Communists and Socialists. Alliance with the Socialists ... thus has been a cherished dream of the Communists. The Communists are doomed to uphold the action policy to pursue the dreamed-of goal, even when they know the general environment is getting increasingly hostile for the dream to come true. When I think of this Communist obsession, I can see how they could not quite give up hope on the Socialists. They knew the situation was getting more and more unfavorable for their hope. But when the hope did get lost, they blew up with pent-up anger.

The Socialists say, meanwhile, they took up with Komeiites because they were not to win the House of Councillors election by all means. It may also be said the Socialists were revealing their real intentions. Whichever the case, the Socialists mercilessly let their Communist brothers down. Their confrontation escalated with every tit for every tat, and there seems to be no mending the fence now. The confrontation will spread to other fields such as labor, civic, cultural and other movements. It will be an all-out war between Socialists and Communists.

# **Less Confusion**

It will be better for the order, within the reformist camp if the Communist Party chooses to

become a truly revolutionary party of advance guards and the Socialist Party to pursue the late Saburo Eda's policy of reforming the national structure. If the two parties make their differences clear, there will be less confusion in the political traffic. So far. the traffic scene has been dominated by orange lights, with no green and red lights to note the difference for the nation.

Talk about Eda, and in the Socialist-Komeito policy agreement, there is a passage which says: "We will strive for undoing the Japan-U.S. security arrangement. With this in mind, we will endeavor to build an international environment that will make this undoing possible." This is exactly what Eda had been advocating throughout. Saburo Eda has been resurrected in the Socialist Party.

The Socialists must formally restore him. Eda may not be compared to Llu Shaoqi in stature. But the Socialist Party will be impolitic not to restore him after borrowing from his policy lines posthumously. Really, the Socialist Party, for espousing Eda's ideas, owes it ohim to purge its own "gang of four" who engineered his ouster. But the party leadership has said it was against such a purge. Well it may. But then, it should at least set up an altar to formally honor the man it indiscreetly kicked out.

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32

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

JAPANESE EMBASSY ENTRUSTING IMPORTANT DIPLOMATIC JOBS TO AMERICAN ENTERPRISES

Tokyo THE MAINICHI DAILY NEWS in English 3 Mar 80 p 5

[Article by Yoshijisa Komori, MAINICHI Correspondent in Washington]

[Text]

On the occasion of the new Japanese ambassador's arrival at his Washington post, I would like to bring up a question which I have long harbored in regardiso Japan's diplomatic activities in the United States. The question concerns the fact that the Japanese Embassy spends a large sum of money to ask local American enterprises, not its own staff, to conduct various important jobs needed for its diplomatic mission.

The embassy heavily depends upon American firms to carry out a wide range of tasks such as investigation of political and economic affairs, lobbying at Congress, information gathering and even the preparation of speech texts for the ambassador and Cabinet members from Tokyo. In embassies of other countries, these jobs are naturally carried out by their own staffs.

For this purpose, the embassy is spending nearly \$1 million a year. The Japanese office exceeds all other embassies in Washington in the field of such 'outside order' diplomacy.

Why do they have to ask outside private firms to carry out what ought to be done by themselves? This peculiar habit of the Japanese Embassy may be giving rise to a loss of independence in Japan's diplomacy toward the United States and to the growing friction in economic relations between the two nations.

Washington is a crowded with investigation agencies, PR enterprises, lobbying organizations and law offices. Anyone can utilize such services.

Above all, the roles played by law offices are particularly great. Besides ordinary judicial procedures, they are ready to conduct, on behalf of their clients, a great variety of jobs including lobbying activities, gathering in-formation, analysis, survey, production of reports and arranging meetings between important American persons and Japanese visitors.

The range and volume of diplomatic jobs which the Japanese Embassy is entrusting to American law offices are surprisingly great. These 'outside order' jobs are not at all sensitive or purely judicial matters that could be solved only by American lawyers. The jobs are such as are actually being done by the staffs of other embassies. Here are some examples.

Example 1:

The Japanese Embassy is paying about \$30,000 a year to the firm Tanaka, Waldars and Ritger. During the first half of 1979, for example, the registrant (1) furnished legal and informational services covering congressional activities including the trade subcommittee task force of the House Ways and Means Committee report on United States-Japan trade, Senate Finance Committee recommendations for legislation implementing the antidumping code; (2) reported on and analyzed developments in

TOW OFFICERS ONE OWER

the multilateral trade negotiations (Tokyo Round) including congressional activities and hearings held relating thereto; (3) covered and reported on activities of the office of the Special Trade Representative; (4) reported on recent determinations under the Antidumping Act of 1930 and relevant developments including Treasury Department and International Trade Commission actions covering various imports, including motorcycles from Japan and steel wire from Japan; (5) reported on and analyzed presidential actions including a proposed antiinflation program; (6) reported on results of 1978 congressional elections and impact of same on future trade legislation; and (7) acted as interpreter at various meetings (for the embassy staff).

In addition to the annual-base contract business, the office was paid \$10,000 by the embassy in February 1978 for providing a survey gathering data on and analyzing major components of U.S. exports. In May the same year, the office earned about \$9,000 for providing the embassy with legal and informational counseling services with respect to U.S. taxation matters.

The reports, analyses and advice, which the Japanese Embassy purchases from American enterprises are forwarded to Tokyo as "achievements" of its activities.

# Example 2:

The Horgan Hartson firm is paid \$51,000 per year by the embassy. The services which the office has sold to the embassy include (1) general legal counsel and advice regarding legislative and executive branch developments affecting the U.S.-Japan relationship; (2) conferences with the Department of State regarding diplomatic protocol matters; (3) continuing conferences with embassy staff regarding air route and fishing rights matters and legislation regarding diplomatic immunity issues; (4) conferences with visiting client government officials, and meetings with Senator Byrd regarding arrangements therefor; (5) conferences with embassy staff and National Symphony Orchestra personnel and advice regarding sponsorship of a fund-raising symphony ball; (6) assistance and advice concerning

professional educational exchange programs; and (7) reports on energy issues.

### Example 3:

The embassy is also asking the firm of Danzansky, Dickey, Tydings, Quint and Gordon to report and advise on moves of the Administration and the Congress concerning problems of population, food supply and trade activities. The annual retainer is \$10,000. The office explained that, on behalf of the client, it held talks with officials of the State, Commerce and Treasury departments and those of the International Trade Commission, and also conferred with congressmen of both houses.

### Example 4:

The Daniels, Houlinan and Palmeter firm advised the embassy, formally and informally, on legal matters, especially in international trade, at a price of more than \$20,000 per year. Between 1970 and 1976, the same office was paid a total of \$88,000 for advising and reporting on the current situation with regard to trade policy and problems. Example 5:

The embassy is receiving advice on defense, trade and congressional problems from Chapman, Duff and Paul, paying \$10,000 each year.

# **Elementary Info**

Why don't Japanese diplomats conduct such basic activities? None of the embassies of other advanced countries like Britain, West Germany, Australia and Italy seek outsiders' help for their diplomatic missions. Embassies of Indonesia, Haiti, Iran and some other smaller nations have contracts with no more than one or two American firms.

Outside orders by the Japanese Embassy are not limited to law offices alone. Last year, it paid \$6,000 to Brown-Dowling, Ltd. which advised the embassy on the principal of Georgians working for the Administration and Cabinet members' relationship with President Carter. Donald Lerch and Company, Inc. (an investigation firm) provided counseling on agricultural issues and other matters as the embassy requested for payment of about \$13,000. About \$24,000 went to Doremus and Company (an investigation and PR firm). The registrant conducted a survey

of the public relations and communications activities of the embassy and consular offices of Japan in the U.S., and monitored and analyzed U.S. broadcast and print media treatment of Japan and served as general public relations counsel to the embassy.

Chapman, Gadsby, Hannah and Duff provided the embassy with information concerning U.S. presidential primaries. The payment in 1976 was \$24,000. It concerned elementary information about how the elections are held and how candidates are nominated. The same office also gave suggestions to the embassy about the functions of the multinational enterprises subcommittee of the Senate International Relations Commission, which became internationally known at the time of the Lockheed scandal.

In 1977, when lobbying activities by members of the Korez Central Intelligence Agency were brought to light, the Japanese Embassy requested Cladouhos and Brashares to conduct a survey on the theme of "lobbying activities in the United States." The cost was \$3,000.

For such information, which should be elementary for professional diplomats, the Japanese Embassy is spending a fortune with American firms.

Immediately after President Carter took office, he announced a plan to withdraw U.S. ground forces from the Republic of Korea, a drastic policy of enormous significance to Japan. The Japanese Embassy quickly placed a \$3,000 order with Yorys, Satar, Seymour and Pease. The firm prepared for the embassy a study of the factors which historically influenced and currently influence the United States policy regarding the retention of its ground forces in the Republic of Korea. It reviewed publicly available documents, interviewed past and present members of Congress and congressional staff members, as well as past and present members of the executive branch, including the departments of Defense and State. Here again, a question arises over why the embassy cannot carry out such a job by itself.

The outside order contracts, once concluded, tend to continue endlessly; and this is a major characteristic of the Japanese diplomacy in Washington. William Tanaka of Tanaka, Waldars and Ritger has been supplying information to the embassy continuously for the past 24 years.

Michael D. Daniels of Daniels, Houlihan and Palmeter worked actively as a lobbyist for the Japanese side at the time of the U.S. Japan textile dispute in 1970. For a yearly reward of \$84,000, paid by the Japanese textile industry, he received a contract to negotiate with the Administration and the Congress. As a result, he told Japanese representatives that the dispute would be solved only if Japan voluntarily controlled its textile exports. However, when the Japanese side presented a proposal on voluntary

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

BUDGET MAKING CRITICIZED AS SLIPSHOD

Tokyo THE DAILY YOMIURI in English 7 Mar 80 p 3

[Article from "Political Beat" column by Raisuke Honda]

[Text]

The Diet impasse on a demand by the opposition parties to revise the fiscal 1980 budget has been overcome with an agreement between the government and the opposition that modifies the budget by

opposition that modiles the budget by F141 billion without rewriting it.

The budget is certain to be approved in a plenary session of the House of Representatives and referred to the House of

Councilors Saturday.
Despite the major compromise they made in the budget, top leaders of the government and Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) appear satisfied they at least managed to avoid a "formal modification" that would require rewriting the original

There has been no previous instance comparable to this latest budget revision which impressed us so strongly of the intricacies of the political world on the threshold of an 'age of coalition."

The budget revision strife at this time

was unprecedentedly peculiar in that the three political camps—the LDP, the Communist Party (JCP) and the "league" of the Socialist (JSP), Komeito and Democratic-Socialist (DSP) parties — were strongly swayed by their party interests with the coming upper house election in

The JSP, Komeito and DSP were in particular self-interested throughout the impasse.

The three parties' adamant stance on the budget revision issue was seemingly due to the need they felt to win a major government compromise on budget modifications in order to pave the way for planned cooperation among the three in the upper house election.

The three parties, particularly the DSP, raised strong objections to the govern-ment's plan to raise the rates of the electricity resources development promo-

electricity resources development promotion tax.

The tax is imposed on electric power companies in proportion to their electricity outputs with the aim of securing funds for financing alternative energy development projects as well as facilitating construction of new power stations.

The DSP, in response to the urgings from power companies and their trade unions, battled the planned tax hike with former DSP chairman Ikko Kasuga at the forefront.

forefront.

While acting as a "cat's paw" of the power companies and related labor unions, Kasuga made a point of arguing that the planned tax raise be scrapped since he claimed it would lead to further hikes in power rates and eventually all commodity prices.

Although the JSP and Komelto were apparently reluctant to follow suit, the two parties were forced to back the DSP in its campaign against the planned pow-

in its campaign against the planned pow-er firm tax raise, simply to keep the three-party cooperation setup intact. The government and the LDP resisted the DSP demand to the last, since with-drawal of the planned tax hike would have necessitated rewriting the original budget, a big disgrace for the government.

In its effort to persuade the DSP and the two other parties to abandon the antitax demand, the government was eventually obliged to make a compromiss offer to the effect that it would appropriate \(\frac{\pi}{2}\)50 billion more funds for

measures to stabilize commodity prices. The government offer of the additional ¥50 billion antiinflation funds came so ¥50 billion antiinflation funds came so abruptly that the opposition members had no idea at all how to use that large sum of money. Some of them were to irresponsible as to tell Finance Minister Noboru Takeshita: "Think out for yourself good purposes for the use of the money, if any."

Such moves by the DSP and its two allies show clearly their narrow-sighted partisan-mindedness as well as their complete lack of a sense of responsibility for

plete lack of a sense of responsibility for making a budget for the benefit of the nation.

The budget revision row also brought forth similarly irresponsible responses on

forth similarly irresponsible responses on the part of the government and the LDP to the opposition demands.

The LDP's top officials, such as the secretary-general, chairmen of the Policy Board and the Diet Policy Board, as well as the LDP members of the lower house Budget Committee, acted arbitrarily without mutual consultation in dealing with the opposition demands.

The confusion was so bad that opposition members grumbled: "We are at sea with no one to negotiate the matter."

Although the LDP later named Diet Policy Board Chairman Shin Kanemaru

to represent the party in talks with the opposition over the budget, the final agreement, between the LDP and the opposition was made between LDP Policy Board Chairman Shintaro Abe and his opposition counterparts in the absence of Kanemaru.

Prime Minister Ohira did nothing all the while but say he would like to see the revision issue settled upon the initiative of the LDP.

The Finance Ministry, which had earlier been strongly opposed to any budget modifications on the grounds that the ministry-planned government finance re-

ministry-planned government finance re-habilitation must be carried out, also "capitulated" to opposition pressures. The ministry was so yielding that it begged the opposition parties to give up their demands for a "formal revision" of the budget on condition that it would accept a "highest possible amount" of modifications not requiring rewriting the original budget.

original budget.

Meanwhile, Premier Ohira remained inactive, only echoing the ministry's stand not to accept the formal revision demand.

The 10-day stoppage of Diet business was thus carted by these absurd and irresponsible attitudes toward the budget by both the government-LDP and the opposition parties.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

'YOMIURI' ON ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

Tokyo THE DAILY YOMIURI in English 15 Mar 80 p  $^{2}$ 

[Editorial: "Administrative Reform"]

[Text]

The Ohira cabinet Friday confirmed that an administration reform draft will be completed by the end of this month. The draft, being prepared under the theme of "scrap at least one local bureau of each ministry and agency," is aimed at getting rid of some of the regional branches.

TOW OFFICER OUR OWNER

Regions which are expected to be affected have lost no time in leunching campaigns against the plan with the help of Dietmen from the area concerned or other influential figures.

We hope that Prime Minister Ohira, who has experessed his determination to carry out the administrative reform, will stick to his word and prove his leadership.

Cutting down the number of regional branches of the central government organs will certainly serve in eliminating administrative waste and at the same time promote independence of local governments.

Prior to the compilation of the state budget for fiscal 1980, the board of prefectural governors submitted to the government a demand for positive streamlining of regional branches arguing that complicated administrative system of the central government was hampering their independent financial management and rationalization of administrative setups.

We support the local governments' argument. But it is strange that the governors never fail to object to the scrapping of local branches of the central government whenever such a plan is forwarded.

## Abandoning Token Gesture

When it comes to the nitty-grittles of administrative reform, they abandon their token gesture and come out with their true feelings.

It is remarkable to note that local governments concerned are already arguing over which of the northern and southern regional financial bureaus will be unified as part of the program. In this sense, the central ministries and agencies must also be blamed for their negative attitude because they want to make as minimum a sacrifice as possible.

Considering the past experience, the Administrative Management Agency plans to propose a list of offices which should be abolished or amalgamated in a bid to allow each ministry to make its own choice in the list. Some 30 regional branches including 39 local postal savings offices of the Posts and Telecommunications Ministry, about 10 percent of the total regional branches, are listed as targets of streamlining.

## Matching The Private Sector

Considering the present advance communications and traffic means, it should be possible to reduce the number of regional branches by half. If the private sector can abolish its unproductive departments, why can't the public sector?

Administrative reform must be accompanied by substantial results in the form of personnel retrenchment and reduction in the number of branches, not just a token gesture.

The Finance Ministry and the Administrative Management Agency, the two central government organs which have at times dillydallied in following such a program, should this time take the initiative. Ohira, as the country's leader, should also set an example by first abolishing the central government's regional branches in his constituency.

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ECONOMIC

EXPERT FORECASTS UPWARD CAPITAL SPENDING BY MANUFACTURERS

Tokyo NIKKEI BUSINESS in Japanese 25 Feb 80 p 24

[Article by Hisao Kanamori, director of the Japan Economic Research Center]

TOW OFFECTION ONLY ONLY

[Text] Many economic forecasts are announced each year. There are years in which these are all similar, and years in which they are widely divergent. In 1980 the range of variation is extreme. Among the various forecasting organs, the lowest growth rate seen is 2.1 percent by Daiwa Securities, and the highest is 5 percent by the Institute of Research on the National Economy. Between these two extremes, there are many forecasts concentrated at the 3 percent or 4 percent level. The divergence among individual views is even greater. The lowest is the zero growth of Mr Osamu Shimomura, and the highest is my 6 percent growth.

10 Percent Increase, Though Most Predict a Drop

Why do forecasters using the same statistics and observing the same economic phenomena have such different views? It may be a difference of perception and insight, or depth of knowledge and experience, or simply the result of a difference of temperment, but while all the predictions present properlooking arrays of figures at the beginning of the year, by May or June about half will have dropped out of the forecasting race. The dropouts may be the low-growth group or the high-growth group, but in any case, the wise man will refrain from immediately speaking too confidently, because the superior figures will win out.

But what surprises me, in spite of this, is that so many see FY 1980 plant and equipment investment as being extremely low. Of the forecasts announced at the end of last year, Nomura Research Institute and Daiwa Securities had decreases from last year of 1.9 percent and 0.4 percent respectively. Mitsubishi Research Institute had a mere 0.5 percent increase. My perception, insight, knowledge and experience all make it quite difficult to agree with these. I think capital spending may well increase at a real rate of about 10 percent. If judgements of capital spending, which is the driving force behind economic growth and movement, differ by this much, it is no wonder that there is great divergence among views of the growth rate.

40

Capital spending is hard to predict. Perhaps it can be predicted using the investment function with the rate of capacity utilization and corporate income as explanatory variables. Certainly the trends of the rate of capacity utilization and corporate income are clues, but they are not adequate by themselves. Keynes said in his "General Theory" that decisions on capital spending are largely the result of "animal spirit" and are not dependent on the prospect of profit based on calculations of probability. If the ability to sniff out animal spirit is lacking, forecasts will be wrong.

Well then, how does one tell whether animal spirit is in a period of uplift or stagnation? Since capital spending is done by businesses, the quickest way is not to state difficult theories, but to ask businesses. The figure shows the results of the corporate investment trends survey the Economic Planning Agency released at the beginning of February. Capital spending in the manufacturing sector hit bottom in the third quarter of 1978 and bounced back sharply. After a short breather in the last quarter of 1978 and the first quarter of 1979, there are signs of further increase beginning the second quarter. Even more important than such capital spending movements are the decline in the number of companies which consider their own capital spending excessive and the increase of those which consider theirs inadequate. The situation in the last quarter of 1979 is like that in the summer of 1972. Back then capital spending began to increase rapidly.

Stronger "Animal Spirit" of Enterprises

A characteristic of the situation since the summer of 1978 is that capital shortages have continued even in the midst of increased capital spending. This is because expansion of capital spending caused an increase of demand in excess of increased capacity. Usually when this happens the cumulative process of investment calling for more investment occurs. For example, capital spending for automobiles increases the demand for machine tools, and the manufacturers of machine tools invest to expand their capacity. Judging from the figure, I think the animal spirit of enterprises will grow stronger. I cannot go along with those who feel that capital spending will level off or decline beginning this spring.

41

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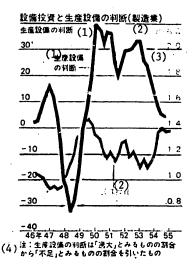


Figure: Capital Spending and Evaluation of Production Facilities (Manufacturing Industries)

- (1) Evaluation of Production Facilities
- (2) Capital Spending
- (3) Trillions of Yen
- (4) 1971 1972 1973 . . . 1980

Note: Evaluation of production facilities is found by subtracting the percentage saying 'inadequate' from the percentage saying 'excessive.'

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9601

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

GOVERNMENT S&T POLICY CRITICIZED, LACK OF HEAD OFFICE, MASTER PLAN CITED

Tokyo NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN in Japanese 31 Jan 80 p 1

[Text] Japan has finally decided to embark on a full-scale research program of nuclear fusion with the hope that, sometime in the 21st century, it will be the deicisve factor in solving the energy crisis.

Critical plasma test apparatus JT-60 will be built in Naka town, Ibaraki prefecture for the total sum of 200 billion yen. This experimental equipment, which will gather data needed to design the nuclear fusion reactor, will be completed in 1984. This is the beginning of a gigantic research and development [R&D] plan since during the next stage of building a test reactor, trillions of yen will be required and in the future stages, "we cannot even estimate how many trillions of yen will be needed." (Statement of Atomic Energy Bureau, Science and Technology (S&T) Agency.)

Nuclear Fusion Is S&T Agency Research Theme

Koji Fushimi, president of the Science Council of Japan, who is an ardent proponent of this plan is somewhat doubtful, however, that Japan is determined to earnestly carry out the nuclear fusion research under a master strategic plan.

"The fact is that even great countries, such as the United States and USSR, are hesistant to engage in nuclear fusion research because of the unpredictably high costs. If Japan is to take the big step of conducting the research in earnest, the decision should be made only after considering it from various standpoints. The government, however, did not debate the subject much. If nuclear fusion power generation succeeds, a minute amount of heavy water extracted from 1 liter of ocean water can produce energy equivalent to 300 liters of gasoline. For a country poor in natural resources as Japan, there is an urgent need to conduct researches which will give practical applications to power sources such as nuclear fusion and solar energy. President Fushimi is questioning whether the nation, as a whole, is determined and prepared to eventually master the technology, without throwing the project overboard, even though huge sums of R&D capital, running into trillions of yen, might become necessary in the future.

43

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Professor [Keiichi] Oshima of Tokyo University makes the following comments on this point. "Japan does not have a master S&T strategy. There are only policies of the various ministries. Nuclear fusion is only a research theme under the jurisdiction of the S&T Agency. This situation is true of all S&T aspects, including R&D of other alternate energy sources."

"Council for Science and Technology"--Only a Formality

An example is the mud-slinging among the Japan Atomic Energy Commission S&T Agency and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry [MITI] over the import of the Canadian-type heavy water reactor (CANDU) which was in the news recently. The nation is not unified on an important energy policy such as that on atomic energy. Therefore, it is only natural that the MITI and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry should be considering separate policies for the R&D of biological energy, such as "the three on which oil grows."

Not only with nuclear fusion but with basic research in the S&T field, there is a tendency for the scale to become gradually larger. Even if the country has become economically strong, there is the danger that it will wind up with nothing if it is greedy for everything. There is a need for Japan to consider its international position in the area of resources energy, its national strength, the level of its researchers, etc. and to place priorities on the development of new technologies so that efforts can be concentrated on selected goals. If money and manpower is to be expended, anyway, results that would help strengthen Japan's bargaining power with the other countries should be obtained.

Unification of the country's R&D policies is also important because of the country's financial status which shows that borrowed money accounts for one-third of the nation's revenues. Takashi Tanaka, Budget Bureau Chief of the Finance Ministry, complains that "Duplication is noticeable in R&D expenditures between the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the MITI for a medical information system. Allocation of funds is difficult unless R&D plans are controlled and priorities determined somewhere."

The obstacles created by the "lack of head office" in the S&T field can no longer be overlooked. On paper, the Council for Science and Technology [CS&T] which the prime minister chairs has the role of unifying the country's S&T policies. What is the actual status of this council which is made up of four cabinet ministers, besides the prime minister, and six academic experts?

"The council meets about once a year. The meeting lasts about an hour and is strictly a formality. Politicians have no interest in it." That is the impression of one of the academic experts on the council. "The CS&T merely gathers up all the proposals presented by the various ministries and agencies and does nothing." That is the criticism (of Professor Oshima).

44

Insignificant Cabinet Post

Japan can no longer survive by depending, as in the past, on technological imports from Europe and the United States. The age has arrived when the existence of Japan depends on whether it can develop its own technologies which are second to none in the world. And yet, the head office is in a pitiful state.

Yoshishige Ashihara, member of the CS&T and president of The Kansai Electric Power Company, Inc., claims, "The CS&T should be provided its own funds and its powers should be greatly strengthened, such as to regulate budget allocations." Naomi Ezaki proposes, "As an organization with a vision of building a technological nation, establish an engineering academy composed of engineers from the academic, industrial and governmental circles." Toyozo Kanbara, consultant for Hitachi, Ltd., suggests "Establish an advisory S&T organ under the direct jurisdiction of the prime minister." Such ideas to assist and strengthen the head office are being presented by various circles. Toshio Doko, president of the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations [Keidanren], who has been a strong S&T supporter says, "Because certain practices enabled Japan to keep pace in the past with the advanced countries, it would be a great mistake to think that they would continue working in the future. The practice of pushing sales throughout the world of cheap products based on imported technology will no longer work. The priority task is for politicians to realize how import S&T is to Japan." Whenever a new director of the S&T Agency assumes office, President Doko never fails to make a courtesy call to give encouragement. However, the official who assumed the S&T ministerial position is not too happy and regards it as an "insignificant post" or "conciliatory post" and this attitude is a frank revelation of the importance attached to it by politicians.

Following are the worlds of former Prime Minister Fukuda, representing the politicians:

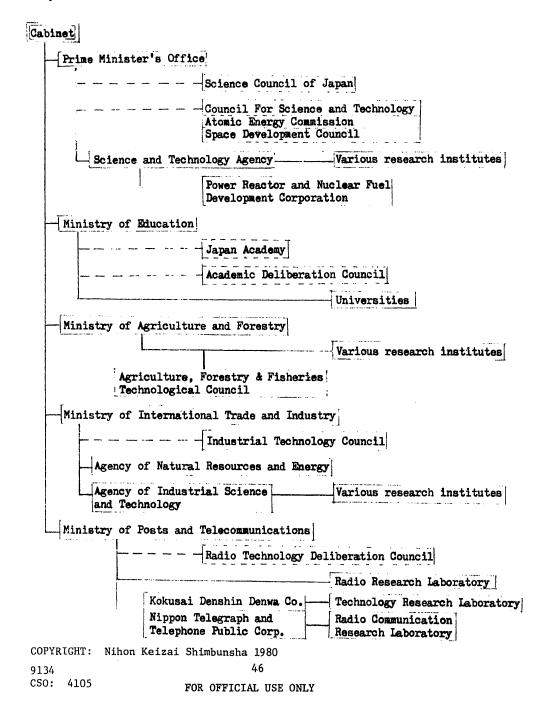
"Going into the 21st century, Japan must devote all its efforts toward developing, not "oil substitutes," but new energy sources such as nuclear fusion and solar energy which do not use oil at all. Regretfully, however, Japan is not yet prepared. When there are definite prospects for their practical applications, the negotiating power of the advanced countries vis-a-vis the oil-producing countries would be strengthened and the oil situation should completely change. The summit (summit conference of advanced countries) should have taken up these problems from before."

Former Prime Minister Fukuka Speaks With Fervor

"Suppose that Japan succeeds first in this research. Since it will save not only Japan but all of mankind, Japan will gain the instant respect of the entire world. Instead of being concerned with S&T organizations and mechanisms, S&T must be given topmost priority in the politics of Japan." Thus concluded Fukuda but his trailing remarks were, "but politics as you know..."

45

Where Is The Japanese S&T Head Office? Only vertical relationships maintained; no horizontal communication.



SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

MITI TO SET UP ADVANCED MACHINE TOOL ASSOCIATION

Tokyo NIKKAN KOGYO SHIMBUN in Japanese 21 Feb 80 p 1

[Text] Through the good offices of MITI, the "Advanced Machine Tool Technology Promotion Association" is to be set up. According to the disclosure by a related source on the 20th, representatives from widely extended fields such as Kiyoshi Inoue, president of Japax; Kaheita Okazaki, regular adviser for the Japan-China Economical Association; Hiroharu Kobayashi, chairman of Nippon Electric Company, Limited; Toshio Doko, president of the Federation of Economic Organizations of Japan; and Shinroku Saito, principal of Tokyo Institute of Technology, promoted the establishment of the association and submitted an application to MITI for permission to institute the corporation. Kiheita Okazaki was installed as chairman of the board of directors. It is expected to start functioning officially in March.

Facing the gloomy outlook of Japan, which must struggle through the confusing 80s lacking direction and troubled with issues beginning with the energy problem, fostering and strengthening of the advanced technology industries such as aircraft, nuclear power, computer, etc on the premise of nationalization are anticipated to be the "best" brace for the "state on the basis of technology." However, to achieve this objective, it is, first of all, essential to foster peripheral industries, for example, sophistication of the processing technology which is the foundation for the achievement of the objective, and the development of advanced materials. With this in mind, MITI also intends to formulate a policy to back positively the promotion association.

The objective of the Advanced Machine Tool Promotion Association is to encourage the improvement of machine tools and processing technology through aiding basic and applicational technical research relating to machine tools and the development of their utilization techniques essential to the manufacture of aircraft, nuclear machinery and equipment, and other advanced technical machinery. The substance of activities includes: (1) Aid and foster basic technical research relating to the development of advanced machine tool technology. (2) Aid and foster research and development of applicational techniques relating to the advance machine tool technology.

47

(3) Investigation and research relating to the trends of the technology concerned. (4) Propagation of the activities and research results necessary for the achievement of the objective. The association has decided to invite private corporations, groups and individuals who agree with the objective as patron members.

According to an interim report on the 1980s' vision of trade and industry in our country, especially economical power and technological power in existing fields, we have finally achieved the goal represented by the consistently and vehemently pursued postwar slogan, "catch up and overtake" the advanced European nations and the U.S.A. However, at the same time, we face the problem of where we should look for a source of new "vitality" in the dawn of the 1980s. Additionally, when attempting to take another leap into the future, we must be aware of the circumstances in that whether or not we can establish our own technology in the area of new fields, such as substitution energy technology aircraft, nuclear power, computers, etc and the most advanced industries, will greatly influence the future of Japan. Especially with the 3-Mile Island nuclear power plant accident which happened last March in the U.S.A. as a turning point, grave reflection concerning the heavy reliance on foreign advanced technology is needed.

Meanwhile, in order to establish national technologies in these advanced industrial fields, it is an indispensable precondition to sophisticate, first of all, the processing and material technologies which serve as a foundation for the achievement of the ultimate objective. Last year, the Processing Technology Trend Investigation Committee for Technically Advanced Industries, an advisory committee for the director of the Machinery and Information Industries Bureau of MITI, presented an interim report prepared by the working group for the investigation of the trends in processing technology for the aircraft and space industries, and pointed out the current state and the problems of the processing technology and machinery focusing on machine tools and tools necessary for the development of an aircraft industry in our country.

The following is a list of promoters for the establishment of the "Advanced Machine Tool Technology Promotion Association": Kiyoshi Inoue, president of Japax; Mo to yuki Uchida, technology critic; Kiheita Okazaki, regular adviser for Japan-China Economical Association; Takaoki Kitano, president of Stanley Electric Co., Ltd.; Masataka Kiyota, director of the Japax Research Institute; Masao Tsubota, vice-chairman of the Machinery Promotion Association; Hiroharu Kobayashi, chairman of Nippon Electric Company, Limited; Shinroku Saito, principal of Tokyo Institute of Technology; Toshio Doko, president of the Federation of Economic Organizations of Japan; Taiji Nishizawa, professor of Tohoku University; Wasaburo Yamamoto, president of Ikegai Iron Works; Shigeru Watanabe, rpincipal of Tokyo Metropolitan Junior College of Engineering; Yaeji Watanabe, director of the Japan-China Economical Association.

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8940

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48

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

## LOW TEMPERATURE PROCESS FOR ALUMINA CERAMICS DEVELOPED

Tokyo NIKKAN KOGYO SHIMBUN in Japanese 30 Aug 79 p 5

[Text] NGK Spark Plug Co., Ltd. (president, Shinji Ogawa) has succeeded in sintering high strength alumina ceramics at atmospheric pressure and at a low temperature unlike the previous processes which produced this material under pressure and at a high temperature. According to the anticipated merits of the developed process, alumina ceramics with a high dimensional precision and a low dynamic friction coefficient can be manufactured, and sharp cost reductions (approximately by half) can be realiced, and in addition, various differently shaped objects can be sintered. The company contends that the use of the alumina ceramics which had been limited only to cutting and shaving tools can now be extended widely even to the structural parts of machines, and it intends to seek markets in the automobile and machine industries. They believe that this product will be suitable for the labor saving parts of automobiles which are being reduced in weight, and plan to exert their efforts in testing the utility of such products as valves and joints. This movement notably opens a fresh outlook for the new alumina.

According to the company, the hot press sintering method has been regularly used to date in order to give high strength (for instance above  $50 \text{kg/mm}^2$  in bending resistance) to alumina of high purity (above 99 percent). This process requires pressure of  $200\text{-}300 \text{kg/cm}^2$  and a high temperature of  $1800\text{-}1900^{\circ}\text{C}$ . Presently, most of the ceramic cutting and shaving tools of this company are manufactured by the said hot press process. However, due to equipment restrictions and cost related factors, the use of the ceramics has been limited

NGK Spark Plug Co., at this time, found a way to sinter raw material powders in finer particles than the conventional ones owing to the development of a new powder preparation process, using the said process as an essential element. As a result, it is made possible to produce very strong alumina ceramics using such a low sintering temperature as 1500-1600°C under atmospheric pressure. In ordinary sintering such as this, usually the size of the particles grow and bubbles and coarse particles develop, causing problems related to the density and the strength of the product. This company has at last resolved these problems by the new raw material powder preparation process.

49

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The high strength alumina ceramics manufactured by the new process reveal the following property values; apparent specific gravity: 3.94, bending resistance: 57kg/mm², breaking pliability: 26kg/mm-3/2, impact strength: 5.5kgcm/cm. These values are said to be almost equal to the values obtained by the hot press process, except for the apparent specific gravity, which falls slightly lower by the new process compared to the conventional one. Taking a look at the cost, the hot pressed products are 5-10 times more expensive than the ordinary alumina products (purity 82 percent), whereas the products manufactured by the new process reduce the cost practically by half, and they are 2.5-5 times more expensive than the ordinary ones. Also, the atmospheric pressure sintering makes it possible to manufacture, at one's disposition, large-size products and various differently shaped products.

The company projects a policy to take advantage of these two merits, and will start developing new fields other than cutting and shaving tools. The exploration of the new fields are expected to be primarily in the direction of structural machine parts, especially those which collectively move with metals. Encouraged by the automobile parts trend which happens to favor lighter parts, they have started to make test joints and valves which are essential parts.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

NITRIDE CERAMIC SINTERING PROCESS UNDER DEVELORMENT

Tokyo NIKKEI SANGYO SHIMBUN in Japanese 20 Oct 79 p 3

[Text] The Science and Technology Agency has decided to pursue comprehensive promotion of research and development for a new sintering process for nitride ceramics which are anticipated to be an epocal ultra high temperature resistant material, and on 1 Oct they announced their intention to lay out a total of 40 million yen as a special research promotion coordination expense in a 2-year plan starting from this fiscal year. The said sintering process is devised to bake and solidify high purity nitride powders directly under high pressure and at ultra high temperature, absolutely without the help of bonding agents. If successful, it is anticipated that the manufacture of ultra high temperature resistant ceramics with excellent characteristics will be realized.

Non-oxide ceramics such as silicon nitride and aluminium nitride, which do not exist in nature are characteristically very strong, hard and scarcely breakable even when exposed to high temperatures above 1000°C. In fact, its strength against high temperatures may possibly be much better than any other ultra heat resistant alloys known to date. It is anticipated that the use of nitride ceramics may raise by some 100 degrees the conventional gas turbine operating temperature, which has so far been limited to approximately 1100-1200°C in spite of devised cooling techniques. The heat efficiency of a heat engine is proportional to the escalation of the operational temperature. It appears that the gas turbine heat efficiency, which has been slightly over 40 percent, will immediately leap to over 50 percent. Because of this prospect, various government related research institutes and makers are currently proceeding to become actively involved in developing nitride ceramics. Also, the gas turbine development project, one of the moonlight program projects of the Agency of Industrial Science and Technology of MITI, chose the development of this material as an essential theme.

However, in the sintering processes used to date, oxide group additives were primarily added as a sintering assistant, which reacts in the sintering material under ultra high temperature and prevents the nitride sinter from gaining its proper high temperature strength. To cope with this problem, the Science and Technology Agency determined to develop a new sintering process which will not use additives. Studies have been conducted to

51

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devise such a sintering process, but they say it has been difficult to produce sinters due to the vulnerability of the sintering material to high temperatures. The research which has been undertaken at this time attempts to establish a technique to sinter moldings from finely pulverized raw material of high purity in the nitrogen gas at a pressure of approximately 1000atm and a temperature above 2100°C.

According to the plan, it is prearranged that the Nagoya Government Industrial Research Institute of the Agency of Industrial Science and Technology will share the project with the Inorganic Material Research Institute of the Science and Technology Agency, and the former is responsible for studying the raw material powder manufacturing process, while the latter is assigned to study the ultra high temperature and high pressure sintering process and the high temperature characteristics of the nitride ceramics obtained by the devised process.

The Nagoya Government Industrial Research Institute expressed their hope to investigate and examine powder pulverization which is considered extremely important for the sintering without additives and also to establish a technique to classify optimal fine powder. The Inorganic Material Research Institute is planning to sinter silicon nitride and aluminium nitride using an experimental device to be designed and fabricated for the synthesis of sinters under an ultra high temperature nitrogen atmosphere at 1000atm and above 2100°C, as well as to conduct sintering tests, in parallel to the above, under the ultra high pressure region of approximately 50,000atm and above 2100°C.

The Science and Technology Agency will inaugurate a research committee headed by Professor Mitsue Koizumi of the Industrial Science Research Institute of Osaka University, for the comprehensive promotion of this research, and will lay out a special procurement expense of approximately 23 million yen for this fiscal year and approximately 17,800,000 yen for the following fiscal year.

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8940

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52