Expansion of the frontier and city of freedom

"This paper illuminates how the development of central regions and the evolution of frontier regions in Japan have been closely interrelated with each other as Japan became incorporated into the modern world system. With particular focus on the basic structure and mechanism of center and frontier interaction, the present study examines the growth of Japan at five historical stages, at each of which the changing role of iconography is examined in relation with the expansion or contraction of Japan's orbit on the global scene."

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Orbit of the frontier and iconography of the region

Japan is a small archipelago·with 6,852 islands, located between the Pacific Ocean and the Eurasian continent. Since the adoption of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea in 1982 and its effectuation in 1994, peripheral islands on the border of Japan have become more important than before in territorial delimitation. Namely, according to this law, the territorial sea has expanded from 3 to 12 nautical miles from the standard shoreline of the country. Furthermore, over the territorial sea, the exclusive economic zone has extended to 200 nautical miles. Consequently, the Japanese exclusive economic zone (4,290,000 sq km) including her territorial sea (310,000 sq km) has become far larger than her territorial land (377,820 sq km), which in turn has resulted in the expansion and the evolution of the frontier.

The frontier is not merely a periphery viewed as physically contraposed to the center but a "locus" that has the potential to create new values and perspectives. According to Friedmann and Alonso (1964), a frontier is considered to be an area of growth in a virgin territory, while a periphery is a stagnant, quasi-colonial area lying beyond the fringe of a center. In this meaning of transforming process, the concept of "frontier" as a locus has both a temporal and a timeless meaning, indicating not only a place but also a particular place in its relations with other places. Moreover, a locus is an historical entity, still alive, active and responsive to man; man exerts a great influence on the metamorphosis of locus (MIYAKAWA, 1981). Namely, the spatial frontier is closely related to the expansion of territory of jurisdiction. It is the conversion of iconography and the progress of technology that have continuously promoted the evolution of the structural frontier, where man confronts the phenomenon of "creolization" that takes place at a crossroads (fig. 1).

The frontier is also considered to be a partition, that is, a screening instrument in the organization of accessible space.

It screens and controls movement into and out of the territory. In other words, the frontier can be seen as a shelter for opera-

tion and receptacle of the means and opportunity for growth, although it has lost by international agreement much of its
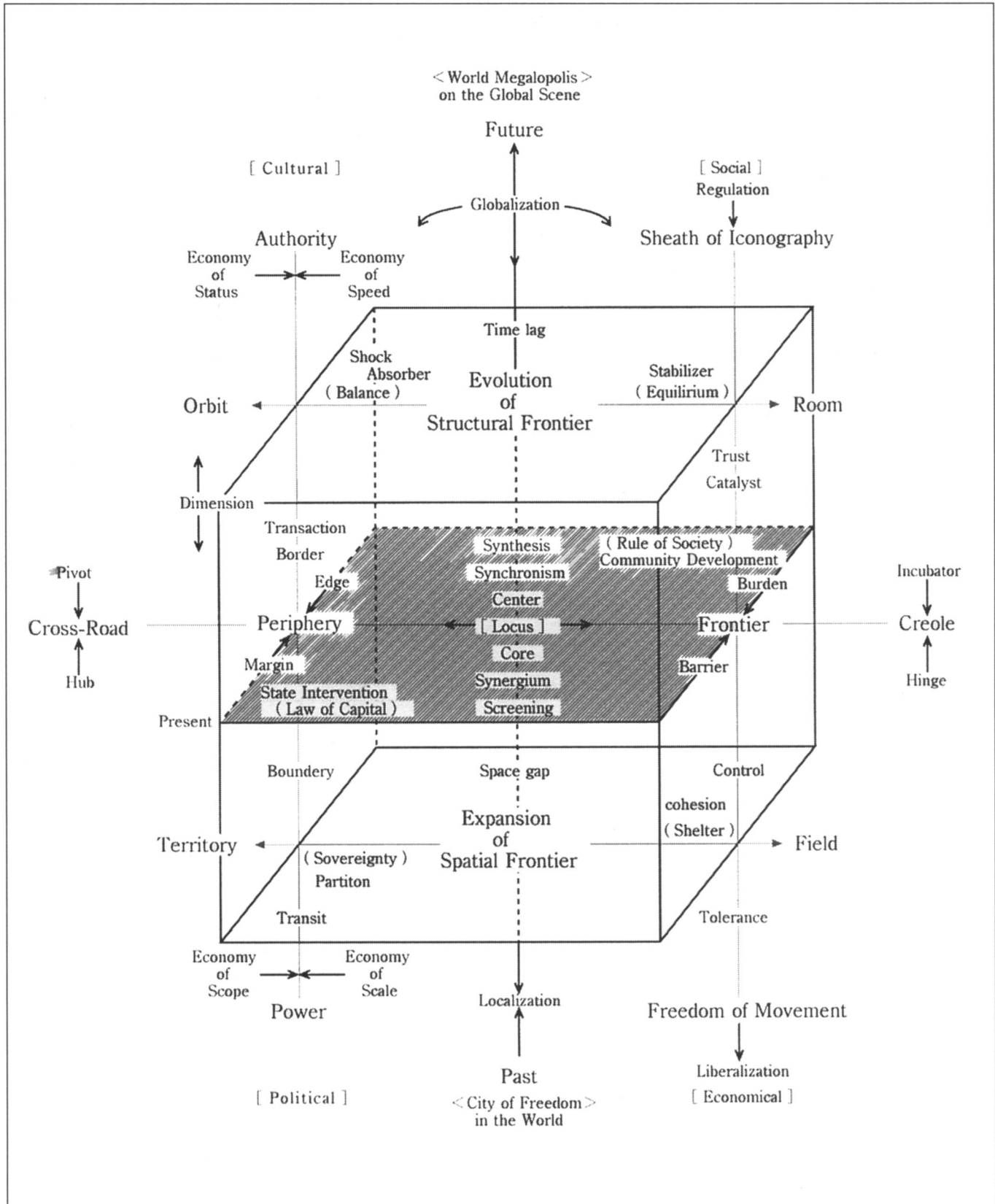

Fig. 1: Expansion of spatial frontier and evolution of structural frontier.

power to control migration and the movement of goods as a result of liberalization, de jure or de facto. The relative stability of territory is a function of exclusive authority that the State exercises in it and of the co-existence beyond its frontiers of political entities endowed with similar prerogatives (GOTTMANN, 1973). It is a locus of socio-cultural change and synthesis as well as politico-economic growth and synergism. A similar process can now take place along the boundary that, although open, cannot be spatially moved. For this reason, the frontier often becomes a catalyst between two different civilizations and economies, like the former free city, Berlin, if it allows people freedom of movement under its sovereignty and promotes transactions on mutual trust. It also plays an important role in the synchronism of different civilizations and in absorbing shock caused by their conflicts and threats at the crossroads of international power scrambles.

These functions at a crossroads often promote a development of hub as well as an evolution of incubator, despite the isolation and remoteness of its locus. In turn, the growth of urban area, especially a city of freedom, on the border causes the expansion of frontiers over firmly delimited boundaries. Isolated states such as Japan during the Tokugawa period (1603-1867) and China during the Cold War were able to maintain a "frozen political geography" with a well-stabilized centrality and periphery, owing to the controlled loophole for feedbacks on the global scene. Such situations have been rather exceptional, even in their long history. At no time in the past could it have been the rule at least in recorded history (GOTTMANN, 1980). In order to subsist and flourish a city must link itself to other cities, thriving on proximity, physically or psychologically.

The physical quality of certain areas as obstacles to movement has had something to do with the stability of historical partitions, but there were other factors keeping some sort of balance of power on two sides of a belt of difficult crossing, whether a lofty range, or an arm of the sea. Ratzel stressed this point in his concept of *Lage* (location) and *Raum* (territory), whereas Gottmann emphasized the role of community and role of iconography in the partitioning of space. The tolerance of an open community to accept different cultures exerts an influence on the development of a hinge on the boundary and accelerates spatial mobility over the boundary as a pivot. Hence, in studying Japan, Ratzel was interested in the expansion of its spatial frontier, especially the role of two populations in peripheral islands, Ryukyuan in Okinawa and Ainu in Hokkaido at the Meiji Restoration. It was the time when Japan was becoming modernized by incorporating the Modern Industrial Revolution led by the UK and the Information Industrial Revolution led by the US. In contrast, Gottmann was more interested in the evolution of the economic and social frontier of Japan, that is, the mutation of the structural frontier from a primitive to a complex one in the core, the Tokaido Megalopolis. The driving force for this structural change is considered to be the Neo Industrial Revolution that Japan initiated. It is the great hub of relations between the center and the periphery in reining the direction of a nation (MIYAKAWA, 2001).

Concerned with the structural frontier in contrast to the spatial frontier, Gottmann emphasized the dynamics of urbanization and nebulous structure in the Megalopolis. Gottmann's extensive study of urbanized areas has enhanced our understanding of "central place." He argued that people using a central place must perceive the "centrality" of such a place and that their perception is not simply constructed on the basis of physical design apparent in highly urbanized areas; it must rather be influenced by other non-physical factors including the historical background, political organization, economic functions of the central place. Moreover, it is also pointed out that within a national territory there could be several centers; one could be the political center, another the major economic one,

still another the seat of higher justice, and perhaps another the locus of specialized cultural activities that complement those of other centers (GOTTMANN, 1980).

The diversified functions of centrality in a modern city are reminiscent of ancient components of a central urban district. Above all, the need for security in a large agglomeration, including the security of transactional activities, is found to be an essential aspect of "urbanity." When a city feels secure in its environment, it becomes more willing to open its borders and to establish relations with the outer world over its frontier; on the other hand, in a period of insecurity it becomes rather closed in isolation and attempts autarchy within its closed boundary. The central city is a more complex, interwoven body than that. A city undergoes evolution and erosion in some parts and fluidity, transfers, and sedimentation in others to balance between needs and resources. It must be looked upon as a process with some physical features, but the dynamism of it is animated by abstract transactions, by an interwoven network of linkage binding together in that place a variety of transactional activities. The role of cities must be to serve as hinges between the region and the country within their immediate orbit and the wider orbit in which the life of each city revolves in the world at large. The term "region" has the same Latin root as "regulation," "regent," and "regal." insofar as they are conditioned by rulers, laws and frontiers. Politics and police are both derived from the Greek word "polis" meaning "city" (GOTTMANN, 1990). The freedom of the city is an indispensable driving force for evolution and expansion of the frontier on its orbit to protect stability and to multiply prosperity in the malleability of the environment.

In fact, the study of frontier is an essential constituent of Gottmann's urban study in the sense that it helped link his urban geography with his political geography. It is evident from the two major books published in the last stage of his career, *Since Megalopolis* and *Beyond Megalopolis;* both studies tackle the question of core and frontier, though they approach it differently, from the perspectives of urban geography and political geography, respectively.

Based on these studies, this paper illuminates how the development of central regions and the evolution of frontier regions in Japan have been closely interrelated with each other as Japan became incorporated into the modern world system. With particular focus on the basic structure and mechanism of center and frontier interaction, the present study examines the growth of Japan at five historical stages, at each of which the changing role of iconography is examined in relation to the expansion or contraction of Japan's orbit on the global scene. Throughout the successive stages of development, freedom of movement and authority of iconography in frontiers are found to be the key factors in forming the basic structure of a nation, thus thoroughly discussed in the present study.

The formation of a dual political system and the relocation of the capital

The city that is a political capital has always attracted special attention. The capital function secures strong and lasting centrality, which exerts a great influence on the expansion of the spatial frontier and the evolution of the structural frontier. The commanding operations of political, economic, social and cultural affairs necessitate the gathering and processing of information. Institutionally, the capital is the center of regulation, which always expands its spatial frontier over the boundary to gather the latest information and advanced technologies. Instinctively, the capital is a center *par excellence* with authority, rituals, amenities and attractions, which plays an important

role in the improvement of lifestyles and in the evolution of modes of work, i.e. in the evolution of the structural frontier. The relocation of the capital in Japan well illuminates the role of the capital in the expansion of the spatial frontier and the evolution of the structural frontier.

Before the establishment of the first permanent capital in Nara (711-784), the capital in Japan had been relocated every time the emperor died, due to the traditional belief of after-life that had descended from Chinese and Korean cultures. Although capital cities were rather frequently on the move, they had remained within the Kinai region (today's Osaka metropolitan area), especially in the Asuka area on the southern periphery of the Nara basin, since 592, where most of the civil servants lived, notwithstanding the relocation of the capital, because of its better habitat. The orbit – the geographical area gravitating around the capital and under its dominance – is an essential component of the capital in extending its zone of influence. As a result, the heritage often remains in the city even after the seat of political authority has moved away. It is argued that in many cases the orbits of former capitals have endured for a long period of time and that they have extended their control over large spaces towards their frontiers (GOTTMANN, 1990). It was certainly the case in former capitals in Japan.

According to the Japanese myths of cosmogony, the chief priest of the imperial family claimed to be the descendant of the Sun Goddess, who established the Ise Shrine on the eastern tip of the Kii peninsular. It stored the Mirror of Three Sacred Treasures of the emperor, which reflects the sunshine from its inalienable frontier. Another Sacred Treasure as the symbol of military power, the Sword of Kusanagi, was stored in the Atsuta Shrine located in today's Nagoya city on the border between the territory of the Yamato regime and the northern territory of Ezo. The other Special Treasure, the Curved Jewels, symbolizing the authorized hinge of spirit between God and Emperor, was stored in the imperial palace of the capital, whose strong centrality evolved along with the expansion of frontiers within the imperial governance of Japan. Hence, the position of the capital in Japanese history reflects not only the political and symbolic status of centrality, but also iconographic elements such as religious aura.

In response to the growth of the national territory, at the southwestern frontier towards China and Korea, Dazaifu, located adjacent to today's Fukuoka city, was founded as a sub-capital, which governed Kyushu island and dealt with foreign and military affairs. On the northwestern frontier along the Japan Sea, a fortress called the *Nutari no Saku* was constructed at Niigata in 647 to provide maritime defense against Ezo and Pohai.

Largely due to the inland locus, the capital needed an outer port that could provide a gateway to Korea and China. Being located on the eastern end of the Inland Sea between Kinai and Kyushu, Naniwa (today's Osaka) soon came to assume the role of outer port for the capital city. In fact, Naniwa itself once became the capital in 645 as the result of a Taika coup d'état against the powerful Soga family in the Nara basin. After the defeat of Japan in Korea in 663, the emperor Tenchi relocated the capital from Naniwa to inland Otsu at the southeastern end of Lake Biwa. At the same time, in 682 imperial power extended to the small island of Tanegashima over the southern frontier of Kyushu island. As a result, the people of southern Kyushu gradually immigrated into the Kinai region, especially on its fringe, as craftsmen of bamboo and guards of the imperial palace.

With the growth of imperial power all over the country, the permanent capital Nara was constructed in 710 in the middle of Asuka, Naniwa and Otsu. In succession, a palisade fortress called the *Dewa no Saku* was constructed near Sakata on the Japan Sea in 712. Furthermore, in 724 the northern castle

Tagajo was constructed near today's Sendai, where a government office called *Mutsu Chinjufu* was stationed to control the expanding northern frontier, Tohoku. Emissaries from Pohai (727-920) had been accommodated at the guesthouses in Noto and Matsubara on the Japan Sea since 727, when the first emissary arrived at Dewa. These fortresses, castles and guesthouses played vital roles in expanding the spatial frontier of Japan. Moreover, the central government embarked on improving the second important local administration units, that is, improvement of ancient roads, *do*. Thus, Hokuriku-*do*, Tosan-*do* and Tokai-*do* were greatly improved along with the expansion of the frontiers, though the major cultural waves were still coming from China through Sanyo-*do*, which lay between Kinai and Kyushu.

With the expansion of imperial power, local provinces *Kuni* were settled in remote areas such as Dewa on the Japan Sea in 712 and Osumi on the southern tip of Kyushu island. The long-standing conflict of interest between the central seat of power and the outlying district was sharpened and broadened. Center-periphery geographical conflicts multiplied in response to the expansion of its territory, although the expansion of its spatial frontier at the periphery and the evolution of its structural frontier at the center often mitigated these conflicts and revitalized their inheritances.

After the rebellion of the court nobles against the supremacist monk, Dokyo, under the emperor Shotoku (764-770), the capital was relocated from Heijo in Nara to Heian in Kyoto in 794. After that, Kyoto occupied the seat of the capital until 1868, and played an important role in the development of the urban system in Japan. At the same time, Kyoto gradually became a symbolic capital for the imperial authority as the emperor lost his power over the country upon the rise of military regimes. A capital calls for a special hosting environment to provide what is required for the safe and efficient performance of the functions of government and decision-making characteristic of the place. And the capital will tend to create for and around the seats of power a certain kind of built environment, singularly endowed, for instance, with monumentality, stressing status and ritual, a trait that will increase with duration in contrast to the buoyant dynamic equilibrium and fluid frontier (GOTTMANN, 1977).

With the expansion of local military government led by the shogun appointed by the emperor, the aforementioned Chinjufu was relocated from Tagajo to Isawajo between today's Hiraizumi and Morioka in 802. It became the twin wheel together with Dazaifu in Kyushu for local areas in both frontiers to be governed directly by the imperial power. The capital is not only a hinge between the country it governs and the outside, but also a pluralistic hinge, articulating the various sections, networks, and groups of interest within the country. Especially, the formation of iconography in the new and old capital region were, are and would be important for the development of the capital region and the networks between the capital region and local urban areas, i.e. the orbit of the capital.

In succession to the Enryakuji (temple) founded by the monk Saicho in Hiei Mountain between Kyoto and the aforementioned Otsu, Kongofuji was founded by the monk Kukai in Koya Mountain between Nara and Tenjinsaki, the southern cape of the Kii peninsular, in 816. Both of these temples became two important icons of Japanese Buddhism and exerted their great influences on civil wars in the mutation of Japan. The embassy to the Tang dynasty (started in 630) was abolished in 894 and then the embassy from Pohai was not accepted in 920, which closed official international trade and changed the role of frontiers in a quasi-isolated country.

Rebellions which often occurred in the intermediate areas between the capital and the frontiers brought about large-scale clashes of the time, which were closely linked with the

fractional disputes on the imperial succession. In 1167, Kiyomori Taira, a warrior, became Prime Minister by means of the traditional novel Fujiwara's tactics of marrying his daughter to the emperor and putting his son on the throne in Kyoto, although he tried to relocate the capital from Kyoto to Fukuhara (today's Kobe), his power base on the Inland Sea in 1180 and relocated again within the same year to Kyoto. The idea of moving the capital to a new, virgin location and perforce a smaller, specialized city is not new. Direct access to sea navigation has for ages been a considerable advantage in the conduct of foreign policy and the gathering of information from abroad (fig. 2).

Meanwhile, the estate managers of the eastern part of Japan formed themselves into a new warrior clique centered around Yoritomo Minamoto, who was expelled to Kamakura by Taira. Kamakura was a traditional small coastal fortress town with a shrine established in 1086, which was developed by his relative and patron, Hojo, in the Izu peninsular. Learning several lessons from Taira's mistakes of government, Yoritomo left his new feudal sham civil government unmolested; he preserved the court government around the emperor in Kyoto and established the Shugo (constable) and Jito (steward) system in 1185 over the country which was controlled by the new administrative center of the shogunate in peripheral Kamakura established in 1192. It gradually developed a dual system of governing the country and constructed the twin wheels and the axis in-between, which would become the basic structure of the Tokaido Megalopolis. Thus, the web of capitals becomes the

foundation of the shaping networks of transactional cities to evolve and to expand the frontier along the main trunk to be the Megalopolis.

The administrative and political capital, Kamakura, played an important role in the development of new culture all over the country. It was led by the new Buddhism sects, especially at first Zen sects and then the Nichiren sect against the older Buddhism in Kyoto and Nara. They played important roles in the development of the spirit of feudalism, bushido, the way of life of warriors and the way of life of people respectively. Most of their temples also developed temple towns in local areas especially in the frontiers such as Hakata of Eisai in Kyushu, Echizen-Eiheiji of Dogen on the Japan Sea and Seichoji of Nichiren in the Boso peninsular on the Pacific. The locale of a city with a history of having been a brilliant capital often acquires a symbolic value for those who cherish the memory or retain a sentimental attachment to that past period in history.

Thus, the conversion of iconography accelerated the transformation of locus and the change of dimension, which often develop the new center in the frontier, even though at the periphery. The loci of center and periphery are very fluid and flexible. When circumstances excluded it from the predominant networks, an antiquity fell into ruins.

After the establishment of Oshusobugyou at Hiraizumi in 1190, a local governor of Oshu, Chinzeibugyou, was also dispatched to the other frontier, Dazaifu in 1185 and then Rokuharatandai of the Kamakura shogunate was established at the capital,
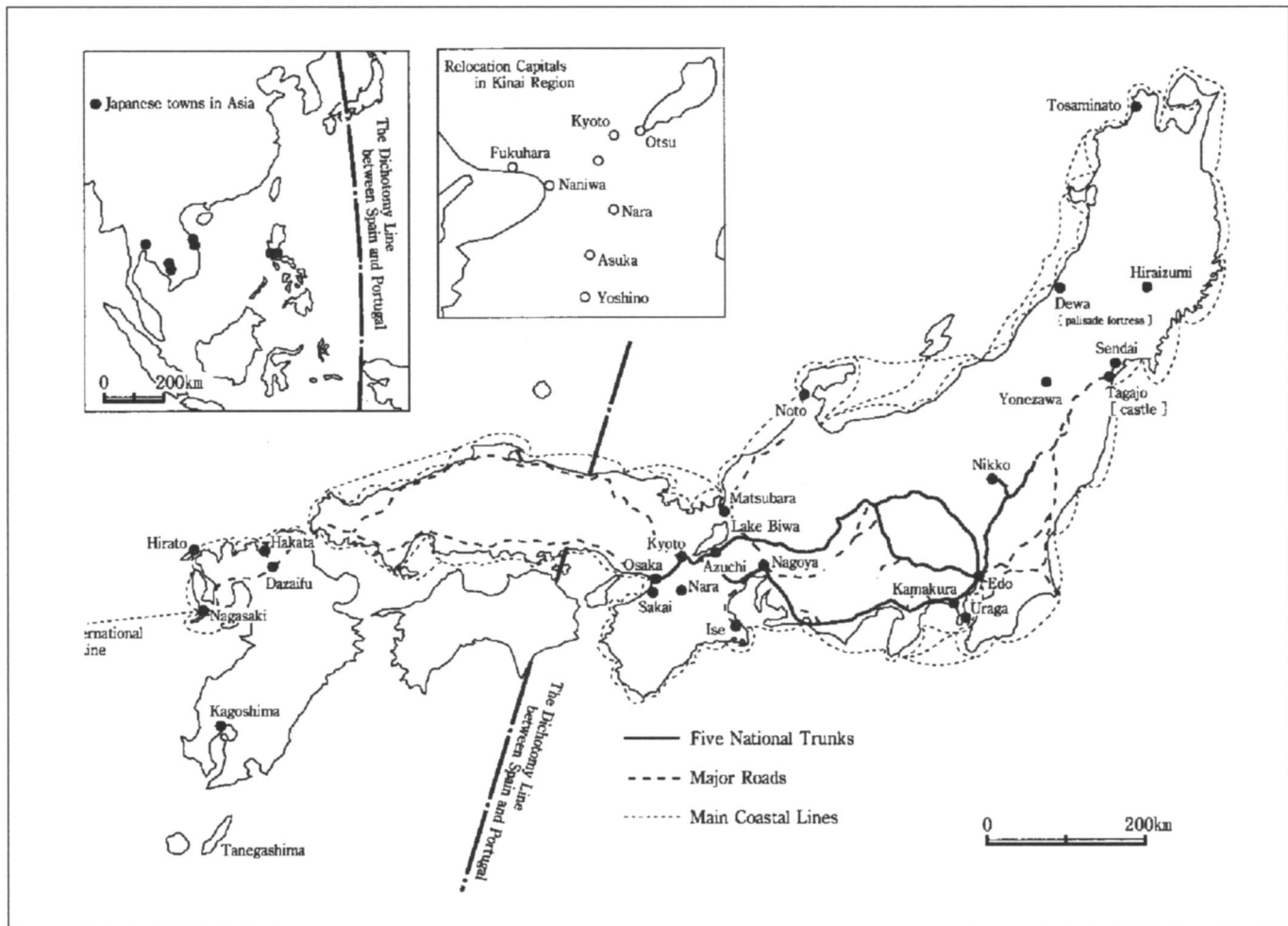

Fig. 2: The dichotomy and relocation of capitals.

Kyoto, in 1221. In Kyushu island, instead of Chinzeibugyou, Chinzeitandai was established in 1293 at coastal Hakata instead of inland Dazaifu to enlarge its power of defence and governance of Kyushu after the first (1274) and second (1281) Mongolian invasion. In the northern frontier, the Ezo Kanrei at Tosa port on the Japan Sea was appointed by the Kamakura shogunate in around 1325, which had the monopoly of trade with peoples in Ezo island (today's Hokkaido) and flourished as a city of freedom.

The socio-economic depression after these invasions gave the emperor Godaigo the opportunity to restore imperial rule in 1331. He had to establish his own government at Yoshino behind Asuka towards Ise, largely due to the politico-military struggle against the Ashikaga shogunate appointed by himself in Kyoto. Ashikaga elected Kogen emperor to the Throne (Hokucho) in 1331, which at last merged with the Yoshino Throne (Nancho) in 1392 in the same orbit of traditional imperial power and authority.

Mutations of iconography and freedom of movements

The Ashikaga shogunate had lost all semblance of political power and was a mere symbol of political authority in the capital Kyoto by 1573, when Nobunaga Oda took his seat. During this time, various kinds of local territorial lords, *daimyo,* gained their semi-independent politico-economic powers in an individual clan. They promoted the fragmentation of national land and national organization, even though they belonged to a particular politico-military group, like Hideyoshi Toyotomi. Largely thanks to political freedom, the local lords of the southern tip of Kyushu island, Shimazu, gradually exerted their influence on the Ryukyu kingdom in the southern frontier of Japan as well as the northern frontiers of Tsugaru and Nanbu in Honshu island. Furthermore, their military power reached to Hokkaido island, where minorities such as the Ainu still had power.

As the result of the Treaty of Saragossa of 1529, the world was completely divided into two geographical and political spaces between Spain and Portugal. It resulted in giving Japan a new locus on the border of dichotomy of the world. Largely owing to this locus, the Portuguese visited a small island Tanegashima near Kagoshima, where they introduced the latest technology of making firearms. The Japanese improved on this technology, first in Hirado, an international port near Nagasaki, and further innovated on it in Sakai, a free port city near Osaka as well as in Hakata adjacent to Fukuoka.

In order to accelerate the mutation of the national system, Nobunaga and his successor Hideyoshi established their new icon against the old Buddhism; they gave the Jesuits permission to propagate Christianity in Japan. Consequently, missionary activities began in 1549 at Kagoshima under the leadership of St. Francis Xavier, who had acquired some information on Japan from Yajiro, a Japanese Baptist living in Goa on the western fringe of India. The mutation of the religious icon in Japan led to the reorganization of the national system under a quasi-central military administration in rivalry with traditional Buddhism. Moreover, it made room for Oda to establish his central castle at Azuchi on lake Biwa between two powerful Buddhist groups in Kyoto and Hokuriku, which developed a free market system and free spirit on a frontier.

The quasi-free city of Sakai developed as an international port for trading with Korea and China in the Yamato regime. In 1469 Sakai became the mother port for dispatching embassies to the Ming dynasty. This enabled Sakai to monopolize international trade with China in rivalry with Hakata. With the growth of the private economy of international traders, Sakai gradually became an indispensable gateway and hinge, linking Japan to the surrounding countries, i.e. Korea, China and Ryukyu, and to Japanese towns in Southeast Asia. Largely owing to its prosperity, powerful local merchants in Sakai had abundant funds to develop its self-security and self-defence system. As a result, Sakai came to enjoy local autonomy as a city of complete freedom led by 36 powerful merchants, Egoshu.

Largely owing to its social security, Sakai became one of the most distinguished incubators for developing new cultural styles, such as the tea ceremony, with the patronage of the new military leaders. This resulted in the establishment of a new politico-economic icon. This iconography brought about a new tendency for retainers to work for an award of teacups or the honor to hold tea ceremonies instead of territorial integrity or new territory. This new iconography played a shock-absorbing role in economic and political frictions among political powers. More specifically, the evolution of the structural frontier helped to lessen the serious conflicts that had intensified along with the expansion of the spatial frontier.

However, it was and is still not easy to attain a balance between freedom of city and intervention of state, that is, to balance liberalization with regulation under a nation-state. In the case of Sakai, the new military leader, Nobunaga Oda, gave the order to fill up the moat to Sakai, when he marched into Kyoto in 1568. Furthermore, his successor, Hideyoshi Toyotomi ordered the merchants of Sakai to relocate themselves to Osaka, when he established Osaka castle in 1583. Ieyasu Tokugawa also put Sakai under his direct control as a special port, where the merchants of Sakai were given special permission to trade, together with traders in Nagasaki and Kyoto. The military governance of international trade lasted until the ban on travel abroad was imposed in 1636. Owing to its traditional ethos, however, Sakai was able to maintain its quasi-local autonomous status under the rule by the Sakai Bugyou (Director of Shogunate), and local merchants participated in its local administration.

The introduction of Christianity to Japan brought about a growth of Christian daimyos, i.e. local lords, who were keen to embark on international trade. They promoted their quasi-free trade ports and city of freedom in their clans, especially in the Inland Sea and Kyushu island, such as Hirado and Nagasaki. In 1569, most of the population (around 1,500) in Nagasaki became Christian, together with their lord, Sumikage Nagasaki, and built the Chapel of Santos. Nagasaki became a retainer of the Christian daimyo, Sumitada Omura, who contracted with a Jesuit to open Nagasaki port for Portuguese traders from its colony, Macao in China in 1571. In 1580, Omura donated Nagasaki and Mogi to the Jesuits, although he preserved the right to collect taxes and to judge politico-economic disputes. As a result, the bishop of the diocese of Japan was appointed in the next year and lived in this free port city, Nagasaki, guarded by a master-less samurai, Toujin. From this local autonomous city, Nagasaki, which had been ruled under the bishop, the Christian daimyo Otomo, Omura and Arima dispatched Christian boy missionaries (1580-1592) to the Vatican via India.

Because of this regional iconography and its strong orbit between Macao and Nagasaki, Hideyoshi Toyotomi expelled the missionaries in 1587, when he conquered Kyushu island and appointed Nabeshima of Saga as his magistrate of Nagasaki. Ieyasu Tokugawa also governed Nagasaki directly, although it developed its quasi-autonomous administrative system like Sakai, together with the participation of four machi-doshiyori and otona (community leaders) of each town. Nagasaki remained the only international port within the isolated country, Japan, after 1641, largely thanks to its traditional ethos and locus of frontier.

In contrast to Sakai and Nagasaki, Hakata lost ground in local autonomy. However, autonomy was socially preserved in the castle town of Fukuoka, which had been ruled by the local lord, Nagamasa Kuroda since 1600. Under the local Christian

daimyo Otomo, Hakata became an autonomous merchant town. Then, it became part of the castle town of Fukuoka, being linked at the hinge of Masugata-mon (gate). At the same time, it was able to remain a quasi-autonomous and free city ruled by local merchants. Its people preserved their strong icon and spirit of independence in the city of freedom under the power of the local lord and promoted the popular movement against the new city name of Fukuoka after the merger of these twin cities in 1889, symbolized in the name of the railway station of Hakata.

Masamune Date in Sendai on the Pacific was the most powerful local lord in the northern frontier against Oda, Toyotomi and Tokugawa, who governed the whole country after the civil war. In 1613, Masamune dispatched his retainer, Tsunenaga Hasekura, to the Vatican over the Pacific Ocean via Mexico City of Novahispania, where he was not necessarily received with the utmost cordiality due to the changing policy toward Christians in Japan. By 1620 the Tokugawa shogunate had limited international trade only in the aforementioned two ports, Hirado and Nagasaki, and began expelling Christians from Japan. The castle town of Sendai was also constructed in 1600 near Tagajo.

The balance of two forces, freedom of movement and sheath of iconography, is fluid, changing in locus, but this fluidity does not prevent the whole global system from carrying on. The dual eco-political system between governor and citizen, especially in the traditional ethos of frontier, mitigates their conflicts in the region and in the world.

Roles of the frontier and metamorphosis of locus

At present, Japan has two major frontiers, Hokkaido and Okinawa. The loci and the roles of these frontiers have been transformed in order to adapt to the changing phase of international power struggles (fig. 3).

In 1705, the Institute of Japanese Language was established in the Russian capital, St. Petersburg. With the further expansion of territory towards the east, the Navigation School for Japan and the Institute of Japanese Studies were established in the eastern frontier city of Irkutsk in Siberia, in 1764 and in 1768, respectively. In order to defend its territory, the Tokugawa shogunate dispatched Tokunai Mogami in 1786 to Iturup and to Urup, where he had them explore and make maps. Urup was originally founded by Holland in 1643, which was interested in developing the fishing business in the Sea of
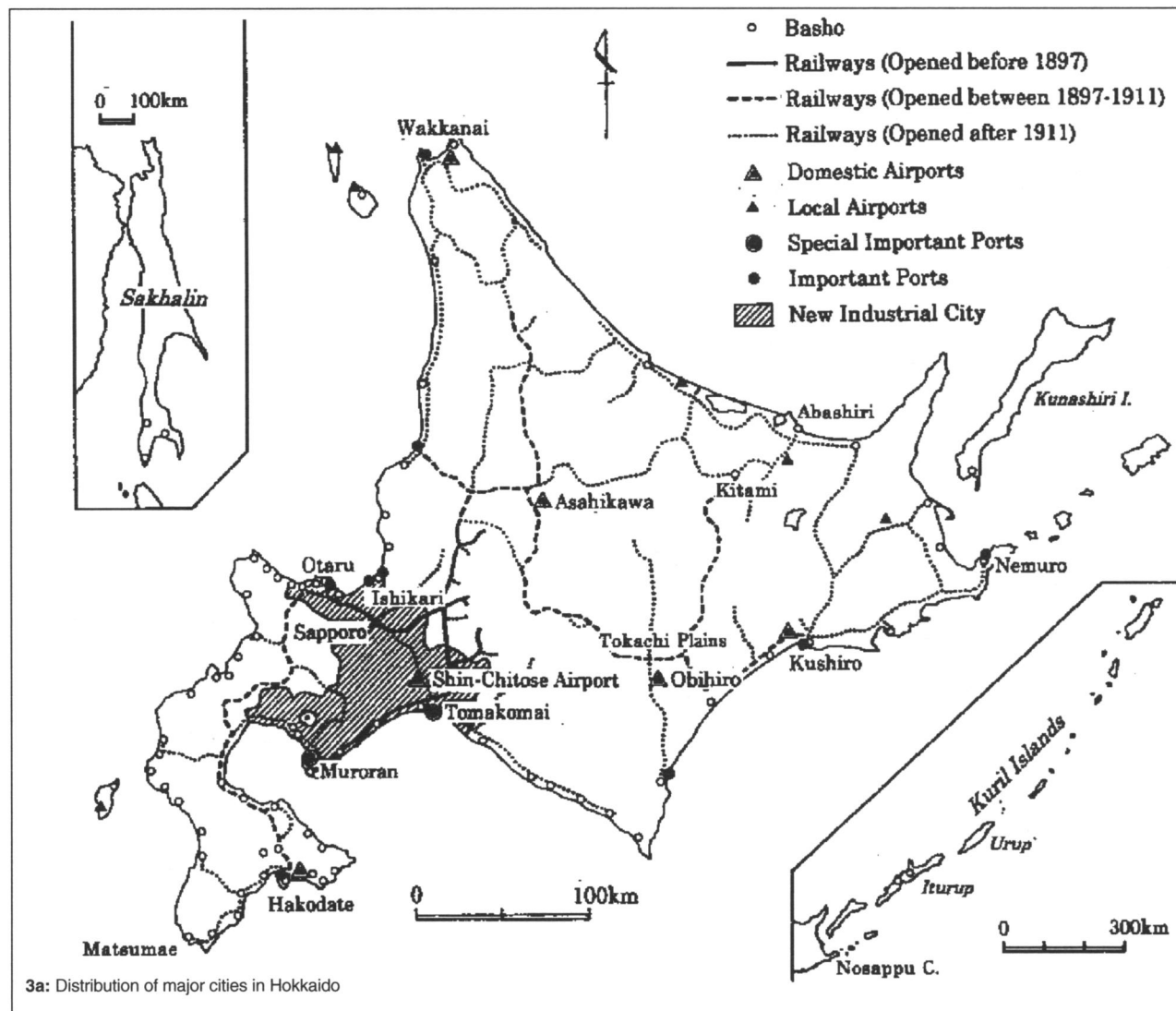

3a: Distribution of major cities in Hokkaido

Fig. 3: Japan – Distribution of major frontier cities.

Okhotsk and then in the Bering Sea. After a series of invasions, Russian traders had developed Urup for over a century from 1768 to 1875. Then, Japan took it over under the Exchange Treaty of Chishima, together with Sakhalin.

During the time of the Russian occupation, the native people, including the Ainu supported by Japanese traders, resisted Russian conquest and massacre in Urup such as the Urup incident in 1771. At last, in 1805, they succeeded in expelling the Russians from Urup by means of prohibition of trade and seasonal work of the Ainu in this area. Iturup was also founded by Holland and then was developed by the Japanese, especially by Kahei Takeda after 1731. The Tokugawa shogunate asked a captain of Settsu (today's Osaka) to open his major fishing grounds and dispatched the warriors of the Tsugaru clan and the Nanbu clan on the northern tip of Honshu island to Iturup in 1800.

In 1792, the Russian Laksmann visited Nemuro to open its trade with a Japanese fisherman, Kodayu, who lived in Russia. Nemuro was a town with a small market called *basho*, which was opened by Matsumae, the local lord of Ezo island (Hokkaido) in 1701. As trade with the native Ainu increased, it opened Kunashiri market in 1754 and opened its customs house at Notsukamapu, which was then relocated to Nemuro. After Laksmann's visit, the Tokugawa shogunate came to govern directly the eastern part of Ezo island in 1799, when it also opened the Iturup line. During the period of direct control (1799-1821), the shogunate abolished the system of *basho*-contact and controlled directly all trade in Ezo under the money economy. In order to govern the whole island, the shogunate developed roads and coastal shipping lines, which linked closely with the Magistrate at Hakodate on the boundary between Matsumae, East and West Ezo. A government office was opened in 1802 and then relocated from Hakodate to Matsumae in 1807. This was when the shogunate came to directly govern the western part of Ezo in addition to the eastern part in rivalry with the expanding power of the Russian-American Company.

The delegate and general manager of the Russian-American Company was the Russian envoy Rezanov, who had visited Japan three times since 1804 to ask for the opening of the country. Following the Russians, the British also visited Muroran, due to the locus of Ezo island at the border of the international power scramble between the Continent Empire, Russia, and the Ocean Empire, UK, on the global scene, especially in the
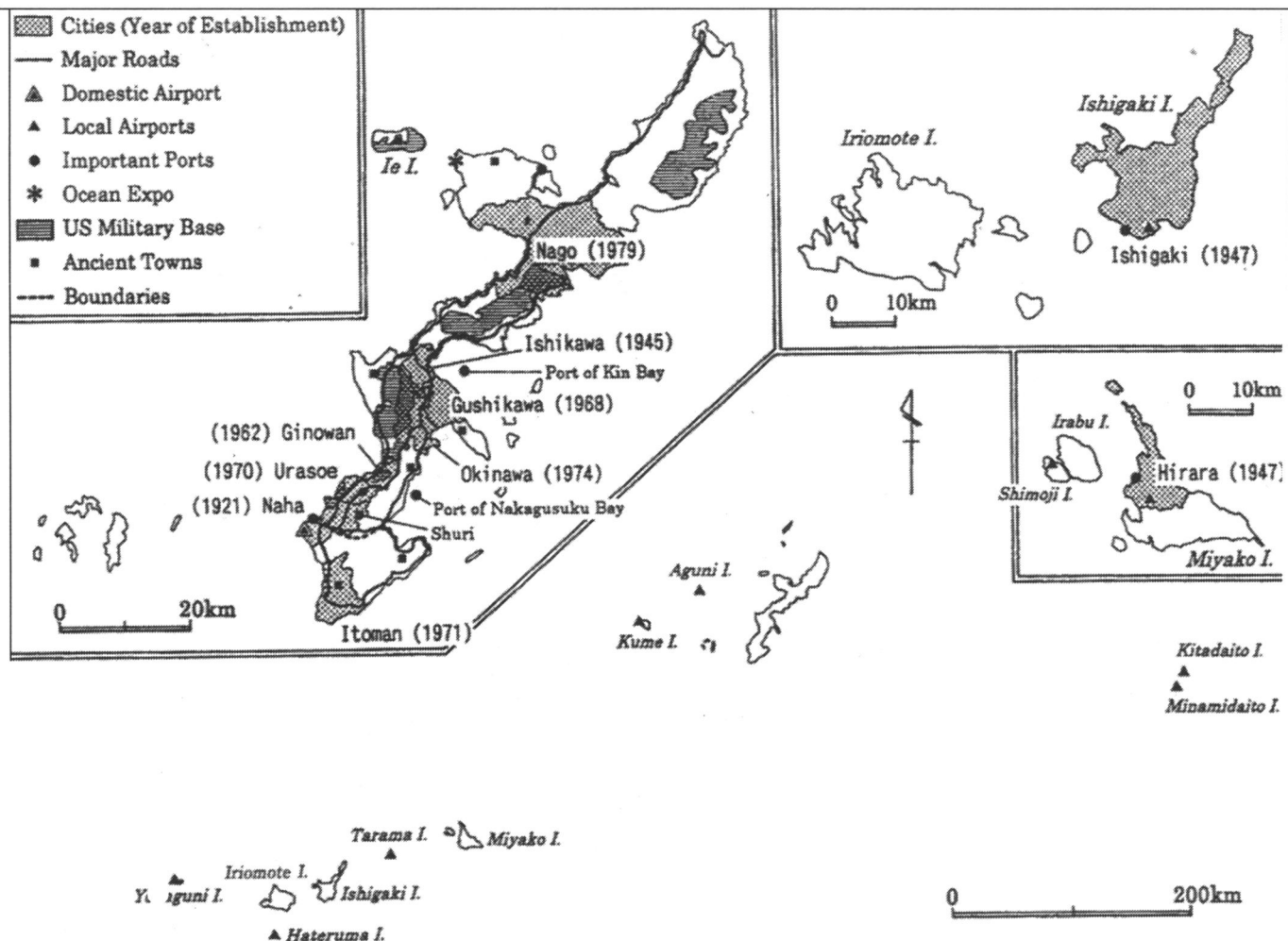

Fig. 3b: Distribution of cities in Okinawa

Fig. 3 (cont'd)

East Asia Orbit. To further seek the opening of international trade, Razanov also visited Nagasaki in 1804 while the British ship "Phaeton" visited Nagasaki in 1808, too. In the same year Rinzo Mamiya found the Mamiya Straits between Siberia and Sakhalin. Together with Dejyuro Matsuda, who was exploring the eastern coast of Sakhalin, Rinzo Mamiya started exploring Sakhalin from Korsakov towards the northern tip and then towards Delen near today's Komsomolsk-na-Amure on the River Amur. The mother port in the region was Soya-basho (today's Wakkanai) directly governed by Matsumae until 1807. From this Soya-basho, the Sakhalin-basho was separated in 1790, two years before the aforementioned visit of Laksmann. At last, Sakhalin was called "Northern Ezo" in 1809, when Ezo was officially composed of three civilized provinces, the East with the Chishima islands, the West, and the North.

Matsumae on the southern tip of Ezo island had been the most important castle town on the northern frontier of Japan. It was the only castle town in Hokkaido and the indispensable pivot of Japanese trade with the Ainu and other small minorities in Ezo island. Matsumae was authorized as the special local lord in 1604 by the black seal of the Tokugawa shogunate, who could monopolize all the trade in Ezo island, although his right had been authorized by the special order of the red seal from Hideyoshi Toyotomi in 1590. He had his territorial integrity not by the amount of rice production in the other areas and by the monopoly right of trade, due to its marginality. In 1604, when he became a daimyo, he changed his family name from Kakizaki, a retainer of the aforementioned Ando, to Matsumae, a powerful local lord on the northern tip of Honshu, who had been appointed as the aforementioned Ezo Kanrei to govern Ezo island by the Kamakura shogunate.

In order to govern Ezo indirectly, Matsumae employed the style of trade bringing tribute from tribes of the Ainu over the territory of Japanese permanent settlement, especially after the Ainu riot in 1550. After the riot, he appointed two heads of the Ainu tribes in the eastern and the western parts. In 1620, the Tokugawa shogunate granted a special right to wash for gold in Ezo island, a sort of extractive frontier when he donated the gold washed in his own territory, Matsumae. Consequently, he developed several sites to wash for gold, most of which were located near the mouth of the river along the southwestern coast, not far from his customs houses.

With the growth of trade with the Ainu, coordinated by merchants of Omi (today's Shiga prefecture on Lake Biwa between Kyoto and Hokuriku), he gave a special right of monopolized trade in the designated territory of trade *Akinai-basho* to his senior retainer instead of a fief, which gradually had been managed by the appointed special merchants in the latter half of the 17th century. An appointed merchant usually acted as a customs house in its contracted territory, *Ukeoi-basho*, where he dispatched his manager, interpreter, accountant and guard. With the increase of trade, he managed his fishing grounds and constructed warehouses and hotels for Ainu fishermen, which gradually became the communication spot of Matsumae with Japanized native Ainu. Largely due to the increase of unfair trade, the Ainu, led by the head of the eastern Ainu, who won the civil war between the East and the West after 1648, gradually rebelled against the Japanese. Even though the head could not unify all the Ainu tribes, the socio-economic disputes among the Ainu tribes had been often abused by Japanese merchants, who wanted to monopolize their trade as much as they could by direct trade with the Ainu. Shodayu supported the largest rebellion by Shakuin in 1669. He was a Japanese trader of Echigo (today's Niigata) on the Japan Sea, although it was subdued in 1670 by Matsumae with the help of the shogunate and the aforementioned local lords, Nanbu and Tsugaru. After this rebellion, most of the Ainu had been appeased and "Japanized" by means of a quasi-autonomous local government system in this frontier.

Outside of the territory of Matsumae, the Japanese could not officially develop their permanent settlements, notwithstanding the development of trade and fishing by the contracted merchants owing to the freedom of trade during the period of direct rule by the shogunate in rivalry with the expansion of the Russian-American Company. This resulted in the occupation of Alaska in 1821 and in the contract of the Pacific Treaty with the United States for the determination of borders in 1824. Fortunately, Russia was busy with the management of East Siberia and Alaska and in the successive wars in Europe. Therefore, the local lord Matsumae and the Tokugawa shogunate had time to develop their frontier and Japanized it not only through the eco-political dual trade system but also through the socio-cultural system such as the construction of temples at Atsukeshi, Samani and Usu. The growth of trade with the Ainu and other minorities enabled trade spots gradually to become a town not in scale and scope but in speed and status, i.e. the function of the settlement frontier in today's Hokkaido, Kuril and Sakhalin.

In contrast with the less populated island of Ezo, Ryukyu had already been unified to be a kingdom since 1429, largely owing to the import of iron and steel from Japan and the policy of agricultural development. At that time, Ryukyu had started its tribute-trade with the Ming dynasty and was named Okinawa in 1372 after the Great Ryukyu to distinguish the Small Ryukyu, Taiwan from Okinawa. The castle town of the Ryukyu kingdom at Shuri gradually developed into a strategic crossroads in the international eco-political power scramble in Asia. The outer port of the capital, Naha, became an important gateway of the Ryukyu kingdom and an indispensable pivot among these countries instead of the other ports such as Yonabaru on Nakagusuku bay towards the Pacific. In the early 16th century, the Ryukyu kingdom established its centralism and developed its power over Miyako and the Yaeyama archipelago adjacent to Taiwan. Consequently, the king asked the local lords to live in Shuri and constructed south and north batteries respectively at Yarazamori and Miegusuku against Japanese and Chinese pirates.

After the conquest of Ryukyu by the Japanese local lord, Satsuma, on the southern tip of Kyushu island in 1609, the Ryukyu kingdom was obliged to cede its northern territory, the Amami-Oshima archipelago, to Satsuma. According to the rule of Satsuma, the Ryukyu kingdom could not develop its tribute-trade with other countries except China. However, Satsuma provided funds to import Chinese goods to the Ryukyu kingdom, which developed its trade more than ever. With the growth of international trade in Ryukyu, the Naha Magistrate of Satsuma had the politico-economic power in the Ryukyu kingdom. In 1728, the Prime Minister (Sanshikan) gave an order to repeal taxes for merchants and artisans, thus accelerating the freedom of the city, which resulted in the rapid growth of the Shuri-Naha capital region based on the improvement of Naha port, construction of bridges and river improvement with flood control in the estuary.

The traditional hosting environment of this capital region also exerted a great influence on the re-establishment of a crossroads in the modern international power scramble. In 1816, British naval vessels visited Naha and the captain, Basil Hall, reported precisely on the politico-economic and socio-cultural situation, power and authority of the Ryukyu kingdom to Europe. The French followed their rival's behavior and visited Naha in 1844, when they succeeded in opening international trade with Satsuma in Naha. A second visit by Admiral Cecil succeeded in ending the isolation of this kingdom. The second British visit in the same year also could not achieve success, in spite of their eight-year stay in the Gokoku temple at Naminoue. In 1853, the Commander of the East India Fleet, Matthew

Perry, visited Naha to ask for the procurement of their goods, barracks and coal-storage under the strong military pressure of his Navy, which visited the parliament without permission. They stayed in the Seigenji temple, which became Perry's strategic office for visiting Uraga at the mouth of Edo (Tokyo) bay to open the isolated country, Japan, in 1853 and 1854. After his first visit to Uraga, he succeeded in the construction of coal-storage, barracks and a warehouse of munitions at Naha port.

Largely owing to this locus as a gateway of the Ryukyu kingdom, it played important roles in the following two points: acceleration of opening the country, Japan and Ryukyu, in one respect. On the other hand, thanks to its locus as the back-door of only one clan, Satsuma, it could import the latest technologies and know-how before the shogunate and other lords, not only from Europe, the center of the Modern Industrial Revolution, but also from the US, the other center of the Information Industrial Revolution, which enabled the synchronization of two eco-cultural waves for the development of synergism.

The time lag gave Satsuma a strong politico-economic driving force for the promotion of the Meiji Restoration. And the space gap between Satsuma and Edo made room for the tolerance to accept these latest technologies and knowledge, especially after the defeat in the Satsuma-English war in 1863. In other words, the time lag and space gap enabled Satsuma to form the alliance in 1864 for the Meiji restoration with the two other powerful peripheral lords, Tosa on the southern tip of Shikoku island and Choshu on the western tip of Honshu island. This shows that the frontier has played an important role in the change of dimension and in the metamorphosis of locus, especially at the time of mutation.

Syntheses of frontiers and synchronism of stabilizer

After the opening of the country, the Tokugawa shogunate concluded the Treaty of Commerce with the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, Holland and France in 1858. Consequently, it was obliged to open the three international trade ports: peripheral Nagasaki in Kyushu, Hakodate in Ezo, and central Kanagawa near Edo. Nagasaki was the only official international port of isolated Japan during the Edo era and the symbolic city of freedom sustained by its traditional ethos and icon. It is worth mentioning that the first submarine telephone and telegraph cable between Vladivostok (established in 1860) in East Siberia in Russia and Nagasaki in Japan was already opened in 1870. And the Japanese Navy had introduced wireless telegraphy, which adopted the English style of training and strategy.

Hakodate is also a symbolic city, which established its status as the politico-administrative center of the Magistrate of the Tokugawa shogunate. Largely owing to this locus and ethos, Hakodate was chosen as the naval port and military and administrative center of the last Resistance centered around Takeaki Enomoto, the Navy officer of the Tokugawa shogunate. He was elected the administration leader of the new Japanese government in Hokkaido by the officers, although his government only survived at Goryokaku, the first western style castle in Hakodate within a year of the attack by the Meiji government. Enomoto was supported by French officers and adopted the French style of training and strategy, together with the defeated generals and soldiers of Oshu Retsuppan Domei (league of local lords in Tohoku against the Meiji government) in the Aizu war in 1868. As the local lord, Date in Sendai was the head of this league, the Meiji government dispatched its Commander-in-Chief for Expeditionary Forces to Sendai. Therefore, Sendai again developed its locus as the local center of the central government not only in administrative and military matters but also in culture and technology.

After the end of the Hakodate war in 1869, the Meiji government established the Kaitakushi, the Office for Development of Hokkaido with Kuril and Sakhalin in 1869 in Tokyo. Then, the head office of Kaitakushi was relocated from Tokyo to Hakodate in 1870. In 1869, fiefs were returned to the Meiji government in Tokyo and then the former daimyo were appointed governors. In 1871, the substitution of prefecture for fiefs was promoted in order to establish centralization. For the development of Hokkaido itself, the head office was relocated again from coastal Hakodate to the inland center, Sapporo, in 1871 to promote the direct management of Hokkaido by the central government.

After the abolishment of the Office for Development of Hokkaido and the establishment of Sapporo, Hakodate and Nemuro prefecture in 1882, when the Korean Incident occurred, the Japanese government was more interested in Korea than the northern part of Japan, due to the Agreement with Russia over the Exchange of Sakhalin for the Kuril islands in 1875 and the end of the Civil War (Satsuma Rebellion) in 1877. Consequently, Sapporo became again a local urban center, like Otaru, Hakodate and even Asahikawa.

The number of the population in Sapporo (103,000) did not surpass that of Otaru(108,000) and that of Hakodate (144,000) in 1920. After the establishment of Sapporo city in 1922, its population increased with the agglomeration of offices of the central government and it topped all the rest in the number of population in 1940, when Japan concluded the Tripartite Alliance with Germany and Italy, and the Ministry of Planning announced the Outline of National Land Planning. The Outline and Draft Plan of the Central Area issued by the Ministry of Planning in 1943 stressed the development of total defence power in Hokkaido in response to the keen international power scrambles with the USSR and the United States in the Northern Pacific Orbit. It designated Sapporo as a first class city together with Sendai, Niigata, Hiroshima, Matsuyama and Fukuoka, in addition to the three large metropolitan areas in the Tokaido Megalopolis.

In 1951, the Hokkaido Development Bureau of the Hokkaido Development Agency was established in Sapporo, which exerted an influence on the development of Hokkaido and the transformation of its urban system. Sapporo also developed remarkably after the designation of Doo New Industrial City in 1964 and the decision in 1966 to hold the 1972 Winter Olympics in Sapporo, and the opening of the underground in 1971.

Otaru was the old customs house center and a distinguished fishing port before the Meiji restoration. In 1904, when the Russo-Japanese War was declared, the Hakodate Railway was opened and Otaru became the most important city between Hakodate and Sapporo. In succession, largely owing to the colonization of southern Sakhalin according to the Treaty of Portsmouth, Otaru also became an indispensable hinge between Sakhalin and Japan.

However, under the war economy, Otaru lost ground as a result of the development of other local ports such as Muroran and Kushiro and the relocation of office activities such as the branch of Japan Bank to Sapporo in 1941. With the growth of the port of Tomakomai after World War II, Otaru also lost ground in the shipment of coal. Notwithstanding the improvement of the harbor and urban renewal, Otaru could not recover ground during the high economic phase and its function as the outer port of Sapporo was also taken over by the newly dug port of Ishikari. It became an important cargo port, which accelerated the opening of a container ship line in 1991 as a new pivot between the new cities of freedom in China and this outer port of Sapporo in response to the mutation of the economy of the North East Asian Orbit with the collapse of the USSR in 1991.

In addition to the growth of the port of Ishikari in the north, the huge Tomakomai port had been constructed, although it could not yet exert its influence on the development of a huge industrial estate (2,600 ha) because of the mutation of industrial structure after the oil crisis, which in turn depressed the development of this huge industrial port.

According to the New Comprehensive National Land Development Plan of 1969, Tomakomai was designated as one of the Huge Industrial Development Areas, together with Mutsu-Ogawara at the northern periphery of Honshu island, Suonada at the southern periphery of Honshu island and Shibushi on the southern tip of Kyushu island. Owing to this designation, Nippon Kei-kinzoku constructed its modern aluminium refinery and its related industries as the first aluminium industrial complex in Japan in 1969, although it could not succeed in its development largely owing to the rise in the cost of electric power due to the oil crisis of 1973, just after the completion of the complex.

The development of Tomakomai port had been accelerated by the opening of a container line in 1969 and a ferry line in 1971, when the Committee for Development of Tomakomai East Huge Industrial Complex (2,030 ha) with petrochemical and iron-steel complexes was established in response to the metamorphosis of industrial structure geared by the liberalization policy. It was seen in the investment of General Motors in Isuzu Motor, which had constructed its factory in the Tomakomai-East Huge Industrial Complex. Due to the collapse of this huge plan after the oil crisis in 1973, this industrial complex could not attract huge factories and facilities except the Oil Storage Complex of Hokkaido Oil Storage Cooperative Corporation established by the Oil Corporation and six oil refinery companies in 1981 after the second oil crisis in 1979. Concerned with this sort of state intervention for preservation of this huge industrial complex in the frontier, in 1980 the central government also promoted the conversion of the oil-electric power station of Hokkaido Electric Power at Tomakomai into a coal-electric power station to rehabilitate Yubari and Kushiro coalmines.

The plan also lacked the development of a new industrial city with a good hosting environment for industry within this huge industrial complex and between Tomakomai and Chitose in rivalry with industrial estates adjacent to Tomakomai West port and Chitose airport. Therefore, Hokkaido Toyota Motor constructed its factory in the Tomakomai West Industrial Complex in 1991, the year of mutation of the North-East Asian Orbit, in addition to Isuzu Motor and Aishin in the East Complex.

In the synthesis of expanded and evolved frontiers, not only the seaport but also the airport plays an important role in synchronizing the stabilizers. Chitose airport, with its two 3,000 m runways, is one of the largest airports in Japan. Chitose was a crossroads for the development of Hokkaido island, although it could not develop its urban area due to its inferior land conditions for agricultural industries until 1939, when the Navy opened its airport for the defence of the Sea of Okhotsk and the Bering Sea under the keen international power scramble between the USSR and the United States. After World War II, especially after the Korean War, this airport was one of the most important for the US Air Force, which was succeeded by the Japanese Air Force. In 1951, the civil airline was opened in Chitose airport and owing to the growth of the Haneda-Tokyo and Chitose-Sapporo lines, the airport gradually became an indispensable hinge in the era of airlines, first in the country and then on the globe.

In 1979, the Chitose Industrial Estate near the airport had been constructed, led by the outline of the Technopolis Law enacted in 1983. It goes without saying that it became one of the most important industrial estates in the Doo Technopolis, which attracted high-tech industries such as Chiba. The new

Chitose airport was opened in 1988, when the Seoul Olympics were held and the mutation of the North-East Asian Orbit started. In 1989, the Seoul-Sapporo line was opened, followed by the Guam-Saipan line and the Honolulu line, which made Sapporo a pivot in this northern frontier.

In 1991, the New York-Sapporo air cargo line was opened, although it has not yet succeeded in its development, due to the less direct air cargo route of Hokkaido to the United States, in spite of the establishment of the Sapporo International Air Cargo Terminal in 1986 and Japan Universal Airline specializing in air cargo in 1991. According to the Temporary Measure Act for Promotion of Import and for Acceleration of Investment in Japan enacted in 1992, this international airport area was designated as a Foreign Access Zone, which still could not succeed in its development and evolve the frontier, largely due to the depression of the North-East Asian Orbit and the incomplete liberalization after the collapse of the USSR and the economy of North Korea.

The growth of the Sapporo metropolitan area had absorbed the shocks caused by the decline of the coal mining industry as a result of the change in energy policy from coal to oil in 1955. Largely due to the locus at the periphery of the great Sapporo metropolitan area, it was and still is not so easy to revive their economy, in spite of the construction of industrial estates. Most of all major industrial estates in the designated coal production area were developed in the Ishikari Coal Production Area adjacent to Sapporo. Owing to local demands and the convenient national network of transportation, several new agricultural areas started such as the Yubari Melon Cultivation Area. Compared with this area, peripheral designated coal production areas such as Soya on the northern tip, Rumoi on the Japan Sea and Kushiro on the Pacific could not succeed in the development of industry in spite of their frontier spirit of taking risks.

Most of the resort and pleasure city development plans, accelerated by the Law for Development of Integrated Resort Areas enacted in 1987, were not able to succeed in their development such as Utashinai and Ashibetsu between Sapporo and Asahikawa. The Furano-Taisetsu Resort Area based on the Taisetsu Mountain National Park was planned in 1992 between Asahika and East Hokkaido. Sapporo has a plan to develop the Sapporo-Shikotsu Lake International Communication Village planned in 1994 as its hosting environment for the growth of communication industries. Owing to the good hosting environments of teniapolis, Sapporo and Asahikawa were designated as International Convention Cities in 1994, although they could not succeed in attracting invitations of so many conventions, compared with other International Convention Cities in the Tokaido Megalopolis and with Fukuoka and Kitakyushu in Kyushu island.

Apart from the Sapporo metropolitan area, there are a few local urban centers including Asahikawa that have the potential for further development. Like Asahikawa, Kushiro also has direct flights to Tokyo, which gradually promotes the rejuvenation of this metropolitan area, especially after the Decision of Day for Return of Northern Territory in 1981. Between Kushiro and Asahikawa, the last frontier Kitami was developed after the settlement of 11 divisions with 86 counties in Hokkaido in 1869. It was the center of the Okhotsk earthenware culture that has developed Rijiri, Souya, Monbetsu, Abashiri and Shyari basho in succession since 1684. The Moyoro shell mound in Abashiri is the icon of this culture to be a world city with a soul, which enabled the establishment of the Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples in 1991, in addition to the private Museum of Northern Indigenous Peoples, Jakka Duxuni, in 1978. The most peripheral area of Hokkaido is a cultural center of Northern People, who love the natural providence and the human ethics in their long history in the sub-arctic regions. Abashiri was a crossroads of the Northern People, who developed the

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Creole of their ethnic cultures in arctic Eurasia in their frontier, especially in the 6th century. Abashiri basho was opened in 1860, when the Tokugawa shogunate established its branch office to defend the Kuril islands and the Sea of Okhotsku (figs. 4 and 5).

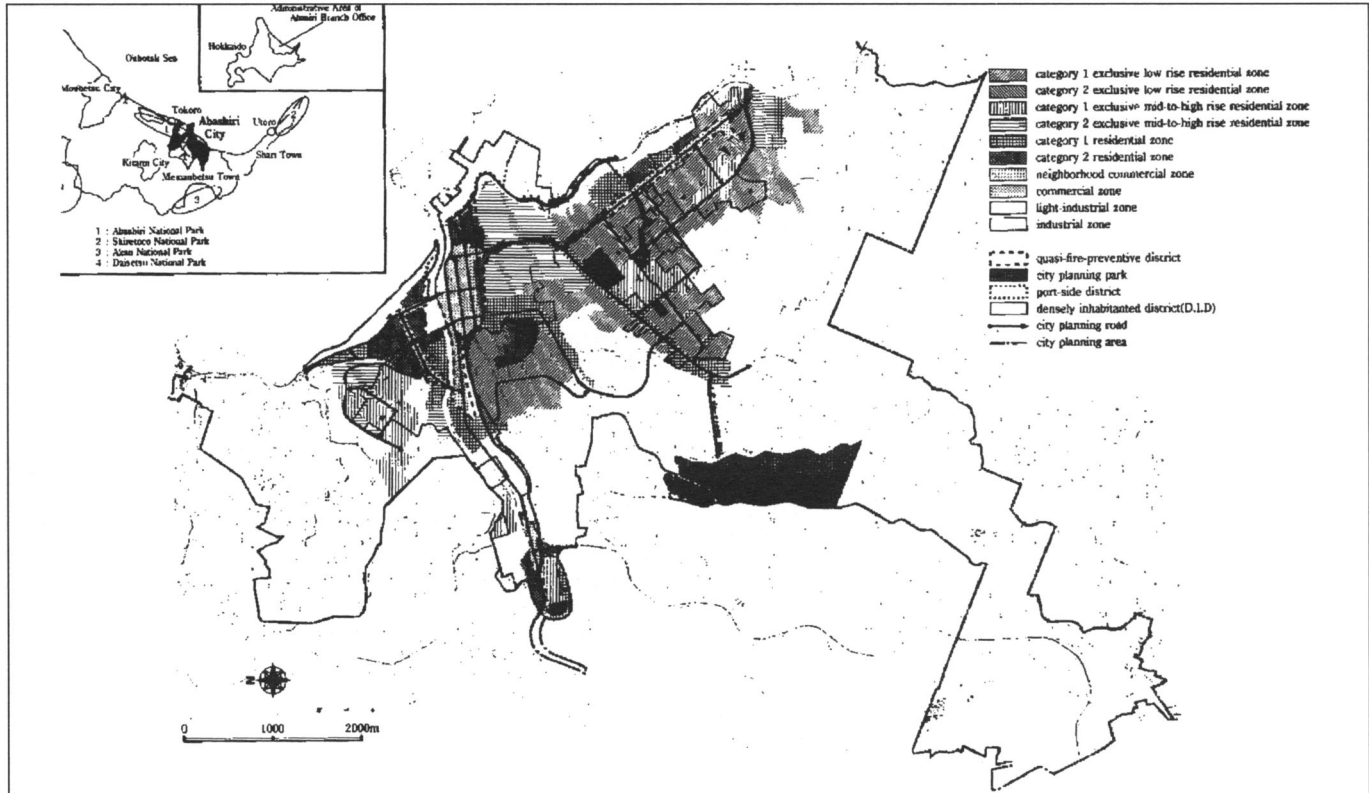Largely owing to this peripheral locus along the Sea of

Fig. 4: Japan – City planning of the northeastern frontier, Abashiri City. (*Source: Abashiri City,* 1997).
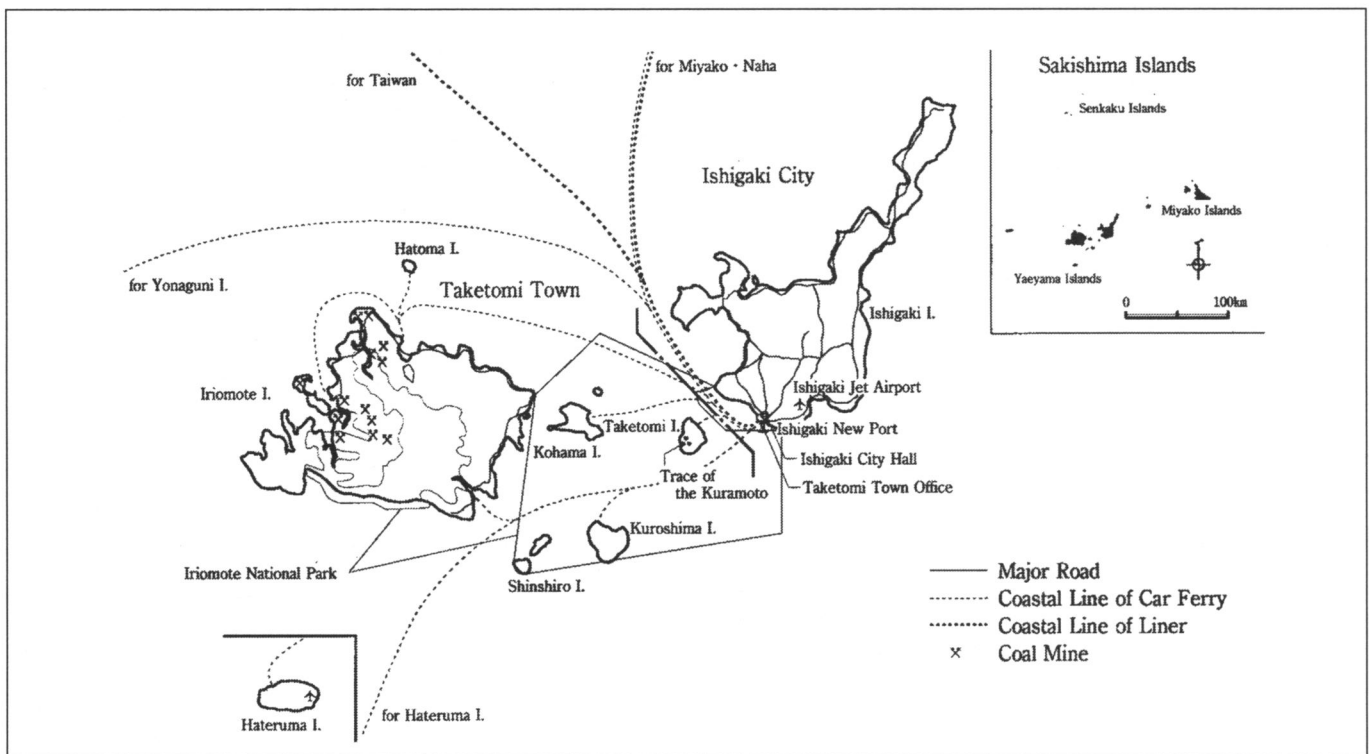

Fig. 5: Southwestern frontier of Japan – Yaeyama Islands.

Okhotsku, Abashiri became a local center after the opening of the Nemuro Branch Office of the Office for Development in 1860. According to the law for the organization of local areas into Town, Village, and County in 1878, Abashiri became the center of the Abashiri, Tokoro, Monbetsu and Shari area in 1879 because of opening its offices at its intermediate locus. Since the development of the urban area at Kitami town in 1881, Japanese people immigrated into the Abashiri region which accelerated the opening of the Asahikawa-Kushiro road via Abashiri by prisoners in the Abashiri branch prison of Kushiro, founded in 1890. Just before the Russo-Japanese War, Abashiri became one of the most important prisons in 1902, with criminal and political felons, due to this locus, and its agricultural farm and workshop became the pivot of transferring modern technologies. In 1912, the Abashiri Railway was opened between Abashiri and Tokachi, and then Abashiri port was constructed in 1919, which strengthened its crossroads locus and attracted branch offices of the central government and courts. However, Abashiri prison still exerts a great influence on the image of Abashiri as the most remote lonely place in Japan, in spite of the growth of the permeability of the cultures of the northern minorities. According to interviews with tourists in 1995, the first image of Abashiri was the prison (79.3 percent), followed by the drift ice of the Okhotsk Sea (38.3 percent), cold place (33.5 percent), remote place (30.0 percent), magnificent landscape (23.6 percent), rich marine products (22.0 percent) and excellent ocean, lake and forest natural landscape (13.2 percent).

Abashiri city endeavored to convert the iconography of a remote peripheral lonely place to the rich natural beautiful landscape with romantic northern peoples' culture in the indigenous frontier. After World War II, Abashiri became a city in 1947, when the Cold War started between the USSR and the United States, which fixed the illegal occupation of four Kuril Islands. In the high economic growth phase, Abashiri National Park was designated in 1958, which developed the tourist business along with Shiretoco National Park, Akan National Park and Daisetsu National Park. To promote tourist business in the Abashiri area, the first drift ice festival started in 1966, when the nationwide private rail and bus company, Nagoya Railway, developed its drift icebreaker for tourists in 1962 at Abashiri port, followed by the icebreaker at Monbetsu. This icebreaker is converted into a sightseeing ship for the strictly preserved natural park of the Shiretoco peninsular during the off-season, which made its base-port, Utoro of Shari, the southern center of drift ice and Aurora eco-tourism with hot springs, especially after the entry into service of the big ice breaker, "Aurora," in 1990.

Converting the iconography of Abashiri as the center of neo civilization in the Neo Industrial Revolution, but paying due regard to natural providence and human ethics, Abashiri city promoted the designation of the Abashiri Important Port in 1978 and the opening of the new Memanbetsu Jet Airport in 1985 on the fringe of the Abashiri metropolitan area to strengthen its crossroads structure, which attracted advanced technology such as Denso (a subsidiary of Toyota Motor) and Nippon Gaishi (Insulator) from the Nagoya metropolitan area. Based on this crossroads, it developed its Creole of northern people's culture and revitalization of its original locus as is seen in the construction of the Okhotsk Cultural Exchange Center in 2000 in addition to the construction of the Drift Ice Museum in 1985, a sister city contract with Port Alberny of Canada in 1986, and Okhotsk dome in 1998. The establishment of the Bio-Industry Faculty of Tokyo Agricultural University in 1989, a symbolic year opening the Heisei era, literally the era of peace, have also accelerated the synthesis of structural frontier and spatial frontier over Hokkaido Island and the Kuril Islands in the North-East Asian Orbit. It gradually promoted the revitalization of

agriculture and the fishing business in this Orbit.

In 1997, the Act on the Encouragement of Ainu Culture and of its Diffusion and Enlightenment of Knowledge on Ainu Tradition was promulgated, paying due regard to its natural providence and human ethics, in place of the Hokkaido Aborigine Protection Law for a social safety net for losers enacted in 1899. In that year, Japan and Russia agreed on the development of the North-East Asian Orbit along the line, which the author has already discussed in his book, *Formation of the Pacific Maritime Corridor for Global Rejuvenation and for World Peace* (MIYAKAWA, 1997). In this book, the author proposed the twin wheel project for the two free islands, Urup and Iturup, with not only global hard mega infrastructures such as air and sea ports but also global soft mega infrastructures such as the World Venture Fund for skilled workers and R&D institutes for the Neo Industrial Revolution. If the Russian government adopts this proposal to encourage the frontier spirit and entrepreneurship and the Treaty for the Peace and Rejuvenation of the Northern Pacific is concluded between Russia, the United States, Canada, China and Japan, this twin wheel will play an important role in stabilizing the area and in the revitalization of the economy, paying due regard to the natural environment and the life of the minority. The interplay will also play its role in absorbing shocks caused by future catastrophic changes in the North-East Asian Orbit by the construction of training houses for foreign refugees and for qualifications for foreign guest workers to circulate in the world market with favorable repercussions.

A similar twin wheel project has already been adopted in Japan between Okinawa and Taiwan practically, according to the New Temporary Measure Act for Development of Okinawa in 1998, which enables free trade, finance, communication and a global graduate school of super-natural technologies, as a sort of free island, as the author discussed in his above-mentioned book in 1997. It was promoted not only by the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 for establishing a new international trade route with China via Ishigaki island but also by the traditional locus of Okinawa in the frontier in the international power scramble. Ishigaki island had already developed in 715 and the autonomy of the local government was lost with the conquest by the Ryukyu kingdom in 1500. After the Meiji restoration, Ishigaki preserved the central locus of the Sakishima islands in the southern frontier of Japan as was seen in the establishment of an Army submarine cable relay station between Japan and Taiwan in 1894. It became the administrative center of Yaeyama village in 1908, although it had already lost ground as a frontier in 1902, when the Japanese government admitted the Japanese nationality of the Taiwanese, five years after the establishment of the Taiwan government in this new amalgamated frontier.

After World War II, Ishigai city was founded in 1947, although Okinawa was governed by the American military power until 1971, when it was returned to Japan. Under this quasi-state, the Ryukyu government, Ishigaki city became a hinge between the Ryukyu government and the Chinese government, which developed mutual trade and immigration of Taiwanese into Ryukyu. The Taiwanese community gradually became, and still is, the catalyst between Taiwan, China, Okinawa and Japan. In 1951, the Yaeyama Cultural Center between Ryukyu and America was established, which develops the Creole of cultures in this southern frontier. In response to the recovery of the local economy accelerated by the establishment of the Ishigaki Public Fish Market in 1953 and the Yaeyama Stock Breeding Corporation in 1954, the local Isigaki airport was opened in 1954. The crossroads structure was gradually strengthened by the opening of Ishigaki new port in 1963 and by the renewal of Ishigaki jet airport in 1979, which attracted Japanese tourist businesses such as Nagoya
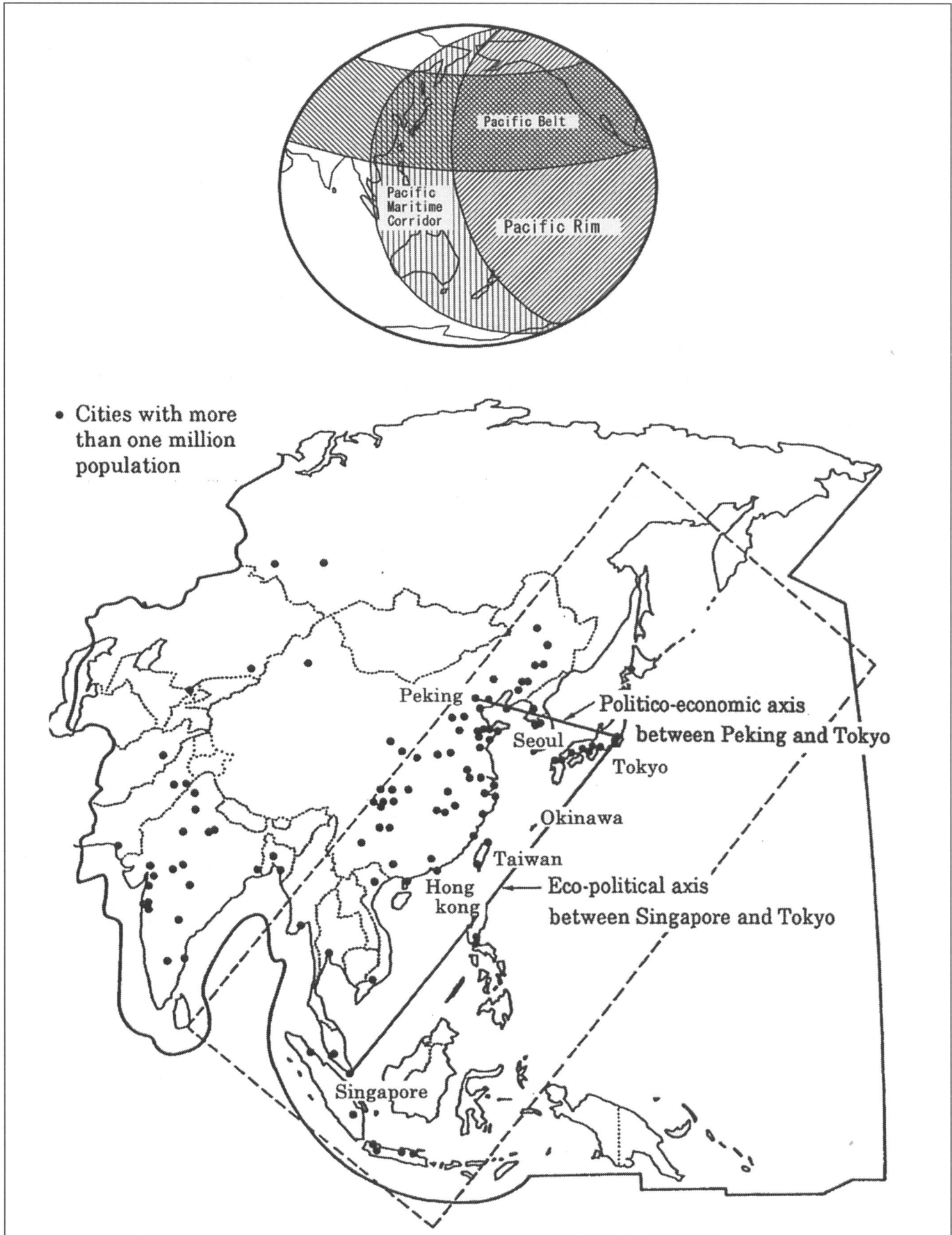
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Fig. 6: Pacific Orbit on the globe and structure of the Pacific Maritime Corridor.

Railway, and accelerated the development of the tourist and resort industry and sports events such as the Triathlon Japan Cup at Ishigai island in 1996. The hosting environment of Ishigaki island developed sister city communication between Okazaki (the traditional local urban center adjacent to Toyota in the Nagoya metropolitan area, 1972), Wakanai (the northern tip city in Hokkaido near Sakhalin, 1987), Suawo of Taiwan (a traditional fishing town on the Pacific, 1995) and Ishigaki city.

Taiwan is a Diaspora, to be recognized as separate from the Chinese, a big source of Diaspora like India. Diasporas accentuate and accelerate the linkages between cities to penetrate political partitions around the globe. The phenomenon of Diasporas is simply more general and more massive than in times past. The world conference held by Diasporas such as the World Uchinancyu (people of Ryukyu) Conference has become a node of the world community. A number of new nations scattered around the globe were brought into existence by the convergence on their territory of a mixture of Diasporas. Diasporas play an important role in the formation of a world unity of humankind, world community in the double tendency of modern communities – the nexus between globalization and localization – based on the social rules for global rejuvenation and for ethnic survival. This socio-cultural world community has become indispensable in rivalry with the eco-political world community being hatched by the financial forces on the tripod London-New York-Tokyo working together on the law of capital, in response to the progress of liberalization and to the development of freedom of movement.

A community is a living tissue, which changes and evolves like everything living, amid variable conditions in its environment to improve its own modes of life and way of thinking. The conversion of iconography often causes a change of dimension, which accelerates the transformation of locus. The city in a frontier like Ishigaki and Taketomi has an opportunity to convert the old iconography to adapt with the Neo Industrial Revolution and develop the network of networks of cities and frontiersmen, which some day forms a steady and a coalescent world community based on mutual trust among peoples in rivalry with international state organizations based on treaties like the United Nations and the World Trade Organization in its endless process.

Near Ishigaki city hall and port, the town office of Taketomi has been located since 1938, which connects the several islands of Taketomi, Kohama, Hateruma, Hatoma, Iriomote, Shinshiro and Kuroshima, based on its traditional locus since 1543, when the Kuramoto, the local office of the Ryukyu kingdom, was relocated from Taketomi to Ishigaki. Owing to the coal mines in Iriomote, the island became one of the most important strategic loci in the Meiji restoration as the UK Navy surveyed it in 1843, the US Navy in 1853, the Ryukyu kingdom in 1872 and the Ministry of Industry of the Meiji government in 1885, when Mitsui started the development of coal mines. Iriomote island was designated a National Park in 1972 and became the icon of Ocean culture and lifestyle and habitat in Japan. The sister town contract with the aforementioned Syari town at the foot of the Shretoko peninsular in 1973 also helped the conversion of this iconography and dimension. In 1976, Tokai University opened its Ocean Science Research Institute and Ryukyu University also opened its Tropical Plant Research Institute, which became the new icons and incubator as a corollary, in this frontier.

According to the former Temporary Measure Act for Development of Okinawa in 1971, the Okinawa prefecture government had already opened the Okinawa Free Trade Zone in Naha, which is the only free trade zone in Japan. However, it was an isolated plan, which lacked the unique strategic policy for development in Japan and has not been linked with the Kaohisiung Free Trade Zone opened in 1966 on the southern

tip of Taiwan on the Strait and the Masan Free Trade Zone opened in 1970 on the southern tip of South Korea on the Strait to synchronize these projects for synergism.

Naha was the outer port of the former capital Shuri and has been the prefecture capital since 1879 with an international sea and air port, although its population is 306,000, still below 1 million, smaller than that of Sapporo and that of Fukuoka. Largely due to the complete occupation by American military forces after World War II, Naha could not develop its urban renewal in spite of the establishment of a Ryukyu government under the American Power or construct a new urbanized area in its suburbs, where ceramic roof manufacturers were permitted to live for the construction of military bases. With the growth of military bases in Okinawa, Naha was able to enjoy its development and constructed a new shopping street along the new international road, its main street between old Naha and Shuri not only for the local population and the Americans in Okinawa but also for tourists from Japan.

Unfortunately, after the return of Okinawa to Japan in 1971, the number of tourists did not increase, although it held the Okinawa Ocean EXPO in 1975 at Motobu town near the northern central city, Nago. Notwithstanding its stable socio-economic conditions and unique cultural iconography, Okinawa also could not attract increased Korean and Taiwanese tourists, because of losing its unique locus as a quasi-independent country. Due to the lack of unique global soft mega infrastructure, Okinawa could not attract foreign investment from Korea, Taiwan and Japan. It goes without saying that the small local market of Okinawa prefecture and the less developed high tech and high touch industries with R&D facilities also could not attract foreign investments into Okinawa, although Naha was designated as the aforementioned Brain Area.

Not only Naha but also other cities with an American military base such as Ishikawa (in 1945), Okinawa, formerly Goza (in 1956), Ginowan (in 1962), Gushikawa (in 1968) and Urazoe (in 1970) still suffer from socio-cultural conflicts with American military forces, which often produce criminals.

In response to the transformation of the international politico-economic structure in the East Asia Orbit, especially after 1992, the twin wheel projects in the northern and southern frontiers of Japan gradually became indispensable to synthesize different frontiers and to construct a built-in stabilizer not only for politico-economic but also for socio-cultural conflicts. The Okinawa and Taiwan twin wheel in the endless forefront of international political dispute was formed after the return of Hong Kong in order to sustain the official development of international trade and investment from Taiwan into China via Okinawa. It is, in turn, useful and efficient to develop an eco-political shock absorber in the international power scramble. Largely owing to its intermediate locus between Tokyo in Japan and Singapore, it is gradually exerting its great influence on the establishment of the Tokyo-Singapore Eco-Political Axis via these twin wheel free islands, although it is still under planning and is practically just starting (fig. 6).

It goes without saying that it is also very important to prevent these islands from military war in the East Asia Orbit, which would be the trigger for World War III as was seen in the serious situation over North Korea's missile tests over Japan's territory and the anti-missile defence system of the United States in 2000. In this sense, Okinawa will play an important role in the reinforcement of the Politico-Economic Axis between Tokyo and Peking, if it can recover its close eco-political relations with Peking of China, Seoul of Korea and Tokyo of Japan in this process of metamorphosis of its locus.

Compared with this southern twin wheel project, the northern twin wheel project is a more political and serious one, due to the real situation of occupation by Russia after World War II. It is true that the mutual communication without visas becomes

more vivid than before and the socio-cultural gaps between Japan and Russia are gradually filling up after the collapse of the USSR. It depends largely on the decision of the Russian government and it needs more time to fuse each frontier in order to promote the development of the North East Asian Orbit. It goes without saying that it is an opportunity to establish a stable eco-political situation in the Northern Pacific among the aforementioned five countries, Russia, China, Canada, United States and Japan at this turning point of international politico-economic structure, if the Russian government wants to promote this project for the rejuvenation of its economy on the globe.

This northern twin wheel is, in fact, a real driving force for the development of a built-in stabilizer at the newly constructed crossroads on the global scene. Its global mega infrastructure will help to develop new ideas, Creole, and to establish international order in the future, because of its locus and its room to accept new talent. The city of freedom in this twin wheel will have to be developed towards the so-called Eco-town, paying due regard to Natural Providence and Human Ethics in this orbit. If its hosting environment and built-up environment are well prepared for minorities in addition to major ethnic groups, probably Russian and Japanese, it will also exert its great influence on the development of eco-tourism and absorb shocks, especially socio-cultural conflicts caused by politico-economic refugees and diasporas in the time-lag and in the space-gap with the expansion and evolution of the frontier.

It is still a long way to arrive at a goal for world peace and to be aware of projections in time and generalization in space, but some day, a world community of tolerance and mutual understanding will come about, even in this chaotic international political structure, as a result of a new international politico-economic and socio-cultural order based on the twin wheel free islands project and insular networks in the future.

Conclusion

As the process of globalization accelerates throughout the world, together with the deepening of localization phenomena, the expansion and evolution of the frontier have become increasingly important in changing the iconography and the orbit of the state. As seen in the historical development of the Japanese urban system, the city of freedom has been an inevitable factor for driving the process.

● At the first stage of state formation, Japan established local governments and defence bases on both its northern and southern frontiers, which exerted great influence on the expansion of Japan's international orbit. The national government founded shrines and temples in the frontiers in order to convert the iconography of local culture, which resulted in the evolution of the frontier and the Japanization of local ethos.

● At the second stage, with the rapid growth of the nation, the imperial authority and the military power came to diverge into a dual political system. In response to this, two capitals emerged, one for the emperor and the other for the shogunate. Historically speaking, there has been a shift of power from the west to the east, the axis in between the dual political system, which became the basic structure of the Tokaido Megalopolis. Along with this change, the significance of the northern frontier has increased in addition to the diversification of the traditional iconography, Buddhism. With the growth of private trade at this stage, the cities of freedom flourished, especially in the northern frontier.

● At the third stage, the international orbit expanded significantly at the Japanese new locus on the border of the dichotomy of the world, towards Southeast Asia. Furthermore, the rise of local lords during the civil war activated local capitals to the extent that these cities acquired autonomy. These funda-

mental changes led to the conversion of the iconography from Buddhism to Christianity and to the establishment of a new politico-economic icon, the tea-ceremony, which enabled Japan to reunify itself into a centralized government led by the shogunate based on monopolized international trade through the free port cities.

● At the fourth stage, the unification of the nation through the Meiji Restoration resulted in concentrating both power and authority in Tokyo, thus dissolving the dual political system. This has contributed to modernizing the national system. It showed that the frontier has played an important role in the change of dimension and in the metamorphosis of locus, especially at the time of mutation. Japan came to have colonies over the national boundaries and to reorganize its national frontiers as built-in stabilizers; the city of freedom played an important role in developing these colonies.

● At the final stage, after World War II, the process of democratization brought forth local autonomy. However, decentralization in a genuine sense has not been achieved yet. As a result, with the on-going rapid globalization, the national capital Tokyo and the Tokaido Megalopolis developed remarkably as a World City and World Megalopolis. This in turn has restrained the evolution of the frontier together with the incompleteness of the city of freedom in the contracted frontier.

Even in the contracted frontier, the frontier often could become the catalyst between the two different civilizations and economies, if it allows people the freedom of movement in travel and trade under its sovereignty. Based on transaction and trust, the frontier comes to be the pivot and hinge of different cultures, communities and technologies, and promotes their Creole. It also plays an important role as a shock absorber at the crossroads of the international power scramble for world peace and for global rejuvenation, which accelerates the formation of the Pacific Maritime Corridor based on the locus of orbit, the iconography of the city of freedom, the role of diasporas and the network of networks of communities and societies on the global scene.

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