

The 1970 Osaka Expo: Local Planners, National Planning Processes and Mega Events

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Abstract

The Expo 70 project received extraordinary support from the Japanese central government in terms of both funding and the fast-tracking of infrastructural development. In order to profit from the advantageous employment of national resources, local governments competed to host the event in locations where it might boost local urban development plans. At first, local governments made independent submissions in the competition to attract the event to their areas. However, in order to overcome the powerful influence of specialists and local governments from the Tokyo metropolitan area, local governments in the Kansai region joined forces to attract the event to a region outside Tokyo and its surrounding areas. The promotion of the international exhibition in Osaka, permitted the strategic reinforcement of local planning endeavours by means of training local specialists to work within central government planning processes. Moreover, this national project promotion served to respond to local demands of large-scale urban improvement in the Kansai region.

Keywords: Osaka Expo 70, national projects, Kinki metropolitan region, local specialists, urban renovation

Introduction

During the 1960s, Japan hosted the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and the 1970 Osaka Exposition, two large events that required unprecedented support in terms of urban infrastructural development and the extensive mobilization of technical knowledge and organization at institutional level. Moreover, these two events occurred during a period when the Japanese planning system was transitioning from the logic of the large-scale organization, oriented towards the advancement of the nation, towards the organization of an approach to planning that addressed local demands more directly.

Planning for the Osaka Expo 70 occurred concomitantly with these efforts to enhance local autonomy and to democratize the process of urban planning. Essential to the advancement of these aims was the first revision of the general City Planning Law of 1968. This accompanied a new emphasis on regional development in the post-war period.ⁱ During the early post-war period, the planning mechanisms were created to advance regional development, in the hope that this would result in a territorial organization that in itself would support national economic growth.ⁱⁱ In these circumstances regional development was not aimed at the needs specified by local self-governing agendas but orientated towards a national policy of development.

Regional development during the post-war period was conceived of as spurring the fast recovery from war damage and the achievement of national economic growth. Hence, local projects that could be linked to the project of national development might receive support from Central Government. An example of this is Japan's central government's promotion of the 1970 World Exhibition as a long-term planned project of national modernization and part of a larger comprehensive plan of regional integration intended to bring economical benefits at the local and national level. The promotion of the Expo took place during a transition period extending from the 1960s and 1980s when the *toshikeikaku* ('old planning system') was developing into the *machizukuri* ('new participatory planning system').ⁱⁱⁱ By investigating this historical period of transition from national large scale plans to a planning system that attended to local demands in Japan, this essay will examine the strategies used by the Kansai region^{iv} to attract the 1970

Osaka Expo for the insights they can provide into the relationship between mega events and planning processes.

The 1970 Osaka Expo and the long-term planning projects of the Japanese government

The central government enthusiastically supported the use of mega events during the 1960s in order to advance the development of the country. Modern societies in the twentieth century, engaged in large-scale events were also interested in their cultural and political role to increase the nation's self-image in a contemporary world order.^y Following the Meiji Revolution, in 1868, and the opening of the country to the Western culture and technology, the Meiji Government advanced an occidental modern lifestyle as the only possibility of warding off imperialistic claims upon Japan. Failure to modernize in Western Style would, it was feared, result in being colonized. The resulting effort to modernize was accompanied by Japanese expansionism and the subjugation^{vi} of other Asian people. The cultural mechanisms involved in colonization included the invention of traditions and "counter traditions"^{vii} and the distinguishing of the Japanese civilization from Asiatic counterparts, especially China and Korea^{viii}. The International exhibition offered a useful tool through which invented Japanese traditions could be displayed, and the capacity of the country to utilize modern mechanisms of cultural promotion could be demonstrated.

Japan's participation in international fairs begun in 1862 and a series of privately and locally organized exhibitions within its territory were inaugurated by the 1871 Kyoto Exhibition^{ix}. The holding of an international exhibition was an aspiration of the Japanese central government, which had unsuccessfully planned such events in 1890, 1907, 1912 and 1935, due especially to financial shortages. In 1940, the central government planned an International Exhibition to receive around 45 million people in Tokyo and Yokohama, with the motif of celebrating the 2600th anniversary of the mythical foundation of archaic Japan. The site plan and the design of some of the buildings were completed and tickets had gone on sale when the event had to be cancelled because of the war.^x The war also

made it impossible to realize the Olympic Games, which had been planned to take place concomitantly in Tokyo.

In the postwar period the nationalist discourse that had pervaded earlier efforts to plan such events was replaced by a discourse of internationalization, and the advancement of peace and harmony. This was evident in the case of Osaka Expo 70. Nevertheless, several of the figures actively enrolled in the promotion of this mega event had also been actively involved in the planning of prewar events. The art and literary critic, Ichirō Haryū, has argued that the promotion of the 1970 Osaka Expo drew heavily upon the nationalistic and modernizing discourse^{xi} of the unrealized 1940 Tokyo Exposition. With this in mind it is worth noting that *The official report of the 1970 Osaka Expo* explains that:

The year 1970 falls about 100 years after the Meiji Restoration which constituted the originating point of the modernization of Japan, and it is also the point from which Japan is expected to actively contribute to international exchanges in the fields of economy and culture as a developed nation. We believe it is timely to hold an International Exhibition...the first such international event in Asia to be held in accordance with the Convention regarding International Exhibitions.^{xii}

In the postwar era mega events such as Osaka 70 were to be used in order to justify fast-tracking provision of strategic urban infrastructure as part of a comprehensive plan of regional integration of the central government.^{xiii} Preparations to host the 1970 Osaka Expo began in September 1963, when the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, Masayoshi Ōhira (1910-1980), received from the president of the International Exhibitions Bureau (B.I.E), Leon Barety, the suggestion that Japan join the "Convention Regarding International Exhibitions".^{xiv} Unofficially, this allowed Japan to become a potential organizer of a World Exhibition, a development influenced by the successful realization of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964. The central government initiated intensive preparations from 1964 until mid-1965 centred around two important themes: the

selection of the Expo 70 location and the application process to officially host the Expo under the BIE regulations. From the central government's delegation, Masataka Toyoda (1898-1991), a member of the House of Councillors to the Foreign Trade Special Committee of the Liberal Democratic Party, was the first to submit a proposal to hold the exhibition in April 1964. Toyoda had been the chief of the Exhibitions Section of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry when the 1940 Tokyo Exposition was planned.

Local competition and the struggle to select the Expo 70 site

As local governments became aware of the potential for central government support for their projects, and as the potential for such events to serve as propellers for urban renovation became apparent^{xv} local governments started to compete fiercely among each other to host the Expo 70 event. In 1964, Gisen Satō (1899-1985), Governor of Osaka Prefecture; Kaoru Chūma (1904-1971), Mayor of Osaka; and Daizō Odawara (1892-1971), President of the Osaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry, submitted on behalf of Osaka's citizens, a request to the Prime Minister and the cabinet to host the World Exhibition in Osaka. In June, the prefectures and cities participating in the Inland Sea General Development Council (*Setonaikai sōgōkaihatsu kondankai*) approved the proposal presented by Governor Satō. The Japanese Central Government, represented by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), began official discussions with the BIE in Paris in May 1964. Once the central government officially began negotiating with the BIE, Shiga Prefecture and Kobe City, both from the Kansai region, and Tokyo and Chiba Prefectures from the Kanto region, presented proposals to host Expo 70.

In these circumstances the desire to compete inspired Osaka Prefecture and Osaka City to expand their campaign to include the eight prefectures addressed in the central government's comprehensive plan for the development of the region. This plan was made official by means of the 1963 Kinki Region Development Law (*Kinkiken seibihō*)^{xvi}, equivalent to the 1956 Tokyo Capital Region Improvement Law. The Kinki law considered city planning for a wider area than Osaka and included the prefectures of Fukui, Mie, Shiga, Kyoto, Osaka, Hyogo, Nara and Wakayama.^{xvii} The law aimed to transform the Kinki district into an economic and cultural centre comparable to that of the

Tokyo metropolitan capital area.^{xviii} The coalition of local governments thus intended to take advantage of the national government's policies by presenting their ambitions for development as something more than merely a issue of local development.

In 1965 Osaka city had a population of 3.156 million, and the entire Kinki region had a population of 18.04 million. In contrast, Tokyo had a population of 8.901 million, and the Tokyo metropolitan region had 25.870 million inhabitants. The Kinki region's GDP amounted to 4 trillions yen, compared with 6.539 trillions^{xix} for the Tokyo region. Osaka was the second largest city in the country and a key part of the 'Tokaido Megalopolis'^{xx}. The city struggled, however, to fulfill demands to improve its performance within the megalopolis network (Figure 1) owing to deficiencies of its infrastructure exacerbated by the fast economic growth of the post-war period and the subsequent concentration of population in urbanized areas.^{xxi} Through the promotion of this event, the local governments expected to draw upon central government support to address these deficiencies, while at the same time enhancing the reputation of the city on the international stage. The aim was to shift the image of the Japanese modern urban development away from the Tokyo metropolitan area, which was often considered its dominant representative to a wider area within the so-called Tokaido Megalopolis.

Although all prefectures were aware that the Kinki coalition was keen to draw attention away from Tokyo area by bringing the Expo to the region, at that time there was no consensus about the definitive location of the event. The Shiga Prefecture proposed the reclaimed land of Konohama on the eastern shore of Lake Biwa^{xxii}; Kobe City proposed the use of the fourth construction zone of the reclaimed portion of Kobe Harbour^{xxiii}; the Osaka Prefecture selected the Osaka South Port Area and the Osaka city proposed the Senri Hills (Figure 2).

The potential disagreement over the location of the Expo 70 location took more than six months of intense negotiation to resolve. The difficulty involved in settling the matter led to the suggestion that the event might be held in multiple locations – which was unprecedented in the history of international exhibitions. Holding the event simultaneously in multiple locations would imply higher costs and more complex implementation. The central government feared that this proposition would disadvantage

the Japanese proposal to host the Expo, and might benefit the rival bid by Australia. The disagreement about the location continued until close to the final application deadline. To overcome this impasse, in April 1965 the Minister of the MITI, Yoshio Sakurachi (1912-2003) decided, after discussions with representatives of Osaka and Shiga prefecture, Kobe City and the Diet members from the eight Kinki prefectures, that the Senri Hills should become the expo site. As part of these negotiations, the central government assumed the responsibility to include the Shiga Prefecture and Kobe City in the plans for Expo-related public projects.^{xxiv} This competition shows clearly the interest of local governments in urban improvement, as well as the other advantages expected to accrue from hosting the event. After the minister's decision, antagonism over the matter persisted within Osaka's local government system, feeding into the hostile relationship between Osaka city and the Osaka prefecture, to which the former was subordinate.^{xxv} (Figure 3)

JAPANESE NATIONAL RAILWAYS

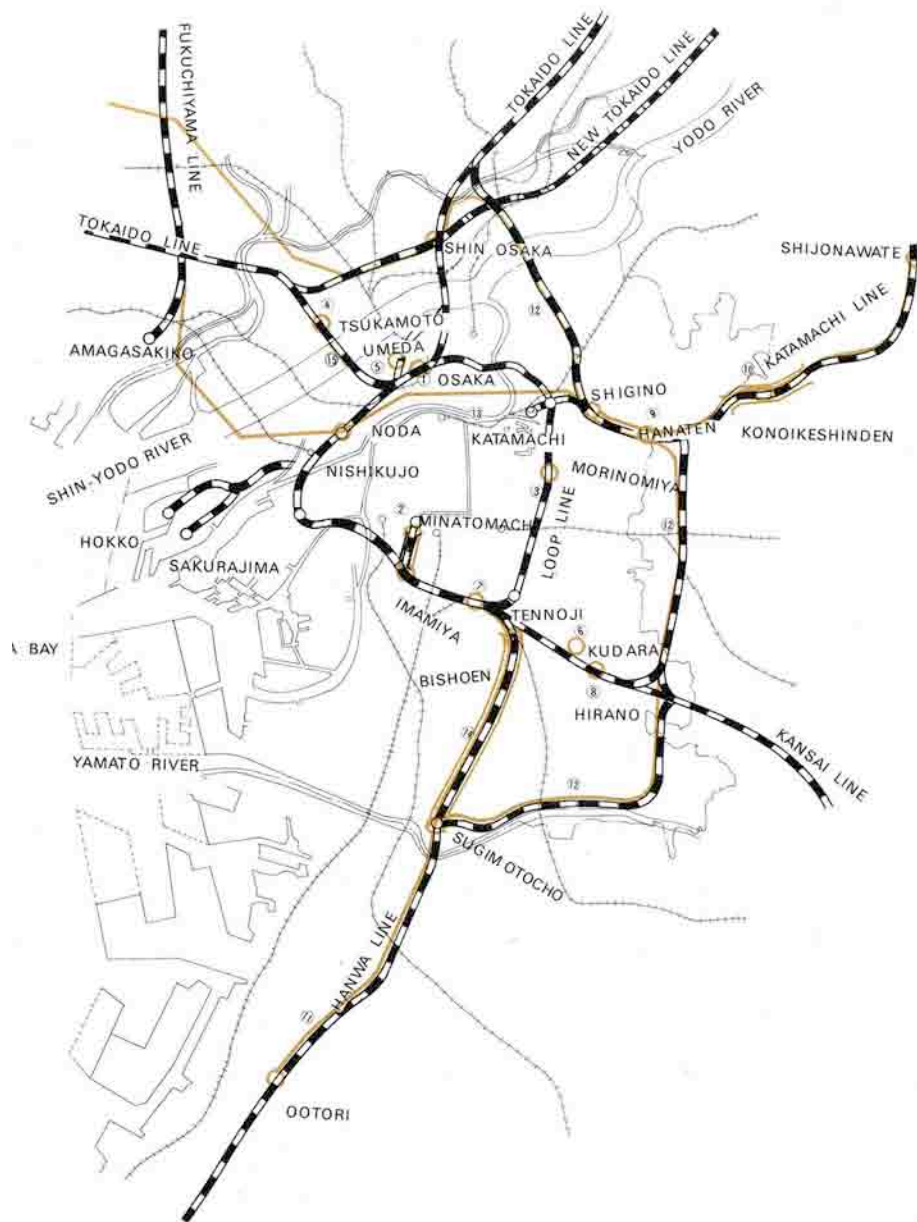


Figure 1. The improvement of the railway network inside Osaka city included in the 3rd Long Range Plan of the Japanese National Railways (JNR). This gained momentum with the promotion of the Osaka Expo 70. Among other implementations account the improvement of facilities in the stations of Osaka, Minatomachi, Morinomiya, Tsukamoto, Umeda, Kudara, Tennoji, and Hirano; the construction of Osaka outer loop line; the construction of tracks between Shijonawate and Hanaten Stations, and between Tennoji and Otori stations; the construction of elevated tracks near Konoike station and between Bishoen and Sugimotocho stations. Source: Municipal Office Osaka (1969)



Figure 2. The Osaka South Port Area was one strategic project of urban redevelopment that needed the investment from central government funds. Source: Municipal Office Osaka (1969)

Local specialists and the planning process

The regional strategy of bringing this great event to the Kinki region and at the same time shifting the national government's attention away from the Tokyo area was also reflected in the selection of local specialists during the implementation stage. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the centralization of planning decisions inside central government circles had a deleterious impact upon planning expertise at lower tiers of government.^{xxvi} However, the empowerment of local governments during the 1960s

brought the modernization of planning capacity at the local level, for instance through the incorporation of trained statisticians, planners, computer specialists, and others whose technical skills were needed for the development of master plans.^{xxvii} The inclusion of local specialists in the planning of a national project was instrumental in allowing the former to voice local demands before central government bureaucrats. It also allowed local specialists to understand the executive functioning of the central planning apparatus. In this context, Kansai local governments not only succeeded in bringing the event to the region, but also in advancing local specialists into key positions in the planning process.



Figure 3. The final construction of the Osaka Expo 70 took place in the Senri hills. Source: Shinkenchiku may (1970) 26

For example, in the initial stages of the Expo 70 planning, representatives of MITI appointed the Tokyo-based urban planner Takashi Asada (1921-1990) to prepare the Expo Master Plan.^{xxviii} Most representatives from the Kansai region were against this idea and the Japanese architect Kenzō Tange (1913-2005) was proposed as a possible alternative.^{xxix} However, the urban policy researcher Moriaki Hirohara (b.1938)^{xxx} asserted that if Tokyo specialists controlled this National project once again, Kansai

would become a 'platform for foreigners' (*gaijin butai*)^{xxxix}, with which he meant that the 'foreign' specialists from Tokyo would receive public recognition for a project realized in the Kansai region. Thus, local governments and specialists pressed the central government to include Kansai-based specialists in order to make the national media aware of local expertise and reinforce the national decentralization process. To solve this impasse the Kyoto based civil engineer, Tōjirō Ishihara (b.1908)^{xxxix}, discussed the Expo project with Ryō Tanahashi (1907-1974), professor at the Department of Architecture of Kyoto University. From these discussions emerged the decision to include the architect serving on the Housing Bureau of the Ministry of Construction, Atsushi Ueda (b.1930), in the Expo 70 preliminary survey team.^{xxxix}

To develop the Expo project, Ueda joined the 'laboratory'^{xxxix} of the housing specialist, Uzō Nishiyama (1911-1994)^{xxxix} and officially introduced Kyoto University into the national project. The sudden entrance of Ueda was made possible by the premature death of assistant professor Sukenori Kinutani (1927-1965) in a car accident in the Netherlands. According to the organization of the laboratory, Kinutani was expected to succeed Nishiyama after his retirement. His death provided an opportunity for Ueda, a functionary from the central government, to enter the academic circles of Kyoto University. Many members of Nishiyama's laboratory at the time had regarded this national project critically because it was unrelated to research then already under development. Even though the Expo project had developed separately from other research projects undertaken in the laboratory, suggesting a rupture with the theoretical orientation of the group, some elements of Nishiyama's urban theory are present in the Expo project.^{xxxix}

The development of the Expo 70 project inside Kyoto University also served to augment the participation of Kansai specialists in national projects^{xxxix} and reinforced the local government's capacity to advance planning projects oriented towards the new decentralized planning system. Furthermore, it made possible the expression of local opinions about large-scale urban problems at national level, as was clearly documented in the report submitted by Kansai specialists to the 1971 compilation published by the Prime Minister's Cabinet Office.^{xxxix}

Promoting Osaka and the Kansai area

The promotion of the Expo event and its consequent urban improvements strategically aimed at enhancing the ability of the Kansai area to compete for importance with the Tokyo area and to gain similar levels of representation at national and international level was energetically promoted by the Japan Association for the 1970 World Exposition. One of its publications expressed how:

Osaka, the second largest city in this country, is the cultural, commercial and industrial hub of the Kinki region where the Japanese civilization came into existence. A mighty industrial crescent spreads along Osaka Bay, linking Kobe, Osaka and Wakayama. Such satellite cities as Nishinomiya, Amagasaki, Sakai, Kishiwada and Moriguchi are included in the area. Only about a 30-minute ride from Osaka to the northeast via the Meishin (Nagoya-Kobe) Expressway, lies Kyoto, which was the long-time capital of Japan before the Meiji Restoration. Nara, the ancient seat of the Imperial throne, is also near Osaka. More than 11 million people live in the Keihanshin (Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe) area. It forms a great metropolitan district comparable to Tokyo, New York, London and Paris.^{xxxix}

The ability to attract the event to this location, the role of the chosen region as a strategic area for regional development, and the insistence upon incorporating local specialists in the process reaffirmed the strategic value of the great event for local development. The Tokyo Olympics facilities had cost a total of one trillion yen, considering the amount spent during the five-year period following 1959 (and including the construction of highways and the New Tokaido shinkansen (fast train) segment connecting Tokyo to Kyoto). Prior to completion, the expected amount to be spent on preparing the Expo site alone was an estimated 100 billion yen. In addition, 640 billion yen was to be invested in public works in the surrounding areas, such as highways in and around Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe.^{xl} In 1966, the Osaka municipality published a document in English to present the potential and qualities of the city before an international public,

together with a description of the main urban problems of the time.^{xli} The second edition of the same document published in 1969, presented the final master plan of the Expo 70 as one of the regional development plans. The same document included other, similar projects, such as, the reclamation plan of the South Port – the area proposed by the Osaka prefecture to be the Expo 70 site - and the construction of the Sanyo trunk of the *shinkansen* network, connecting Kyoto to Okayama^{xlii} (Figure 4). These projects were advanced and negotiated for during the process of haggling over the location for Expo 70. The combined effort of Kinki local governments helped to improve the economic status of Osaka and to implement three targets of the Kinki Region Master Plan (1965): to hold an international exhibition in 1970, to construct a new container port to the south of the Osaka city and to redevelop Osaka city centre.^{xliii}

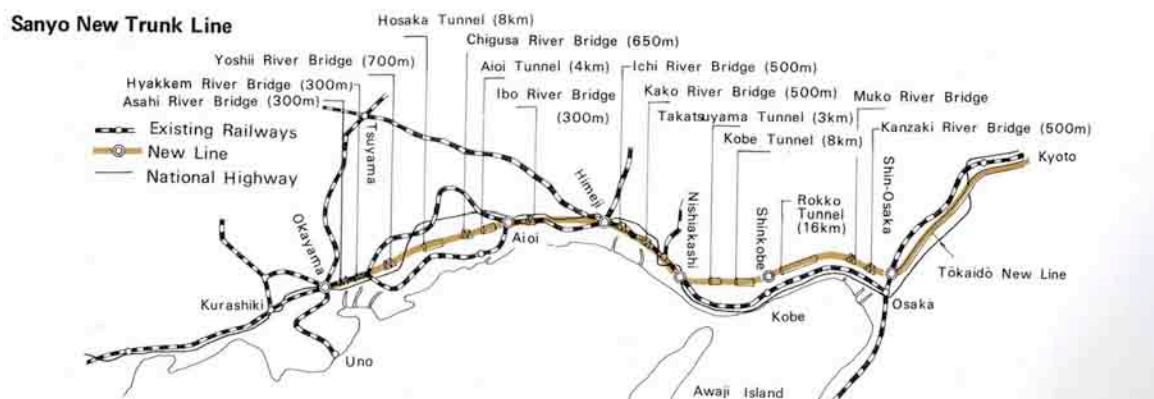


Figure 4. The plan of extension of the Sanyo trunk line of *shinkansen* until Okayama concluded in 1972. Source: Municipal Office Osaka (1969)

Conclusion

Because of the international prestige that holding an international exhibition was expected to bring, the Expo 70 project received considerable support from the central government in terms of funding and infrastructural development. Aware of these special circumstances, regional and local governments competed to organize the event in locations that were considered important for local urban development. The effort from the Kansai region to attract Expo 70 to an area outside the Tokyo region was motivated

by the anticipated direction of national resources toward local projects, to gain greater autonomy in national planning, and to secure international recognition for the work of local governments in the region. The opportunity to hold the exhibition in Kansai permitted the insertion of local demands and voices into the national planning process. The great event thus permitted a gradual process of municipal empowerment to take place, both in terms of planning decisions and a shift in the scale of urban planning from national to local level. It was through this process that the empowerment of local municipalities and the *machizukuri*, the new planning system, with increased levels of public participation in planning decision-making, began to develop. The local competition to host the Expo 70 illustrates the importance of the inter-relationship between national and local politics, planning and the great event in this transition.

ⁱ The establishment of the Comprehensive National Land Development Act in 1950 launched the fundamental statutory framework for regional development planning in Japan. This comprehensive system is set within the framework of a Comprehensive National Development Plan (CNDP) and conducts the specifications of City Plans. H. Abe and J. D. Alden, 'Regional Development Planning in Japan', *Regional Studies* 22 (1988): 429-38. The first CNDP of 1962 included in its main objectives the regional distribution of resources such as capital, labor and technology, prevention of excessive urbanization, and reduction of regional differentials to reach the goal of a "balanced regional development". J. Yamashita, 'Influence of Jean Gottman's thought on National Development Plans in Japan', *Ekistics: Reviews on the Problems and Science of Human Settlements* 70 (2003): 358-365.

ⁱⁱ Y. Ishida, *Nihon kingendai toshi keikaku no tenkai: 1868-2003* (Tokyo: Jichitai kenkyūsha, 2004), 207-9.

ⁱⁱⁱ S. Watanabe, 'Toshi Keikaku versus Machizukuri: Emerging Paradigm of Civil Society in Japan', 1950-1980, in A. Sorensen and C. Funck, ed., *Living Cities in Japan: Citizens' Movements, Machizukuri and Local Environments* (London: Routledge, 2007), 49.

^{iv} Kansai or Kinki region are terminologies which have historically developed to describe different geographical limitations and at present day can be used interchangeably to refer to the southern-central region of the Japanese main island, which mainly includes the prefectures of Osaka, Kyoto, Nara, Wakayama, Hyogo and Shiga. Some authors also include the prefectures of Mie, Fukui, and Tokushima.

^v M. Roche, *Mega events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000)

^{vi} E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire (1875-1914)*. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987)

^{vii} E. Hobsbawm, R. Terence, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

^{viii} See more in S. Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts in History* (Berkeley : University of California Press , 1995, c1993)

^{ix} See more in A. Flores Urushima, 'Genesis and Culmination of Uz_o Nishiyama's Proposal of a 'Model Core of a Future City' for the Expo 70 Site (1960–1973), *Planning Perspectives* 22 (2007): 391–416.

^x See more in the fifth chapter of M. Yamamoto, *Nihon hakurankaishi* [History of Japanese Expositions] (Tokyo: Risōsha, 1970). For an overlook of the 1940 Exposition's site plan map refer to Nihon bankoku hakurankai kyōkai [Japan Association for the World Exposition], *Nihon bankoku daihakurankai: Kigen 2600 nen kinen* [Japan's Great World Exposition: Commemorating the 2600th Year of the Imperial Era] (Tokyo: Nihon bankoku hakurankai kyōkai, 1935)

^{xi} Haryū mentions two well-known slogans of the modernizing spirit of the period: *Shokusan kōgyō* (Promoting Industry and Enterprise) and *Fukoku kyōhei* (Wealthy Nation, Strong Military). I. Haryū, 'Kurutta ideorogī: Kokuisen'yō to keizai gōri shūgi (Bankokuhaku: Kokumin fuzai no saiten. Tokushū) [Deranged Ideology: Enhancement of National Prestige and Economical Rationality (World Fair: A Festival of Civic Absence. Special edition)]', *Asahi jōnan* 11, n.3 (1969): 5-10.

^{xii} Part of the letter of application to host the Expo 70, from the Osaka International Exhibition Preparatory Council, April 1965. Japan Association for the 1970 World Exposition, *Japan world exposition, Osaka, 1970: Official Report, Vol. 1-3* (Osaka: Commemorative Association for the Japan World Exposition, 1972), vol. 1, 38.

^{xiii} Since the prewar period, the central government has efficiently used spatial integration logic to advance modernization on a national scale. This has continued to be enforced during the postwar period. T. Mizuuchi, 'Development Policies and Spatial Integration in Japan from 1868 to 1941', *Nation, Region and the Politics of Geography in East Asia*, ed. T. Mizuuchi (Osaka: Department of Geography of Osaka City University, 1999), 30-42.

^{xiv} The 'Convention Relating to International Exhibitions' was first created in 1928 and has been regularly amended until present day. Even though the country was planning to host an International Exhibition since the late nineteenth century, the reasons why Japan has not acceded to this regulation until 1963 are not clear. In 1966, after Japan had started preparations to hold Osaka Expo 70, the original convention was amended, succeeding a prior amendment of 1948. Bureau International des Expositions, *Protocol signed at Paris on 30 November 1972 relating to international exhibitions (Revising the Convention signed at Paris on 22 November 1928)* (Paris: Bureau International des Expositions, 1985)

^{xv} Haryū, 'Kurutta ideorogī: Kokuisen'yō to keizai gōri shūgi', 6.

^{xvi} Also translated as Kinki Region Improvement Law (KRIL). See description and analysis of the law in S. Nakazawa and Kinki toshi gakkai [Kinki Association for Urban Studies], *Kinkiken seibi to toshi: Nakazawa Seiichirō sensei koki kinen toshi ronbunshū* [Kinki region maintenance and cities: 70th birthday commemorative collection of urban studies works of prof. Seiichirō Nakazawa] (Tokyo: Taimeidō, 1968)

^{xvii} The detailed plans are collected in Kinki kaihatsu shiryōshū seihenshū iinkai, *Kinki kaihatsu no keikaku* (Osaka: Osaka toshi kyōkai, 1962-1963)

^{xviii} T. Kitayama, *Local Government policy initiatives in Japan*, (Washington: The World Bank, 2001), 5-6.

^{xix} Municipal Office Osaka, *The city of Osaka and its planning*, 1st ed. (Osaka: Comprehensive Planning Bureau, 1966)

^{xx} The French Geographer Jean Gottman (1915-1994) coined the term Megalopolis in 1961. The term is now currently used to refer to a region of a multinuclear characteristic constituted of several distinct urban systems well-integrated through a network of transportation and communication with a population of a minimum of 25 million inhabitants. The Tokaido megalopolis or the Pacific Belt was a result of the intensive urbanization of the area surrounding the ancient Tokaido road main route of travel to Edo during the medieval period. At present, it extends from Ibaraki Prefecture on the north until Fukuoka Prefecture in the south with more than one thousand kilometers.

^{xxi} One interesting analysis of the central and management function of those cities in comparison to all other Japanese cities, places Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya at the top ranking. At the same time, when Osaka is placed within a metropolitan network its rate is further improved. T. Yamaguchi and The Japan Section of The Regional Science Association, 'Japanese cities: their functions and characteristics', *Papers and proceedings of the Far East Conference of the Regional Science Association*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1969), 141-56.

^{xxii} Shiga Prefecture, within which 98% of the entire Lake Biwa and its catchments area lies, was economically underdeveloped up until middle of the 1970s. The strong desire of the watershed communities for economic and regional development of the lake watershed was partially fulfilled by the Kinki Region Improvement Law (KRIL) of 1963 in which the lake watershed was designated as a development zone within the framework of the national development plan for the Kinki Region. T. Kira, S. Ide, F. Fukada, and M. Nakamura, Lake Biwa: Experience and lessons learned brief, in *Lake Basin Management Initiative Report*. IW:LEARN, http://www.iwlearn.net/publications/ll/lakebiwa_2005.pdf/view, (accessed February 19, 2010), 60-1

^{xxiii} Many improvements on the Kobe Harbor's facilities were completed between 1965 and the opening of Expo 70. This included the reclamation of Eastern Sea N.4, of Shinko Pier N.8 and the construction of Eastern Domestic Trade Wharf. In 1966 started the reclamation of "Port Island" to be finished in 1981 with the opening of the "Pōtopia Exposition" regarded as a strategic project of urban redevelopment of the time. K. Sasayama, 'Pōtopia 81 to Kobe no machizukuri [Portopia 81 and the Urban Planning of Kobe]', *Toshi keikaku*. Tokushū: machizukuri shuhō toshite no ibento [City Planning Review. Special Issue: Events as a method of producing city] 164(1990): 16-20.

^{xxiv} Japan Association for the 1970 World Exposition, *Japan World Exposition, Osaka, 1970: Official Report*, vol. 1, 34-7.

^{xxv} J. Hasegawa, "The rebuilding of Osaka: a Reflection of the Structural Weakness in Japanese Planning", in C. Hein, J. M. Diedendorf, and Y. Ishida, ed., *Rebuilding Urban Japan After 1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 74.

^{xxvi} A. Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and Planning from Edo to the Twenty First Century* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 111-2.

^{xxvii} M. Muramatsu, F. Iqbal and I. Kume, ed., *Local government development in post-war Japan* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2002), 11.

^{xxviii} A. Ueda, *Letter sent to Andrea Flores Urushima in response to a questionnaire written by the author* (Kyoto, 26 March 2006)

^{xxix} Ibid.

^{xxx} Moriaki Hirohara, Professor of Urban Policy in the Faculty of Law of Ryukoku University, was a student of Nishiyama during the Expo 70 period and former board chairman of the "Uzō Nishiyama Memorial Library".

^{xxxi} M. Hirohara, *Interview by Andrea Flores Urushima at Ryukoku University* (Digital recording, 9 May 2006)

^{xxxii} Tōjirō ISHIHARA was a professor of the Dept. of Civil Engineering of Kyoto University who was very influential in the Civil Engineering Public Administration of the Kinki Region. Later in 1965 he became part of the 'Site Planning Committee' for the Expo 70 Site Planning process.

^{xxxiii} A. Ueda, *Interview by Andrea Urushima at Kyoto Daigo Plaza Hotel Cafe* (Digital recording, 24 March 2006)

^{xxxiv} In Japanese universities, professors are responsible for the supervision of the work of a group, generally called a 'laboratory', whose members are undergraduate and graduate students, as well as researchers, and sometimes also include assistant and associate professors. Independent of the area of study or type of activity, this denomination can be used for groups which carry on research in humanities or in fundamental sciences, for example. Most important, the use of the

term 'laboratory' carries the notion that the research of one specific group maintains a theoretical unity centered in the ideas of its founder professor.

^{xxxv} He was in 1959 the vice-president of the Architectural Institute of Japan and wrote extensively on urban related themes; see more in A. Flores Urushima, 'Genesis and Culmination of Uzo's Nishiyama proposal', 393-4. Central government representatives and other business circles of the Kansai region considered some ideas of Nishiyama polemical, nevertheless, he was a representative public personality known inside circles of specialists and also by the general public. For example, in 1967 the most important Japanese television channel NHK, broadcasted a drama entitled *Kenchi to sumire* produced under influence of Nishiyama's book 'Chronicle about ways of living' *Sumikata no ki*.

^{xxxvi} A. Flores Urushima, 'Genesis and culmination of Uzō Nishiyama's proposal of a "model core of a future city"'

^{xxxvii} As an example, between 1967-1972 the central government required a general plan for the national land development to refer the future intervention in metropolitan areas, medium and small-sized cities, and rural districts. Among the 19 groups that submitted proposals, nine groups have finally been selected to receive during three years the financial support of more than nine million yens each. The great majority of the selected researchers were affiliated to institutions in Tokyo inside a network of researchers closely related with the central government ministries of Construction, Agriculture, Home and Foreign Affairs. The only exceptions were the Nagoya group from the Nanzan University and the Kansai group, headed by Uzō Nishiyama, which counted with a planning team of 12 members, supported by a multi-disciplinary team of more than 160 researchers from the Kansai region.

^{xxxviii} The compilation containing a total of 20 volumes is entitled "Japan of the 21st Century: A Future Vision of the National Land and Citizen's Life". Naikaku kanbō naikaku shingishitsuhen [The deliberation room of the Cabinet Secretariat], ed., *Nijūichi seiki no Nihon: kokudo to kokumin seikatsu no miraizō no sekkei 1-20* [The future vision of the national land and people's life in the 21st Century] (Tokyo: Naikaku kanbō naikaku shingishitsu, 1971), 1-20

^{xxxix} Japan Association for the 1970 World Exposition (with cooperation of Dentsu Advertising Ltd. and the Mainichi Newspaper), *Exposition Quarterly* 2 (1966).

^{xl} R. Hamaguchi, 'The Japanese construction industry VI', *The Japan Architect* (May 1968): 81-6. According to Asahi jānaru henshūbu, the Osaka Expo total cost was about five fold higher than the Tokyo Olympics. Moreover, 25% of the two hundred-million yen total cost was financed by the Central Government. Asahi jānaru henshūbu, 'Bankokuhaku he no kitai', *Asahi jānaru* 9-44 (1967): 96-108, October 22th.

^{xli} Municipal Office Osaka, *The City of Osaka and Its Planning*.

^{xlii} Municipal Office Osaka, *The City of Osaka and Its Planning*, 2nd ed. (Osaka: Comprehensive Planning Bureau, 1969).

^{xliii} D.A. Farnie and T. Nakaoka, 'Region and Nation', in D.A. Farnie et al., ed., *Region and Strategy in Britain and Japan: Business in Lancashire and Kansai 1890-1990* (London : Routledge, 2000), 37.