Final Exam for POL2018, Fall 2013

Identifications:  Based readings and class lectures, explain the significance of 2 of the following:

1. Rangaku Scholars (Rangakusha)
   Answer: Dutch Scholars: Refers to a small group of Japanese scholars during the Edo Era, when Japan was officially largely closed to contact with the outside world, who specialized in written Dutch, and in particular in translating the books brought every year by the single (or very few) Dutch ship that the Tokugawa Bakufu allowed to visit the tiny Dutch settlement on the island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbor, and which were then sold to the Japanese as part of ongoing trade. They became especially important after the importation of Dutch books was liberalized in 1720 (except for books promoting Christianity). The Rangakusha translated and disseminated these books through Japan, and thus provided Japan with an intellectual window on the western world. Books on medicine, chemistry, geography, mathematics, physics, metallurgy, and technology more generally, were translated and circulated. Consequently, by the early 1800s, even when Japan was supposedly still a “closed country,” it probably had greater and more widespread knowledge of western science than in any other Asian country.

2. SNTV
   Answer: Single Non-Transferrable Vote: The electoral system for Japan’s Lower House until 1996 (or 1994, the year electoral reform was passed into law). Under this system, Japan was divided up into medium-sized districts, generally with two to five representatives for each district, depending upon population. The top two to five vote-receiving candidates are thus elected. Each voter was given a single, non-transferable vote, with which they could vote for only one candidate, hence the SNTV label. This system has also been used on a limited basis in South Korea and Taiwan, and is still used in the prefectural constituencies in Japan’s upper house election in prefectures that have sufficient population to elect more than one representative. This system is sometimes compared to the Limited Vote system used in Spain’s upper house elections. SNTV produces more proportional results, and fewer wasted votes, than a first-past-the-post plurality system, but is less proportional than a proportional representation system. SNTV creates strategic dilemmas for political parties. The first is the danger of over-nomination, in that if a party nominates too many candidates in a multi-member seat district they candidate fratricide—dividing their support base and electing fewer candidates than they would otherwise. The opposite danger is under-nomination, when a party nominates fewer candidates than party’s supporters in the district could elect if their votes were well distributed among the two candidates.

3. Kokusanka
   Answer: Indigenization, or literally National Productionalization. An important element of Japan’s technology policy, tends to prioritize national production over cost and, sometimes, even quality considerations. Samuels has identified four unwritten rules of Kokusanka: 1) domestic supply; 2) if domestic supply is unavailable, licensed production; 3) aim to only import equipment with technological significance beyond the project at hand; 4) import the
first one and indigenize the second.  *Kokusanka* does not mean autarchy, but the ability to import foreign technology and turn it into new and improved domestic technology through several incremental stages.  *Kokusanka* has been based upon two other pillars: large scale importation of foreign technology (through licenses) and capital controls used to prevent foreign companies from buying Japanese companies or setting up their own subsidiaries, thereby preventing leakage of indigenized technology to foreign firms.

4. Fukuzawa Yukiichi:  
Answer: (1835-1901) Arguably the most famous and important Meiji era westernizer and modernizer, Fukuzawa was originally trained as a Dutch Scholar (Rangakusha), but then learned English and visited the US in 1860. He subsequently visited Europe in 1862 and the US again a few years later, and introduced Western technology, social customs and institutions, especially through his first book, *Conditions in the West*, which was published in 1866. He explained to readers how steam carried people (trains) and lightning carried messages (telegraphs). He was also the first East Asian scholar to translate many Western terms, such as democracy, into Chinese characters. He rejected traditional Confucian education and promoted equality of opportunity and opposed hereditary hierarchies. Fukuzawa also famously advocated Japan that Japan should “leave Asia and enter Europe,” a slogan that largely encapsulated the Westernizing ethos of both the Meiji era and Fukuzawa himself. Fukuzawa also founded Keio University.

**Essays:** Answer ONLY 1 question based upon class readings and lectures.

1. Compare and contrast the views of Katz and Samuels regarding Japan’s model of economic development. What are the points of agreement and disagreement? Assess which view is more convincing.  
Answer:  
Samuels sees Japan’s model as essentially an unqualified success while Katz views this model as only successful during the “catch-up” phase of development. Once an economy reaches the techno-economic frontier, this “catch-up” model of state led development, or the Capitalist Development State, as Chalmers Johnson famously conceptualized it, no longer works. At that point the state must abandon this model in favour of free-market economic policies in Katz’s view. Samuels, by contrast, believes that Japan’s model has important lessons even for a fully developed economy and technological leader such as the US. Samuels, in short, thinks the US (and by implication other advanced economies) should emulate some of Japan’s policies for promoting national technological competitiveness.

2. Explain the impact of the rise and decline of the Tanaka faction on Japanese politics and policy over several decades.  
Answer: The Tanaka faction refers to a powerful faction of the long-ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), and specifically its most powerful leader, Tanaka Kakuei, who served as Japan’s Prime Minister from 1972 until 1974. Tanaka was the LDP’s first “toujin-ha” or “party-man” (a professional politician his entire life); prime minister; previous LDP leaders had all been “kanryouha” or former bureaucrat prime ministers. Tanaka built a rurally centered political machine of patronage and “pork-barrel” politics, under which supporters were rewarded with government investment in public works and other benefits from the state. He built his faction into the largest in the LDP, displacing the more urban focused Fukuda faction. Tanaka’s money politics ultimately involved taking bribes from the US Lockheed Corporation in exchange for
encouraging Japanese airlines to buy Lockheed passenger planes. This scandal led to Tanaka’s arrest in 1976, and his conviction for bribery in 1983. Nonetheless, Tanaka retained his Diet seat and continued to control his faction, the LDP’s largest, from behind the scenes, and thus played the king-maker role in the LDP and Japanese politics. However, in 1985 he was deposed as head of his faction by a younger generation of leaders within his faction led by Takeshita Noboru, Kanemaru Shin, and Ozawa Ichiro. They continued the same machine style politics, trading public works contracts and other favors for campaign contributions and votes at election time. Especially important in the Tanaka faction political machine were rural construction companies and post masters general, who often acted as de facto precinct captains for the faction. However, a series of corruption scandals continued to plague the faction, further blackening the image of the faction and the LDP and leading to widespread calls for further reform. Eventually, in the 1990s Kanemaru was arrested and Ozawa embraced political reform and left the LDP to start a new party and ostensibly promote reform. As a result, the LDP lost power, but only for about 9 months. When the party returned to power it continued its patronage politics, and the Tanaka faction continued to be the most powerful. Nonetheless, the Tanaka political machine, although still strong in the countryside, gradually weakened as more independent “floating” voters arose who were more influenced by the media than by local social or professional associations (through which the Tanaka machine mobilized voters). In the early 21st century Koizumi Junichiro, from the old Fukuda faction, a politician with great political skills and charisma, came to power and pushed through reforms that drastically cut back on the “construction state” of public works projects that Tanaka had set in motion, and moved to privatize the postal savings system, a move that alienated the post masters general and was strongly opposed by the Tanaka faction. Nonetheless, through his personal political magnetism, Koizumi was able to overcome the Tanaka faction, propelling the old Fukuda faction (from which he originated, although he dropped his factional affiliation before becoming prime minister) to overtake the Tanaka faction and become the LDP’s largest. During the 2005 snap election Koizumi ran “assassins” against a number of Tanaka faction politicians who had voted against postal privatization and been expelled from the LDP. Koizumi won a big victory in this election and decisively weakened the Tanaka patronage political machine, replacing it with a more urban and media oriented political model. However, the weakening of the Tanaka model provided an opening for the opposition Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), now led by Ozawa, to make big gains in the 2007 Upper House election, denying the LDP and its coalition partner control of the Upper House. In 2009 the DPJ became the first party to cleanly sweep the LDP from power in an election. Ozawa served as party secretary general and exerted huge influence during the first 9 months of the DPJ rule, using tactics many compared to those his mentor Tanaka had once used. Eventually, Ozawa resigned as leader and was charged in a new corruption scandal. Although Ozawa was eventually found innocent his trial caused DPJ leaders to distance the party from him and eventually Ozawa broke away and founded his own party. These developments played a major role in ensuring that the DPJ lost the 2012 election to the LDP. The question now is whether the LDP brings back Tanaka style patronage in the form of lavish public works projects, or adopts more of a reformist neo-liberal approach such as that pursued under Koizumi.