

Economic Development of Japan

Okubo Toshimichi
(Satsuma Han)



**State-led
Industrialization**

Saigo Takamori
(Satsuma Han)



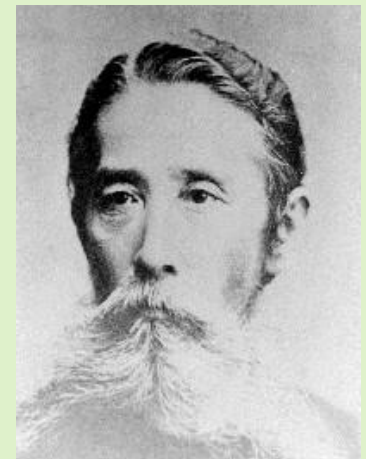
Foreign Campaign

Kido Takayoshi
(Choshu Han)



**Western Style
Constitution**

Itagaki Taisuke
(Tosa Han)



**Western Style
Parliament**

No.4 Meiji Politics

Why Could Meiji Japan Cope with Globalization Effectively and Industrialize Quickly?

- **Historical background**—Umesao theory: long evolutionary development ([lecture 1](#))
- **Society and economy**—Edo period conditions ([lecture 2](#))
Political unity & stability, agricultural development, transportation & unified market, commerce & finance, manufacturing, industrial promotion, education
- **Politics**—“Flexible structure” for attaining multiple national goals ([this lecture](#))

References:

- Banno, Junji (2006), *Political History of Modern Japan*, Iwanami (Japanese).
- Banno, Junji (2007), *Unfinished Meiji Restoration*, Chikuma Shinsho (Japanese).
- Banno, Junji (2008), *History of Japanese Constitutional Politics*, Univ. of Tokyo Press (Japanese).
- Banno, Junji & Kenichi Ohno (2010), “The Flexible Structure of Politics in Meiji Japan,” Leadership Program Research Paper no.1 (Apr.2010).
- Banno, Junji & Kenichi Ohno (2010), *Meiji Restoration 1858-1881*, Kodansha Gendai Shinsho (Japanese)



Topics for Discussion

- ❑ What kind of political mechanism did Japan have in the mid-19th century when it encountered strong Western pressure?
- ❑ How was this politics different from typical developing country politics today?
- ❑ Does Meiji's flexible and collective leadership have any relevance today? Was Meiji politics historically so unique that no other nation or period can imitate?

Politics of Transition

- ❑ After Japan was opened up by the West, it had to re-define (re-invent) national goals and decide who would do what to achieve them (methods and key players). This was a period of transition (from around 1859 to 1881).
- ❑ Every han was split over political allegiance (Bakufu or Emperor) and acceptance or rejection of foreigners and foreign trade. Political battles over these issues continued for about 15 years (1853-1867). Even so, Japan did not disintegrate into chaos or a major civil war.
- ❑ Flexible politics allowed these battles to be fought within certain bounds without complete chaos and mutual destruction. Many leaders emerged and continued to form and re-form groups based on circumstances and policy priorities. National goals, coalitions and leaders' positions evolved over time.
- ❑ Flexible politics achieved
 - Adoption of a realistic policy that promoted foreign trade and technology transfer (instead of rejecting them);
 - Pursuit of multiple national goals: (i) political reform, (ii) industrialization and (iii) military buildup
 - Maintenance of national unity which prevented colonization or foreign dominance.

Initial Shock, Transition, Implementation

1853 to 1858 **Initial shock and panic** (two treaties signed)

1858 to 1881 **Transition Period** (deciding what to do)

- Same political players and pattern from late Edo to early Meiji (1868-1880s); only Bakufu (Tokugawa family) drops out.
- New national goals and priorities are debated and contested.

1880s to 1890s **Implementation Period** (executing the plan)

- **Politics:** constitution under strong emperor (1889), first election and parliament (1890).
- **Economy:** repeated “company booms” (creation of joint stock companies, late 1880s-); industrial revolution (1890s); Japan overtakes UK in cotton product export (early 20c)
- **Military:** Japan wins over China (1894-95) and Russia (1904-05)

Meiji Restoration was a Samurai-led Revolution

- A “revolution” because of *power change* (end of Bakufu, 1867-68) and *systemic change* (end of class/feudal system, 1871); both achieved by the military power of **Satsuma, Choshu**, Tosa and a few other hans.

Oct. 1867 大政奉還 Shugun returns power to emperor

Dec. 1867 王政復古 Restoration of emperor’s direct rule

1871 廃藩置県 Abolish hans, Tokyo appoints prefectural governors

Possibility of peaceful power transition existed, but was not realized (formation of new government which included the Tokugawa family as one of the key players).

- The samurai class consistently supplied leaders. Non-samurais had limited political roles in late Edo to early Meiji except a few exceptions: Iwakura, Sanjo (noblemen), Fukuzawa (scholar), etc.
- Distinction between leaders and supporting elites (technocrats) was unclear. The governing organization was simple and flat.

Green box: four prominent leaders of Meiji revolution



Yamagata

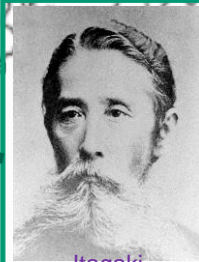


Ito



Ghoshu Han (Yamaguchi)

Kido



Itagaki



Sakamoto

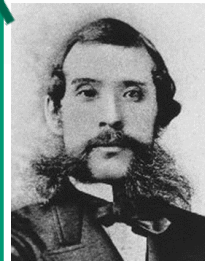


Okuma

Hizen Han (Saga)

Tosa Han (Kochi)

Satsuma Han (Kagoshima)



Okubo



Saigo



Goto



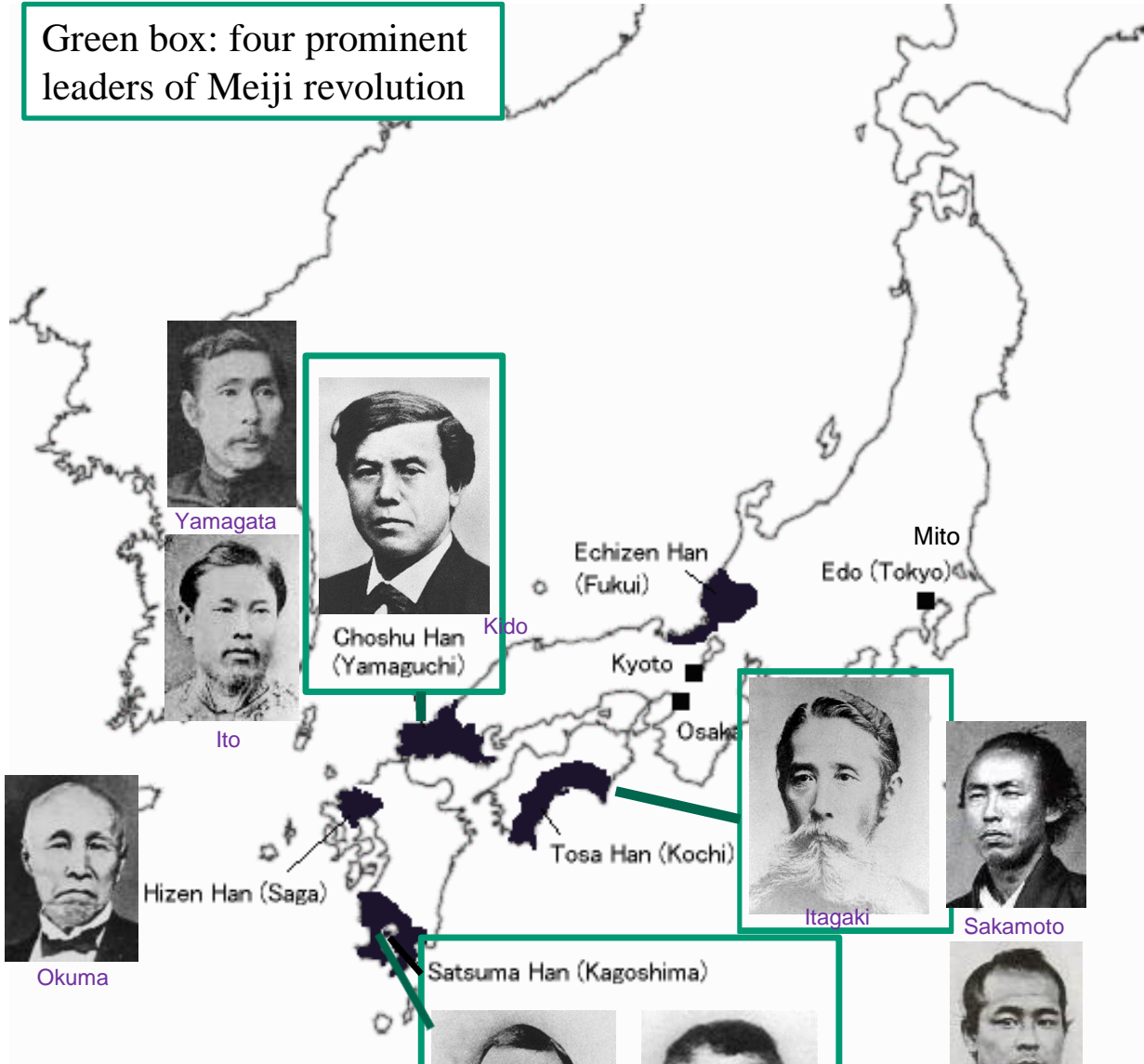
Kuroda



Matsukata



Godai



Meiji revolution was driven by samurais in dynamic hans in Western Japan. These hans had

- 1/ Trade profits
- 2/ Imported military systems & technology
- 3/ Negotiating & networking skills with Bakufu, other hans & foreigners

From late Edo to early Meiji, the same political mechanism operated with basically the same leaders, who were many (except Tokugawa family that was expelled).

Emperor Meiji, who just turned 15 years old when Meiji government was established, was not the true leader (especially in early years).

Political leaders and elites (mid 19th century)

- Leaders and elites analyzed or mentioned in Banno & Ohno (2010)

- Samurai class dominates (95%)

■ han lord (daimyo, 5) ■ han samurai (45) ■ bakufu samurai (2)

■ noblemen (2) □ merchant (1)

	Name	Years	Area of achievement
1	Nakane Sekko	1807-1877	Political scientist
2	Shimazu Nariakira	1809-1858	Han lord
3	Yokoi Shonan	1809-1869	Confucianist, statesman
4	Sakuma Shozan	1811-1864	Militarist, jurist, confucianist
5	Nabeshima Naomasa	1814-1871	Han lord
6	Uchida Masakaze	1815-1893	Bureucrat
7	Yoshida Toyo	1816-1862	Statesman
8	Shimazu Hisamitsu	1817-1887	Han top leader
9	Okubo Tadahiro	1817-1888	Bakufu official, statesman
10	Hasebe Jimbei	1818-1873	Bureaucrat
11	Date Munenari	1818-1892	Han lord, statesman
12	Nagai Uta	1819-1863	Advocate for open door policy
13	Murata Ujihisa	1821-1899	Statesman
14	Katsu Kaishu	1823-1899	Bakufu militarist, statesman
15	Iwakura Tomomi	1825-1883	Statesman
16	Yamauchi Yodo	1827-1872	Han lord
17	Saigo Takamori	1827-1877	Statesman (1 of 3 Ishin Heroes)
18	Iwashita Michihira	1827-1900	Statesman
19	Saisho Atsushi	1827-1910	Bureaucrat
20	Ijichi Masaharu	1828-1886	Militarist
21	Matsudaira Shungaku	1828-1890	Han lord
22	Yoshii Tomozane	1828-1891	Bureaucrat
23	Soejima Taneomi	1828-1905	Statesman
24	Yuri Kosei	1829-1909	Statesman, businessman
25	Takechi Hampeita	1829-1865	Statesman
26	Yoshida Shoin	1830-1859	Thinker, teacher
27	Okubo Toshimichi	1830-1878	Statesman (1 of 3 Ishin Heroes)
28	Oki Takato	1832-1892	Statesman

	Name	Years	Area of achievement
29	Kaieda Nobuyoshi	1832-1902	Statesman
30	Kido Takayoshi	1833-1877	Statesman (1 of 3 Ishin Heroes)
31	Mori Kyosuke	1834- ?	Bureaucrat, statesman
32	Eto Shimpei	1834-1874	Statesman
33	Iwasaki Yataro	1834-1885	Founder of Mitsubishi Zaibatsu
34	Fukuzawa Yukichi	1834-1901	Philosopher, founder of Keio Univ.
35	Sakamoto Ryoma	1835-1867	Freelance patriot
36	Komatsu Tatewaki	1835-1870	Statesman
37	Godai Tomoatsu	1835-1885	Business leader in Kansai area
38	Inoue Kaoru	1835-1915	Statesman, businessman
39	Fukuoka Takachika	1835-1919	Statesman
40	Matsukata Masayoshi	1835-1924	Statesman
41	Kawamura Sumiyoshi	1836-1904	Navy militarist, statesman
42	Sanjo Sanetomi	1837-1891	Statesman
43	Tani Tateki	1837-1911	Army militarist, statesman
44	Itagaki Taisuke	1837-1919	Military leader, statesman
45	Kabayama Sukenori	1837-1922	Navy militarist, statesman
46	Nakaoka Shintaro	1838-1867	Freelance patriot
47	Goto Shojiro	1838-1897	Statesman
48	Okuma Shigenobu	1838-1922	Statesman, founder of Waseda Univ.
49	Yamagata Aritomo	1838-1922	Statesman, army militarist
50	Komuro Shinobu	1839-1898	Statesman, businessman
51	Kuroda Kiyotaka	1840-1900	Statesman
52	Ito Hirobumi	1841-1909	Statesman
53	Mutsu Munemitsu	1844-1897	Statesman, diplomat
54	Furusawa Uruu	1847-1911	Statesman, bureaucrat
55	Yano Fumio	1850-1931	Statesman, literary man

Han as the Critical Unit and Incubator for Producing Meiji Leaders and Policy Coalitions

- ❑ In successful hans, daimyo (han lord) and samurais worked closely for reform and influence (especially Satsuma).
- ❑ Under daimyo's instruction, han samurais worked to:
 - Absorb new knowledge, contact foreigners and acquire negotiation skills
 - Cooperate with other hans & bakufu officials for political reform
 - Engage in foreign trade to strengthen han's budget and purchase Western weapons
- ➔ **Vision, knowledge, experience, networking, financial resource & military power**
- ❑ Even after Meiji government was established and hans were abolished, political groups continued to be based on former hans.

Flexible Structure of Meiji Politics (Banno & Ohno Hypothesis, 2010)

明治維新 1858-1881
坂野潤治+大野健一



講談社現代新書
2031

Three dimensions of flexibility: 1858-1881

(1) Evolution of goals

- Late Edo: 2 goals of *Fukoku Kyohei* (rich & strong han) & *Kogi Yoron* (feudal assembly)
- Early Meiji: 4 goals of *Fukoku* (industrialization), *Kyohei* (foreign campaign), Constitution and Parliament

(2) Flexibility in coalition building

- Groups continued to form and re-form as situations changed. No group monopolized power for long.

(3) Flexibility of leaders and leading groups

- Policy priority of each leader evolved and solidified over time.
- Leading group was able to embrace multiple goals and adjust policy

Evolution of National Goals over Time

Kogi Yoron (公議輿論 government by public deliberation)

Deliberation
among 4 or 5
wise daimyos



Feudal
assembly by
303 hans and
bakufu



Upper House
by daimyos &
Lower House
by lower
samurais



Western style
Constitution

VS

Western style
Parliament



British style
multiple party
democracy

VS

German style
constitutional
monarchy

Edo

Meiji

Fukoku Kyohei (富国強兵 enrich country, strengthen military)

Each han:

Trading house
(Export traditional
products for profit)

Import weapons
(Buy cannons, guns,
battleships from West)

- Mercantilism
- Bargaining
power against
other hans and
Bakufu



State-led industrialization
with Western machines and
technology (Okubo)

VS

Military expedition to rest
of Asia (unhappy samurais)

-Developmentali
sm
-Budget conflict
between 2 goals

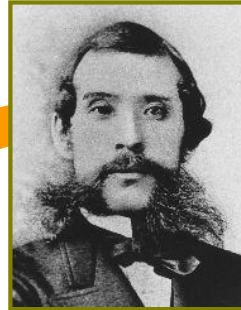
Edo

Meiji

Flexibility in Coalition Building

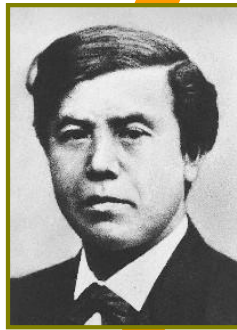
Industrialization

Naichi Yusen
(internal reforms first)



Fukoku Kyohei
(rich country, strong military)

Constitution



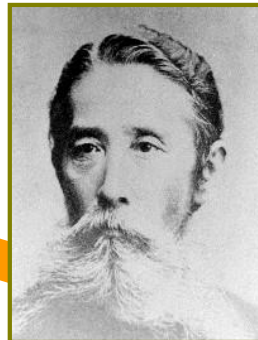
Okubo (Satsuma)
1830-1878

Foreign expedition



Kido (Choshu)
1833-1877

Parliament



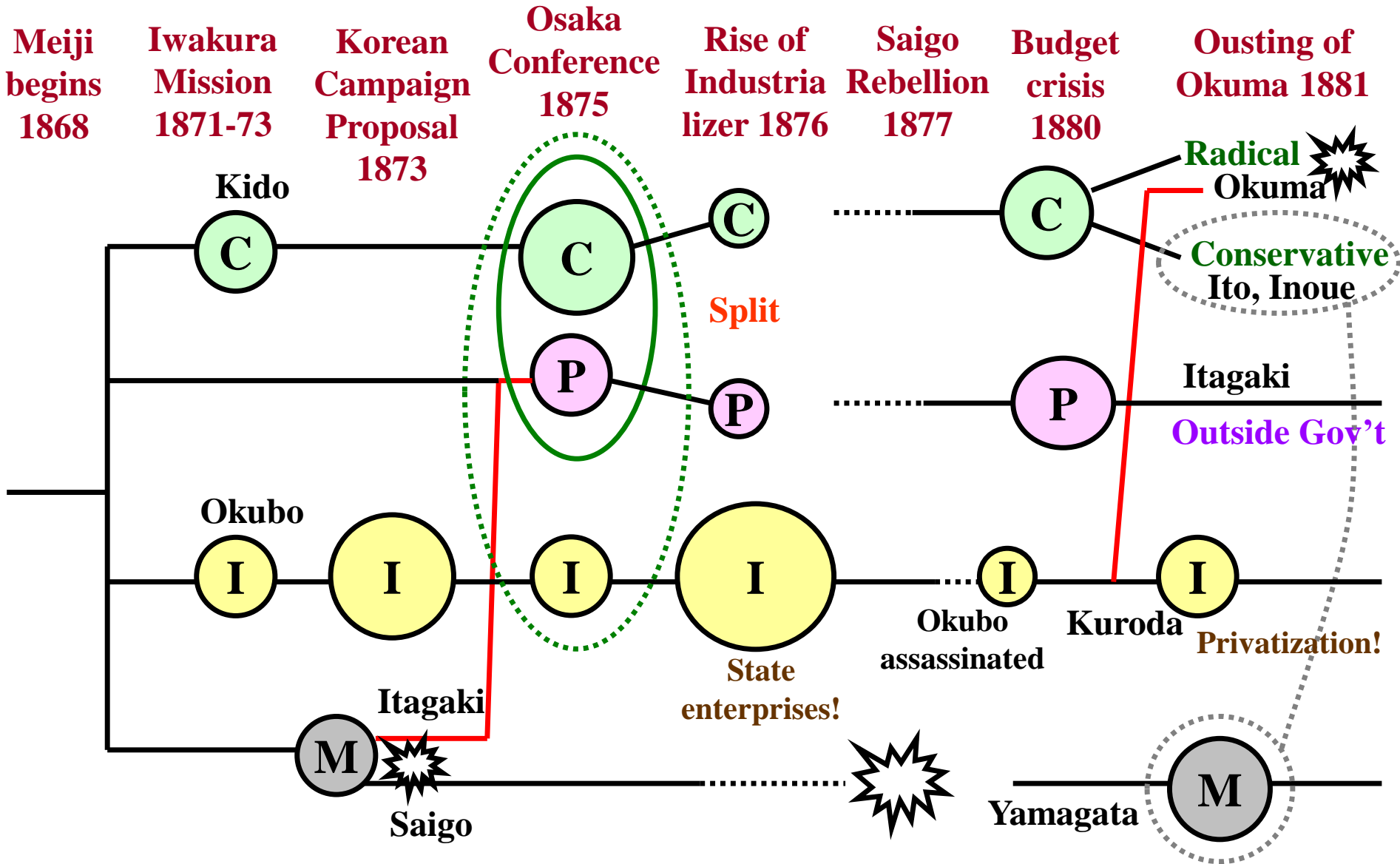
Saigo (Satsuma)
1827-1877

Kogi Yoron
(democratization)

Seikanron
(Korean expedition plan)

Itagaki (Tosa)
1837-1919

Flexible Politics: How Various Factions Joined and Separated



Factions-- C: constitution P: parliament I: industrialization M: military

Features of flexible coalition forming

- ❑ No single group dominated; each had to form coalition with 1 or 2 other groups to pursue policy.
 - ❑ As situations changed, coalitions were re-formed every few years. No coalition lasted for very long.
 - ❑ Trust and goodwill existed among leaders up to final confrontation (Saigo's rebellion, ousting of Okuma, Itagaki's attack on government).
- ➔ Despite rivalry and friction, political flexibility permitted attainment of multiple goals in the long run without extreme swings or mutual destruction.**

Comparison of Influential Hans

	Ability to pursue multiple goals	Coalition building capability	Stability and flexibility of leaders
Satsuma	High	High	High
Choshu	Low	Moderate	High
Tosa	Moderate	High	Moderate
Saga	Low	Low	Moderate
Fukui	Moderate	High	Low

Source: Banno & Ohno (2009).

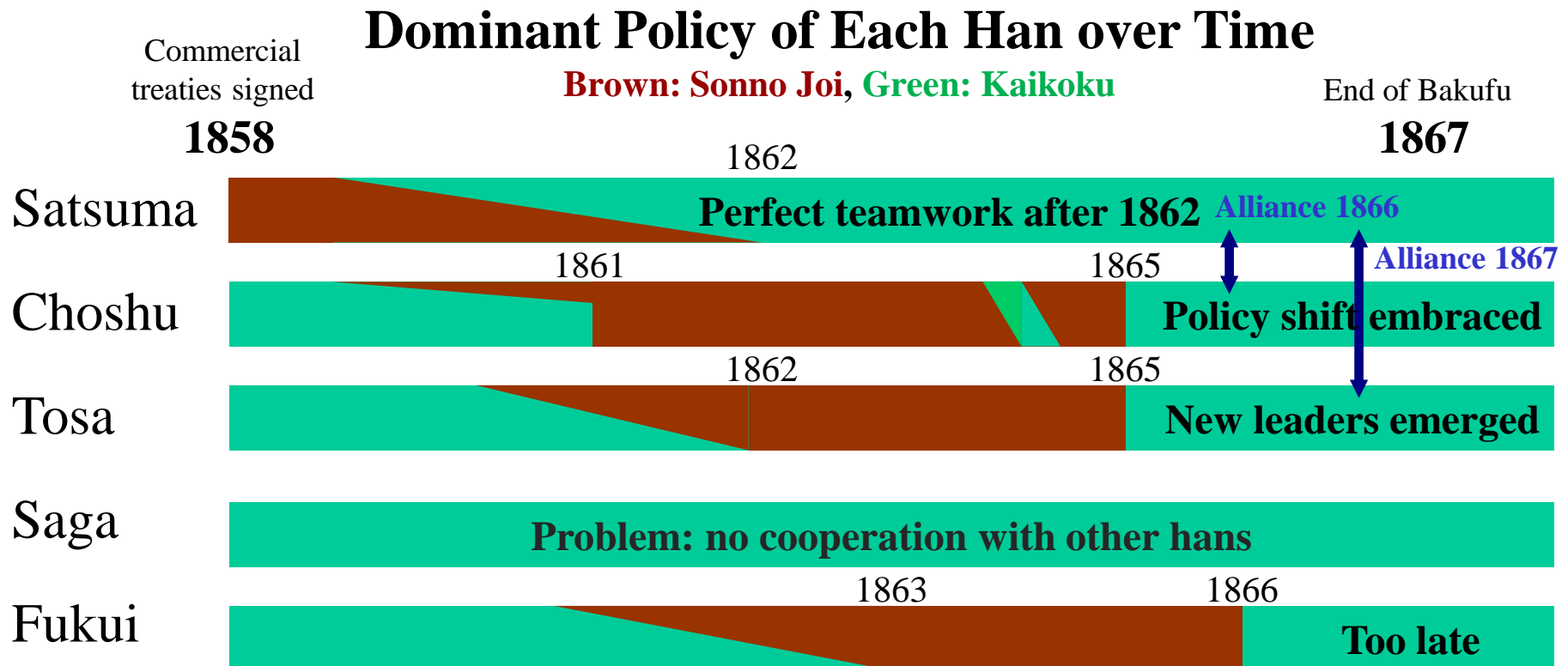
Note: “Stability and flexibility of leaders” means the ability of the same leader group to manage internal disputes and embrace new policies as circumstances changed, rather than creating extreme policy swings between two split groups.

- Saga (Hizen) leaders (Okuma, Eto, Oki, Soejima)—they lacked han-based training for coalition building; could not participate in the flexible politics of early Meiji.
- Fukui (Echizen) leaders—split sharply between *fukoku kyohei* (Nakane, Yuri) vs. austerity (Shungaku); could not build military capability and left out in Meiji Revolution.

Winning Hans and Losing Hans

All hans experienced internal disputes between *Sonno Joi* (respect emperor, expel foreigners) and *Kaikoku* (open country and trade).

The keys to success were (i) how quickly to adopt *Kaikoku* policy; and (ii) strong teamwork of han leader and samurais for promoting *Fukoku Kyohei* (enrich han, strengthen military).

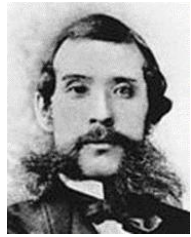




Saigo Takamori (1828-1877)

Passionate & honest, superb negotiator, great military leader

- ❑ Low-ranking samurai from Satsuma, a close friend of Okubo.
- ❑ Served Satsuma Lord Nariakira (in power 1851-58) as a networker and negotiator vis-à-vis Bakufu and other hans.
- ❑ New Satsuma Lord Hisamitsu did not like him. He imprisoned Saigo in remote islands two times. But eventually, Saigo was called back for han's diplomatic negotiation and military preparation.
- ❑ Saigo & Okubo, cooperating with anti-Bakufu hans and noblemen, staged military attacks on Bakufu and ended its rule. They rejected a proposal for peaceful power transition that included Bakufu.
- ❑ Saigo & Okubo became cabinet members of the Meiji government. Okubo emerged as a top industrial leader but Saigo was expelled.
- ❑ In 1877, Saigo rose against the Meiji government but Okubo suppressed his rebellion. Losing battles, Saigo died in Kagoshima.



Sakamoto Ryoma (1835-1867)

Free and Independent Thinker, Mover, and Matchmaker

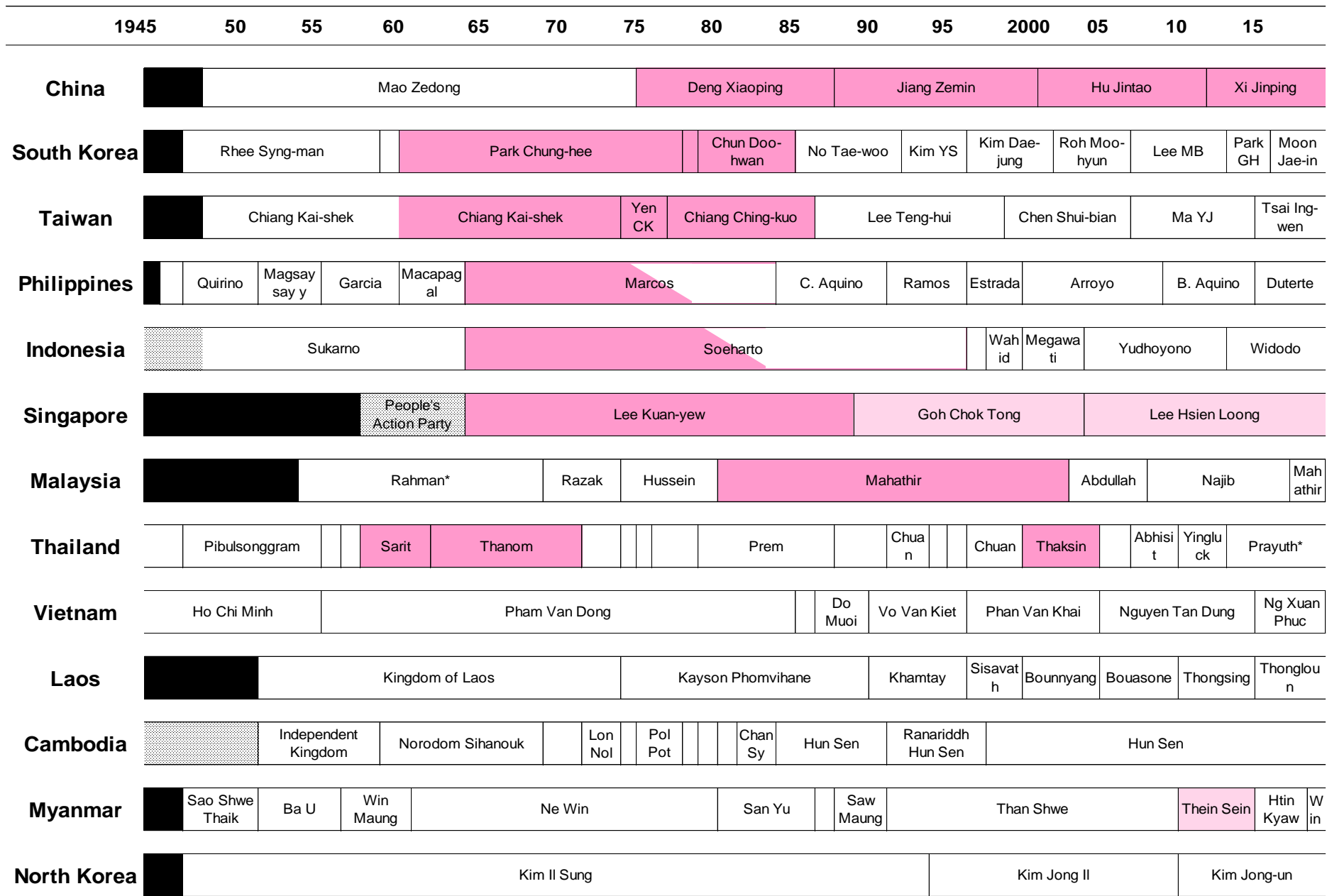


- ❑ Low-ranking samurai from Tosa.
- ❑ Leave Tosa without han lord's permission to join political movement as an individual (lordless samurai); travel extensively in Japan.
- ❑ Learn Western navigation; establish Japan's first trading company (*Kameyama Shachu*) in Nagasaki.
- ❑ The principal matchmaker for Satsuma-Choshu Alliance (1866) and Satsuma-Tosa Alliance (1867) to set up a new government.
- ❑ Propose a new political regime based on public deliberation, which was adopted by Goto Shojiro and Lord Yamanouchi Yodo of Tosa.
- ❑ Assassinated in Kyoto in Nov. 1867, just before Meiji Restoration.

Historical Comparison

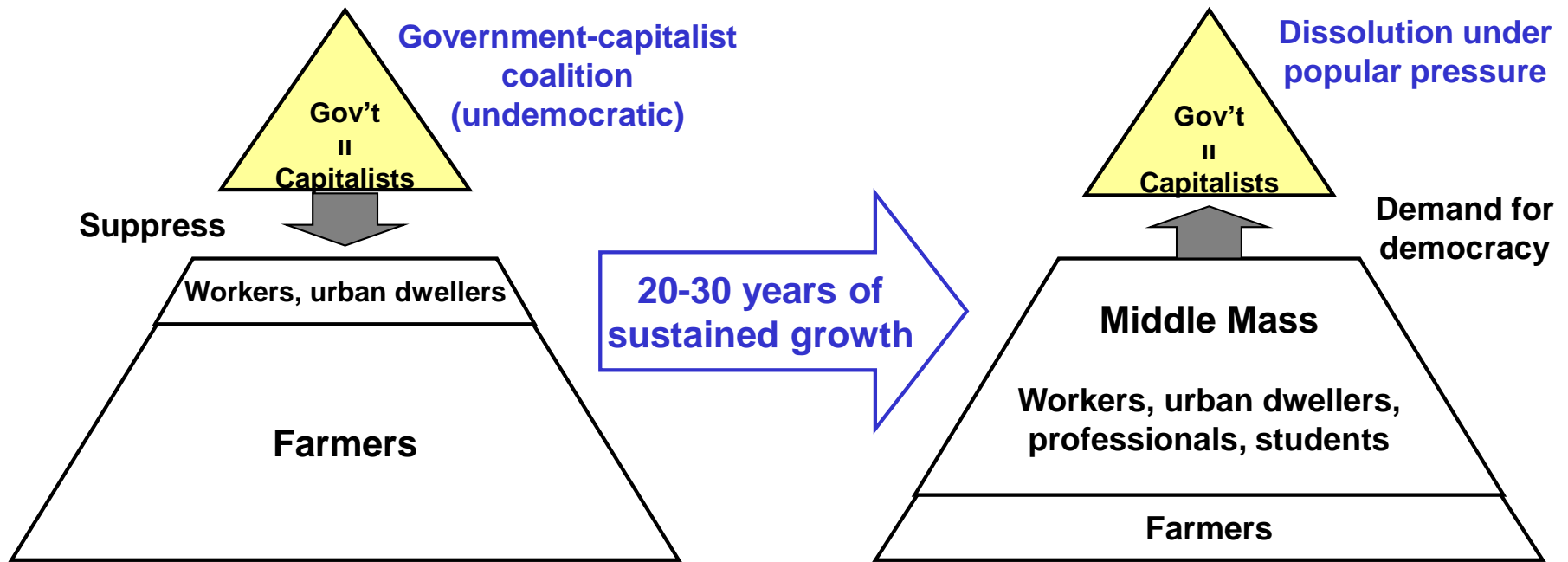
- ❑ Meiji politics was historically unique and different.
- ❑ It was different from East Asia's post-WW2 developmental dictatorship (as seen in Korea, Taiwan...) featuring one strong long-serving leader, political rigidity, and pursuit of economic growth at the cost of democracy.
- ❑ It was also different from Japanese politics in 1920s-30s, in the post WW2 high growth era, or at present.

Authoritarian Developmental States in East Asia



Note: The pink area shows authoritarian developmental leaders and the dark area indicates pre-independence periods.

The Rise and Fall of Post WW2 East Asian Authoritarian Developmentalism



Features:

- Crisis as a catalyst
- Strong leader
- Elite technocrat group
- Developmental ideology (delay in democratization)
- Legitimacy through economic results (not election)
- Social change after 2-3 decades of success

Meiji Revolution: Not Like Post WW2 Authoritarian Developmentalism

Common Feature

- ❑ Crisis as a catalyst (Western impact, Communism, internal chaos...)

BUT in Meiji

- ❑ No single leader who stayed in power for a long time.
 - ❑ No technocrat group to support the supreme leader (no separation of supreme political leader & supporting technocrats).
 - ❑ Simultaneous pursuit of industrialization and political reform (no sacrifice of democratization for economic growth).
 - ❑ Multiple legitimacy: establishment of constitutional politics, industrialization, and external expansion (military strength).
- ➔ **The popular view of Meiji as developmental dictatorship (first case in East Asia) is wrong.**

Japanese Politics after Meiji

(Later lectures)

Fight against fascism (1930s) – Many players without coherency

Militarism and the democratic camp were in competition with many participants—PM, cabinet, political parties, army, navy, privy council, old politicians, nationalist NPOs, etc., each split within its group and finally succumbing to militarism and external expansion.

MITI's industrial policy (late 1950s to 1960s) – Bottom-up

The national goal was clear—economic recovery from war and catch-up. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) was given sufficient mandate and policy tools to achieve this. It took initiative in formulating various strategies; networking with private businesses, other ministries and key politicians; generating national consensus; and preparing the draft law.

Governments of Abe and Suga (2013-2022) – Top-down

PM Abe (and successor PM Suga) took away policy authority from bureaucrats, created policies by himself (with his advisors), and uses appointing authority of high officials to subjugate ministries. However, policy quality seems to have deteriorated.

Key Ideas for This Lecture

- ❑ Japan's response to the Western shock and globalization was relatively dynamic and consistent. This was brought about by the unifying forces of nationalism and Japanese identity, and the flexible politics of Meiji.
- ❑ Flexibility in leadership in its goal setting and adjustment as well as coalition formation and networking is the unique feature of Meiji politics. This was difficult to duplicate in other periods or society.
- ❑ Even so, some elements of political flexibility and compromise may be necessary to guide a country faced with the challenges of modernization and globalization.