



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE

Humanities

DIVISION OF RESEARCH PROGRAMS

Narrative Section of a Successful Application

The attached document contains the grant narrative and selected portions of a previously funded grant application. It is not intended to serve as a model, but to give you a sense of how a successful application may be crafted. Every successful application is different, and each applicant is urged to prepare a proposal that reflects its unique project and aspirations. Prospective applicants should consult the Research Programs application guidelines at <https://www.neh.gov/grants/research/fellowships-advanced-social-science-research-japan> for instructions. Applicants are also strongly encouraged to consult with the NEH Division of Research Programs staff well before a grant deadline.

Note: The attachment only contains the grant narrative and selected portions, not the entire funded application. In addition, certain portions may have been redacted to protect the privacy interests of an individual and/or to protect confidential commercial and financial information and/or to protect copyrighted materials.

Project Title: Engineering Asian Development: The Cold War and Japan's Post-Colonial Power in Asia

Institution: Arizona State University

Project Director: Aaron S. Moore

Grant Program: Fellowships for Advanced Social Science Research on Japan

Research Statement (Aaron S. Moore)

Engineering Asian Development: The Cold War and Japanese Post-Colonial Power in Asia

Japan was the first non-Western nation to transform its status from a semi-developed country to a major donor to the development of other countries. My project, *Engineering Asian Development*, examines this history, which began in the imperial era when Japan constructed massive heavy industrial infrastructure and introduced planned economies across its Asian empire. This history ends with the Cold War's conclusion in 1989, by which time Japan had become the world's largest aid donor by popularizing its "developmentalist" model. Analyzing how Japan's international development system evolved during this trans-war period at different project sites in East and Southeast Asia, *Engineering Asian Development* examines how Japan projected its power as a US Cold War ally through a model of overseas development based on its earlier colonial legacies in Asia. I challenge Cold War histories that privilege the strategic conflict between the US and USSR in Europe and relegate the Cold War in Asia into a passive space where superpower interests merely played out.

Placing the Cold War in Asia at center stage, I examine the flows of capital, ideas, people, and technology at specific Japanese infrastructure projects throughout Asia and highlight how regional dynamics and exchanges within Asia over the trans-war era dynamically shaped the Cold War superpower conflict. Rather than focusing on more visible military or ideological conflicts, my project focuses on the less studied economic Cold War in Asia. I investigate how Japan re-entered Asia under the US's patronage after the fall of its empire and re-established its power under the guise of "economic cooperation"—by resuscitating earlier colonial networks and developmentalist paradigms and refurbishing them to fit Asia's post-colonial regimes. By revealing the unequal relationships that Japanese development consultants and government officials formed with these regimes with respect to representative infrastructure projects, *Engineering Asian Development* seeks to understand Japan's role in establishing Cold War power in Asia by economic means. I consider North-South issues of de-colonization and post-coloniality in relation to the Cold War superpower conflict between capitalism and socialism, whereby Japan transformed from a colonial hegemon to an influential representative of the "free world" in post-colonial Asia.

Focusing on the history of Japanese development in Asia, I analyze the career of Japan's leading development engineer—Kubota Yutaka—and the global consultancy he founded, Nippon Kōei, which specialized in comprehensive infrastructure projects throughout the world from the late 1950s. Kubota and other company engineers already had long and distinguished careers as developers of hydropower and other infrastructure in colonial Korea, and Kubota led study teams on hydropower and natural resource development in China, Taiwan, Indochina, and the East Indies for the Japanese military. This colonial experience not only provided technical expertise, but also shaped Nippon Kōei's post-war technical paradigm of "comprehensive development." Their framework coordinated flood control, the production of electricity, agricultural development, urban planning, and the improvement of transportation primarily through the construction of multi-purpose dams as a means to rapidly and efficiently promote industrialization and regional development. Adopted and aggressively promoted by the post-war Japanese government, this approach proved attractive to newly de-colonized countries in Asia.

By examining four high-profile projects conducted by Kubota and Nippon Kōei between 1960 and 1975, my project traces the formation of Japan's "comprehensive development" paradigm in the post-colonial context. These projects include the following: Burma's Balu Chaung dam, South Vietnam's Da Nhim dam, Indonesia's Brantas River Basin dam projects, and South Korea's Soyanggang dam. Each site presents its own configuration of actors, natural environments, socio-political issues, and

international forces that reveal how “comprehensive development” emerges within a field of power struggles over respective nations’ post-colonial futures. Examining each of these sites reveals the different networks of Japanese and non-Japanese actors who worked across the 1945 colonial/post-colonial divide and helped build Japan’s post-colonial development system throughout Asia. Thus, each infrastructure project reveals the intricacies of how overseas development aid projected Japanese power during the Cold War.

Political scientists such as David Arase have analyzed the institutions and policy-making processes of Japanese aid within the context of Japan’s political economy; however their work is not grounded in the history of specific sites and neglects to consider how overseas development emerged out of histories of imperialism in Asia and evolved after the war via large-scale infrastructure projects. Chalmers Johnson analyzes the “developmentalist state” as a way to describe Japan’s economic philosophy and its origins in the wartime; however, he focuses on the developmentalist state in terms of domestic developments as opposed to its emergence overseas. Bruce Cumings first conceptualized the “Northeast Asian political economy” to refer to the developmentalist regional economy linking Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea that emerged during the Cold War under the US’s auspices but rested on a foundation of colonial Japanese industrial planning. While Cumings’s conceptualization enables an analysis of trans-national dynamics, he does not show how the Cold War regional system emerged on the ground. Nor does he elucidate how Japanese and other Asian actors shaped that economic system in Northeast Asia.

Deepening this scholarship, my project crosses two conventional boundaries governing Cold War history and the history of development in Asia. First, in analyzing Japan’s transformation into an economic superpower through the lens of its mutually beneficial aid relationships with other Asian countries, my project questions the popular “Japanese economic miracle,” which has focused primarily on Japanese domestic factors. In doing so, it transcends the geopolitical boundaries separating most studies of Asia—the national borders between Japan and the nations of Southeast and East Asia. My trans-national examination of Japanese overseas development re-orientes Cold War narratives that privilege the US’s strategic perspective on Asia to focus on historical, regional relationships within Asia. Second, my project breaks down the boundary of time—the watershed year of 1945 when the Asia-Pacific War ended and the Japanese empire collapsed, initiating a new era of de-colonization and nation building throughout Asia. As shown in my book, *Constructing East Asia*, the Japanese empire up to 1945 was an immense engineering project whereby thousands of engineers throughout the home islands, Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria built multi-purpose dams, electricity grids, railway and communications networks, model farms, and modern cities. From the late 1950s, Japanese development consultants returned to Asia to re-introduce frameworks of centralized planning, heavy industrial development, and high-speed economic growth to developing nations in Asia—frameworks they derived from their earlier, pre-1945 experiences. What became known as Japanese “developmentalism” would lend itself to the goals of newly independent nations that became known as “Asian tigers” from the 1980s.

Engineering Asian Development is divided into five chapters, each focusing on the power dynamics and trans-national networks surrounding specific Japanese infrastructure projects. Building on my first monograph, Chapter 1 examines the substantial infrastructure in colonial Northeast Asia built by Japanese engineers, many of whom joined development consultancies and government agencies after the war. Their experience and networks from the colonial era were instrumental to Japan’s efforts to re-enter Asia after the war. Chapter 2 analyzes Japan’s first postwar reparations project, the Balu Chaung dam in Burma, where consultants’ frameworks navigated complex ethnic conflicts, competing visions

of nation building, and legacies of colonialism in a different environmental and socio-cultural context. Chapter 3 analyzes early Japanese aid to South Vietnam in relation to the Da Nhim dam, first surveyed by Kubota during the colonial era. The Japanese consultants involved with this dam were entangled in Vietnam's civil war and the US's geo-political designs in Asia. The story of how dams were built on Indonesia's Brantas River is the focus of Chapter 4, which analyzes the activities of Japanese engineers who formerly worked in the colonial East Indies. These engineers were later involved in Indonesian nation building, and in doing so, strengthened Suharto's anti-communist dictatorship while contributing to the US's geo-political aims. Chapter 5, focusing on the construction of Soyanggang dam, reveals again how former colonial engineers returned as consultants to help build South Korea's electricity infrastructure. These engineers negotiated the deep legacies of Japanese imperialism as they rebuilt Japan's relationship with Park Chung-hee's military regime.

In sum, each chapter situates Japanese overseas development in relation to the Cold War's power struggles over decolonization and nation building—struggles involving geopolitical conflict, ideological struggle, ethnic tension, and civil war. The project reports, newspaper and journal articles, investigative studies, diplomat and engineer accounts, local, national, and international organization planning documents, and company documents in Japanese, Korean, and English I have collected illustrate how “comprehensive development” evolves at different sites in relation to post-colonial struggles over national development. They reveal how Japanese power operated through development aid by, for example, offering visions of modernity that post-colonial elites seized upon to strengthen their regimes and prepare their nations for foreign (namely, Japanese) investment; constructing infrastructure that extended military and political power; and tying foreign aid to Japan's access to its markets.

Chapters 1 and 2 of my monograph are largely complete, and I have collected most of the publicly available materials on the other projects in drafting the book's remaining chapters. The NEH fellowship will enable me to conduct the final stage of research in Japan and complete the manuscript. I will devote four months (September to December 2017) in Japan to examining extensive private materials at Nippon Kōei and conducting interviews with their retired engineers. Kaneda Hajime of the Corporate Communications Department has agreed to help arrange the interviews. I will also spend some of this time examining materials at Kajima Construction and Hazama Ando Companies, the construction subcontractors for the projects I am studying. Development Studies Professor Satō Jin of Tokyo University has agreed to sponsor me and introduce me to figures in Japan's international development community. Acquiring access to private company documents and conducting interviews is a sensitive process that requires time but provides the deepest, most intimate perspectives of aid projects in comparison to publicly available materials. Upon returning to the US in January 2018, I will spend the fellowship's remaining seven months at my home institution where I will complete and submit my manuscript to University of Hawaii Press, to whom I have promised it.

Japan is often considered an outlier within the Western donor community and criticized for its aid policy's commercial orientation or ineffectiveness. In recent years, however, emerging donors such as China, India, and South Korea have challenged developmental frameworks focused on “Basic Human Needs” and adopted growth-oriented approaches to eliminating poverty similar to those pioneered by Japan. As developing nations reconsider growth-oriented development models first associated with Japan, and emerging donors like China construct large-scale regional infrastructure projects throughout the developing world, a project-specific analysis of the history of Japanese developmentalism overseas places the present into historical context.

Project Bibliography

- Arase, David. *Buying Power: The Political Economy of Japan's Foreign Aid* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995).
- Chūo Nikkan Kyōkai, ed. *Chōsen denki jigyōshi* [History of the Electric Power Industry in Colonial Korea] (Tokyo: Chūo Nikkan Kyōkai, 1981).
- Cumings, Bruce. "The Origins and Development of the Northeast Asian Political Economy: Industrial Sectors, Product Cycles, and Political Consequences." *International Organization* 38.1 (1984): 1-40.
- Hazamagumi 100-nenshi Hensan Inkaishi, ed. *Hazamagumi hyakunenshi* [One Hundred Year History of Hazamagumi], 2 vols. (Tokyo: Hazamagumi, 1989).
- Itō Hiroichi. *Tongū rōdo: Biruma baishō kōji no gonenkan* [Toungoo Road: Five Years of Burma Reparations Construction] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1963).
- Johnson, Chalmers. *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975*. (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1982).
- Kaigai Gijutsu Kyōryoku Jigyōdan, ed. *Mekongawa no kaihatsu* [The Development of the Mekong River] (Tokyo: Kaigai Gijutsu Kyōryoku Jigyōdan, 1966).
- Kajima Heiwa Kenkyūjo, ed. *Taigai keizai kyōryoku taikei* [Series on Overseas Economic Cooperation], 10 vols. (Tokyo: Kajima kenkyūjo shuppankai, 1973-1975).
- Kajima Kensetsu Kabushiki Kaisha Minami Betonamu Danimu Shutchōjo. *Betonamu kyōwakoku Danimu dai ichi suiryoku hatsudenjo damu kōjishi* [Dam Construction Review of Da Nhim Hydropower Station in the Republic of Vietnam] (Tokyo: Kajima Kensetsu Kabushiki Kaisha, 1964).
- Kobayashi Hideo, ed. *Nihonjin no kaigai katsudō ni kan suru rekishiteki chōsa* [Historical Investigations into the Overseas Activities of Japanese], 23 vols. (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2002).
- Kōnsōlbu. *Soyangang damokjeok ttaem kongsaji* [Construction Review of Soyanggang Multipurpose Dam] (Seoul: Kōnsōlbu, 1974).
- Kubota Yutaka. *Sumatura denryoku kaihatsu narabini migi denryoku ni sokuō suru kogyō ritchi chōsahyō* [Investigation into Electricity Development in Sumatra and Industrial Sites Based on that Electricity] (Tokyo: 1943). Accessed at jacar.go.jp on August 22, 2015.
- Moore, Aaron S. *Constructing East Asia: Technology, Ideology, and Empire in Japan's Wartime Era, 1931-1945* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2013).
- Nagatsuka Riichi. *Kubota Yutaka* (Tokyo: Denki jōhōsha, 1966).
- Nihon Sangyō Saiken Gijutsu Kyōkai, ed. *Niji o kakeru otokotachi: Kaihatsu konsarutanto senshi no kaisō; Nippon Kōei* [Men Who Built Rainbows: Recollections of Nippon Kōei Development Consultant Solders] (Tokyo: Nihon Sangyō Saiken Gijutsu Kyōkai, 1997).
- Nippon Kōei. *Indonesia Burantasugawa no kaihatsu: Gijutsu to hitobito no kōryū* [The Development of Indonesia's Brantas River: Exchanges of Technology and People] (Tokyo: Nihon Sangyō Saiken Gijutsu Kyōkai, 1997).
- Nippon Kōei. *Nippon Kōei gojūnen shi* [Fifty Year History of Nippon Kōei] (Tokyo: Nippon Kōei, 1996).
- Rix, Alan. *Japan's Economic Aid: Policy-Making and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
- Sanōp Kiji Kaebal Kongsas, ed. *Han'guk Sujawōn Kaebal Kongsasasa* [Company History of the Korea Water Resources Corporation] (Seoul: Sanōp Kiji Kaebal Kongsas, 1977).
- Satō Jin and Shimomura Yasutami, eds. *The Rise of Asian Donors: Japan's Impact on the Evolution of Emerging Donors* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
- Satō Tokihiko. *Doboku jinsei gojūnen* [50 Years of a Life of Civil Engineering] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Jigyō Shuppan, 1969).