

## SUMMARY

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### **The Representativeness of Primary Elections**

by Pertti Timonen

Five studies dealing with the problem of representativeness of primary elections in the United States have been discussed in this article. Their results have been compared to one rather small Finnish sample. When it comes to representativeness, the research of primary elections has been very often inspired by the following negative statement by V. O. Key: 'Our analyses make it clear enough that the effective primary constituency may often be a caricature of the entire party following.'

Four out of five studies mentioned above come to a different conclusion, however. Ranney, both in two studies of his own and in one study written together with Epstein, as well as DiNitto and Smithers in their studies agree that the representativeness with regard to demographic and social factors as well as with regard to activity is not satisfactory while there are no clear-cut differences in attitudes. That is why the voters in primary elections cannot be regarded as any caricatures of those voting in real elections. The Finnish sample of membership poll gives support to this viewpoint.

Moore and Hofstetter claim, however, that they found support to Key's opinion. Although their critique of other studies is very justified in some respects, I think they exaggerate the deviance of their own results. To find some more attitudinal differences does not yet verify Key's hypotheses.

With regard to political attitudes, current research seems to show that the representativeness of primary elections as well as that of the membership poll is surprisingly high. Also, we have good reasons to ask whether other kind of candidate nominations would be any more representative. We doubt that.

### **State in the Economic Formation of Japan: An Introduction to Theoretical and Concrete Analysis**

by Raimo Lintonen and Erkki Berndtson

This study applies the marxist theory of state to one concrete social formation, namely Japan. The marxist theory of state cannot be separated from the analysis of society as a whole; that is why the authors focus their attention as much to the laws of capital than they do to political and historical factors. The main problem is, what is the meaning of the increasing role of state in capitalism, a phenomenon stressed nowadays both by marxist and

non-marxist scholars alike. The question is first analyzed theoretically and after that an attempt is made to apply the theoretical themes in the concrete analysis of Japan.

When considering the role of state, it is argued that the study of this phenomenon must be done by looking at the tasks of state. These, in turn, should always be examined within the historical development of the functions of state, which have changed all the way from the weapon of the bourgeoisie towards feudalism to the means of reproducing the capitalist world system. Mileposts of this development have been the birth of capitalism, the working-class and the socialist world system.

There are two major theoretical concepts used in the study. The first one is Marx' *law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall* with its counter-tendencies, by which one can analyze the contradictions of capitalism. The law displays the reasons for the capitalist economic crises at the level of capital and also the possibilities to fight against crises. The other one is *the relative autonomy of the state*, which puts into the nutshell the contradictory relations between state and society in capitalism, showing how the state is not directly the means of oppression towards the working-class by the bourgeoisie, but has the relative autonomy of its own.

In order to understand the present, the central features of the development of Japanese capitalism are first discussed. It is especially pointed out how factors associated with Japan's advantageous international position and relatively tight internal control as well as purposeful furthering of capital concentration helped her to avoid the road of underdevelopment and: she consequently adopted imperialism step by step along the growth of capitalism. A special focus is on the development and phases of accumulation, centralization and concentration of capital, which is studied from the birth of Meiji state to the present. A central conclusion is that in Japan the capital has concentrated maybe more than in any other country in the world, the huge *zaibatsus* controlling the economy.

After this the degree of the autonomy of the state is analyzed. It is concluded that the state has the relative autonomy in Japan, but that this autonomy is quite small compared with other developed capitalist countries. As to autonomy the authors especially refer to the significance of foreign trade and international relations in general to Japan, which have gained importance in the stage of economic internationalization. Also the traditional strong position and continuity of bureaucracy is noted. The smallness of the autonomy is, however, due to the intertwining of the forces of the big business and the state, the strength of big business associations and the relative weakness of the working class.

The present tasks of the Japanese state are analyzed by beginning with the relation between capital accumulation and consumption. It is pointed out how Japan has one of the highest investment rates in the world, which is bound to lead into overproduction crises. Thus far Japan has been able to solve these by exporting goods worldwide. The import side of the Japanese trade has then meant a heavy need of raw-materials. The trade pattern has led Japan, however, into serious difficulties. The inter-imperialist contradictions have sharpened, the contradictions between Japan and the underdeveloped countries have mounted and Japan has been compelled also to seek co-operation with the socialist countries. It must also be pointed out that these contradictions

do not only touch the trade question, but also foreign investment. Japan's foreign investments are spreading fast at the same time when she is trying to protect her own internal market.

During the present economic recession the contradictions of the capitalist world system have, however, come into sight more clearly, stressing the importance of the effect of the world system on individual nations. This is also seen in those ways the Japanese government is trying to regulate the social system of Japan. It has also come evitable that in the present world situation, the boundaries for inter-imperialist rivalries are set by the saving of the world capitalism. For that reason it is important to know the working mechanisms of the whole capitalist world system, Japan being one of the three centers of today's imperialism.