

PS 143B NORTHEAST ASIAN POLITICS: JAPAN

Tuesday / Thursday, 9:30-11:00 am
116 Barrows Hall

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OVERVIEW: Late to emerge from its feudal cocoon, Japan was the first non-Western country to industrialize and to establish the formal institutions of political democracy. By the 1930s it had developed into a predominant power in the Pacific. For more than forty years following its defeat in World War II, Japan maintained a mixture of democratic political procedures, long term one-party rule, dependence on the U.S. for military security, and an effective balance between high economic growth and relative social equality, as well as low expenditures for military hardware and a strong sense of national security. Since the early 1990s, however, many of the mainstays of the previous system have collapsed; the party and electoral system have changed; the economy has been stagnant; the military has become more independent; and social problems have become more extensive. The course will explore this combination of political experiences as well as the social costs and benefits attendant upon its successes. The course assumes no prior knowledge of Japan. Assignments will include two preliminary and one final examinations and a 5-8 page essay.

This course satisfies the International Studies breadth requirement.

REQUIREMENTS:

1. Because discussion is integral to the course, students should do the readings on the syllabus *prior to the dates listed*. Lectures will complement, not reexamine, the readings. To provide added incentives for this, there will be 3-5 very short and unannounced "**pop quizzes**" on the readings (15%). There will be **no make ups** on these quizzes.
2. There will be **three examinations** in the course.
 - The first two exams will be in-class on and will be largely short answer. (20% each)
 - The final exam during exam week will be a mix of longer and shorter questions. (25%)
3. In addition, each student will be responsible for writing a short 5-8 page **essay** that addresses a controversial topic in Japanese politics. More will be said about this paper in class. But essentially, the paper should be 'adversarial' and should make an argument about how best to understand or resolve the problem posed, rather than being a balanced formulation of alternatives. (25%) **DUE APR. 21. See the list of possible topics below:** (20%)

You should write a clear, well-crafted, original, and clearly argued essay on any **ONE** of the following topics. Note: you are to take one of the alternative positions and write as strong a defense as possible of that view. You are not to seek a balanced 'a little of this, a little of that' approach. Your essay should draw primarily on the assigned readings,

lectures and classroom discussions; **you are not expected to do additional outside research.**

A. Japan's economic growth from the early 1950s until 1990 was primarily the result of domestic political and socio-economic strengths **OR** Japan's economic growth from the early 1950s until 1990 was primarily the outgrowth of its global and security ties to the U.S.

B. Most Japanese citizens did pretty well under the 1955 system. **OR** Large segments of the Japanese citizenry were systematically hurt by the 1955 system.

C. The 1955 system broke down primarily because of economic rigidities. **OR** The 1955 system broke down primarily because of political rigidities.

D. The 1955 system slowed economically but remained largely intact politically **OR** The 1955 system changed its political coloration but remained largely intact economically.

4. Section **participation** is mandatory (20%). You will be evaluated on the basis of participation and performance on in-section assignments and quizzes. Attendance is necessary, but not sufficient, for a good participation grade.

5. Postings to course web site are encouraged. Each student is expected to post at least 4 times during the semester and will be included as part of the 'section participation' grade.

ASSIGNMENTS: All assignments are due on the dates given. Unexcused late assignments will be penalized. The only valid excuses will be genuine family or personal emergencies or illness and documentation will be required for such excuses.

READINGS: All assigned readings are required. Because they are background to the lectures and the discussions in class, they should be done prior to the dates given and the classes that will use them.

The following books will be read in whole or in large part. They are available from the Campus Bookstore. In addition, most other readings will be available electronically either through bSpace or the university library's electronic access sites.

Gerald Curtis, The Logic of Japanese Politics (Columbia University Press, 1999)

Elise K. Tipton, Modern Japan (2nd edition) (Routledge, 2008)

Jeff Kingston, Japan's Quiet Transformation (Routledge, 2004)

T.J. Pempel, Regime Shift (Cornell University Press, 1998)

Richard J. Samuels, Securing Japan (Cornell University Press, 2007)

In addition, students should get into the habit of reading the news about Japanese politics on a daily basis. There are good English language sources on this, including the New York Times, Washington Post, Economist, Financial Times, Wall Street Journal and the Asia Wall Street Journal. English-language versions of Japanese newspapers are also available on the web: The Asahi Shimbun (<http://www.asahi.com/english>), The Daily

Yomiuri (<http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/dy>), The Japan Times (<http://www.japantimes.co.jp>), Mainichi Daily News (<http://mdn.mainichi.co.jp/>), and the Nihon Keizai Shimbun (<http://www.nni.nikkei.co.jp/>).

PLAGARISM: A final word that should perhaps be unnecessary: I expect all work for this class to be original and to be done by the individual student. (This does NOT mean simply downloading without technical assistance.....) If you have any doubts about what constitutes plagiarism, there is a detailed description of university policies at <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/TeachingLib/Guides/Citations.html>. A core comment is extracted here:

What is plagiarism?

Plagiarism is using the ideas and writings of others and representing them as your own. Even if you do not copy another source word-for-word, but rather rephrase the source without attributing it to the original author by including a footnote, you are guilty of plagiarism. Plagiarism is a serious violation of academic standards and is punishable with a failing grade, possible expulsion from the institution, and may subject you to ostracism by your peers.

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

This section will raise several key themes that will be repeated throughout the course. Among them are the influence of history and culture, the division between conservative and progressive forces, the importance of individual personalities, normative and idealistic goals, and the experience of Japan in comparative perspective. The readings provide quick sketches of Japan at several key moments in history, highlighting important themes.

1/20 no required readings

1/22 Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Enthusiasm for Westernization," "Asia for the Asians," and "Conditions on the Home Front," in Downs, Japan, Yesterday and Today (pp.102-106, pp. 142-151).

Vogel, "The Japanese Miracle," in Japan as Number One: Lessons for America (pp. 9-23).

"What Ails Japan?" The Economist (Apr. 20, 2002) (pp. 3-16).

PART 2: CONSERVATIVE MODERNIZATION

This section will explore Japan's transition from feudal isolation to industrialized imperial power. Major concerns will include the power of the state, key national objectives, the divisions of social power, international influences, and overseas expansion.

A. The Tokugawa Heritage and the Meiji Restoration

1/27 Tipton, Chaps. 1-3
Virtual tour of Edo <<http://www.us-japan.org/edomatsu>>

B. Industrialization, Early Expansion and Social Change

1/29 Tipton, Chaps. 4,5,6

C. Expansion and the Rise of the Military

2/3 Tipton, Chaps.7, 8

Samuels, pp. 13-28

Mishima, "Patriotism" in Death in Midsummer and Other Stories, (pp. 93-118).

D. U.S. Occupation and Change

2/5, 2/10 Tipton, Chap. 9

Whiting, "The First Black Market," in Tokyo Underworld (pp. 7-38).

LaFeber, The Clash: U.S. Japan Relations Throughout History, Chap. IX (pp. 257-295)

PART 3: THE 1955 SYSTEM

Many analysts have suggested that from 1955 until approximately 1990-93, Japan operated under a relatively consistent regime known as the 1955 system. Core elements included close security and economic ties to the U.S., a strong role for the national bureaucracy, a pro-business and anti-labor bias to economic policy, protection of the home market from foreign competition, low levels of social welfare spending and a host of related components. High economic growth and governmental dominance by a single conservative political party marked the period. This section will examine these core elements and their interrelationships.

A. The Global Context:

2/12 Dower, "Peace and Democracy in Two Systems: External Policy and Internal Conflict" and Cumings, "Japan's Position in the World System" in Gordon, Post War Japan as History (University of California Press, 1993)

Samuels, pp. 29-59

Listen to Nathaniel Thayer Interview in “Japan Considered”
<http://www.japan.poli.sc.edu/Interviews/050815ThayerNathaniel/050815ThayerNathanielMain.htm>

2/17 **FIRST PRELIM EXAM - IN CLASS**

B. Socio-Economics:

2/19 Tipton, Chap. 10, 11, 12

LeBlanc, “Volunteering Against Politics” in Bicycle Citizens (pp. 89-120).

C. Parties, Elections and the Political Economy:

2/24, 2/26, Curtis, The Logic of Japanese Politics, Introduction
 3/3

Curtis, The Japanese Way of Politics, Chaps. 2, 3, 4

Pempel, Introduction, Chap. 1, 2, 3

Samuels, “Kishi and Corruption,” JPRI Working Paper 83
 (December 2001)

PART IV: SYSTEM BREAKDOWN?: The long dominant LDP lost control of government in 1993 and the Japanese economy has been in a slow-to-stagnant mode since 1990-91. To many analysts this marks the breakdown in the long dominant 1955 system. For others, the return to power of the LDP and the slowness of social and economic changes suggests more continuity than change. This section will focus on Japan during the 1990s and the central issue of continuity and change.

A. Overview:

3/5 Pempel, Chaps. 4, 5, 6

3/10 **SECOND PRELIM EXAM - IN CLASS**

B. Bursting the Bubble Economy:

3/12 Tipton, Chap. 13
 Kingston, Chap. 1

C. Party & Electoral Reorganization:

3/17 Curtis, Logic of Japanese Politics, Chaps. 1, 2, 3

3/19, 3/31 Curtis, Chaps. 4, 5

Raymond Christensen, "The New Japanese Election System," Pacific Affairs, 69, 1, Spring, 1996.

Scheiner, "Pipelines of Pork," Comparative Political Studies (September 2005): 779-823.

Taniguchi, "Changing Media; Changing Politics in Japan" Japanese Journal of Political Science, Volume 8, Issue 01, April 2007, pp 147-166

Krauss and Pekkanen, "Explaining Party Adaptation to Electoral Reform," Journal of Japanese Studies 30(1): 1-34.

SPRING BREAK 3/20-3/30

D. "Dismantling" the Regulatory State:

4/2, 4/7 Kingston, Chaps. 2, 3 4, 5

Vogel, "Bureaucratic Approaches to the Financial Revolution," Governance (July 1994): 219-243.

PART V: CONTEMPORARY POLICY DEBATES: This section will explore several important areas where politically relevant debates are taking place. These are likely to shape the future course of Japan's political economy and society.

A. Economic Policy:

4/9 Pempel, "A Decade of Political Torpor: When Political Logic Trumps Economic Rationality" in Katzenstein and Shiraishi (eds.) Beyond Japan: The Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006)

Dore, Ronald, "Japan's Reform Debate: Patriotic Concern or Class Interest? Or Both?" Journal of Japanese Studies, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter, 1999), pp. 65-89 available through JSTOR

Lincoln, "Japan's Financial Mess" Foreign Affairs 77(3): 57-67.

Vogel, "Can Japan Disengage? Winners and Losers in Japan's Political Economy and the Ties that Bind Them, SSJJ 2(1): 3-22.

B. Outsiders?: Women, Migrants, and Freeters:

4/14, 4/16 Kingston, Chaps. 7-10

Norgren, "Abortion Before Birth Control: The Interest Group Politics Behind Postwar Japanese Reproduction Policy" Journal of Japanese Studies 24(1): 59-94. JSTOR

Kelly and White, "Students, Slackers, Singles, Seniors, and strangers" in Katzenstein and Shiraishi (eds.) Beyond Japan (pp. 63-84).

Shipper, "Criminals or Victims?" The Politics of Illegal Foreigners in Japan" Journal of Japanese Studies 31(2): 299-328.

C. Security and Defense:

4/21, 4/23 Samuels, Chaps. 3-7

Lind, Jennifer M. "Testing Theories of Japanese Security Policy," International Security, 29, 1 2004: 92-121 at http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/international_security/v029/29.1lind.html

Ikenberry, "America in East Asia: Power, Markets, and Grand Strategy," in Krauss and Pempel (eds.) Beyond Bilateralism (pp.37-54).

"Japan Self Defense Force Recruitment Video"
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kkxUEFBPEbY>

Pekkanen and Krauss, "Japan's "Coalition of the Willing" on Security Policies , Orbis, Volume 49, Issue 3, Summer 2005, Pages 429-444 available on line
http://www.sciencedirect.com/science?_ob=ArticleURL&_udi=B6W5V-4G7JV52-6&_user=4420&_rdoc=1&_fmt=&_orig=search&_sort=d&_view=c&_acct=C000059607&_version=1&_urlVersion=0&_userid=4420&md5=5160c45e4c6043860655c13b40b86bff

PART VI: Japan in the Asian Region

A. Economic & Cultural Engagement

4/28 Tsunekawa, "Why So Many Maps There? Japan and Regional Cooperation" (pp. 101-148) in Pempel (ed.) Remapping East Asia.

Munakata, "Has Politics Caught Up with Markets? : In Search of East Asian Economic Regionalism" (pp. 130-157) and Leheny, "A

Narrow Place to Cross Swords: 'Soft Power' and the Politics of Japanese Popular Culture in East Asia" (pp. 211-236) in Katzenstein and Shiraishi (eds.) Beyond Japan.

Katada, Saori N. "Japan's Two-Track Aid Approach: The Forces behind Competing Triads," Asian Survey March/April 2002, Vol. 42, No. 2: 320–342

B. Bilateral Linkages: China and North Korea

4/30 Armacost and Pyle, "Japan and the Engagement of China: Challenges for U.S. Policy Coordination" NBR Analysis 12(5)
Plus read latest news articles on the bilateral links

5/5 Eric Johnston "The North Korea Abduction Issue and Its Effect on Japanese Domestic Politics" JPRI WP 101 (June 2004)
<http://www.jpri.org/publications/workingpapers/wp101.html>

Megumi at <http://www.rachi.go.jp/jp/megumi/index.html#en>

CONCLUSION:

5/7 No required readings