

POLITICS OF CONTEMPORARY JAPAN

Poli Sci 243C

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Hrs. Wed. 10-12 and by app't

DESCRIPTION: 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. Following its defeat in World War II, Japan long 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. In the early 1990s, however, many of the mainstays of the previous system collapsed; the party and electoral system changed; the economy has been stagnant; the military has become more independent; and social problems have become more extensive. The course will explore the broad historical range of Japan's politics, with four major orientations: conservative modernization; the politics of one party dominance; the breakdown of the 1955 system; and contemporary policy debates. Students will be expected to write a research paper of 20-25 pages, the topic and content of which are to be agreed to by student and faculty member.

READINGS: Readings for the seminar will consist heavily of chapters from books and individual articles, most of which will be on electronic reserve through Dow Library. In addition, all or large portions of the following books will be read and students are encouraged, budget permitting, to purchase paperback copies. They will also be on reserve in Dow:

Andrew Gordon, *Modern History of Japan* Oxford UP 0195110617
Gerald Curtis, *Logic of Japanese Politics* Columbia UP pb. (don't know ISBN)
Bai Gao, *Japan's Economic Dilemma*, Cambridge UP, 0521793734
Richard Katz, *Japanese Phoenix*, ME Sharpe 0765610744
Masaru Kohno, *Japan's Postwar Party Politics*, Princeton UP, 0691015961
T.J. Pempel, *Regime Shift*, Cornell UP 9780801485299

REQUIREMENTS: There are four major requirements for the seminar:

1. read and be prepared to discuss each week's readings. Discussions will be 'led' by a different student each week, but this will be mainly kicking off key topics from which general discussion should begin.

2. preparation and presentation to the seminar of a draft research paper (approx. 20-25 pp.) on some aspect of Japanese political economy agreed upon by the student and instructor. These drafts will be discussed in seminar sessions during the last two weeks of the semester. Revisions will be possible on the basis of discussions.

3. a draft outline of the paper for #2 (approx. 5-6 pp.). These will be discussed in Week 9. Drafts of these outlines should be circulated among all seminar members during Week 8, ideally on Wed. Oct. 15, but no later than noon Friday, Oct. 17.

4. reading and commenting on other seminar papers during their presentations. Presentations will be in week 15.

Week 1: Introduction and Overview:

No required readings

PART I—CONSERVATIVE MODERNIZATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Japan was rather unique among non-Western countries in its successful escape of imperial conquest and in managing a successful and rapid transformation to industrialization. This portion of the seminar will examine Japan's pre-modern roots, the political economy of its modernization, and the links between its modernization project and overseas expansion. Central to much of this analysis will be the concept of "late industrialization," pioneered by Alexander Gerschenkron.

Week 2: Conservative Modernization:

Alexander Gerschenkron, Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective (1992), 5-30.

http://socsci.colorado.edu/~leblang/GAD_Papers/Economic_backwardness_in_historical_perspective.pdf

Ito, Kimio. "The Invention of *Wa* and the Transformation of the Image of Prince Shotoku in Modern Japan," and Inoue, Shun, "The Invention of the Martial Arts," Chapters Three and Eleven in Stephen Vlastos, ed. Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan.

<http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft6r29p13b/>

Gordon, Chaps. 4, 5, 7, 8

Week 3: Liberalism vs. Fascism:

Maruyama Masao, "The Ideology and Dynamics of Japanese Fascism," in Maruyama, Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics, pp.25-83
Kosaka, M., "The Showa Era," Daedalus (Summer 1990), pp. 27-48
Gluck C., "The Idea of Showa," Daedalus (Summer 1990) pp. 1-26 (both also in Gluck and Graubard (eds.) Showa: The Japan of Hirohito, Chaps. 1, 2)
Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Chaps. 5,8
Gordon, Chaps. 9, 10, 11

Week 4: War and Occupation:

Gordon, Chaps. 12, 13
Kohno, Chap. 2, 3
Whiting, "The First Black Market," in Tokyo Underworld, pp. 7-38
Dower "The Useful War," in Gluck and Graubard, pp. 49-70

PART II—THE 1955 SYSTEM

For the period from 1955 until 1993, Japan was governed by a single, conservative political party—the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). The party system was largely unchanging, as were the socio-economic support bases of most parties. The LDP worked in close cooperation with the national bureaucracy and the business community to create a political economy that was highly successful in generating growth and equally successful in staving off serious challenges. It also marginalized potential opposition forces, most notably organized labor and the socialist/communist party opposition.

Week 5: Creating a Politically Dominant Machine:

Kohno, Chap. 4, 5, 6, 7
Pempel, Chaps. 2-3
Johnson, Chalmers. "Tanaka Kakuei, Structural Corruption, and the Advent of Machine Politics in Japan," Chapter 9 in C. Johnson, Japan: Who Governs? New York: Norton, 1995 Also in Journal of Japanese Studies 12,1 (1986)
<http://www.jstor.org/view/00956848/ap000022/00a00010/0?currentResult=00956848%2bap000022%2b00a00010%2b1%2cFFAEEA1A%2b19860100%2b9948%2b80139899&searchID=8dd55340.10633912150&frame=noiframe&sortOrder=SCORE&userID=8020e5cc@berkeley.edu/018dd553400050>
Samuels, Machiavelli's Children, Chap. 9 "Putting Corruption in Its Place"
http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7073/week_5_kishi_fanfani.pdf

Week 6: Creating an Economic Miracle: Developmental State

- Chalmers Johnson, "The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept"
http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7158/week6_Johnson.pdf
- T.J. Pempel, "The Developmental Regime in a Changing World Economy," both in Meredith Woo-Cumings, *The Developmental State*, pp.32-60; 137-181.
http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7159/week6_Pempel.pdf
- Bai Gao, Chaps. 3, 4, 5
- Gordon, Chap. 14
- Colignon, Richard and Chikako Usui. "The Resilience of Japan's Iron Triangle," *Asian Survey*, Volume 41, Number 5, September/October 2001, pp.865-895.
http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7160/week6_Colignon_Usui.pdf

Week 7: Marginalizing Labor and Marginalizing Political Opposition:

- Pempel and Tsunekawa, "Corporatism without Labor? The Japanese Anomaly" in Schmitter and Lehbruch, *Trends Toward Corporatist Intermediation*.
http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7510/week_7_pempel_tsunekawa.pdf
- Garon and Mochizuki, "Negotiating Social Contracts," in Gordon (ed.) *Postwar Japan as History*, pp. 145-166.
http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7634/week_7_garon_mochizuki.pdf
- Ben-Ari, E. 1990. "Ritual, Strikes, Ceremonial Slowdowns: Some Thoughts on the Management of Conflict in Large Japanese Enterprises." In *Japanese Models of Conflict Resolutions*, ed. S.N. Eisenstadt and E. Ben-Ari. London: Kegan Paul International, pp. 94-124.
http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7514/week_7_ben-ari.pdf
- Kume, Ikuo. "Changing Relations Among Government, Labor, and Business in Japan after the Oil Crisis," *International Organization*, 42 (1988): 659-689.
http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7519/week_7_kume.pdf
- Hall, Ivan. *Cartels of the Mind* (1998), 7-14, 180-85.
http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7521/week_7_hall-a.pdf
http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7522/week_7_hall-b.pdf

Week 8: Presentation of Paper Outlines:

No assigned readings

PART III: SYSTEM BREAKDOWN

In the late 1980s, the literature in both the West and Japan trumpeted the apparently unchallengeable Japanese economic model. The Twenty-first Century was to be "Japan's Century." Less prominent but still important, political analysis stressed the

indomitability of the LDP's single party rule. Then suddenly the economy collapse and the LDP split, ushering in a decade or more of economic turmoil and coalition government.

Week 9: Bursting the Economic Bubble; Splitting the LDP:

Bai Gao, Chap. 6, 7

Pempel, "Structural *Gaiatsu*: International Finance and Political Change in Japan," *Comparative Political Studies*, 32, 8: 907-932.

http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7523/week_9_pempel.pdf

David L. Asher, "What became of the Japanese "miracle." *ORBIS*, Spring 1996 v 40 n 2 p215

<http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7836/week9asher.pdf>

Pharr, Susan J. 2000. "Official Misconduct and Public Mistrust: Japan and the Liberal Democracies." In *Disaffected Democracies*, ed. Susan J. Pharr and Robert D. Putnam. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 232-258.

<http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7919/week9pharr.pdf>

Kato, Junko. 1998. "When the Party Breaks Up: Exit and Voice among Japanese Legislators." *American Political Science Review* 92 (4): 857-870.

http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7527/week_9_kato.pdf

Week 10: Political Dealignment and Realignment:

Curtis, Introduction, Chaps. 1-4

Pempel, Chaps. 5, 6

Kohno, Chap. 8

Otake, "Political Mistrust and Party Dealignment in Japan," in Pharr and Putnam(eds.) *Disaffected Democracies*, Chap. 13, pp.291-310

http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7528/week_10_otake-a.pdf

Otake, Hideo. "Overview," pp.vix-xxv, xx-xxi in Otake Hideo, ed. *How Electoral Reform Boomeranged: Continuity in Japanese Campaigning Style*. Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 1998.

http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7529/week_10_otake-b.pdf

PART IV: CONTEMPORARY POLICY DILEMMAS

Today, Japan is consumed by a variety of debates concerning the potential future direction of the country. Much of this involves economics; security and defense are also at issue. Resolution of these debates will be critical to Japan's future, but the battles over various choices are deeply political, involving potentially clear-cut winners and losers.

Week 11: Domestic Political Economy:

Katz, Introduction, Parts 1, 2, Chaps. 1-8; Part 4, Chaps. 13-20

Curtis, Chaps. 5, 6

Gao, Chap.8

Suzuki, Takaaki. 1999. "Administrative Reform and the Politics of Budgetary Retrenchment in Japan." *Social Science Japan Journal* 2(2): 195-213.

<http://ssjj.oupjournals.org/cgi/reprint/2/2/195.pdf>

Vogel, "Can Japan Disengage? Winners and Losers in Japan's Political Economy and the Ties that Bind Them, *SSJJ* 2, 1 (April 1999): 3-22

<http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/vos01/>

Week 12: Dealing with a Globalized Economy:

David Asher and Andrew Smithers, Japan's Key Challenges for the 21st Century: Debt, Deflation, Default, Demography, and Deregulation, SAIS Policy Forum Series

<http://www.sais-jhu.edu/pubs/policyforum/asher.html>

Pempel, "From Exporter to Investor: Japanese Foreign Economic Policy," in Gerald Curtis (ed.) Japan's Foreign Policy After the Cold War: Coping With Change (Armonk, M.E. Sharpe, 1993), pp. 144-175

http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7531/week_12_pempel.pdf

Rozman, "Backdoor Japan: The Search for a Way Out via Regionalism and Decentralization," Journal of Japanese Studies, 25, 1 (Winter 1999), pp. 3-31.

http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7532/week_12_rozman.pdf

Katz, Part 3, Chaps. 9, 10, 11, 12

Week 13: An Emerging Civil Society?

Pekkanen, Robert. "Molding Japanese Civil Society: State Structured Incentives and the Patterning of Civil Society," Chapter 5 in Frank Schwartz and Susan Pharr, eds. The State of Civil Society in Japan. 175-204

<http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7537/5-Pekkanen.2.doc>

Pekkanen, "Japan's New Politics: The Case of the NPO Law," Journal of Japanese Studies, 26, 1 Winter 2000, 111-143

http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7625/week13_pekkanen.pdf

Margarita Estevez-Abe, "State-Society Partnerships in the Japanese Welfare State," Schwartz and Pharr, eds., The State of Civil Society in Japan (2003), 238-69.

<http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7538/7-Estevez.2.rtf>

Schwartz, Frank. "What Is Civil Society?" Chapter 1 in Frank Schwartz and Susan Pharr, eds. The State of Civil Society in Japan.

<http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7540/1-Schwartz.2.doc>

Robin LeBlanc, Bicycle Citizens: The Political World of the Japanese Housewife (1999), 121-63.

http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7541/week_13_leblanc.pdf

Week 14: Defense and Security:

- Peter J. Katzenstein, Nobuo Okawara, "Japan's National Security: Structures, Norms, and Policies," *International Security* 17, 4 (Spring, 1993): 84-118
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0162-2889%28199321%2917%3A4%3C84%3AJNSSNA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-P>
- Thomas U. Berger, "From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan's Culture of Anti-militarism," *International Security* 17, 4 (Spring, 1993):119-150
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0162-2889%28199321%2917%3A4%3C119%3AFSTCJC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-3>
- Funabashi, Yoichi. 1998. "Tokyo's Depression Diplomacy." *Foreign Affairs* 77(6): 26-36.
<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdlink?index=69&did=000000035612047&SrchMode=3&sid=1&Fmt=3&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1059672453&clientId=48051>
- Johnson, Chalmers, *The Pentagon's ossified strategy*; **Foreign Affairs**, New York; July 1995; Vol. 74, 4; pg. 103.
<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdlink?Ver=1&Exp=07-01-2003&FMT=FT&DID=000000006656194&REQ=1&Cert=puKt9wU05vAy0qqq18b0i41KHSIx0%2btnhpAAjM6erFpukTuTyn9XGeGJFVa9bU34Uu%2bAkmEylzOlKR9aL1IFg-->
- Nye, Joseph S Jr, *The case for deep engagement*; **Foreign Affairs**, New York; July 1995; Vol. 74, 4; pg. 90,
<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdlink?Ver=1&Exp=07-01-2003&FMT=FT&DID=000000006656210&REQ=1&Cert=tVEg7taZuI3%2folavb0VUlo1KHSIx0%2btnjm%2fkFaqO9HBukTuTyn9XGeGJFVa9bU34Uu%2bAkmEylywCvcA79vioKg-->
- Christopher W. Hughes and Akiko Fukushima, "Japan-US Security Relations: 'Towards Bilateralism Plus'?" In Ellis Krauss and T.J. Pempel (eds.) *Beyond Bilateralism*
http://eres.berkeley.edu/tempfiles/tmp7544/ch03_Hughes-Fukushima_Final_2-14-03_.doc

Week 15: Student Paper Presentations:

No required readings other than papers being presented