

**Japanese Politics (W4472)**  
**Fall 2008**  
**Thursday 2:10-4:00 pm**

Professor Gerald Curtis

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**Office hours:** Wednesday 3-4 and by appointment

**Overview**

This course examines contemporary Japanese domestic politics and foreign policy. No prior knowledge of Japanese politics is required. However, this is not an introductory course. It is a graduate course (open also to upper level undergraduates) that discusses important issues about Japanese politics and government performance. Students who lack background on the subject should as a first order of business read through my *Logic of Japanese Politics*.

The syllabus lists both required and additional suggested readings. The readings will be discussed in the discussion sessions. Class attendance is required; it is not optional. Attendance at the discussion sessions is required for undergraduates and strongly recommended for graduate students.

There will be a take home midterm exam, an in-class final, and a research paper of between 2500-3500 words. The paper can be on just about any Japan-related topic that interests you. Please note that the final exam will be held the week before the Thanksgiving holiday. The research paper is due on December 8<sup>th</sup>. Please do not ask for an extension..

All readings are available on reserve at the Lehman Library. The following books are available at Book Culture:

Amyx, Jennifer A., *Japan's Financial Crisis*

Curtis, Gerald L., *The Japanese Way of Politics*

Curtis, Gerald L., *The Logic of Japanese Politics*

Dower, John, *Embracing Defeat*

Pyle, Kenneth, *Rising Japan: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose*

Minear, Richard, *Victor's Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, Michigan Classics in Japanese Studies paperback, 2001.

Samuels, Richard, *Security Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia*

Berger, Thomas, Mike Mochizuki, Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, *Japan in International Politics: The Foreign Policies of an Adaptive State*.

## **Syllabus**

### **September 4 - Introduction and Overview**

Curtis, Gerald L. 1999. *The Logic of Japanese Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press. Introduction.

Pempel, T.J. 1998. *Regime Shift: Comparative Dynamics of the Japanese Political Economy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp.1-14.

Vogel, Steven 2006 *Japan Remodeled: How Government and Industry Are Reforming Japanese Capitalism*, chapter 2, "The crisis of Japanese capitalism," pp. 22-50.

### **September 11 - Legacy of War and Occupation**

Demilitarization and democratization, impact of Occupation reforms, constitutional revision, war crimes and history issue in contemporary politics, Yasukuni.

Berger, Thomas. "The Politics of Memory in Japanese Foreign Relations," in Berger et.al. *Japan in International Politics*, pp.179-212

Dower, John. 1999. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. New York: WW Norton/The New Press, pp. 443-524.

Minear, Richard. *Victor's Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, selected sections

### Suggested Readings

Passin, Herbert. 1968. "The Legacy of the Occupation—Japan." *Occasional Papers*. New York: The East Asian Institute of Columbia University.

Schaller, Michael. 1997. *Altered States: The United States and Japan since the Occupation*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 7-61.

Dore, Ronald, and Tsutomu Ouchi. 1971. "Rural Origins of Japanese Fascism." In *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, ed. James Morley. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 181-210.

Maruyama, Masao. 1969. *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*.

London, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-24.

Pempel, T.J. 1987. "The Tar Baby Target: Reform of the Japanese Bureaucracy."

In *Democratizing Japan*, eds. Robert Ward and Yoshikazu Sakamoto.

Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 157-187.

### **September 18 - Defining Postwar Japanese Foreign Policy**

Japan's tradition of pragmatic, reactive diplomacy, Yoshida's foreign policy line, postwar pacifism-in-one-country ideology, ideological versus pragmatic conservatism

Pyle, Kenneth. *Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose*, p.1-241

Samuels Richard, *Securing Japan*, pp. 1-12, 86-108, 185-210

### Suggested Readings

Berger, Thomas U. 1998. *Cultures of Antimilitarism: National Security in Germany and Japan*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 1-21, 55-86.

Dower, John. 1988. *Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience, 1878-1954*. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, pp. 369-414.

Schaller, Michael. 1997. *Altered States: The United States and Japan since the Occupation*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 7-61.

Green, Michael J. 2003. *Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challengers in an Era of Uncertain Power*. New York: Palgrave, Chapters 1 and 2.

Blaker, Michael. 1993. "Evaluating Japan's Diplomatic Performance." In *Japan's Foreign Policy After the Cold War: Coping With Change*, ed. Gerald L, Curtis. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, pp. 1-42.

### **September 25 – Curtis Special Lecture: The Fukuda Administration: Assessment and Prognosis**

**The lecture will be held in International Affairs Building Room 1501 from 4:30 PM – 6:00 PM. Registered students in this course should NOT register for the lecture. You have been pre-registered.**

### **October 2 - What Was The '55 System and Is It Really Over?**

Multiple party systems under one party dominance, conservative-progressive divide, socioeconomic change and political stability, the evolution of the party system.

Curtis, Gerald L. 1988. *The Japanese Way of Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 1-79.

Curtis, Gerald L. 1999. *The Logic of Japanese Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp.25-136.

Pempel, T.J. *Regime Shift: Comparative Dynamics of the Japanese Political Economy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 42-110.

Muramatsu, Michio, and Ellis S. Krauss. "The conservative policy line and the development of patterned pluralism." In *The Political Economy of Japan*, vol. 1, eds., Yamamura and Yasuba, pp. 516-554.

### Suggested Readings

Schlesinger, Jacob M. 1999. *Shadow Shoguns: The Rise and Fall of Japan's Postwar Political Machine*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hideo, Otake. 2000. "Political Realignment and Policy Conflict," in *Power Shuffles and Policy Processes*, ed. Otake. Tokyo: JCIE Press, pp. 25-151.

Schoppa, Leonard. 2001. "Locating the LDP and Koizumi in Policy Space: A Party System Ripe for Realignment." In *Social Science Japan* 22 (December), pp. 9-15.

Sato, Toshiki. 2000. "Twenty Years After the Birth of the 'New Middle Masses'." *Japan Echo* 27:4, pp. 40-44.

Hideo, Otake. 1998. "Overview." In *How Electoral Reform Boomeranged: Continuity in Japanese Campaigning Style*. Tokyo: JCIE Press, pp. ix-xxxi.

### **October 9 - The 1990s – Lost Decade or Historical Watershed**

Social change in the 1990s and its political consequences, the politics of the bubble economy, policy response, institutional innovation,

Kingston, Jeff. 2005, *Japan's Quiet Transformation*, pp. 1-41; 257-312

Amyx, Jennifer, *Japan's Financial Crisis*, pp 11-84

Pekkanen, Robert. 2000. "Japan's New Politics: The Case of the NPO Law." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 26:1 (Winter).

Mark Metzler, "Toward a Financial History of Japan's Long Stagnation, 1990-2003," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.67, No.2 (May) 2008, pp. 653-674.

### Suggested Readings

- Gao, Bai. 2001. *Japan's Economic Dilemma: the Institutional Origins of Prosperity and Stagnation*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.203-242.
- Pharr, Susan J. 2003. "Targeting by an Activist State: Japan as a Civil Society Model." In *The State of Civil Society in Japan*, eds. Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dore, Ronald. 1999. "Japan's Reform Debate: Patriotic Concern or Class Interest." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 25:1 (Winter), pp. 65-90.
- Campbell, John C.. 1992. *How Policies Change: The Japanese Government and the Aging Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 352-395.
- Katz, Richard. 1998. *Japan, The System That Soured: the Rise and Fall of the Japanese Economic Miracle*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, pp. 289-317.
- Vogel, Steven. 1996. *Freer Markets, More Rules: Regulatory Reform in Advanced Industrial Countries*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

### **October 16 - Politics as a Vocation and Take Home Midterm Exam – Due October 23.**

Election system, voting behavior, political financing, party organization

- Curtis, Gerald L. 1999. *The Logic of Japanese Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press. Chapter 4.
- Ramseyer, Mark J., and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 1993. *Japan's Political Marketplace*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp.16-37; pp.182-203.
- Park, Cheol Hee. 1998. "The Enduring Campaign Networks of Tokyo's Shitamachi District." In *How Electoral Reform Boomeranged: Continuity in Japanese Campaigning Style*, ed. Otake Hideo. Washington, DC: JCIE, pp. 59-96.
- Murakami, Yasusuke. 1982. "The Age of New Middle Mass Politics: the Case of Japan." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 8:1 (Winter), pp. 29-72.

### Suggested Readings

- Hrebemar, Ronald. 2000. *Japan's New Party System*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Chapter 3.
- Kabashima, Ikuo, and Yoshito Ishio. 1998. ["The Instability of Party Identification among Eligible Japanese Voters: A Seven-Wave Panel Study, 1993-6."](#) *Party Politics* 4:2 (April), pp. 151-176.
- Reed, Steven R., and Michael F. Thies. 2001. "The Consequences of Electoral Reform in Japan." In *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both*

*Worlds?*, eds. Matthew Shugart and Martin Wattenberg. New York: Oxford University Press.

### **October 23 - Film: Senkyo (Election)**

This is an excellent, and humorous, documentary on Japanese election campaigning. It is in Japanese but has good English language subtitles.

For an historical perspective, read Chapter 8 in Curtis, *Election Campaigning Japanese Style* and the preface to the new paperback edition that will be published in February 2009. The preface is available under Shared Class Files.

### **October 30 - Politicians, Bureaucrats and the Policy Process**

The sources of bureaucratic power, contrasting perspectives on where power lies, the evolution of the bureaucrat-politician relationship, the cabinet culture, the role of the Prime Minister's office, institutional evolution and issues

Curtis, Gerald L. 1998. *The Japanese Way of Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 80-116.

Curtis, Gerald L. 2002. "Bureaucrats and Politicians: What's Wrong and What's To Be Done." In *Policymaking in Japan: Defining the Role of Politicians*, ed. Gerald Curtis. Tokyo; New York: JCIE Press, pp.1-17.

Mulgan, Aurelia George. 2002. *Japan's Failed Revolution: Koizumi and the Politics of Economic Reform*. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, Asia Pacific School of Economics and Management, pp. 43-72.

Schoppa, Leonard. 1991. "Zoku Power and L.D.P. Power: A Case Study of the Zoku Role in Education Policy." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 17:1 (Winter), pp. 79-106.

### Suggested Readings

Campbell, John. 1989. "Democracy and Bureaucracy in Japan." In *Democracy in Japan* eds. Takeshi Ishida and Ellis S. Krauss, pp. 113-138.

Johnson, Chalmers. 1982. *MITI and the Japanese Miracle*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp.3-82.

Ramseyer, J. Mark, and Francis McCall Rosenbluth. 1993. *Japan's Political Marketplace*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 99-142.

Kernell, Samuel. "The Primacy of Politics in Economic Policy," In *Parallel Politics: Economic Policymaking in Japan and in the United States*, ed. Samuel Kernell.

Park, Cheol Hee. 2001. "Factional Dynamics in Japan's LDP Since Political Reform: Continuity and Change." *Asian Survey* 41:3, pp. 428-61.

- McCubbins, Matthew D., and Noble, Gregory W. 1996. "The Appearance of Power: Legislators, Bureaucrats, and the Budget Process in the U.S. and Japan." In *Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States*, eds. Peter F. Cowhey and Matthew D. McCubbins. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 56-115.
- Pempel, T.J. 1987. "The Unbundling of Japan, Inc.: The Changing Dynamics of Japanese Policy Formation." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 13:2 (Summer).
- Noble, Gregory. 2001. "Political Leadership and Economic Policy in the Koizumi Cabinet." *Social Science Japan* No. 22 (December), pp.24-28.

### **November 6 - Opposition Parties and The Press**

The demise of the Socialists, rise of the Democrats, press clubs, kokutai politics, the role of the Komeito, the evolving relationship between the ruling party and opposition

- Scheiner, Ethan. *Democracy Without Competition in Japan*, pp. 1-64
- Curtis, Gerald L. 1988. *The Japanese Way of Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 117-156.
- Curtis, Gerald. 1999. *The Logic of Japanese Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 3.
- Krauss, Ellis S. 1999. "Journalism and Press-Government Relations in Japan: Facing Strains and an Opportunity?" *Harvard Asia Pacific Review* 3:2. Available at: <http://www.ojr.org/japan/media/1062789838.php>.
- Freeman, Laurie Anne. 2000. *Closing the Shop: Information Cartels and Japan's Mass Media*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp.62-141.

### Suggested Readings

- Hrebemar, Ronald J. 2000. *Japan's New Party System*. Boulder, Co: Westview Press.
- Kohno, Masaru. 1997. *Japan's Postwar Party Politics*. Princeton University Press, pp. 135-155.
- Richardson, Bradley M. 1997. *Japanese Democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, Chapter 4.
- Hideo, Otake. 1998. "Overview." In *How Electoral Reform Boomeranged: Continuity in Japanese Campaigning Style*, ed. Otake Hideo. Tokyo; New York: JCIE Press, pp. ix-xxxi.
- Krauss, Ellis S. "TV News in Japan: Reporting on Politics or Shaping it?" *Broadcasting Politics in Japan: NHK and Television News*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell

University Press. Available at:

<http://www.ojr.org/japan/media/1054281719.php>

### **November 13 - Japan, the US, and China: Japan's Evolving Security Policy**

Changes in defense policy since 1990, the impact of 9.11 and North Korea on the Japanese foreign policy debate, the issue of collective self defense and constitutional interpretation, Japan-China relations, the US-Japan alliance

Andrew L. Oros, *Normalizing Japan: Politics, Identity, and the Evolution of Security Practice*, pp. 170-198

Curtis, Gerald. "US Policy in East Asia: Not Architecture, But Action," *Global Asia*, Fall 2007.

Ito, Go. "Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations," in Berger et.al, *Japan in International Politics*, pp. 75-96

Berger, Thomas. "The Pragmatic Liberalism of an Adaptive State," in Berger et.al, *Japan in International Politics*, pp. 259-300

#### Suggested Readings

Schoppa, Leonard. 1997. *Bargaining With Japan: What American Pressure Can and Cannot Do*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 86-116.

Grimes, William. 2003. "Institutionalized Inertia: Japanese Foreign Policy in the Post Cold War World." In *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, eds. G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 313-386.

Schoppa, Leonard. 2002. "Domestic Politics." In *US-Japan Relations in a Changing World*, ed. Steven K. Vogel. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, pp. 94-124.

Tamamoto, Masaru. 2003. "Ambiguous Japan: Japanese National Identity at Century's End." In *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, eds. G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 191-212.

Green, Michael J. and Patrick M. Cronin, *The US-Japan Alliance*, chapters by Smith (pp.69-93), Giarra (pp. 14-138), and Berger (pp.189-207)

Mochizuki, Mike M. 2003. "Strategic thinking under Bush and Koizumi: Implications for the US-Japan alliance" *Asia Pacific Review* 10:1 (May), pp. 82-98.

- Calder, Kent. 1988. "Japanese Foreign Economic Policy Formation: Explaining the Reactive State," *World Politics* 40:4 (July), pp. 517-541.
- Curtis, Gerald L. 2000. "US policy toward Japan from Nixon to Clinton." In *New Perspectives on US-Japan Relations*, ed. Gerald L. Curtis. Tokyo, Japan; New York: JCIE Press, Chapter 1.
- Green, Michael J. 2003. *Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challengers in an Era of Uncertain Power*. New York: Palgrave, pp. 77-192.
- Christensen, Thomas J. 2001. "Posing Problems without Catching Up: China's Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security Policy." *International Security* 25:4 (Spring), pp. 5-40.
- Soeya, Yoshihide. 2002. "The China Factor in the US-Japan Alliance: the Myth of a China Threat." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 2:2 (August).
- Vogel, Ezra, Gilbert Rozman, and Ming Wan. 2003. "The U.S.-Japan-China Triangle: Who's the Odd Man Out?" *Woodrow Wilson Center Asia Program Special Report Asia Special Report No. 113* (July). Available at: [http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic\\_id=1462&fuseaction=topics.publications&group\\_id=4985](http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic_id=1462&fuseaction=topics.publications&group_id=4985)
- Yamakage, Susumu. 1997. "Japan's National Security and Asia-Pacific's Regional Institutions in the Post-Cold War Era." In *Network Power: Japan and Asia*, eds. Peter Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraishi. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Krauss, Ellis S., and T.J. Pempel, eds. *Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.- Japan Relations in the New Asia-Pacific*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

**November 20 - Final Exam**

**November 27 - No Class – Thanksgiving Holiday**

**December 4 - Summing Up**

**December 8 – Research Paper Due**