

Japanese Politics (W4472)

Fall 2007

Thursday 2:10-4:00 pm

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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 an in-class exam after the ninth week, something of a late midterm/early final (so only one exam) and a research paper/book review/think piece -- an essay of between 2000-3000 words that deals with some issue relevant to Japanese politics in some manner that is entirely up to you to choose. There will be more about that in class.

All readings are available on reserve at the Lehman Library. The following books available at Labyrinth Bookstore:

Jennifer A. Amyx, *Japan's Financial Crisis*
Gerald L. Curtis, *The Japanese Way of Politics*
Gerald L. Curtis, *The Logic of Japanese Politics*
John Dower, *Embracing Defeat*
Jeff Kingston, *Japan's Quiet Transformation*

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

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

Syllabus

September 6 - 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 13-20 - Legacy of War and Occupation

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

The Constitution of Japan.

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

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

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

Suggested Reading

Passin, Herbert. 1968. "The Legacy of the Occupation—Japan." *Occasional Papers*.

New York: The East Asian Institute of Columbia University.

T. Patrick Boyd and Richard J. Samuels, "Nine Lives? The Politics of Constitutional Reform in Japan"

Carol Gluck. 1993. "Entangling Illusions: Japanese and American Views of the Occupation." In *New Frontiers in America-East Asian Relations*, ed. Warren I. Cohen. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 169-217.

Kawai, Kazuo. 1979. *Japan's American Interlude*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schlesinger, Jacob. 1999. *Shadow Shoguns: The Rise and Fall of Japan's Postwar Political Machine*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 11-35.

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 27 - 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

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

Suggested Reading

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 Challenges 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.

October 4 - 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 Reading

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 11 - 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,

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

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

Estevez-Abe, Margarita. 2003. "State-Society Partnerships in the Japanese Welfare State." In *The State of Civil Society in Japan*, eds. Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

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

Suggested Reading

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.

John C. Campbell. 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 18 - Film: Senkyo (Elections)

I will be in Tokyo this week. This is an excellent, and humorous, documentary on Japanese election campaigning that was released this year and has won several prizes. It is in Japanese but has good English language subtitles. We will discuss it the following week.

October 25 - Politics as a Vocation

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. Available at: JSTOR.org.

Suggested Reading

Hrebenar, 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.

November 1 - Late Midterm/Early Final Exam

November 8 - Bureaucrats and Politicians

The sources of bureaucratic power, contrasting perspectives on where power lies, the evolution of the bureaucrat-politician relationship, identifying the appropriate division of labor of bureaucrats and politicians

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.

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.

Suggested Reading

Drucker, Peter, 1998. "In Defense of the Japanese Bureaucracy." *Foreign Affairs* 77:5 (Sept-Oct), pp. 68-80.

Fukui, Haruhiro. 1984. "The Liberal Democratic Party Revisited." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 10:2 (Summer), pp. 393-95. Available at: JSTOR.org

Kohno, Masaru. 1997. *Japan's Postwar Party Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p.91-115.

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

November 15 - The Prime Minister, the Ruling Party and Changing Policy Making

The cabinet culture, strengthening of the Kantei, role of the fiscal and economic council, historical origins of party-government relationship, trends in institutional evolution

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.

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

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.

Curtis, Gerald. 1999. *The Logic of Japanese Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 3.

Suggested Reading

Curtis, Gerald L. 1988. *The Japanese Way of Politics*. New York: Columbia

University Press, pp. 117-156.

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).

Mishima, Ko. 1998. "The Changing Relationship Between Japan's LDP and the Bureaucracy." *Asian Survey* 38:10 (October), pp.968-985.

Shinoda, Tomohito. 2003. "Koizumi's Top-Down Leadership in the Anti-Terrorism Legislation: the Impact of Political Institutional Changes." *SAIS Review* 23:1 (Winter-Spring), pp. 19-34.

Noble, Gregory. 2001. "Political Leadership and Economic Policy in the Koizumi Cabinet." *Social Science Japan* No. 22 (December), pp.24-28.

November 22 - No Class --Thanksgiving Holiday

November 29 - The Opposition and The Press

Why the opposition is perennially weak, impact of electoral reform, press clubs, yomawari, kokutai politics, the role of the Komeito, the new Democratic Party challenge, the evolving relationship between the ruling party and opposition

Ethan Scheiner, *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 Reading

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>

December 6 - 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

Kenneth Pyle, *Rising Japan*, pp. 278-374

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

Christensen, Thomas. "China, the US-Japan alliance, and the security dilemma in East

Asia.” *International Security* 23:1, pp. 49-80.

Suggested Reading

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.

Michael J. Green 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

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.

December 13 - Paper Due