

**PS 143B NORTHEAST ASIAN POLITICS: JAPAN**

Tuesday / Thursday, 8:00-9:30

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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 become 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; in 2009 a new party took the reins of government, only to be ousted in 2012 by a resurgent LDP. The course will explore this combination of political experiences as well as the social costs and benefits attendant upon its successes. It addresses four key questions: 1. how and why did Japan industrialize so quickly when most other countries did not? 2. Was military expansion inevitable in Japan's early development? 3. How did Japan expand its economy so effectively in the first 40 years after WWII; 4. How is Japan dealing politically with its 20 year economic slowdown and its changing regional relations?

The course assumes no prior knowledge of Japan. Assignments will include two preliminary and one final examination and a 5-8 page essay.

*This course satisfies the International Studies breadth requirement.*

**REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING:**

- 1. Pop Quizzes: 15%**
- 2. Exams 45% (two short exams—10% & 15% respectively—one final 20%)**
- 3. 5-8 page paper 15%**
- 4. Section participation 15%**
- 5. bSpace postings 10%**

1. Students should do the readings on the syllabus *prior to the dates listed*. Lectures will complement, not reexamine, the readings. To provide added incentive, there will be 3-5 very short and unannounced "**pop quizzes**" on the readings and prior lectures (15%). There will be **no make ups** on these quizzes. Lectures will be supplemented by power point presentations. These will be posted on bSpace prior to each class. Your best bet may be to download the PPT and use these to take additional notes during lecture. By no means should you assume that you can sleep late, skip class, and skim the PPT at your leisure; lectures will contain substantial additional material.

2. There will be **three examinations** in the course.

--The first two exams will be in-class on and will be largely short answer. (10% & 15% respectively) **2/7 and 3/9**

--The final exam during exam week will be a mix of longer and shorter questions. (20%)

3. In addition, each student will be responsible for writing a short 5-8 page **essay** that provides an assessment of press coverage on Japanese politics. You may: A) review one newspaper or news magazine's coverage of Japan in depth over the period of the course, or B) review news coverage from a variety of newspapers and magazines on a particular news story. For either approach to this assignment, make sure to analyze and critique the coverage. Has it been accurate and insightful? Has it been biased? Do the reporters understand the dynamics of Japanese politics? How could the reporters improve the coverage? Incorporate course readings and material from lectures as appropriate. (20%) **DUE April 20.**

4. Section **participation** is mandatory (15%). 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. Bcourses Postings: (4 postings minimum) (10%) These postings should be short responses to the readings (150 words maximum). The memos may take a variety of forms: 1) Critique one or more of the readings, 2) Relate the readings to a recent news story or news commentary, 3) Relate the readings to earlier lecture or reading, 4) Write your own question on the readings and answer it, 5) Propose a topic for discussion that relates to the readings, 6) Answer one of the discussion questions that will be posted on bSpace (see the bSpace site). Feel free to experiment with this assignment: do not answer the discussion questions more than twice during the semester.

Post to the bCourses site (under Forums) by 3 p.m. the day before the relevant class. If you are posting on the 1/24 readings, for example, you should post by 3 p.m. 1/23. We will discuss some of these postings in class; others in section. All students should post their first memo by 1/25, and then post regularly (at least one memo every 5-6 class sessions) for a total of four memos by the end of the semester.

**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.

**ELECTRONICS:** *Cellphones, iPads, and laptops are strictly prohibited during lecture.* If caught using an electronic device for any reason – even to check the time – you will be asked by either the instructor or a GSI to leave the lecture hall for the day. Numerous studies have shown that students with open laptops remember less lecture content than those without laptops. Furthermore, open laptops inevitably distract students sitting around you. PPT will be available on bCourses the day before the relevant lecture; you are encouraged to print out a copy and use it for note taking during class. If you require a laptop to take notes because of a DSP accommodation, make sure that you get approval from the instructor, sit in the first two rows of the lecture hall, and avoid using it for non-academic purposes.

*If you feel an uncontrollable urge to check your stock portfolio or the level of rainfall in Borneo mid-way through the lecture, you are free to, go outside open your computer or phone and find your answer and then return.*

*The first violation will result in your being told to leave class; the second will result in your being dropped from the course. And if this appears to be a collective problem, I retain the option of banning computers from class completely.*

**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.

Andrew Gordon, A Modern History of Japan. (Oxford, Oxford UP, 2009) 3rd ed.  
 Ikuo Kabashima and Gill Steel, Changing Politics in Japan (Cornell UP, 2010)  
 T.J. Pempel, Regime Shift (Cornell University Press, 1998)

In addition, in preparation for the writing of the required paper, 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/>).

**Useful Japan-related websites:**

<http://web-japan.org/links/index.html>. (provides links to government websites and English-language newspapers)

<http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/index-e.html>. (home page of the prime minister's official residence)

<http://newslet.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/>. / (Social Science Japan Newsletter, from the University of Tokyo)

[http://hcl.harvard.edu/research/guides/data\\_japan/index.html](http://hcl.harvard.edu/research/guides/data_japan/index.html). (data resources on Japan from Harvard University. Not all resources are available to non-affiliates.)

[http://www.mansfieldfdn.org/polls/polls\\_listing.htm](http://www.mansfieldfdn.org/polls/polls_listing.htm). (an up-to-date list of public opinion polls on Japan from the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation)

<http://www.mmz.kantei.go.jp/foreign/m-magazine/index.html>. (subscription information for the Japan Prime Minister's e-mail magazine)

<http://www.observingjapan.com/>. (A cool blog on Japanese politics by Tobias Harris)

**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 the assistance of a computer science major.....) 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. The introduction will provide an overview of the course's four key questions: 1. How and why did Japan industrialize so quickly when most other countries did not? 2. Was military expansion inevitable in Japan's early development? 3. How did Japan expand its economy so effectively in the first 40 years after WWII; 4. How is Japan dealing politically with its 20 year economic slowdown?

1/17            no required readings

1/19            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).

"Abenomics: Not so Super," Economist, June 15, 2013

Statement by Prime Minister Abe on the anniversary of the end of World War II at [http://japan.kantei.go.jp/97\\_abe/statement/201508/0814statement.html](http://japan.kantei.go.jp/97_abe/statement/201508/0814statement.html)

Jean-pierre Lehmann, "Abe's move to beef up military role brings Asia closer to war: Japan Times, July 27, 2015 at [http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2015/07/26/commentary/japan-commentary/abes-move-to-beef-up-military-role-brings-asia-closer-to-war/#.Vbaxr\\_1M6iw](http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2015/07/26/commentary/japan-commentary/abes-move-to-beef-up-military-role-brings-asia-closer-to-war/#.Vbaxr_1M6iw).

## **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

1/24 Gordon, Chaps. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 (this is a lot of detailed reading; focus on themes & the 'big picture' not on minute details)

### B. Industrialization, Early Expansion and Social Change

1/26 Gordon, Chaps. 7, 8, 9, 10 (this is a lot of detailed reading; focus on themes & the 'big picture' not on minute details)

Kosaka, M., "The Showa Era," Daedalus (Summer 1990), pp. 27-48.  
Available through JSTOR,

### C. Expansion and the Rise of the Military

1/31 Gordon, Chaps. 11, 12

Samuels, Securing Japan, pp. 13-28

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

### D. U.S. Occupation and Change

2/2 Gordon, Chap. 13

Passin, Herbert, "The Occupation: Some Reflections." Daedalus, Vol. 119, No. 3, (Summer, 1990).

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

Watch "The Only Woman in the Room," on Youtube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TceZiTqyZXI>. This is 120 minutes long; get a feel for Gordon's background; focus on the discussion of the constitution from 40-106 minutes.

**Feb. 6 FIRST PRELIM IN CLASS**

### **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. Overview:**

2/9 John Dower, "Peace and Democracy in Two Systems," in Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History* (1993), 3-33.

T.J. Pempel, “Prerequisites for Democracy: Political and Social Institutions,” in Ishida and Krauss, eds., *Democracy in Japan* (1989), 17-37.

J.A.A. Stockwin, “To Oppose or to Appease: Parties Out of Power and the Need for Real Politics in Japan,” *Japan Forum* (March 2006), 115-32.

Gregory Noble, “Who – If Anyone – Is in Charge? Evolving Discourses of Political Power and Bureaucratic Delegation in Postwar Japanese Policymaking,” in Gill Steel, ed., *Power In Contemporary Japan* (2016), 185-200

#### **B. Parties, Elections and the Political Economy:**

2/14 & Pempel, Introduction, Chap. 1 (skim for framework), then 2, 3 in detail  
2/16

Kabashima & Steel, Chap. 1, 2

Weiner, Tim. 2007. *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA*. New York: Doubleday, Chapter 12 “We Ran It a Different Way.” Pp. 133-140.

**PART IV: SYSTEM BREAKDOWN?** The long dominant LDP lost control of government in 1993 and the Japanese economy fell into a slow-to-stagnant mode for two decades or more. To many analysts this marked the breakdown in the long dominant 1955 system. For others, the return to power of the LDP in 1991 and then again in 2012 despite the slowness of social and economic changes suggests more continuity than change. This section will focus on Japan over the last twenty plus years and the central issue of continuity and change.

#### **A. Overview:**

2/21 Andrew Gordon, “Making Sense of the Lost Decades,” in Funabashi and Kushner eds.) *Examining Japan’s Lost Decades*, pp. 77-100.

Pempel, Chaps. 4, 5, 6

B. Bursting the Bubble Economy:

- 2/23                    Gordon, Chaps. 16, 17
- Suleski, Robert, "Japan After the Bubble Burst: Traditional Values Inhibit Quick Comeback" *Journal of the International Institute*, [Volume 6, Issue 3](http://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jii/4750978.0006.303/--japan-after-the-bubble-burst-traditional-values-inhibit?rgn=main;view=fulltext), Summer 1999 at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jii/4750978.0006.303/--japan-after-the-bubble-burst-traditional-values-inhibit?rgn=main;view=fulltext>

C. Party & Electoral Reorganization:

- 2/28 &                    Kabashima & Steel, Chaps. 3-4-5  
3/2
- Pempel, "Between Pork and Productivity: The Decline of the LDP" *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 2010
- Steven Vogel, "Japan's Long Road to Competitive Politics," *Current History* (September 2010).
- Reed. Scheiner and Thies, "The End of LDP dominance and the rise of Party-Oriented Politics in Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 38, 2 (Summer 2012); pp. 353-276

D. The Rise, Rule and Demise of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)

- 3/7                        Kabashima & Steel, Chap. 6
- Kushida, Kenji E., and Phillip Y. Lipscy. 2013. "The Rise and Fall of the Democratic Party of Japan." In *Japan Under the DPJ: The Politics of Transition and Governance*, edited by Kenji E. Kushida and Phillip Y. Lipscy. Stanford: Brookings/APARC
- What went Wrong with the DPP? In Gannon and Sahashi, *Leadership*, pp. 108-130
- Richard Katz, "DPJ Lost, LDP Did Not Win," *Oriental Economist* (August 2010), 5-6.

**3/9: Second Prelim in class**

E. The Return of the LDP and the Second Coming of Abe

- 3/14                        John Nilsson-Wright and Kiichi Fujiwara, "Japan's Abe Administration: Steering a Course Between Pragmatism and Extremism," *Asia Programme* | September 2015

Jain, “What’s Next after Abe’s Supermajority in the Upper House?” East Asia Forum, July 2016 at <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/07/12/whats-next-after-abes-supermajority-in-the-upper-house>

David McNeil, “False Dawn: The War on Watchdog Journalism in Japan,” in Kushida, Kasuya, and Kawabata, eds., *Information Governance in Japan* (2016).

**PART V: CONTEMPORARY POLICY: PROBLEMS, DIRECTIONS AND DEBATES:** This section will explore several important areas where new directions are being pursued and/or politically relevant debates are taking place. These are likely to shape the future course of Japan’s political economy and society.

A. Economics:

3/16 Nobel, “Japan’s Economic Crisis: More Chronic than Acute—So Far,” in Pempel & Bong, 53-80

Grimes, “Japan’s Fiscal Challenge: The Political Economy of Reform,” in Pempel & Bong, 81-103.

Vogel, Japan Remodeled. Pp. 1-11, 22-50, 205-224

Maclachlan and Shimizu, “Reforming Japan’s Greying Agricultural Sector,” East Asia Forum, Aug. 29, 2016 at <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/08/19/reforming-japans-greying-agricultural-sector>.

B. Social Welfare:

3/21 Estevez-Abe Welfare and Capitalism in Postwar Japan, pp. 1-50

Esping-Andersen, “Hybrid or Unique? Japanese Welfare State...” Journal of European Social Policy, 1997: 179-189

C. Demography: Social and Economic Trap?

3/23 Kelly and White, “Students, Slackers, Singles, Seniors, and strangers” in Katzenstein and Shiraishi (eds.) Beyond Japan (pp. 63-84).

Sawako Shirahase, "Demography as Destiny: Falling Birthrates and the Allure of a Blended Society," in Baldwin and Allison, eds., *Japan: The Precarious Future* (2015), 11-35.

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

Schoppa, Leonard, "Policies for an Aging, Low Fertility Society," in Handbook of Japanese Politics, Routledge, pp. 201-212

### **March 28, March 30 SPRING BREAK**

#### **D. Gender:**

4/4 Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 178-205.

Devin Stewart, "Abenomics Meets Womenomics: Transforming the Japanese Workplace," *Foreign Affairs Letter* (January 29, 2015).

Kathy Matsui, "Womenomics 4.0: Time to Walk the Talk," Portfolio Strategy Research, Goldman Sachs, pp. 1-33

Yoshisuke Iinuma, "Daycare Dilemma," *Oriental Economist* (April 2016), 10-12.

#### **E. Energy:**

4/6 Jeff Kingston, "Ousting Kan Naoto: The Politics of Nuclear Crisis and Renewable Energy in Japan," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol 9, Issue 39 No 5, September 26, 2011  
<http://japanfocus.org/-Jeff-Kingston/3610/article.html>

Andrew DeWit, "Fallout From the Fukushima Shock: Japan's Emerging Energy Policy," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol 9, Issue 45 No 5, November 7, 2011  
<http://japanfocus.org/-Andrew-DeWit/3645/article.html>

David Aldrich, Rethinking Civil Society-State Relations in Japan after the Fukushima Incident, *Polity* (2013) pp. 249-264.

## PART VI: Japan in the Asian Region

### A. Regional Engagement

4/11 Christensen, Asger Rajie, “Cool Japan, Soft Power,” Global Asia: 6, 1 (Spring, 2011): 76-81

Goh, “How Japan matters in the evolving East Asian security order,” International Affairs, 87:4, pp. 887-902.

T.J. Pempel, “Back to the Future? Japan’s Search for a Meaningful New Role in the Emerging Regional Order,” *Asian Perspective* (2015), 361-380.

### B. Foreign Policy:

4/13 Auslin, Michael, “The US-Japan Alliance and Japan’s Future,” in Pempel & Bong: 235-254.

Pempel, T.J. “An Economic Step toward Revitalizing Japan and US-Japan Ties,” in Pempel & Bong, 255-280.

Ogumi Eiji, “Recent Trends in Right-Wing Historical Revisionism in Japan,” Social Science, Japan, #30- (Dec. 2004); 8-10

### D. Security, Defense and Revisionism:

4/18 “Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force—Dance,” 2006 recruitment video at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZjAXJaFydwM>

“Japanese Navy Recruiting Ad—2014” (read accompanying text) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k4WEGUuq\\_ck](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k4WEGUuq_ck)

Samuels, Securing Japan: The Current Debate *JJS* 33, 1, Winter 2007 pp.125-152.

Gerald Curtis. 2013. “Japan's Cautious Hawks: Why Tokyo Is Unlikely to Pursue an Aggressive Foreign Policy.” *Foreign Affairs* March/April.

Adam Liff, “Japan’s Defense Policy: Abe the Evolutionary,” *Washington Quarterly* (2015), 79-99.

Jennifer Lind, “Making Up Isn’t Hard to Do: How Japan and South Korea Can Move On,” *Foreign Affairs*, March 5, 2015 at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/east-asia/2015-03-05/making-isnt-hard-do>

## 4/20 PAPER DUE

### E. Regional Worries: China, North Korea, Russia?

4/20 Malcolm Cook, “Northeast Asia’s Turbulent Triangle: Korea, China, Japan Relations,” Lowy Institute for International Policy, January 2014.

Satoshi, “Senkaku Islands Dispute” Japan Forum at <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2010/10/25/the-senkaku-islands-incident-and-japan-china-relations/#more-14776>

Masami Ito, “Russian-Held Isles: So Near, So Far,” *Japan Times* (January 18, 2011).

### CONCLUSION:

#### A Where are we Now? Where is Japan Going?

4/25 Selected news clips based on most recent Japanese developments

B. 4/27 Concluding Lecture—no required readings