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**Japanese Politics and Diplomacy (Tentative)**

**Fall 2021**

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Offered at: GSIS, Seoul National University

Taught by: **Professor Cheol Hee Park**

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Office Hour: By appointment (Email)

Conducted in: **English**

**Time: Thursday 14:00-17:00**

Venue: **Room 202 @ Bldg. 140-1**

T.A. : Jinseo Kim (jinseo9628@snu.ac.kr)

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**Course Objectives**:

 This course is designed to give an overall picture of contemporary Japanese party politics and diplomacy. Mostly postwar period of Japan would be covered in this course. Topics in this course encompass such issues as how postwar Japan is different from the prewar Japan; why and how the 1955 system develop and decline; why Japan experienced major transformation in the 1990s; why the LDP once lost power and how Abe changed Japan; what the basic nature of Japanese foreign and security policy is; and, how the Japanese civic organizations and public opinions shift over time.

**Course Prerequisites**:

 There are no prior perquisites for this course. Though students are not required to have Japanese proficiency, some Japanese and Korean materials have been assigned. Students can gain more wisdom if they know Korean and Japanese. Also, if students are equipped with political science jargons, they can get more from this course. However, one does not have to be a political scientist to take this course.

**Course Materials**:

Course materials would be uploaded at the ETL. Students are supposed to access the ETL and get necessary materials in time for the class.

**Group Composition**

 Students are supposed to be divided into THREE groups to collect primary materials for the discussion after lecture. They are expected to assume equal burden among members.

**Requirements and Evaluation:**

Attendance: 20 percent

Group Presentation: 30 percent

Final Research Paper: 50 percent (Final Paper: 12 Pages)

**Organization of the Classes**

***September 2. Introduction and Course Overview***

**<Recommended Readings>**

Cheol Hee Park, “Japanese Political Studies in South Korea,” *Japanese Journal of*

 *Political Science* (2010)

Cheol Hee Park, “미국의 전략적 이해와 일본정치연구“ 국제지역연구 (2004)”

 Takashi Inoguchi, “Japanese Political Studies in Japan,” (unpublished)

***September 9. 1955 system in Comparative Historical Context***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* What is the essence of postwar reform under the American occupation?
* What made U.S.-Japan relations change fundamentally?
* How could LDP maintain long-term stable political dominance under the 1955 system?

**<Required Readings>**

 John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of the World War II* (New York: The

 New Press, 1999), chapter 2.

박철희, “전후 개혁의 이중성과 보혁 갈등의 원점,” 박철희 지음 <자민당 정권과

 체제의 변용> (서울: 서울대출판문화원, 2011), 57-112쪽.

Gerald Curtis, *The Japanese Way of Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press,

1988), chapter 1.

**<Recommended Readings>**

Kent Calder, *Crisis and Compensation: Public Policy and Political Stability in Japan, 1949-*

 *1986* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), chapters 4.

Michael Schaller, *Altered States: The United States and Japan since the Occupation* (New

York: Oxford University Press, 1997), chapter 1.

Rieko Kage, *Civic Engagement in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

 Press, 2010), chapters 2-3.

Carol Gluck, “The Past in the Present,” in Andrew Gordon, ed. *Postwar Japan as*

 *History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp.64-98.

Kazuo Kawai, *Japan’s American Interlude* (Chicago: The University of Chicago

 Press, 1960)

Theodore Cohen, *Remaking Japan: The American Occupation as New Deal* (New

York: Free Press, 1987)

 Mark Caprio and Yoneyuki Sugita, *Democracy in Occupied Japan* (New York:

 Routledge, 2007), chapters 3 & 5.

***September 16. Lost Two Decades?***

***: Transformation of Japanese Society in the 1990s and 2000s.***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* What are the changed features of LDP-centered politics in the 1990s and 2000s?
* How have Japanese corporations adapted to changed economic environments?
* What does the collapse of middle class mean for Japanese society?

**<Required Readings>**

 Cheol Hee Park, “Three-layered Structure of Japan’s Conservative Political Shift,”

*Seoul Journal of Japanese Studies* 1:1 (2015), pp. 1-28.

 김현철, <저성장 어떻게 돌파할 것인가?> (서울: 다산북스, 2015)

 吉見俊哉、「平成史講義」（東京：ちくま新書、2019）, pp. 185-244.

**<Recommended Readings>**

Cheol Hee Park, ”Dynamics of Regime Transformation in Japan in the 1990s,”

 *Japanese Journal of Political Science* (2004)

T.J.Pempel, “Between Pork and Productivity: The Collapse of the Liberal

Democratic Party,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 36:2 (Summer 2010), pp.227-

254.

Gerald Curtis, *The Logic of Japanese Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press,

1999), chapters 3 & 5.

Ethan Scheiner, *Democracy without Competition in Japan* (New York: Cambridge

 University Press, 2006), chapters 5 & 6.

 Junko Kato, “When the Party Breaks Up: Exit and Voice among Japanese

 Legislators,” *American Political Science Review* 92:4 (1998), pp. 857-870.

 Gerald Curtis, *Election Campaigning Japanese-style* (Tokyo: Kodansha International,

 1971).

 Bradley Richardson, *Japanese Democracy: Power, Coordination and Performance* (New

 Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), introduction.

 J.J. Stockwin, *Governing Japan: Divided Politics in a Resurgent Economy* (Oxford:

 Blackwell Publishers, 1999). Chapter 9.

 Mark Ramseyer and Frances Rosenbluth, *Japan’s Political marketplace* (Cambridge:

 Harvard University Press, 1993), chapters 2 & 6.

 Masaru Kohno, *Japan’s Postwar Party Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

 1997), chapter 8.

 Raymond Christensen, *Ending the LDP Hegemony* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii

 Press, 2000), chapters 1 & 2.

Margarita Estevez-Abe, “Japan’s Shift toward a Westminster System,” *Asian Survey*

 46:4 (July/August 2006), pp. 632-651.

T.J. Pempel, *Regime Shift* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), chapter 5.

 Aiji Tanaka and Sherry Martin, “The New Independent Voters and the Evolving

 Japanese Party System,” *Asian Perspective* 27:3 (2003), pp. 21-51.

 Steven Reed and Kay Shimizu, “Avoiding a Two-Party System: The Liberal

Democratic Party versus Duverger’s Law,” in Steven Reed, Kenneth McElwain, and Kay Shimizu, eds. *Political Change in Japan* (Stanford: APARC, 2009), pp.29-46.

 Imai Ryosuke and Ikuo Kabashima, “LDP’s Defeat in Crucial Single-seat

 Constituencies of the 2007 Upper House Election,” *Social Science Japan Journal,* 11:2 (Winter 2008), pp. 277-293.

Michael Green, “The Democratic Party of Japan and the Future of the U.S.-Japan

 Alliance,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 37:1 (Winter 2011), pp.91-116.

Miura, Lee, and Weiner, 2005, “Who are the DPJ?: Policy Positioning and

Recruitment Strategy,” *Asian Perspective*, 29(1): 49-77.

 Cheol Hee Park, “Bloodless Revolution,” *Global Asia* (January 2010)

T.J. Pempel, *Regime Shift* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), chapter 5.

 Aiji Tanaka and Sherry Martin, “The New Independent Voters and the Evolving

 Japanese Party System,” *Asian Perspective* 27:3 (2003), pp. 21-51.

 Imai Ryosuke and Ikuo Kabashima, “LDP’s Defeat in Crucial Single-seat

 Constituencies of the 2007 Upper House Election,” *Social Science Japan Journal,* 11:2 (Winter 2008), pp. 277-293.

Michael Green, “The Democratic Party of Japan and the Future of the U.S.-Japan

 Alliance,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 37:1 (Winter 2011), pp.91-116.

Miura, Lee, and Weiner, 2005, “Who are the DPJ?: Policy Positioning and

Recruitment Strategy,” *Asian Perspective*, 29(1): 49-77.

 Cheol Hee Park, “Bloodless Revolution,” *Global Asia* (January 2010)

Michael Green, “Japan’s Confused Revolution” *The Washington Quarterly* 33:1

 (January 2010), pp. 3-19.

 Yoichi Funabashi, “Tokyo’s Trials,” *Foreign Affairs* 88:6 (Nov/Dec. 2009)

Kenneth Mori and McElwain and Steven Reed, “Japanese Politics in the Koizumi

Era: Temporary Anomaly or a Paradigm Shift,” in Steven Reed, Kenneth McElwain, and Kay Shimizu, eds. *Political Change in Japan* (Stanford: APARC, 2009), pp.281-292.

***September 23. Electoral Reform and LDP-Komei Coalition in Progress***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* What has been changed after the introduction of electoral reform in Japan?
* Why did Komei coalesce with the LDP instead of other parties?
* How did opposition parties reshuffle to survive?
	+ Rise and Decline of the DPJ

**<Required Readings>**

Adam Liff and Ko Maeda, “Electoral Incentives, Policy Compromise, and Coalition

Durability: Japan’s LDP-Komeito Government in a Mixed Electoral System,” *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 20 (2019), pp. 53-73.

Sukeui Sohn, “Sustaining Coalition through Adaptive Electoral Alliance: Komeito’s

Local Adjustment Mechanism in Electoral Cooperation with the LDP,” *Journal of International and Area Studies* (December 2019)

 中北浩爾,　「自公政権とは何か」（東京：ちくま新書、2019）pp. 255-302.

**<Recommended Readings>**

손석의, “아베시대의 자민당 공명당 연합정권: 보완과 견제의 역학,” <일본비평>

 25호. (2021년 8월)

Steven Reed and Kay Shimizu, “Avoiding a Two-Party System: The Liberal

Democratic Party versus Duverger’s Law,” in Steven Reed, Kenneth McElwain, and Kay Shimizu, eds. *Political Change in Japan* (Stanford: APARC, 2009), pp.29-46.

Ellis Krauss and Robert Pekkanen, “The Rise and Fall of Japan’s Liberal Democratic

 Party,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 69:1 (February 2010), pp.5-15.

 Cheol Hee Park, “Shifting Policy Axes of the DPJ and Reversal of Inter-Party

Competition,” in Cheol Hee Park. ed. *The Rise and Fall of the DPJ* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2014) (in Korean)

 Kenji Kushida and Phillip Lipscy, “The Rise and Fall of the Democratic Party of

Japan,” in Kenji Kushida and Phillip Lipscy. eds. *Japan under the DPJ* (Stanford: APRAC, 2013), pp. 3-44.

***September 30. Abe’s Conservative Political Agendas and Policy Reversals***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* How would you categorize Abe’s political line in the streams of thoughts?
* What made Abe popular among the general public?
* What are the main agendas under Abe’s leadership?

**<Required Readings>**

Richard Samuels, “Securing Japan: The Current Discourse,” *Journal of Japanese*

 *Studies* 33:1 (2007), pp. 125-152.

 박철희 “아베시대의 대전환: 자민당 지배 공고화를 통해 탈전후하는 일본,”

 일본비평 25호 (2021년 8월), 180-205쪽.

이창민, “디플레이션 탈출을 겨냥한 아베노믹스,” 박철희 엮음 <아베시대 일본의

 국가전략> (서울: 서울대학교 출판문화원, 2018), 237-272쪽.

**<Recommended Readings>**

 Cheol Hee Park, “Basic Directions of Abe’s External Strategy,” in Cheol Hee Park.

 ed. *Power Shift in East Asia and Changes in Japan’s External Strategy* (Seoul:

 East Asia Foundation, 2014) (in Korean)

Shinichi Kitaoka, “Peace in the Modern Era and the Right of Collective Self-Defense,”

 *Asia Pacific Review* 20:2 (November 2013), 81-95.

Richard Samuels, *3.11: Disaster and Change in Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press,

 2013)

***October 7. Power Concentration***

***: from Bureaucratic Dominance to Prime Minister’s Office***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* What made it possible for Japan’s LDP to shift power from bureaucrats to politicians?
* What are main mechanisms to strengthen Prime Minister’s office?
* What are the negative side-effects of power concentration?

**<Required Readings>**

竹中治堅、「首相支配」（東京：中公新書、2006）, pp. 103-138.

 飯尾潤、「日本の統治構造」（東京：中公新書、2007）, pp. 3-34 & 173-210.

**박지선, “아베정부하 당정관계의 권력집중화,” <일본비평> 25호 (2021년 8월)**

**이주경, “수상관저의 관료통제와 관저 주도 정치의 확립,” <일본비평> 25호 (2021**

 **년 8월)**

***October 14. Factions within the LDP and Power Struggle***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* What are main functions of the factions in LDP?
* What aspects of faction functions have been weakened over time?
* How does the coalition among factions affect LDP presidential elections?

**<Required Readings>**

Cheol Hee Park, “Factional Dynamics in Japan’s LDP since Political Reform,” *Asian*

 *Survey* 41:3 (2001)

 中北浩爾、「自民党：一強の実像」（東京：中公新書、2017), pp. 3-46

**경제희, “아베의 장기집권과 자민당의 파벌구도,” 일본비평 25호 (2021년 8월)**

***October 21. Elections in Japan: Past Records and Current Performance***

 ***<Investigative Topic>***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* Has LDP been strengthened after Abe’s leadership?
* How would you access LDP’s performance in the recent general election compared to the past records?
* Do opposition parties perform as expected or better than expected?

***October 28 Mid-term Essay: Why and How of the New Japanese Cabinet***

***November 4. Japan’s Regional Diplomatic Initiative***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* Why did Japan take an active initiative to lead the Indo-Pacific strategy?
* How does the Indo-Pacific initiative affect U.S.-Japan relations?
* Impact of the Indo-Pacific initiative on Japan-China ties

**<Required Readings>**

 Yuichi Hosoya, “FOIP 2.0: The Evolution of Japan’s Free and Open Indo-Pacific

 Strategy,” *Asia-Pacific Review* 26:1 (May 2019), pp. 18-28.

 Kai Schultze, “Japan’s New Assertiveness: Institutional Change and Japan’s

 Securitization of China,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 18 (2018),

pp. 221-247.

 H.D.P. Envall, “The Abe Doctrine: Japan’s New Regional Realism,” *International*

 *Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 20 (2020), pp. 31-59.

**<Recommended Readings>**

William Grimes, “Institutionalized Inertia: Japanese Foreign Policy in the Post Cold

War World,” in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, eds. *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 353-386.

 Takashi Inoguchi and Paul Bacon, “Rethinking Japan as an Ordinary Country,” in G.

John Ikenberry and Chung-in Moon, eds. *The United States and Northeast Asia* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), pp. 79-98.

 Tomohito Shinoda, *Koizumi Diplomacy: Japan’s Kantei Approach to Foreign and Defense*

 *Affairs* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), chapters, 2,4,6.

Yuihchi Hosoya, “Japan’s Two Strategies for East Asia,” *Asia-Pacific Review* 20:2

 (November 2013), pp. 146-156.

Eric Heginbotham and Richard Samuels, “Mercantile Realism and Japanese Foreign

 Policy,” *International Security* 22:4 (Spring 1998).

Jennifer Lind, “Pacifism or Passing the Buck? Testing Theories of Japanese Security

 Policy,” *International Security* 29:1 (Summer 2004), pp. 92-121.

 David Arase, “Japan, the Active State: Security Policy after 9/11,” *Asian Survey* 47:4

 (July/August 2007), pp. 560-583.

Richard Samuels*, Securing Japan: Tokyo’s Grand Strategy and the Future of East*

 *Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), chapter 1.

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

 York: Public Affairs, 2009), chapter 9.

 Thomas Berger, “From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan’s Culture of Anti-

 Militarism,” *International Security* 17:4 (Spring 1993), pp. 119-150.

 Yoshinobu Yamamoto, “Japan’s Activism Lite: Bandwagoning the United States,” in

Byung-kook Kim and Anthony Jones, eds. *Power and Security in Northeast Asia* (New York: Lyle and Rienner, 2007), pp. 127-166.

Natsuyo Ishibashi, “The Dispatch of Japan’s Self-Defense Forces to Iraq,” *Asian*

 *Survey* 47:5 (September/Ocotber 2007), pp. 766-789.

 Andrew Oros, *Normalizing Japan: Politics, Identity and the Evolution of Security Practice*

 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008)

 Christopher Hughes, *Japan’s Remilitarization* (London: IISS, 2009), chapters 1 & 6.

***November 11. Japan’s Collective Self-Defense: Radical Shift or Evolution***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* Why did Japan introduce the right of collective self-defense?
* What can be done and cannot be done under the newly-introduced right of collective defense?
* What are the constraints codified in the enacted law?

**<Required Readings>**

 Christopher W. Hughes, “Japan’s Strategic Trajectory and Collective Self-

Defense: Essential Continuity or Radical Shift?” *The Journal of Japanese Studies*

43:1 (Winter 2017): 93-126.

Adam P. Liff, “Japan’s Defense Policy: Abe the Evolutionary,” *The Washington Quarterly* 38:2 (2015), pp. 79-99.

Sheila Smith, *Japan Rearmed: The Politics of Military Power* (Cambridge: Harvard

 University Press, 2019) Introduction and Conclusion.

**<Recommended Readings>**

George Packard, “The U.S.-Japan Security Treaty at 50 Still a Grand Bargain,”

 *Foreign Affairs* 89:2 (Mar/April 2010)

Michael Green, *Japan’s Reluctant Realism* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), chapters 1 & 9.

Thomas Berger, Mike Mochizuki, and Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, *Japan in International*

 *Politics: the Foreign Policies of an Adaptive State* (Boulder: Lynn Rienner, 2007),

 concluding chapter

 Mike Mochizuki, “American and Japanese Strategic Debates: The Need for a New

Synthesis,” in Mike Mochizuki, ed. *Toward a True Alliance* (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 1997), pp. 43-82.

***November 18. Security-related Laws: Implications for the Region***

 ***<Investigative Topic>***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* What are three kinds of contingencies against Japan?
* What are the realm of actions by the Japanese Self-Defense Forces in each cases?
* What are constraints imposed by law?

***November 25. Civic Organizations in Movement***

 ***<Investigative Topic>***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* How would you access the emergence of right-wing organizations in Japan after the 1990s?
* Why have progressive social movements in Japan weakened over time?
* How are civic organizations connected to political circles in Japan?

**<Required Readings>**

구유진, “아베정권과 보수시민사회: 일본회의의 정책제언활동을 중심으로,” <일본

 비평> 25호 (2021년 8월)

Tahara Yoshifumi, “What is the Aim of Nippon Kaigi, the Ultra-right Organization

that Supports Japan’s Abe Administration,*” Asia-Pacific Journal Japan Focus* 15 (2017), available at <http://apjjf.org/2017/21/Tawara.html>.

**<Recommended Readings>**

 Jennifer Lind, *Sorry State: Apologies in International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University

 Press, 2008), chapter 2.

 Cheol Hee Park, “Historical Memory and the Resurgence of Nationalism: A Korean

Perspective,” in Tsuyoshi Hasegawa and Kazuhiko Togo, eds. *East Asia’s Haunted Present* (Westport: Prager Security International, 2008), pp. 190-204.

 Kimura Kan, “How Can We Cope With Historical Disputes?” in Marie Soderberg,

ed. *Changing Power Relations in Northeast Asia* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp.19-38.

Mikyoung Kim, “Myths, Milieu, and Facts: History Textbook Controversies in

 Northeast Asia,” in Tsuyoshi Hasegawa and Kazuhiko Togo, eds. *East Asia’s*

 *Haunted Present* (Westport: Prager Security International, 2008), pp.94-118.

Cheol Hee Park, “Getting Out or Getting In: U.S. Strategic Options in the Historical

Controversy between Its Allies,” in Gilbert Rozman, ed. *U.S. Leadership, History, and Bilateral Relations in Northeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 124-142.

* ***Final Paper Proposal (one page summary) due on November 25***

***(Bring a hard copy.)***

***December 2. Shifting Public Opinions and Perceptions***

 ***<Investigative Topic>***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* **Trends of opinions conducted by Cabinet Affairs Office**
* **Opinion surveys conducted by major news medias**
* **Opinion surveys conducted by think-tanks**

***December 9. Korea-Japan Relations in Domestic Political Context***

**[Questions for Discussion]**

* Why and how are Korea-Japan relations affected by domestic politics in Japan?
* How would you access up and down of the bilateral ties in domestic political context?
* What is the way to improve ties between Korea and Japan?

**<Required Readings>**

Cheol Hee Park, “Sour Partners: Japan and South Korea’s Uncomfortable

 Compromise for Cooperation,” in James Brown and Jeff Kingston. eds.

*Japan’s Foreign Relations in Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2018): 218-232.

 木宮正史、「日韓関係史」（東京：岩波新書、2021）, pp. 181-214.

* ***Final Paper Due by Noon on December 16 (No late submission is allowed.)***