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**Japanese Politics and Diplomacy**

**Fall 2016**

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Offered at: GSIS, Seoul National University

Taught by: **Professor Cheol Hee Park**

Room 508, Bldg.140-1 or Room 404, Bldg 140 (IJS)

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Office Hour: By appointment (Email)

Conducted in: **English**

**Time: Wednesday 09:00-12:00**

Venue: **Room 201 @ Bldg. 140-2**

T.A. : Miran Park ([loveme1301@snu.ac.kr](mailto:loveme1301@snu.ac.kr)) @ Bldg 140-1

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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 it came back to power; what the basic nature of Japanese foreign and security policy is; and, how the Japanese define their national identity and strategy.

**Course Prerequisites**:

There are no prior perquisites for this course. Also students are not required to have knowledge about the Japanese language, though students can gain more if they know the 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 Packet**:

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 period: 12 Pages)

**Organization of the Classes**

**September 7. Introduction and Course Overview**

<Required Readings>

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

*Political Science* (2010 forthcoming).

<Recommended Readings>

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

Takashi Inoguchi, “Japanese Political Studies in Japan,” (unpublished)

***September 14. Thanksgivings Holiday***

**September 19. Japan’s Postwar Reconfiguration (make-up class: 09:00-12:00)**

<Required Readings>

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

New Press, 1999), chapter 2.

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.

<Recommended Readings>

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.

[Questions for Discussion]

* Changing Interpretation of Article 9 after Its Inception, including Collective Self-Defense
* Development of Self Defense Forces between 1954 and 2014
  + Personnel, Weapons, Expenditure
* Basic Education Law
  + 1947 and 2007

**September 28. The 1955 System and Restructuring throughout the 1990s and 2000s**

<Required Readings>

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

1988), chapter 1.

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

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

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

*Survey* 41:3 (2001)

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.

<Recommended Readings>

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.

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

*Japanese Journal of Political Science* (2004)

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.

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

*Survey* 41:3 (2001)

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

*Japanese Journal of Political Science* (2004)

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)

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.

[Questions for Discussion]

* Varying Seats of LDP and Opposition Parties
  + 1965, 1975, 1985, 1992
* Lineages of LDP Factions and Their Size
  + Five Major Factions
* Party Reshuffling between 1993 and 1998
  + LDP Break-up and Party Coalitions
* Integration of Opposition Parties between 1998 and 2007
  + Party Integration except JCP

**October 5. Investigative Research Session**

***“Political and Social Change in the 1990s and after”***

**October 12. DPJ’s Failure and LDP’s Return to Power**

<Required Readings>

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.

<Recommended Readings>

[Questions for Discussion]

* Changing Numbers of Seats among Major Parties
  + Elections in 2000, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2012
* Divisions and Splits within the DPJ
* Political Party Reconfiguration in 2012 and after

**October 19. Abe’s Political Dream and Policy Objectives**

<Required 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.

<Recommended Readings>

Yoshihide Soeya, *Japan as a Middle Power*

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

2013)

[Questions for Discussion]

* Essence of Abenomics: Three Arrows
* Controversies about Constitutional Change and Public Opinion
  + Changing Support for Constitutional Change
* Reinterpretation of Collective Self-Defense
  + Debates among Parties
  + Applicable Cases under Consideration

**October 26. Debates on Japanese Security Policy**

<Required Readings>

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: The Current Discourse,” *Journal of Japanese*

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

<Recommended Readings>

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.

[Questions for Discussion]

* Japan’s Defense Budget in Comparison
  + International and Historical
* Composition of Japanese Self-Defense Forces: Land, Sea, Air
  + International Comparison
* Exclusive Defense and Basic Defense Capability
  + Exclusive Defense in Action or More

***November 2. Short Paper***

***“How Do You Access Security Policy Change after mid-1990s?”***

**November 9. Transformation of Japanese Foreign Policy**

<Required 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.

<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.

[Questions for Discussion]

* Diverse Meanings of Japan as an Ordinary Country
  + Ozawa and Others
* Shifting Japan’s Policy toward China
* Overseas Dispatch of Self-Defense Forces: Between 1992 and 2014
  + PKO Law in 1992 and Koizumi’s Dispatch to Iraq

**November 16. Japan in Asian Regionalism**

<Required Readings>

Gilbert Rozman, “Internationalism and Asianism in Japanese Strategic Thought

from Meiji to Heisei,” *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 9:2 (August 2008),

pp.209-232.

Yul Sohn, “Japan’s New Regionalism: China Shock, Values and the East Asian

Community,” *Asian Survey* 50:3 (May/June 2010), pp. 497-519.

Chien-Peng Chung, “Japan’s Involvement in Asia Centered Regional Forums in the

Context of Relations with China and the U.S.,” *Asian Survey* 51:3 (May/June 2011), pp. 407-428.

Akiko Fukushima, “Japan’s Perspective on Asian Regionalism,” in Michael Green

and Bates Gill, eds. *Asia’s New Multilateralism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), pp. 103-127.

<Recommended Readings>

Michael Green, “Japan in Asia,” in David Shambaugh and Michael Yahuda, eds.

*International Relations of Asia* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), pp. 170-194.

Richard Samuels, “Japan’s Goldilocks Strategy,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Autumn

2006)

Kenneth B. Pyle, *The Japanese Question: Power and Purpose in a New Era* (Washington

DC: AEI Press, 1996)

[Questions for Discussion]

* Japanese Identity as Being Asian
  + Fukuzawa Yukichi and Asian Barometer Survey
* Japan’s FTA and TPP Strategy in Regional Context
  + Regional Economic Strategy in Action
* Japan’s Entry into Regional Multilateralism with and without China
  + Avoiding China?

**November 23. Identity Politics and Perception of History in Japanese Political Context**

<Required 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.

<Recommended Readings>

Debating Sorry States, Journal of East Asian Studies

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

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

[Questions for Discussion]

* Diversified Conception of the Past War among Political Groups
  + Hawkish Right-wings
  + Liberals
* Changing Description of Territorial Controversies in Japanese Textbook and Defense White Paper
  + History and Society Textbook after 2001
  + Defense White Paper
* Apologies and Backlashes
  + Kono and Murayama Declarations

* ***Final Paper Proposal (one page summary) due on November 23 (Bring a hard copy.)***

**November 30. Investigative Research Session**

***“Domestic Politics of Japanese External Strategies”***

**December 7. Investigative Research Session**

**“Understanding Japanese Politics from the Korean Standpoint”**

* ***Final Paper Due by Noon on December 14 (No late submission is allowed.)***