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**Japanese Politics and Diplomacy**

**Fall 2022**

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Offered at: GSIS, Seoul National University

Taught by: **Professor Cheol Hee Park**

Email: chpark82@snu.ac.kr

Office Hour: By appointment (Email)

Conducted in: **English**

**Time: Tuesday 14:00-17:00**

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

T.A. : **Brian Hyunjun Kim** [colorado96@snu.ac.kr](mailto:colorado96@snu.ac.kr)

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**Course Objectives**:

This course is designed to give a comprehensive overview of the Japanese politics and diplomacy under the Abe administration. Considering that Japanese politics was driven to a different direction under the former Prime Minister Abe, this course focuses on the Abe period in the context of the postwar political development in Japan.

**Course Prerequisites**:

There are no prior perquisites for this course. Though students are not required to have Japanese proficiency, Japanese and Korean materials would be included as reading materials. Students can gain more wisdom if they read Korean and Japanese materials. Course materials would be uploaded at the ETL in a timely manner.

**Group Composition**

Students are supposed to be divided into THREE groups to collect primary materials for presentation and discussion each week. All students are expected to assume equal burden among members.

**Evaluation:**

Attendance: 20 percent

Presentation: 30 percent

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

**Course Organization**

***September 6. Why and How: Concentration on the Abe Period***

**<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.

Daniel Sneider, ”Will Abe Shinzo’s Death Give His Agenda New Life?” *The Christian*

*Science Monitor* (July 11, 2022)

Cheol Hee Park, “The Double Life of Abe Shinzo,” *Global Asia* (June 20, 2013)

***Return of Abe as Political Leader***

***September 13. Revisiting Failures of the DPJ Administration***

**<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.

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.

박철희 편, 일본 민주당의 성공과 실패 (서울대학교 출판문화원), 1 & 4장.

**<Recommended Readings>**

Cheol Hee Park, “Bloodless Revolution: How DPJ's Win Will Change Japan,” *Global*

*Asia* (January 08, 2010)

**<Research Questions>**

1. Why and how did DPJ fail to handle consumption tax increase in a proper way?
2. What caused major troubles in coping with Fukushima nuclear plant accident in 2011?
3. How did the Senkaku dispute transform DPJ’s foreign and security policy?

***September 20. Abe as a Visionary: Restructuring Japan***

**<Required Readings>**

安倍晋三、「新しい国へ」（文春新書、2013）, 7-46쪽, 235-254쪽.

Christopher Hughes, Alesso Patalano, and Robert Ward, “Japan’s Grand Strategy: The

Abe Era and Its Aftermath,” *Survival* 63:1 (2021), pp. 125-160.

Tobias Harris, The Iconoclast: Shinzo Abe and New Japan (London: Hurst &

Company, 2020), pp. 209-226, 247-268, 311-326.

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

비평> 제25호 (2021년 하반기), 180-205쪽.

**<Recommended Readings>**

Abe Shinzo Remarks at CSIS, Washington DC, on 22 February 22, 2013. “Japan Is Back,”

<https://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/pm/us_20130222en.html>.

Christopher Hughes, “Japan’s Grand Strategic Shift: From a Yoshida Doctrine to an

Abe Doctrine?” in Ashley J. Tellis, Alison M. Szalwinski and Michael Wills (eds), *Strategic Asia 2017-18: Power, Ideas and Military Strategy in the Asia-Pacific* (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2017), pp. 72-105.

Jennifer Lind, “Why Shinzo Abe Thought Japan Had To Change,” Foreign Affairs

(July 12, 2022)

박철희, “아베 시대의 일본: 무엇이 어떻게 달라지고 있는가?” 박철희 외 지음,

<아베시대 일본의 국가전략> (서울대 출판문화원, 2018), 15-34쪽.

渡辺治、「安倍政権と日本政治の新段階」（東京：旬報社、2013）, 85-120쪽.

**<Research Questions>**

1. How and why did Abe define Japan’s new identity as ‘beautiful new Japan’? How is it different from Japan of the previous period?
2. What is the Abe’s way of making Japan strong and resilient again?
3. In what way did Abe try to change the so-called Yoshida doctrine? What did the postwar regime mean to Abe?

***Abe’s Thoughts and Policy Agendas***

***September 27. Abenomics Plus for Economic Revival: Comprehensive Kits***

**<Required Readings>**

Chang-Min Lee, “The Abe Administration’s Attempt to Escape from Deflation

through Abenomics,” *Seoul Journal of Japanese Studies* Vol.4 No.1 (2018), pp. 37-63.

Takatoshi Ito, “An Assessment of Abenomics: Evolution and Achievements,” *Asian*

*Economic Policy Review* 16 (2021), pp. 190-219.

송지연, “저출산 고령화 사회 대응을 위한 아베 정부의 노동시장과 사회복지정책,”

한국과 국제정치 제38권 제2호 (2022년 여름), 93-124쪽.

조아라, “지역재생과 소비확대를 겨냥한 관광입국정책,” 박철희 외 지음 <아베 시

대, 일본의 국가전략> (서울대 출판문화원, 2018), 427-455쪽.

**<Recommended Readings>**

Inman Yeo, “Debating Abenomics,*” Seoul Journal of Japanese Studies* Vol.3, No.1

(2017), pp. 59-79.

Jiyeoun Song, “Economic Empowerment of Women as the Third Arrow of Abenomics,”

*Journal of International and Area Studies* 22:1 (Kune 2015), pp. 113-128.

이창민, “디플레이션 탈출을 겨냥한 아베노믹스,” 박철희 외 지음 <아베 시대, 일

본의 국가전략> (서울대 출판문화원, 2018), 237-272쪽.

송지연. “경제회생과 노동력 부족 극복을 위한 노동정책,” 박철희 외 지음 <아베

시대, 일본의 국가전략> (서울대 출판문화원, 2018), 391-426쪽.

**<Research Questions>**

1. What was the main economic problem areas that Abenomics tried to tackle?
2. In what sense was the Abenomics success and failure?
3. How was Abe’s approach toward gender and locality different from the previous administrations?

***October 4. Abe as Internationalist: Japan’s Proactive Diplomacy***

**<Required Readings>**

박철희, “동아시아 세력전이와 아베 내각의 대외전략 기조,” 박철희 엮음 <동아시

아 세력전이와 일본 대외전략의 변화> (동아시아재단, 2014), 17-58쪽.

Hugo Dobson, “Is Japan Really Back? The Abe Doctrine and Global Governance,”

*Journal of Contemporary Asia* 47:2 (2017), pp. 199-224.

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.

Shinichi Kitaoka and Akihiko Tanaka, eds. *Examining Heisei Japan: Diplomacy and*

*Security* (Japan Publishing Industry Foundation for Culture, 2021), pp. 171-186;

197-204

**<Recommended Readings>**

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

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

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.

**<Research Questions>**

1. What are the essential elements of the Indo-Pacific strategy for Japan?
2. How is South Korea located in the Indo-Pacific strategy and why?
3. How did Abe try to handle China question?

***October 11. Abe’s New National Security Strategy***

***: Beyond Yoshida Doctrine***

**<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 Liff,” Japan’s Security Policy in the Abe Era: Radical Transformation or

Evolutionary Shift?” *Texas National Security Review* 1:3 (May 2018).

Nakanishi Hiroshi, “Reorienting Japan? Security Transformation under the Second

Abe Cabinet,” *Asian Perspective* 39:3 (2015), pp. 405-421.

박영준, “일본 아베 정부의 보통군사국가화 평가,” 박철희 엮음 <일본의 집단적 자위권 도입과 한반도> (서울대출판문화원, 2016), 74-116쪽.

**<Recommended Readings>**

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.

**<Research Questions>**

1. What constitutes the basis of Japan’s national security strategy under the Abe cabinet?
2. Does the introduction of the right of collective self-defense a violation of the Peace Constitution or not?
3. What are the focal points of changed defense strategy under the Abe cabinet?

***October 18. Abe as Nationalist***

**<Required Readings>**

오승희, “강한 일본을 위한 아시아의 타자화,” 박철희 외 지음,

<아베시대 일본의 국가전략> (서울대 출판문화원, 2018), 179-210쪽.

安倍晋三・百田尚樹、「日本よ、世界の真ん中で咲き誇れ」（東京：大日本印刷株

式会社、2013）, 35-49; 147-168쪽.

미야지마 히로시, “아베 담화에 나타난 일본의 역사인식과 그 비판,” <역사비평>

113호 (2015년 겨울호), 9-18쪽.

**<Recommended Readings>**

Prime Minister and His Cabinet, “Statement by Prime Minister Abe,” 14 August 2015.

<https://japan.kantei.go.jp/97_abe/statement/201508/0814statement.html>.

Kazuhiko Togo, “Comfort Women: Deep Polarization in Japan On Facts and On

Morality,” in Tsuyoshi Hasegawa and Kazuhiko Togo. Eds. East Asia’s Haunted Present: Historical Memories and the Resurgence of Nationalism (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2008), 142-162.

**<Research Questions>**

1. Why did Abe refuse to continue to apologize to neighbors?
2. What are Abe’s argument about comfort women issue?
3. In what manner the abductees issue help Abe to get popular support?

***October 25. Mid-term Essay***

***Power Dynamics during the Abe Period***

***November 1. Centralizing Power to PM Office***

**<Required Readings>**

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

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

년 8월)

牧原出、「安倍一強の謎」（東京：　朝日新書、2016）, 69-120쪽.

**<Recommended 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.

**<Research Questions>**

1. Under the Abe cabinet, how many staff members of the Prime Minister’s office and Cabinet Office have been increased?
2. Has the role of Chief Cabinet Secretary been changed under the Abe cabinet?
3. Did the PM office play a pivotal function in annual budget making?

***November 8. Restructuring Factional Dynamics***

**<Required Readings>**

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)

**<Research Questions>**

1. How has the size of each LDP factions been changed between 2012 and 2022?
2. How would you define the nature of factional coalition under the Abe cabinet? Who has been embraced and which faction has been isolated?
3. How could Abe stabilize the intra-party political struggle despite factional struggles? In what manner did he distribute portfolios of the party, cabinet and Diet?

***November 15. LDP-Komei Coalition***

**<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.

손석의, “아베 시대의 자민당 공명당 연합정권: 보완과 견제의 역학,”

<일본비평> 25호. (2021년 8월)

**<Research Questions>**

1. How did the LDP and Komeito make compromise about constitutional revision issue?
2. What are the policy areas that Komeito showed strength? How did Abe give favors to Komeito concretely?
3. How many LDP members remained vulnerable to electoral fortune if there was not Komeito support?

***Opposition and Civil society***

***November 22. Nippon Kaigi as Political Advocacy Group***

**<Required Readings>**

구유진, “아베 정권과 보수시민사회: 일본회의의 정책제언활동을 중심으로,” <일본

비평> 25호 (2021년 8월)

조진구, ”일본회의의 역사인식과 교육관: 무라야마 담화 정신에 대한 도전,” <입법

과 정책> 제10권 제2호 (2018), 197-220쪽.

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>.

**<Research Questions>**

1. How could Nippon Kaigi exercise extraordinary influence on the Diet members?
2. In what issue areas did Nippon Kaigi remain very critical to the progressive political forces?
3. How many cabinet members were affiliated with the Nippon Kaigi during the Abe cabinet?

***November 29. Weakened Opposition***

**<Required Readings>**

박철희, ”아베 시대 자민당 우위체제 재구축 전략,” <아태연구> 25권 3호 (2018년 9

월)

한의석, “아베 시대 야당의 분열과 갈등,” 일본비평 제25호 (2021년 하반기),

150-179쪽.

**<Research Questions>**

1. Trace the lineage of opposition party members over the period of 2011 to 2021 when the opposition parties reshuffled?
2. Evaluate the changes in the organization and activities of the private and public sector labor unions after 2011.
3. Why didn’t the median voters or middle of the road voters support the opposition parties at election times?

***December 6. Japanese Politics after Abe: Kishida and Beyond***

**<Required Readings>**

Kenneth Pyle, “Japan in the Twilight of American Century,” in Kenneth Pyle, *Japan in*

*the American Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), pp. 350-386.

**<Research Questions>**

1. What was the nature of factional coalition after Abe stepped down from premiership?
2. What are the political agendas that post-Abe prime ministers tried to inherit?
3. What are the policy areas that post-Abe political leaders try to get away from Abe?

***December 13. Final Research Paper***

* ***Final Paper Due by Noon on December 13 (No late submission is allowed.)***