

Northeast Asian Politics: Japan

Course Description

The postwar Japanese regime has been characterized by economic growth and one-party dominance. Currently both characteristics are challenged by the longest recession in postwar history and the weakening of one-party rule. The transformation of domestic politics has an international context: the change in U.S.-Japan relations due to increased economic integration among industrial democracies, the rapid economic growth of East Asian nations, and the end of the Cold War. This course will examine the consolidation (1945-55), development (1955-74), and transformation (1975-present) of the postwar Japanese regime by looking into changes in political participation, groups in the policy process, party-bureaucracy relations, and the party system. The aim of the course is to place Japan in a comparative perspective and understand the interaction between its domestic and international policies.

Readings

There are eight books and a reader for purchase. All the books will be on reserve at Moffitt Library. Duplicate copies of the books and the reader will also be available at the Institute of International Studies Library in Stephens Hall.

1. Chalmers Johnson, Japan: Who Governs?: The Rise of the Developmental State (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995)
2. Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982)
3. Kent E. Calder, Crisis and Compensation: Public Policy and Political Stability in Japan, 1949-1986 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)
4. Gerald L. Curtis, The Japanese Way of Politics (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988)
5. Ronald J. Hrebenaar, The Japanese Party System (2nd. Edition) (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992)
6. Dorthy B. Christelow, When Giants Converge: The Role of U.S.-Japan Direct Investment (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1995)
7. Robert M. Uriu, Troubled Industries: Confronting Economic Change in Japan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996)
8. Walter Hatch & Kozo Yamamura, Asia in Japan's Embrace: Building a Regional Production Alliance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

class.

Class Requirement and Grading

Class Participation (30%)

Book Review (20%)

Take Home Mid-term (20%)

Finals (in class) (30%)

1. Since there will be no discussion sessions students will be requested to give one or two (depending on the size of the class) 10 minute presentation(s) of the required readings in class which will count as class participation.

2. Both the book review and mid-term should be about 10 pages (typed). You can choose between two deadlines for the book review. Option I books are general books or books that deal with the postwar Japanese system (for example, 2,3,4,5 of the above). Option II books are those that focus on changes in the last two decades (eq, 6,7,8). With the permission of the instructor you may also review (i) two or more books, (ii) other books in this syllabi (see attached book list), or (iii) books on topics not dealt in class. Extra credit may be given to those who review two or more books or especially thick/difficult books. Such arrangements must be made before the end of week 4.

3. There will be no exceptions for deadlines

•Chalmers Johnson, Japan: Who Governs?, pp. 38-95 (Social Values and the Theory of Late Economic Development in East Asia, Comparative Capitalism: The Japanese Difference, Trade, Revisionism, and the Future of Japanese-American Relations,).

PART I: THE POSTWAR (1955) REGIME

Week 1 The Postwar Settlement: The Domestic Impact of the War, Occupational Reforms, and the Cold War

Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle, pp. 157-197 (From the Ministry of Munitions to MITI)

*Junnosuke Masumi, Postwar Politics in Japan, 1945-1955, pp. 239-273 (The Zaikai, Agriculture, Labor).

Gerald L. Curtis, The Japanese Way of Politics, pp. 1-15, 117-156 (The Pre-1955 Political System, The Japan Socialist Party).

*•Hideo Otake, Defense Controversies and One Party Dominance, in Pempel (ed.), Uncommon Democracies, pp. 128-161.

Week 2-3 The Postwar Regime (1): The State and the Dual Economy

2. The Developmental State and its Critics

Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle, pp. 198-274 (The Institutions of High-Speed Growth, Administrative Guidance).

*Daniel I. Okimoto, Between MITI and the Market, pp. 113-176 (MITI and Industrial Organization).

*•Richard Samuels, The Business of the Japanese State, pp. 1-21 (States, Markets, and the Politics of Reciprocal Consent).

*•Gregory Noble, The Industry Policy Debate, in Haggard & Moon (eds.), Pacific Dynamics, pp. 53-95.

•Chalmers Johnson, Japan: Who Governs?, pp. 115-156 (Japan; Who Governs, The Reemployment of Retired Government Bureaucrats in Japanese Big Business)

3. Industrial Relations, the Unions, and the Left

*Andrew Gordon, Contests for the Workplace, in Gordon (ed.), Postwar Japan as History, pp. 373-394.

*M. Donald Hancock & Haruo Shimada, Wage Determination in Japan and West Germany, in Fukui, et al. (eds.), The Politics of Economic Change in Postwar Japan and West Germany, pp. 207-232.

Democratic Socialist Party, in Hrebendar, The Japanese Party System, pp. 81-113, 184-211.

*•T. J. Pempel and Keiichi Tsunekawa, Corporatism without Labor? in Schmitter & Lehmbruch (eds.), Trends Toward Corporatist Intermediation, pp. 231-270

4. The Dual Economy and the Urban Base of LDP Rule

Chalmers Johnson, Japan: Who Governs?, pp. 96-113 (The Foundations of Japan's Wealth and Power and Why They Baffle the United States).

Robert M. Uriu, Troubled Industries, pp. 45-102 (Politicized Industries)

Kent E. Calder, Crisis and Compensation, pp. 312-348 (Small Business Policy)

*•David Friedman, The Misunderstood Miracle, pp. 1-36 (Explaining the Japanese Miracle).

Week 5-7 The Postwar Regime (2): Waning One Party Dominance and the Fragmentation of Opposition

5. The Dual Economy and the Rural Base of LDP Rule

Kent E. Calder, Crisis and Compensation, pp. 231-273 (Agricultural Policy)

*Aurelia D. George, The Japanese Farm Lobby and Agricultural Policy-Making, Pacific Affairs, 54-3 (1981), pp. 409-430.

*Michael Donnelly, Setting the Price of Rice, in Pempel (ed.), Policymaking in Contemporary Japan, pp. 143-200.

*•Ikuo Kabashima, Supportive Participation with Economic Growth, World Politics, 36-3 (1984), pp. 309-338.

6. Party and Bureaucracy in Aggregating the Interests of the Dual Economy

*John C. Campbell, Japanese Budget Baransu, in Vogel (ed.), Modern Japanese Organization and Decision-Making, pp. 71-100.

*Mathew D. McCubbins & Gregory W. Noble, Perceptions and Realities in Japanese Budgeting, in Cowhey & McCubbins (eds.), Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States, pp. 81-115

Nobuo Tomita et al., The Liberal Democratic Party in Hrebendar, The Japanese Party System, pp. 237-284.

BOOK REVIEW DUE FOR OPTION I BOOKS (March 7)

7. New Issues and the Fragmentation of Opposition

*Margaret McKean, Pollution and Policymaking, in Pempel (ed.), Policymaking in Contemporary Japan, pp. 201-238.

Kent E. Calder, Crisis and Compensation, pp. 249-275 (Welfare Policy)

Gerald L. Curtis, The Japanese Way of Politics, pp. 15-37 (The Three Phases of LDP Rule)

*Junnosuke Masumi, Contemporary Politics in Japan, pp. 383-407 (Multiple Parties and Nonpartisans).

*Scott C. Flanagan, Electoral Change in Japan, in Steiner et al. (eds.), Political Opposition and Local Politics in Japan, pp. 35-54.

•Peter Berton, The Japan Communist Party & Ronald J. Hrebenar The Komeito, in Hrebenar, The Japanese Party System, pp. 116-150, 151-183.

Week 8 The Postwar Regime (3): The U.S.-Japan Alliance and Domestic Politics

*Donald Hellman, Japanese Security and Postwar Japanese Foreign Policy, in Scalapino (ed.), The Foreign Policy of Modern Japan, pp. 321-340.

*Peter J. Katzenstein, Cultural Norms and National Security, pp. 99-130 (The Self-Defense Forces and External Security)

*Robert Dekle, The Relationship between Defense Spending and Economic Performance in Japan, in Milkin & Hellmann (eds.), Sharing World Leadership?: A New Era for America and Japan, pp. 127-146.

TAKE HOME MID-TERM (distributed on March 17, handed in on 21)

PART II. THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE POSTWAR REGIME

Week 9 Economic Globalization and Domestic Change (1): Economic Interdependence and Liberalization

Dorothy B. Christelow, When Giants Converge, pp. 3-57, (•)103-203.

*Steven K. Vogel, Freer Markets. More Rules, pp. 9-61 (The Forces for Change)

•Timothy Curran, Internationalization, and the Role of Multinationals in U.S.-Japan Relations, in Curtis (ed.), Japan's Foreign Policy after the Cold War, pp. 160-178.

Week 10-12 Economic Globalization and Domestic Change (2): U.S.-Japan

10. The Initial Pattern, 1974-79 (1): Economic Relations

*Hideo Sato & Michel W. Hodin, _The U.S.-Japanese Steel Issue of 1977_ in Destler & Sato (eds), Coping with U.S.-Japanese Economic Conflicts, pp. 27-72.

*•Gilbert R. Winham & Ikuo Kabashima, _The Politics of U.S.-Japanese Auto Trade,_ in Destler & Sato (eds), Coping with U.S.-Japanese Economic Conflicts, pp. 73-120.

*C. Randall Henning, Currencies and Politics in the United States, Germany and Japan, pp. 123-134 (_Monetary and Exchange Rate Policymaking in Japan_)

*I.M. Destler & Hisao Mitsuyu _Locomotives on Different Tracks,_ in Destler & Sato (eds), Coping with U.S.-Japanese Economic Conflicts, pp. 27-72.

11: The Initial Pattern, 1974-79 (2): Domestic Adjustment

Robert M. Uriu, Troubled Industries, pp. 186-236 (_Mixed Incentive Industries_).

*Seuo Sekiguchi, _An Overview of Adjustment Assistance Policies in Japan,_ in Tan & Shimada (eds.), Troubled Industries in the United States and Japan, pp. 95-122

*Ikuo Kume, _Changing Relations among the Government, Labor, and Business in Japan after the Oil Crisis,_ International Organization, 42-2 (1988), pp. 659-687.

BOOK REVIEW DUE FOR OPTION II BOOKS (April 11)

12. Recurring Patterns and Change, 1980s and 90s

*Ellis S. Krauss _U.S.-Japan Negotiations on Construction and Semiconductors, 1985-1988,_ in Evans et al., (eds.), Double-Edged Diplomacy , pp. 265-299.

*Leonard J. Schoppa, _Two-level Games and Bargaining Outcomes: Why *Gaiatsu* Succeeds in Japan in Some Cases but Not Others,_ International Organization, 47-3 (1993), pp. 353-386.

*C. Randall Henning, Currencies and Politics in the United States, Germany and Japan, pp. 134-176 (_Monetary and Exchange Rate Policymaking in Japan_)

*•Frank K. Upham, _Retail Convergence_ in Berger & Dore (eds), National Diversity and Global Capitalism, pp. 263-297.

*•M. Stephen Weatherfield & Haruhiro Fukui _Domestic Adjustment to International Shocks in Japan and the United States,_ International Organization, 43-4 (1989), pp. 585-623.

*•Frances Rosenbluth, _Japan's Response to the Strong Yen,_ in Curtis (ed.), Japan's Foreign Policy After the Cold War, pp. 137-159.

Walter Hatch & Kozo Yamamura, Asia in Japan's Embrace, pp. 3-40 (_Crossing Borders,_ _Flying Geese), (•) pp. 97-111, 115-129, 158-171 (_Holding Technology,_ _The Visible Handshake,_ _The Supply Network_).

*Mitchell Bernard & John Ravenhill, Beyond Product Cycles and Flying Geese,_ World Politics, 47-2 (1995), pp. 171-209.

*•Richard F. Doner, Japanese Foreign Investment and the Creation of a Pacific Asian Region,_ in Frankel & Kahler (eds.), Regionalism and Rivalry, pp. 159-216.

*•Shafiqi Islam, Foreign Aid and Burdensharing,_ in Frankel & Kahler (eds.),_ Regionalism and Rivalry, pp. 321-372.

*•Steven W. Hook, National Interest and Foreign Aid, pp. 143-164 (_The Comparative Record_).

Week 14 Domestic Adjustment and the Transformation of the Party System

*Takashi Inoguchi, The Political Economy of Conservative Resurgence under Recession,_ in T. J. Pempel (ed.), Uncommon Democracies, pp. 189-226.

Gerald L. Curtis, The Japanese Way of Politics, pp. 45-116 (_The Liberal Democratic Party_).

*•Michio Muramatsu & Masaru Mabuchi, Introducing a New Tax in Japan_ in Kernell (ed.), Parallel Politics, pp. 184-207.

*•John Campbell, How Policies Change, pp. 282-351 (_Health Care Reform,_ _Reforming the Pension System_)

*•Daniel I. Okimoto, Between MITI and the Market, pp. 177-228 (_The Politics of Japanese Industrial Policy_).

Week 15 Conclusion: Understanding Japan in 1997

15a. Corruption and Political Reform

Ronald J. Hrebemar, The Japanese Party System, pp. 54-78 (_The Money Base of Japanese Politics_).

*Raymond V. Christensen, Electoral Reform in Japan,_ Asian Survey, 34-7 (1994), pp. 589-605.

•Chalmers Johnson, Japan Who Governs?, pp. 183-231 (_Tanaka Kakuei, Structural Corruption, and the Advent of Machine Politics in Japan,_ _Puppets and Puppeteers_).

TBA

15c. National and Economic Security After the Cold War

*Kenneth B. Pyle _The Burden of Japanese History and the Politics of Burden Sharing,_ in John H. Milkin & Donald C. Hellmann (eds.), Sharing World Leadership?: A New Era for America and Japan, pp. 41-77.

*•Peter J. Katzenstein, Cultural Norms and National Security, pp. 131-152 (_The U.S.-Japan Relationship_)