

PSCI-1191
Japanese Politics and Foreign Policy
Spring 2024

Instructor: Professor Daniel M. Smith (dms2323@sas.upenn.edu)

TA: Rin Kawasaki (krin@sas.upenn.edu)

Location: TBD

Time: Mondays and Wednesdays, 3:30-4:29 pm; plus recitation section

Office hours: Professor Smith's office hours: Tuesday, 10:00-11:00 am

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course surveys the key features of contemporary (postwar) Japanese politics and foreign policy, using a comparative lens to explain development and change over time. In the process of evaluating these changes, the course examines: (1) important actors in domestic politics (e.g., voters, politicians, political parties, and bureaucrats); (2) the positions that different actors take with respect to various domestic and foreign policies, as well as the sources of these policy preferences and changes over time; and (3) the roles played by political institutions and history in structuring political behavior and policy outcomes.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

By the end of the semester, you should be able to:

- Understand the basic postwar history of Japanese politics, political economy, and foreign policy.
- Understand and critically assess common research approaches used by political scientists to study institutional change and adaptation in politics, both in Japan and around the world.
- Place current and future political events involving Japan into historical and comparative context.

EXPECTATIONS/GRADES

Lecture attendance is **mandatory**, and material covered in lecture will appear on the exams. Recitation section attendance and participation—including a short (~5 minutes) presentation on an assigned reading or topic at least once during the semester—is also mandatory, and accounts for 30% of your final grade. Assignments include a quiz (10% of your final grade), a midterm examination (25%), and a comprehensive final examination (35%).

All exams will be in-class, **closed-book** exams, and include short-answer and essay questions. Course grades may be adjusted, upward or downward, for regular in-class participation. Students who fail to complete the midterm or the final exam will not pass the course. Extensions, incompletes, or make-up exams will be given only in *exceptional* cases. Petitions must be timely and properly documented.

Undergraduate students have the option of writing an original research paper (~30 pages). In this scenario, the weighting of assignments will be midterm (20%), final (20%), paper (20%). The final paper will be evaluated by Professor Smith.

Undergraduate students may earn one point of extra credit (up to four points) for attending any of the four optional talks listed on the schedule (film screenings are excluded), and submitting a few sentences of reaction or questions based on the talk. Attendance must be verified by the instructor or TA.

Graduate students who take the course will be required to submit an original research paper (~30 pages) on a topic of choice related to Japanese politics, which will be evaluated by Professor Smith. This paper will be developed over the course of the semester, and will include assignments of a literature review (due March 11) and a first draft or extended outline (due April X). Attendance in section is not required for graduate students. The weighting of grades for graduate students will be class attendance (20%), literature review (10%), first draft (10%), final paper (60%).

One model for a final paper (but not the only model) is to choose a specific policy challenge facing Japan, and evaluate the (potential) responses to the challenge. Papers should discuss (1) who the relevant actors are, (2) what these actors want and why, and (3) how changes in the policymaking process have determined (or not) whose preferences are reflected in outcomes. You should discuss your paper ideas with Professor Smith in office hours.

Accommodations for students with disabilities: Everyone (students and instructor) is expected to maintain a climate of mutual respect. If aspects of the instruction or design of this course create barriers to your inclusion, accurate assessment, or achievement, please notify Prof. Smith as soon as possible. The University of Pennsylvania is committed to the accessibility of its programs and services. Students with a disability or medical condition can request reasonable accommodations through the [Weingarten Center](#). Disability Services determines accommodations on an individualized basis through an interactive process, including a meeting with the student and a review of their disability documentation. Students who have approved accommodations are encouraged to notify their faculty members and share their accommodation letters at the start of each semester. Students can contact Disability Services by calling 215-573-9235.

Maintaining academic integrity: You are expected to maintain high standards of academic integrity in your work for this and all courses at the University of Pennsylvania. You are encouraged to discuss the material and exchange ideas with your classmates, but all written work you submit must be your own original work (use of AI tools such as ChatGPT is not permitted), and all sources used must be clearly cited. Plagiarism will not be tolerated (you will get an F in the course).

READINGS

The following books are required. All other readings will be placed on the Canvas website.

- Rosenbluth, Francis McCall, and Michael F. Thies. 2010. *Japan Transformed: Political Change and Economic Restructuring*. Princeton University Press.
- Krauss, Ellis S., and Robert J. Pekkanen. 2011. *The Rise and Fall of Japan's LDP: Political Organizations as Historical Institutions*. Cornell University Press.

Required readings will generally consist of a few articles or chapters (roughly 100 pages) each week. If you have limited time in a given week, you should still skim these readings to be familiar with the gist of the arguments or evidence. Recommended readings are optional, but may be helpful for providing context for the required readings, as well as additional resources for optional final papers. Readings marked with “*Compare” are intended to spark ideas about how Japan’s experiences are similar or different from other countries’ experiences. Some readings express subjective opinions, and should be read and considered in that context—these readings are good sources of ideas for discussion. The “Questions to Consider” may also help to guide your thinking on each week’s material and inspire final paper topics.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Overview

- Week 1: Introduction and Orientation to Approaches
- Week 2: Where Did Japan's Institutions Come From?

Domestic Party Politics

- Week 3: Elections and Campaigning in the 1955 System
- Week 4: Parties in the 1955 System
- Week 5: Electoral System Reform: A Watershed Event?
- Week 6: The DPJ in Power and the Return of LDP Dominance
- Week 7: Spring Break (no classes)
- Week 8: Midterm and Special Guest Lecture

Political Economy and Social Issues

- Week 9: The Policymaking Process and Political Leadership
- Week 10: Political Economy, Economic Growth/Stagnation, and Redistribution
- Week 11: Gender Equality, Demographic Challenges, and Immigration

Foreign Policy

- Week 12: Foreign Policy Origins and Changes
 - Week 13: Evolving Security Profile and Base Issues
 - Week 14: Historical Memory Issues
 - Week 15: Constitution Revision and Final Review
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Week 1: Introduction and Orientation to Approaches

M (January 22): Why should we study Japanese politics?

Required Readings:

- Lipsky, Phillip Y. 2023. "Japan: The Harbinger State." *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 24(1): 80-97.

Recommended Readings:

- Snider, Noah. "[Special Report: Japan](#)." *The Economist*, December 11, 2021.

Questions to consider:

- What are some aspects of political campaigning in Japan that are different from campaigning in the U.S. or other countries you are familiar with?
- What are some aspects that are similar?

Discuss syllabus and begin film: [Pictures at an Election](#) (~70-minute documentary).

W (January 24): How should we study Japanese politics? (Two "institutionalist" approaches)

Required Readings:

- Rosenbluth and Thies: Chapters 1-2 (pp. 1-31).
- Krauss and Pekkanen: Chapter 1 (pp. 1-28).

Recommended Readings:

- Reed, Steven R. 1993. "A Unique Nation?" and "Culture as Common Sense," in *Making Common Sense of Japan* (Chapters 1-2, pp. 3-46). University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A., and Mark S. Bonchek. 1997. "Rationality: The Model of Choice" (Chapter 2) in *Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior, and Institutions*, pp. 15-35. W.W. Norton and Company.

- Ramseyer, J. Mark and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 1993. "Introduction" (Chapter 1) in *Japan's Political Marketplace*, pp. 1-15. Harvard University Press.
- Pierson, Paul. 2000. "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." *American Political Science Review*, 94(2): 251-267.
- Thelen, Kathleen. 1999. "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2: 369-404.
- Richardson, Bradley M., and Dennis Patterson. 2001. "Political Traditions and Political Change: The Significance of Postwar Japanese Politics for Political Science." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4: 93-115.

Questions to Consider:

- Are Japanese politics "unique" or "different" from other advanced industrialized nations (e.g., the United States)? If so, how? If not, what are the similarities?
- What are some of the major changes that have occurred in postwar Japanese politics?
- What are some of the approaches to studying and interpreting these changes? What are their strengths and weaknesses?
- In what ways is Japan a good "test case" for understanding general puzzles in comparative politics? In what ways is the case of Japan *sui generis*, or less suited to making generalizations?

Recitation Section:

- Finish [*Pictures at an Election*](#) and review discussion questions.

Week 2: Where Did Japan's Institutions Come From?

M (January 29): The End of World War II and the U.S. Occupation (1945-1952)

Required Readings:

- Rosenbluth and Thies: Chapter 3 (pp. 32-52).
- Dower, John W. 1999. "Introduction," "Shattered Lives," and "Constitutional Democracy: GHQ Writes a New National Charter," in *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, pp. 19-64, 346-373. W.W. Norton and Company, Inc.
- *Compare: Dower, John W. 2003. "Warning from History: Don't Expect Democracy in Iraq." *The Asia-Pacific Journal, Japan Focus*, 1(4): 1-4.

Recommended Readings:

- The Constitution of Japan (1947).
- Fedman, David, and Cary Karacas. 2012. "A Cartographic Fade to Black: Mapping the Destruction of Urban Japan during World War II." *Journal of Historical Geography*, 38(3): 306-328.
- Harada, Masataka, Gaku Ito, and Daniel M. Smith. 2023. "Destruction from Above: Long-Term Legacies of the Tokyo Air Raids." *The Journal of Politics*, online first.
- Minear, Richard. 1971. "Introduction" in *Victor's Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, pp. 3-19. Princeton University Press.
- Ryall, Julian. "[Japan PM dismisses WWII war crimes trials as 'victors' justice](#)." *The Telegraph*, March 14, 2013.
- Fackler, Martin. "[Hiroshima and the meaning of victimhood](#)." *The New York Times*, August 6, 2005.
- Easton, Yukari. "[Abe in Pearl Harbor: From Remembrance to Reconciliation](#)." *The Diplomat*, December 29, 2016.
- *Compare: Smith, Noah. "[The Afghanistan Occupation and the Japan Occupation](#)." August 15, 2021.

- Pempel, T.J. 1987. “The Tar Baby Target: ‘Reform’ of the Japanese Bureaucracy.” In Robert E. Ward and Yoshikazu Sakamoto (eds.), *Democratizing Japan: The Allied Occupation*, pp. 157-187. University of Hawaii Press.
- Pharr, Susan J. 1987. “The Politics of Women’s Rights.” In Robert E. Ward and Yoshikazu Sakamoto (eds.), *Democratizing Japan: The Allied Occupation*, pp. 221-252. University of Hawaii Press.

Questions to Consider:

- What were some of the major changes to Japanese politics and society introduced by the U.S. during the Occupation?
- What were some aspects of Japanese politics that the U.S. Occupation left intact? Why?
- To what degree were these changes desired and approved of by U.S. political actors? Japanese political actors? Japanese citizens?

W (January 31): The Reverse Course and Early Postwar Politics

Required Readings:

- Masumi, Junnosuke. 1995. “Introduction” and “Security Treaty Revision” (Chapter 1) in *Contemporary Politics in Japan*, pp. 1-50. University of California Press.
- Jesty, Justin. 2015. “[Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage and Grief](#).” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 13(9): 1-13. See also [MIT Visualizing Cultures](#).
- *Compare: Kapur, Nick. “[When Revolutions Fail](#).” *Critical Asian Studies*, January 20, 2021.

Recommended Readings:

- Scalapino, Robert A. and Junnosuke Masumi. 1962. “The Crisis of May-June, 1960—A Case Study,” in *Parties and Politics in Contemporary Japan*, Chapter 5, pp. 125-153. University of California Press.
- Miller, Jennifer M. 2011. “The Struggle to Rearm Japan: Negotiating the Cold War State in US-Japanese Relations.” *Journal of Contemporary History*, 46(1): 82-108.
- Kapur, Nick. 2020. “Japan’s Streets of Rage: The 1960 US-Japan Security Treaty Uprising and the Origins of Contemporary Japan.” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 18(11): 1-8.
- Passin, Herbert. 1990. “The Occupation: Some Reflections.” *Daedalus*, 119(3): 107-129.
- *Compare: Merritt, Richard L. 1976. “American Influences in the Occupation of Germany.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 428: 91-103.

Questions to Consider:

- Why did the U.S. reverse its course in postwar reforms? Which actors in Japan supported this change, and which actors opposed it?
- How did the U.S. Occupation and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty Crisis in 1960 help cement cleavages in Japan’s party system?
- How did the occupation of Japan differ from other postwar occupation processes and outcomes (e.g., in Germany, Iraq, and Afghanistan)? Can any lessons be drawn from divergent outcomes?
- How does political turmoil in the 1960s relate to relative domestic stability today? How does Japan’s political turmoil in the 1960s compare to recent turmoil in other countries?

Recitation Section:

- Review theoretical approaches.
- Review discussion questions.
- Discuss the lasting implications of WWII in Japanese politics.

Th (February 1): Optional talk by Professor Hilary J. Holbrow (Indiana University): “[The Future is Not Female: \(In\)visible Inequalities in Elite Japanese Firms](#)” (note connections to course material on women’s empowerment and gender equality).

Week 3: Elections and Campaigning in the 1955 System

M (February 5): How do politicians get elected? Elections and campaigning under SNTV

Required Readings:

- Krauss and Pekkanen: Chapter 2 (pp. 29-64).
- Ishibashi, Michihiro, and Steven R. Reed. 1992. "Second-generation Diet Members and Democracy in Japan: Hereditary Seats. *Asian Survey* 32(4): 366-379.
- *Compare: Carey, John, and Matthew S. Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies*, 14(4): 417-439.

Recommended Readings:

- Curtis, Gerald. 1992. "Japan." In David Butler and Austin Ranney (eds.), *Electioneering: A Comparative Study of Continuity and Change*, pp. 222-243. Clarendon Press.
- Ramseyer, J. Mark, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 1993. "Electoral Rules and Party Strategy" (Chapter 2) in *Japan's Political Marketplace*, pp. 16-37. Harvard University Press.
- *Compare: Reynolds, Andrew. 2006. "Electoral Systems Today: The Curious Case of Afghanistan." *Journal of Democracy*, 17(2): 104-117.

Questions to Consider:

- How is SNTV different from single-member district (SMD) electoral systems like that used in the U.S., Canada, or U.K.?
- Why were *kōenkai* so important to LDP candidates during the 1955 System period?
- How did LDP candidates cultivate their *kōenkai*? What kinds of candidates were privileged under the SNTV system and its incentives to use *kōenkai* for mobilization?
- How does the style of campaigning differ from in the U.S. or other democracies? (reflect back on *Pictures at an Election* film from first class meeting)

Optional film screening: [*Shin Godzilla*](#) (note the portrayals of Japan's bureaucracy and politics).

W (February 7): Pathologies of the SNTV Electoral System

Required Readings:

- Krauss and Pekkanen: Chapter 4 (pp. 100-12).
- Nyblade, Benjamin, and Steven R. Reed. 2008. "Who Cheats? Who Loots? Political Competition and Corruption in Japan, 1947-1993." *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(4): 926-941.
- *Compare: Chang, Eric C.C., and Miriam A. Golden. 2007. "Electoral Systems, District Magnitude and Corruption," *British Journal of Political Science*, 37(1): 115-137.

Recommended Readings:

- Nemoto, Kuniaki, Robert Pekkanen, and Ellis Krauss. 2014. "Over-Nominating Candidates, Undermining the Party: The Collective Action Problem Under SNTV in Japan." *Party Politics*, 20(5): 740-750.
- Curtis, Gerald. 1988. "Campaigning, Financing, and the Modern Party" (Chapter 5) in *The Japanese Way of Politics*, pp. 157-191. Columbia University Press.
- Schlesinger, Jacob M. 1997. *Shadow Shoguns: The Rise and Fall of Japan's Postwar Political Machine* (selections). Stanford University Press.

Questions to Consider:

- What were some of the coordination problems in the SNTV electoral system?
- What role did factions play within the LDP?

- Why was corruption such a problem under the SNTV electoral system? Is it possible that patterns in corruption might have differed under an alternative set of electoral rules?

Recitation Section:

- Review discussion questions.

Week 4: Parties in the 1955 System

M (February 12): LDP Dominance

Required Readings:

- Rosenbluth and Thies: Chapter 4 (pp. 53-71).
- McElwain, Kenneth Mori. 2008. "Manipulating Electoral Rules to Manufacture Single-Party Dominance." *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(1): 32-47.
- *Compare: Pempel, T.J. 1990. "Introduction." In T.J. Pempel (ed.), *Uncommon Democracies: The One-Party Dominant Regimes*, pp. 1-32. Cornell University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- Calder, Kent E. 1988. "Explaining Patterns in Japanese Public Policy" (Chapter 11) in *Crisis and Compensation: Public Policy and Political Stability in Japan*, pp. 440-480. Princeton University Press.
- Krauss, Ellis. 2000. *Broadcasting Politics in Japan: NHK and Television News*. Cornell University Press. Chapters 8-9.
- Köllner, Patrick. 2006. "The Liberal Democratic Party at 50: Sources of Dominance and Change." *Social Science Japan Journal*, 9(2): 243-257.
- Umeda, Michio. 2019. "The Liberal Democratic Party: Its Adaptability and Predominance in Japanese Politics for 60 Years." *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 4(1): 8-22.

Questions to Consider:

- What are the existing explanations for the long-term LDP dominance, and which do you find most convincing?
- How does Japan's long-term single-party dominance compare to other countries or regions within countries?
- Do you think single-party dominance is healthy or problematic for a democracy?

W (February 14): Opposition Failure

Required Readings:

- Maeda, Ko. 2012. "An Irrational Party of Rational Members: The Collision of Legislators' Reelection Quest with Party Success in the Japan Socialist Party." *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(3): 341-365.
- Scheiner, Ethan. 2006. *Democracy Without Competition in Japan: Opposition Failure in a One-Party Dominant State* (Chapter 1, pp. 7-30, Chapter 3, pp. 64-89). Cambridge University Press.
- *Compare: Ziegfeld, Adam and Maya Tudor. 2017. "How Opposition Parties Sustain Single-Party Dominance: Lessons from India." *Party Politics*, 23(3): 262-273.

Recommended Readings:

- *Compare: Cohn, Nate. "[Why Democrats Can't Win the House](#)." *The New York Times*, September 6, 2014.
- Reed, Steven R. 1990. "Structure and Behaviour: Extending Duverger's Law to the Japanese Case." *British Journal of Political Science*, 20(3): 335-356.
- Abe, Yuki, and Masahisa Endo. 2014. "Kōmeitō's Uncertain Decades between Religion and Politics." In George Ehrhardt, Axel Klein, Levi McLaughlin, and Steven R. Reed (eds.), *Kōmeitō:*

Politics and Religion in Japan, pp. 83-112. The Institute of East Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

- Kohno, Masaru. 1997. "Electoral Origins of Japanese Socialists' Stagnation." *Comparative Political Studies*, 30(1): 55-77.

Questions to Consider:

- Why did the opposition fail to compete with the LDP?
- Would coordination have been possible, and would it have made a difference?
- What were the structural or ideological obstacles to opposition coordination?
- What role did the electoral system play in LDP dominance and opposition failure?

In-class Quiz

Recitation Section:

- Review discussion questions.

Th (February 15): Optional talk by Professor Ran Zwigenberg (Penn State): "[Nuclear Minds: Cold War Psychological Science and the Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki](#)" (note connections to course material on the end of World War II).

Week 5: Electoral System Reform: A Watershed Event?

M (February 19): The 1994 Electoral System Reform

Required Readings:

- Rosenbluth and Thies: Chapter 6 (pp. 95-122).
- Reed, Steven R., and Michael F. Thies. 2001. "The Causes of Electoral Reform in Japan." In Matthew Sørensen Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.), *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?*, pp. 152-172. Oxford University Press.
- *Compare: Katz, Richard S. 2005. "Why Are There So Many (or So Few) Electoral Reforms?" In Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell (eds.), *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, pp. 57-77. Oxford University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- *Compare: Cox, Gary W., Jon H. Fiva, and Daniel M. Smith. 2019. "Parties, Legislators, and the Origins of Proportional Representation." *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(1): 102-133.
- *Compare: Bawn, Kathleen. 1993. "The Logic of Institutional Preferences: German Electoral Law as a Social Choice Outcome." *American Journal of Political Science*, 37(4): 965-989.
- Reed, Steven R., and Ethan Scheiner. 2003. "Electoral Incentives and Policy Preferences: Mixed Motives Behind Party Defections in Japan." *British Journal of Political Science*, 33(3): 469-490.
- Reed, Steven R., and Michael F. Thies. 2001. "The Consequences of Electoral Reform in Japan." In Matthew Sørensen Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.), *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?*, pp. 380-403. Oxford University Press.

Questions to Consider:

- Why would incumbent politicians want to change an electoral system under which they had previously been successful?
- Why didn't politicians adopt a purely majoritarian or purely proportional electoral system?
- Why/how was electoral reform expected to change Japanese politics?

W (February 21): How Much Change?

Required Readings:

- Krauss and Pekkanen: Chapter 3 (pp. 65-99); Chapter 5 (pp. 128-153).
- Reed, Steven R., Ethan Scheiner, and Michael Thies. 2012. "The End of LDP Dominance and the Rise of Party-Oriented Politics in Japan." *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 38(2): 353-376.

Recommended Readings:

- Hirano, Shigeo. 2006. "Electoral Institutions, Hometowns, and Favored Minorities: Evidence from Japanese Electoral Reforms." *World Politics*, 59(1): 51-82.
- Scheiner, Ethan. 2008. "Does Electoral System Reform Work? Electoral System Lessons from Reforms of the 1990s." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11: 161-181.
- Smith, Daniel M. 2018. *Dynasties and Democracy: The Inherited Incumbency Advantage in Japan*, pp. 115-178. Stanford University Press.
- Krauss and Pekkanen: Chapter 10 (pp. 260-287).
- Catalinac, Amy. 2016. "From Pork to Policy: The Rise of Programmatic Campaigning in Japanese Elections." *The Journal of Politics*, 78(1): 1-18.

Questions to Consider:

- Did reformers' expectations come true immediately? Why or why not?
- How do parties help politicians under the new system? If parties are so useful, why are politicians still cultivating *kōenkai*?
- Does the new electoral system encourage or undermine the development of two-party competition?

Recitation Section:

- Review discussion questions.
- Electoral system exercise.

Th (February 22): Optional talk by Professor Junya Nishino (Keio University): "[Japan and Korea in the Indo-Pacific: Opportunities and Challenges](#)" (note connections to course material on foreign policy in East Asia).

Week 6: The DPJ in Power and the Return of LDP Dominance

M (February 26): The DPJ's 2009 Victory and the 3.11 Disaster

Required Readings:

- Kushida, Kenji E., and Phillip Y. Lipscy. 2013. "The Rise and Fall of the Democratic Party of Japan." In Kenji E. Kushida and Phillip Y. Lipscy (eds.), *Japan Under the DPJ: The Politics of Transition and Governance*, pp. 3-42. The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center.
- Kushida, Kenji E. 2013. "The DPJ's Political Response to the Fukushima Nuclear Disaster." In Kenji E. Kushida and Phillip Y. Lipscy (eds.), *Japan Under the DPJ: The Politics of Transition and Governance*, pp. 405-444. The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center.

Recommended Readings:

- *Compare: Sheridan, Mary Beth. "[Mexico's Ruling Party Loses Presidency in Historic Election](#)." *Los Angeles Times*. July 3, 2000.
- *Compare: Mashal, Mujib, and Hari Kumar. "[In India's Election, Ailing Congress Party Is Unlikely to Find Its Miracle](#)." *The New York Times*. May 21, 2019.
- Rosenbluth and Thies: Epilogue (pp. 186-192).
- Schoppa, Leonard J. 2011. "Path Dependence in the Evolution of Japan's Party System" (Chapter 2) in *The Evolution of Japan's Party System*, pp. 14-42. University of Toronto Press.
- Samuels, Richard J. 2013. "Dueling Security Narratives" (Chapter 4) in *3.11: Disaster and Change in Japan*, pp. 80-109. Cornell University Press.

- Smith, Daniel M., Robert J. Pekkanen, and Ellis S. Krauss. 2013. "Building a Party: Candidate Recruitment in the Democratic Party of Japan, 1996-2012." In Kenji E. Kushida and Phillip Y. Lipscy (eds.), *Japan under the DPJ: The Politics of Transition and Governance*, pp. 157-190. The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University.
- Oguma, Eiji. 2013. "Nobody Dies in a Ghost Town: Path Dependence in Japan's 3.11 Disaster and Reconstruction." *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 11(44): 1-26.

Questions to Consider:

- Why/how did the DPJ win in 2009? Why did it take 15 years after electoral reform for party alternation to occur?
- What or who were responsible for the success—the DPJ's party leaders, swing voters, the economic crisis, or the LDP's own failures?
- How does the DPJ's response to the Fukushima nuclear disaster reflect the party's inexperience in government, or its internal organization? Would the response have been any different in the past, or with an LDP government?
- Why have citizens' movements against nuclear power seen only limited success?

W (February 28): The Return of LDP Dominance

Required Readings:

- Reed, Steven R., Ethan Scheiner, Daniel M. Smith, and Michael F. Thies. 2013. "The Japanese General Election of 2012: The LDP Wins Big by Default." In Robert Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed, and Ethan Scheiner (eds.), *Japan Decides 2012: The Japanese General Election*, pp. 34-46. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eshima, Shusei, Yusaku Horiuchi, Shiro Kuriwaki, and Daniel M. Smith. 2023. "Winning Elections with Unpopular Policies: Valence Advantage and Single-Party Dominance in Japan." Working paper.
- Kamata, Jio. "[As Scandal Engulfs the LDP, the Kishida Administration Goes on.](#)" *The Diplomat*, December 22, 2023.

Recommended Readings:

- Reed, Steven R. 2022. "Patronage and Predominance: How the LDP Maintains Its Hold on Power." *Social Science Japan Journal*, 25(1): 83-100.
- Rosenbluth and Thies: Epilogue (pp. 186-192).
- Maeda, Yukio and Steven R. Reed. 2021. "The LDP under Abe." In Takeo Hoshi and Phillip Y. Lipscy (eds.), *The Political Economy of the Abe Government and Abenomics Reforms*, pp. 87-108. Cambridge University Press.
- Ethan Scheiner, Daniel M. Smith, and Michael F. Thies. 2016. "The 2014 Japanese Election Results: The Opposition Cooperates, but Fails to Inspire." In Robert Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed, and Ethan Scheiner (eds.), *Japan Decides 2014: The Japanese General Election*, pp. 22-38. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Scheiner, Ethan, Daniel M. Smith, and Michael F. Thies. 2018. "The 2017 Election Results: An Earthquake, a Typhoon, and Another Landslide." In Robert J. Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed, Ethan Scheiner, and Daniel M. Smith (eds.), *Japan Decides 2017: The Japanese General Election*, pp. 29-50. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Maeda, Ko. 2023. "The 2021 Election Results: Continuity and Change." In Robert J. Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed, and Daniel M. Smith (eds.), *Japan Decides 2021: The Japanese General Election*, pp. 23-39. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Liff, Adam P., and Ko Maeda. 2019. "Electoral Incentives, Policy Compromise, and Coalition Durability: Japan's LDP-Komeito Government in a Mixed Electoral System." *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 20(1): 53-73.
- Rich, Motoko. "[Why the Governing Party Election Is the Main Event in Japan.](#)" *The New York Times*, October 31, 2021.

Questions to Consider:

- How did the DPJ go from a landslide victory in 2009 to a landslide defeat in 2012?
- Why do third parties in Japan form and fail so frequently?
- What does the LDP get out of coalition with Kōmeitō? What does Kōmeitō get? Would it be possible or plausible for the Kōmeitō to switch to another coalition partner?
- What explains the LDP's return to dominance? On what basis does it earn voters' support?

Recitation Section:

- DEBATE: LDP dominance.
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Week 7: Spring Break (no classes)

Week 8: Midterm and Special Guest Lecture

M (March 11): In-class Midterm Exam

T (March 12): Optional talk by Professor Megumi Naoi (UCSD): "[The Politics of Trade in Post-Abe Japan](#)" (note connections to course material on trade and political economy).

W (March 13): Guest speaker [Admiral Tomohisa Takei](#), Japan Maritime Self Defense Force (JMSDF)

Recitation Section:

- Review midterm exam.
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Week 9: The Policymaking Process and Political Leadership

M (March 18): Who Governs: Bureaucrats, Prime Ministers, or Backbenchers?

Required Readings:

- Krauss and Pekkanen: Chapter 6 (pp. 154-187); Chapter 8 (pp. 203-225).
- Campbell, John Creighton, and Ethan Scheiner. 2008. "Fragmentation and Power: Reconceptualizing Policy Making under Japan's 1955 System." *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 9(1): 89-113.

Recommended Readings:

- Johnson, Chalmers. 1995. "Japan: Who Governs? An Essay on Official Bureaucracy" (Chapter 6) in *Japan: Who Governs? The Rise of the Developmental State*, pp. 115-140. W.W. Norton & Company.
- George Mulgan, Aurelia. 2000. "Japan's Political Leadership Deficit." *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 35(2): pp. 183-202.
- Johnson, Chalmers. 1982. *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975*. Stanford University Press. Chapters 1-2, pp. 3-82.
- Ramseyer, J. Mark, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 1993. "Political Structure and Bureaucratic Incentives" (Chapter 6) in *Japan's Political Marketplace*, pp. 99-120. Harvard University Press.
- Noble, Gregory. 2011. "The Evolution of the Japanese Policymaking System." In Alisa Gaunder (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Japanese Politics*, pp. 249-260. Routledge.

Questions to Consider:

- How were Prime Ministers chosen during the 1955 System? Why did the Prime Minister change so often?
- What influence did the opposition parties have during the 1955 System?
- What roles did politicians versus bureaucrats play in making policies during the 1955 System? How has leadership and policymaking changed since the 1990s?
- What forces were responsible for the “miracle economic growth”?

W (March 20): Strengthened Political Leadership, Weakened Bureaucrats?

Required Readings:

- Krauss and Pekkanen: Chapter 7 (pp. 188-202); Chapter 9 (pp. 226-259).
- Goplerud, Max, and Daniel M. Smith. 2023. “Who Answers for the Government? Bureaucrats, Ministers, and Responsible Parties.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 67(4): 963-978.

Recommended Readings:

- Takenaka, Harukata. 2002. “Introducing Junior Ministers and Reforming the Diet in Japan.” *Asian Survey*, 42(6): 928-939.
- Estévez-Abe, Margarita. 2006. “Japan’s Shift toward a Westminster System: A Structural Analysis of the 2005 Lower House Election and Its Aftermath.” *Asian Survey*, 46(4): 632-651.
- Krauss, Ellis, and Benjamin Nyblade. 2005. “Presidentialization in Japan? The Prime Minister, Media and Elections in Japan.” *British Journal of Political Science*, 35(2): 357-68.
- Taniguchi, Masaki. 2007. “Changing Media, Changing Politics in Japan.” *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 8(1): 147-166.
- Kabashima, Ikuo, and Gill Steel. 2007. “How Junichiro Koizumi Seized the Leadership of Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party.” *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 8(1): 95-114.
- *Compare: Poguntke, Thomas, and Paul Webb. 2005. *The Presidentialization of Politics: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*, pp. 336-354. Oxford University Press.
- *Compare: Flynn, Meagan. “[“Subvert the Constitution”: Trump’s 2014 remarks on Obama’s executive actions show ‘hypocrisy,’ critics say.](#)” *The Washington Post*. February 15, 2019.

Questions to Consider:

- How did Koizumi Junichirō come to power, and in what ways did he change prime ministerial and cabinet politics? Why was political leadership so weak after Koizumi? Was Abe Shinzō different? Was Suga Yoshihide? Is Kishida Fumio?
- How does the media shape politics in Japan? Is its influence different than in other countries?
- How and why did the DPJ try to change policymaking after coming to power in 2009? How much of this reform process began under the LDP?

Recitation Section:

- Review discussion questions.

Week 10: Political Economy, Economic Growth/Stagnation, and Redistribution

M (March 25): Political Economy and Miraculous Economic Growth in the 1955 System

Required Readings:

- Rosenbluth and Thies: Chapter 5 (pp. 72-94).
- Schoppa, Leonard J. 2006. “Productive and Protective Elements of Convoy Capitalism” (Chapter 3) in *Race for the Exits: The Unraveling of Japan’s System of Social Protection*, pp. 36-66. Cornell University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- Hoshi, Takeo, and Takatoshi Ito. 2020. *The Japanese Economy* (Chapter 3, “Economic Growth,” pp. 41-74). MIT Press.
- World Bank. 1993. *The East Asian Miracle*. Policy Research Report of the World Bank, pp. 1-26. Oxford University Press.
- Horiuchi, Yusaku, and Jun Saito. 2010. “Cultivating Rice and Votes: The Institutional Origins of Agricultural Protectionism in Japan.” *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 10: 425-452.
- Lambert, Priscilla. 2007. “The Political Economy of Postwar Family Policy in Japan: Economic Imperatives and Electoral Incentives.” *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 33(1): 1-28.
- MacLachlan, Patricia 2004. “Post Office Politics in Modern Japan: The Postmasters, Iron Triangles, and the Limits of Reform.” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 30(2): 281-313.
- Estevez-Abe, Margarita. 2008. *Welfare and Capitalism in Postwar Japan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 254-286.
- Miller, Jennifer M. 2018. “Let’s Not be Laughed at Anymore: Donald Trump and Japan from the 1980s to the Present.” *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, 25(2): 138-168.
- Park, Gene. 2011. *Spending Without Taxation: FILP and the Politics of Public Finance in Japan* (selections). Stanford University Press.

Questions to Consider:

- What is “convoy capitalism”? Why was it attractive to policymakers during the 1955 System?
- How did interest groups gain favorable policies from the LDP? How much influence did citizens have?
- How did social policy and norms keep public spending on welfare programs low?
- What role did FILP play in Japan’s regional development?
- Why do Japanese consumers prefer agricultural products like rice that are produced locally, even though they are many times more expensive?

Optional film screening: *The Ones Left Behind: The Plight of Single Mothers in Japan* (note the connections to societal issues and the political economy of gender).

W (March 27): The “Lost Decades” and Changing Political Economy in 2000s

Required Readings:

- Rosenbluth and Thies: Chapter 7 (pp. 123-154).
- Noble, Gregory. 2010. “The Decline of Particularism in Japanese Politics.” *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 10: 239-273.
- Lee, Yeon Ju. 2023. “Does Income Inequality Matter in Japan?” In Robert J. Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed, and Daniel M. Smith (eds.), *Japan Decides 2021: The Japanese General Election*, pp. 275-288. Palgrave Macmillan.

Recommended Readings:

- Grimes, William. 2001. “Introduction: A Miracle Unmade” and “Organizational Conflict” in *Unmaking the Japanese Miracle: Macroeconomic Politics, 1985-2000*. Cornell University Press.
- Amyx, Jennifer. 2001. “Informality and Institutional Inertia: The Case of Japanese Financial Regulation” *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 2(1): 47-66.
- Naoi, Megumi, and Ikuo Kume. 2011. “Explaining Mass Support for Agricultural Protectionism: Evidence from a Survey Experiment During the Global Recession.” *International Organization*, 65: 771-795.
- MacLachlan, Patricia L., and Kay Shimizu. 2021. “Japanese Agricultural Reform Under Abenomics.” In Takeo Hoshi and Phillip Y. Lipsky (eds.), *The Political Economy of the Abe Government and Abenomics Reforms*. Cambridge University Press.

- Ito, Takatoshi. 2021. “The Third Arrow of Abenomics: Est. in 2013 – or 2007?” In Takeo Hoshi and Phillip Y. Lipsky (eds.), *The Political Economy of the Abe Government and Abenomics Reforms*, pp. 109-135. Cambridge University Press.
- Gordon, Andrew. 2017. “New and Enduring Dual Structures of Employment in Japan: The Rise of Non-Regular Labor, 1980s–2010s.” *Social Science Japan Journal*, 20(1): 9-36.
- Hoshi, Takeo, and Anil K. Kashyap. 2004. “Japan’s Financial Crisis and Economic Stagnation.” *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 18(1): 3-26.
- Schlesinger, Jacob M. “Japan May Be Exception to Piketty’s Thesis.” *Wall Street Journal*, February 9, 2015.
- Ohtake, Fumio. 2008. “Inequality in Japan.” *Asian Economic Policy Review*, 3(1): 87-109.

Questions to Consider:

- How have politicians responded to changes in the economy?
- How have interest groups responded to changes in the party system?
- How do the politics of inequality play out in Japan, where major partisan turnovers are rare?
- Who contributed to the reduction and widening of inequality? Bureaucrats, politicians, businesses, or labor?
- Why didn’t rising inequality lead to a rise in populism in Japan, as in other democracies?

Recitation Section:

- Review discussion questions.

Week 11: Gender Equality, Demographic Challenges, and Immigration

M (April 1): Women’s Underrepresentation, Gender Equality, and LGBTQ+ Rights

Required Readings:

- Matsui, Kathy. 2014. *Womenomics 4.0: Time to Walk the Talk*. Goldman Sachs.
- Kage, Rieko, Frances M. Rosenbluth, and Seiki Tanaka. 2019. “What Explains Low Female Political Representation? Evidence from Survey Experiments in Japan.” *Politics & Gender*, 15: 285-309.
- Kamata, Jio. “[How the Silent Majority in Japan Is Hindering Legalization of Same-Sex Marriage](#).” *The Diplomat*, June 9, 2023.

Recommended Readings:

- Brinton, Mary C. 1992. *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan* (Chapter 1). University of California Press.
- Nagase, Nobuko. 2022. “Abe’s Womenomics Policy: Did It Reduce the Gender Gap in Management?” In Takeo Hoshi and Phillip Y. Lipsky (eds.), *The Political Economy of the Abe Government and Abenomics Reforms*, pp. 310-356. Cambridge University Press.
- Funakoshi, Minami. “Japan Cries Out for Daycare: Tokyo makes the childcare shortage worse by trying too hard to fix it.” *Wall Street Journal*, August 7, 2013.
- Government of Japan. 2017. “Gender Equality Policy in Japan.” Gender Equality Bureau, Cabinet Office.
- Estévez-Abe, Margarita. 2013. “An International Comparison of Gender Equality: Why is the Japanese Gender Gap So Persistent?” *Japan Labor Review*, 10(38): 82-100.
- Horiuchi, Yusaku, Daniel M. Smith, and Teppei Yamamoto. 2020. “Identifying Voter Preferences for Politicians’ Personal Attributes: A Conjoint Experiment in Japan.” *Political Science Research and Methods*, 8(1): 75-91.

- Miura, Mari. 2018. "Persistence of Women's Under-Representation." In Robert J. Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed, Ethan Scheiner, and Daniel M. Smith (eds.), *Japan Decides 2017: The Japanese General Election*, pp. 185-201. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kweon, Yesola. 2023. "Women's Representation and the Gendered Impact of COVID-19 in Japan." In Robert J. Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed, and Daniel M. Smith (eds.), *Japan Decides 2021: The Japanese General Election*, pp. 289-304. Palgrave Macmillan.

Questions to Consider:

- Why is women's representation so low in Japanese politics and managerial roles in business?
- Where do women face obstacles to political careers? Parties, voters, or social pressures?
- Which actors might benefit from efforts to increase women's empowerment, and which actors might oppose any change?
- How are the issues of women's equality and low fertility in Japan related?

W (April 3): Demographic Challenges and Immigration

Required Readings:

- Aoki, Reiko. 2012. "A Demographic Perspective on Japan's 'Lost Decades'." *Population and Development Review*, 38 (Supplement): 103-112.
- Chung, Erin Aeran. 2019. "Japan's Model of Immigration Without Immigrants." *Current History*, 118(809): 215-221.
- *Compare: Campbell, Charlie. "[China's Aging Population Is a Major Threat to Its Future.](#)" *Time*. February 7, 2019.

Recommended Readings:

- Seike, Atsushi. 2015. "Japan's Demographic Collapse." In Yoichi Funabashi and Barak Kushner (eds.), *Examining Japan's Lost Decades*, pp. 1-16. Routledge.
- McClean, Charles T. 2023. "Does the Underrepresentation of Young People in Political Institutions Matter for Social Spending?" Working paper.
- Furlong, Andy. 2008. "The Japanese Hikikomori Phenomenon: Acute Social Withdrawal Among Young People." *The Sociological Review*, 56(2): 309-325.
- Shipper, Apichai W. 2005. "Criminals or Victims? The Politics of Illegal Foreigners in Japan." *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 31(2): 299-327.
- Kage, Rieko, Frances McCall Rosenbluth, and Seiki Tanaka. 2016. "Four Types of Attitudes Towards Foreign Workers: Evidence from a Survey in Japan." Center on Japanese Economy and Business Working Paper Series, WP 351.
- Haig, Ken. 2011. "Japanese Immigration Policy." in Alisa Gaunder (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Japanese Politics*, pp. 223-235. Routledge.
- Strausz, Michael. 2018. "Does the LDP Want to Build a Wall Too? Immigration and the 2017 Election in Japan." In Robert J. Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed, Ethan Scheiner, and Daniel M. Smith (eds.), *Japan Decides 2017: The Japanese General Election*, pp. 203-218. Palgrave Macmillan.

Questions to Consider:

- How can Japan deal with its aging society problem? Why have solutions or reforms been difficult to find and implement?
- Why is immigration an unpopular solution (among some citizens) to Japan's aging society problem? How does the politics of immigration compare to other countries?

Recitation Section:

- DEBATE: Immigration.

Th (April 4): Optional talk by Professor Sydney Lu (Rice University): "[Beyond Ethnic Studies: Re-thinking Japanese Migration to Brazil](#)" (note connections to course material on immigration).

Week 12: Foreign Policy Origins and Changes

M (April 8): The Yoshida Doctrine

Required Readings:

- Samuels, Richard J. 2007. "Japan's Grand Strategies: Connecting the Ideological Dots" (Chapter 1) and "Baking the Pacifist Loaf" (Chapter 2) in *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia*, pp. 13-59. Cornell University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- Iokibe, Makoto. 2011. "Diplomacy in Occupied Japan: Japanese Diplomacy in the 1940s." In Makoto Iokibe (ed.), *The Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan*, pp. 17-49. Routledge.
- Iokibe, Makoto and Takuya Sasaki. 2017. "The 1960s: Japan's Economic Rise and the Maturing of the Partnership" In Makoto Iokibe (ed.), *The History of US-Japan Relations*, pp. 149-169. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Beckley, Michael, Yusaku Horiuchi, and Jennifer M. Miller. 2018. "America's Role in the Making of Japan's Economic Miracle." *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 18(1): 1-21.
- *Compare: Snyder, Glenn H. 1984. "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics." *World Politics*, 36(4): 461-495.
- *Compare: Berger, Thomas. 1996. "Norms, Identity, and National Security in Germany and Japan," in Peter Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security*, pp. 317-356. Columbia University Press.

Questions to Consider:

- What does the U.S. get out of the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty? What does Japan get?
- Which political parties supported/opposed the treaty? Why?
- What is the alliance dilemma and how did the Yoshida Doctrine solve it?
- What were the long-term benefits of the Yoshida Doctrine for Japan?

W (April 10): Post-Cold War Changes and New Security Threats

Required Readings:

- Watch [Japan's About Face](#) (PBS) (~30-minute documentary).
- Rosenbluth and Thies: Chapter 8-9 (pp. 155-185).
- Stashwick, Steven. "[China's South China Sea Militarization Has Peaked](#)." *Foreign Policy*, August 19, 2019.
- Choi, Sang-Hun. "[North Korea's Potential Targets: Guam, South Korea and Japan](#)." *The New York Times*, August 9, 2017.

Recommended Readings:

- Green, Michael J. 2001. *Japan's Reluctant Realism* (Chapter 1, pp. 11-34). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shinoda, Tomohito. 2006. "Japan's Top-Down Policy Process to Dispatch the SDF to Iraq." *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 7(1): 71-91.
- Hughes, Christopher W. 2013. "The Democratic Party of Japan's New (but Failing) Grand Security Strategy: From 'Reluctant Realism' to 'Resentful Realism'?" in Kenji E. Kushida and Phillip Y. Lipsky (eds.), *Japan under the DPJ: The Politics of Transition and Governance*, pp. 333-367. The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University.
- G. John. Ikenberry. 2015. "The Stakeholder State: Ideology and Values in Japan's Search for a Post-Cold War Global Role." In Yoichi Funabashi and Barak Kushner (eds.), *Examining Japan's Lost Decades*, pp. 296-313. Routledge.

Questions to Consider:

- Should Japan become a “normal state?” What are the pros and cons of having a stronger and more independent military?
- Which groups and political actors inside and outside of Japan support reforms to Japan’s security policy? Which are opposed?
- Is the Yoshida Doctrine still relevant? Why or why not?

Recitation Section:

- Review discussion questions.

Week 13: Evolving Security Profile and Base Issues

M (April 15): Recent Foreign Policy Challenges and Global Engagement

Required Readings:

- Liff, Adam P. 2021. “Japan’s Defense Reforms under Abe.” In Takeo Hoshi and Phillip Y. Lipsky (eds.), *The Political Economy of the Abe Government and Abenomics Reforms*, pp. 479-510. Cambridge University Press.
- Hughes, Christopher W. 2022. *Japan as a Global Military Power New Capabilities, Alliance Integration, Bilateralism-Plus* (selections). Cambridge University Press.
- Rich, Motoko. “[Breaking With Postwar History, Japan to Sell Patriot Missiles to U.S.](#)” *The New York Times*, December 21, 2023.

Recommended Readings:

- Liff, Adam P. 2022. “The US-Japan Alliance and Taiwan.” *Asia Policy*, 17(3): 125-160.
- Lipsky, Phillip Y. 2023. “Japan’s Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic.” In Robert J. Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed, and Daniel M. Smith (eds.), *Japan Decides 2021: The Japanese General Election*, pp. 239-254. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Oros, Andrew. 2017. “The New Conservative Mainstream and New Security Policies Under Prime Minister Shinzō Abe, 2012 to 2016” (Chapter 5) in *Japan’s Security Renaissance: New Policies and Politics for the Twenty-First Century*, pp. 126-168. Columbia University Press.
- Takako Hikotani. “Trump’s Gift to Japan: Time for Tokyo to Invest in the Liberal Order.” *Foreign Affairs*, August 15, 2017.
- Hikotani, Takako. “How the Ukraine War Is Changing Japan: Tokyo Moves Toward a More Assertive Security Strategy.” *Foreign Affairs*, April 28, 2022.
- Solis, Mireya. 2017. *Dilemmas of a Trading Nation: Japan and the United States in the Evolving Asia-Pacific Order* (Chapter 11: “Conclusion: Forging a New Economic Asia-Pacific Order,” pp. 211-223). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Le, Tom Phuong. 2021. *Japan’s Aging Peace: Pacifism and Militarism in the Twenty-First Century* (selections). Columbia University Press.
- Katada, Saori N. 2019. *Japan’s New Regional Reality: Geoeconomic Strategy in the Asia-Pacific* (selections). Columbia University Press.

Questions to Consider:

- To what extent has Japan remilitarized?
- What are the domestic and international constraints to Japan playing a more active role in global affairs? Can Japan also play an active role in global security or is it hampered by its past?
- How does China’s growing economic and military assertiveness put pressure on Japan?
- How might the wars in Ukraine and Israel influence foreign policy thinking in East Asia?

W (April 17): Okinawa Base Issues

Required Readings:

- Johnson, Chalmers. 2001. "Okinawa Between the United States and Japan." In *Ryūkyū in World History*, pp. 365-394. Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt.
- Hikotani, Takako, Yusaku Horiuchi, and Atsushi Tago. 2023. "Revisiting Negative Externalities of U.S. Military Bases: The Case of Okinawa." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 23(2): 325-349.
- *Compare: Johnson, Chalmers. "[Blowback](#)." *The Nation*. September 27, 2001.

Recommended Readings:

- *Compare: Allen, Michael A., Michael E. Flynn, Carla Martinez Machain, and Andrew Stravers. 2020. "Outside the Wire: U.S. Military Deployments and Public Opinion in Host States." *American Political Science Review*, 114(2): 326-341.
- Kagotani, Koji, and Yuki Yanai. 2014. "External Threats, US Bases, and Prudent Voters in Okinawa." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 14(1): 91-115.
- Mason, R. Chuck. 2012. *Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA): What Is It, and How Has It Been Utilized?* (No. 7-5700). Congressional Research Service.
- Cooley, Alexander, and Kimberly Marten. 2006. "Base Motives: The Political Economy of Okinawa's Antimilitarism." *Armed Forces & Society*, 32(4): 566-583.
- Kim, Claudia J. 2017. "Neither a Monolith, nor a Parrot: Patterns of Japanese Media Reports on Futenma Relocation Controversy." *Social Science Japan Journal*, 20(2): 183-201.
- Kim, Claudia J., and Taylor C. Boas. 2020. "Activist Disconnect: Social Movements, Public Opinion, and U.S. Military Bases in East Asia." *Armed Forces & Society*, 46(4): 696-715.
- Miller, Jennifer M. 2014. "Fractured Alliance: Anti-Base Protests and Postwar U.S.-Japanese Relations." *Diplomatic History*, 38(5): 953-986.
- Smith, Sheila. 2001. "Japan's Uneasy Citizens and the U.S.-Japan Alliance." *Asia Pacific Issues*, 54: 1-8.

Questions to Consider:

- Why does Japan tolerate so many U.S. bases on Okinawa?
- What influence do Okinawans have in determining the (re)location of bases?
- How has the situation changed since the end of the Cold War?
- How is the U.S. military presence in Japan different from elsewhere in the world? How is the U.S. military presence in Okinawa different from elsewhere in Japan?

Recitation Section:

- Review discussion questions.

Week 14: Historical Memory Issues

M (April 22): Historical Memory Tensions in East Asia

Required Readings:

- McCarthy, Mary M. 2021. "The Enduring Challenges of History Issues." In Takeo Hoshi and Phillip Y. Lipsky (eds.), *The Political Economy of the Abe Government and Abenomics Reforms*, pp. 511-533. Cambridge University Press.
- Hara, Kimie. 2001. "50 Years from San Francisco: Re-Examining the Peace Treaty and Japan's Territorial Problems." *Pacific Affairs*, 74(3): 361-382.
- *Compare: Onion, Rebecca. "[A Brief History of the History Wars](#)." *Slate*, August 20, 2019.

Recommended Readings:

- *Compare: Bouie, Jamelle. "[America holds onto an undemocratic assumption from its founding: that some people deserve more power than others](#)." *The New York Times Magazine*, August 14, 2019.

- *Compare: Davidson, John David. "[The Ghost of John C. Calhoun Haunts Today's American Left](#)." *The Federalist*, August 20, 2019.
- Shin, Gi-Wook. 2011. "History Textbooks, Divided Memories, and Reconciliation." In Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel C. Snider (eds.), *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories*, pp. 3-19. Routledge.
- Bukh, Alexander. 2007. "Japan's History Textbooks Debate: National Identity in Narratives of Victimhood and Victimization." *Asian Survey*, 47(5): 683-704.
- Ryu, Yongwook. 2007. "The Yasukuni Controversy: Divergent Perspectives from the Japanese Political Elite." *Asian Survey*, 47(5): 705-726.
- Shibuichi, Daiki. 2005. "The Yasukuni Shrine Dispute and the Politics of Identity in Japan: Why All the Fuss?" *Asian Survey*, 45(1): 197-215.
- Gavan McCormack. 2013. "[Much Ado over Small Islands: The Sino-Japanese Confrontation over Senkaku/Diaoyu](#)." *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 11(21): 1-20.
- Manyin, Mark E. "Senkaku (Diaoyu/Diaoyutai) Islands Dispute: U.S. Treaty Obligations." Congressional Research Service. January 22, 2013.

Questions to Consider:

- How are current issues in Japan-China and Japan-Korea relations shaped by the past?
- Why are these historical memory issues seemingly more relevant in recent years?
- Why do conservative politicians visit Yasukuni Shrine if it causes diplomatic strains with Japan's neighbors?
- How is Yasukuni Shrine similar and different from other domestic war memorials or cemeteries, such as Arlington National Cemetery in the U.S.?

W (April 24): Apologies and Lasting Wounds

Required Readings:

- Lind, Jennifer. 2009. "Apologies in International Politics." *Security Studies*, 18: 517-556.
- *Compare: Berger, Thomas U. 2012. "Politics and Memory in an Age of Apology." in *War Guilt and World Politics After World War II*, pp. 8-34. Cambridge University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- Jo, Eun A. 2022. "Memory, Institutions, and the Domestic Politics of South Korean-Japanese Relations." *International Organization*, 76(4): 767-798.
- McCarthy, Mary M., and Linda C. Hasunuma. 2018. "Coalition Building and Mobilization: Case Studies of the Comfort Women Memorials in the United States." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 6(3): 411-434.
- Kitagawa, Risa, and Jonathan Chu. 2021. "The Impact of Political Apologies on Public Opinion." *World Politics*, 73(3): 441-481.
- Kagotani, Koji, Kan Kimura, and Jeffrey R. Weber. 2014. "Democracy and Diversionary Incentives in Japan-South Korea Disputes." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 14: 33-58.
- Miller, J. Berkshire. "[China and Japan's Pragmatic Peace](#)." *Foreign Policy*, July 1, 2019.
- Dudden, Alexis. "[America's Dirty Secret in East Asia](#)." *The New York Times*, September 23, 2019.

Questions to Consider:

- How are historical memory issues facing Japan and its neighbors similar or dissimilar from historical memory issues or identity politics that are common in many other democracies?
- What role does apology play in formal diplomacy, domestic politics, and international status?
- How might Japan and its neighbors resolve their disputes?

Recitation Section:

- DEBATE: Yasukuni Shrine.

Week 15: Constitutional Revision and Final Review

M (April 29): Constitutional Revision

Required Readings:

- The [Constitution of Japan](#) (1947).
- Council on Foreign Relations, [History of Japan's Postwar Constitution](#).
- Smith, Sheila A. 2019. "The Constitution Revisited." In *Japan Rearmed: The Politics of Military Power*, pp. 128-172. Harvard University Press.
- *Compare: Toobin, Jeffrey. "[Politics Changed the Reading of the Second Amendment—and Can Change It Again](#)." *The New Yorker*, August 5, 2019.
- *Compare: Lucas, James W. "[We Need to Update the Second Amendment](#)." *The National Review*, April 12, 2018.

Recommended Readings:

- McElwain, Kenneth Mori, and Christian G. Winkler. 2015. "What's Unique About the Japanese Constitution? A Comparative and Historical Analysis." *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 41(2): 249-280.
- McElwain, Kenneth Mori, Shusei Eshima, and Christian G. Winkler. 2021. "The Proposer or the Proposal? An Experimental Analysis of Constitutional Beliefs." *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 22(1): 15-39.
- Ginsburg, Tom, Zachary Elkins, and Justin Blount. 2009. "Does the Process of Constitution-Making Matter? *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 5(1): 201-223.
- Versteeg, Mila, and Emily Zackin. 2016. "Constitutions Unentrenched: Toward an Alternative Theory of Constitutional Design." *American Political Science Review*, 110(4): 657-674.
- Lummis, C. Douglas. 2013. "It Would Make No Sense for Article 9 to Mean What It Says, Therefore It Doesn't. The Transformation of Japan's Constitution." *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 11(39): 1-17.
- Editorial. "[Dangers of Collective Self-Defense](#)." *The Japan Times*, March 14, 2014.
- Repeta, Lawrence. 2012. "Japan's Democracy at Risk—The LDP's Ten Most Dangerous Proposals for Constitutional Change." *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 11(28): 1-13.
- Green, Michael, and Jeffrey Hornung. "[Twelve Myths about Collective Self Defense](#)." *The Diplomat*, July 10, 2014.

Questions to Consider:

- Why do some conservative politicians want to revise the Constitution?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages to keeping the Constitution unaltered?
- Do voters support revision? Has there been change in public opinion over time? If so, why?
- Is constitutional revision a matter of overcoming structural hurdles (institutional rules for amendment), or political hurdles?
- How does the issue of constitutional revision in Japan compare to debates over constitutional revision in the U.S. or elsewhere?

W (May 1): Wrap-up/review/discuss final exam

Recitation Section:

- Review for final exam.

Final exam date and location TBD.