

IR 570: POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN**Fall 2003****Professor Thomas U. Berger****Office: 152 Bay State Road, Room 447****Phone: (617) 353-8992****e-mail: tubeger@bu.edu****Hours: Tues, Thrs 2-3,****Office****Hours: Weds 10-12, 1:30-2:30, Tu/Th 5-6 and by
appointment**

At the dawn of the 21st century Japan stands at threshold of a wrenching transformation. The largest democracy in East Asia, and the second largest economy in the world, it has suffered what has been described as a “lost decade” of slow growth and political turmoil. Despite repeated calls from all quarters for root and branch reform of its social, economic and political systems, to date the apparent pace of change has been glacial. There are signs, however, that beneath the surface tectonic shifts in the structure of the Japanese system have taken place. The old Keiretsu structure is dissolving, foreign capital and imports are entering the previously closed Japanese market and the economy appears to be headed towards its most rapid and sustained period of growth since the 1980s. Reformers in the Japanese political parties seem to hold the initiative, at least for the moment and a broad-based coalition has emerged calling for deregulation, increased competition and a more active role in international affairs seems to have formed at the mass and popular levels, spurred on by fears of economic competition from China and the national security threat emanating from North Korea. Yet, we have seen such signs of renewal, and each time reform was nipped in the bud. Will this time be any different? Will Japan continue to stagnate, or will it renew itself economically, socially and politically? In either case, what type of Japan is likely to emerge, and how will it relate to its neighbors and the United States?

This course will seek to engage these issues while providing a general overview of politics and government in contemporary Japan. The course is divided into three parts. The first part of the course consists of a three week general overview of the origins and evolution of the Japanese polity - the emergence of the modern Japanese state, the construction of Japan’s national identity, the impact of rapid industrialization on Japanese society and culture, and the influence that these events have had on how the Japanese political system operates today. In the second part of the course, we will explore the structural parameters within which Japanese politics operate: the institutional structures of the Japanese government, the political parties and the electoral process, the role of interest groups in the Japanese political economy, and political culture. Finally, the third part of the course will focus on selected topics in contemporary Japanese politics, including industrial policy, the environment, immigration and minorities, and the ongoing efforts to reform the Japanese political system.

Required Texts:

Sheldon Garon, Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997)

Mikiso Hane, Modern Japan 3rd edition (Westview Press, 2001)

Edward Lincoln, Arthritic Japan (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2001)

Bradley Richardson, Japanese Democracy (Yale University Press, 1997)

Jacob Schlesinger, Shadow Shoguns: The Rise and Fall of Japan's Postwar Political Machine (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997)

Course readings are available at the Reserve reading room in the Murgar library. Undergraduates may find the recommended readings helpful if they wish to do term papers on related topics.

Requirements

1) For undergraduates - Two short (class-length tests) based on the required readings - 50% identify key terms, 50% short answer. One 12 to 15 page term paper on a topic related to the course. The term paper is due on the last day of class. Grade is based 40% on the term paper, 40% on the tests and 20% on class participation.

2) For graduate students - as undergraduates, except a longer, 20 to 30 page research paper is required. Grade is based 50% on the term paper, 30% on the tests and 20% on class participation.

Students are urged to make an early appointment to discuss term paper topics no later than the third week of the course. A brief written summary of the progress made on the term paper, including a tentative bibliography, is to be submitted by the end of the seventh week. I am willing to look over drafts of the term paper up to one week before they are due and give general comments.

I. Introduction

Readings:

Richardson, Japanese Democracy, Introduction, pp.1-11 (11)

Recommended and Related Texts:

- *Gerald Curtis, The Japanese Way of Democracy (New York: Columbia University press, 1988), epilogue, pp.233-249 (16)
- *Richard J. Samuels, "The Myth of the Independent Intellectual," in Richard Samuels and Myron Weiner, eds., The Political Culture of Foreign Area Studies (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1992)
- * Takeshi Ishida and Ellis S. Krauss, eds., Democracy in Japan (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), especially chapters 1 and 2.
- * Chalmers Johnson, Japan: Who Governs? The Rise of the Developmental State (New York: Norton, 1995) Chapter 6.
- *Karel van Wolferen, The Japanese Enigma (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1989) Chapters 1 and 2, pp.1-50 (50)

II. The Emergence of Modern Japan

Readings: Pyle, The Making of Modern Japan chapters 1-9, (158)

Recommended and Related Texts(R&RT)

- * Carol Gluck, Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period (Princeton, NJ: Princeton, New Jersey, 1985), especially pp. 17-82, 279-286 (72)
- * Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman eds., Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986)
- * Barrington Moore, The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (Boston, MA: Beacon Hill, 1966) pp.228-313 (85)
- * Hidemi Suganami, "Japan's Entry into International Society," in Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, eds., The Expansion of International Society (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984)
- * Tetsuo Najita, The Intellectual Foundations of Modern Japanese Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp.1-148
- * Yosuke Tsurumi, Present Day Japan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1926), chapters 1 and 2

III. Taisho Democracy, Militarism and Reconstruction

Readings: Hane Modern Japan chapters 10-15 (183)

Garon, Molding Japanese Minds introduction and chapter 2 (45)

Jacob Schlesinger, Shadow Shoguns, pp.19-45 (26)

Recommended and Related Texts (R&RT)

- *Carol Gluck, "The Past in the Present," Chapter 3 in Andrew E. Gordon, Postwar Japan as History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp.64-95 (31)
- *Kosaka Masataka, "The Showa Era," Daedelus (Summer 1990) pp.27-48 (21)
- *Herbert Passin, "The Occupation, some Reflections," Daedelus (Summer 1990), pp.107-130 (23)
- *Maruyama Masao, "Theory and Psychology of Ultra-Nationalism," in Maruyama, Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp.1-24 (24)
- *Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle (Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1982), chapters 1-3, 5 and 6
- *Peter Duus, "The Reaction of Japanese Big Business to a State-controlled Economy in the 1930s," in International Review of Economics and Business (September 1984), pp.819-832
- *Richard J. Samuels, The Business of the Japanese State State:Energy Markets in Comparative and Historical Perspective (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), chapters 1, 5 and 7, pp.1-22, 170-227 257-290
- *John Dower, Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II (New York: Norton, 1999)

IV. Politics in the era of High Growth - 1952-1989

Richardson, Japanese Democracy chapter 3, pp.49-73 (24)

T.J. Pempel, Regime Shift: The Comparative Dynamics of the Japanese Political Economy, chapters 2-4, pp.19-113 (94)

Recommended and Related Texts (R&RT)

- *Nathaniel Thayer, How Conservatives Rule Japan
- *William K. Tabb, The Postwar Japanese System: Cultural Economy and Economic Transformation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995)

V. Institutional Structures and the Policy Making Process

Readings:

Richardson, Japanese Democracy, chapters 5 and 6, pp. 95-151 (56)

Kenji Hayao, The Japanese Prime Minister and Public Policy (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 1993), pp. 184-209 (25)

Jacob Schlesinger, Shadow Shoguns, pp.46-58, 131-145 (26)

Recommended and Related Texts (R&RT)

* Yukio Noguchi, "Budget making Policy in Japan," in Samuel Kernell, ed., Parallel Politics: Economic Policy Making in Japan and the United States (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1991), pp.119-144 (25)

* Steven Reed, Making Common Sense of Japan, Chapter 5

* Mike Mochizuki, Managing and Influencing the Japanese Legislative Process, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1982, chapters 2, pp.45-127 (82)

*Hans J. Baerwald, Japan's Parliament: An Introduction (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp1-29, 74-102

*Ellis Krauss, "Conflict in the Diet," in Krauss, et.al., eds, Conflict in Japan

*John C. Campbell, Contemporary Japanese Budget Politics (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), esp. 12-42 and 115-171

*Mark Ramseyer and Frances M. Rosenbluth, Japan's Political Marketplace (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), especially chapter 7

VI. Parties and Electoral Politics I

Readings:

Jacob Schlesinger, Shadow Shoguns, pp.46-227, (181)

VII. Parties and Electoral Politics II

Jacob Schlesinger, Shadow Shoguns 233-251, 264-275 (24)

Bradley Richardson, Japanese Democracy, chapters 2 and 4 (48)

Gerald Curtis, Election Campaigning Japanese Style (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 126-178(52)

Ronald Hrebnar, The Japanese Party System (Westview Press, 1992) Chapters 3, "The Money Basis of Japanese Politics," pp.54-76 (22)

Albert L. Seligman, "Japan's New Electoral System: has Anything Changed?" Asian Survey Vol.XXXVII, No.5 (May 1997), pp.409-428 (19)

Recommended and Related Texts (R&RT)

* Otake Hideo, ed., How electoral reform Boomeranged (Tokyo and New York: Japan Center for International Exchange, 1998)

* Kohno Masaru, Japan's Postwar Party Politics especially chapters 3, 5,6 and 8

*Mark J. Ramseyer and Frances McCall Rosenbluth, Japan's Political Marketplace (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), chapters 2, 4 and 5, pp.16-37 59-98 (60)

*Chalmers Johnson and E.B. Keehn, "A Disaster in the Making: Rational Choice and Asian studies," The National interest No.36, (Summer 1994), pp.14-22 (8)

*James White, "The Dynamics of Political Opposition," in Andrew Gordon, ed., Postwar Japan as History

*Steven Reed, "Structure and Behavior: Extending Duverger's Law to Japanese Case," British Journal of Political Science (20), pp.335-356

*Scott Flanagan, et.al., eds. The Japanese Voter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), especially chapters 1,4 and 10

VIII. Political Economy and Interest Groups

Readings: Bradley M. Richardson, Democracy in Japan chapters 7-10, pp.152-266 (114)

Sheldon Garon and Michael Mochizuki, "Negotiating Social Contracts," chapter 6 in Andrew Gordon, Postwar Japan as History, pp.145-166 (21)

Yutaka Tsujinaka, "Rengo and its Osmotic Networks," in Allinson and Sone, Political Dynamics in Contemporary Japan, pp.200-213 (13)

Frank Schwartz, "Of Fairy Cloaks and Familiar Talk: The Politics of Consultation," in Allinson and Sone,

Political Dynamics in Japan, pp.217-242 (25)

Michio Muramatsu and Ellis Krauss, "The Conservative Policy Line and the Development of Patterned Pluralism," in Kozo Yamamura and Yasukichi Yasuba, eds., The Political Economy of Japan Vol.1 The Domestic Transformation (Stanford. Stanford University Press, 1987), pp.516-554 (38)

Recommended and Related Texts (R&RT)

*Sheldon Garon, The State and Labor in Modern Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987)

*Andrew Gordon, The Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan: Heavy Industry. 1853-1955 (Cambridge: MA, Harvard University Press, 1985), esp. Conclusions

*Michael Gerlach, Alliance Capitalism: The Social Organization of Japanese Business (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), chapters 3 and 4

*David E. Apter and Nagano Sawa, Against the State: Politics and Social Protest in Japan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp.1-17, 225-250

*Frank Schwarz, Advice and Consent: the Politics of Consultation in Japan (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), chapter 1

* Susan Pharr and Frank Schwartz, eds., The State of Civil Society in Japan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

IX. Japanese Society and Political Culture

Readings: Steven R. Reed, Making Common Sense of Japan, chapters 1-3 and 5, pp. 3-76, 106-135 (113)

Recommended and Related Texts (R&RT)

- Shumpei Kumon, "Japan as a Network Society," in Shumpei Kumon and Henry Rosovsky, Cultural and Social Dynamics, Volume 3 of Yasuske Murakami and Hugh Patrick, eds., The Political Economy of Japan (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992) pp. 109 - 141 (32)
- John O. Haley, Authority without Power (New York; Oxford University Press, 1994)
- Tessa Morris-Suzuki, Reinventing Japan: Time Space Nation (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998)

- Ross Mouer and Yoshio Sugimoto, Images of Japanese Society (London: Kegan Paul International, 1986)
- Ishida Takeshi, Japanese Political Culture (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press, 1983)
- Kosaku Yoshino, Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A sociological inquiry (London and New York: Routledge, 1992)
- Lucian Pye, Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimensions of Authority (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1985)

First Short Test Part I: Multiple Choice - identify in three sentences or less people, events and institutions Part II: Short Questions - select and discuss in a paragraph of more than three sentences 2 topics.

Reminder: Brief summary of progress made so far on the term paper due by end of the week. Define the question, Include a tentative bibliography.

X. Industrial Policy and Economic Management

Readings:

Edward Lincoln, Arthritic Japan the whole book (221 pages)

Recommended and Related Texts (R&RT)

- *Laura E. Hunt, "Growth versus Success: Japan's Economic Policy in Historic Perspective," in Andrew Gordon, Postwar Japan as History pp.99-122 (31)
- *Richard Katz, Japanese Phoenix: the Long Road to economic Revival (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002)
- *William Grimes, Unmaking the Japanese Miracle (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001)
- *Richard N. Katz, Japan: The System that Soured (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998)
- *Lonny E. Carlile and Mark C. Tilton, eds. Is Japan

- really Changing its Ways: Regulatory reform and the Japanese Economy (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1998) especially chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8
- * Daniel Okimoto, Between MITI and the Marketplace: Japanese Industrial Policy for High Technology (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), pp. 1-54, 178-228 (112)
- * Scott Callon, Divided Sun: MITI and the Breakdown of Japanese High-Tech Industrial Policy 1975-1993 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), chapter 7, pp.147-181 (34)
- * David Asher, "What Became of the Japanese 'Miracle'" Orbis (Spring 1996), pp.215-234 (19)
- * Correspondence on Japan's "miracle" economy, Orbis (Summer 1996) (19)
- * Eamon Fingleton, "Japan's Invisible Leviathan," Foreign Affairs 74:2 (March/April, 1995), pp.69-85 (17)
- * Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle, (Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1982) especially Chapters 1, 2 and 9
- Richard J. Samuels, The Business of the Japanese State: Energy Markets in Comparative and Historical Perspective (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), chapters 1, 5 and 7, pp.1-22, 170-227 257-290
- *Eisuke Sakakibara, "The Japanese Political-Economic System and the Public Sector," in J. Kernell, ed., Parallel Politics, pp.50-79 (29)
- *Steven Vogel, Freer markets, More Rules: regulatory Reform in Advanced Industrial Societies (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998)
- *Bai Gao, Economic Ideology and Japanese Industrial Policy, 1965-1995 (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

XI. Women's Issues in Japan

Readings: Kathleen S. Uno, "'The death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother,'" in Andrew Gordon, ed., Postwar Japan as History (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), pp.293-322 (30)

Frank Upham, Law and Social Change chapter 4, pp.124-165 (41)

Sheldon Garon, Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life, pp.115-145, 178-205 (48)

Recommended and Related Texts (R&RT)

* Sumiko Iwao The Japanese Woman: Traditional Image and Changing Reality (Harvard University Press, 1993)

especially chapters 1, 7, 8, 9 and 10 (124)

*"Women in Comparative Perspective: Japan and the United States," PS: Political Science and Politics Vol. XXXIV: 2 (June 2001)

XII. The Environment

Readings: Meg McKean, "Pollution and Policymaking," in T.J. Pempel, Policymaking in Contemporary Japan (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp.218-238 (20)

Frank Upham, Law and Social Change in Contemporary Japan pp.28-77 (49)

Allan S. Miller and Curtis Moore, Japan and the Global Environment (Center for Global Change, University of Maryland, College Park, January 1991) (33 pages)

Miranda Schreurs, "Policy Laggard or Policy Leader? Global Environmental Policymaking under the LDP," Journal of Pacific Asia Vol.2, 1995, pp.3-33 (30)

Miranda Schreurs, "Japan's Changing Approach to Environmental Issues," Environmental Politics Vol.6, No.2 (Summer 1997), pp.150-156 (7)

Miranda Schreurs, "Conservation, Development and State Sovereignty: Japan and the Tropical Forests of Southeast Asia," in Sohail H. Hashmi, ed., State Sovereignty: Change and Persistence in International Relations (University Park, Penn: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), pp.181-204 (23)

XIII. Immigration and Minorities

Readings: Michael Weiner, ed., Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), chapter 1

Haruo Shimada, Japan's "Guest Workers" (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1994), chapters 2, 3, 6, 7 and 8, pp. 15-80, 147-213. (131)

Takamichi Kajita, "The Challenge of Incorporating Foreign Workers in Japan," in Myron Weiner, ed., ed. Temporary Workers or Future Citizens: Japanese and U.S. Migration Policies (London and New York: MacMillan, forthcoming) (38)

Yasuo Kuwahara, "Illegal Migrant Workers in Japan: Can International Migration be controlled?" in Myron Weiner, ed., Temporary Workers or Future Citizens (28)

Isami Takeda, "Japan's responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers," in Myron Weiner, ed., ed. Temporary Workers or Future Citizens (27)

Recommended and Related Texts (R&RT)

* Hiroshi Komai, Migrant Workers in Japan (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1995)

* Saskia Sassen "Economic Internationalization: The New Migration in Japan and the United States," International Migration Vol. XXXi, No.1, 1993, pp. 73-102

Reminder: Papers Due on the Last day of Class!

XIV. Course Conclusions

no readings

Suggestions for Paper Topics: (duplication of topics is permissible, but you must work independently)

1. The future of U.S.-Japanese Trade Relations. What are the dynamics of U.S.-Japanese trade relations? What accounts for the persistent set of tensions? Is it mainly U.S. domestic politics, the structure of Japan's political combinations, the development of the international system as a whole, or some combination of the above. Are we headed for a final confrontation that could destroy the trading relationship? Under what circumstances is a trade war likely to break out? What are the implications of your analysis for the kinds of policies that should be adopted?
2. The Japanese model in comparative perspective.
3. Japan - towards a neocorporatist model? Comparison of interest group representation and the political economy of Japan and Western Europe. Is the US an outlier?
4. Long-term implications of Electoral Reform for Japanese Politics.
5. Lessons for the Developing World: Japan as a model of development or the transferability of the Japanese model.
6. Return of the Rising Sun? Japan's new nationalism.
7. Japan: A rising Hegemon or free rider? Japanese defense and national security policy.
8. Prospects for and implications of Deregulation and Privatization in Japan.

9. The impact of financial deregulation on the Japanese political economy. The triumph of Adam Smith or the beginning of end?
10. Police and anti-terrorism in Japan - police state or a toothless tiger?
11. Women's issues in Japan in comparative perspective - culture, globalization and the prospects for change/continuity.
12. Compare the occupation of Germany and Japan. What were the differences, what were the similarities, what were their long-term implications for democracy?

Other ideas - a comparison of reform efforts in Japan and Italy; a comparison of French and Japanese approaches to industrial policy, any sort of comparison of aspects of the Japanese polity with that of other nations. In researching your papers you may also want to look at some of the following journals for relevant articles:

Some Useful sources:

1. Asian Survey DS1.A818
2. Current History (each issue focuses on different regions of the world)
4. The Economist (weekly)
5. Far East Asian Economic Review (weekly)
6. Foreign Affairs JX1.F71
7. Foreign Policy JA1.F6
8. Journal of Japanese Studies

A couple of useful web sites

www.newsonjapan.com - lots of useful articles from the daily Japanese press on politics, society and international affairs. Goes back about a month.

www.bu.edu/eas - lots of links to contemporary Japanese government and news organizations, in English

www.asiaobserver.com - a portal site for Asian news sources. Note also their extensive set of academic links.