

IR 561

**JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY
AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF EAST & SOUTHEAST ASIA**

*Tuesday 9:30 am -12:30 pm
VKC 204*

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Office Hours: Mon 9:30-11:30 am, Thu 3:30-4:30 pm

Course Objectives

The primary interest of this course is to expand students' theoretical understanding of Japan's relation with the world, Japanese foreign policy decision-making, Japan's economic and political relationship with the Pacific Rim countries. Issues that influence Japanese foreign policy, the implication of Japan's increasing economic power and that of changing U.S.-Japanese relations, will be discussed. In addition, we will cover policy-relevant literature in the course to analyze how the theories help understand important issues surrounding Japan: How does U.S.-Japanese relationship affect economic development and political security in Asia? Is Japan likely to shoulder more security burden in Asia in the near future?

The course focuses strongly on Japan and international political economy, and due to the time constraints, it will not cover all the important questions that exist in Asia. However, I would like to encourage students pursue their own research interests in their final research paper.

Pre-requisites

- Basic understanding of Japanese history (particularly since the Meiji Restoration). Read W.G. Beasley, The Rise of Modern Japan, (St. Martin's Press, 1995) before the end of January.
- Basic to intermediate understanding of international economics (or at least one course in IPE) is strongly suggested before taking this course.
- Interest in and knowledge of current discussions on U.S.-Japanese relations.

Course Structure

A five-page double-spaced paper is assigned to one student each week (except the first and last weeks). The paper should contain a synopsis of the week's reading material taking into account possible discussion topics for the class. Students must submit the paper by E-mail to all the students in class and to me by 10:00 am on Monday before the seminar. In addition, the student in charge has to place copies of his/her paper in the Graduate Lounge (VKC 300A) the same time so that those who do not have access to E-mail account then can come to class can read it. All students are expected to come to class with critique of the paper in mind. The one who prepares the paper will present his/her analysis, and work as a discussion leader for the first half of the class. I will expand/refocus the discussions during the second half.

The final research paper is very important in this course. Students are free to choose any topic as long as it is relevant to this course substantively and/or theoretically, and once you clear the topic with me. The last week of class is reserved for each student to present his/her analysis and findings in class. Students are encouraged to write this paper with the intent to submit it as a conference paper or a journal article.

Finally, I require everybody to have an E-mail account. E-mail is the best way to communicate with me.

Assignments and Course Grades

During the 15 weeks (excluding the Spring break) of this semester, students are expected to do the following:

Two Five-page Papers and Discussion Leadership 40%

Paper must be submitted via E-mail by Monday 10:00 am before the seminar.

Participation in Class Discussions 20%

Regular attendance and active participation in class discussions.

Final Research Paper 40%

Your topic cleared by me by **February 13**, two-page outline with a substantial bibliography due by **March 6 (schedule an individual session with me on March 8 and 9)**, a twenty-minute presentation on **April 24** in class, and the final paper due on **May 3 (Thu) at 4:00 pm**. The paper should be between 20 and 25 double-spaced pages (excluding bibliography) or around 6,000 words.

Main Books for the Course (in the bookstore and on reserve at VKC library)

W.G. Beasley, The Rise of Modern Japan, 1995.

Gerald L. Curtis (ed.), Japan's Foreign Policy after the Cold War: Coping with Change, 1993. (Curtis FP)

Gerald L. Curtis (ed.), New Perspectives on U.S.-Japan Relations, 2000. (Curtis USJ)

T.J. Pempel, Regime Shift: Comparative Dynamics of the Japanese Political Economy, 1997.

Walter Hatch and Kozo Yamamura, Asia in Japan's Embrace: Building a Regional Production Alliance, 1997.

Course Schedule

(B) at Bookstore, (V) at VKC library, and (C) in your coursepak.

1. January 9 Introduction, History And Getting Started.

W.G. Beasley, The Rise of Modern Japan, 1995 read by the end of January 27 (B)

2. January 16 Regime Shift?

T.J. Pempel, Regime Shift: Comparative Dynamics of the Japanese Political Economy, 1997.
Whole book. (B)

3. January 23 Domestic Structure and Japanese Foreign Policy

T. J. Pempel, “The Unbundling of “Japan, Inc.”: The Changing Dynamics of Japanese Policy Formation,” The Journal of Japanese Studies, Vol. 13, No. 2, summer 1987, p. 271-306. (C)

Michio Muramatsu and Ellis S. Krauss, “The Conservative Policy Line and the Development of Patterned Pluralism,” in Kozo Yamamura and Yasukichi Yasuba (eds.), The Political Economy of Japan: Volume 1 The Domestic Transformation, 1998, p. 423-468. (C)

Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle, 1982, chap. 8. (C)

Peter Evans, “The State as Problem and Solution: Predation, Embedded Autonomy, and Structural Change,” in Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman (eds.), The Politics of Economic Adjustment, 1992, p. 139-181. (C)

Frances McCall Rosebluth “Internationalization and Electoral Politics in Japan,” in Keohane & Millner (eds.), Internationalization and Domestic Politics, 1996, p. 137-156. (C)

Recommended:

Karl van Wolferen, The Enigma of Japanese Power, 1988.

Daniel Okimoto, “Political Inclusivity: The Domestic Structure of Trade,” in Inoguchi & Okimoto (eds), The Political Economy of Japan: Volume 2 The Changing International Context, 1988. p. 305-344.

4. January 30 International Position and Japanese Foreign Policy

Kent E. Calder, “Japanese Foreign Economic Policy Formation: Explaining the Reactive State,” World Politics, Vol. 40, July 1988, p. 517-541. (C)

Akitoshi Miyashita, “Gaiatsu and Japan’s Foreign Aid: Rethinking the Reactive-Proactive Debate,” International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 43, No. 4, December 1999, p. 695-731. (C)

Leonard J. Schoppa, “Two-level Games and Bargaining Outcomes: Why Gaiatsu Succeeds in Japan in Some Cases but Not Others,” IQ, Vol. 47, No. 3, Summer 1993, p. 353-384. (C)

Susan J. Pharr, “Japan’s Defensive Foreign Policy and the Politics of Burden Sharing,” (Curtis, p. 235-262). (B), (R)

Robert J. Orr, “The Aid Factor in U.S.-Japanese Relations,” Asian Survey, Vol. 28, July 1988, p. 740-756. (C)

Recommended:

Donald C. Hollmann "Japanese Politics and Foreign Policy: Elitist Democracy within an American Greenhouse," in Inoguchi & Okimoto (eds), The Political Economy of Japan: Volume 2 The Changing International Context, 1988. p. 345-378.

5. February 6 Negotiation Style and Japanese Foreign Policy

Michael Blaker, "Evaluating Japan's Diplomatic Performance" (Curtis-FP, p.1-42). (B), (R)

Nathaniel B. Thayer, "Japanese Foreign Policy in the Nakasone Years" (Curtis-FP, p. 90-104). (B), (R)

Michael Blaker, "Probe, Push, and Panic: The Japanese Tactical Style in International Negotiations" in Robert A. Scalapino (ed.), The Foreign Policy of Modern Japan, 1977, p. 55-101. (C)

Frank Schwartz, "Of Fairy Cloaks and Familiar Talks: The Politics of Consultation," in Allison and Sone (eds.), Political Dynamics in Contemporary Japan, 1993, p. 217-241. (C)

6. February 13 Influence of Norms, Ideas and Paradigms

Robert Wade, "Japan, the World Bank, and the Art of Paradigm Maintenance: The East Asian Miracle in Political Perspective," New Left Review, no.217, 1996, p. 3-37. (C)

Shunpei Kumon & Akihiko Tanaka "From Prestige to Wealth to Knowledge," in Inoguchi & Okimoto (eds), The Political Economy of Japan: Volume 2 The Changing International Context, 1988. p. 64-82. (C)

Thomas Berger, "From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan's Culture of Anti-Militarism," International Security, Spring 1993, p. 119-150. (C)

Chalmers Johnson, "Comparative Capitalism: The Japanese Difference," California Management Review, Summer 1993, Vol. 35, No. 4, p. 51-67. (C)

Yasusuke Murakami, "The Japanese Model of Political Economy" in Kozo Yamamura and Yasukichi Yasuba (eds.), The Political Economy of Japan: Volume 1 The Domestic Transformation, 1998, p. 33-90. (C)

Recommended:

Amy Gurowitz, "Mobilizing International Norms: Domestic Actors, Immigrants, and the Japanese State," World Politics, Vol. 51, No. 3, Apr 1999, p. 413-445.

7. February 20 U.S.-Japanese Alliance and Japan's Security Relations

Norman D. Levin, "The Strategic Dimensions of Japanese Foreign Policy," (Curtis-FP, p. 202-217). (B), (R)

Peter Katzenstein and Nobuo Okawara, "Japan's National Security," International Security, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1993, p. 84-118. (C)

- Paul Giarra, "U.S. Bases in Japan: Historical Background and Innovative Approaches to Maintaining Strategic Presence," in Green and Cronin (eds.), The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Past, Present, and Future, 1999, p. 114-138. (C)
- Victor D. Cha, "Abandonment, Entrapment, and Neoclassical Realism in Asia: The United States, Japan and Korea," International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 44, No. 2, June 2000, p. 261-291. (C)
- Gerald Curtis, "U.S. Policy Toward Japan from Nixon to Clinton: An Assessment (Chapter 1)," (Curtis-USJ, p. 1-38), (B), (R).
- Michael Green, "The Challenges of Managing U.S.-Japan Security Relations after the Cold War (Chapter 8)" (Curtis-USJ, p. 241-264), (B), (R).
- Akihiko Tanaka, "The International Context of U.S.-Japan Relations in the 1990s (Chapter 9)," (Curtis-USJ, p. 265-294), (B), (R).

Recommended:

- Motohide Saito, "Japan's "Northward" Foreign Policy," (Curtis-FP, p. 274-302).*
- Joseph Nye, "The Case for Deep Engagement," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 74, No. 4, 1995, p. 90-102.*
- Chalmers Johnson & E. B. Keehn, "The Pentagon's Ossified Strategy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 74, No. 4, 1995, p. 103-114.*

8. February 27 U.S.-Japanese Economic Relations and Japan's Adjustment

- Takatoshi Ito, "U.S. Political Pressure and Economic Liberalization in East Asia," in Frankel and Kahler (eds.), Regionalism and Rivalry: Japan and the United States in Pacific Asia, 1993. Chap. 9. (C)
- John Creighton Campbell, "Japan and the United States: Games that Work," (Curtis-FP, p. 43-61). (B), (R)
- Robert Bullock, "Market Opening in Japan: Deregulation, Reregulation, and Cross-Sectoral Variation (Chapter 2)," (Curtis-USJ, p. 39-81), (B), (R).
- Jennifer Hold Dwyer, "U.S.-Japan Financial-Market Relations in an Era of Global Finance (Chapter 3)," (Curtis-USJ, p. 82-128), (B), (R).
- Junko Kato, "The Transformation of Japan's Fiscal Orientation in the 1990s: The Impact of External Pressure, Volatile Party Politics, and Recession (Chapter 4)," (Curtis-USJ, p. 129-145), (B), (R).
- Yoshiko Kojo, "Japan's Changing Attitude toward Adjusting its Current Account Surplus: The Strong Yen and Macroeconomic Policy in the 1990s (Chapter 5)," (Curtis-USJ, p. 146-174), (B), (R).
- Robert Uriu, "The Impact of Policy Ideas: Revisionism and the Clinton Administration's Trade Policy toward Japan (Chapter 7)," (Curtis-USJ, p. 213-240), (B), (R).

Recommended:

John Ravenhill, "The 'Japan Problem' in Pacific Trade," in R. Higgott, R. Leaver, and J. Ravenhill (eds.), Pacific Economic Relations in the 1990s: Cooperation or Conflict? 1993, p. 106-132.

9. March 6 Japan's International Role: Hegemony and Leadership

Kenneth B. Pyle, "Can Japan Lead? The New Internationalism and the Burden of History," in Henry Bienen (ed.), Power, Economics, and Security: The United States and Japan in Focus, 1992. p. 189-225. (C)

Peter F. Cowhey, "Domestic Institutions and the Credibility of International Commitments: Japan and the United States," IO, Vol. 47, No. 2, Spring 1993, p. 299-326. (C)

Henrik Schmiegelow and Michèle Schmiegelow, "How Japan Affects the International System," IO, Vol. 44, No. 4, Autumn 1990, p. 553-588. (C)

Richard Rosecrance and Jennifer Taw, "Japan and the Theory of International Leadership," World Politics, Vol. 42, No. 2, January 1990, p. 184-209. (C)

Recommended:

Ezra F. Vogel, "Pax Nipponica?" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 64, No. 4, Spring 1986, p.752-767.

Takashi Inoguchi, "The Ideas and Structures of Foreign Policy: Looking Ahead with Caution," in Inoguchi & Okimoto (eds), The Political Economy of Japan: Volume 2 The Changing International Context, 1988, p. 23-63.

Duncan Snidal, "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory," IO, Vol. 39, No. 4, Autumn 1985, p. 579-614.

G. John Ikenberry and Charles A. Kupchan, "Socialization and Hegemonic Power," IO, Vol. 44, No. 3, Summer 1990, p. 283-315.

Oran R. Young, "Political Leadership and Regime Formation: on the Development of Institutions in International Society," IO, Vol. 45, No. 3, Summer 1991, p. 281-308.

SPRING BREAK MARCH 12-16

10. March 20 Japan's International Role: Provider of International Public Good?

Ming Wan, "Spending Strategies in World Politics: How Japan Has Used its Economic Power in the Past Decade," International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 39, 1995, p. 85-108. (C)

Courtney Purrington and A.K., "Tokyo's Policy Responses during the Gulf Crisis," Asian Survey, Vol. 31, No. 4, April 1991, p. 307-323. (C)

William J. Long "Nonproliferation as a Goal of Japanese Foreign Assistance." Asian Survey Vol. 39, No. 2, March/April 1999, p. 328-347, (C)

Dennis Yasutomo, "Politicization of Japan's 'Post-Cold War' Multilateral Diplomacy," (Curtis-FP, p. 323-346). (B), (R)

Yasuhiro Ueki, "Japan's UN Diplomacy: Sources of Passivism and Activism," (Curtis-FP, p. 347-370). (B), (R)

Recommended:

Barbara Stallings, "The Reluctant Giant: Japan and the Latin America Debt Crisis," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 22, Part 1, February 1990, p. 1-30.

Dennis T. Yasutomo, *The New Multilateralism in Japan's Foreign Policy*, 1995.

Young-Kwan Yoon, "The Political Economy of Transition: Japanese Foreign Direct Investment in the 1980s," *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 1, October 1990, p. 1-27.

Koichi Hamada & Hugh T. Patrick, "Japan and the International Monetary Regime," in Inoguchi & Okimoto (eds), *The Political Economy of Japan: Volume 2 The Changing International Context*, 1988. p. 108-137.

Eric Helleiner, "Money and Influence: Japanese Power in the International Monetary and Financial System," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol 18, No. 3, 1989, p. 343-358.

Shafiqul Islam, "Beyond Burden-Sharing: Economics and Politics of Japanese Foreign Aid," in Shafiqul Islam, (ed.), *Yen for Development: Japanese Foreign Aid and Politics of Burden-Sharing*, A Council of Foreign Relations Book, 1991, p. 191-230.

11. March 27 Japan in Asia: Economic Regionalization

Walter Hatch and Kozo Yamamura, *Asia in Japan's Embrace: Building a Regional Production Alliance*, 1997. Whole book. (B), (R)

Peter Katzenstein, "Introduction: Asian Regionalism in Comparative Perspective," in his (ed.), *Network Power: Japan and Asia*, 1997, p. 1-44. (C)

Recommended:

Masahiko Asada, "Confidence-Building Measures in East Asia: A Japanese Perspective," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 28. No. 5, May 1988, p. 489-508.

Shoji Nishijima, "Japan, Regional Integration, and the Pacific Rim," in Nishijima & Smith (eds.), *Cooperation or Rivalry? Regional Integration in the Americas and the Pacific Rim*, 1996, p. 173-191.

Shigeyuki Abe, "Prospects for Asian Economic Integration," in Nishijima & Smith (eds.), *Cooperation or Rivalry? Regional Integration in the Americas and the Pacific Rim*, 1996, p. 243-267.

Richard Higgott, "Competing Theoretical Approaches in International Cooperation: Implications for the Asia-Pacific," in R. Higgott, R. Leaver, and J. Ravenhill (eds.), *Pacific Economic Relations in the 1990s: Cooperation or Conflict?*, 1993, p. 290-311.

12. April 3 Japan in Asia: Japan as a Leader?

Lam Peng Er, "Japan and the Spratlys Dispute: Aspirations and Limitations," Asian Survey, Vol 36, No. 10, October 1996, p. 995-1010. (C)

Yong Deng, "Japan in APEC: The Problematic Leadership Role," Asian Survey, Vol. 37, No. 4, April 1997, p. 353-368. (C)

Peter Katzenstein and Marin Rouse, "Japan as a Regional Power in Asia," in Jeffrey A. Frankel and Miles Kahler (eds.), Regionalism and Rivalry: Japan and the United States in Pacific Asia, 1993, p. 217-248. (C)

Jennifer Amyx, "Political Impediments to Far-reaching Banking Reforms in Japan: Implications for Asia," in Noble and Ravenhill (eds), The Asian Financial Crisis and the Architecture of Global Finance, 2000, p. 132-152. (C)

Richard Higgott, "The Asian Economic Crisis: A Study in the Politics of Resentment," New Political Economy, Vol. 3, No. 3, November 1998, p. 333-357, (C).

Recommended:

Gregory Noble and John Ravenhill, "Causes and Consequences of the Asian Financial Crisis," in their (eds), The Asian Financial Crisis and the Architecture of Global Finance, 2000, p. 1-35.

13. April 10 Debate on the Future of Japan

Chalmers Johnson, "Japan in Search of a "Normal" Role," Daedalus, Vol. 121, No. 4, Fall 1992, p. 1-34. (C)

Michael Green, "The Forgotten Player," The National Interest, Summer 2000, Issue 60; p. 42-50. (C)

Nicholas Kristof, "The Problem of Memory," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 77, No. 6, Nov./Dec., 1998, p. 37-49. (C)

M. Diana Helweg, "Japan: A Rising Sun?" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 4, July/August 2000, p. 26-39. (C)

Aurelia Greoge Mulgan, "Japan: A Setting Sun?" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 4, July/August 2000, p. 40-52. (C)

Tsuneo Akaha, "Three Faces of Japan: Nationalist, Regionalist and Globalist Futures," in Yoshinobu Yamamoto (ed.), Globalism, Regionalism and Nationalism: Asia in Search of its Role in the 21st Century, 1999, p. 171-198. (C)

14. April 17 No Class (Please work on your papers and presentations)

15. April 24 Paper Presentation

Research Paper due on May 3 (Thu) at 4:00 pm..