

Class Hours: Thurs. 12-2
Office Hours: Thurs. 2:30-4:30

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Japanese Politics/ Political Economy

Course Description

The postwar Japanese regime characterized by rapid economic growth and stable one-party dominance underwent significant changes by the early 1990s. The aim of this course is to examine postwar Japanese politics in a comparative perspective and understand the interaction between its domestic and foreign policies. Topics such as political participation, interest group activities, the party system, party-bureaucracy relations will be examined in relation to the major issues of postwar Japanese history, including foreign economic relations. Attention will also be given to comparative studies and the intellectual debates surrounding such issues. Emphasis will be placed on investigating the implications of the Japanese case for existing frameworks of comparative and international politics. There are no prerequisites for this class. Those who are not Japan/East Asia specialists are also welcome.

Readings

There are three books and a reader for purchase. All the books and articles will also be on reserve.

T. J. Pempel (ed.), Uncommon Democracies: The One Party Dominant Regimes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990)

C. Randall Henning, Currencies and Politics in the United States, Germany and Japan (Washington D. C.: Institute for International Economics, 1994)

Samuel Kernell (ed.), Parallel Politics: Economic Policymaking in Japan and the United States (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1991)

Class Requirement and Grades

All of the readings for the week (including the asterisked comparative/framework material) will be discussed in class. Students are encouraged to finish all the readings and are expected to be in class prepared to discuss at least three of the ordinary readings (and one asterisked reading as an additional option). There will be two grading options

Paper Proposal (10%) --- due at week 5
Research Paper (65%)

Research Proposal (35%)
Review Article (40%)

All papers are due at the final class. There will be no exceptions as for deadlines.

Week 2 Key Issues in Japanese Political Economy

Chalmers Johnson, Japan Who Governs? Journal of Japanese Studies, 2-1 (1975), pp. 1-28.

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

Michio Muramatsu & Ellis S. Krauss, Bureaucrats and Politicians in Policy-making, American Political Science Review , 78 (1), pp. 126-146.

Mathew. McCubbins and Gregory. Noble, The Appearance of Power in Cowhey & McCubbins (eds.), Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States, pp. 35-55.

T. J. Pempel, From Exporter to Investor, in Curtis (ed.), Japan's Foreign Policy After the Cold War, pp. 105-136.

PART I: THE POSTWAR (1955) REGIME

Week 3 The Postwar Settlement: The Impact of Occupation Reforms and the Cold War

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

Hideo Otake, The Zaikai under Occupation, in Ward & Sakamoto (eds.), Democratizing Japan, pp. 107-132.

Wakao Fujita, Labor Disputes in Okochi et al. (eds.), Workers and Employers in Japan, pp. 309-360.

Steven R. Reed, The People Spoke, Journal of Japanese Studies, 14-2 (1988), pp. 309-339.

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

*Sidney Tarrow, Peasant Communism in Southern Italy, pp. 279-316.

*Ariel Levite & Sidney Tarrow, The Legitimation of Excluded Parties in Dominant Party Systems Comparative Politics 15 (1983), pp. 295-327.

Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle, pp. 198-274 (_The Institutions of High-Speed Growth _ & _Administrative Guidance_).

John Zysman, Government, Markets, and Growth, pp. 55-95 (_Finance and the Politics of Industry_).

Richard Samuels, The Business of the Japanese State, pp. 1-21 (_States, Markets, and the Politics of Reciprocal Consent_).

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

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

*Peter Hall, Governing the Economy, pp. 164 -191 (_The State and the Evolution of Planning_).

*PeterJ. Katzenstein (eds.), Between Power and Plenty, pp. 295-336 (_Conclusion_).

Week 5: The Postwar Regime (2): Industrial Organization and Industrial Relations

Michel L. Gerlach, _Twilight of Keiretsu?_ in Journal of Japanese Studies, 18-1 (1992), pp. 79-118

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

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

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

*Peter Swenson, _"Bringing Capital Back in, or Social Democracy Reconsidered: Employer Power, Cross-Class Alliances, and Centralization of Industrial Relations in Denmark and Sweden," World Politics, 43-4 (1991), pp. 513-544.

*Gøsta Esping-Andersen, _Single Party Dominance in Sweden,_ in Pempel (ed.),

+(Review, Fujita of week 3)

Week 6 The Postwar Regime (3): New Issues and the Fragmentation of Opposition Parties

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

John C. Campbell, How Policies Change, pp. 139-180 („Old People Boom and Policy Change“).

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

Terry E. MacDougall, „Political Opposition and Big City Elections in Japan, 1947-1975,“ in Steiner et al. (eds.), Political Opposition and Local Politics in Japan, pp. 55-94.

*Suzanne Berger & Michael Piore, Dualism and Discontinuity in Industrial Societies, pp. 88-131 „The Traditional Sector in France and Italy“).

*Sidney Tarrow, „Maintaining Hegemony in Italy,“ in Pempel (ed.), Uncommon Democracies, pp. 306-333.

Week 7 The Postwar Regime (4): One Party Dominance and its Decline

Kent Calder, Crisis and Compensation, pp. 156-230, 312-348 („From Crisis to Compensation,“ „Small Business Policy“)

Sheldon Garon & Mike Mochizuki, „Negotiating Social Contracts,“ in Gordon (ed.), Postwar Japan as History, pp. 145-166.

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

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

Chalmers Johnson, „Tanaka Kakuei, Structural Corruption, and the Avant of Machine Politics in Japan,“ Journal of Japanese Studies, 12-1 (1986), pp. 1-28.

Week 8 The Postwar Regime (5): Prosperity in the Greenhouse of U.S.-Japan Alliance?

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

Akio Watanabe _Japanese Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs, 1964-73_ in Scalapino (ed.), The Foreign Policy of Modern Japan, pp. 321-340.

Peter Katzenstein & Nobuo Okawara, Japan's National Security, pp. 101-137 (_ The Normative Context of Japan's National Security Policy_).

Ryutaro Komiya & Motoshige Ito, _Japan's International Trade and Trade Policy, 1955-1984,_ in Inoguchi & Okimoto (eds.), The Political Economy of Japan Vol. 2, pp. 173-224.

C Randall Henning, Currencies and Politics in the United States, Germany and Japan, pp. 19-84, 101-119.

Dennis J. Encarnation & Mark Mason, _Neither MITI nor America: The Political Economy of Capital Liberalization in Japan,_ International Organization, 44-1, pp. 1990, pp. 25-54.

+(Review Johnson of week 4)

PART II THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE POSTWAR REGIME

Week 9 Domestic Transformation (1): Adjustment Politics

Morton J. Peck et al., _Picking Losers: Public Policy Toward Declining Industries in Japan,_ Journal of Japanese Studies, 13-1 (1987), pp. 79-123.

Robert M Uriu, Troubled Industries, pp. 10-41, 186-236 (_Industrial Structure and Industry Preferences,_ _Turning Industrial Preferences into Policy Choices,_ _Mixed Incentive Industries_).

Mark Tilton, Restrained Trade, pp. 1-49 (_Informal Governance and State Strategic Goals,_ _Trade Associations and Japanese Antimonopoly Law_).

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

Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism, pp. 143-148.

*Lawrence & Litan, Saving Free Trade, pp. 34-62 (_U.S. Trade Adjustment Efforts in the Postwar Era_).

Week 10 Domestic Transformation (2): Neoliberal Reforms

Yukio Noguchi, _Budget Policymaking in Japan,_ in Kernell (ed.), Parallel Politics, pp. 119-144.

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

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

*Paul Pierson, _The New Politics of the Welfare State,_ World Politics, 48-2 (1996), pp. 143-179.

*Mathew McCubbines, _Party Politics, Divided Government, and Budget Deficits,_ in Kernell (ed.), Parallel Politics, pp. 83-141.

*Allen Schick, _The Surprising Enactment of Tax Reform in the United States,_ in Kernell (ed.), Parallel Politics, pp. 145-183.

Week 11 Domestic Transformation (3): Conservative Resurgence and Political Reform

Yasusuke Murakami, _The Age of New Middle Mass Politics,_ The Journal of Japanese Studies, 8 (1982), pp. 29-72.

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

Ellis Krauss & Jon Pierre, _The Decline of Dominant Parties,_ in T. J. Pempel (ed.), Uncommon Democracies, pp. 226-259.

Chalmers Johnson, Japan Who Governs?, pp. 212-231 (_Puppets and Puppeteers_).

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

*Ian Budge, Ideology, Strategy, and Party Change, pp. **-** (*Japan, _Conclusion_).

Week 12 Economic Internationalization (1): U.S-Japan Trade Relations

Daniel Okimoto, _Political Inclusivity,_ in Inoguchi & Okimoto (eds.), The Political Economy of Japan Vol. 2, pp. 303-344.

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

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

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

*Jeffrey A. Frieden & Ronald Rogowski, _The Impact of International Economy on National Policies,_ in Keohane & Milner (eds.), Internationalization and Domestic Politics, pp. 25-47.

*Anne O. Krueger (ed.), The Political Economy of Trade Protection, pp. 5-42, (_The U.S-Japan Semiconductor Trade Conflict,_ _The Rise and Fall of Big Steel's Influence on U.S. Trade Policy,_ _Making Sense of the 1981 Automobile VER_).

+(Review readings of week 6)

Week 13 Economic Internationalization (2): Monetary and Macroeconomic Coordination

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

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

Haruhiro Fukui & M. Stephen Weatherfield, _Coordinating Economic Policies,_ in Cowhey & McCubbins (eds.), Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States, pp. 35-55.

C. Randall Henning, Currencies and Politics in the United States, Germany and Japan, pp. 121-176, 253-343.

pp. 425-453.

*Michael C. Webb, _International Economic Structures, Government Interests, and International Coordination of Macroeconomic Adjustment Policies_, International Organization, 45-3 (1991), pp. 309-342.

Week 14 Economic Internationalization (3): Internationalization and Domestic Politics

Steven K. Vogel, Freer Markets, More Rules, pp. 8-30, 115-148, 212-249. (_Understanding Regulatory Reform_, _Financial Services_)

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

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

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

Frances Rosenbluth, _Internationalization and Electoral Politics in Japan_ in Keohane & Milner (eds.), Internationalization and Domestic Politics, pp. 137-156.

+(Review Frieden & Rogowsky of week 12 and Frieden of week 13)

Week 15 Economic Internationalization (4): Asian Regionalism?

Charles Morrison, _Japan and the ASEAN Countries_, in Inoguchi & Okimoto (eds.), The Political Economy of Japan Vol. 2, pp. 414-445.

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

Richard F. Doner, _Japanese Foreign Investment and the Creation of a Pacific Asian Region_, in Frankel & Kahler (eds.), Regionalism and Rivalry, pp. 159-216.

Jeffrey Frankel, _Is Japan Creating a Yen Bloc in East Asia and the Pacific?_ in Frankel & Kahler (eds.), Regionalism and Rivalry, pp. 53-88.

David Arase, Buying Power, pp. 203-231 (_ODA as Foreign Policy_).