

Monterey Institute of International Studies
Graduate School of International Policy Studies

IP 630 SEMINAR: JAPANESE FOREIGN & SECURITY POLICY

Fall 2004

Thursday, 2:00-3:50 p.m.; B209

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Scope and Objectives

This seminar will examine the historical and contemporary sources of Japan's contemporary foreign and security policies and the challenges the country faces as it redefines its role in the globalizing world, particularly with respect to its relations with the other major actors in Asia-Pacific, i.e., the United States, Russia, China, Korea, and ASEAN countries. We will explore three general questions:

- (1) How has the international environment surrounding Japan changed and how has Japan responded to the change since the 1970s-80s, when some observers proclaimed and others feared an emerging Japanese hegemonic challenge to the United States to the present, when many analysts point to the United States as the sole superpower or even an empire in the world?
- (2) What strategic vision should Japan develop in meeting the challenges of the changed world? Particularly, how should Japan balance its bilateral interests and concerns vis-à-vis the United States and other powers in the region on the one hand and, on the other, the need to develop a regional framework, including multilateral institutions and shared identities?
- (3) How should Japan meet the growing international expectations for an expanded international security role in the 21st century while remaining true to the lessons it learned from its disastrous experience as an imperial-military power in the first half of the 20th century? In particular, how should Japan balance its "soft power" and "hard power" in exercising its international influence?

In order to answer the normative questions outlined above, we will together review the evolution of Japan's foreign and security policies since the end of the Second World War, with a particular emphasis on developments since the 1970s and then examine the

bilateral, regional, and global foreign and security policy issues of importance to Japan. Following this collective exploration, each student will:

- (1) choose one of the three questions and write an essay reviewing existing literature on the selected question and lead a class discussion on that question;
- (2) identify a specific foreign and/or security policy to conduct a case study that will add to or challenge the existing knowledge; and
- (3) present his/her findings in an oral presentation in class.

The goal of the course is to develop (1) critical thinking, i.e., the ability to evaluate information and arguments in terms of accuracy, validity, relevance, logical consistency, and balance, (2) analytical ability, i.e., the ability to relate factual information or specific ideas to general themes about the sources and consequences of policy problems, (3) research skills, i.e., the ability to identify, collect, compare, and analyze relevant information for the purpose of answering/testing an explicit research question/hypothesis, (4) writing skills, i.e., the ability to introduce information and ideas in organized, clear, logically consistent, and readable writings, (5) presentation/discussion skills, i.e., the ability to communicate effectively both as a source and recipient of information and ideas, and (6) an accurate understanding of the substantive issues facing Japanese foreign and security policies.

Requirements (% of grade) and Grading Criteria

- (1) *Reading assignments*: Journal articles, book chapters, and unpublished research papers will be placed on reserve at the Institute Library. The student is expected to have read all items prior to the session for which they are assigned.
- (2) *Participation in class discussion* (12%): Class discussion will be based on both the lecture and the reading assignments for each session. Effective, timely, and constructive participation will be the evaluative criteria.
- (3) *A review essay* (18%): Choose one of the three questions listed above and review as many relevant scholarly writings on it as possible, including books, professional journal articles, and research papers and reports, but excluding internet sources and newspaper and popular magazine articles. Consult the works listed as “Further Reading” in the course schedule below before searching for other works. The essay should integrate and relate the works reviewed together, rather than treating each study separately. List the studies reviewed on the first page of the essay. Cite the author name, the year of publication, and page number in the text of the essay -- e.g., (Funabashi 1999: 123). Maximum of 6 double-spaced pages. Submit a hard copy to the instructor and post the electronic version to the course conference. Due date: November 1. The essay will be evaluated for its accuracy, clarity, organization, logical consistency, originality, and balance.
- (4) *Leading discussion* (10%): Choose one specific issue from your review essay and lead a 25-minute class discussion on it. You should assume your classmates have read your review essay; ask them questions, answer their questions, and offer a concluding remark at the end of the discussion. The purpose of this exercise is not to develop a definite conclusion or consensus on the topic, but rather to share a common understanding of the essential points of the studies you reviewed. You will be

evaluated in terms of accuracy, clarity, organization, effective and constructive intervention, and responsiveness to questions.

- (5) *Research proposal* (14%): In consultation with the instructor, select a research topic directly relevant to one of the questions outlined above; it may be the same topic you reviewed in your essay and discussion. The proposal must include a description of: (a) the topic's importance and relevance to the question you have selected to address; (b) a research question or hypothesis to be examined; (c) the methodology to be employed; (d) a list of references to be consulted (include only scholarly books and journals and exclude internet sources or popular magazine or newspaper articles); (e) the state of knowledge on the topic; and (f) expected findings. You are encouraged to include non-English materials among the references but provide the English transliteration of the title and its English translation in parentheses following the title -- e.g., Nihon Kokusaiseiji Gakkai, ed., *21-seiki no Nihon, Ajia, Sekai* (Japan, Asia, and the world in the 21st century), Tokyo: Kokusai Shoin, 1998. Maximum of 5 double-spaced pages. Once the proposal has been approved, post it to the course conference. Due date: November 15. Each of the six elements (a-f) will be evaluated equally.
- (6) *Research paper* (36%): Write a research paper on the selected topic. It must be fully referenced with endnotes. In addition to scholarly works, you may use any and all sources of information as long as they are reliable, relevant, and identifiable, including published and unpublished materials, interviews, internet sources, and newspaper and popular magazine articles. Maximum of 25 double-spaced pages including endnotes. Submit a hard copy of the paper to the instructor and post the electronic version to the course conference on the due date. Due date: December 15. Your paper will be evaluated in terms of accuracy, clarity, organization, logical consistency, originality, and balance.
- (7) *Presentation* (10%): Present your research findings. Post a one-page summary outline of your paper, including your research question/hypothesis and conclusions, to the course conference at least two days before your presentation date and distribute a hard copy at the presentation. Each presentation is limited to 10 minutes, so limit your remarks to your research question/hypothesis, findings, and conclusions. You will be evaluated in terms of

Your final grade will be determined according to the following scale:

97-100 points	A+
94-96 points	A
90-92 points	A-
87-89 points	B+ (considered a good grade)
84-86 points	B
80-83 points	B-
77-79 points	C+
74-76 points	C
70-73 points	C-
0-69 points	F

Textbooks & Other Reading Materials

The following books have been ordered for purchase and all other reading items are on reserve in the MIIS Library:

Tsuneo Akaha and Frank Langdon, ed., *Japan in the Posthegemonic World*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993. (Cited as Akaha & Langdon below.)

Inoguchi Takashi and Purnendra Jain, eds., *Japanese Foreign Policy Today*, New York: Palgrave, 2000. (Cited as Inoguchi & Purnendra below.)

Michael J. Green, *Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challenges in an Era of Uncertain Power*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2001. (Cited as Green below.)

Additional works are listed as "Further Reading" for each session. You may choose them for the review essay assignment. The article-length items are on reserve and books may be checked out from the instructor.

Course Schedule and Reading Assignments

September 2 Introduction

Read:

Joseph Nye, Jr., "The Changing Nature of Power," in Nye, *Soft Power: Means to Success in World Politics*, pp. 1-32. (On reserve)

Joseph Nye, Jr., "The Soft Power of Japan," *Gaiko Forum*, Summer 2004, pp. 3-7.

September 9 Introduction

Read:

Tsuneo Akaha, "Three Faces of Japan: Nationalist, Regionalist, and Globalist Futures," in Yoshinobu Yamamoto, ed., *Globalism, Regionalism, & Nationalism: Asia in Search of Its Role in the 21st Century*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, pp. 171-198. (On reserve)

Michael J. Green, "Chapter One. The Search for Strategy and Identity," in Green, pp. 1-34.

Further Reading:

Thomas Berger, "Japan's International Relations: The Political and Security Dimensions," in Samuel S. Kim, ed., *The International Relations of Northeast Asia*, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004, pp. 135-169. (On reserve)

William W. Grimes, "Japan's International Relations: The Economic Dimension," in Samuel S. Kim, ed., *The International Relations of Northeast Asia*, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004, pp. 171-199. (On reserve)

September 16 The Domestic Context

Read:

Michael J. Green, "Chapter Two. Domestic Institutions and Foreign Policy," in Green, pp. 35-75.

Tanaka Akihiko, "Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy," in Inoguchi & Jain, pp. 3-17.

September 23 Foreign & Security Policy Issues

Read:

Tsuneo Akaha and Frank Langdon, "Introduction: Japan and the Posthegemonic World," in Akaha & Langdon, pp. 1-15.

Frank Langdon and Tsuneo Akaha, "Conclusion. The Posthegemonic World and Japan," in Akaha & Langdon, pp. 265-282.

Akaha Tsuneo, "Japan's Security Policy in the Posthegemonic World: Opportunities and Challenges," in Akaha & Langdon, pp. 91-112.

Caroline Rose, "Japanese Role in PKO and Humanitarian Assistance," in Inoguchi & Jain, pp. 122-135.

Fukushima Akiko, "Official Development Assistance (ODA) As a Japanese Foreign Policy Tool," in Inoguchi & Jain, pp. 152-174.

Further Reading:

Tsuneo Akaha, "Japan: A Passive Partner in the Promotion of Democracy," in Peter J. Schraeder, ed., *Exporting Democracy: Rhetoric vs. Reality*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002, pp. 89-107. (On reserve)

Edward Newman, "Japan and International Organizations," in Inoguchi & Jain, pp. 43-64.

Moon Chung-in and Park Han-kyu, "Globalization and Regionalization," in Inoguchi & Jain, pp. 65-82.

Tsuchiyama Jitsuo, "Ironies of Japanese Defense and Disarmament Policy," in Inoguchi & Jain, pp. 136-151.

September 30 Relations with the United States

Read:

Frank Langdon, "The Posthegemonic Japanese-U.S. Relationship," in Akaha & Langdon, pp. 69-90.

Tsuneo Akaha, "An Illiberal Hegemon or An Understanding Partner? Japanese Views of the United States in the Post-Cold War Era," *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 1998), pp. 137-148. (On reserve)

Tsuneo Akaha, "U.S.-Japan Relations in the Post-Cold War Era: Ambiguous Adjustment to a Changing Strategic Environment," in Inoguchi & Jain, pp. 177-193.

Further Reading:

Akira Iriye and Robert A. Wampler, eds., *Partnership: The United States and Japan, 1951-2001*, Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2001.

Steven K. Vogel, ed., *U.S.-Japan Relations in a Changing World*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2003.

October 7 Relations with the United States - continued

Read:

Christopher W. Hughes and Akiko Fukushima, "U.S.-Japan Security Relations--Toward Bilateralism Plus," in Ellis S. Krauss and T.J. Pempel, eds., *Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.-Japan Relations in the New Asia-Pacific*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 55-86. (On reserve)

Mike M. Mochizuki, "Terms of Engagement: The U.S.-Japan Alliance and the Rise of China," in Ellis S. Krauss and T.J. Pempel, eds., *Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.-Japan Relations in the New Asia-Pacific*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 87-114. (On reserve)

Further Reading:

Michael J. Green and Mike M. Mochizuki, *The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance in the 21st Century*, Washington, D.C.: Council on Foreign Relations, 1998.

Tsuneo Akaha, "Beyond Self-defense: Japan's Elusive Security Role under the New Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (1998), pp. 461-484. (On reserve)

Stuart Harris and Richard N. Cooper, "The U.S.-Japan Alliance," in Robert D. Blackwill and Paul Dibb, eds., *America's Asian Alliances: Prospects for Incremental Change*, Cambridge: Harvard University, 2000, pp. 31-60. (On reserve)

Michael J. Green, "Defense or Security? The U.S.-Japan Defense Guidelines and China," in David M. Lampton, ed., *Major Power Relations in Northeast Asia: Win-Win or Zero-Sum Game*, Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2001, pp. 73-86. (On reserve)

Paul Midford, "Japan's Leadership Role in East Asian Security Multilateralism: the Nakayama Proposal and the Logic of Reassurance," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (2000), pp. 367-398. (On reserve)

Ellis S. Krauss, "Japan, the U.S., and the Emergence of Multilateralism in Asia," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (2000), pp. 473-494. (On reserve)

Yoichi Funabashi, *Alliance Adrift*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1999.

October 14 Relations with China

Guest speaker:

Read:

Michael J. Green, "Chapter Three. Japan-China Relations," in Green, pp. 77-109.

Gilbert Rozman, "Japan's Images of China in the 1990s: Are They Ready for China's 'Smile Diplomacy' or Bush's 'Strong Diplomacy'?" *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 97-125. (On reserve)

Gilbert Rozman, "China's Changing Images of Japan, 1989-2001: The Struggle to Balance Partnership and Rivalry," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 2 (2002), pp. 95-129. (On reserve)

Further Reading:

Masahiko Sasajima, "Japan's Domestic Politics and China Policymaking," in Benjamin L. Self and Jeffrey W. Thompson, eds., *An Alliance for Engagement: Building*

Cooperation in Security Relations with China, Washington, D.C.: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2002, pp. 79-110. (On reserve)

Koji Murata, "Japan's Security Policy and U.S.-Japan-China Relations," in Benjamin L. Self and Jeffrey W. Thompson, eds., *An Alliance for Engagement: Building Cooperation in Security Relations with China*, Washington, D.C.: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2002, pp. 129-141. (On reserve)

Akiko Fukushima, "Multilateralism and Security Cooperation in China," in Benjamin L. Self and Jeffrey W. Thompson, eds., *An Alliance for Engagement: Building Cooperation in Security Relations with China*, Washington, D.C.: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2002, pp. 166-189. (On reserve)

October 21 Relations with Russia

Read:

Michael J. Green, "Chapter Five. The New Eurasia Diplomacy," in Green, pp. 145-166.

Alexei V. Zagorsky, "Soviet-Japanese Relations under Perestroika: The Territorial Dispute and Its Impact," in Akaha & Langdon, pp. 137-159.

Tsuneo Akaha, "The Politics of Japanese-Soviet/Russian Economic Relations," in Akaha & Langdon, pp. 161-184.

Tsuneo Akaha, "Despite the Northern Territories: Hokkaido's Courting of the Russian Far East," *Pacific Focus*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2003), pp. 89-122. (On reserve)

Further Reading:

Tsuneo Akaha, ed., *Politics and Economics in the Russian Far East: Changing Ties with Asia-Pacific*, London: Routledge, 1997.

Joachim Glaubitz, *Between Tokyo and Moscow: The History of an Uneasy Relationship, 1972 to the 1990s*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1995.

Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, *The Northern Territories Dispute and Russo-Japanese Relations*, 2 volumes, Berkeley: University of California, 1998.

Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, Jonathan Haslam, and Andrew C. Kuchins, eds., *Russia and Japan: An Unresolved Dilemma between Distant Neighbors*, Berkeley: University of California, 1993.

Hiroshi Kimura, *Japanese-Russian Relations under Brezhnev and Andropov*, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000.

Hiroshi Kimura, *Japanese-Russian Relations under Gorbachev and Yeltsin*, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000.

William F. Nimmo, *Japan and Russia: A Reevaluation in the Post-Soviet Era*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1994.

Myles L.C. Robertson, *Soviet Policy towards Japan: An Analysis of Trends in the 1970s and 1980s*, Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1988.

Gilbert Rozman, *Japan's Response to the Gorbachev Era, 1985-1991: A Rising Superpower Views a Declining One*, Princeton, N.J.: Prince University, 1992.

October 28

Discussion

November 1: Review essay due**November 4 Northeast Asia**

Read:

Tsuneo Akaha, "Non-traditional Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia," in Ramesh Thakur and Edward Newman, eds., *Broadening Asia's Security Discourse and Agenda: Political, Social, and Environmental Perspectives*, Tokyo: United Nations University, 2004, pp. 306-339. (On reserve)

Kamiya Mataka, "Japanese Foreign Policy toward Northeast Asia," in Inoguchi & Jain, pp. 226-250.

Further Reading:

Tsuneo Akaha, ed., *Politics and Economics in Northeast Asia: Nationalism and Regionalism in Contention*, New York: St. Martin's, 1999.

Tae-Hwan Kwak and Edward A. Olsen, eds., *The Major Powers of Northeast Asia: Seeking Peace and Security*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996.

Tsuneo Akaha, "Cross-border Migration as a New Element of International Relations in Northeast Asia: A Boon to Regionalism or a Source of New Friction?" *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (2004), pp. 101-133. (On reserve)

November 11 The Korean Peninsula

Read:

Michael J. Green, "Chapter Four. Japan and the Korean Peninsula," in Green, pp. 111-144.

Tsuneo Akaha, "Japan's Policy toward North Korea: Interests and Options," in Akaha, ed., *The Future of North Korea*, London: Routledge, 2002, pp. 77-94. (On reserve)

Tsuneo Akaha, "Japan's Multi-level Approach toward the Korean Peninsula after the Cold War," in Charles Armstrong, Gilbert Rozman, Samuel S. Kim, and Steven Kotkin, eds., *Korea at the Center: Regionalism in Northeast Asia*, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe (forthcoming). (On reserve)

Further Reading:

Tsuneo Akaha, ed., *The Future of North Korea*, London: Routledge, 2002.

November 15: Research proposal due**November 18 Southeast Asia**

Read:

Michael J. Green, "Chapter Six. Japan and Southeast Asia," in Green, pp. 167-227.

Prasert Chittiwatanapong, "Japan's Roles in the Posthegemonic World: Perspectives from Southeast Asia," in Akaha & Langdon, pp. 201-231.

Lam Peng Er, "Japanese Relations with Southeast Asia in an Era of Turbulence," in Inoguchi & Jain, pp. 251-265.

November 25, December 2, 9, 16 Presentations

December 15: Research paper due