

Bowdoin College  
Department of Government and Legal Studies  
Asian Studies Program

GOV 2455/ASNS 2395 – Spring, 2020  
Mon, Wed, and Fri: 09:35 am-10:30 am  
Classroom: Searles Science Building 213

## **Japan and the World**

Dr. Aki Nakai

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Office Hours: Mon and Wed: 1:30 pm-4:30 pm or by appointment  
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### **COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES**

This course explores the development of Japanese international relations since the Second World War and how Japan is currently adjusting its policies to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century. Despite having the world's third largest economy and advanced technological resources, Japan has been widely viewed as underperforming in world affairs. The central question is whether Japan remains an "underperformer." The course begins with a brief examination of Japanese foreign relations after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, then examines postwar Japanese foreign policy. Relations with the United States and China will receive special attention. Topics include Japanese participation in international institutions, the historical legacy of its past actions, the impact of U.S. military bases in Japan, and contemporary debates over immigration.

Through the prism of Japanese foreign relations, students will develop a better understanding of the dynamics of Japanese external and internal development and international relations in East Asia, as well as a sense of the causes and consequences of U.S. policy towards the region. In addition, students will be able to become familiar with the major turning points in Japanese international relations and cultivate a sense of the patterns and problems that persist in Japanese relations with the world.

### **DISRIBUTION AND DIVISION REQUIREMENTS**

This course satisfies the following distribution and division requirements: IP (International Perspectives) and b (Social and Behavioral Sciences)

### **REQUIRED COURSE READING**

Kenneth B. Pyle, *Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose*. (New York: PublicAffairs, 2007)  
Sheila A. Smith, *Intimate Rivals: Japanese Domestic Politics and a Rising China*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016)  
Brad Glosserman and Scott A. Snyder, *The Japan–South Korea Identity Clash: East Asian Security and the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017)

### IMPORTANT DATES

- Book Precis: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28 (5:00 pm)
- Midterm Paper: FRIDAY, MARCH 27 (5:00 pm)
- Final Paper (Policy Brief): FRIDAY, MAY 15 (5:00 pm)

### GRADING

Discussion Forum Posting	15%
Class Participation	15%
Book Precis	10%
Midterm Paper	25%
Final Paper	35%

### GRADING SCALE

A (93-100%); A- (90-92%); B+ (87-89%); B (84-86%); B- (81-83%); C+ (78-80%); C (75-77%)

### DISCUSSION FORUM POSTING AND CLASS PARTICIPATION

The instructor has set up an online discussion forum, in the “Discussions” section of the course website in Blackboard. Students are required to post their thoughts on assigned readings at least once a week, before 9 p.m. one day prior to the class when the readings are assigned. During the same week, students are also required to comment on their peers’ postings at least twice a week. Your postings total is three times per week. This assignment starts in Week 2.

Each entry must be no more than one paragraph, raising questions, assessing the strength and weakness of assigned readings, and responding to their classmates’ comments. Please do not provide detailed summaries of the reading assignments for it is not the point of the discussion forum. The instructor will review the postings prior to the class. Lastly, students are required to review the comments in the “Discussions”, prior to class.

During every class, students are expected to demonstrate that they have completed all reading assignments; discriminate the issues which they understand from the ones that they do not understand; express why some authors are more persuasive or interesting than others; and raise questions that are unresolved or demand further analysis. Discussions are a collective endeavor and the dialogue among class participants including the instructor. Students are required to contribute their share of opinions and questions as well as listen respectfully to those of others.

The instructor will grade each student's contributions to the online discussion forum and class participation. In both instances, the instructors will evaluate how the student engages the ideas in the readings and other students' opinions in a constructive and thoughtful way. Frequency of online contributions and speaking does not necessarily raise the student's participation grade. Consistent lack of contributions to the online discussion forum and frequent absence from class will significantly lower the student's grade.

### BOOK PRECIS

A précis is not a critique or review of a longer work. Instead, a précis is a very concise summary of that longer piece of work. It is an abridged statement of the argument and evidence provided by the author. It is difficult to write because students must distill the essence of a longer (and often very complex) argument without injecting their own judgment about the strengths and weaknesses of the original. A précis should be no more than 2 pages (single-spaced, 12-point font, one-inch margins, and page-citation), and all précis will be posted in Blackboard and shared by students in the end. Students are required to choose the book in the following list:

- Hidemi Suganami, "Japan's Entry into International Society," chapter 12 in Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, eds., *The Expansion of International Society*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984)
- Akira Iriye, *Japan and the Wider World: From Mid-nineteenth Century to the Present*. (London: Longman, 1997), Chapters 1-7.
- Michael A. Barnhardt, *Japan Prepares for Total War: The Search for National Security, 1919-1941*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987)
- Jack L. Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), Chapters 4 and 8.
- Richard J. Samuels, *"Rich Nation, Strong Army": National Security and the Technological Transformation of Japan*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994)
- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. (New York, NY: WW Norton, 2001)
- Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)
- Robert Jervis, "Security Regimes," *International Organization*, 36, 2 (Spring 1982): 357-378.
- Alexis Dudden, *Troubled Apologies Among Japan, Korea and the United States* (New York: Columbia University press, 2008)
- Jennifer M. Lind, *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008)
- Yinan He, *The Search for Reconciliation: Sino-Japanese and German-Polish Relations since World War II*. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Ichiro Ozawa, *Blueprint for a New Japan: The Rethinking of a Nation*. (Tokyo; New York: Kodansha International, 1994)

### MIDTERM PAPER

Students are required to write a scenario paper by responding to the following question:

Imagine that you are a historian writing in the year 2040 explaining how the world/region arrived at one of the following outcomes:

1. A Northeast Asia Collective Security Regime
2. Japan as Junior Partner to the U.S. (status quo 2020)
3. Japan as Independent Regional Power
4. Japan as Independent Global Power

Be sure to assess the international, domestic political, national security, economic, and technological developments of the previous three decades (2010-2040) in developing your analysis. Refer to the class readings-- both narrative and theoretical-- and to relevant baseline data you collect, and argue plausibly how this outcome was obtained.

The midterm paper should not exceed 6 pages in length (double-spaced, 12-point font, Times New Roman, one-inch margins, and footnotes) without bibliography.

### POLICY BRIEF

Policy Brief is a short and objective policy analysis of a particular issue or problem. The goal of Policy Brief is to evaluate policy options regarding a specific issue, to inform a specific policy-maker audience of the evaluation, and to facilitate policy-making. Policy-makers need to make practical decisions under time-constraints, therefore Policy Brief should provide evidence and actionable policy recommendations. For this assignment, students will write a Policy Brief for policy-makers in a specific single country in Asia or the United States, depending on your choice of country.

Policy Brief should not exceed 7 pages in length (double-spaced, 12-point font and one-inch margins) without bibliography. This assignment will give students an opportunity to research individually, think critically about an important topic in the region, and hone their analytical and persuasive writing skills.

Policy Brief distills and synthesizes a large amount of complex detail, so the reader can easily understand the heart of the issue, its background, the players ("stakeholders") and any recommendations, or even educated guesses about the future of the issue. It may have tables and graphs; usually, it has a short list of references, so the reader knows something about the sources on which it is based, and where to go for more information.

The format of Policy Brief should consist of the following sections: (1) a 1 to 2 paragraph executive summary (A description of the problem addressed; statement on why the current approach/policy option needs to be changed; and recommendations for action); (2) Goal Statement (National Interests); (3) Background/Scope of the Problem; (4) Current Policy; (5) Possible Policy Options and Critiques; (6) Policy Recommendations; and (7) Bibliography.

Here are some tips. First, students must focus on achieving the intended goal of convincing the target policy makers, by using ideas, evidence and language that will convince them. Second, Policy Brief is a communication tool produced by policy analysts and therefore all potential audiences not only expect a rational argument but will only be convinced by argumentation supported by evidence that the problem exists and the consequences of adopting particular alternatives. Third, policy makers do not have the time or inclination to read an in-depth 20-page argument on a policy problem, therefore it should be succinct. Fourth, Policy Brief should be easily understandable by using clear and simple language and well explained and easy to follow argument. Lastly, Policy Brief is an action-oriented tool targeting policy decision makers, therefore it must provide arguments based on what is actually happening in practice with a particular policy and propose recommendations which seem realistic to the target audience.

The instructor will set up the submission link in the Blackboard and the submission deadline of final paper is: 5:00 pm, Friday, May 15<sup>th</sup>.

For useful information and examples:

<http://writingcenter.unc.edu/policy-briefs/>

### PUBLIC LECTURE EVENTS

Students are highly encouraged to attend the following public lecture events:

- Thursday, April 2<sup>nd</sup> (4:30 pm): “Above and Below the Waterline: The East China Sea in Japan's Modern History,” Dr. Alexis Dudden, Professor of History at the University of Connecticut
- Tuesday, April 14<sup>th</sup> (4:30 to 6:30 pm at the Beam classroom at VAC): “How Hedging Made US-China Tensions Worse,” Dr. Ian Chong, Associate Professor of Political Science at National University of Singapore and a Visiting Fellow at Harvard-Yenching

### POLICY ON ATTENDANCE

Students are expected to attend all classes. Absences may be excused for medical, religious, extra-curricular and personal reasons. It is expected that students will approach the instructor in a timely and responsible fashion to discuss the issue of schedule conflicts.

Traditionally students have been allowed to miss no more than three hours of a single class in any semester (Faculty Handbook, 2019-2020, 44). Absences of more than three classes without legitimate excuses will be reflected in the final grade.

Students are responsible for all course material missed due to any absence from any academic activity. For more information, see <https://www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/student-handbook/attendance-policy.html>

### POLICY ON LATE WORK

The final paper must be submitted on time. Grades will be penalized by 1/3 of a letter grade for every twenty-four hours after the deadline. This means that a grade of “B+” will become a “B” if work is submitted within the first 24 hours after the deadline, and will become a “B-” if work is submitted between the 24 to 48 hours after the deadline.

### POLICY ON MAKE UP

A student with three one-hour examinations in one day or three final examinations in two days may reschedule one for a day mutually agreeable to the student and the instructor. To initiate this change during final exams only, students must obtain an Examination Rescheduling Form from the Office of the Registrar at least two weeks in advance of the conflicting exams. For in-class midterm examinations, students make an arrangement directly with the instructor. Other changes may be made for emergencies or for educational desirability, but only with the approval of the Office of the Dean of Students. For more information, see <https://bowdoin-public.courseleaf.com/academic-standards-regulations/>

### POLICY ON “INCOMPLETES”

The College expects students to complete all course requirements as established by instructors. In unavoidable circumstances (personal illness, family emergency, etc.) and with approval of the dean of students and the instructor, a grade of INC (Incomplete) may be recorded.

An Incomplete represents a formal agreement among the instructor, a dean, and the student for the submission of unfinished course work under prescribed conditions. Students must initiate their request for an Incomplete on or before the final day of classes (i.e., Wednesday, May 6th) by contacting a dean. If the Incomplete Agreement Form has not been approved and received in the Office of the Registrar by the grade submission deadline and no other grade has been assigned, a grade of F will be recorded. For more information, see <https://bowdoin-public.courseleaf.com/academic-standards-regulations/>

### ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

By remaining in the course, you are agreeing to follow the standard principles of academic integrity for this course. Academic dishonesty is a serious offense because it undermines the bonds of trust and honesty among members of the community and defrauds those who may eventually depend upon our knowledge and integrity. Such dishonesty consists of cheating, fabrication, facilitating academic dishonesty, and plagiarism. Examples of academic dishonesty include using someone else’s words or ideas without proper documentation; copying some portion of your text from another source without proper acknowledgement of indebtedness; borrowing another person’s specific ideas without documenting their source; turning in a paper written by someone else, an essay “service,” or from a web site. Any assignment that was generated in whole or part through academic dishonesty will be failed with no “do-overs.” I also reserve the right to use computer software for plagiarism detection. For the college policy on academic honesty and plagiarism, see <https://www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/judicial-board/academic-honesty-and-plagiarism/index.html>

## ACCOMMODATIONS

Bowdoin College is committed to ensuring access to learning opportunities for all students. Students seeking accommodations based on a disability must register with the Student Accessibility Office. Please discuss any special needs or accommodations with me at the beginning of the semester or as soon as you become aware of your needs. I am eager to work with you to ensure that your approved accommodations are appropriately implemented. If you have questions about requesting accommodations or your approved accommodations, please contact Lesley Levy (llevy@bowdoin.edu), director of student accessibility. For more information, see <https://www.bowdoin.edu/accessibility/student-accessibility-office/index.html> and <https://www.bowdoin.edu/counseling/index.html>

## ELECTRONIC DEVICES IN CLASS

Cell phones must be turned off before entering the classroom, however if you need to have your cell phone on for medical or other reasons, please contact me. You are free to use laptop computers, IPADs, or other devices to take notes, to look at the syllabus or reading material online, or to look up other factual material relating to the course, but not for any other purpose such as **texting or emailing**. These are serious distractions to your learning. Phones and other electronic devices are not permitted during the exam.

## DROPPING THE COURSE

During Add/Drop II, Wednesday, September 4th at 9 am through Tuesday, September 5th at 5 pm, all students may drop courses without permission. After the Add/Drop II deadline, students may only add classes if approved by the Recording Committee. In consultation with their advisors, students have four more weeks to drop a class by using an Extended Drop. This option begins after 5 pm on Tuesday, September 17th and continues through 5 pm on Wednesday, October 16th. After the Extended Drop deadline, any further adjustments to course schedules must go through the Recording Committee.

## SESSION SCHEDULE

### Week 1: Introduction & Overview of International Relations Theories

Jan 22, Wed: Introduction of the course  
Reading: No readings

Jan 24, Fri: Overview of International Relations Theories  
Reading: Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories", *Foreign Policy*, 110 (Spring 1998): 29-32; 34-46.

### Week 2: Application of International Relations Theories

Jan 27, Mon: Realism

Reading: Jennifer M. Lind. "Pacifism or Passing the Buck?: Testing Theories of Japanese Security Policy." *International Security*, 29, 1 (2004): 92–121.

Jan 29, Wed: Liberalism and Constructivism

Reading: Thomas U. Berger. "The Pragmatic Liberalism of an Adaptive State." In *Japan in International Politics: The Foreign Policies of an Adaptive State*, edited by Thomas U. Berger, Mike M. Mochizuki, and Jitsuo Tsuchiyama. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007): 259-299.

Jan 31, Fri: Domestic Politics

Reading: Richard J. Samuels, "Securing Japan: The Current Discourse", *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 33, 1 (Winter 2007): 125-152.

### Week 3: Rise of the Japanese Empire

Feb 3, Mon: Japan's National Style

Reading: Pyle, Chapter 2: 33-65.

Feb 5, Wed: The World Japan Entered

Reading: Pyle, Chapter 3: 66-97.

Feb 7, Fri: Stature Among Nations

Reading: Pyle, Chapter 4: 98-136.

### Week 4: Fall of the Japanese Empire

Feb 10, Mon: The Challenge of International Liberalism

Reading: Pyle, Chapter 5: 137-169.

Feb 12, Wed: Japan's Abortive New Order

Reading: Pyle, Chapter 6: 170-209.

Feb 14, Fri: The Cold War Opportunity

Reading: Pyle, Chapter 7: 210-240.

### Week 5: Japan in the Cold War and Post-Cold War Eras

Feb 17, Mon: The Yoshida Doctrine as Grand Strategy

Reading: Pyle, Chapter 8: 241-277.

Feb 19, Wed: The Post-Cold War Interval in East Asia

Reading: Pyle, Chapter 9: 278-309.

Feb 21, Fri: Japan and the Rise of China

Reading: Pyle, Chapter 10: 310-339.



## Week 6: Is Japan Rising?

Feb 24, Mon: The Prospect of a New East Asian Order  
Reading: Pyle, Chapter 11: 340-374.

Feb 26, Wed: Japan as a Middle Power  
Reading: Yoshihide Soeya, "A 'Normal' Middle Power: Interpreting Changes in Japanese Security Policy in the 1990s and After", Yoshihide Soeya, Masayuki Tadokoro, and David A. Welch, eds., *Japan as a 'Normal Country'? : A Nation in Search of Its Place in the World*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), Chapter 3: 72-97.

Feb 28, Fri: Japan under the Shinzo Abe Administration  
Reading: Kenneth B. Pyle, "Japan's Return to Great Power Politics: Abe's Restoration", *Asia Policy*, 13, 2 (April 2018): 69-90.

### **Book Precis due on Feb 28 (5:00 pm)**

## Week 7: History Problem in Japanese Foreign Policy

Mar 2, Mon: History Problem during the Cold War Era  
Reading: Berger, Chapter 4: 123-174.

Mar 4, Wed: History Problem during the Post-Cold War Era  
Reading: Berger, Chapter 5: 175-229.

Mar 6, Fri: Solutions?  
Reading: Berger, Conclusions: 230-249.

### **SPRING VACATION (Mar 7-22)**

## Week 8: Japan-China Relations (I)

Mar 23, Mon: Diplomacy and Domestic Interests  
Reading: Smith, Chapter 2: 17-56.

Mar 25, Wed: Yasukuni Shrine  
Reading: Smith, Chapter 3: 57-100.

Mar 27, Fri: East China Sea  
Reading: Smith, Chapter 4: 101-145.

### **Midterm Paper due on Mar 27 (5:00 pm)**

## Week 9: Japan-China Relations (II)

Mar 30, Mon: *Gyōza* (Dumpling)

Reading: Smith, Chapter 5: 146-187.

Apr 1, Wed: Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands

Reading: Smith, Chapter 6: 188-236.

Apr 3, Fri: Future

Reading: Smith, Conclusion: 237-264.

#### Week 10: Japan-South Korea Relations

Apr 6, Mon: Japan's Identity Crisis

Reading: Glosserman and Snyder, Chapter 2: 22-59.

Apr 8, Wed: Convergence and Alienation in Japan-South Korea Relations

Reading: Glosserman and Snyder, Chapter 4: 93-119.

Apr 10, Fri: Prospects of U.S.-Japan-South Korea Trilateral Relations

Reading: Glosserman and Snyder, Chapter 6: 155-180.

#### Week 11: U.S. Military Bases in Japan

Apr 13, Mon: Military Base Politics

Reading: Yuko Kawato, *Protests Against U.S. Military Base Policy in Asia: Persuasion and Its Limits* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2015), Introduction: 1-40.

Apr 15, Wed: Okinawa

Reading: Kawato, Chapter 2: 65-97.

Apr 17, Fri: What Locals May Want

Reading: Alexander Cooley and Kimberly Marten, "Base Motives: The Political Economy of Okinawa's Antimilitarism," *Armed Force and Society*, 32, 4 (July 2006): 566-583.

#### Week 12: Japan and International Institutions

Apr 20, Mon: International Peacebuilding

Reading: Tadashi Iwami, "Understanding Japan's Peacebuilding in Concept and Practice", *East Asia*, 33 (2016): 111-132.

Apr 22, Wed: Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Reading: Nobumasa Akiyama and Kenta Horio, "Can Japan Remain Committed to Nonproliferation?" *The Washington Quarterly*, 36, 2 (Spring 2013): 151-165.

Apr 24, Fri: Asian Development Bank and the UN Security Council

Reading: Daniel Yeo Mao Lim and James Raymond Vreeland, "Regional Organizations and International Politics: Japanese Influence over the Asian Development Bank and

the UN Security Council,” *World Politics*, 65, 1 (2013): 34-72.

Week 13: Japan and Regional Politics

Apr 27, Mon: Japan, China, and ASEAN

Reading: Chien-peng Chung, “China and Japan in “ASEAN Plus” Multilateral Arrangements: Raining on the Other Guy’s Parade”, *Asian Survey*, 53, 5 (2013): 801-824.

Apr 29, Wed: TPP and AIIB

Reading: Saori N. Katada, “At the Crossroads: TPP, AIIB and Japan’s Foreign Economic Strategy”, *Asia Pacific Issues*, 125 (May 2016): 1-8.

May 1, Fri: Soft Power

Reading: Nissim Kadosh Otmazginh, “Geopolitics and Soft Power: Japan’s Cultural Policy and Cultural Diplomacy in Asia”, *Asia-Pacific Review*, 19, 1 (2012): 37-61.

Week 14: Japan and International Norms

May 4, Mon: Whaling

Reading: Michael Strausz, “Executives, Legislatures, and Whales: The Birth of Japan’s Scientific Whaling Regime”, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 14, 3 (2014): 455-478.

May 6, Wed: Refugees

Reading: Konrad Kalicki, “Japan’s Liberal-Democratic Paradox of Refugee Admission”, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 78, 2 (May 2019): 355-378.

**Final Paper (Policy Brief) due on May 15 (5:00 pm)**