

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
Department of Political Science  
Fall-Winter 2018-19

**COURSE CODE:** POL487Y1Y/POL2206Y(Y)

**Course Name:** TOPICS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS II – JAPANESE POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY: REGIONAL AND GLOBAL DYNAMICS IN A TURBULENT ERA

**Instructor:** SEUNG HYOK LEE

**Class Times/Location:** Monday 18:00 — 20:00 (LA214)

**Instructor's Office:** Munk School of Global Affairs, 1 Devonshire Place, Room 254S

**Office Hours:** Monday 17:00-18:00 (or by appointment)

**Email:**seunghyok.lee@utoronto.ca

**Course Description & Objectives:**

The aim of this course is to encourage upper-level undergraduate and graduate students to understand the geo-strategic complexities surrounding post-World War II Japan, and consequent security policies reflecting them. The course is particularly ideal for students interested in the origin and the current state of Japan's international and domestic politics, national security principles, and national identity/historical narratives embraced by mainstream public, in the context of current uncertainties in the international system.

This course is offered by the Department of Political Science with support from the Centre for the Study of Global Japan, Munk School of Global Affairs. For some students, it will provide background preparation for participation in the Kakehashi Program, which involves a one-week visit to Japan co-hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. Students who enroll in this class are strongly advised to apply for the Kakehashi Program 2019, now scheduled to take place during the winter semester reading week in February 2019. Participation is voluntary and subject to a successful application. Information about the Kakehashi Program can be found here:

<https://www.asiapacific.ca/theme/education/kakehashi-project>

The course begins with an historical overview of Japan after World War II. Although this is not a pure theory course, we will, throughout the semester, proceed to apply prominent International Relations theories to weekly topics when necessary. The course will then cover main events of the

postwar Japanese politics and foreign policy in the context of East Asian regional security dynamics, and especially those after the Cold War. Japan's relations with its neighbours (the two Koreas and China) and the United States, current security threats faced by Japan, and Japanese participation in multilateral institutions in both security and non-security areas – the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UN PKO) and official development assistance (ODA) - will be the main topics to be covered. An often-overlooked aspect of Japan-Canada relations concerning the Arctic and natural resources will also be addressed.

Special emphasis will be given, however, to the origin and the current state of Japanese domestic perception/identity concerning regional history and national security, held by both elites and public, as a crucial factor that has guided Japanese policymaking and international relations. Role of public opinion and media in the ongoing domestic debates about Japan's historical narratives concerning pre-World War II period, as well as arguments pushing for Japan to become a more 'normal' country, are important topics that need to be addressed, if we are to fully understand Japan's relations to the outside world.

By the end of the course, students will have sufficient background knowledge and analytic skills to objectively and independently evaluate Japanese logic/rationale behind current security strategies and foreign policy, and assess prospects for fundamental shifts in the years to come.

### **Course Format:**

A typical weekly class will consist of a lecture in the first half, followed by intensive in-class discussions afterwards. Weekly readings will generally consist of two to five articles, book chapters, or policy papers of various lengths that address the topic of each week, generally equivalent of 40-70 pages per week. There will be an in-class role-playing game in the winter semester, in which the students will utilize everything they have learned in a simulated scenario on a topic related to Japanese foreign policy on security threats or history-linked debates with its neighbours. There will also be two guest speaker series and a movie viewing session in order to prepare the participants of the Kakehashi Program for their visit to Japan.

### **Course Requirements:**

It is important for the students to understand that they will be evaluated based on their understanding of course materials and their *objective* analytic abilities, not necessarily based on their personal familiarity with the region, or their personal background knowledge from a particular national viewpoint.

Attendance in all weekly classes is obviously expected, unless there is an unforeseeable emergency. Reading of course materials before each class is mandatory. Active participation in class discussions is highly encouraged, but participation grade will be evaluated by the quality of students' input, not necessarily quantity.

In addition to an in-class role-playing simulation game, there will be an in-class midterm quiz on October 29, covering all materials up to week 6. The midterm is a closed-book, closed-note test. The topic for the first short essay assignment (6-7 pages) will be announced on October 1 and is due on November 19th. The topic for a major essay (11-12 pages) will be announced on January 7, and will be due on March 18.

### **Grading Scheme**

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| PARTICIPATION                            | 20% |
| IN-CLASS ROLE-PLAYING GAME<br>(MARCH 11) | 10% |
| IN-CLASS MIDTERM QUIZ (OCT 29)           | 20% |
| FIRST ESSAY (DEADLINE: NOV 19)           | 20% |
| MAIN ESSAY (DEADLINE: MAR 18)            | 30% |

#### **- Course Readings**

Most of the required readings are readily available online from University of Toronto Library website for download. Some books not available online can be checked out from the library.

#### **- Quercus**

University of Toronto is switching from Blackboard to Quercus from Fall 2018, and we will be using Quercus in order to manage and coordinate this course. You are required to check this site

regularly in order to access the information posted regarding the course. All important course information, such as the essay topics, will be announced electronically. Feel free to use the electronic forums and message boards for any course related topics. Also, powerpoint slides will be posted online *AFTER* each weekly lecture, and students are advised to use them for reviewing the lecture materials afterwards.

- **Accessibility**

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations or have any accessibility concerns, please visit: <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as>

- **Important notes on Academic Integrity & Plagiarism**

In order to promote an atmosphere of academic integrity, this course will uphold the following policies and recommendations:

All written assignments must follow basic academic citation rules. All words and ideas of published works of other individuals should be properly acknowledged. In other words, when you use other people's words and ideas, you must properly cite them, whether these words come from the readings, the Internet, or in class. Failing to do so constitutes plagiarism, and is a very serious academic offense against intellectual honesty and intellectual property. Plagiarism will be dealt with accordingly, and penalties will be severe.

Failure to understand what constitutes plagiarism will not be accepted as an excuse; if you are not sure whether you have committed plagiarism, it is better to ask a faculty member than risk discovery and be forced to accept an academic penalty.

Furthermore, students are strongly advised to keep rough draft-work and hard copies of their essays and assignments. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned.

Last but not least, students must attach a signed copy of the Academic Integrity Checklist to each essay. The Integrity Checklist form is available on the course website on Quercus. Please note that

I will not accept your paper without this form. Accordingly, we will apply late penalties to your paper (as detailed below) until the Checklist is submitted.

For further clarification and information on plagiarism, please see:

<http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources/>

- **Essay Submission**

Essay assignments are to be handed in on the due date, before the start of the lecture. Only hard copies are acceptable; e-mailed assignments will not be accepted unless you have obtained prior approval. We will **not** be using Turnitin in this course.

All essay assignments are to be printed, 12-font Times New Roman, double-spaced, 1" (2.5 cm) margins, with page numbers. Staple your assignment in the upper left-hand corner. Papers that go beyond the stated page limit for the assignment, or papers that do not conform to the directions above, may be penalized. Again, make sure that a signed copy of the Integrity Checklist is attached to your paper.

- **Late Essay Submission/Extension & Missed Midterm Quiz & Makeup**

Late submission of essays will be penalized as follows: There is a 2% penalty for assignments received after class has begun but before 5 pm on the due date. After that the late submission penalty is 4% per each late day or fraction of a day, weekends included. The cut off time for the determination of a late day is 5pm. Late assignments should be submitted to the main office of the Political Science Department (SSH 3018). Students should make sure that late submissions are signed and dated stamped. There is a drop-off box for papers handing in after 5:00 p.m.

If you are unable to submit essays or attend the midterm quiz at the appointed time, you must request permission for an extension or a makeup quiz *PRIOR TO* the scheduled submission date or the quiz date. Extensions will not be granted unless it is a case of unavoidable and unforeseeable extenuating circumstances.

Request for an extension after the deadline for the essay assignments had passed will not be accepted, and assignments in other courses are NOT grounds for an extension or a makeup midterm quiz.

Concerning the midterm quiz: As mentioned above, you are strongly advised to request permission for a makeup prior to the scheduled quiz date. However, in case of a missed midterm quiz because of a serious reason which was absolutely unavoidable and unforeseeable until the scheduled date, student must contact the instructor as soon as possible (at the latest *within a week* of the original quiz date) to arrange for a meeting with the instructor to make her/his case (with necessary documentation) and schedule a makeup.

To seek an extension or a makeup quiz, you must submit a hard copy of a one page explanation justifying your request. This document should indicate how the circumstances surrounding your request were both unavoidable and unforeseeable. You must contact the instructor to schedule a meeting in which you will submit this document and make your case. Extensions will not be granted unless such a meeting has been held. In some instances, the instructor may request additional supporting documentation before any extension is granted. If your request involves illness, injury, or other relevant personal issue, one of the following forms must be submitted:

U of T Verification of Illness or Injury Form: ([www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca](http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca))

Student Health or Disability Related Certificate

College Registrar's Letter

Accessibility Services Letter

#### - **Appeals/Remarking Policy**

If you are unhappy with a grade on an assignment, you may submit a written appeal, explaining why you feel your grade on an assignment is unjustified. You must submit this written appeal no later than *two weeks* after your assignment is returned. Your grade may stay the same, go up, or go down after the regrading. Changes to student grades on assignments will only be considered if there is demonstrable clerical error in the calculation of a particular score. The grade given after the remarking is final; there will not be a second re-grading.

## FALL 2018

### **WEEK 1: Sept. 10**    *Introduction: Historical overview of post-WW2 Japan (Part 1)*

Gordon, Andrew, "Chapter 13: Occupied Japan: New Departures and Durable Structures," "Chapter 14: Economic and Social Transformations," (2 Chapters) *A Modern History of Japan 3<sup>rd</sup> edition* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2014), pp. 224-267.

### **WEEK 2: Sept. 17**    *Introduction: Historical overview of post-WW2 Japan (Part 2)*

Gordon, Andrew, "Chapter 15: Political Struggles and Settlements of the High-Growth Era," "Chapter 16: Global Power in a Polarized World: Japan in the 1980s," "Chapter 17: Japan's "Lost Decade": 1989-2008" (3 Chapters) *A Modern History of Japan 3<sup>rd</sup> edition* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2014), pp. 268-335.

**(Sept. 19: Last day to enroll in F/Y section code courses)**

### **WEEK 3: Sept. 24**    *Understanding Japan's National Strategy in the Post-WW2 Era – "Realist" vs. "Pacifist" Japan Debate & Theoretical tools of analysis*

Heginbotham, Eric & Richard J. Samuels, "Mercantile Realism and Japanese Foreign Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Spring, 1998), pp. 171-203

Berger, Thomas U., "From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan's Culture of Anti-militarism," *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Spring, 1993), pp. 119-150

Walt, Stephen M., "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy*, No.110 (Special Edition; Spring, 1998), pp. 29-46.

### **WEEK 4: Oct. 1**    *Meanings & Interpretations of WW2* **(First Essay Topic Announced)**

Kitaoka, Shinichi, "Japan Seventy Years after World War II; From a Challenger to a Supporter of the International Order," *Asia Pacific Review* Vol. 22 No. 2 (2015), pp.3-13.

Pyle, Kenneth, "Hiroshima and the Historians: History as Relative Truth," *Asia Pacific Review* Vol. 22 No. 2 (2015), pp.14-27.

**(October 8: Thanksgiving Holiday (No class))**

**WEEK 5: Oct. 15** *Origin and Trajectory of the Postwar Japanese Security Strategy Debates*

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

Pyle, Kenneth, "Yoshida Doctrine as Grand Strategy," *Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power And Purpose* (New York: Public Affairs, 2007), pp. 241-277

**WEEK 6: Oct. 22** *Is Japan a 'Normal' Country? Is Japan Turning 'Right'?*

Soeya, Yoshihide, "A 'Normal' Middle Power: Interpreting Changes in Japanese Security Policy in the 1990s and After," in 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), pp.72-97.

Glosserman, Brad & Scott A. Snyder, "Japan's Identity Crisis", *The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash* (Columbia University Press: New York, 2015), pp.22-59.

Lind, Jennifer, "Nationalist in a Liberal Order: Why Populism Missed Japan," *Asia Pacific Review* Vol. 25 No. 1 (2018), pp.52-74.

**WEEK 7: Oct. 29** *Public & Media Influence on Foreign Policy & Changing Social Identity*

**(Mid-term Quiz at the beginning of the class)**

Shinoda, Tomohito, "Becoming more Realistic in the Post-Cold War: Japan's Changing Media and Public Opinion on National Security," *Japanese Journal of Political Science* Vol. 8, Issue 2 (August, 2007), PP. 171-190.

Tadokoro, Masayuki, "Change and Continuity in Japan's 'Abnormalcy': An Emerging External Attitude of the Japanese Public," in 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), pp.38-71.

**(November 5-9: Fall Reading Week (No class))**



**WEEK 8: Nov. 12      *Domestic Processes of Security Policy-making***  
**(Graded Mid-term Quiz Returned)**

Suzuki, Shogo & Corey Wallace, “Explaining Japan’s Response to Geopolitical Vulnerability,” *International Affairs* 94:4 (2018), pp.711-734.

Hikotani, Takako, “The Japanese Diet and Defense Policy-making,” *International Affairs* 94:4 (2018), pp. 791-814.

**WEEK 9: Nov. 19**  
**(First Essay Due: Printed copy to be submitted before the start of the class)**

*Guest Speaker 1*

**WEEK 10: Nov. 26      *Japan’s Relations with Its Neighbours Part 1 (The Two Koreas)***

Glosserman, Brad & Scott A. Snyder, “The Japan-South Korea Divide” & “Convergence and Alienation in Japan-South Korea relations”, (2 Chapters) in *The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash* (Columbia University Press: New York, 2015), pp. 1-21, 93-119.

Lee, Seung Hyok, “North Korea in South Korea-Japan Relations as a Source of Mutual Security Anxiety among Democratic Societies,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* Vol.16 (2016), pp.273-301.

**WEEK 11: Dec. 3      *Japan’s Relations with Its Neighbours Part 2 (The Two Koreas)***  
**(Graded First Essay Returned)**

Lind, Jennifer, “An Unhappy Phase in a Certain Period,” in *Sorry States – Apologies in International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp.26-100.

Lee, Seung Hyok, “Be Mature and Distinguish “Forest” from the “Trees”: Overcoming Korea-Japan Disputes Based on Incompatible National Historical Narratives,” *Asteion* Vol.86 (2017).

**Dec. 24-Jan. 4: Winter Holidays (No class)**

## WINTER 2019

### **WEEK 12: Jan. 7**     *Japan's Relations with Its Neighbours Part 3 (China)* **(Main Essay topic announced)**

Kristof, Nicholas D., "The Problem of Memory," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 77, No. 6, (November-December, 1998), pp.37-49.

Kawashima, Shin, "Postwar Japan-China Relations: A Consideration from the Perspective of Reconciliation," *Asia Pacific Review* Vol. 22 No. 2 (2015), pp. 28-43.

### **WEEK 13: Jan. 14**     *Japan's Relations with Its Neighbours Part 4 (China)*

Smith, Sheila A., "Contending with China," & "Diplomacy and Domestic Interests," (2 Chapters) in *Intimate Rivals: Japanese Domestic Politics and A Rising China* (Columbia University Press: New York, 2016), pp.1-56

### **WEEK 14: Jan. 21**     *Japan's Security Relations with the US*

Shinoda, Tomohito, "Costs and Benefits of the U.S.-Japan Alliance from the Japanese Perspective," in Takashi Inoguchi, G. John Ikenberry & Yoichiro Sato eds. *The US-Japan Security Alliance: Regional Multilateralism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 13-29.

Fukushima, Akiko, "The Merits of Alliance: A Japanese Perspective—Logic Underpins Japan's Global and Regional Security Role," in Takashi Inoguchi, G. John Ikenberry & Yoichiro Sato eds., *The US-Japan Security Alliance: Regional Multilateralism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 53-73.

Kotani, Tetsuo, "US-Japan Allied Maritime Strategy: Balancing the Rise of Maritime China," in Green, Michael J. & Zack Cooper eds., *Strategic Japan: New Approaches to Foreign Policy and the US-Japan Alliance*, CSIS Reports (Center for Strategic & International Studies, 2014), pp.35-60.

### **WEEK 15: Jan. 28**     *Security Threats Faced by Japan*

Cha, Victor D., "The Security Dilemma in Asian Architecture: United States, Japan, and China", in Takashi Inoguchi, G. John Ikenberry & Yoichiro Sato eds., *The US-Japan Security Alliance: Regional Multilateralism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 157-176.

Akutsu, Hiroyasu, "Japan's North Korea Strategy: Dealing with New Challenges," in Green, Michael J. & Zack Cooper eds., *Strategic Japan: New Approaches to Foreign Policy and the US-*

*Japan Alliance*, CSIS Reports (Center for Strategic & International Studies, 2014), pp. 61-78.

Togo, Kazuhiko. "Japan's Territorial Problem: The Northern Territories, Takeshima, and the Senkaku Islands," *The National Bureau of Asian Research*, (May 8, 2012), pp.1-5.

## **WEEK 16: Feb. 4     Multilateralism: Security cooperation & Peacekeeping**

Toyoda, Tetsuya, "UN Peacekeeping as the Most Presentable Part of Japan's 2015 Peace and Security Legislation," *Journal of International Peacekeeping* 20 (2016), pp. 21-36.

Simon, Sheldon W., "The United States, Japan, and Australia: Security Linkages to Southeast Asia," in Takashi Inoguchi, G. John Ikenberry & Yoichiro Sato eds., *The US-Japan Security Alliance: Regional Multilateralism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 233-251.

Aizawa, Nobuhiro, "Japan Strategy toward Southeast Asia and the Japan-US Alliance," in Green, Michael J. & Zack Cooper eds., *Strategic Japan: New Approaches to Foreign Policy and the US-Japan Alliance*, CSIS Reports (Center for Strategic & International Studies, 2014), pp. 111-128.

Miller, J. Berkshire, "Japan Remains Anchored With US Alliance, but Hedges on the Edges," *Canada-Asia Agenda* (The Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada: June 29, 2017)  
<https://www.asiapacific.ca/canada-asia-agenda/japan-remains-anchored-us-alliance-hedges-edges>

## **WEEK 17: Feb. 11     Multilateralism: ODA**

Jain, Purnendra, "Japan's Foreign Aid: Old and New Contests," *The Pacific Review* 29:1 (2016), pp. 93-113.

Kato, Hiroshi, "Japan and Africa: A Historical Review of Interaction and Future Prospects," *The Pacific Review* 24:1 (2017), pp. 95-115.

**(Feb. 18: Last day to drop Y section code courses)**

**(Feb. 18-22: Winter Reading Week (No class))**

## **WEEK 18: Feb. 25     *Japan and Canada: Arctic & Market***

(4 Chapters from) Hara, Kimie & Ken Coates, eds., *East Asia-Arctic Relations: Boundary, Security and International Politics* (McGill-Queen's University Press&CIGI Press, 2014)

Coates, Ken, "Forces for change in the arctic: reflections on a region in transition," pp. 9-19.

Ohnishi, Fujio, "The Process of Formulating Japan's Arctic Policy: From Involvement to Engagement," pp. 20-31.

Lackenbauer, Whitney & James Manicom, "Canada's Northern Strategy and East Asian Interests in the Arctic," pp. 77-115.

Welch, David A., "The Arctic & Geopolitics," pp.179-193.

Koyama, Ken, "A High-Value Market for Canadian LNG," (Research: Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, October, 2014), pp. 2-18.

## **WEEK 19: Mar. 4**

*Guest Speaker 2*

## **WEEK 20: Mar. 11**

**In-Class Role-Playing Simulation Game**

## **WEEK 21: Mar. 18      *Gender & Popular Culture***

**(Main Essay Due: Printed copy to be submitted before the start of the class)**

Otmazgin, Nissim, "Geopolitics and Soft Power: Japan's Cultural Policy and Cultural Diplomacy in Asia," *Asia-Pacific Review* Vol.19 No.1 (2012), pp.37-61.

Eto, Mikiko, "'Gender' Problems in Japanese Politics: A Dispute over a Socio-Cultural Change towards Increasing Equality," *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 17 (3) (2016), pp.365-385.

## **WEEK 22: Mar. 25      *Demography & Immigration***

Oishi, Nana, "The Limits of Immigration Policies: The Challenge of Highly Skilled Migration in Japan," *American Behavioral Scientist* 56 (8) (2012), pp.1080-1100.

Shinkawa, Toshimitsu, "Substitutes for Immigrants? Social Policy Responses to Population Decreases in Japan," *American Behavioral Scientist* 56 (8) (2012), pp.1123-1138.

## **WEEK 23: Apr. 1**

**(Graded Main Essay Returned)**

*Movie Viewing & Discussion*