

**JAPAN AND EAST ASIAN SECURITY**  
**17.486**  
**Spring 2008**

Mondays 3-5pm  
Room E51-063

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<http://stellar.mit.edu/S/course/17/sp08/17.486/index.html>

This subject is designed for graduate students interested in international politics, national security and comparative political economy in East Asia. It examines the political, military, and economic challenges facing Japan, its neighbors, and the international system under conditions of great uncertainty. Topics range from the history of once "new" world orders to theories that inform our understanding of international affairs and foreign policy decision-making, as each is related to Japan. We focus on Japanese bilateral, regional, and global security policies from a range of theoretical perspectives. The semester will culminate in a weekend-long Asia-Pacific Crisis Simulation game (9-11 May) in which invited U.S. and foreign experts will participate with the graduate students.

There are four assignments:

- A précis (2 pages) of at least one of the major books on the syllabus for circulation to the seminar sent to instructor and fellow students in electronic form. [Eligible books are marked by <P> on the syllabus.]
- A short (10 page) scenario paper, due in class on 31 March.
- A longer (up to 25 page) briefing paper on a topic from the list at the end of this syllabus due on the day of your oral presentation.
- An oral presentation.

Seminar participation will be a large part of the student evaluation.

## **RECOMMENDED FOR PURCHASE**

**(Most are paperbacks):**

Alagappa, Muthiah, ed. Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Pempel, T.J. ed. Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Pyle, Kenneth B. Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose, New York: PublicAffairs, 2007.

Samuels, Richard J. Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Smith, Sheila A. "Shifting Terrain: The Domestic Politics of the U.S. Military Presence in Asia," Honolulu: East-West Center Special Reports, Number 8, March 2006.

*Location of all required readings is noted with each item on the syllabus.*

*Smaller required readings are available on Stellar at*

*<http://stellar.mit.edu/S/course/17/sp08/17.486/index.html>, while larger items are*

*at the Reserve Desk of Dewey Library and available for purchase at the Coop.*

*Most suggested readings are also at Dewey or available online.*

**SEMESTER OUTLINE**  
**17.486**  
**SPRING 2008**

**I. Historical and Theoretical Background**

11 February	Japan and the Old World Orders
19 February ( <i>Tuesday</i> )	Japan and Old <i>New</i> World Orders
25 February	Conceiving Security, Grand Strategy, and Technology

**II. Inside the Japanese System**

3 March	Domestic Politics and Ideas about Japanese Security
10 March	Japan's Foreign Economic Policy
17 March	Japan's Security Policy
24 March	HOLIDAY (Spring Break)

**III. Japan and the World System**

31 March	The US Alliance: A Bilateral View <i>(FIRST PAPER DUE IN CLASS)</i>
7 April	China, Korea, and Southeast Asia: The Regional View
14 April	Japan's Global Role
21 April	HOLIDAY (Patriot's Day)

**IV. Analysis and Prognostication**

28 April	Briefings/Scenarios (Bilateral)
5 May	Briefings/Scenarios (Regional)
12 May	Briefings/Scenarios (Global)

## ***I. HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND***

### **11 February            JAPAN AND THE OLD WORLD ORDERS**

Modernizing Japan, Imperial Japan, and Client Japan. Relations between Japan and the Great Powers Past and Present: China, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States.

#### **Readings:**

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. *Stellar*

Pyle, Kenneth B. Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose, New York: PublicAffairs, 2007, Chapters 1-4. *At Coop and on reserve at Dewey*

#### **Suggested:**

Michael A. Barnhardt, Japan Prepares for Total War: The Search for National Security, 1919-1941. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987. <P>

Dudden, Alexis. 2005. Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. <P>

James William Morley, ed., Japan Erupts: The London Naval Conference and the Manchurian Incident, 1928-1932. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984. <P>

Nobutaka Ike, Japan's Decision for War: Records of the 1941 Policy Conferences. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967. <P>

Robyn Lim. The Geopolitics of East Asia. London: Routledge, 2003. <P>

Mahan, Alfred Thayer. The Problem of Asia and Its Effect Upon International Policies. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1900.

19 February

## OLD NEW WORLD ORDERS

Can we derive lessons from the creation of previous world orders? Does IR theory help? How do they each apply to Japanese history?

### Readings:

Iriye, Akira. Japan and the Wider World: From Mid-nineteenth Century to the Present. London: Longman, 1997. Chapters 1-7. *Dewey Reserve*

Pyle, Kenneth B. Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose, New York: PublicAffairs, 2007, Chapters 5-6. *Coop and Dewey*

Gilpin, Robert. War and Change in World Politics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 25-49 and Chapters 3-4. *Dewey reserve*

Jervis, Robert. "Security Regimes," International Organization, Volume 36, Number 2, Spring 1982, pp.357-378. *Stellar*

Alagappa, Muthiah. "International Politics in Asia: The Historical Context," Chapter Two in Alagappa, Muthiah, ed. Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998. *At Coop and on reserve at Dewey*

Samuels, Richard J. Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007. Chapter 1. *At Coop and on reserve at Dewey*

### Suggested:

Robert Jervis. "From Balance to Concert: A Study of International Security Cooperation," pp.58-79 in Kenneth Oye, ed., Cooperation Under Anarchy, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Charles Kindleberger. "The Rise of Free Trade in Western Europe, 1820-1875," Journal of Economic History, No. 1, March 1975, p.20-55.

Hedley Bull. The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977. <P>

Jack Snyder. Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991, Chapters 4, 8. <P>

25 February

## GRAND STRATEGY BEYOND MILITARY SECURITY

How are doctrine, technology and national security linked? What is the origin of national security strategy? What is the strategic relationship of the military and civilian economies?

### Readings:

Alistair Iain Johnston, "Thinking about Strategic Culture," International Security. Volume 19, Number 4, (Spring 1995) pp. 32-64. *Stellar*

Alagappa, Muthiah. "Rethinking Security: A Critical Review and Appraisal of the Debate," in Muthiah Alagappa, ed. Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998. Chapter 1. *At Coop and on reserve at Dewey*

Robert Gilpin, War and Change in World Politics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, Chapter 6. *Dewey reserve*

Richard J. Samuels, "Rich Nation, Strong Army": National Security and Japan's Technological Transformation. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994, Chapter 1. *On Reserve at Dewey*

Stephen G. Brooks. Producing Security: Multinational Corporations, Globalization, and the Changing Calculus of Conflict, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005. Chapters 1-4. *Dewey Reserve*

### Suggested:

Samuel P. Huntington. "America's Changing Strategic Interests," Survival, Volume XXXIII, Number 1, January/February 1991, p. 3-17.

William H. McNeill, The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. <P>

John U. Nef. War and Human Progress. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950. <P>

Friedrich List. The National System of Political Economy. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922. <P>

## ***II. INSIDE THE JAPANESE SYSTEM***

### **3 March DOMESTIC POLITICS AND JAPANESE SECURITY**

Domestic institutions of defense policymaking and diplomacy. To what extent do values, norms, and ideas drive strategic choices in Japan? And where do they come from? Do they shape institutions or are they shaped by them?

#### **Readings:**

Peter J. Katzenstein. Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996. Chapters 2, 3. *On Reserve at Dewey*

Richard J. Samuels, “Rich Nation, Strong Army”: National Security and Japan’s Technological Transformation. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994, Chapter 9. *On Reserve at Dewey*

Shibuichi, Daiki. “The Yasukuni Shrine Dispute and the Politics of Identity in Japan: Why All the Fuss?” Asian Survey. Vol.45, No.2, March-April, 2005, pp.197-215. *Stellar*

Wakamiya, Yoshibumi and Watanabe, Tsuneo, “Yasukuni, War Responsibility, and Japan’s Diplomacy,” Japan Echo, April 2006, pp.10-15. *Stellar*

Soeya, Yoshihide. “Japan: Normative Constraints versus Structural Imperatives,” Chapter Five in Muthiah Alagappa, ed. Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998. *At Coop and Dewey*

#### **Suggested:**

Michael J. Green, “State of the Field Report: Research on Japanese Security Policy,” AccessAsia Review September 1998.

Llewelyn Hughes, “Why Japan Won’t Go Nuclear (yet) – an Examination of the Domestic and International Constraints on the Nuclearization of Japan,” International Security (Spring 2007)

Mochizuki, Mike M. “Japan Tests the Nuclear Taboo,” Nonproliferation Review, Vol.14, No.2, July, 2007.

Kamiya, Mataka. “Nuclear Japan: Oxymoron or Coming Soon?” The Washington Quarterly. Winter 2002-3, pp. 63-75.

Michael D. Swaine, et al., Japan and Ballistic Missile Defense. Santa Monica: Rand, 2001.

## 10 March      CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN JAPAN

How have bureaucrats and politicians interacted and how have they maintained control of the Japanese military?

### Readings:

Peter E. Feaver. "The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control," Armed Forces and Society Vol. 23 (Winter 1996) pp.149-178. *Stellar*

Frühstück, Sabine and B.A. Eyal. 2002. "'Now We Show It All!' Normalization and the Management of Violence in Japan's Armed Forces." The Journal of Japanese Studies Vol. 28, No. 1, pp.1-40. *Stellar*

Richard J. Samuels, Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007, Chapters 2-5. *Coop and Dewey*

Watanabe, Tsuneo. "The Bankruptcy of Civil-Military Relations in Japan," NIRA Review, 1996. <http://www.nira.go.jp/publ/review/96summer/watanabe.html> *Stellar*

### Suggested:

Samuel P. Huntington. The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil Military Relations. New York: Vintage, 1957. <P>

Morris Janowitz. The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait. New York: The Free Press, 1971. <P>

Maxon, Yale Candee. Control of Japanese Foreign Policy: A Study of Civil-Military Rivalry, 1930-1945. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957. <P>

Frühstück, Sabine. Uneasy Warriors: Gender, Memory and Popular Culture in the Japanese Army. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. <P>

Yoshida, Shigeru. The Yoshida Memoirs: The Story of Japan in Crisis. London: Heinemann, 1961.

**17 March**

**JAPANESE FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY**

What are the instruments and institutions of Japanese foreign economic policy? How are trade and aid linked to security and grand strategy?

**Readings:**

Pempel, T.J. "Introduction: Emerging Webs of Regional Connectedness," Chapter One in T.J. Pempel, ed. Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. *Coop and reserve at Dewey*

MacIntyre, Andrew and Barry Naughton. "The Decline of a Japan-Led Model of the East Asian Economy," Chapter 4 in T.J. Pempel, ed. Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. *Coop and reserve at Dewey*

Tsunekawa, Keiichi. "Why So Many Maps There? Japan and Regional Cooperation," Chapter 5 in T.J. Pempel, ed. Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. *Coop and reserve at Dewey*

Tachiki, Dennis. "Between Foreign Direct Investment and Regionalism: The Role of Japanese Production Networks," Chapter 6 in T.J. Pempel, ed. Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. *Coop and reserve at Dewey*

**Suggested:**

Robert Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," International Organization, Volume 42, No.3 Summer 1988, pp.427-460.

Shaplen, Jason T. and James Laney. "Washington's Eastern Sunset: The Decline of U.S. Power in Northeast Asia," Foreign Affairs, Nov./Dec. 2007, pp.82-97.

Cha, Victor D. "Winning Asia: Washington's Untold Success Story," Foreign Affairs, Nov./Dec. 2007, pp.98-113.

**24 March HOLIDAY / SPRING BREAK**

**31 March**      **ALLIANCE: THE BILATERAL VIEW** (*first paper due in class*)

How do U.S.-Japan bilateral relations shape Japan's strategic choices? How do Japan and the United States balance political, military, economic, and technological interests without one another?

**Readings:**

Hans J. Morganthau, Politics Among Nations. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973 (fifth revised edition) p.188-204. *Stellar*

Samuels, Richard J. Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007, Chapters 6, 7. *Coop/Dewey*

Smith, Sheila A. 2006. "Shifting Terrain: The Domestic Politics of the U.S. Military Presence in Asia," Honolulu: East-West Center Special Reports, Number 8, March. *Coop/Dewey*

Ina, Hisayoshi. 2005. "Implementing the SACO and Revising the SOFA," pp.41-50 in Hashimoto, Akikazu, Mike Mochizuki, and Kurayoshi Takara, eds. The Okinawa Question and the U.S.-Japan Alliance. Washington, DC: The Sigur Center for Asian Studies. *Stellar*

National Institute for Defense Studies, ed. East Asian Strategic Review, 2007. Tokyo. Chapter 7. *Dewey reserve*

**Skim:**

Armitage, Richard, et al. "The United States and Japan: Advancing Toward a Mature Partnership," Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington, DC. {[http://www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/SR\\_01/SFJAPAN.pdf](http://www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/SR_01/SFJAPAN.pdf)} *Stellar*

Clemons, Steven C. "The Armitage Report: Reading Between the Lines," JPRI Occasional Paper No. 20: February 2001 { <http://www.jpri.org/publications/occasionalpapers/op20.html> } *Stellar*

**Suggested:**

Armocost, Michael H. Friends or Rivals? The Insider's Account of US-Japan Relations, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. <P>

Price, John. "A Just Peace? The 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty in Historical Perspective," Japan Policy research Institute, JPRI Working Paper No. 78. June, 2001. { <http://www.jpri.org/public/wp78.html> }

## 7 April THE REGIONAL VIEW

From the Guam to the Fukuda to the Koizumi Doctrines and beyond. Japanese relations with its neighbors. Collective security and confidence building in Northeast, East and Southeast Asia. The rise of China, the Northern Territories, Korean Unification, the DPRK.

### Readings:

John Mearsheimer. The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. New York: WW Norton, 2001. Ch. 10 *Stellar* <P>

Robyn Lim. The Geopolitics of East Asia. London: Routledge, 2003, Introduction, Chapter Six, and Conclusion. *on reserve at Dewey* <P>

Pinkston, Daniel A. and Kazutaka Sakurai, "Japan Debates Preparing for Future Preemptive Strikes against North Korea," The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, Winter 2006, pp.95-121. *Stellar*

Mochizuki, Mike M. "Japan's Shifting Strategy Toward the Rise of China," The Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol.30, No.4-5, August-October 2007, pp.739-776. *Stellar*

### Suggested:

PHP Report: Japan's Comprehensive China Strategy, February 2008 *On Stellar*

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," World Politics, Volume 30, Number 2, January 1978.

David Kang. "Getting Asia Wrong," International Security Volume 27, No. 4, Spring 2003, pp.57-85.

Akihiko Tanaka (2006) "Global and Regional Geostrategic Implications of China's Emergence," Asian Economic Policy Review. Volume 1, pp.180-96. *In course binder on reserve at Dewey*.

Victor Cha. Alignment Despite Antagonism: The U.S.-Korea- Japan Triangle. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999. <P>

Chapters on National Security Strategies in China, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore in Muthiah Alagappa, ed. Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Bruce Vaughn, et al. "U.S. Strategic and Defense Relationships in the Asia -Pacific Region," CRS Report for Congress January 22, 2007. *In course binder on reserve at Dewey*.

David Martin Jones and Michael L.R. Smith, "Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order," International Security, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Summer 2007), pp. 148-184

**14 April**

**THE GLOBAL VIEW**

Japan and the United Nations, ODA. The Gulf War, UN Peacekeeping, Anti-Terrorism Campaign, and Iraq. Resource Diplomacy.

**Readings:**

Hedley Bull, The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977, Chapters 9,10. *Dewey reserve*

Hughes, Christopher W. 2004. *Japan's Reemergence as a "Normal" Military Power*. Adelphi Paper 368-9, London: Institute for International Strategic Studies. *Dewey reserve*

Samuels, Richard J. Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007, Chapter 8. *Coop/Dewey*

Mochizuki, Mike M. "Japan Tests the Nuclear Taboo," Nonproliferation Review. Vol.14, No.2, July 2007, pp.303-328. *Stellar*

**Suggested:**

Advisory Group on Defense Issues, ed. "The Modality of the Security and Defense Capability of Japan: The Outlook for the 21st century," Tokyo, August 1994 (*Note: This group was appointed by former Prime Minister Hosokawa to review Japan's strategic posture after the Cold War. Its report was completed after Prime Minister Hosokawa left office.*)

Ichiro Ozawa, Blueprint for a New Japan. New York: Kodansha, 1994. <P>

**21 April**

**HOLIDAY/PATRIOT'S DAY**

#### ***IV. BRIEFINGS AND SCENARIOS***

- 28 April**      **BILATERAL TOPICS:**
- ◆ The US-Japan Alliance
  - ◆ US-Japan Technology Transfer
  - ◆ Bilateral Trade and Investment
- 5 May**          **REGIONAL TOPICS**
- ◆ East Asian Economic Community
  - ◆ New Security Architecture
  - ◆ Japanese Military Build-up
  - ◆ Japan and the Korean Peninsula
  - ◆ Sino-Japanese Relations
  - ◆ Russo-Japanese Relations
  - ◆ Japan-ASEAN Relations
- 12 May**        **GLOBAL TOPICS**
- ◆ Japan and Terrorism
  - ◆ Collective Security
  - ◆ Japan and the United Nations
  - ◆ Japan and NGO's (World Bank, WTO, IMF, OECD, etc.)
  - ◆ Global Treaties

Each student will prepare his/her own briefing on a single topic, selected from the list above. Each briefing will be organized according to the following outline:

#### **I. Historical Background**

#### **II. Analytics**

- a. Domestic politics**
- b. International system**
- c. International sources of domestic politics**
- d. Domestic sources of international politics**

#### **III. Link analysis to two or more of the following Japanese postures:**

- a. Status quo (Japan as junior partner)**
- b. Collective security in Northeast Asia**
- c. Japan as an independent regional power**

These briefings will require significant research and synthesis, but should be no more than 25 double-spaced pages in length. Each student will brief the class for 20 minutes. The papers are due in class the day of the presentation.

## **FIRST PAPER ASSIGNMENT**

**(DUE IN CLASS 31 MARCH)**

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Imagine that you are a historian writing in the year 2026 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 U.S. (*status quo 2008*)
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 quarter century (2001-2026) 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.

These papers should not exceed 10 pages in length.

## **OTHER PAPER ASSIGNMENT: BOOK PRÉCIS**

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 you must distill the essence of a longer (and often very complex argument) without injecting your own judgment about the strengths and weaknesses of the original.

We will assign the books for each student collectively. Please be sure to make copies for the instructor and for each member of the seminar. With the exception of those marked <P> for the first week, all précis are due on the day the reading is assigned or suggested.