

**POLITICAL CHANGE  
IN  
ITALIAN AND JAPANESE HISTORY**

**17.562**

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This graduate seminar examines striking parallels in the historical development of Italy and Japan-- conventionally understood as an "odd couple," the least similar pair of industrial democracies. Readings will focus on the macro-historical transitions from feudalism to liberal democracy, including their common authoritarian interludes. We will examine political corruption, conservative dominant party systems, economic miracles, and junior partnerships with the postwar American hegemon. We will also ask about irreconcilable differences, including the persistent contestation over control of the Italian state—a problem solved much earlier and more completely in Japan than in Italy. The seminar will use these cases to assess and develop better models for the analysis of political and economic change. We will also use these cases to examine the possibilities for analysis of choice in political action.

**REQUIREMENTS:**

This is an advanced graduate seminar. Students are expected to arrive in class ready (and eager) to identify and grapple with puzzles suggested by the assigned readings. There will be no lectures; the success of the seminar will depend upon the quality of student participation. Preparation is therefore essential. Participation in seminar discussions will account for 25% of the student's grade.

I have selected two kinds of readings for each week. We will read (often contradictory) theoretical accounts for particular problems (e.g., institutions, corruption, economic development, party systems, leadership.) Each week, during the first hour, at least one student and I will make short presentations in which we try to match the week's empirical materials to the week's central theoretical concern. How well does theory anticipate the historical facts of Japanese and Italian developments? In what ways are Italy and Japan similar? In what ways do they differ? Do they conform to the expectations of theory? If not, are they at odds with theory in the same way? Is there better theory? How might it accommodate the Japanese and Italian cases?

In addition to preparing at least one classroom presentation (25% of term grade), students will also write a research paper (50% of term grade). Students are free to develop

their own topic for this paper, although consultation with me about your topic is required. Your paper should focus on how an important historical or contemporary problem in politics, society, and or public policy in both nations can be illuminated by comparison. Doctoral students in the MIT Political Science Department can use these papers as the foundation for their major paper requirement. I will be happy to help you develop and test these ideas over multiple drafts, but the paper must be submitted for the seminar grade no later than **12 December at 9am in my office.**

## **RECOMMENDED FOR PURCHASE:**

There are four paperbacks which we will read in their entirety (or nearly):

Hine, David. Governing Italy: The Politics of Bargained Pluralism. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Kohno, Masaru. Japan's Postwar Party Politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Putnam, Robert D. Making Democracy Work : Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Gordon, Andrew, ed. Postwar Japan as History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

We will read significant portions of four other books that you might consider purchasing. Each is a paperback and will be available at the MIT Coop:

Ginsborg, Paul. A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics 1943-1988. London: Penguin, 1990.

Gourevitch, Peter. Politics in Hard Times: Comparative Responses to International Economic Crises. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Katzenstein, Peter J. Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Payne, Stanley G. A History of Fascism: 1914-1945, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996.

With the exception of the Hine, Kohno, Gordon and Putnam volumes (and those selections for which publishers may have denied us permission to copy for resale), all readings are collected in Class Notes, available from MIT Graphic Arts (E52-045). The Reserve Desk at Dewey Library will have all of the course materials.

## **CLASS SCHEDULE:**

8 September

**EXPLAINING CHANGE THROUGH COMPARATIVE  
HISTORY**

Skocpol, Theda and Margaret Somers, "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry," Comparative Studies in Society and History. Vol. 22, No. 2, April 1980, pp. 174-197.

Lustick, Ian S. "History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias," American Political Science Review, Vol. 90, No. 3, September 1996, pp. 605-618.

Krasner, Stephen D. "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics," Comparative Politics. January 1984, pp.223-246.

Berlin, Isaiah. The Hedgehog and the Fox: An Essay on Tolstoy's View of History. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966, pp. 1- 30.

**15 September            STATE-BUILDING**

Steinmo, Sven and Kathleen Thelan, "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics," Chapter One in S. Steinmo, K. Thelan, and F. Longstreth, eds., Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Geddes, Barbara. "Uses and Limitations of Rational Choice," Chapter Four in P. Smith, ed. Latin America in Comparative Perspective: New Approaches to Methods and Analysis. Boulder: Westview, 1995.

Ramseyer, J. Mark and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. The Politics of Oligarchy: Institutional Choice in Imperial Japan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Chapters: 1, 5, 11.

Joseph P. Gownder and Robert Pekkanen. "The End of Political Science? Rational Choice Analysis in Studies of Japanese Politics," The Journal of Japanese Studies. Vol. 22, No. 2, Summer 1996, pp. 363-384.

Pyle, Kenneth B. "Meiji Conservatism," Chapter 11 in The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 5., 1993.

Hellman, Steven. "The Emergence of the Modern Italian State," Chapter 16 in M. Kesselman, et al. European Politics in Transition. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1987.

Mack-Smith, Denis. Italy: A Modern History. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959 and 1969 (revised edition). pp. 1-75.

**22 September            NO CLASS**

**29 September**

**INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT**

Gershenkron, Alexander. Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962. Chapters 1,4.

Kemp. Tom. "Italy—The Disadvantaged Latecomer," Chapter Six in T. Kemp, ed., Industrialization in Nineteenth century Europe. (second edition). London: Longman, 1985.

Zamagni, Vera. The Economic History of Italy: 1860-1990. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. Introduction.

Toniolo, Gianni. An Economic History of Liberal Italy: 1850-1918. London: Routledge, 1990. Chapter 12.

Lockwood, William W. The Economic Development of Japan: Growth and Structural Change 1868-1938. London: Oxford University Press, 1955. Chapter One.

Hirschmeier, J. and T. Yui. The Development of Japanese Business: 1600-1980. (second edition). London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981. Chapters One and Two.

**6 October**

**LIBERALISM AND FASCISM**

Moore Jr., Barrington. Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966. Chapters Five, Seven and Eight.

Przeworski, Adam. "Democracy as a Contingent Outcome of Conflicts," in Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad, eds., Constitutionalism and Democracy. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

Mack-Smith, Denis. Italy: A Modern History. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959 and 1969 (revised edition). pp. 76-99, 133-148, 198-262.

Kazsa, Gregory . The Conscript Society: Administered Mass Organizations. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. Chapter One and pp.87-99, 104-108, 157-165.

Payne, Stanley G. A History of Fascism: 1914-1945, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996. Chapters 1, 4, 10.

Wilson, George Maklin. "A New Look at the Problem of 'Japanese Fascism'," Comparative Studies in Society and History. Volume X, 1967-1968, pp.401-412.

**13 October**

**NO CLASS**

**20 October**

**POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION**

- Gourevitch, Peter. Politics in Hard Times: Comparative Responses to International Economic Crises. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986. Chapters 1, 2, 6.
- Ginsborg, Paul. A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics 1943-1988. London: Penguin, 1990. Chapters 2-4.
- Harper, John Lamberton. America and the Reconstruction of Italy: 1945-1948. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Chapters 1-4, 9, 10.
- Hine, David. Governing Italy: The Politics of Bargained Pluralism. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. Chapter One.
- Gluck, Carol. "The Past in the Present" Chapter 3 in Gordon, Andrew, ed. Postwar Japan as History. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1993.
- Dower, John W. Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience, 1878-1954. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979. Chapter Nine.

**27 October**

**HEGEMONIC PARTY SYSTEMS**

- Pempel, T.J. "Introduction," and "Conclusion," in T.J. Pempel, ed. Uncommon Democracies: The One-Party Dominant Regimes. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- Tarrow, Sidney. "Maintaining Hegemony in Italy: 'The Softer they Rise, the Slower they Fall,'" Chapter Ten in T.J. Pempel, ed. Uncommon Democracies: The One-Party Dominant Regimes. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- David Hine. Governing Italy: The Politics of Bargained Pluralism. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. Chapters 3-4.
- Kohno, Masaru. Japan's Postwar Party Politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. Chapters 1-7.
- Kato, Junko. Party Dominance and Factionalism: The Italian Christian Democrats and the Japanese Liberal Democrats in Comparative Perspective," unpublished paper, University of Tokyo.

**3 November**

**BUREAUCRACY AND POLICY**

Read selectively from both Group A and Group B:

**Group A** (“Strong” and “Weak” Central States):

Johnson, Chalmers. MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982. Chapters One and Nine.

DiPalma, Giuseppe. Surviving Without Governing?: The Italian Parties in Parliament. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977. Chapter One.

Hine, David. Governing Italy: The Politics of Bargained Pluralism. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. Chapters 6-7.

Samuels, Richard J. The Business of the Japanese State: Energy Markets in Comparative and Historical Perspective. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987. Chapters One and Seven.

Friedman, David B. The Misunderstood Miracle: Industrial Development and Political Change in Japan. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988. Chapter One.

**Group B** (Regional and Local Political Dynamics):

Locke, Richard M. Remaking the Italian Economy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995. Chapter One.

Putnam, Robert D. Making Democracy Work : Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993. Chapters 1-4.

Samuels, Richard J. The Politics of Regional Policy in Japan: Localities Incorporated? Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983. Chapter Six.

Krauss, Ellis. “Kyoto and Bologna: Communist Power and Alternative Models of Local Development,” unpublished paper prepared for the Conference on Local Institutions in National Development, Bellagio (March 1982).

Tarrow, Sidney. Between Center and Periphery: Grassroots Politicians in Italy and France. Yale University Press, 1977, Chapters 1, 5, 6.

Mannheimer, Renato. “The Electorate of the Lega Nord,” Chapter Six in G. Pasquino and P. McCarthy, eds. The End of Postwar politics in Italy: The Landmark 1992 Elections. Boulder: Westview, 1993.

**10 November**

**NO CLASS**

17 November

## CIVIL SOCIETY

### Group A (Interest Groups and Associations)

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963. Chapter 15.

Berger, Suzanne. "Introduction," in S. Berger, ed. Organizing Interests in Western Europe: Pluralism, Corporatism, and the Transformation of Politics. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Streeck, Wolfgang and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Community, Market, State—and Associations?: The Prospective Contribution of Interest Governance to Social Order," in W. Streeck and P. Schmitter, eds., Private Interest Government: Beyond Market and State. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1985.

Putnam, Robert D. Making Democracy Work : Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993. Chapter Five.

Garon, Sheldon and Mike Mochizuki. "Negotiating Social Contracts," Chapter Six in Andrew Gordon, ed. Postwar Japan as History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Richardson, Bradley M. and Scott C. Flanagan, Politics in Japan. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984, Chapter 8.

### Graze Group B (Corruption)

Waters, Sarah. "Tangentopoli and the Emergence of a New Political Order in Italy," West European Politics, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 169-182, January 1994. Pp. 169-182.

Johnson, Chalmers. "Puppets and Puppeteers: Japanese Political Reform," Chapter Ten in Japan, Who Governs? The Rise of the Developmental State. New York: Norton, 1995.

Gambetta, Diego. The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993. Introduction and Conclusion.

Chubb, Judith and Maurizio Vannicelli. "Italy: A Web of Scandals in a Flawed Democracy," Chapter Five in A.S. Markovits and M. Silverstein, eds., The Politics of Scandal: Power and Process in Liberal Democracies. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988.

**24 November**

**FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES**

Waltz, Kenneth N. "Political Structures," Chapter Four in Robert O. Keohane, ed. Neo-Realism and its Critics. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

Keohane, Robert O. "Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond," Chapter Seven in Robert O. Keohane, ed. Neo-Realism and its Critics. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

Dower, John. "Peace and Democracy in Two Systems: External Policy and Internal Conflict," Chapter One in Andrew Gordon, ed. Postwar Japan as History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Peter J. Katzenstein, Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996. Chapters 1, 2, 5, 6.

Hine, David. Governing Italy: The Politics of Bargained Pluralism. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. Chapter 10.

McCarthy, Patrick. The Crisis of the Italian State: From the Origins of the Cold War to the Fall of Berlusconi. New York, St. Martin's, 1995, Chapter Three.

**1 December**

**ITALY AND JAPAN AFTER THE COLD WAR**

Zysman, John. "How Institutions Create Historically Rooted Trajectories of Growth," Industrial and Corporate Change, Vol. 3, No. 1, Oxford University Press, 1994.

S. Hellman. "The Left and the Decomposition of the Party System in Italy," in R. Miliband and L. Panitch, eds., Socialist Register, Real Problems, False Solutions. London: Merlin Press, 1993.

Kohno, Masaru. Japan's Postwar Party Politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. Chapters 8-9.

Gordon, Andrew. "Conclusion," in Andrew Gordon, ed. Postwar Japan as History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Hine, David. Governing Italy: The Politics of Bargained Pluralism. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. pp.300-311.

McCarthy, Patrick. "Conclusion: Inching Toward a New Regime," Chapter Ten in G. Pasquino and P. McCarthy, eds. The End of Postwar politics in Italy: The Landmark 1992 Elections. Boulder: Westview, 1993.

8 December

**GREAT FORCES OF CHANGE: STRUCTURE,  
CULTURE, AND AGENCY**

Berger, Suzanne. "Introduction," in S. Berger and R. Dore, eds. National Diversity and Global Capitalism. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Cotta, Maurizio. "Elite Unification and Democratic Consolidation in Italy: A Historical Overview," in J. Higley and R. Gunther, eds., Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Allinson, Gary D. "The Structure and Transformation of Conservative Rule," Chapter Five in Andrew Gordon, ed. Postwar Japan as History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Wildavsky, Aaron. "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation" American Political Science Review, Volume 87, No. 1, March 1987, pp. 3-22.

Laitin, David and Aaron Wildavsky. "Political Culture and Political Preferences," American Political Science Review, Volume 82, Number 2, June 1988, pp. 589-596.

Swidler, Ann. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," American Sociological Review, Vol. 51, April 1986, pp. 273-286.