

INTR2018: Japan's Security Dilemmas
Semester One, 2013
Lecture: Wed, 3-5pm, HBC2
Tutorial: Thur, 11am-12pm or 12-1pm, SR1.13

Providing security is one of the most important tasks facing the state. Modern Japan has used a variety of strategies to provide security for its citizens, including experimenting with domestic political institutions, colonizing neighbouring countries, picking fights with more powerful states, fashioning new national identities, and surrendering its right to formulate security policy. Understanding the nature of the security dilemmas Japan has found itself in since 1853, the strategies it developed to respond, and the factors that gave rise to them, both international and domestic, is what this course is about.

The course is divided into four parts. The first part describes the four major security dilemmas Japan found itself in from 1853 until 1996 and introduces you to approaches in international relations that can help make sense of Japan's responses. The second part describes the transformation in Japan's security policy that occurred in the late 1990s/early 2000s and asks you to critically appraise two different perspectives on this, derived from two very-different approaches in international relations. The third part elucidates how Japan has started using the overseas dispatch of the SDF as a tool of its security policy and the issues that surround that. The fourth part elucidates Japan's position on three contemporary security challenges: the threat posed by the DPRK, the threat posed by China, and relations with the ROK. No prior knowledge of Japan, Japan's security policy, or the Japanese language is required.

Instructor: Dr. Amy Catalinac

Email: amy.catalinac@anu.edu.au

Office: Hedley Bull, 2.09.

Office Hours: Wed, 5-7pm, or by appointment.

Tutor: Ms. Kerri Ng

Email: u4989834@anu.edu.au

Office: TBA.

Office Hours: Thur, 9-11am, or by appointment.

Course Objectives: In taking this course, students are expected to acquire:

1. A history of the major security dilemmas Japan has found itself in since 1868 and how it met them.

2. An understanding of the domestic political, social and economic context in which Japan's security policy has been made and how this context has changed over time.
3. An understanding of Japan's perspective on major contemporary security challenges.
4. An introduction to the variables used to explain the security policies adopted of states, such as balance of power; fear of entrapment; fear of abandonment; norms; cultures; identities; leaders; public opinion and the media; and political institutions, and the paradigms in international relations that give rise to them.
5. An introduction to social science research methods and in particular, how to ask and answer a research question.

Course Requirements: You are strongly encouraged to attend all lectures and one of the weekly tutorials. Lectures will be held every week except for week 7 (April 17) and tutorials will be held in weeks 2-13. You are expected to complete the assigned readings for each lecture ahead of time and use your understanding of them and the information presented to you in lecture to answer the questions posed to you in lecture and tutorial. The study questions at the beginning of each lecture are meant to guide your reading of the material for that lecture. In addition, you are required to complete an in-class, closed-book mid-term examination (on April 17), which will examine material taught in weeks 1-6; a 2,000-2,500-word research essay, due on May 3 at 11.59pm, in which you will tackle one of a list of questions that will be distributed to you in lecture; and a closed-book final exam (to be scheduled), which will examine material taught in all weeks. The midterm and final exam will contain a mix of questions requiring short and long answers.

Grade Breakdown:

Mid-Term Exam	30%
Research Essay	30%
Final Exam	40%

Research Essay: This should be between 2,000-2,500 words and is to be submitted via www.turnitin.com by 11.59pm on May 3. You are expected to tackle one of a number of questions that will be distributed to you in lecture and use as much material as possible, referencing this material appropriately. The IPS Guidelines for Undergraduate Assessment describes the expectations of the essay and the rules regarding format, submission, referencing style, penalties for late submission, penalties for not keeping within the word limit, and extension requests. Each of these policies will be followed in this course, so please consult this guide.

Required Texts: There are no required textbooks for this course.

Assigned Readings: The assigned readings for each week have been scanned and are available on the course website. Supplementary material for each session is also noted. This is only for your reference and is not required.

Important Dates:

First Lecture	Wednesday, February 20
First Tutorials	Thursday, February 28
Mid-Term Exam	Wednesday, April 17
Research Essay Due	Friday, May 3 (11.59pm)
Final Lecture	Wednesday, May 29
Final Tutorials	Thursday, May 30
Final Exam	(to be scheduled).

COURSE OUTLINE

Feb 20 (Week One): Course Introduction. Why Japanese Security Matters.

This lecture explains why Japan's security matters and provides an overview of the topics to be covered in the course. It also outlines the aims of the course and its requirements. Which variables and factors influence the strategies states use to secure themselves, according to scholars of international relations? Why can't states simply arm themselves to the teeth? What is a research question, and what criteria should we use when evaluating the answers provided in our readings?

Evelyn Goh. How Japan matters in the evolving East Asian security order. *International Affairs*, 87(4):887–902, 2011.

Brendan Taylor. Asia's century and the problem of Japan's centrality. *International Affairs*, 87(4):871–885, 2011.

Stephen Walt. International Relations: One World, Many Theories. *Foreign Policy*, Spring:29–46, 1998.

For Reference:

Aurelia George Mulgan. Why Japan Still Matters. *Asia Pacific Review*, 12(2):104–121, 2005.

PART I: HISTORICAL SECURITY DILEMMAS, 1853-1996

Feb 27 (Week Two). Preventing Colonization and Gaining Status (1853-1945).

This lecture focuses on the security dilemma Japan found itself in as it entered international society and the decisions it made that ultimately led it down the path of brutal imperialism. It also introduces the rationalist approach in international relations, which holds that material factors

such as the balance of power influence security policy. What concerns motivated Japanese leaders during this period? What strategies did they use to address these concerns? Why did Japan embark on a strategy of brutal imperialism, according to Snyder? Does it make sense to treat “Japan” as a unitary actor, motivated by concerns such as “security” and “status”?

Jack Snyder. *Myths of Empire*, pages 112–152. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1991.

Kenneth Pyle. *Japan Rising*, pages 66–97; 137–209. The Century Foundation, Ithaca, N.Y., 2007.

For Reference:

Jean-Marie Bouissou. *Japan. The Burden of Success*, pages 1–38. Hurst and Company, London, 1992.

Hidemi Suganami. Japan’s Entry into International Society. In Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, editor, *The Expansion of International Society*, pages 185–199. Clarendon Press, Oxford, United Kingdom, 1984.

Mar 6 (Week Three). Regaining Independence (1945-1952).

This lecture focuses on the security dilemma Japan found itself in during the Allied Occupation, 1945-1952. What were the legacies of the Occupation for Japan and Japan’s security policy? How did U.S. strategic concerns influence its handling of the Occupation? Why did MacArthur want to “save” the emperor? How much were the Japanese side able to influence what went on during the Occupation?

John W. Dower. *Embracing Defeat. Japan in the Wake of World War Two*, pages 346–404. W. W. Norton and Company, New York, 1999.

Andrew Gordon. *A Modern History of Japan. From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, pages 226–243. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003.

For Reference:

W. G. Beasley. *The Modern History of Japan*, pages 279–304. Frederick A. Praeger, London, 1963.

Jean-Marie Bouissou. *Japan. The Burden of Success*, pages 39–80. Hurst and Company, London, 1992.

Ray A. Moore and Donald L. Robinson. *Partners for Democracy: Crafting the New Japanese State under MacArthur*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002.

Mar 13 (Week Four). Recovering Economically and Restoring Japan's Reputation (1952-1976).

This lecture focuses on the security dilemma Japan found itself in between 1952 and 1976 and the strategies it developed in response, which include putting economics first, adopting a “low-profile” internationally, and constructing a new pacifist identity. This lecture also introduces the constructivist approach in international relations, which holds that non-material factors such as norms and culture matter for security. How do Berger and Chai explain Japan's choice of security strategy in this period? Are their explanations convincing? How does Izumikawa disagree?

Thomas Berger. From Sword to Chrysanthemum. Japan's Culture of Anti-Militarism. *International Security*, 17(4), 1993.

Sun-Ki Chai. Entrenching the Yoshida Defense Doctrine: Three Techniques for Institutionalization. *International Organization*, 51(3):389–412, Summer 1997.

Yasuhiro Izumikawa. Explaining Japanese Antimilitarism: Normative and Realist Constraints on Japan's Security Policy. *International Security*, 35(2):123–160, Fall 2010.

For Reference:

Andrew L. Oros. *Normalizing Japan. Politics, Identity, and the Evolution of Security Practice*, pages 41–70. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 2008.

Richard J. Samuels. *Securing Japan : Tokyo's grand strategy and the future of East Asia*, pages 38–59. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 2007.

Mar 20 (Week Five). Meeting U.S. Demands for Burden-sharing (1976-1996).

This lecture focuses on the security dilemma Japan found itself in between 1976 and 1996 and the strategies it developed in response, which include agreeing to new guidelines for defense cooperation, establishing a budget for overseas development assistance, and contributing to U.S. efforts in the Gulf, 1990-1991. Building on the rationalist approach, this lecture introduces concepts in international relations that help us understand how states behave when they are allied to other states. Lind, Midford, and Kawasaki all offer different explanations for Japan's behavior during this period. Which explanation do you find most convincing, and why?

Paul Midford. The Logic of Reassurance and Japan's Grand Strategy. *Security Studies*, 11(3):1–43, 2002.

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

Tsuyoshi Kawasaki. Postclassical Realism and Japanese Security Policy. *The Pacific Review*, 14:221–240, 2001.

For Reference:

Susan J. Pharr. Japan's Defensive Foreign Policy and the Politics of Burden Sharing. In Gerald Curtis, editor, *Japan's Foreign Policy after the Cold War: Coping with Change*. M. E. Sharpe, 1993.

Yoshihide Soeya. Japan: Normative Constraints versus Structural Imperatives. In Muthiah Alagappa, editor, *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences*, pages 198–231. Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1998.

Akitoshi Miyashita. Where Do Norms Come From? Foundations of Japan's Postwar Pacifism. *International Relations of the Asia Pacific*, 7:99–120, 2007.

PART II: JAPAN'S POST-1996 SECURITY TRANSFORMATION

Mar 27 (Week Six). Normalizing Japan: Structural Factors?

This lecture focuses on the transformation in Japan's security policy that occurred around 1996. What did this transformation look like? When did it begin? How did the identity and image of those delivering security, the Self Defense Forces (SDF) and the Japan Coast Guard (JCG), change during this time? How does Samuels (2006) explain this transformation? Which approach in international relations is he drawing from? Do you find his explanation convincing? Why/why not?

Richard J. Samuels. Japan's Goldilocks Strategy. *The Washington Quarterly*, 29(4):111–127, 2006.

Sabine Fruhstuck and Eyal Ben-Ari. "Now We Show It All!" Normalization and the Management of Violence in Japan's Armed Forces. *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 28(1):1–39, 2002.

Richard J. Samuels. "New fighting power!" Japan's Growing Maritime Capabilities and East Asian Security. *International Security*, 32(3):84–112, 2008.

For Reference:

Eric Heginbotham and Richard J. Samuels. Mercantile Realism and Japanese Foreign Policy. *International Security*, 22(4):171–203, 1998.

April 17 (Week Seven). No Lecture. In-class mid-term exam.

April 24 (Week Eight). Normalizing Japan: New Political Institutions?

This lecture introduces two alternative perspectives on the post-1996 transformation in Japan's security policy, which are rooted in an understanding of how domestic political institutions can constrain and enable policymakers. It also introduces an alternative rationalist approach in international relations, which holds that policymakers' calculations about how to secure their states are heavily influenced by their own career goals. How does Japan's new electoral system enable policymakers to focus on security? Do you find this explanation convincing? How do different leadership selection processes affect the nationalistic orientation of their foreign policies, according to Sasada? Do you find this explanation convincing?

Amy L. Catalinac. Pork to Policy: The Rise of National Security in Elections in Japan. unpublished manuscript, 2013.

Hironori Sasada. The electoral origin of Japan's nationalistic leadership: primaries in the LDP presidential election and the "pull effect". *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 10:1–30, 2010.

PART III: NEW TOOLS OF JAPAN'S SECURITY POLICY

May 1 (Week Nine). Overseas Dispatch of the SDF.

In 1992 the Japanese government passed a law enabling its Self Defense Forces to be dispatched overseas for the first time. Since then, SDF officers have participated in peacekeeping missions sanctioned by the United Nations, U.S.-sponsored missions in Iraq and Afghanistan, and anti-piracy missions in the Gulf of Aden. This lecture describes the decision processes surrounding Japan's decisions to dispatch troops to each of these missions. It introduces three different explanations, each drawing upon a different approach to international relations, for why Japan did so. Which explanation do you find most convincing and why?

Tomohito Shinoda. Japan's Top-Down Policy Process to Dispatch the SDF to Iraq. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 7(1):71–91, 2006.

Paul Midford. Japan's Response to Terror: Dispatching the SDF to the Arabian Sea. *Asian Survey*, 43(2):329–351, March/April 2003.

Amy L. Catalinac. Identity and Foreign Policy: Comparing Japan's Response to the 1990 Gulf War with its response to the 2003 U.S. Invasion of Iraq. *Politics and Policy*, 35:58–100, 2007.

For Reference:

Aurelia George Mulgan. International Peacekeeping and Japan's Role: Catalyst or Cautionary Tale? *Asian Survey*, 35(12):1102–1117, December 1995.

PART IV: CONTEMPORARY SECURITY DILEMMAS

May 8 (Week Ten). The DPRK: Missiles, Nukes, and Missing Persons.

This lecture focuses on the threat posed by the DPRK and the strategies Japan has used and is using to meet this threat. Why did the DPRK emerge as a security threat after the end of the Cold War? How does the DPRK threaten Japan? How has Japan balanced carrots and sticks in its responses? Is the abduction issue helping Japan meet the threat or hindering it? Why hasn't the DPRK's nuclear weapons program been enough to push Japan to acquire a nuclear weapon of its own? Under what conditions might Japan do so? How has the media influenced Japan's relations with North Korea, according to Lynn? Why might Japanese people be receptive to this framing?

Christopher W. Hughes. Supersizing the DPRK Threat. *Asian Survey*, 49(2):291–311, 2009.

Hyung Gu Lynn. Vicarious Traumas: Television and Public Opinion in Japan's North Korea Policy. *Pacific Affairs*, 79(3):488–502, Fall 2006.

For Reference:

Jacques E.C. Hymans. Veto Players, Nuclear Energy, and Nonproliferation. *International Security*, 36(2):154–189, 2011.

Christopher W. Hughes. The Political Economy of Japanese Sanctions toward North Korea: Domestic Coalitions and International Systemic Pressures. *Pacific Affairs*, 79(3):451–485, 2006.

Llewelyn Hughes. Why Japan Will Not Go Nuclear (Yet). International and Domestic Constraints on the Nuclearization of Japan. *International Security*, 31(4):679–696, 2007.

May 15 (Week Eleven). China: Rising and Irredentist.

This lecture focuses on the threat posed by the rise of China and the strategies Japan has used and is using to meet this threat. What do theories of international relations predict about China's rise? What do they predict about how Japan will respond to China's rise? Can we characterize Japan's response to China's rise to date as one of balancing or accommodation? Why do Japan and China care so much about the Senkaku islands? Do recent events in the East China Sea signal a change in Japan's response? Why did Japan stop providing ODA to China in 2005? What does Australia have to fear from rivalry between Japan and China?

Bjorn Jerden and Linus Hagstrom. Rethinking Japan's China Policy: Japan as an Accommodator in the Rise of China, 1978-2011. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 12:215–250, 2012.

Bjorn Jerden and Linus Hagstrom. Senkakus a harbinger for Japanese shift on China policy? *East Asian Forum*, pages 1–4, 12 October 2012.

Reinhard Drifte. The ending of Japan's ODA loan programme to China. All's well that ends well? *Asia-Pacific Review*, 13(1):94–117, 2006.

Hugh White. The Age. Right now, we don't need an alliance with Japan, 11 December 2012.

Martin Fackler. Japan Expands Its Regional Military Role. *New York Times*, 27 November 2012.

Asahi Japan Watch. Inside Look: Japan tried but failed to avert disaster in China dispute, 26 September 2012.

For Reference:

Yongwook Ryu. The Yasukuni Controversy: Divergent Perspectives from the Japanese Political Elite. *Asian Survey*, 47(5):705–726, September-October 2007.

Chico Harlan. With China's rise, Japan shifts to the right. *The Washington Post*, 23 October 2012.

May 22 (Week Twelve). The ROK: A Reluctant Ally.

This lecture focuses on relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK). Despite clear incentives for the two countries to cooperate, their relationship continues to be marred by disputes over territory, the way history should be remembered and passed to future generations, and the status of comfort women in history. Why do these two countries have such a volatile relationship, according to Cha? Do you find this argument convincing? If he is correct, under what conditions might we expect more cooperation?

Victor D. Cha. Abandonment, Entrapment, and Neoclassical Realism in Asia: The United States, Japan, and Korea. *International Studies Quarterly*, 44(2):261–291, 2000.

Nanae Kuroshige. Asahi Japan Watch. Islets row puts chill on defense exchange programs with S. Korea, September 02 2012.

May 29 (Week Thirteen). Wrap-up and Conclusion.

This lecture has two aims. The first is to consider how alternation in power from the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) in 2009 influenced Japan's security policy. How will alternations of power in the future affect security policy? The second aim is to review the material covered in the course. Which security dilemmas has Japan found itself in since 1853 and what strategies did Japan use to deal with those dilemmas? What major factors influenced the selection of these strategies? What did we learn about the field of international relations? What did we learn about how to critically appraise research?

Christopher W. Hughes. The Democratic Party of Japan's New (but Failing) Grand Security Strategy: From "Reluctant Realism" to "Resentful Realism"? *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 38(1):109–140, 2012.
