Office Hours: Tues/Thurs 1:45pm-3:00pm

Office: Robinson 1413 (IR/PS)Tel: X 48175 Email: ekrauss@ucsd.edu TA: Dan Smith Office: SSB 351 Email: danielmarkhamsmith@gmail.com

Office Hours: Th 1:00-2:30pm

<u>COURSE DESCRIPTION:</u> The relationship between the US and Japan has been described as "the most important in the world, bar none." Yet there is a great deal of misunderstanding about its nature on both sides of the Pacific. This course will examine US-Japan security and economic relations in the postwar period from the Occupation and Cold War alliance through the severe bilateral trade friction of the 1980s and 1990s to the present relationship and how it is being transformed by the forces of globalization, regionalization, and multilateralism.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Midterm Exam: Consisting of

Part A Identifications [approx.15%] and Part B [Essay] [approx. 35%]

Final Exam: Consisting of

Part A Identifications [approx.15%] and Part B [Essay] [approx 35%]

The identification part requires identifying terms, facts, and concepts from readings and lectures and describing what they are and why they are important in Japanese politics; the essays test ability to organize and creatively recombine lecture and reading material to analyze a particular problem. It is impossible to get a good grade in this class without doing the readings.

Class participation may be taken into account when examination scores put a student on the borderline between grades. <u>IMPORTANT</u>, <u>PLEASE NOTE</u>: Students are responsible for knowing when the exams will be held whether you are in class the day they are announced or not. If you do not show up for, or turn in your exam, on the finalized due date announced in class, only a valid medical or other emergency excuse with written proof will be accepted as a reason to give you a make-up exam. Otherwise you will receive a grade of 0 [zero] on the missed exam.

REQUIRED READINGS

[in Bookstore]:

Simon REICH, <u>The Reagan Administration</u>, the Auto Producers, and the 1981 Agreement with <u>Japan</u> (Pew Case Study in Int'l Negotiation) [27 pp] ISBN: 1-56927-119-4

ARTICLES ON RESERVE ON E-RESERVES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES LIBRARY—ALL BUT REICH ABOVE SHOULD BE ON RESERVE.

Readings should be read in the order they appear in the course outline below. <u>ALL READINGS</u> <u>SHOULD BE DONE IN ADVANCE OF THE CLASS.</u> The number of required pages per week is shown in brackets right after the <u>Readings:</u> subheadings. Students should plan their studying accordingly.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

<u>Week 1 March 30:</u> : INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE: US-Japan Relations, A "Love Match" or an "Arranged Marriage?"

UNIT I: BACKGROUND

Week 1: April 1 The Legacy of the Past:

War, Occupation, and War Memories: "Same Bed, Different Dreams?"

Readings [78pp]:

- 1. Makoto Iokibe, "Japan Meets the U.S. for the Second Time," <u>Daedalus</u> (Summer 1990), pp.91-106.
- **2**. John W. Dower, "The Bombed: Hiroshimas and Nagasakis in Japanese Memory," in Michael J. Hogan, ed., <u>Hiroshima in History and Memory</u> (Cambridge and NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 116-142.
- **3**. Ellis S. Krauss and Akiko Hashimoto, "Remembering the "Just War": World War II. in the American Memory" [paper; 24 pp].

Week 2: April 6, Roots of The Military Alliance and Economic Partnership:

Commitment and Ambivalence

The Security-Economy Cold War "Bargain." The Alliance Dilemma" and domestic politics. Has Japan been Dependent? Reactive? Or strategic? Reading:

- **4**. "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the United States of America and Japan" [Appendix D from George R. Packard III, <u>Protest in Tokyo</u> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 364-367.
- **5**. Kenneth B. Pyle, "Japan's Postwar National Purpose," ch. 3 of his <u>The Japanese Question: Power and Purpose in a New Era</u> (Washington: AEI Press, 1996), pp. 20-41.

UNIT II: POLITICAL ECONOMY 1960-1988

Week 2, APRIL 8, Differences in Politics, Economics, and Perception Differences in Ideology and Institutions Readings:

- 6. Ellis S. Krauss, "Normative Approaches to Economic and Trade Issues," <u>Moral Education III</u> (New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, 1992), pp. 63-83.
- 7. Stephen D. Cohen, "Divergent International Economic Policy Strategies," in his <u>An Ocean Apart; Explaining Three Decades of U.S.-Japanese Trade Frictions</u> (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), pp. 164-187.

Week 3: April 13: The Real Origins of Trade Friction?

8. Steven D. Cohen, "Arguing Japan's Case Against the United States," and "Arguing the U.S. Case Against Japan," chapters 8 and 9 in his <u>Cowboys and Samurai: Why the United States is Losing the Battle with the Japanese, and Why it Matters</u> (New York: HarperBusiness, 1991), pp. 163-216.

Week 3 April 15: Trade Friction: Case 1 AUTOS in 1980-81

Most important major case of Japanese imports to US

Reading;

REICH, S. <u>The Reagan Administration</u>, the Auto Producers, and the 1981 Agreement with Japan (Pew Case Study in Int'l Negotiation) [27 pp]

Week 4 April 20: Trade Friction: Case 2 SEMICONDUCTORS in 1985-6

Reading:

9. Timothy J.C. O'Shea, "The U.S.-Japan Semiconductor Problem," in Robert S. Walters, ed., <u>Talking Trade: U.S. Policy in International Perspective</u> (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 51-77.

Week 4 April 22. The End of Bilateral Trade Friction.

Why did US-Japan trade friction seem to go away?

Reading:

10 Tanaka Nobuo, "Ending the 'Age of GAIATSU," <u>Journal of Japanese Trade and Industry May/June 2001 [8pp]</u>

11. Yoichi Funabashi, <u>Asia Pacific Fusion: Japan's Role in APEC</u> (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1995), pp. 55-71; 187-204.

Week 5 April 27: US-Japan Friction in a New Form

The New Multilateral Setting for Settling Differences

Reading:

12. David P. Rapkin, "The United States, Japan, and the power to block: the APEC and AMF cases," <u>Pacific Review</u>, Vol 14, No. 3 (2001), pp 373-410.

Mad Cows Make Everyone Mad

Week 5 April 29: The Brave New World of Global Disease and U.S.-Japan Trade Reading:

- **13.** Andrew Martin, "More Mad Cow Tests Weighed to Calm Japan," <u>Chicago Tribune</u>, Japnuary 16, 2004, found online at "Ag Observatory" http://agoservatory.org/madcow/index.cfm?id=19064.
- **14.** "Japan Halting U.S. Beef Exports," CBS.com January 21, 2006, online at http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/01/20/health/main1223289.shtml .
- **15.** Associated Press, "Japan May Ease US Beef Import Rule" Philly.com http://www.philly.com/philly/wires/ap/business/20071207_ap_japanmayeaseusbeefimportrule.html#

Week 6 May 4: MIDTERM EXAM [Short-Answer on Weeks 1-5 and Essay Given Out]

UNIT III: SECURITY 1989-2006

Week 6: May 6: End of Cold War and "Alliance Adrift"

The end of Cold War and "Alliance Adrift" and Reaffirmed ESSAY EXAMS DUE IN CLASS

Readings:

- **16**. Michael J. Green, "Balance of Power" in Steven K. Vogel, ed., <u>U.S.-Japan Relations in a Changing World</u> (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2002), [2nd part only], pp. pp. 19-24
- 17. Norman D. Levin, "The U.S.-Japan Security Relationship: Changes and Challenges," in Chae-Jin Lee, ed., <u>The Changing Asia-Pacific Region: Strategic and Economic Issues</u> (The Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, Claremont McKenna College Monograph Series, Number Thirteen, 2001), pp. 46-73.

Week 7 May 11 The Rise of China

Implications for Japan and the Alliance

Reading:

- **18**. Ellis S. Krauss, Testimony Before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission on *China's role in Asia* Friday, February 13, 2004, pp. 1-11
- 19. Kent E. Calder, "China and Japan's Simmering Rivalry," <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, Vol. 85. No. 2 (Mar-Apr, 2006), pp. 129-139.

Week 7 May 13 Memories of History....Again

How history still complicates Japan's relations with Asia. And the U.S. Why? Should it? Reading:

- **20.** Robert Marquand, "Anti-Japan protests jar an uneasy Asia," <u>The Christian Science Monitor (csmonitor.com)</u>, April 11, 2005. online at http://www.csmonitor.com/20050411/p01s04-woap.html.
- **21** George F. Will, "The Uneasy Sleep of Japan's Dead" <u>Washingtonpost.com</u>, Sunday, August 20, 2006; B07 Sundhttp://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/08/18/AR2006081801026_pf.htm Accessed November 16, 2006.
- 22. Jennifer Lind, "The Perils of Apology: What Japan Shouldn't Learn from Germany," <u>Foreign Affairs</u> (May/June 2009), pp. 132-149.
- 23. Kinue Tokudome, "The Japanese Apology on the "Comfort Women" Cannot Be Considered Official: Interview with Congressman Michael Honda" <u>Japan focus</u>, May 31, 2007.

Week 8 May 18 Dealing with Asia's "bad boy"—North Korea and the Alliance

Reading:

24. Daniel A. Pinkston and Kazutaka Sakurai, "Japan Debates Preparing for Future Preemptive Strikes against North Korea," <u>The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis</u>, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, Winter 2006, pp. 95–121. Available online at

http://www.kida.re.kr/eng/publication/publication_01_1.htm

[select year 2006, the issue No. 1 and it will be listed along with other downloadable articles in .pdf format]

Secretariat, Headquarters for the Abduction Issue, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, "The Issue of Abductions of Japanese Citizens by North Korea: For the Return of All Abductees," (March 2007). Web site:

http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n_korea/abduction/leaflet.pdf

Week 9 May 25 Japan's New Activism in Security: A "regionalized" or "globalized" alliance? Reading:

25 Christopher W. Hughes, <u>Japan's Re-emergence as a 'Normal' Military Power</u> (IISS/Oxford, 2004), pp. 126-147.

Week 9 May 27 Okinawa, Island of Bases....and Conflict

The concentration of U.S. bases in Japan--One of the most contentious but important issues in the alliance

Readings [37pp]:

- **26**. Chalmers Johnson, "Okinawa Between the United States and Japan," in Josef Kreiner, ed. <u>Ryūkyū in World History</u> (Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstald, 2001), pp. 365-394.
- **27**. Sheila A. Smith, "Japan's Uneasy Citizens and the U.S.-Japan Alliance," <u>Asia Pacific Issues</u>, No. 54 (September 2001), pp. 1-8.

FINAL ESSAY GIVEN OUT

Week 10 June 1: The New Japanese Government and the Future; Q&A Review session

- 28. Richard J. Samuels, "Wing Walking: The US-Japan Alliance," <u>Global Asia</u>, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2009), available online at: globalasia.org/pdf/issue9/Richard_J._Samuel.pdf
- 29. John Hemmings, "Understanding Hatoyama's East Asian Community idea," <u>East Asia Forum</u> January 22nd, 2010; available online at http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2010/01/22/understanding-hatoyamas-east-asian-community-idea/

<u>Week 10 June 3</u> FINAL ESSAY DUE

FINAL: FINAL IDENTIFICATIONS DURING FINALS WEEK, JUNE 7-10

| Spring Quarter Begins | Thursday, March 25 |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Instruction Begins | Monday, March 29 |
| Instruction Ends | Friday, June 4 |
| Final Exams | Monday – Friday, June 7–11 |
| Spring Quarter Ends | Friday, June 11 |

LIST OF ARTICLES ON E-RESERVES

WEEK 1

- 1. Makoto Iokibe, "Japan Meets the U.S. for the Second Time," <u>Daedalus</u> (Summer 1990), pp.91-106.
- **2**. John W. Dower, "The Bombed: Hiroshimas and Nagasakis in Japanese Memory," in Michael J. Hogan, ed., <u>Hiroshima in History and Memory</u> (Cambridge and NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 116-142.
- **3**. Ellis S. Krauss and Akiko Hashimoto, "Remembering the "Just War": World War II. in the American Memory" [paper; 24 pp].

WEEK 2

- **4.** "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the United States of America and Japan" [Appendix D from George R. Packard III, <u>Protest in Tokyo</u> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 364-367.
- **5**. Kenneth B. Pyle, "Japan's Postwar National Purpose," ch. 3 of his <u>The Japanese Question: Power and Purpose in a New Era</u> (Washington: AEI Press, 1996), pp. 20-41.
- 6. Ellis S. Krauss, "Normative Approaches to Economic and Trade Issues," <u>Moral Education III</u> (New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, 1992), pp. 63-83.
- 7. Stephen D. Cohen, "Divergent International Economic Policy Strategies," in his <u>An Ocean Apart; Explaining Three Decades of U.S.-Japanese Trade Frictions</u> (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), pp. 164-187.

WEEK 3

8. Steven D. Cohen, "Arguing Japan's Case Against the United States," and "Arguing the U.S. Case Against Japan," chapters 8 and 9 in his <u>Cowboys and Samurai: Why the United States is Losing the Battle with the Japanese, and Why it Matters</u> (New York: HarperBusiness, 1991), pp. 163-216.

WEEK 4

- **9.** Timothy J.C. O'Shea, "The U.S.-Japan Semiconductor Problem," in Robert S. Walters, ed., <u>Talking Trade: U.S. Policy in International Perspective</u> (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 51-77.
- **10** Tanaka Nobuo, "Ending the 'Age of GAIATSU," <u>Journal of Japanese Trade and Industry May/June 2001 [8pp]</u>
- **11**. Yoichi Funabashi, <u>Asia Pacific Fusion: Japan's Role in APEC</u> (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1995), pp. 55-71; 187-204.

WEEK 5

- **12.** David P. Rapkin, "The United States, Japan, and the power to block: the APEC and AMF cases," <u>Pacific Review</u>, Vol 14, No. 3 (2001), pp 373-410.
- **13.** Andrew Martin, "More Mad Cow Tests Weighed to Calm Japan," <u>Chicago Tribune</u>, Japnuary 16, 2004, found online at "Ag Observatory" http://agoservatory.org/madcow/index.cfm?id=19064.
- **14.** "Japan Halting U.S. Beef Exports," CBS.com January 21, 2006, online at http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/01/20/health/main1223289.shtml
- **15.** Associated Press, "Japan May Ease US Beef Import Rule" Philly.com http://www.philly.com/philly/wires/ap/business/20071207_ap_japanmayeaseusbeefimportrule.html#

WEEK 6

- **16**. Michael J. Green, "Balance of Power" in Steven K. Vogel, ed., <u>U.S.-Japan Relations in a Changing World</u> (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2002), [2nd part only], pp. pp. 19-24
- 17. Norman D. Levin, "The U.S.-Japan Security Relationship: Changes and Challenges," in Chae-Jin Lee, ed., The Changing Asia-Pacific Region: Strategic and Economic Issues (The Keck Center for

International and Strategic Studies, Claremont McKenna College Monograph Series, Number Thirteen, 2001), pp. 46-73.

WEEK 7

- **18**. Ellis S. Krauss, Testimony Before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission on *China's role in Asia* Friday, February 13, 2004, pp. 1-11
- 19. Kent E. Calder, "China and Japan's Simmering Rivalry," <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, Vol. 85. No. 2 (MarApr, 2006), pp. 129-139.19.
- 20. Robert Marquand, "Anti-Japan protests jar an uneasy Asia," The Christian Science Monitor (csmonitor.com), April 11, 2005. online at http://www.csmonitor.com/20050411/p01s04-woap.html.
- **21** George F. Will, "The Uneasy Sleep of Japan's Dead" <u>Washingtonpost.com</u>, Sunday, August 20, 2006; B07 Sundhttp://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/08/18/AR2006081801026_pf.htm Accessed November 16, 2006.
- 22 Jennifer Lind, "The Perils of Apology: What Japan Shouldn't Learn from Germany," <u>Foreign Affairs</u> (May/June 2009), pp. 132-149
- 23. Kinue Tokudome, "The Japanese Apology on the "Comfort Women" Cannot Be Considered Official: Interview with Congressman Michael Honda" <u>Japan focus</u>, May 31, 2007.

WEEK 8

24. Daniel A. Pinkston and Kazutaka Sakurai, "Japan Debates Preparing for Future PreemptiveStrikes against North Korea," <u>The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis</u>, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, Winter 2006, pp. 95–121. Available online at http://www.kida.re.kr/eng/publication/publication_01_1.htm select year 2006, the issue No. 1 and it will be listed along with other downloadable articles in .pdf format]

Secretariat, Headquarters for the Abduction Issue, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, "The Issue of Abductions of Japanese Citizens by North Korea: For the Return of All Abductees," (March 2007). Web site:

http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n_korea/abduction/leaflet.pdf

25 Christopher W. Hughes, <u>Japan's Re-emergence as a 'Normal' Military Power</u> (IISS/Oxford, 2004), pp. 126-147.

WEEK 9

- **26**. Chalmers Johnson, "Okinawa Between the United States and Japan," in Josef Kreiner, ed. <u>Ryūkyū in World History</u> (Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstald, 2001), pp. 365-394.
- **27**. Sheila A. Smith, "Japan's Uneasy Citizens and the U.S.-Japan Alliance," <u>Asia Pacific Issues</u>, No. 54 (September 2001), pp. 1-8.

WEEK 10

- 28. Richard J. Samuels, "Wing Walking: The US-Japan Alliance," <u>Global Asia</u>, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2009), available online at: globalasia.org/pdf/issue9/Richard_J._Samuel.pdf
- 29. John Hemmings, "Understanding Hatoyama's East Asian Community idea," <u>East Asia Forum</u> January 22nd, 2010; available online at

http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2010/01/22/understanding-hatoyamas-east-asian-community-idea/