

**School of International Relations
Jawaharlal Nehru University**

Course	PhD
Course no.	EA613
Title	Contemporary Foreign Policy of Japan
Course Teacher	Dr. Titli Basu, Room 33, SIS 1 Email: titlibasu@mail.jnu.ac.in
Semester	Winter
Course Credits	Two
Course Type	Optional
Contact Hours	4 hours per week
Evaluation Method	1 Term Paper with Presentation (15%) 1 Review Essay with at least 3 books (15%) Class Participation (10%) Mid-Semester Exam (25%) End-Semester Exam (35%)

Course Outline

I. Domestic Debates in Post-War Japan

What are the core arguments of the competing schools of thoughts in post-war Japan on what kind of power it should aim to be, and the role Tokyo should perform globally? How do realists, liberalists, and constructivists explain Japan's choices? How are the different schools of thought positioned on the key verticals of:

1. Article 9 of the Constitution
2. Legality of the Self Defense Force (SDF)
3. Nature of the US-Japan alliance
4. Historical narratives of Japan's past

II. Demystifying Foreign Policy through Primary Documents

1. Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between Japan and the US.
2. MOFA Diplomatic Bluebook.
3. ODA Charter
4. MOFA Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP).
5. National Security Strategy 2013.
6. National Security Strategy 2022.
7. Joint Statements of key Bilateral/Trilateral Meetings

III. Role of Leadership in Making of Post-War Japan

1. Nobusuke Kishi and US-Japan security Treaty.
2. Yoshida Shigeru and National Diet (Parliament) debates.

3. Eisaku Sato and Okinawa Reversion.
4. Koizumi Junichiro and the North Korea re-set.
5. Abe Shinzo and the narrative of 'Japan is Back'.
6. Kishida Fumio and the narrative of 'Ukraine today can be East Asia tomorrow.'

IV. Key Issues in Foreign Policy

1. Developmental Aid.
2. Quality Infrastructure.
3. Nuclear Debate.
4. Sovereignty and Contested Territorial Claims.
5. Japan as a Naval power in the Indo-Pacific.
6. Taiwan Contingency.
7. Japan and Peacekeeping.
8. North Korean Nuclear and Missile programme
9. Economic Security: Critical and Emerging Technologies/Semiconductor Alliance.
10. Politics of FTAs: CPTPP and RCEP
11. Energy Security: Post-Fukushima and Post-Ukraine.
12. Environment and Climate Change

V. Japan and the Indo-Pacific

1. Japan's policy shifts towards: China/Korean Peninsula/Russia.
2. Japan and Indo-Pacific trilaterals and Quad(s).
3. Japan-ASEAN related security mechanisms.
4. Japan-NATO cooperation.
5. Japan's security outreach with major European powers: the UK, France, Germany.
6. Japan's position on AUKUS, Five Eyes, Issues in the Pacific Islands.
7. Japan in United Nation Debates.
8. Japan in G7

Readings

1. Ichiro Ozawa, *Blueprint of a New Japan: The Rethinking of a Nation*, New York, NY: Kodansha International, 1994.
2. J. Tsuchiyama, 'War Renunciation, Article 9, and Security Policy', in Berger, T. U., Mochizuki, M. M. and Tsuchiyama, J. (Eds.), *Japan in International Politics: The Foreign Policy of an Adaptive State*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007.
3. Kimie Hara. "50 Years from San Francisco: Re-Examining the Peace Treaty and Japan's Territorial Problems." *Pacific Affairs* 74, 3 (2001): 361-382.
4. Michael Green, *Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challenges in an Era of Uncertain Power*. New York: Palgrave 2001.
5. T. U. Berger, *Cultures of Antimilitarism: National Security in Germany and Japan*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998.
6. Thomas U. Berger. "From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan's Culture of Anti-Militarism." *International Security* 17, 4 (1993): 119-150.

7. Eric Heginbotham, and Richard J. Samuels. "Mercantile Realism and Japanese Foreign Policy." *International Security* 22, 4 (1998): 171-203.
8. Jennifer M. Lind. "Pacifism or Passing the Buck?: Testing Theories of Japanese Security Policy." *International Security*, 29, 1 (2004): 92-121.
9. Thomas U. Berger. "The Pragmatic Liberalism of an Adaptive State." In *Japan in International Politics: The Foreign Policies of an Adaptive State*, edited by Thomas
10. Masataka Kosaka, Options for Japan's Foreign Policy: Introduction, The Adelphi Papers, no. 13 (1973).
11. Paul Midford, Post-War Japanese Realism and Strategy toward China: Introduction to a Mini-Special Issue of Translations, Japan Forum 24, no. 4 (2012): 383-96.
12. Hans David Persson Envall. "Exceptions that Make the Rule? Koizumi Jun'ichirō and Political Leadership in Japan." *Japanese Studies* 28, 2 (2008): 227-242.
13. Kenneth B. Pyle. "Japan's Return to Great Power Politics: Abe's Restoration." *Asia Policy* 13, 2 (2018): 69-90.
14. Mike M. Mochizuki, Japan Tests The Nuclear Taboo, *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol 14, No. 2, 2007, pp. 303-328.
15. Mataka Kamiya, Will Japan go nuclear? Myth and reality, *Asia-Pacific Review*, 2:2, 1995, 5-19.
16. Ruth Benedict. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1946.
17. Nobumasa Akiyama and Kenta Horio, "Can Japan Remain Committed to Nonproliferation?" *The Washington Quarterly* 36, 2 (2013): 151-165.
18. Glenn D. Hook, *Militarization and Demilitarization in Contemporary Japan* London: Routledge, 1998.
19. Soeya, Yoshihide, 'Japan: 'Normative Constraints Versus Structural Imperatives'', in Muthiah Alagappa (ed) *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational influences*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press 1998.
20. Kenneth B. Pyle, *Japan Rising: the resurgence of Japanese power and purpose*, New York: Public Affairs, 2007.
21. R. J. Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).
22. Paul Midford, The Logic of Reassurance and Japan's Grand Strategy, *Security Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Spring 2002), pp. 1-43.
23. Christopher W. Hughes, Japan's 'Resentful Realism' and Balancing China's Rise, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Volume 9, Issue 2, Summer 2016, Pages 109-150.
24. Satoru Mori, Japan Debates the Right to Collective Self-Defense, Policy Brief October 2013, Sigur Center for Asian Studies, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University.
25. Tsuyoshi Kawasaki, Postclassical Realism and Japanese Security Policy, *Pacific Review*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (June 2001), pp. 221-240.
26. P. J. Katzenstein, *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.
27. Andrew L. Oros, *Normalizing Japan: Politics, Identity, and the Evolution of Security Practice*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008.

28. Yasuhiro Nakasone, *Japan: A State Strategy for the Twenty-First Century* translated by Lesley Connors and Christopher P. Hood, Routledge Curzon, New York, London, 2002.
29. Bamba Nobuya and John Howes, *Pacifism in Japan: The Christian and Socialist Tradition*, Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1978
30. The Constitution of Japan, Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 1947
https://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html
31. Post-dam Declaration, Proclamation Defining Terms for Japanese Surrender Issued at Potsdam, National Diet Library, July 26, 1945.
<https://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/co6.html>
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<https://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/shiryo/01/022/022tx.html>
33. Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and The United States of America, 1960, MOFA Japan <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/1.html>
34. National Security Strategy 2013. Kantei,
<https://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryou/131217anzenhoshou/nss-e.pdf>
35. National Security Strategy 2022. Kantei,
<https://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryou/221216anzenhoshou/nss-e.pdf>
36. National Defense Strategy 2022. Kantei,
https://www.mod.go.jp/j/policy/agenda/guideline/strategy/pdf/strategy_en.pdf
37. National Defense Program Guidelines For FY 2014 And Beyond, 2013 Kantei,
https://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/documents/2013/icsFiles/afiedfile/2014/02/03/NDPG.pdf
38. Defense White Papers, MOD Japan archives
https://www.mod.go.jp/en/publ/w_paper/index.html
39. Diplomatic Bluebook, MOFA Japan archives
40. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/index.html>
41. Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP), MOFA Japan archives
42. https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/page25e_000278.html
43. Shinzo Abe, 'Confluence of the Two Seas', Parliament of the Republic of India, 2007, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/pmvo708/speech-2.html>
44. Takashi Inoguchi, John G. Ikenberry, and Yoichiro Sato, *U.S.–Japan Security Alliance Regional Multilateralism*, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
45. Ken Jimbo and Bryan Tan, In search of a new security strategy for Japan, September 2022, East Asia Forum.
46. Sheila A. Smith, *Japan Rearmed: The Politics of Military Power*, Harvard University Press, 2019.
47. Micheal Green, *Line of Advantage: Japan's Grand Strategy in the Era of Abe Shinzo*, Columbia University Press, 2022.
48. Takuya Matsuda, Japan's Emerging Security Strategy, *The Washington Quarterly*, 2023, 46:1, 85-102.
49. Tomohiko Satake & Ryo Sahashi, The Rise of China and Japan's 'Vision' for Free and Open Indo-Pacific, *Journal of Contemporary China*, 2021, 30:127, 18-35
50. Yuichi Hosoya, FOIP 2.0: The Evolution of Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy, *Asia-Pacific Review*, 2019, 26:1, 18-28.

51. Shinichi Kitaoka, Vision for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific, *Asia-Pacific Review*, 2019, 26:1, 7-17.
52. Takao Sebata, *Japan's Defense Policy and Bureaucratic Politics, 1976-2007*, University Press of America, 2010.
53. Adam P. Liff, Japan's National Security Council: Policy Coordination and Political Power, *Japanese Studies*, 38:2, 2018, 253-279.
54. Giulio Pugliese, Kantei diplomacy? Japan's hybrid leadership in foreign and security policy, *The Pacific Review*, 30:2, 2017, 152-168.
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59. Mike M. Mochizuki. "Japan's Shifting Strategy toward the Rise of China." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 30, 4-5 (2007): 739-776.
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61. Rosemary Foot. "Power Transitions and Great Power Management: Three Decades of China-Japan-US Relations." *Pacific Review* 30, 6 (2017): 829-842
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64. Mira Rapp Hooper. "Uncharted Waters: Extended Deterrence and Maritime Disputes." *The Washington Quarterly* 38, 1 (2015): 127-146.