I. Critical Historical Junctures

II. Governance and Policy-Making

III. Representation and Participation

IV. Political Economy

V. Political Culture

VI. Japanese Politics in Transition

Japanese PM Yukio Hatoyama
I. Critical Historical Junctures

- 'Tokugawa Shogunate' (1603-1867)
  - Hierarchical feudalism, decentralized rule, isolation
- Commodore Admiral Perry (1853)
- Meiji Restoration (1867-68)
  - Emperor as figurehead
  - Rule of daimyo (former feudal lords) and genro (senior statesmen)
- Desire to copy from foreigners so as to compete
  - “Rich nation, strong army”
Path to World War

- Early Wars and Colonization (Taiwan and Korea)
- Short-lived ‘Taisho Democracy’ in 1920s
- Expansion into China
  - ‘Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere’
  - Invasion of Manchuria (1931); puppet government of Manchukuo
  - Full-scale invasion of China (in earnest by 1937)
  - ‘Rape of Nanking’ (1937 -- 300,000 civilians massacred by Japanese troops)
- Occupy French Indochina (1940)
- Resources in Dutch East Indies (Indonesia)
‘Rape of Nanking’ 1937

- Between 200K and 300K Chinese Civilians Slaughtered by the Japanese Army
War with the United States

- US diplomatic and economic pressure
- The choice for war – Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941
- ‘Island hopping’ and strategic bombing
- Atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki
- Surrender in August 1945
- US Military Occupation under General Douglas MacArthur
Japanese Advance in the Pacific
Postwar Japan

- American Occupation (1945-52)
  - American imposed constitution
  - US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty
- Postwar politics – LDP predominance
- Japan as the rising economic power
  - American backlash
- The ‘Bubble Economy’ and the ‘Lost Decade(s)’
  - Zombie Banks and Zombie Politics
II. Government and Policy-Making

**CONSTITUTION:**
- Popular Sovereignty
- Human Rights
- Pacifism
  - Article 9 (Peace Clause): “...the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation...land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.”
- Constitutional Monarchy
  - Emperor as ‘...symbol of the state and unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people, with who resides sovereign power’
  - No direct political role
Institutions of the Japanese State

- **Legislature (Diet)**
  - House of Representatives: 480 members; House of Councilors: 247 members
  - Mixed electoral system
  - Factions and ‘patron-client relationships’

- **Prime Minister**
  - Political Weakness and short tenure
  - Factions and hierarchy

- **Administrative System**
  - Bureaucratic prestige and control
  - *Amakudari* (‘Descent from Heaven’)
  - Iron Triangles
III. Representation and Participation

- **Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)**
  - ‘Neither Liberal nor Democratic’
  - Factions and non-ideological patron-client networks

- **Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)**
  - Opposition divided since mid-1990s
  - Many ‘new parties’ simply groupings of ex-LDP people
  - Emergence (finally) of the DPJ as alternate government
  - Overwhelming victory in August 2009 election
  - What next for Hatoyama?
### Japanese House of Representatives Election Results (30 August 2009)

#### Summary of the 30 August 2009 Japanese House of Representatives election results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alliances and parties</th>
<th>Local seats</th>
<th>+/-</th>
<th>Block seats</th>
<th>+/-</th>
<th>Block votes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>+/-</th>
<th>Total seats</th>
<th>+/-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) Minshuto – 民主党</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>+169</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>+26</td>
<td>29,784,743</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
<td>+11.4</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>+195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Democratic Party (SDP) Shinto – 社民党</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>2,999,940</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>-1.2</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>±0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s New Party (PNP) Kokuminshintō – 国民新党</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>1,218,020</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>±0.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPJ–SDP–PNP Coalition</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>+172</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>+22</td>
<td>34,001,803</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
<td>+10.2</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>+194</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) Jintō – 自民党</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>-155</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>-22</td>
<td>16,782,218</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>-11.5</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>-177</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Komeito Party (NKP) Kōmeitō – 公明党</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>8,045,723</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>-1.8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDP–NKP Coalition</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>-163</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>-24</td>
<td>26,827,941</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>-13.3</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>-187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Communist Party (JCP) Kyōsantō – 共産党</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>±0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>±0</td>
<td>4,936,753</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>±0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your Party (YP) Minna no Tō – みんなの党</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2,994,475</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other and independent factions</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,484,000</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total (turnout 69.28%)</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>70,244,972</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. Japanese Political Economy

- The ‘Developmental State’
- Debt and the Banking System
- Deflation and the ‘Lost Decade’
- Japan’s ‘Dual Economy’
  - Productive and Competitive Export Sector
  - Unproductive and Protected Domestic-Oriented Sectors
- Lack of Consensus for Change
Slowing Growth…

Average Real GDP Growth since 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000s</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: OECD Economic Outlook
...and Rising Debt

![Graph showing Public Debt as a % of GDP](chart.png)

- **Japan**: Continuous increase over time.
- **Euro area**: Moderately increasing trend.
- **United States**: Steady trend.

**Source:** OECD
Japan’s Dual Economy

Exhibit 45

JAPAN’S DUAL ECONOMY – A SECTOR STORY

Labor productivity index to US = 100, 1999

- Export-driven manufacturing
- Domestic manufacturing and services

Share of Japanese employment
Percent

Average productivity = 69

Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); O’Mahoney, Britain’s Productivity Performance 1950-1996: An International Perspective; MGI analysis
V. Political Culture and Identity

- Japanese Identity
- ‘Groupism’ over Individualism
- Discipline and Self-Sacrifice
- A Man’s World
VI. Japanese Politics in Transition

- Reviving the Economy
- The Demographic Time Bomb
- Japan in the World
  - Grappling with the Past (not well....)
  - An Economic AND Political Power?
- China, Korea and the rest of Asia

Too close for comfort...images of the past invoked at the Yasukuni Shrine