

# Japan

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

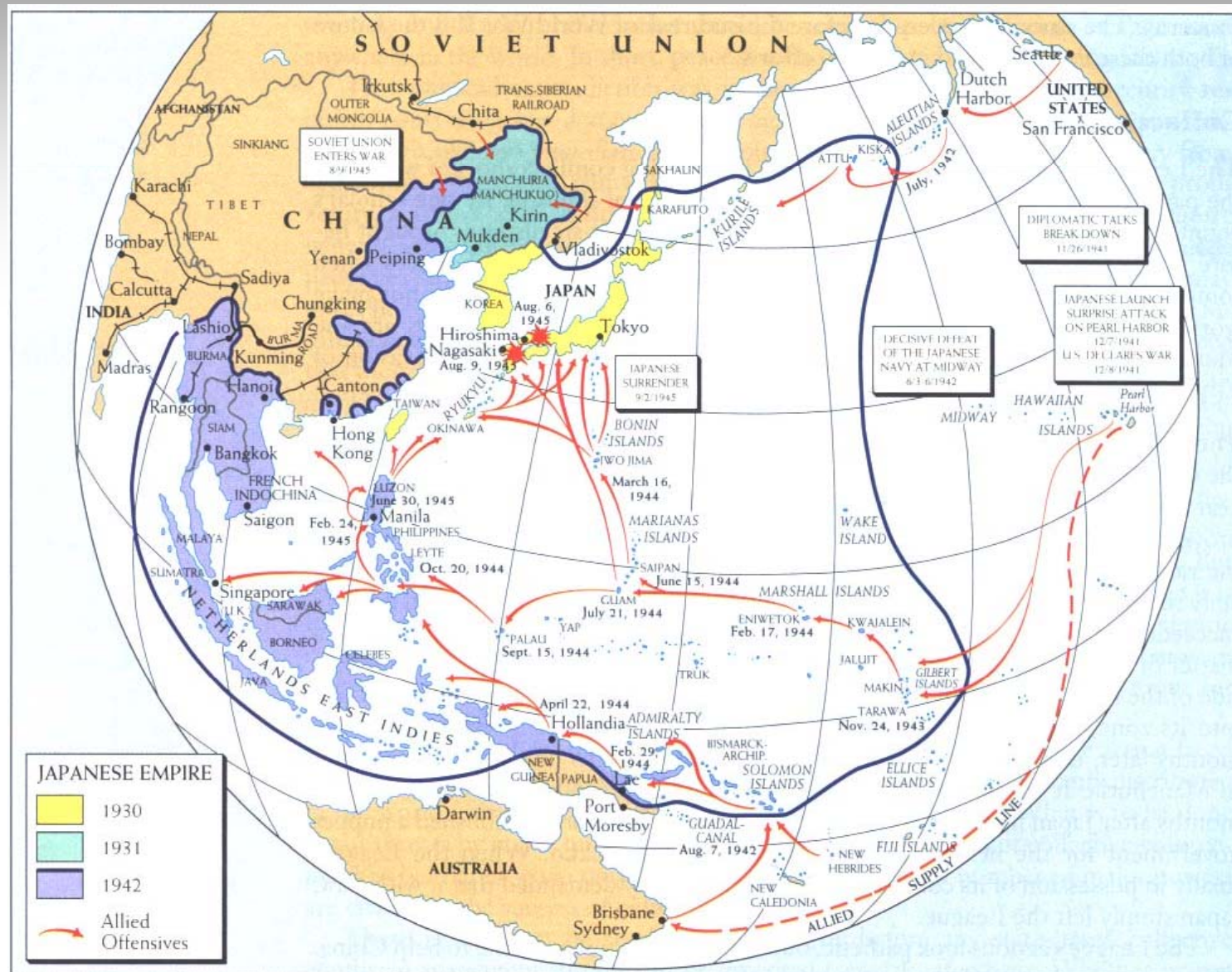


# War with the United States

- 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?

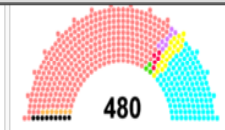


# Japanese House of Representatives Election Results (30 August 2009)

Summary of the 30 August 2009 Japanese House of Representatives election results<sup>[30][31][32]</sup>

v · d · e

Alliances and parties	Local seats	+/-	Block seats	+/-	Block votes	%	+/-	Total seats	+/-
Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) <i>Minshutō</i> – 民主党	221	+169	87	+26	29,784,743	42.4%	+11.4	308	+195
Social Democratic Party (SDP) <i>Shaminto</i> – 社民党	3	+2	4	-2	2,999,040	4.3%	-1.2	7	±0
People's New Party (PNP) <i>Kokuminshintō</i> – 国民新党	3	+1	0	-2	1,218,020	1.7%	±0.0	3	-1
<b>DPJ–SDP–PNP Coalition</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>+172</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>+22</b>	<b>34,001,803</b>	<b>48.4%</b>	<b>+10.2</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>+194</b>
Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) <i>Jimintō</i> – 自民党	64	-155	55	-22	18,782,218	26.7%	-11.5	119	-177
New Komeito Party (NKP) <i>Kōmeitō</i> – 公明党	0	-8	21	-2	8,045,723	11.5%	-1.8	21	-10
<b>LDP–NKP Coalition</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>-163</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>-24</b>	<b>26,827,941</b>	<b>38.2%</b>	<b>-13.3</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>-187</b>
Japanese Communist Party (JCP) <i>Kyōsantō</i> – 共産党	0	±0	9	±0	4,936,753	7.0%	-0.3	9	±0
Your Party (YP) <i>Minna no Tō</i> – みんなの党	2	—	3	—	2,994,475	4.3%	—	5	—
Others and independent factions	7	—	1	—	1,484,000	2.1%	—	8	—
<b>Total (turnout 69.28%)</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>—</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>—</b>	<b>70,244,972</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>—</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>—</b>



Seating after the election.

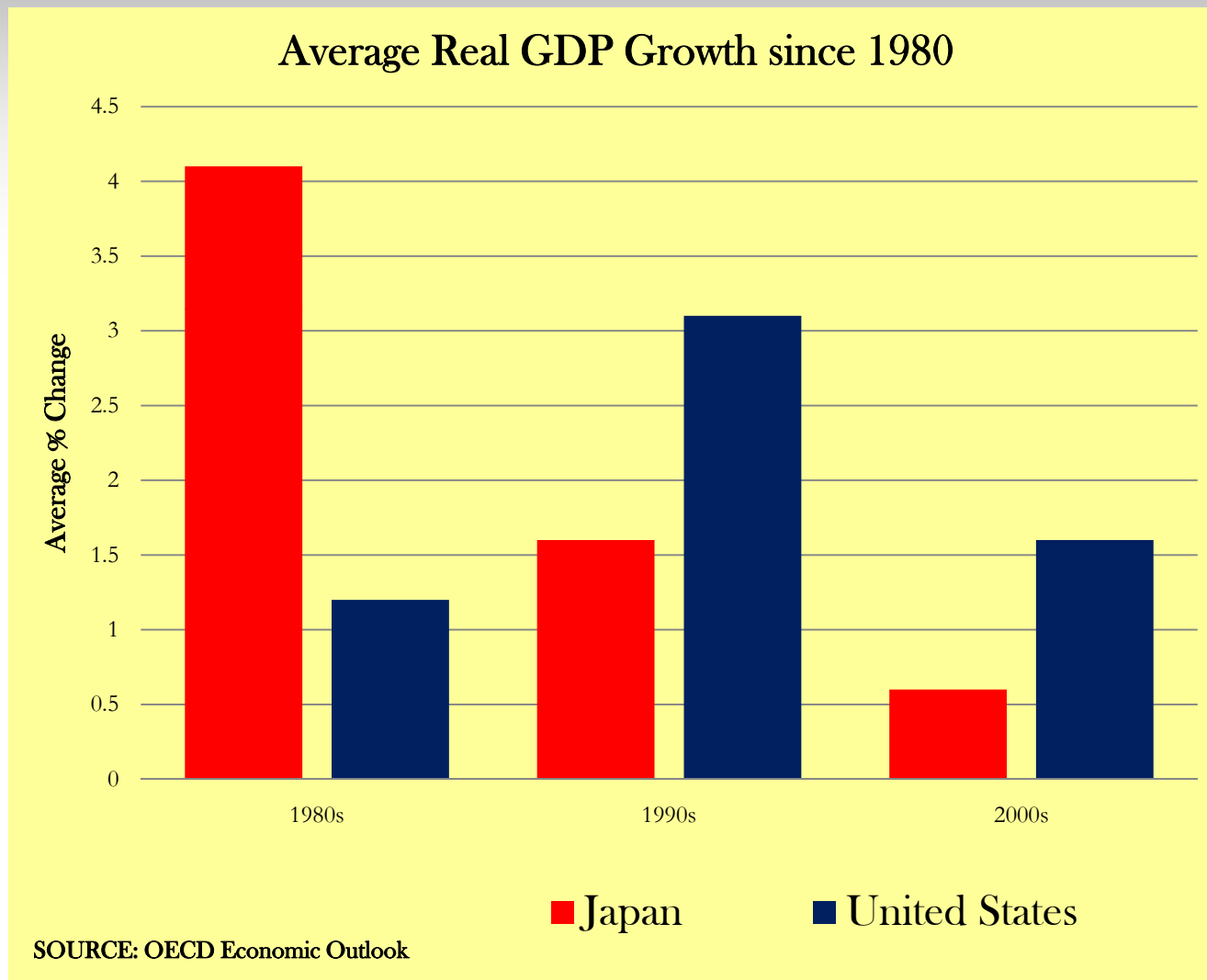
- Democratic Party (308)
- Liberal Democratic Party (119)
- Komeito Party (21)
- Communist Party (9)
- Social Democratic Party (7)
- Your Party (5)
- People's New Party (3)
- Independents / Others (8)

# IV. Japanese Political Economy

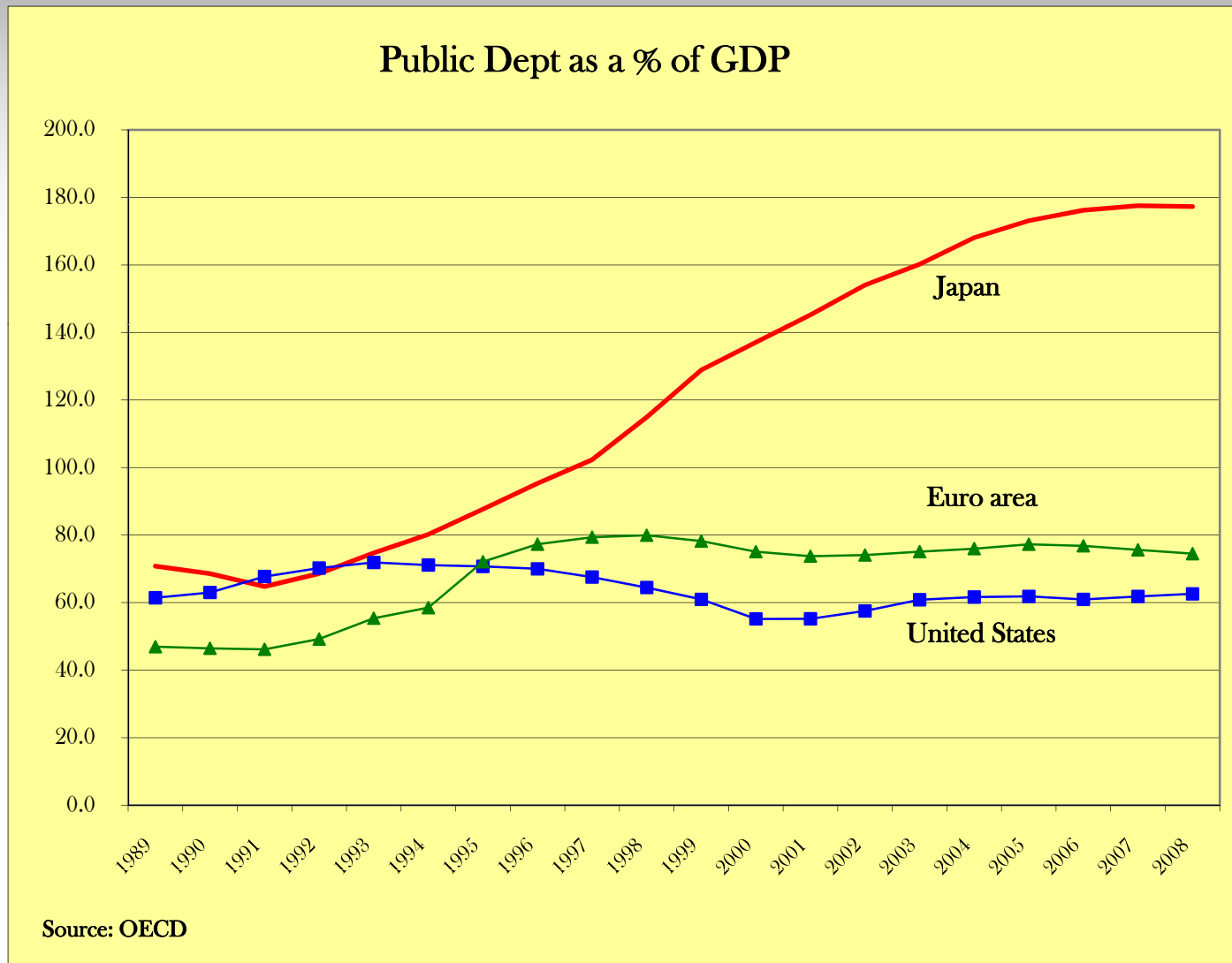
- The ‘Developmental State’
- Debt and the Banking System
- Deflation and the ‘Lost Decade’
- Japan’s ‘Dual Economy’
  - Productive and Competitive Export Sector
  - Unproductive and Protected Domestic-Oriented Sectors
- Lack of Consensus for Change



# Slowing Growth...



# ...and Rising Debt



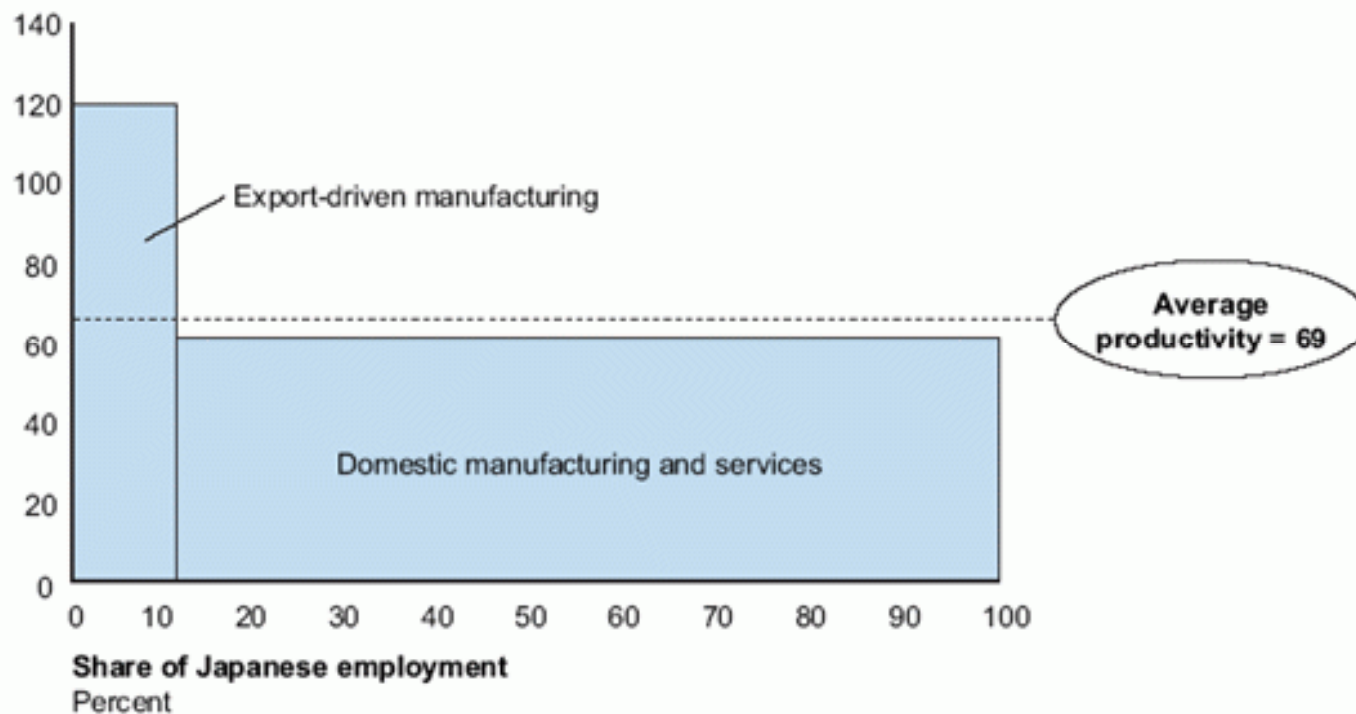


# Japan's Dual Economy

## Exhibit 45

### JAPAN'S DUAL ECONOMY – A SECTOR STORY

Labor productivity index to US = 100, 1999



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

