This is a superb, authoritative, and comprehensive guide and dictionary, indispensable for pivotal individuals, as well as for events, treaties, even debates in the extraordinary—and extraordinarily revealing—150 years of relations between Japan and the United States.

—Walter LaFeber, Tisch University Professor, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

The most important bilateral relationship in Asia since the end of World War II is assuredly between the United States and Japan, the world’s two largest economies. Despite the geographical and cultural differences between the nations, as well as bitterness lingering from the war, they have developed an amicable and prosperous relationship. As the 21st century progresses, continuing goodwill is of the utmost importance, as the peace and stability of the Asia–Pacific region depends on cooperation and efforts to contain destabilizing factors in the area.

Historical Dictionary of United States–Japan Relations traces this 150-year relationship through a chronology, an introduction, appendices, a bibliography, and cross-referenced dictionary entries on key people, places, events, institutions, and organizations. Covering everything from Walt Whitman’s poem “A Broadway Pageant” to zaibatsu, this reference is an excellent starting point for the study of Japan’s dealings with the U.S.

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HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES
OF U.S. DIPLOMACY
Edited by Jon Woronoff

Historical Dictionary of United States–Japan Relations

John Van Sant
Peter Mauch
Yoneyuki Sugita

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Certainly the most important bilateral relationship of the latter half of the 20th century into the early 21st is one of the most peculiar. Despite the disparity in size and population, the United States and Japan have been the anchor of relations in East Asia, and Asia more broadly, sometimes having a worldwide impact. It is odd, first of all, because of the huge disproportion in size and population between the two, to say nothing of social and cultural differences. It is also odd in that the United States was initially also much more dynamic economically and was actually willing to tolerate Japan’s rise to economic prominence through trade. But it is particularly unusual in that, just prior to its establishment, the two countries were at war and the former occupied the latter, and presently guarantees its defense. Yet, over the decades the ties have only grown stronger, and along with political, economic, and military links, there are increasingly close and amicable relations between the peoples, due to travel and cultural exchange, as well more recently as inter-marriage and immigration.

The significance and duration of this relationship also makes the Historical Dictionary of United States—Japan Relations one of the most important in the series. Beginning with official and private contacts between the United States and Japan in the first half of the 19th century, the authors include more than 150 years of political, military, economic, social, and cultural bilateral relations—including their multilateral contexts. Thus, the dictionary section includes, among other things, entries on a huge cast of actors, including presidents and prime ministers, secretaries of state and foreign ministers, diplomats and individual citizens, as well as major events, institutions, and organizations. But the overall trends are easier to see through the introduction, while the individual steps are traced over time in the chronology. The list of
acronyms facilitates reading on foreign policy, and the bibliography provides many useful suggestions for further reading.

This volume was written by an interesting team of specialists, an American, an Australian, and a Japanese, each with somewhat different specializations and sometimes also a different angle, which helps provide a more balanced picture. John Van Sant is associate professor of history at the University of Alabama-Birmingham, with particular interest in 19th-century Japan and its international relations, and the author of *Pacific Pioneers: Japanese Journeys to America and Hawaii, 1850–1880*. Peter Mauch is a post-doctoral fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, presently studying at Kyoto University, and who is writing a biography of Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura. Yoneyuki Sugita is associate professor of American history at Osaka University of Foreign Studies and is the author of *Pitfall or Panacea: The Irony of US Power in Occupied Japan 1945–1952* and co-editor of *Trans-Pacific Relations: America, Europe, and Asia in the Twentieth Century*. This collaboration has provided us with a broad and deep view of a somewhat peculiar, but certainly crucial, team of players in an increasingly messy world situation.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor
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We wish to thank Jon Woronoff, the series editor, for asking us to undertake this dictionary, for providing guidance throughout the writing and production, and for reviewing the entire manuscript and offering valuable comments. We would also like to thank Dr. Robert Sutter for allowing us to use his Appendix B from Historical Dictionary of United States–China Relations. John Van Sant thanks the University of Alabama–Birmingham and his colleagues in the Department of History for their continuous support for his teaching and research. Peter Mauch dedicates this dictionary to his parents, Russell and Norma Mauch, his wife, Tomoko, and his children, Joseph and Kyoko Mauch. Yoneyuki Sugita extends his gratitude to John McGlynn and John Garside for their valuable research and editorial assistance. He would never have completed this work without the warm and supportive family environment provided by his wife, Shoko, and our three children (Gakuto, Natsuki, and Kanato). Kudos to them!
Reader’s Notes

Names in this work are cited in Western bibliographic order. Some terms within dictionary entries are in **bold type** to indicate additional entries. Unfamiliar Japanese words are *italicized*. 
Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAA American Arbitration Association
ACJUSER Advisory Council on Japan–U.S. Economic Relations
ACSA Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement
ADR Alternative Dispute Resolution
AJS America–Japan Society
ANZUS Australia, New Zealand, United States of America
APEC Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASDF Air Self-Defense Force
ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CART Common Agenda Roundtable
CULCON U.S.–Japan Conference on Cultural and Educational Interchange
DIC Defense Industry Commission
EAEC East Asia Economic Caucus
EAEG East Asia Economic Grouping
EIBUS Export–Import Bank of the United States
EROA Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Area
ESB Economic Stabilization Board
FSX Fighter Support X
GARIOA Government Aid and Relief in Occupied Area
GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GHQ General Headquarters
GS Government Section
IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency
IFSEC Industry Forum for Security Cooperation
IMF International Monetary Fund
IMTFE International Military Tribunal for the Far East
JAIF Japan Atomic Industrial Forum
JAS Japan America Society
JASC  Japan-America Student Conference
JBF   Japan Business Federation
JCAA  Japan Commercial Arbitration Association
JET   Japan Exchange and Teaching
JPC   Japan Productivity Center
JSDF  Japanese Self-Defense Force
JSP   Japan Socialist Party
JUSBC Japan–U.S. Business Council
JUSWPC Japan–U.S. Wise Persons Committee
Keidanren Japan Federation of Economic Organizations
LDP   Liberal Democratic Party
MITI  Ministry of International Trade and Industry
MSA   Mutual Security Agreement
MSDF  Maritime Self-Defense Force
NAJAS National Association of Japan-America Societies
NATO  North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDC   National Defense Council
NDIA  National Defense Industrial Association
NGO   non-governmental organization
NPR   National Police Reserve
P-3   Common Agenda Public Private Partnership
PRC   People’s Republic of China
RFB   Reconstruction Finance Bank
ROC   Republic of China
SCAP  Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
SCAPIN Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers Instruction Note
SCC   Japan–U.S. Security Consultative Committee
SEATO Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SII   Structural Impediments Initiative
SOFA  Japan–U.S. Status-of-Forces Agreement
USJBC U.S.–Japan Business Council
USTR  United States Trade Representative
YMCA  Young Men’s Christian Association
Chronology

1600  Ieyasu Tokugawa defeats his remaining enemies and establishes the Tokugawa Shogunate or *bakufu* (military government) in Edo.

1603  Ieyasu Tokugawa is formally appointed as *shogun* by the emperor.

1633–1639  Tokugawa *bakufu* issues maritime restrictions on contacts with Portuguese and Spanish, only allowing continued contact and trade with Dutch East India Company on Dejima Island in Nagasaki harbor. These restrictions are later known as *sakoku*, or “national seclusion,” and included prohibitions on Christianity.

1700s  Shogun Yoshimune Tokugawa (reigned 1716–1745) allows the Dutch East India Company to import Western books on medical and scientific subjects for Japanese scholars.

1776–1783  American Revolution against Britain results in the formation of the United States of America. American ships based in New England soon began trade relations with China.

Late 1700s–Early 1800s  Western ships from Russia, Britain, and the United States occasionally arrive on Japanese coasts demanding trade. Provisions of food and water are sometimes given by Japanese, but all demands for trade relations are refused by domains and the Tokugawa *bakufu*.

1825  Tokugawa *bakufu* issues the Expulsion Edict, strengthening national seclusion laws.

1830 and 1835  United States government sends Edmund Roberts on missions to Asia to establish diplomatic and trade relations with several countries, including Japan. Roberts dies in Macao in 1835 before reaching Japan.
1833–1837  Famine throughout many areas of Japan.

1837  February–March: Heihachiro Oshio leads uprising in Osaka against the Tokugawa bakufu.


1839–1841  The Opium War between Britain and China.

1841  June: Manjiro Nakahama and four other Japanese survivors of a shipwreck are rescued by William Whitfield of Massachusetts.

1845–1853  Pinnacle of “Manifest Destiny” in the United States. Most of Southwest, West, and Pacific Coast north of Mexico and south of Canada become territories or states of the United States.

1846  27 May: United States Navy Commodore James Biddle arrives in Japan. Tokugawa bakufu refuses to negotiate for trade and diplomatic relations.

1846–1848  Mexican–American War.

1847–1848  Ranald MacDonald of Oregon Territory in Japan.

1848  January: Gold discovered in Alta California, Mexican territory, beginning the Gold Rush. February Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican–American War. Texas, much of the American Southwest, and California become U.S. territories as a result of this treaty.

1850  Taiping Rebellion begins in China, lasting until 1864.

1850  9 September: California is formally admitted to United States as the 31st state of the union.

1851  January: Manjiro Nakahama returns to Japan after nine years in United States and the Kingdom of Hawaii.

1851  March: Hikozo Hamada (later known as Joseph Heco) is shipwrecked in late 1850, rescued by the American vessel Auckland, and arrives in San Francisco in March 1851. He remained in the United States until the fall of 1858.

1853  8 July: United States Navy Commodore Matthew C. Perry enters Uraga Bay near Edo with four warships to present diplomatic and trade proposals to Japan from the United States government. Perry departs to return the following year for negotiations.
1854  **14 February:** Perry returns to Japan, this time with eight warships.  **31 March:** Perry and Tokugawa government officials sign the Kanagawa Treaty, formally known as the *U.S.–Japan Treaty of Friendship*.

1854–1855  Britain, France, Russia, Holland sign treaties of friendship with Japan. Ports of Shimoda, Hakodate, and Nagasaki are opened to Westerners for limited trade.

1855  Institute for Western Learning opened by Tokugawa government. Renamed Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books in 1857, then as the Institute for Development (*Kaiseijo*) in 1862. In 1877, the *Kaiseijo* becomes part of Tokyo University, the first modern university in Japan.

1856  The Tokugawa *bakufu* hires Charles Wolcott Brooks, an American businessman in San Francisco, as Japan’s consul general and commercial agent.

1856  **July:** Townsend Harris arrives in Japan as United States consul general, the first American diplomat stationed in Japan.

1858  Naosuke Ii, *daimyo* of Hikone domain, appointed chief minister of Tokugawa government, the most powerful position in the Tokugawa *bakufu* after the Shogun.  **6 June:** In Baltimore, Maryland, Joseph Heco (Hikozo Hamada) becomes the first Japanese to become an American citizen.  **29 July:** Townsend Harris and Tokugawa *bakufu* ratify the *U.S.–Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce*. Britain, France, Holland, and Russia sign similar treaties with Japan by October. All of these treaties are officially known as the Ansei Treaties, and unofficially as the “unequal treaties.”

1859  James Curtis Hepburn, Guido Verbeck, Francis Hall, and Eugene Van Reed arrive in Japan.

1860  **January:** The Tokugawa *bakufu* sends a delegation of officials, usually known as the Shogun’s Embassy, to the United States. In May, President James Buchanan meets with Norimasa Muragaki, leader of the delegation, and other Tokugawa *bakufu* officials at the White House.  **24 March:** Naosuke Ii is assassinated in Edo by samurai upset at the Tokugawa *bakufu’s* agreements with Western countries.

1861  **15 January:** Henry Heusken, secretary of the American Legation in Edo, is assassinated by anti-foreign samurai.  **4 March:** Abraham
Lincoln is inaugurated president of the United States. **12 April:** The American Civil War begins.

1862 **12 September:** One English merchant is killed and two others are wounded by Satsuma samurai at Namamugi, Yokohama.

1863 **June–July:** Choshu samurai fire on Western ships passing through Shimonoseki Straits. **15 August:** British warships fire on Kagoshima, capital of Satsuma domain, in retaliation for the Namamugi Incident the previous year.

1864 **11 July:** Shozan Sakuma is assassinated in Kyoto by anti-foreign samurai. **August:** A joint fleet of American, British, French, and British warships attack the Choshu domain capital of Hagi in retaliation for Choshu samurai firing on Western ships the previous year.

1866 Satsuma and Choshu form an alliance against the Tokugawa bakufu. Yukichi Fukuzawa publishes Things Western. Niijima Jo, later known as Joseph Neeshima, arrives in Massachusetts.

1867 **January:** Emperor Komei dies; his teenage son Mutsuhito becomes Emperor. **August:** Arinori Mori and several samurai-students from Satsuma travel to the United States from England to join the Brotherhood of the New Life colony in New York. **November:** Tokugawa Shogun Yoshinobu (Keiki) cedes governing authority to the emperor. **10 December:** Ryoma Sakamoto is assassinated in Kyoto.

1868 **January–March:** Tokugawa military forces lose decisive battles against Satsuma and Choshu at Toba, Fushimi, and Edo. Satsuma and Choshu take over government in the name of the emperor. **February:** Mutsuhito is formally enthroned as emperor; the Meiji Era (1868–1912) begins. **6 April:** Charter Oath (Five Article Oath) issued by Emperor Meiji. **May:** American merchant Eugene Van Reed organizes a group of 150 Japanese laborers to work in Hawaii, causing a diplomatic crisis between the United States, the new Meiji government, and the Kingdom of Hawaii. **September:** Imperial capital moved from Kyoto to Edo; Edo renamed Tokyo (“Eastern Capital”).

1869 **March:** Ulysses S. Grant takes office as president of the United States. **April:** Charles De Long arrives as United States minister to Japan. He returns to the United States in October 1873. **May:** Japanese immigrants/refugees from Aizu arrive in northern California.
1870s  Meiji Government hires “foreign experts” from United States and Europe to help establish new government institutions.


1871  December: Iwakura Mission departs for the United States and Europe. Members of this government mission return to Japan in September 1873.

1872  July–August: Maria Luz Incident between Japan, China, Peru, and the United States.

1873  Tokugawa-era ban against Christianity repealed. October: John Bingham arrives as United States minister to Japan. He serves until 1885.

1874  Meirokusha Society established in Tokyo by Arinori Mori, Yukichi Fukuzawa, and others.

1875  Nijima Jo, who returned to Japan the previous year, establishes Doshisha Eigakko, a Christian school in Kyoto. The school later becomes Doshisha University. Yukichi Fukuzawa publishes An Outline of Civilization.


1877  Saigo Takamori leads the Satsuma Rebellion against the Meiji government. University of Tokyo established. American biologist Edward Morse undertakes first archaeological study of Japan.

1878  Harvard philosopher Ernest Fenollosa arrives in Japan to take up position at Tokyo University. 14 May: Toshimichi Okubo, home minister of Meiji government, is assassinated by a former samurai.

1879  April: The Ryukyu Kingdom becomes Okinawa Prefecture of Japan. June: Former American President Ulysses Grant and his wife Julia arrive in Japan for an extended visit.
1880 The first Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) in Japan is established in Tokyo. Two years later, the second YMCA is established in Osaka.

1881 Okuma Shigenobu, an early promoter of relations with Western countries and popular member of the Meiji Government, is forced to resign.


1883 Rokumeikan (Deer Cry Pavilion), an elaborate social hall, is built by the Meiji government for entertaining Western diplomats.


1885 The cabinet system of government begins in Japan. Hirobumi Ito (prime minister), Kaoru Inoue (foreign minister), Arinori Mori (education minister), and several other cabinet ministers previously studied or traveled in the United States.

1888 Mutsu Munemitsu is appointed as Japan’s ambassador in Washington, D.C.

1889 Lafcadio Hearn arrives in Japan. 11 February: The Meiji Constitution is promulgated. Education Minister Arinori Mori is assassinated earlier on the same day.

1890 Imperial Rescript on Education issued by Japanese government.

1892 Umeko Tsuda graduates from Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania.


1895 23 April: Triple Intervention of Russia, Germany, and France forces Japan to return Liaotung Peninsula to China.
1898  **April–August:** Spanish–American War. **July:** Hawaii is annexed to the United States. **December:** The Treaty of Paris is signed. Spain cedes the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico to the United States. Cuba gains independence.

1899–1902  Uprising against American occupation in Philippines.

1899  **September:** United States Secretary of State John Hay announces “Open Door” policy concerning China.

1900–1901  Boxer Rebellion in China. Seven countries, including the United States and Japan, send military forces to put down the rebellion.

1900  **3 July:** U.S. Secretary of State John Hay issues second Open Door notes.

1902  **30 January:** Anglo–Japanese Alliance is concluded.

1904  **8 February:** Outbreak of Russo–Japanese War.

1905  **2 August:** President Theodore Roosevelt approves Taft–Katsura Agreement.  **5 September:** Treaty of Portsmouth, mediated by President Roosevelt, ends Russo–Japanese War.  **5–7 September:** Hibiya Riots in Tokyo.

1906  **11 October:** San Francisco School Board votes to segregate Japanese schoolchildren.

1907  **27 February:** Gentlemen’s Agreement is made by the governments of Japan, the United States, and the city of San Francisco, and formalized one year later.

1908  **October:** Great White Fleet arrives in Yokohama.  **30 November:** Root–Takahira Agreement is signed.


1914  **August:** World War I begins.  **23 August:** Japan declares war on Germany.

1915  **18 January:** Japan conveys its Twenty-One Demands to China.  **11 May:** U.S. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan announces non-recognition of forcible changes in status quo in China.

1918  19 August: U.S. troops join their Japanese counterparts in launching the Siberian Intervention


1921  11 November: Washington Conference convenes.

1922  6 February: Five Power Treaty ends naval arms race in the Pacific.  13 November: In Ozawa v. United States, the United States Supreme Court decides that first-generation Japanese immigrants are ineligible for U.S. citizenship.

1924  1 July: Oriental Exclusion Act, part of 1924 Immigration Bill, is approved by United States Congress.

1926  25 December: Hirohito becomes emperor of Japan.


1929  The Japanese American Citizens League is founded in California.


1931  18 September: Manchurian Incident begins.

1932  7 January: U.S. Secretary of State Henry Stimson announces non-recognition of forcible changes of status quo in China.  18 January: Japanese residents in Shanghai are attacked, sparking the Shanghai Incident.  18 February: Japan proclaims the independence of Manchukuo (formerly Manchuria, China).  June: Joseph Grew arrives in Tokyo as United States ambassador to Japan. He served until the attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941.  November: Franklin Delano Roosevelt is elected president of the United States.

1933  24 February: After defending Japan’s actions in Manchuria at a Special Assembly meeting of the League of Nations in Geneva, Ambassador Yosuke Matsuoka and the entire Japanese delegation stage a walkout.  27 March: Japan formally announces its withdrawal from the League of Nations.
1934 17 April: Japan enunciates “Asian Monroe” Doctrine.


1938 21 October: Japanese troops capture Canton. 3 November: Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe announces Japan’s policy of “A New Order in East Asia.”

1939 26 July: U.S. announces its intention to abrogate its treaty of commerce with Japan. 1 September: Germany invades Poland, beginning World War II in Europe.

1940 22 September: Japan deploys military forces in northern French Indochina. 26 September: U.S. embargoes aviation gasoline, high-grade iron, and scrap metal. 27 September: Japan, Germany, and Italy conclude the Tripartite Alliance. 5 November: Franklin Delano Roosevelt is elected to a third term as U.S. president.

1941 12 February: Japanese–American negotiations commence. 11 March: U.S. Congress passes Lend Lease Act. 13 April: Japan and USSR sign neutrality treaty. 25 July: Japanese troops invade southern Indochina. 26 July: U.S. government freezes Japanese assets in the United States. 9–12 August: President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill meet for the Atlantic Conference. 18 October: Army General and War Minister Hideki Tōjō replaces Fumimaro Konoe as prime minister. 7 December: Japanese military forces attack U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor and other military installations in Hawaii, plus Midway Island. 8 December: Japanese military forces attack the Philippines, Guam, Wake Island, Hong Kong, Malaya, and Thailand, and occupy international settlement of Shanghai. The United States, Britain, and the Netherlands declare war on Japan. 9 December: China declares war on Japan, Germany, and Italy.
1942  19 February: President Roosevelt signs Executive Order 9066 authorizing removal of Japanese Americans from West Coast of the United States. 11 March: General Douglas MacArthur departs from the Philippines to set up a new command center in Australia. 9 April: American and Philippine forces surrender to Japanese troops. 9–16 April: American and Philippine POWs forced to walk 50 miles in what became known as the “Bataan Death March.” 18 April: Doolittle Raid. 4–8 May: Battle of Coral Sea. 3 June: Japanese military forces attack Aleutian Islands.


broadcast of Emperor Hirohito’s acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration. Kantaro Suzuki Cabinet resigns en masse. **17 August:** Naruhiro Higashikuni Cabinet established; it lasts until 9 October 1945. **20 August:** Japanese military forces in Manchuria surrender to the Soviet Union. **2 September:** The official surrender ceremony is conducted aboard the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay with General MacArthur presiding. **6 September:** President Truman approves “United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy” (directed to General MacArthur). **15 September:** Allied Powers GHQ establishes its headquarters in Hibiya, Tokyo, at the Dai Ichi Seimei Sogo Building. **17 September:** Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu resigns, succeeded by Shigeru Yoshida. **20 September:** First meeting between General MacArthur and Emperor Hirohito takes place. **10 October:** About 500 political prisoners, including Kyuichi Tokuda, a prominent member of the Japanese Communist Party, released from prison. **11 October:** General MacArthur demands that Prime Minister Kijuro Shidehara amend the Constitution and implement the five major reforms. **25 October:** Constitutional Problems Investigation Committee established with Joji Matsumoto as chairman. **2 November:** Japanese Socialist Party established with Tetsu Katayama as secretary-general. **6 November:** GHQ directs zaibatsu dissolution. **9 November:** Japan Liberal Party established with Ichiro Hatoyama as president. **16 November:** Japan Progressive Party established with Chuji Machida as president (he becomes president on 18 November 1945). **9 December:** GHQ directs land reform. **16 December:** Fumimaro Konoe commits suicide. **17 December:** Election-reform law enacted (including women’s suffrage).

**1946**  
**1 January:** Emperor Hirohito makes “declaration of human being,” rejecting his divinity. **4 January:** GHQ directs purge of militarists. **29 January:** GHQ directs the cessation of Japanese administration over Ryukyu and Ogasawara Islands. **3 February:** General MacArthur directs GHQ’s Government Section to make a draft of Japanese constitution (completed on 10 February). **8 February:** Matsumoto trial draft of revision of the Constitution submitted to GHQ. It is rejected soon thereafter. **19 February:** Emperor Hirohito begins to travel around Japan. **22 February:** After American demands, the Japanese government decides to accept the GHQ draft of a Japanese constitution. **6 March:** Japanese government publicly announces the outline of revised draft of a Japanese constitution. **10 April:** First postwar general election for the


1948 10 March: Hitoshi Ashida Cabinet established. It lasts until 15 October 1948. 15 March: Democratic Liberal Party established with Shigeru Yoshida as president. 20 March: Draper Mission comes to Japan headed by Under Secretary of the Army William Draper. 18 May: Department of the Army announces the Draper Mission Report. 15 August: The Republic of Korea (ROK) is established in southern Korea. 9 September: The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea is established in northern Korea. 15 October: Second Yoshida Cabinet established. 12 November: Twenty-five Class-A war criminals are convicted at the Tokyo War Crimes Trials. 9 December: U.S. government pulls back FEC 230 (the Elimination of Excessive Concentration of Economic Power Act). 24 December: GHQ announces that it will release 19 war crime suspects including Nobusuke Kishi.

1949 1 February: Joseph Dodge arrives in Japan. 16 February: Third Yoshida Cabinet established. 7 March: Joseph Dodge makes an
announcement about implementation of the nine-point economic stabilization principles. **25 April:** Single foreign exchange rate ($1 = 360 yen) implemented. **4 July:** General MacArthur announces that Japan is a bulwark against the advance of communism. **1 October:** Mao Zedong announces the foundation of the People's Republic of China. **1 November:** State Department announces that the United States is considering a peace treaty with Japan.

**1950**  
1 January: General MacArthur announces that the Japanese constitution (Article Nine) does not deny Japan's right to self-defense.  
6 April: President Truman appoints John Foster Dulles as a special foreign policy adviser to the secretary of state to negotiate a peace treaty for Japan.  
25 April–22 May: Finance Minister Hayato Ikeda visits the United States.  
6 June: General MacArthur directs Prime Minister Yoshida to purge 24 top officials of the Japanese Communist Party.  
21 June–27 June: John Foster Dulles in Japan.  
25 June: Korean War begins.  
8 July: GHQ orders the Japanese government to establish the National Police Reserve.  
28 July: Red Purge begins.  
10 August: the National Police Reserve Law is promulgated and becomes effective.  
24 November: Memorandum on the Japanese Peace Treaty circulated by the United States to the Governments Represented on the Far Eastern Commission and released to the press on this date.

**1951**  
16 March: Secretary of State Dean Acheson expresses his wish that the Soviet Union will join a peace treaty with Japan.  
11 April: President Truman dismisses General MacArthur as SCAP and appoints Matthew Ridgway as successor.  
12 July: John Foster Dulles announces a draft of the peace treaty with Japan.  

**1952**  
Fulbright Program begins in Japan.  
9 April: Japan–U.S. Fishing Treaty signed.  
28 April: Japan–Taiwan Peace Treaty signed.  
9 May: Ambassador Robert Daniel Murphy, first U.S. ambassador to Japan in the postwar era, assumes office.  
10 July: Japan–American Trade Arbitration Agreement signed.  
8 September: First Japan–U.S. Economic Cooperation Council held.


1955 18 January: President Eisenhower announces that the United States will occupy Okinawa for indefinite duration. 21 January: Prime Minister Ichiro Hatoyama announces that Japan can have its own military forces for self-defense and Japan should establish an independent defense system. 2 March: Secretary of State Dulles announces the promotion of Japan–Southeast Asian trade in order to assist Japanese economic revival. 10 May: Negotiations for Restoration of Japanese Assets in the United States concluded. 7 June: Japan joins the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). 14 November: Japan–U.S. Atomic Energy Agreement signed. 15 November: Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) established. 19 December: Atomic Energy Law and the Atomic Energy Commission of Japan establishment law promulgated.

1956 22 March: Japan–U.S. Technology Information Exchange Agreement (for defense purposes) signed. 3 April: State law of discriminatory sales of Japanese textile products in State of Alabama passed. 9 May: Japanese Reparations Agreement with the Philippines signed. 27 June: United States Ambassador John Allison announces that the United States will not occupy Okinawa forever. 9 July: Japan, Germany Confiscated Properties Repayment Law enacted. 26 September: International Atomic Energy Agency Charter adopted by 70 countries, including Japan. 27 Sep-
tember: Japan announces voluntary restriction measure of exporting cotton products to the United States. 18 December: Japan becomes the 80th member of the United Nations.

1957 30 January: Girard Incident in Gunma, Japan. 25 February: Douglas MacArthur II, nephew of General MacArthur, arrives as United States ambassador to Japan. He serves until 1961. 22 April: Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi states at the meeting of the Lower House Budget Committee that Article Nine of the Japanese constitution should be revised. 7 May: Prime Minister Kishi states at the meeting of the Upper House Cabinet Committee that it is reasonable to use nuclear power within the range of self-defense. 23 May: Koichiro Asakai becomes Japan’s ambassador to the United States. 21 June: Joint Communiqué of Japanese Prime Minister Kishi and U.S. President Eisenhower issued. 28 September: Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs announces three diplomatic principles: focusing on the United Nations, cooperation with the free world, and maintenance of Japan’s status as an Asian country.

1958 20 January: Japan–Indonesia peace treaty and reparations agreement signed. 25 July: Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) established.


1961 20 January: John F. Kennedy is inaugurated as president of the United States. 29 March: Edwin O. Reischauer is appointed United States ambassador to Japan. He serves until August 1966. 22 June: Joint Statement of Prime Minister Ikeda and President Kennedy. 13 December: First Japan–U.S. Science Committee meeting.

government dispatches the first Okinawa inspection team to Okinawa.  

**28 August:** Japan–U.S. Cosmos roundtable conference.

**1963**  
22 March: Japan–U.S. consular agreement signed.  
19 November: Japan–U.S. satellite TV radio wave relay agreement.  
22 November: President Kennedy is murdered in Dallas, Texas. Vice President Lyndon Johnson becomes president.  
7 December: Tokyo District Court issues a decision that dropping the atomic bombs was a violation of international law, but rules against plaintiffs claims.

**1964**  
1 April: Japan becomes an International Monetary Fund, Article VIII country.  
28 April: Japan becomes a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).  
19 June: Trans-Pacific Cable between Japan and the United States opened.  
10 October: Tokyo Olympics opened on this date and concludes on 27 October 1964.  
16 October: People’s Republic of China announces a successful atomic bomb experiment.  
3 November: Lyndon Johnson wins the U.S. Presidential election.  
12 November: U.S. nuclear submarine (*The Sea Dragon*) calls at Sasebo Harbor.

**1965**  
10 February: Haruo Okada reveals in the Diet the existence of Mitsuya contingency planning conducted in the Defense Agency.  
31 May: Prime Minister Eisaku Sato states that in case Okinawa is attacked, the Japanese government will dispatch Self-Defense Forces.  
22 June: Korea–Japan Treaty restores diplomatic relations between Japan and South Korea.  
29 July: B-52 strategic bombers leave Okinawa, and fly directly to South Vietnam to attack Viet Cong for the first time without prior consultation with the Japanese government.  
19 August: Prime Minister Eisaku Sato makes the first prime ministerial visit to Okinawa.  
24 August: Japanese government decides to establish ministerial council for Okinawa problems.  
28 December: Japan–U.S. civil aviation agreement revision negotiations concluded and signed.

**1966**  
14 February: Prime Minister Sato expresses approval of U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier calling at Japanese harbors.  
8 November: U. Alexis Johnson becomes United States ambassador to Japan. He serves until 1969.
1967  25 April: Japanese government expresses its official attitude that it is possible to export weapons as long as they are within the limits of self-defense. 4 May: Maritime Self-Defense Force and U.S. Navy carry out joint exercises in the Japan Sea. 30 June: Kennedy Round of GATT final documents signed. 14 September: Japan–U.S. Relationship Civilian Conference (Shimoda Conference) held. 15 November: Joint Statement of Japanese Prime Minister Sato and U.S. President Johnson that the Ogasawara Islands will be returned to Japan within a year.


1969  28 January: Japan–U.S. Kyoto Conference on Okinawa and Asia sponsored by the study group on Okinawa military base problems. 5 February: Masami Takatsuji, director of the Cabinet Legislation Bureau, states that Japan’s constitution does not prohibit the possession of nuclear weapons. 18 April: Japan–U.S. Agreement on Trust Island Territory in the Pacific Ocean (Micronesia Agreement) signed. 21 November: Japan and the United States make a joint announcement that they have agreed on the restitution of Okinawa in 1972.

1970  3 February: Japan signs the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. 22 June: Japan–U.S. security treaty automatic extension becomes effective. 21 October: Prime Minister Sato makes first speech at the UN by a Japanese prime minister.

1971  25 April: The New York Times reports that there was a secret agreement between Japan and the United States about bringing nuclear weapons into Japan. 17 June: Agreement between Japan and the United States concerning the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa) and the Daito Islands
signed. 1 July: Japanese voluntary export restraint of fabrics toward the United States begins. 27 September: President Richard Nixon meets with Emperor Hirohito at Anchorage, Alaska. 10 November: U.S. Senate ratifies the Okinawa Restitution Agreement. 29 November: The United States and People’s Republic of China announce that President Richard Nixon will pay a formal visit to People’s Republic of China beginning on 21 February 1972.


1975 21 October: President Ford signs the Japan–U.S. Amity bill into a law.
1976 5 November: National Defense Council decides that the Japanese defense-related expenditure should be limited to one percent of GNP.

1977 20 May: Japan decides to voluntarily restrict exports of color TVs to the United States in accordance with the orderly marketing agreement (effective in July 1977, for three years). June: Former Senator Mike Mansfield arrives in Tokyo as United States ambassador to Japan. He serves until December 1988.


1979 1 January: The United States establishes diplomatic relationship with People’s Republic of China and breaks diplomatic ties with Republic of China (Taiwan). 15 February: Japan–U.S. agreement on educational exchanges signed. 15 May: Foreign exchange law, foreign trade control law, and law concerning foreign investment revised. 28 June: Tokyo Summit opened; Tokyo Declaration adopted the following day. 24 August: Japan–U.S. textile agreement revision formally signed. 14 December: First meeting of the Japan–U.S. Wise Persons Committee begins.


1982 17 February: Tokyo Stock Exchange decides to open its doors to foreign securities. 17 August: United States–China Joint Communiqué on United States Arms Sales to Taiwan announced.

1984  7 February: Five-year extension of Japan–U.S. environmental protection agreement. 6 November: First meeting of the Joint Military Technology Commission held in Tokyo. 4 December: Japanese government decides to establish foreign policy ministerial council.

1985  2 January: Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone and President Ronald Reagan hold discussions. 28 January: Japan–U.S. vice-ministerial-level talks for promoting opening Japanese market agree to begin Market Oriented Sector Selective (MOSS) consultation in four economic sectors: forest products, telecommunications equipment and services, electronics, and medical equipment and pharmaceuticals. 26 March: Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) decides to continue voluntary restraints on export of Japanese-made automobiles to the United States. 26 March: U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger requests Japan as well as Western nations to join research and development of the Strategic Defense Initiative at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization conference. 11 April: Council of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development requests Japan’s effort to open markets: Japan, the United States, and Europe make a joint announcement of pursuing persistent economic growth and employment expansion without inflation. 22 September: Announcement of the ministers of finance and Central Bank governors of France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States (Plaza Accord).

1986  13 February: MITI makes an announcement to continue voluntary export restraints on automobiles to the United States. 7 April: Maekawa Report submitted to Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. 30 April: U.S. House of Representatives passes a comprehensive trade bill including the Gephardt clause that requires countries with trade surplus with the United States to reduce the surplus by 10 percent every year. 2 September: The U.S.–Japan Agreement of 1986 on Semiconductor Products. 8 September: Japanese government makes an official decision to participate in Strategic Defense Initiative research. 3 October: Japan–U.S. tobacco negotiations concluded with complete abolishment of Japan’s tariff.


1988  13 January: Joint Statement by President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita of Japan on Economic Issues. 10 Au-

1989 7 January: Emperor Hirohito dies. His son, Akihito, becomes the new emperor of Japan. 26 May: President George H. W. Bush proposes Japan–U.S. Structural Impediments Initiative (SII) to consult on Japan’s trade barriers. 26 June: Secretary of State Howard Baker’s Address on “A New Pacific Partnership.” 4 September: First meeting of Japan–U.S. Structural Impediments Initiative held in Tokyo. 6 November: First meeting of Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference held in Canberra. 9 November: The Berlin Wall comes down. 30 November: First meeting of Japan–U.S. super computer expert conference held in Tokyo.

1990 17 January: The Ministry of International Trade and Industry announces that Japan will continue its voluntary export restraint of Japanese automobiles to the United States in 1990. 9 February: Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney announces that the United States does not desire an improvement of Japanese defense capabilities. 14 February: Japan–U.S. steel trade agreement signed in Washington, D.C., and becomes effective. 28 June: The Japan–U.S. Structural Impediments Initiative talks is concluded with a final report. 2 August: Iraq invades Kuwait, beginning the Persian Gulf War. 8 August: Iraq announces the annexation of Kuwait. The following day, the United Nations declares the annexation invalid. 29 August: The Japanese government announces provision of funds for multinational forces in the Gulf War.

1991 17 January: The United States attacks Iraq. Prime Minister Kaifu expresses Japan’s “firm support” for the multinational forces. Japan refuses to send combat troops, but helps pay costs of the war and sends minesweepers to the Persian Gulf. 8 March: Gulf War ends in a cease-fire. 25 April: Japanese government makes a formal decision to dispatch a Japanese Self-Defense Forces minesweeper to the Persian Gulf. 11 June: New Japan–U.S. Semiconductor Arrangement concluded. 26 December: The Soviet Union is formally dissolved.

1993 12 February: North Korea notifies the UN Security Council that it will withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty because of its dissatisfaction with nuclear inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency. 7 July: President Bill Clinton announces the new Pacific community vision in a speech at Waseda University, Japan. 9 July: Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and President Clinton announce the establishment of the Japan–United States Framework for a New Economic Partnership. September: Former Vice President Walter Mondale arrives in Tokyo as United States ambassador to Japan. He serves until December 1996. 10 July: Joint Statement on the Japan–United States Framework for a New Economic Partnership by Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and President Clinton.


Anniversary of the end of World War II. The statement says, “During a certain period in the not too distant past, Japan, following a mistaken national policy advanced along the road to war, only to ensnare the Japanese people in a fateful crisis, and, through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations.” He also expresses “profound gratitude for the indispensable support and assistance extended to Japan by the countries of the world, beginning with the United States of America.” **4 September:** Three American servicemen abduct and rape an Okinawan schoolgirl. The crime renews tensions about the U.S. military presence in Japan.

1996 **March:** China carries out a missile firing exercise in the Taiwan Strait, and the United States dispatched the Seventh Fleet to the area around Taiwan. **12 April:** Washington and Tokyo agree on the return of the Futenma Base in Okinawa to Japan. **17 April:** Japan–U.S. Joint Declaration on Security, Alliance for the 21st Century. **2 December:** Security Consultative Committee approves of the Special Action Committee on Okinawa Final Report. **15 December:** Conclusion of U.S.–Japan insurance consultations.


1998 **20 September:** Washington and Tokyo conclude a basic agreement on joint research into the Theater Missile Defense initiative. **23 November:** The Department of States issues the United States Security Strategy for the East Asia Pacific Region. **5 December:** The Security Council of Japan approved “Japan–U.S. Technology Research concerning Ballistic Missile Defense.” **22 December:** Introduction of an intelligence-gathering satellite is adopted at a Cabinet meeting.


2000 **11 October:** The United States issues Special Report The United States and Japan: Advancing Toward a Mature Partnership.
2001  
20 January: George W. Bush is inaugurated as president of the United States.  
9 February: The USS Greenville submarine collides with the Japanese fishing training vessel Ehime Maru, killing nine people aboard the Ehime Maru.  
26 April: Junichiro Koizumi becomes Prime Minister of Japan.  
11 September: Terrorist attacks in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania kill more than 3,000 people, including 2,900 Americans and 26 Japanese.  
29 October: Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law enacted.

2002  
26 August: Assistant Secretary of State James Kerry informs former Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto that North Korea is suspected of developing nuclear weapons secretly.  
September: 50th anniversary of the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty.  
17 September: Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi visits North Korea and signs the Pyongyang Declaration.

2003  
16 March: Vice President Dick Cheney mentions possibility of Japan’s nuclear armament.  
20 March: Invasion of Iraq begins.  
27 March: Defense Agency Director Shigeru Ishiba states at the Lower House Committee on National Security that even though North Korea possesses nuclear weapons, Japan will depend on the U.S. nuclear umbrella without possessing its own nuclear weapons.  
May: At a summit meeting with President Bush, Prime Minister Koizumi pledges to dispatch the Japanese Self-Defense Forces to Iraq.  
6 June: Laws on war contingencies enacted.  
26 July: Special legislation calling for assistance in the rebuilding of Iraq by which the Japanese Self-Defense Forces are dispatched to Iraq enacted.  
December: Japan decides to adopt Missile Defense (MD) system. In making a new National Defense Program Outline, the Defense Department decides the U.S. basic policy to reduce its front-line equipment.

2004  
16 January: Based on the Special legislation calling for assistance in the rebuilding of Iraq, the Japanese government dispatches the advance party of the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force to Iraq.  
February: The first of more than 600 Japan Self-Defense Force troops begin arriving in Iraq to assist the United States coalition military.  
20 February:
Signing of the agreement between Japan and the United States of America on Social Security. **24 February:** The Japanese government decides the outline of the seven legislations to deal with military emergencies. **27 February:** Signing of agreement amending Acquisition and Cross-servicing Agreement. **1 October:** Japanese baseball superstar Ichiro Suzuki, playing for the Seattle Mariners, breaks the 84-year-old Major League Baseball record for hits in one season. **19 November:** The Japan–U.S.–Korea Dialogue “Future of Korean Peninsula and Japan–U.S.–Korea Security Cooperation” held in Tokyo, Japan. **9 December:** One-year extension of stationing the Japan Self-Defense Forces in Iraq approved in a Cabinet meeting. **10 December:** Koizumi Cabinet Meeting stipulates new National Defense Program Outline. The Meeting also approves the midterm defense buildup program from 2005 to 2009.

**2005**

**1 August:** House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert visits Japan with six Members of Congress, and met with Speaker Yohei Kono. Speaker Hastert also has separate meetings with other Japanese leaders including Prime Minister Koizumi. **26 October:** Japan extends Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law for another year until November 2006. **27 October:** Deputy Under Secretary of Defense Richard Lawless announces that the United States has accepted a proposal by the Japanese Defense Agency to relocate the military assets currently based at Futenma Air Station on the island of Okinawa, Japan. **8 December:** Exchange of Recommendations for Fifth-Year Dialog under “the Japan–U.S. Regulatory Reform and Competition Policy Initiative”; One-year extension of stationing the Japan Self-Defense Forces in Iraq approved at a Cabinet meeting.

**2006**

**21 February:** U.S. Agriculture Secretary Mike Johanns announces that Japan will end its decades-old ban on the import of U.S. fresh potatoes. **9 March:** Air Force Lieutenant General Henry “Trey” Obering, director of the Missile Defense Agency, testifies before a House Armed Services subcommittee hearing that Japan emerges as America’s largest missile defense partner. **20 March:** Australia–Japan–United States Joint Statement (Trilateral Strategic Dialogue).
Introduction

The most important bilateral relationship in Asia since the end of World War II is assuredly between the United States and Japan. In fact, many foreign relations experts claim that the most important bilateral relationship the United States has with any country in the world is with Japan. Despite the rising geopolitical and economic importance of China, U.S.—Japan relations have remained paramount for well over 50 years and are likely to remain that way well into the 21st century.

This important bilateral relationship might seem odd because the U.S. and Japan are different in several ways. The U.S. is a continent-size superpower while Japan is an island country with a relatively small military force. The U.S. has a “melting pot” population descended mostly from Europe, Latin America, and Africa, whereas Japan’s population is more than 98 percent ethnic Japanese. Traditional culture and ideals of the U.S. are mostly derived from the European Renaissance and Enlightenment, while Japan’s traditional culture was adopted from China and Korea, and then adapted to indigenous Japanese influences. Not surprisingly, the above differences have contributed to political, economic, racial, and even military clashes between the two countries since formal relations began in the 1850s.

Yet, these and other differences are often more complementary than divisive, and contribute to overall stability in East Asia. Despite the terribly destructive Korean (1950–1953), Vietnam (1965–1975), and Cambodian (1975–1979) wars, there have been no wars between the major powers in East Asia (U.S., Russia, China, and Japan) since 1945 due in large part to the stabilizing political, military, and economic influences of the U.S. and Japan. In addition, interregional and international trade between all countries in the region has dramatically expanded due to a large extent to the same stabilizing influences of the U.S. and Japan.
Geographically, the United States is 25 times the size of Japan. Japan is about the same size as the state of Montana. This does not mean Japan is a “small” nation in size; it means the United States is unusually large. Only the nations of Russia, Canada, and China are geographically larger than the United States. By way of international comparison, Japan is geographically larger than the countries of England, Germany, Italy, or both Koreas. As of 2004, the population of the United States was more than 280 million, and for the last hundred years has been approximately twice the size of Japan’s population. Nevertheless, Japan’s current population of nearly 130 million is greater than the populations of France, England, Germany, or Mexico. Japan’s geography and population are “small” in comparison to the United States, but compared to most of the world’s nations, Japan’s geographic territory and its population are relatively large.

There are five themes to consider while examining the historical relationship between Japan and the United States. First, since the 1850s, Japan has tried to maintain a stabilizing balance between the dichotomy of “Japanese spirit, Western learning.” This is both a philosophical and practical approach to adapting, adopting, and sometimes rejecting Western standards and institutions while simultaneously maintaining Japan’s historic and cultural East Asian heritage. Second, since the 1850s the United States has maintained a vision of “Manifest Destiny.” After expanding its territory on the North American continent, the United States has sought to expand its political, economic, and cultural influence throughout the globe. Third, there is a continuing struggle to reconcile the political and economic relationship between Japan and the United States. This struggle sometimes erupts into serious clashes, including racially motivated discrimination and especially the bitter Pacific War between 1941 and 1945. Fourth, the political and economic struggle between the United States and Japan often involves the relationship each country has with China. Finally, despite the differences between Japan and the United States indicated above, Japanese and American people as individuals have often maintained an amicable relationship for most of the past 150 years. Politicians, “patriotic” organizations, novelists, and media commentators sometimes hurl jingoist “Japan bashing” or “America bashing” denunciations, particularly during periods of economic and political tensions. Yet, many Japanese and Americans display mutual understanding, friendship, and significant interest in the history, culture, language, and society of one another’s country.
THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, CIRCA 1850

During the 19th century, individual Japanese and Americans encountered one another for the first time, and the mid-1850s, the two governments began formal diplomatic relations. The first individual contacts and start of diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States were conditioned by their respective societies and worldviews of the era. What kind of countries were the United States and Japan during the 1850s?

The United States was not really “united” by 1850. The northern states of the mid-Atlantic and New England regions were industrializing. They were building factories powered by steam and coal, and improving the roads, bridges, and canals to create the infrastructure of a modernizing, industrializing society. Meanwhile, most of the southern states remained in a semi-feudal social and economic system largely dependent on the forced labor of African American slaves who produced agricultural commodities of cotton, sugar, tobacco, and rice. The northern states had a mixed, industrializing economy while the southern states were not industrializing and remained almost exclusively dependent on agriculture, which in turn depended on slave labor.

At the conclusion of the Mexican–American War in 1848, the United States militarily and diplomatically conquered the vast southwestern and western territories of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California at the expense of Mexico and Native American tribes. Slavery became an even more divisive political issue with regards to whether these new territories—soon to become states—would allow slaves and slave owners.

From the late 18th century, many northerners despised the existence of slavery for both political and moral reasons. They did not necessarily believe in the equality of all races; but they did believe that human slavery was both immoral and unlawful. By the early 19th century, all New England states and most mid-Atlantic states outlawed slavery within their borders. The Compromise of 1850 called for an equal number of slave states and non-slave states among the newly conquered territories, but ultimately failed to resolve the issue. In 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel, Uncle Tom’s Cabin, shocked northerners and infuriated southerners with its depiction of the cruelty of slavery in the southern United States. The Supreme Court’s Dred Scott decision in 1857, John Brown’s raid on Harper’s Ferry in 1859, and the election of Abraham Lincoln as President in 1860 also significantly contributed to the “impending crisis” that erupted into the American Civil War.
This was also the era of “Manifest Destiny,” the widespread belief among Caucasian Americans that they had a God-given right to continental expansion from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific coast. In January 1848, James Marshall was building a sawmill in Coloma in the then-Mexican territory of California when he discovered gold. By the end of the year, Marshall’s discovery launched the “Gold Rush,” arguably the most significant historical event of the American West. The Gold Rush transformed the West, especially California, into a mining, agricultural, and industrial power attracting people and capital from all over the world, including Asia.

By the time United States Navy Commodore Matthew Perry sailed for Japan, the growing economic and social disparity between northern and southern states, the increasingly divisive issue of slavery, territorial expansion on the North American continent, and the transformation of the American West by the Gold Rush were the primary features of national life for most Americans. Although not a major world power by 1850, the expanding United States increasingly attracted the attention of Europeans, including Alexis de Tocqueville and Karl Marx. The country was growing in population (primarily through immigration from Europe), expanding its already vast territory, and developing its natural resources, industries, and technologies.

In 1850, Japan was not an industrializing country. There were hand-craft, agricultural, and fishing industries in many parts of the country, but not large-scale heavy industries requiring inanimate sources of energy, such as steam power. Japan had an advanced artistic, architectural, and philosophical culture for well over a thousand years, and an advanced administrative system run by the Tokugawa shogun’s bakufu government that kept relative peace for over 200 years. Japan was relatively urbanized, with more than 20 percent of Japanese living in cities. The major cities of Osaka, Kyoto, and especially Edo compared favorably with Paris, Berlin, and New York of the same era.

Japan up to the 1850s is often described as “feudal” because of its hereditary, Confucian-based hierarchical class system of samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants. The samurai—including domain leaders (the daimyō), their retainers, and all officials of the Tokugawa shogunate government—were Japan’s warrior class. Numbering less than 10 percent of the population, the samurai were an unproductive class that lived off stipends. They were the privileged and the powerful of Japan. They were
also increasingly disunited by the 1850s. The majority of the Japanese population were peasants; farmers and fishermen who produced agricultural goods that sustained the entire population. Artisans, those who made items by hand, and the merchants were the other two levels of this Confucian hierarchy and who, like most samurai, lived in the larger cities. Not part of this four-level hierarchy were those in “special” categories, such as imperial family members; priests (Buddhist and Shinto); Ainu native people; the burakumin who handled animal products, disposed of human corpses, and did other “outcaste” work; and foreigners.

Japan of the mid-19th century is often described as “isolated” because it did not engage in substantial foreign relations. This view is somewhat misleading. Such relations had existed extensively before the 1600s, and then in a limited manner from the 1630s to the 1850s. A policy known as sakoku (“national seclusion”) significantly restricted the country from foreign relations in the early 17th century. However, the sakoku policy was primarily directed at Portugal and Spain. The Dutch, Koreans, Okinawans, and especially the Chinese maintained trade and contact with Japan throughout much of the Tokugawa Era (1600–1868).

Nevertheless, Japan’s contact with the West during most of the Tokugawa Era was limited to Dutch traders in Nagasaki, and to Dutch books on science and medicine. During the Euro–American era of scientific, political, and industrial revolutions Japan had very little contact with the West. By 1850, Japan was both an ancient and advanced culture, especially in the arts, architecture, philosophy, and administrative systems. But its economic and military power, and its knowledge of science and technology needed for large-scale industrialization was far behind even a middle power, such as the United States.

Tokugawa Japan was a highly structured society, divided by class and hierarchy. The Tokugawa shogun, at the apex of all samurai, controlled the country and domain lords, the daimyō, through the shogunate government (also known as the bakufu). Yet, during the first half of the 19th century, internal political and social strains were weakening Tokugawa bakufu power. Lower and middle rank samurai felt their talents were being squandered while their stipends were reduced. Daimyō from powerful domains were increasingly frustrated at being controlled, spied upon, and taxed by shogunate authorities in Edo. Prolonged famines in the 1830s led to an upsurge in rebellions against Tokugawa authorities, especially Oshio Heiachiro’s rebellion in Osaka in 1837.
At this vulnerable historical moment, the West knocked on Japan’s door. Russian, British, and American ships began appearing off Japan’s coasts. The China trade and North Pacific whaling drew most of these ships close to Japan’s shores. Japan turned down their occasional requests for trade and diplomatic contact because it violated the centuries-old sakoku policy. After the Opium War of 1839–1841 between the British and the nearby Middle Kingdom of China, it became obvious to foresighted Japanese scholars and officials that someday the increasingly powerful Westerners would not take “no” for an answer to their demands.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS

The first direct contacts between the United States and Japan were Japanese castaway sailors, most notably Manjiro Nakahama, Hikozo Hamada (later known as Joseph Heco), and the adventurer Ranald MacDonald from the Pacific Northwest Territory. Their sojourns and experiences provided the first direct knowledge between the United States and Japan. The United States government initially sent Edmund Roberts in 1832, and then Commodore James Biddle in 1846 on missions to Japan to investigate the possibility of beginning diplomatic and trade relations. Roberts died of cholera in Macao and never arrived in Japan while Biddle sailed away after the shogunate politely, yet firmly refused his requests. Following the Mexican–American War of 1846–1848 and the discovery of gold in California in 1848, the United States acquired vast areas of the American southwest and California from Mexico. Across the Pacific Ocean from China, where the United States had already established trade and diplomatic relations, and near North Pacific whaling areas frequented by New England whaling ships, Japan became increasingly significant to American political and economic interests.

U.S. Navy Commodore Matthew C. Perry was sent to Japan to make a concerted effort to establish relations with Japan. In July 1853, he sailed into Uraga Bay near Edo with four large warships and hundreds of armed sailors. Two of the ships were steam frigates fitted with coal-fired engines and belched black smoke while chugging up the bay. The wooden hulls of all four American ships were painted with dark sealant to prevent the wood from rotting. The Japanese called them “the black ships,” a symbolic harbinger of death. Perry delivered a letter from
President Millard Fillmore to the Japanese government. In addition to establishing a formal diplomatic relationship between the two countries, President Fillmore’s letter outlined three specific objectives the United States government desired from Japan. First, the Americans wanted Japan’s assurance that shipwrecked sailors found on Japan’s shores would be aided and cared for until an American vessel arrived to retrieve them. Second, with the advent of steamships, Americans wanted to use one or more ports in Japan for coal, along with water and other provisions for use by their ships in the Asia Pacific region. Finally, they sought to establish trade relations with Japan in the belief that commerce between the two countries would be of mutual benefit. Aware that shogunate officials would need time to consider the proposals, Perry and the American fleet left for the Ryukyu Islands and China after informing the Japanese officials that they would return within one year for an answer.

Perry returned to Japan in February 1854 with eight warships. There is no firm evidence he directly threatened to use force to secure a treaty, but the presence of such firepower was an obvious “gunboat diplomacy” factor during negotiations. Tokugawa shogunate officials were confronted with a serious dilemma: they had to make an agreement with Perry despite the opposition of most daimyo. After negotiations started, a measure of friendliness and goodwill developed between Americans and Japanese. American sailors wandered around the area, and local Japanese villagers soon lost their fear and crowded to see the big, funny-looking barbarians from the West. American sailors and lower-level Japanese officials spent much time eating and drinking together, while Perry and top Japanese officials argued and negotiated.

In the end, Japanese officials agreed to protect shipwrecked sailors and provide the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate for depots of coal and other provisions for American vessels. However, they steadfastly refused to establish commercial trade relations with the United States. Perry sailed away with the Kanagawa Treaty, the first formal government agreement between Japan and a Western country. Perry’s 1853–1854 mission and the Kanagawa Treaty between Japan and the United States unleashed a deluge of longstanding, internal discontent within Japan. From 1853 to 1868, political intrigue, assassinations, an increasingly strained relationship between the Tokugawa shogun in Edo and the imperial court in Kyoto, and finally civil war between pro-
Tokugawa and pro-Restoration forces ended with the downfall of the Tokugawa shogunate and the emergence of the Meiji imperial government.

The first resident American diplomat sent to Japan was Townsend Harris. He negotiated the United States–Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1858, which included commercial trading rights and extraterritorial rights for Americans living in designated areas in Japan. This was the first of the Ansei Treaties, also known as the “unequal treaties,” between Japan and Western countries. Henry Heusken, a Dutch-born American citizen, was Harris’s indispensable assistant and translator at the American consulate in Kanagawa. Heusken also assisted other countries negotiate treaties and agreements with Japan. Tragically, Heusken was murdered by anti-foreign ronin in 1861.

Soon after completion of the U.S.–Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce, the Tokugawa shogun decided to send an embassy of government representatives to the United States to officially ratify the treaty in Washington, D.C. The leader of the 1860 Embassy was Norimasa Muragaki, a conservative samurai official who often complained during the trip about the barbarian ways of Americans. Shaking hands, dancing, casual dress (i.e., business suits) by President James Buchanan and other American officials, and being introduced to wives and daughters of American officials at receptions upset Muragaki and other conservative members of the Japanese delegation. Other members of the delegation, such as Yukichi Fukuzawa and Manjiro Nakahama, liked the relatively egalitarian, informal ways of the Americans.

The Shogun’s Embassy attracted a great deal of attention in 1860. It was the first time practically anyone in the United States could see and meet Japanese. At hotels in San Francisco, Washington, New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, the lobbies were mobbed with Americans wanting to see the diplomats from the “mysterious” country of Japan wearing their elegant kimonos with top-knot hair styles. Walt Whitman wrote a poem titled, “A Broadway Pageant,” in honor of Japan and Asia after watching a welcoming parade for the Japanese diplomats in New York. There were troubling incidents: some American newspapers made fun of short Japanese with “funny clothes and funny rituals,” and two samurai swords were stolen from one Japanese diplomat’s hotel room. But overall the trip was a success and the Japanese diplomats were well-treated—and nearly all their expenses paid for by the American gov-
ernment. Even the dour, conservative Muragaki later told his wife that Japanese should stop referring to Americans as barbarians.

When the Japanese diplomats returned to Japan in 1861, the United States erupted into the American Civil War (1861–1865), the bloodiest war in American history with more than 600,000 deaths. Japan, too, was nearing a state of civil war over the crisis between domains supporting a “restoration” of imperial rule and others trying to reform and revitalize the Tokugawa shogunate. Naosuke Ii, who approved the U.S.–Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce and second only to the shogun in the Tokugawa hierarchy, was assassinated in early 1861. Japan’s relationship with the West, particularly what many considered to be the “unequal treaties” between Japan and Western countries, was a major factor in the burgeoning political crisis—a crisis that included assassinations of Westerners and Japanese deemed to be “pro-West.” Muragaki, Fukuzawa, Joseph Heco, and other Japanese with significant experience with the West lived in fear of attack during the early 1860s. By the mid-1860s, the crisis became more anti-Tokugawa than anti-foreign and erupted into domestic civil war. After losing significant battles against the anti-Tokugawa forces in late 1867 and early 1868, the last shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, bowed to the inevitable and turned over governing authority to the emperor, ending two and a half centuries of rule by the Tokugawa shogunate. Thus began the Meiji Era, Japan’s entrance into the industrial and modern age.

Knowledge Shall Be Sought Throughout the World
So As to Strengthen the Foundations of Imperial Rule

Charter Oath, Issued by Emperor Meiji, 1868

In 1871, Japan sent many of the Meiji government’s highest officials on an extended mission led by Prince Tomomi Iwakura to the United States and Europe. Earlier, the government sent Arinori Mori to Washington as Japan’s first resident diplomat to the United States, and to make advance preparations for the Iwakura Embassy. Its primary objective was to re-negotiate the “unequal treaties” of the 1850s the previous Tokugawa government signed with the United States and several European countries (Britain, France, Holland, Germany, and Russia). The United States and the European countries politely refused to re-negotiate the treaties because they believed Japan did not have a system of laws up
to Euro–American standards. The Euro–American refusal to re-negotiate the treaties upset many of Japan’s leaders.

The second objective of the Iwakura Embassy was to study the political, economic, educational, military, and scientific institutions of the West for the purpose of adapting useful elements of these institutions in Japan. This objective was more successful. The Japanese diplomats were impressed with America’s education system, with Britain’s parliamentary government and navy, and with Germany’s army and constitutional monarchy. They were impressed with France’s architectural and artistic heritage. Likewise, the presence of diplomats from Japan began a “Japonisme” movement among many American and European artists.

During the 1870s, the Japanese government employed hundreds of Americans and Europeans as instructors for their technical expertise in establishing Western-oriented institutions in Japan. William E. Griffis and David Murray, from Rutgers College in New Jersey, William Smith Clark, and Mary Eddy Kidder were among the Americans who came to Japan as instructors. Starting in the early 1860s, hundreds of students from Japan traveled to the United States and Europe for university studies. These students brought knowledge of the West back to Japan. Arinori Mori and Hirobumi Ito were among the earliest students, as was Jo Niijima, a Christian missionary and founder of Doshisha University in Kyoto. As a result of their transnational and cross-cultural educations and experiences, these early Japanese students became a crucial element in expanding Japan’s knowledge of the West and in expanding American knowledge of Japan.

In 1879, former President Ulysses S. Grant and his wife Julia visited Japan during a long, round-the-world tour. His two terms as president from 1868 to 1876 were plagued by scandals, a bad economy, and problems in the wake of the American Civil War. Nevertheless, Grant was hailed everywhere in the world as the hero of the Civil War, including in Japan. Grant spent several weeks in Japan sightseeing and had general discussions on political matters with Japanese officials, including Emperor Meiji.

**IMPERIAL KINSHIP, 1900–1908**

In 1894, war erupted between Japan and China over issues relating to control of Korea. The Korean peninsula is strategically centered among
Japan, China, and the Russian Far East, and these countries regularly competed for control over Korea. Too weak to defend itself by the late 19th century, Korea was at the mercy of its bigger and more powerful neighbors. Japan defeated the decaying Qing Dynasty of China in this “First Sino–Japan War” and gained control over the Korean Peninsula as a condition of the Shimonoseki Treaty of 1895. Japan then participated with the United States and European powers in putting down the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900, and earned international praise for its military discipline.

Less than four years later, Japan went to war against Russian military forces stationed in China and Manchuria in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. On land, the Russian and Japanese armies were nearly evenly matched. At sea, however, the Japanese Imperial Navy completely destroyed the Russian Fleet. Japan’s victory over Russia demonstrated the success of the policies of industrialization and modernization adopted during the early Meiji Era. Japan, a relatively small nation, had defeated the huge Russian Empire! The early 20th-century was also an era of so-called scientific racism, a widespread but absurd idea that races had a scientific hierarchy with Caucasians at the top and Asians close to the bottom. According to “scientific racism,” the Asian nation of Japan should never have defeated a white nation, such as Russia. Japan’s victory stunned much of the world, and Tokyo soon became a hub for Asian students and activists who wanted to learn how to build an economy and military that could stand up to the Western powers colonizing their countries.

The United States became a major power at nearly the same time. It formally gained control of Hawaii and defeated the decaying Spanish imperial forces in Cuba and in the Philippines between 1898 and 1903. The situation in Hawaii involved political negotiations with Japan because of the large number of Japanese immigrants on the islands. The military and diplomatic victories by Japan and the United States in the 1890s and early 1900s demonstrated to the world that both countries were rising powers, while some European countries, particularly Russia and Spain, were declining.

By the closing years of the 19th century, both Japan and the United States had emerged as imperialist powers in Asia and the Pacific. They were not alone. Great Britain, Russia, Germany, and France were all playing their part in an imperial scramble whose focus unmistakably
rested with China. United States Secretary of State John Hay in 1899 and again in 1900 issued his famed Open Door notes, which warned against both encroachments on Chinese sovereignty and restrictions on American trade in that country. The Japanese government, which was eyeing Russian encroachments in the Chinese territory of Manchuria and the Korean peninsula, responded favorably to the Open Door notes. Far more significant from Tokyo’s point of view, however, was the conclusion in January 1902 of the Anglo–Japanese Alliance. This strengthened Japan’s hand vis-à-vis Russia to a far greater extent than did agreements concerning the Open Door. Even so, Foreign Minister Jūtarō Komura throughout 1903 assiduously kept American officials informed of the state of his negotiations with Russia. Thus, when the Russo–Japanese War broke out in February 1904, Tokyo knew that it was not only allied to the world’s foremost power, but that it also had the sympathy of the United States.

Acting on this perception, the Japanese government in February 1904 dispatched Kentarō Kaneko to Washington. A graduate of Harvard University who had long known President Theodore Roosevelt, Kaneko quietly sounded Roosevelt out on the prospect of the latter offering his good offices to bring an end to the Russo–Japanese War. It was a sagacious move. The vehemently anti-Russian Roosevelt believed Japan was fighting America’s war, and Kaneko saw no need to disabuse him of this notion. Against this promising backdrop, Kaneko broached with Roosevelt Japan’s terms of peace with Russia, among which were included a free hand not only in Korea but also in southern Manchuria. Roosevelt proved amenable. In August 1905, he approved the so-called Taft–Katsura Agreement, according to whose terms the United States and Japan agreed to respect each other’s possessions in Asia and the Pacific. At the same time, Roosevelt mediated an end to the Russo–Japanese War, and in so doing oversaw the transfer to Japan of Korea, southern Manchuria, and southern Sakhalin.

Roosevelt’s sponsorship of the Portsmouth Peace Conference marked the zenith of the spirit of U.S.–Japanese cooperation in the period 1900–1909. If both the Japanese and American governments sought to define their interests on a complementary basis, however, there was also an abiding awareness of the potential for friction. One need look no further than the fact that both the United States Navy and the Imperial Japanese Navy (in 1906 and 1907, respectively) designated each other
their hypothetical enemies. Roosevelt, too, was concerned that victory in the Russo–Japanese War might propel Japan onto a course frankly adverse to American interests in the Philippines and Hawaii. In the immediate aftermath of the war, Japanese policymakers revealed themselves no less distrustful of American designs on their newly gained sphere of influence. When the great railway builder Edward H. Harriman in October 1905 offered to purchase what was to become the South Manchurian Railway, Foreign Minister Jūtarō Komura argued successfully that Japan raise its own money so as to strengthen its hard-earned foothold in southern Manchuria.

Harriman—and his financial partners on Wall Street—may have been impressed, but Roosevelt was not unduly perturbed. In his estimation, Manchuria was of peripheral interest to the United States. Although not blind to the potential presented by Chinese markets, Roosevelt rather welcomed Japan’s preoccupation with the continent because, in his calculations, it served to lessen the possibility of a U.S.–Japanese clash in the Pacific. In other words, he hoped that by engaging their respective interests in areas separate from each other, U.S.–Japanese relations might remain on a harmonious footing.

This was the basic framework in which Japanese and American policymakers worked throughout the remainder of this period. Roosevelt was no less infuriated than was the Japanese government when in 1906 the San Francisco School Board segregated Japanese school children. His response was twofold. On the one hand, he managed to convince Californian authorities to rescind the offensive segregation order. On the other, he finalized with Ambassador Keikichi Aoki a deal known as the Gentlemen’s Agreement, according to whose terms the Japanese government agreed to curb immigration to the United States.

In the meantime, Roosevelt resigned himself to the fact that the United States did not possess the wherewithal to defend the Philippines. In 1908, he moved the Pacific base from Manila to Hawaii. Having conceded by this act that the Philippines were militarily indefensible, Roosevelt sought to protect them by other means. It was fitting that the end of this period should be marked by the so-called Root–Takahira Agreement of November 1908. By this agreement, both nations agreed to respect China’s independence and integrity—the Open Door—while at the same time respecting each other’s possessions in the region. This meant that the United States recognized Japan’s possessions in Korea and
Manchuria, while Japan recognized American possessions in Hawaii and the Philippines.

RIVALRY OVER CHINA, 1909–1921

Roosevelt left the presidency in 1909, and with him went any goodwill generated by the Root–Takahira Agreement. Roosevelt’s hand-picked successor, William Howard Taft, dispensed with Roosevelt’s policies and instead chose to challenge Japan’s predominant position in southern Manchuria. Underlying this policy was the Taft administration’s faith in the power of the American dollar, as well as a belief in the compatibility of American and Chinese interests. Generally referred to as “dollar diplomacy,” this policy’s defining moment came in late 1909, when an American banking group gained Chinese approval to build a railway that would run part of the way parallel to Japan’s South Manchurian line. As if this were not enough to challenge Japan’s position on the continent, Secretary of State Philander Knox immediately raised the stakes by proposing that China—replete with funds provided by a consortium of major powers—buy the Russian-owned railway in northern Manchuria and Japan’s South Manchurian line. The Japanese government responded by reaching an agreement with Russia that provided for cooperation over railways and railway finance in Manchuria. The British, for their part, refused to climb aboard Knox’s neutralization scheme. Roosevelt was aghast. Taft had needlessly antagonized the Japanese, and in the process had driven them into the arms of the Russians. This phase of dollar diplomacy was as spectacular for its audacity as for its failure.

U.S.–Japanese relations worsened considerably after the outbreak of World War I. China was again at issue. Having entered the war ostensibly as Britain’s ally, Japan fought not for its allies’ survival but for such objectives as the seizure of German possessions in China and the Pacific, and ultimately, economic and political hegemony over all of China. In pursuit of this second objective, Foreign Minister Takaaki Katō in January 1915 handed to Chinese President Yuan Shih-kai the so-called Twenty-One Demands. The administration of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, which clung to an ill-defined policy of goodwill and friendship toward China, protested vigorously. The British, recognizing that their imperial interests
in China were being threatened by their ally, repeatedly urged Japan to drop the more onerous of its demands. Japan did so, and eventually gained China’s begrudging acceptance. The damage to U.S.–Japanese relations, however, was palpable. Japan’s renewed commitment to the Open Door principle in 1917 by means of the Lansing–Ishii Agreement did little to assuage American distrust of Japanese motives. Nor did joint U.S.–Japanese participation in the Siberian Intervention bring a halt to the two nations’ increasingly acrimonious relations.

The antagonism was brought into full relief at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. Here, Wilson launched a concerted assault on the imperialist practices that had led inexorably to a world war, and championed instead a new diplomacy whose defining characteristics were the spread of democracy and the encouragement of free trade throughout the world; the destruction of German militarism; and great power cooperation within a League of Nations. The Japanese delegation remained entirely out of step with Wilson’s “new diplomacy.” It saw its most important task at the peace conference as the retention of all German rights and concessions on China’s Shantung peninsula, and threatened to walk out if these demands were not met. Wilson capitulated. He did refuse, however, to insert a racial equality clause in the League of Nations charter. Furthermore, despite the hopes for disarmament that statesmen—including Wilson—expressed both during the war and in its aftermath, Japan, the United States, and Great Britain found themselves embroiled in the immediate postwar era in a costly and dangerous naval arms race.

JAPAN, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE WASHINGTON SYSTEM, 1921–1930

The Washington Conference of November 1921–February 1922 marked a significant turning point in U.S.–Japanese relations. Delegates to the conference were inspired by a spirit of compromise and goodwill. Various treaties and agreements were concluded, the most important of which were the Five Power Treaty and the Nine Power Treaty. The former halted the naval arms race in the Pacific by setting a ratio of 5:5:3 in capital ship strength for the United States, Great Britain, and Japan (and a lesser ratio for France and Italy), while the latter gave solemn treaty form to the traditional American policy of the Open Door.
Naval disarmament, non-interference in the internal affairs of China, and peaceful competition for that nation’s markets and resources were the hallmarks of what became known as the Washington System. All this was underlined by growing U.S.–Japanese economic interdependence, which dictated the necessity of friendship as the basic framework of the two nations’ relations. Nevertheless, there were problems. The United States Congress in 1924 prohibited Japanese immigration in its entirety in what is known as the Oriental Exclusion Act. Although politicians and statesmen on both sides of the Pacific continued to speak of the spirit of the Washington Conference, there can be little doubt the Oriental Exclusion Act undermined U.S.–Japanese relations for years to come.

There was also widespread dissatisfaction within Japanese naval circles with the disarmament system. Led by the impetuous Kanji Katō, these officers opposed Navy Minister (and chief delegate to the Washington Conference) Tomosaburō Katō’s contention that war with the United States must be avoided. In 1923, they included in the Imperial National Defense Policy a statement that war with the United States was “inevitable.” The revolt against the Washington System simmered throughout the 1920s, and exploded at the time of the London Naval Conference of 1930. At that time, the Japanese government—including the policymaking nucleus within the Navy Ministry—indicated its acceptance of a formula that sought to extend the naval disarmament system to incorporate auxiliary vessels. However, Kanji Katō (who by this time had been appointed chief of the Navy General Staff) remained irreconcilable, and sparked a months-long struggle that split the Navy.

The rise of nationalism in China presented yet another challenge to the Washington System. By means of the treaties and agreements concluded at the Washington Conference, Japan, the United States, and the other powers regulated their competition in China and the Pacific, but these agreements did nothing to account for the phenomenon of an emerging national consciousness in China. Largely interchangeable with anti-imperialism, this national consciousness was directed against the Washington system powers. The Chinese were virtually unanimous in their condemnation of the unequal treaties (fixed tariff and extraterritoriality) that the powers had forced upon China in the 19th century and which the Washington Conference perpetuated. Popular boycotts repeatedly broke out against Western and Japanese business interests in China. Most disturbingly from Tokyo’s perspective, Chiang Kai-shek, who by 1929 had succeeded somewhat in unifying China, refused to
recognize the validity of past treaties and agreements relating to
Manchuria. Several Sino–Japanese military clashes ensued, although
Kijūrō Shidehara returned to the foreign minister’s post in 1929 no less
convinced than he had been previously of the continued efficacy of the
Washington Conference system. In 1930, Japan extended formal recog-
nition to the new Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek, and decided
to cooperate with the United States and Britain on the question of abro-
gating extraterritoriality in China.

Perhaps the greatest challenge to the Washington system came from the
American stock market crash on 29 October 1929 and the subsequent
Great Depression. Its reverberations were felt around the world, although
the situation in Japan was particularly acute. Lacking in raw materials,
Japan relied on foreign trade to pay for them. With the onset of the Great
Depression, however, its Washington system partners—most notably the
United States and Great Britain—lost their enthusiasm for free trade. The
United States Congress in June 1930 passed the Smoot–Hawley Tariff Act,
imposing the highest rates on imports in the 20th century. The system of
free trade that held the Washington system together suddenly unraveled.

THE ROAD TO PEARL HARBOR AND THE PACIFIC WAR

Japan’s invasion of Manchuria in September 1931 marked the beginning
of the end of the Washington Conference system. By this action, the
Japanese military signaled its disregard for both the principle of nonin-
terference in China’s internal affairs and the notion of cooperation among
the great powers. Worse still, the civilian government in Tokyo proved ut-
terly powerless to restrain the military. By January 1932, the United
States government concluded that Japan was no longer a partner for sta-
bility in Asia and the Pacific, and Secretary of State Henry Stimson in-
formed both Japan and China that the American government refused to
recognize any changes in China brought about by force and in violation
of the Open Door policy. When the League of Nations formally refuted
Japan’s contention that Manchuria—which Japan called “Manchukuo”—
was an independent nation, Japan quit the League of Nations. The final
nail in the coffin of the Washington Conference system came in 1934
when the Japanese navy determined to end the era of naval limitation.

U.S.–Japanese relations considerably worsened after Japanese and
Chinese forces clashed at the Marco Polo Bridge near Beijing in July
1937. The so-called China Incident, which Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe hoped to bring to an early conclusion with a preponderance of force, quickly developed into a deadly quagmire, including Japanese attacks on Shanghai and Nanjing, causing widespread death to Chinese civilians. In early 1938, Konoe announced that henceforth his government would deal with Chiang only on the battlefield and at the surrender table. Later that year, Konoe proclaimed to the world that Japan sought the construction of a “new order” in East Asia. Konoe’s “new order” envisioned Japan, the puppet state of Manchukuo, and China (under a collaborationist government in Nanjing) bound together. Washington responded by announcing in July 1939 its intention to abrogate the U.S.–Japan Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. Because Japan’s economic well-being continued to depend on close commercial relations with the United States, such a measure clarified American opposition to Japan’s policy of aggression in China. In taking this step, however, Washington had committed itself to nothing final. The application—or non-application—of economic sanctions would depend on subsequent Japanese actions.

The Japanese government for a time sought to conciliate the United States. The most notable attempt toward this end occurred from September 1939 to January 1940 when Admiral Kichisaburō Nomura served as foreign minister. However, in the summer of 1940, German armies overran Western Europe, leaving the resource-rich regions of Southeast Asia defenseless. With the advent of Konoe’s second cabinet in July 1940, attentions in Tokyo duly turned to the conclusion of an alliance relationship with Nazi Germany. As if to underscore its intentions in negotiating an alliance with the Germans, Japanese forces in late September advanced into northern French Indochina. Washington regarded the defense of Britain as vital to its own survival, viewed Nazi Germany as a quasi-enemy, and responded to Japan’s actions by slapping a virtual embargo on aviation gasoline, high-grade iron, and steel scrap for Japan. In September 1940, the Japan–Germany–Italy Tripartite Pact was formally concluded after negotiations led by Yosuke Matsuoka, the American-educated foreign minister of Japan.

The tone for the U.S.–Japanese negotiations of 1941 had thus been set. Japan was allied explicitly with Nazi Germany, and the United States was allied—in fact, if not yet in name—with Great Britain. Japan had decided on an opportunistic policy of advancing into Southeast Asia, and
the United States determined to respond to any advances by increasing economic pressures on Japan. At the same time, the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt regarded Germany as the greatest threat to American security. It thus trod a delicate diplomatic line toward the Japanese. On the one hand, there was an unmistakable display of firmness toward Japan’s hegemonic aspirations. On the other, there was a determined effort not to shut the door on the possibility of rapprochement should the Japanese dissociate themselves from Adolf Hitler and his brand of militaristic aggression.

The outbreak of the Soviet–German war in June 1941 provided the Japanese government with a golden opportunity to follow the latter course. After all, Hitler had launched his assault on the Soviet Union without first informing his alliance partner. Japan, however, had never seriously contemplated this possibility. The Soviet threat to the north having been removed, policymakers in Tokyo determined to undertake further advances into French Indochina. There was widespread recognition that such a step carried with it the possibility of war with the United States. The Imperial Japanese Navy, which would bear the brunt of the fighting if war did break out, was particularly belligerent. For its part, the Roosevelt administration cracked Japanese diplomatic codes and was privy to Japan’s determination to occupy Indochina. In late July, it froze Japanese assets in the United States. The economic pressure quickly escalated on 1 August when Washington embargoed high-octane gasoline as well as crude oil. In the meantime, Japanese troops occupied the Indochinese peninsula in its entirety.

The U.S.–Japanese negotiations continued in Washington, although any chance of diplomatic success was scuttled by the Japanese occupation of Indochina, especially Vietnam. Neither the Japanese Army nor the Navy held out any hope for rapprochement with the United States. Attitudes in Washington, too, had hardened. Konoe sought to break the deadlock by floating the idea of a summit meeting with Roosevelt, although his unwillingness—or inability—to define the terms to which he might agree at any such meeting merely served to further arouse the Roosevelt administration’s suspicions. Konoe’s idea of a summit meeting collapsed, and so did his cabinet. General Hideki Tojo did not assume the prime minister’s post with the immediate intention of taking his country to war against the United States. Yet, his cabinet never seriously contemplated the painful diplomatic concessions required to avoid that outcome.
Japanese military forces struck Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, with dramatic suddenness on 7 December 1941. The early months of the war were wildly successful for Japan, capturing Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, Burma, Ceylon, and the Philippines from the Americans, British, and Dutch. Then in June 1942, American forces sank four Japanese naval carriers and destroyed some 300 planes in the Battle of Midway. In January 1943, American forces recaptured Guadalcanal. Thereafter, American forces gradually rolled back Japan’s territorial gains in Southeast Asia and the Pacific—though not in China—and in the spring of 1945 captured Okinawa. Most major Japanese cities, including Tokyo, were razed by conventional and fire-bombings. After the Japanese cabinet refused the surrender terms offered in the Potsdam Declaration, the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were destroyed by the world’s first atomic attacks on 6 August and 9 August. Soon after the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and the Soviet Union’s invasion of Manchuria, Emperor Hirohito carefully and publicly announced Japan’s surrender on 15 August 1945. On 30 August, the first occupation troops arrived on Japan’s shores, opening a new chapter in U.S.–Japanese relations.

THE OCCUPATION ERA, 1945–1952

After Japan’s defeat at the end of World War II, the United States played a leading role in implementing the Allied Occupation policies in Japan led by General Douglas MacArthur. The United States, its wartime allies, and Japanese supporters also put in place constitutional, political, and educational reforms in the first two and a half years of the Occupation. Washington then changed course and worked to establish a self-sufficient Japanese economy. In February 1949, Joseph Dodge, an American economic adviser, imposed a politically unpopular austerity program called the Dodge Line in order to balance the Japanese budget.

The Dodge Line was a major turning point in the Occupation. It transformed the state-managed economy into a market-oriented, export-led economy. The fate of the Dodge Line depended on the revival of Japanese foreign trade; unfortunately, this was not achieved for some time because of a worldwide depression in 1949. Southeast Asian countries were Japan’s natural market because of their great demand for industrial goods and their proximity. Establishing a regional economic linkage,
however, required political stability in Asia. Accordingly, by 1949, the United States had focused its attention on bringing political stability to Southeast Asia, as a prerequisite for Japanese economic recovery.

The United States also emphasized demilitarization in the early stages of the Occupation. Because this left Japan defenseless, Washington realized that to guarantee Japan's security the U.S. would have to maintain military bases and armed forces on the Japanese islands and, in 1951, the U.S.–Japanese Security Treaty was signed. The United States compelled Japan to accept American bases on the former’s territory, and to agree, reluctantly, to rearm.

The Korean War, which broke out in June 1950, had a positive effect on the Japanese economy. The Chinese Communists’ intervention in the war and their military successes enhanced China’s prestige in Asia, even though hundreds of thousands of Chinese “volunteer” soldiers were killed in Korea. As China’s status increased, the United States believed that it would be difficult to retain Japan’s pro-American orientation unless it made strenuous efforts to preserve its own prestige. In Asia, China and America were close allies during World War II, but when the Communists came to power in 1949 the two countries became bitter enemies. As this situation left Japan as the United States’ principal Asian ally, Washington did its utmost to reinforce the U.S.–Japan alliance, primarily by means of economic and military measures.

POST-OCCUPATION ECONOMIC RELATIONS

During the 1950s, the United States tried to reduce Japan’s trade deficit and integrate the Japanese economy with those of the Western bloc. Washington expected that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) would provide Japan with economic benefits; however, Japan could not enjoy the full benefits of the GATT because of restrictions imposed by other member states. Moreover, the United States itself restricted the possible expansion of Japanese trade by severely constricting relations with China.

In spite of these difficulties, four factors helped Japanese economic development in the early post-Occupation period. First, the United States tolerated Japan’s restrictions on imports and foreign investment, because few American businesses regarded the Japanese market as important. Second, Washington facilitated Japanese access to the American market.
by opposing demands for protectionist measures that were coming from less competitive, labor-intensive industries in various U.S. states. Third, American military spending in Japan and in other parts of Asia helped revitalize the Japanese economy. Fourth, Japan was able to concentrate on economic growth because it was not hampered by excessive defense spending. During the 1950s, the United States and Japan suffered from trade friction only in certain sectors, including textiles and general merchandise. The American textile industry was especially hard hit by heavy importation of cheap Japanese products. In January 1956, Japan began to adopt voluntary export restraints. These restraints achieved the protectionists’ goal of limiting the number of commodities coming from Japan, while they preserved the spirit of free trade.

As American hegemonic status gradually declined in the late 1960s, Washington could no longer keep its domestic markets open to Japanese goods. The U.S.–Japanese textile negotiations between 1969 and 1971, which were designed to restrain imports of Japanese textiles into the United States, were symbolic incidents of this era. Americans were alarmed to realize that Japan had recovered from World War II so quickly and that, by the early 1970s, Japanese industries had become competitive with U.S. industries.

In the mid-1980s, the United States started to focus serious attention on Japan as an economic competitor because of its increasing trade deficits and increasing trade surpluses in Japan. Washington emphasized not only reducing Japanese imports to the United States, but also expanding U.S. exports to Japan. In addition, it focused on unfair Japanese trade practices, considering it imperative to change the domestic Japanese system. By the late 1980s, Japan had an enormous trade surplus with the United States, while the United States was running a huge deficit. Between September 1989 and June 1990, Washington and Tokyo devised the Structural Impediments Initiative as a way to mitigate such trade problems. Unlike earlier trade agreements, this one dealt with structural issues instead of focusing on particular items.

POST-OCCUPATION SECURITY RELATIONS

The United States–Japan Security Treaty of 1951 had two major problems. First, it gave the United States the right to station its military
forces in Japan, but it did not specifically oblige the U.S. to defend Japan or to consult with it over military operations. Second, the treaty allowed the American military forces to repress domestic rioting, a potential violation of Japan’s sovereignty. In 1960, a new U.S.–Japan Security Treaty was concluded that abrogated the United States’ right to intervene in domestic rioting and specified that the United States assumed official responsibility for Japan’s defense. In turn, Japan was obligated to protect U.S. installations in Japan if they were attacked.

Japan did not become directly involved in the Vietnam War, but as a dependable ally of the United States, it made significant contributions and reaped enormous economic benefits. Okinawa became a base for B-52s and a training base for U.S. Marines. The United States used its bases on mainland Japan for logistics, supplies, training, and rest and recreation. Withdrawal from Vietnam encouraged the United States to promote closer military cooperation with Japan. In November 1978, the United States and Japan began to review various aspects of military cooperation, such as emergency defense legislation and logistic support.

THE 1990s AND AFTERWARD: ECONOMIC FIELD

The Cold War structure and America’s preeminence in the world brought stability to post–World War II U.S.–Japanese relations. The Cold War caused Japan to depend on the United States strategically, and U.S. hegemony brought both military protection and economic well-being to Japan. However, the decline of U.S. economic and military hegemony after the late 1960s and the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s undermined the basis of stability in the countries’ relations.

During the 1990s, the U.S. economy revived, primarily because of the information technology (IT) revolution and to the rapid development of IT-related industries, while Japan began a decade-long era of deep political and economic turmoil. In July 1993, the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party, the long-term ruling party, lost its majority in the Diet, ending its 38-year control of Japanese politics. A series of weak coalition governments followed, none bringing political stability, which exacerbated Japan’s economic recession. Economic crises in Southeast Asian countries in 1997 further aggravated Japanese economic conditions.
In the 1990s, in order to redress trade imbalances, Japan and the United States stressed macroeconomic concerns, area-specific issues, structural problems, and a results-oriented approach. Washington demanded that Japan set minimum numerical targets for increases of imports, arguing that because the Japanese market was closed, the United States had severe difficulty in expanding its exports to Japan. Japan strongly opposed this request on the grounds that it could lead to managed trade, and insisted that U.S. firms conduct more effective market research and produce goods suitable for Japanese consumers.

The gross domestic products (GDPs) of the United States and Japan combined constituted approximately 40 percent of the world’s total GDP, and their economic assistance made up about 50 percent of the total amount of aid. Since U.S.–Japanese economic relations will continue to have a decisive impact on the health of the global economy, the U.S.–Japan Twenty-first Century Committee was established in July 1996 as a bilateral, private-sector forum for dialogue and the consideration of policy proposals. Moreover, the two nations have worked together on such global threats as the deterioration of the earth’s environment, communicable diseases, natural calamities, and terrorism.

**THE 1990s: MILITARY FIELD**

In April 1990, in response to a request from the U.S. Congress, the George H. W. Bush administration issued its strategy for East Asia, “A Strategic Framework for the Asian Pacific Rim: Looking Toward the 21st Century.” This document laid out the main points of the Bush administration’s view of the post–Cold War situation. The report stated that the 1990s would probably mark a turning point for political conditions in the Asia–Pacific region. Meanwhile, members of the U.S. Congress, who saw the end of the Cold War as a reason to cut unnecessary defense spending, began demanding a reduction of U.S. military forces in East Asia, primarily those in South Korea and Japan. In 1992, the White House announced a second strategy document for East Asia that reaffirmed the plan for gradual troop reductions decided in 1990.

Nevertheless, the 1990s were an unstable decade for U.S.–Japanese relations, a time during which the two countries searched for a new principle to determine the orientation of their relationship. The Persian Gulf War of 1991 confirmed the importance of the U.S. bases in Japan.
There was a great deal of American public and unofficial government criticism of Japan for not sending any military forces—even for possible non-combat operations—during the war itself. The $13 billion paid by the Japanese government afterward did little to assuage American criticism. The war led the United States to restructure its strategic policy toward Asia as a whole. Between August 1994 and February 1995, the United States and Japan began to jointly seek a way to redefine the U.S.–Japan alliance. Both countries assumed that conditions of instability would persist in the Asia-Pacific region, despite the end of the Cold War. Alongside their concerns about stability and various other problems was the recognition that the Asia-Pacific region had the greatest economic growth potential of any region in the world. Both countries were convinced that a U.S. military presence would be indispensable to assure regional security. Their joint analysis went so far as to conclude that the basing of U.S. military forces in Japan was a crucial factor in maintaining the U.S. posture of global military preparedness and quick response, based on the use of a flexible array of options to react to developments in international hot spots. The two countries concluded that the U.S.–Japan alliance would continue to make a crucial contribution to the maintenance of stability in the Asia-Pacific region. For its part, the United States emphasized the view that this alliance was important for maintaining forward-deployed forces and a regional balance of power in East Asia, and for defusing new local threats that had emerged. Consequently, Japan was expected to play an active role with respect to regional security matters within the context of its alliance with the United States.

The way in which the U.S.–Japan alliance was to be redefined was spelled out in February 1995, when the U.S. Defense Department released its third East Asia strategy review, known as the Nye Report. This report underscored the importance of security in the Asia-Pacific region and proclaimed that the United States intended to keep a military force of 100,000 in the region, of whom 60,000 would be stationed in Japan. It reconfirmed the U.S.–Japan relationship as the necessary foundation for both U.S. security policy in the Asia-Pacific region and overall U.S. global strategy. The Nye Initiative defined U.S.–Japanese relations as the most important bilateral relationship in Asia, and Japanese security as the linchpin of U.S. security policy there.

In April 1996, President Bill Clinton held a summit with Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and they signed the “Japan–U.S. Joint Declaration
on Security: Alliance for the 21st Century.” In May 1999, the Japanese Diet passed legislation supporting the guidelines. Japan formally approved conducting military-related action outside of Japan, including rear-area logistic support, but not active combat operations, to enhance its own security interests.

Japan’s neighbors, especially China, are closely watching the expanding role of the U.S.–Japanese alliance in the Asia–Pacific area, and they worry that Japan might again become a great military power even while China is dramatically increasing its military spending as a result of its rapidly growing economy. Yet, in the post–Cold War era, Washington redefined the security treaty with Japan to maintain a military presence in Japan partly because it intends to avoid a revival of Japanese militarism.

THE GRASS ROOTS: CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Cultural and educational exchanges are a significant part of the relationship between Japan and the United States. Despite political and economic clashes of the past few decades, grassroots relationships are as strong as ever between the two countries. There are over 100 Japan–America Societies (JAS) in the United States and Japan. Each JAS society includes business people, corporations, academics, politicians, community leaders, and students as members who promote strong relations and mutual understanding between the two countries. Sister Cities International, headquartered in Washington, D.C., includes more than 100 sister-cities between Japan and the United States, from large cities to small, rural towns. Most individual members travel every other year to meet and visit with members from their sister city. Some U.S.–Japan sister cities have scholarships and other programs and opportunities of mutual benefit. A similar organization with dozens of U.S.–Japan chapters is People to People International (PPI).

 Begun in 1987, the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program has had thousands of young American college graduates participate as assistant teachers and instructors in elementary, middle, and high schools in Japan. Each teacher serves for one year, and may choose to serve for up to three years. Education and cultural experiences vary, but the vast majority of young Americans on the JET Program stay for more than one year. Funded primarily by the Japanese government through the
Foreign Ministry, it was originally established in the midst of the Kōkūsaika ("internationalization") movement in the 1980s, and has since become a prestigious and competitive program for young Americans and other Westerners. Since the late 1940s, the renowned Fulbright Program has provided fellowships to nearly 6,000 Japanese and more than 2,000 Americans to pursue academic and cultural studies. Most Fulbright fellows have been lecturers, researchers, graduate students, or language instructors in either Japan or the United States.

Numerous Japanese students have gone to universities and colleges in America since the late 1860s. Currently, almost 50,000 Japanese students are at American colleges. Although Japanese students can be found at almost any college in America, nearly 25 percent attend colleges in California. Two-thirds of Japanese college students are undergraduates, 20 percent are graduate students, and 13 percent are enrolled in ESL (English as a Second Language) programs. Relatively fewer Americans have attended Japanese colleges and universities, but thousands of American college students have studied Japanese culture and language, participated in study abroad programs, or have done graduate research in Japan.

Hollywood films are popular in Japan, and Japanese watch American TV soap operas and dramas while many young Americans are hooked on Japanese-produced anime films and manga comic books. Since the 1950s, American baseball players have played on Japanese teams, and some Japanese professional teams have been led by American managers. Recently, Japanese players have joined Major League Baseball teams and become stars in both Japan and the United States. Japanese restaurants are located in practically every city in America, though they are not quite as ubiquitous as McDonald’s, Kentucky Fried Chicken, and Starbucks in Japan.

**U.S.–JAPAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

At the end of June 2001, Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro visited Washington for a meeting with President George W. Bush, taking with him the sad statistics of the country’s economy. Japan faced its highest level of deflation since the Great Depression of the 1930s, and accumulated government debt had risen to more than 130 percent of gross national product. Banks were the most important problem for Koizumi
and the Japanese economy. Nonperforming loans amounted to hundreds of billions of dollars. Koizumi openly expressed his deep pro-U.S. position in public, looking for solid outside support to implement his potentially unpopular reform agenda. President Bush, for his part, demonstrated his clear support for Koizumi’s economic structural reform policy. North Korea’s ballistic missile and nuclear research programs, and especially the al-Qaeda attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in September 2001 further promoted military cooperation between Japan and the United States. The U.S.–Japanese relationship continues to be one of the most important bilateral relationships in the 21st century, especially in the Asia–Pacific area. The peace and stability of the Asia–Pacific area in the 21st century depend on U.S.–Japanese cooperation and their efforts to contain destabilizing factors in this area.

On 29 October 2001, the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law was enacted. The Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force began to supply fuel to U.S. ships in the northern part of the Indian Ocean in December 2001. This law was extended for two years in November 2003, and extended again for one year in November 2005. Over this period, the Japanese Self-Defence Forces have been acting in a supportive role in the Indian Ocean.

In August 2002, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State James Kerry informed former Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto that North Korea was suspected of secretly developing nuclear weapons. However, On 17 September 2002, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi went ahead and visited North Korea and signed the Pyongyang Declaration.

Japan also supports U.S. policies toward Iraq. On 26 July 2003, Special legislation calling for assistance in the rebuilding of Iraq was enacted. In December 2003, the Japanese government formulated a basic plan. On 16 January 2004, based on this law and plan, the Japanese government dispatched an advance party of the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force to Iraq. Japan dispatched approximately 600 members of the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force to As-Samawah, Iraq, to set up water supply, recovery and development of public facilities, and medical support. In December 2004, the law stationing the Japan Self-Defense Forces in Iraq was extended for one year. In December 2005, the basic plan was extended for one year. Japan decided to spend up to $5 billion for reconstruction assistance of Iraq. In short, Japan has been helping the United States in Iraq, both in terms of economic cooperation and of reconstruction of Iraq by the Self-Defence Force.
A BROADWAY PAGEANT. Also known as “The Errand-Bearers,” this is a poem written by Walt Whitman to commemorate the visit of the Shogun’s Embassy to the United States in 1860. On 16 June 1860, Whitman watched the parade on New York City’s Broadway Avenue featuring the Japanese officials and wrote the poem shortly afterward. The poem begins with this stanza:

Over sea, hither from Niphon [Nippon], Courteous, the Princes of Asia, swart-cheek’d princes First-comers, guests, two-sworded princes, Lesson-giving princes, leaning back in their open barouches, bare-headed, impassive This day they ride through Manhattan . . .

The lengthy, free-verse poem expounds on the glories not only of Japan, but all of Asia. Originally published in the New York Times on 27 June 1860, the poem later appeared in editions of Whitman’s Leaves of Grass.

ABCD ENCIRCLEMENT. With the opening shots of the Manchurian Incident in 1931, Japan turned to a policy of enlarging its sphere of influence on the Asian continent by the use of force. Chiang Kai-shek’s stubborn refusal to surrender following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) notwithstanding, American opposition to Japan’s militaristic adventurism provided Tokyo with its principal stumbling block. This was brought home with startling clarity when in July 1939 Washington announced its intention to abrogate the two nations’ Treaty of Commerce and Navigation—a move that threatened to cut Japan off from vital American commodities, including especially scrap steel and petroleum. After a brief period in which it tried to accommodate American concerns, Japan in the summer of
1940 began eyeing the resource-rich colonial regions of Southeast Asia, which had been left defenseless by Germany’s war against their colonial masters in Europe. A necessary corollary of any drive into Southeast Asia, it eventually was agreed, was a military alliance with Germany and Italy. It also was agreed that the Japan–Germany–Italy *Tripartite Pact*—signed in September 1940—would have the added effect of providing Japan with leverage against the United States. The actual effect was just the opposite.

The United States regarded Great Britain’s survival in its war against Germany as essential to its own security, and it refused to countenance the possibility of Japan aiding Germany by threatening Britain’s Far Eastern possessions. Herein lay the origins of the so-called ABCD encirclement of Japan. The first concrete step toward ABCD encirclement came in late April 1941, when American, British, and Dutch officers confirmed the three nations’ collaboration in the event of war in the Pacific. They also agreed to incorporate China into their strategic planning.

More immediately, ABCD encirclement aimed at the economic strangulation of Japan. The administration of President Franklin D. *Roosevelt* in September 1940 retaliated to the Japanese occupation of northern Indochina by slapping a virtual embargo on aviation gasoline, high-grade iron, and steel scrap. The cabinet of Prime Minister *Fumimaro Konoe* turned instead to the Dutch East Indies. The subsequent negotiations with Dutch officials yielded no success and, in June 1941, Tokyo recalled its ambassador. Within weeks, Japanese troops occupied southern Indochina. The Roosevelt Administration froze all Japanese assets in the United States and a complete economic embargo on Japan ensued. The British and the Dutch soon followed suit and the economic ABCD encirclement was completed.

See also *PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.*

**ABE, NOBUYUKI (1875–1953).** Born in 1875, Nobuyuki Abe graduated from the Military Academy in 1897. In 1902, he was admitted to the army’s War College, a sure sign that he had been marked as one of the army’s best and brightest. His education at the War College interrupted by the *Russo-Japanese War,* Abe was not graduated until 1907. He was subsequently posted to Germany—the preferred posting for the army’s most promising junior officers—and, a few years
later, proceeded to Austria. He participated in the Siberian intervention following World War I, and was appointed vice army minister in 1928. Promoted to the rank of admiral in 1933, he was placed on the army’s reserve list soon after the February 26 Incident of 1936. He served as ambassador to China in from April to December 1940, and was governor general of Korea when Japan surrendered unconditionally to the Allied powers in August 1945.

Abe perhaps will be best remembered for his brief tenure as prime minister from August 1939 until January 1940. Coinciding neatly with Adolf Hitler’s invasion of Poland, which in turn plunged Europe into war, Abe proclaimed neutrality in the European conflict. He was confronted, however, by the steady worsening of Japan’s diplomatic relations with the United States. Just prior to the inauguration of Abe’s cabinet, Washington had responded to Japan’s ongoing war in China by announcing its intention to abrogate the U.S.-Japan Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, this would become effective in January 1940 unless Japan in the meantime could ameliorate U.S. policy. Working toward that end, Abe personally saw to it that Admiral Kichisaburō Nomura, who was widely trusted within the United States, was appointed foreign minister. But, Nomura’s appointment could not offset the obstructionism of the army, which was singularly unwilling to accommodate American demands regarding China, and Abe’s cabinet resigned days before the U.S.-Japan commerce treaty expired.

**ABSOLUTE SPHERE OF IMPERIAL DEFENSE (1943).** The wild military success that Japan achieved in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor came to an abrupt end with the Battle of Midway in June 1942. Suffering defeat after defeat on the battlefield, the Japanese government in September 1943 delineated its “absolute sphere of imperial defense,” which incorporated the Kurile Islands, the Bonin Islands, the inner South Pacific, western New Guinea, and Burma. Presumably, Japan would do everything within its power to ensure that it would not retreat from this position, although Chief of the Navy General Staff Admiral Osami Nagano raised a storm when, at the very time that the Absolute Sphere of Imperial Defense was established, he frankly admitted that he could not “assure the future of the war situation.”
Nagano’s terse assessment revealed Japan’s military and strategic bankruptcy some two years before it finally surrendered. Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu seized this pessimistic atmosphere to assert that diplomacy offered Japan its only hope. He outlined four points that he deemed crucial to Japan’s future. First, Japan must strengthen its cooperation with Germany. Second, peace must be maintained with the Soviet Union. Third, peace with China must be secured. Fourth, Japan must end its interference in the internal affairs of nations throughout East Asia, leaving to them actual control of their governments and economies.

Held to its own standards, the Japanese government failed in every respect. It proved utterly unable to prevent the United States (and its allies) from penetrating the absolute sphere of imperial defense, it did nothing to strengthen cooperation with Germany, it was unable to stop the Soviet Union from entering the war, it could not reach peace with China, and it did nothing to liberate the region from overt colonial controls. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

ACQUISITION AND CROSS-SERVICING AGREEMENT (ACSA). The Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA) between the United States and Japan was concluded in April 1996 and became effective the following October. In the event the Japanese Self-Defense Force (JSDF) asks the United States or U.S. military forces ask Japan to provide either goods or services, either would be obligated to accede to the other side’s request for goods or services. In July 2004, this agreement was revised to encompass aiding each other in the event of a military attack, promoting the efforts of the international community to contribute to international peace and security, providing relief for large-scale natural disasters, and other purposes. The revised agreement also allowed both countries to provide each other with ammunition in emergency contingencies in areas surrounding Japan. In predictable military attacks, when the JSDF provide the U.S. forces with goods and services, the revised ACSA makes it possible for the JSDF to use arms for self-defense. The revised ACSA also allows an overseas JSDF mission to exchange goods and services with U.S. forces that are also abroad. In regard to the JSDF dispatch to Iraq in 2004, the Japanese government decided to apply the revised ACSA, a first for an overseas JSDF mission. See also DEFENSE.
At the Japan–U.S. summit held in November 1969, an agreement was reached that the Japanese and U.S. governments would enter formal negotiations to achieve early restitution of the Ryukyu Islands and Daito Islands to Japan. They signed an agreement restituting these islands to Japan on 17 June 1971 and it became effective two months after the signing. Washington and Tokyo exchanged instruments of ratification in March and May 1972, and Okinawa was officially restituted to Japan. The United States abandoned all the rights over the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands based on the stipulation in Article Three of the San Francisco Peace Treaty concluded on 8 September 1951. Japan took over the territories of all these islands and all the rights.

When Okinawa was restituted, in accordance with Article Seven of this agreement, the Japanese government paid a total amount of $320 million to the U.S. government as a special expenditure. As for the Senkaku Islands (the Diaoyu Islands), which have been the cause of a territorial dispute between China and Japan, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs takes the official view that the Senkaku Islands were included in the region that the United States returned, in accordance with this agreement on Okinawa.

The Agreement on Restoration of Japanese Assets in the United States was concluded in 1955 between Japan and the United States stipulating that the United States would restore Japanese assets in the United States that were frozen during the Pacific War. Those Japanese private corporations that had private assets abroad gathered together to establish a group requesting restoration of Japanese assets in the United States, and this group consistently lobbied U.S. Congress. Insisting that “private assets have nothing to do with conflicts between two nations,” they vehemently requested that the U.S. government restore their private assets. They also argued that because Japanese trade firms’ assets in the United States were the result of peaceful investment for many years, restoration of these assets would promote Japan–U.S. friendship. There was a precedent in that Italian assets in the United States were
restored based on a special agreement after concluding a peace treaty with Italy. Acting on this precedent as well as consistent effort of the Japanese corporations, the U.S. government agreed to this request. See also WORLD WAR II.

**AINU.** Historically, the Ainu are the indigenous peoples of northern Japan. After the Shakushain Uprising of 1669 against the Japanese, the Ainu came under control of the **Tokugawa shogunate** and have lived primarily on the island of Hokkaido (known as Ezo during the **Tokugawa Era**). Generally considered to be hunters, fishers, and gatherers, recent evidence demonstrates that the Ainu have also been agriculturalists throughout most of their history. In 1869, the new Meiji government established the Hokkaido Colonization Bureau, or **Kaitakushi**, to promote economic development in Hokkaido and assimilate the Ainu into the modernizing world. **Horace Capron**, former commissioner of agriculture of the United States, was a key member of the Hokkaido Colonization Bureau from 1872 to 1875. Because of increased contact with Japanese and Russians in the first half of the 19th century, the loss of control over traditional hunting and fishing areas, and then the assimilation policies of the Meiji government after 1868—partially based on policies of the American Bureau of Indian Affairs—the Ainu succumbed to poverty and disease. Similar to American Indians, there are few full-blooded Ainu still living. See also **CLARK, WILLIAM SMITH**.

**AIR TRANSPORT AGREEMENT OF 1969.** The United States and Japan concluded the Air Transport Agreement of 1969 in Tokyo on 12 November 1969, based on Article 12 of the **San Francisco Peace Treaty**. This was Japan’s first ever private air transport agreement. It established air routes and provided the United States and Japan with bilateral rights to operate airline businesses and make regular landings at airports in each country.

**AIZU COLONY.** See **WAKAMATSU COLONY**.

**AIZU DOMAIN (FUKUSHIMA PREFECTURE).** Widely regarded and feared as a warrior region, Aizu was a domain in northern Japan during the **Tokugawa Era** (1600–1868). The headquarters and castle
town of Aizu was **Wakamatsu**, now the city of Aizu-Wakamatsu. The lord of Aizu, Katamori Matsudaira, and his samurai warriors were the last major supporters of the Tokugawa shogun, fighting the bloody **Boshin War** against the imperial forces from **Satsuma** and **Choshu domains** until surrendering in the fall of 1868. A few people from Aizu migrated to **California** in 1869 and 1870 in an attempt to start a tea and silk colony. The Aizu region was incorporated as Wakamatsu Prefecture in 1871, and integrated into Fukushima Prefecture five years later. See also **WAKAMATSU COLONY**.

**AKIYAMA, SANEYUKI (1868-1918).** A disciple of the celebrated naval theorist **Alfred Thayer Mahan**, Saneyuki Akiyama emerged in the early 1900s as an extraordinarily influential naval tactician and doctrinaire. He graduated top of his 1890 Naval Academy class. He participated in the **Sino-Japanese War** of 1894–1895, after which he left for an extended period of study in the United States. Unable to enroll in the Naval War College at Newport—where, because planning for war against Japan had begun, officers from that nation were no longer welcome—Akiyama approached Mahan directly. Mahan provided Akiyama with a list of works in naval history, which the young Japanese officer read voraciously. He also sought and received permission to serve as a foreign observer aboard an American vessel during the **Spanish-American War** of 1898.

In 1902, Akiyama was appointed instructor on tactics and strategy at Japan’s own Naval War College, where he instituted a systematic study of naval warfare. Impressed by the U.S. Navy’s meticulous planning processes, he insisted on a rational and scientific approach to any planning for naval operations. Most significantly, he adopted what was standard practice in the U.S. Navy: war-gaming, where exercises were conducted on large tables with models and markers to simulate real combat conditions.

During the **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904–1905, Akiyama was assigned as staff officer with Commander-in-Chief Heihachirō Tōgō’s Combined Fleet. Soon after the war, he devoted his energies to the navy’s most pressing issue: the designation of the United States as hypothetical enemy number one. Once World War I broke out, however, he split with the majority of his naval colleagues to stress the centrality of China to Japan’s future. In a further deviation from the thinking
of the majority of his naval colleagues, Akiyama saw no threat in America’s wartime plans to build a navy “second to none.” Arguing that the immense American naval buildup was a response to European issues rather than any sensed need to coerce Japan, Akiyama placed much more emphasis on the potential for a Japanese–American clash over China.

**AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.** The America First Committee was one of the more notable examples of isolationism in pre–Pearl Harbor America. Established in late 1940, it fought a losing battle against the internationalism of United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Following the stunning success, which the German armies achieved in subjugating Western Europe in the summer of 1940, Roosevelt began to regard a total German victory over Europe as a direct threat to the United States. By entering into a military alliance with Germany, Japan in September 1940 willingly identified itself as part of this threat, particularly as it related to the colonial regions of Southeast Asia.

Roosevelt’s response was elaborate in design. Germany’s defeat was accorded the highest priority, for which purpose the United States should extend all possible material and moral aid to Germany’s opponents (most notably Great Britain). Japan would be confronted with a two-pronged approach of, on the one hand, opposition to its hegemonic aspirations, and on the other, the possibility of improved relations with the United States, should it first dissociate itself from Adolf Hitler’s brand of militaristic aggression. In particular, the Roosevelt administration sought to ensure that Japan did not militarily threaten British colonial possessions in the Far East. Having reached these fundamental assumptions, Roosevelt had significant segments of public opinion both with him and against him.

Of the voices arrayed against him, the most effective was the America First Committee. The brainchild of R. Douglas Stuart, a student of Yale Law School, its inaugural press release of 4 September 1940 enunciated four basic principles. First, it stressed that the United States must build an impregnable defense for itself. Second, it maintained that no foreign power—nor group of powers—could successfully attack a prepared America. Third, it emphasized that
American democracy could be preserved only by keeping out of the war. Fourth, it argued that aid “short of war”—as the Roosevelt administration was extending to Great Britain—not only weakened the national defense but also threatened to involve America in war abroad.

Over the following months, the American First Committee organized itself into local chapters. By the end of February 1941, it had some 650 embryonic chapters, and had distributed some 1.5 million leaflets, 750,000 buttons, and 500,000 bumper stickers. It was going strong up to the afternoon of the Pearl Harbor attack.

**AMERICA-JAPAN SOCIETY, INC.** The America–Japan Society (AJS) was founded in Tokyo on 13 April 1917. Kentaro Kaneko, the first Japanese person to graduate from Harvard University and author of the Meiji Constitution, became the AJS’s first president. The AJS is one of the oldest non-government, non-profit organizations in Japan. Its primary purpose is to promote mutual understanding between the United States and Japan through educational, cultural, economic, social, and public affairs programs, and to provide a forum to discuss issues concerning U.S.–Japan relations. The AJS also serves as the headquarters of the National Association of America–Japan Societies, which consists of 29 societies across Japan (as of October 2005). Moreover, the AJS has been active in promoting close relationships with Japan–America Societies in the United States. See also JAPAN AMERICA SOCIETY.

**AMERICAN CIVIL WAR (1861–1865).** After decades of contention and compromise over issues related to the slavery of Africans in the United States, many Southern slaveholding states seceded from the Union upon the election of Abraham Lincoln in November 1860. War began in South Carolina in April 1861 and continued until April 1865. More than 600,000 soldiers and civilians on both sides were killed during the conflict, making the Civil War the deadliest war in American history. President Lincoln was assassinated by a Southern sympathizer on 15 April 1865. See also GRANT, ULYSSES S.

**AMÖ DOCTRINE.** On 17 April 1934, the chief of the Japanese Foreign Ministry’s Information Division Amō Eiji issued a provocative
public statement subsequently dubbed the Amō Doctrine. Seeking to define Japan’s role as the sole guarantor of peace in East Asia, he declared that Japan would oppose any joint action by European nations and the United States on behalf of China, even if it took the form of financial and technical assistance. “We oppose, therefore,” he warned, “any attempt on the part of China to avail herself of the influence of any other country to resist Japan.” In addition, Japan would oppose any action by an individual nation that would disturb the peace and order of East Asia.

It is clear that Amō issued this statement without the authorization of his Foreign Ministry superiors. To be sure, he was merely paraphrasing an earlier instruction issued by Foreign Minister Kōki Hirota, in which Hirota had referred to Japan’s “mission” in East Asia and its determination to maintain peace and order in that part of the world “on its own responsibility, acting alone.” If anything, Hirota’s wording was stronger than that of Amō, yet the foreign minister had expressed himself behind closed doors. In any case, Hirota knew nothing of the statement until it was printed in the newspapers on 18 April. He subsequently sought to reassure Washington that Japan had no intention of injuring that nation’s rights and interests in East Asia.

Coming on the heels of Japan’s invasion of Manchuria and its subsequent withdrawal from the League of Nations, the Amō doctrine might have been expected to arouse American officialdom. The ideas it expressed were clearly inimical to American interests in China. At the same time (if the policy debates within the State Department offer an accurate yardstick), nor was the U.S. government willing to antagonize Japan. The result was a somewhat oblique message delivered to the Japanese government on April 29. It contained reference to the Nine-Power Treaty (which was signed at the Washington Conference and confirmed the independence and integrity of China as well as the Open Door), together with a restatement of respect for the “rights, the obligations, and the legitimate interests” of others and the expectation of similar respect in return. There was also mention of the so-called “good neighbor policy,” which is perhaps best defined as non-interventionism in China and a multilateral sharing of regional defense responsibilities.

In light of this, it seems fair to assume that the Amō doctrine exercised an ambiguous effect over Japanese–American relations. Cer-
tainly, a Japanese official had drawn a clearly defined line in the sand—a line that the United States government was unlikely to accept. Yet the subsequent efforts of Foreign Minister Hirota, as well as the measured response of the United States government, suggests (if nothing else) that a Japanese–American clash in 1933 was by no means inevitable.

ANAMI, KORECHIKA (1887–1945). Korechika Anami entered the Military Academy in December 1904. His foreign experience was limited to a two-year stint along the Mongolian–Soviet border from 1923, and a seven-month stint in France from August 1927. Having been promoted to lieutenant general in 1938, he was appointed vice war minister in 1939. In this position, he played a leading role in the dispatch of Colonel Hideo Iwakuro to the United States for the purpose of the 1941 Japanese–American negotiations. Anami was appointed war minister in April 1945. Along with Chief of the Army General Staff General Yoshijirō Umezu and Chief of the Naval General Staff Soemu Toyoda, he refused to concede defeat in World War II. Anami’s arguments essentially boiled down to two interlinked premises. First, the Japanese home islands remained secure under the protection of the army. Second, the army could deal a decisive blow to any invading forces, thereby affording Japan a card with which to bargain at the end-of-war negotiating table. His opposition to surrender in no way subsided after the atomic bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, and it was only the emperor’s decision in the aftermath of the bombs that forced him to back down. Anami almost immediately tendered his resignation as a cabinet minister and committed suicide by seppuku (also called hari-kiri).

ANGLO–JAPANESE ALLIANCE. This treaty between Great Britain and Japan was concluded in 1902, renewed in 1905, again in 1911, and was terminated on 17 August 1923. It provided the mainstay of Japan’s foreign and military policies during the course of its existence, and (at least initially) served to strengthen Britain’s hand in the Far East. The alliance was originally concluded as a bulwark against Russian expansion into the region. Most significant from the Japanese point of view, the alliance specifically recognized that Japan was “interested to a peculiar degree in Korea.” By this term, Britain helped to
seal Korea’s fate as a Japanese colony. At the same time, the alliance ensured that, in the event of war with Russia, Japan could rely on benevolent neutrality on the part of Britain and on active British participation should a fourth power enter the war on Russia’s side.

In August 1905, the terms were revised and broadened so as to provide for the defense of British interests in India and a more precise recognition of Japan’s hegemony in Korea, and its term was extended to 10 years. The advantages for Britain, which, from 1905 onward, withdrew its battleships from the Far East so as to meet the emerging threat of Germany, were obvious. Fresh from its victory over Russia, Japan, too, regarded the renewed alliance a triumph. Not only would the alliance secure Japan against diplomatic isolation, but it also oversaw the rise of Japan to a position as the dominant naval power in the Far East.

The third Anglo–Japanese agreement of 13 July 1911 was a considerably weaker treaty than those that preceded it. Britain was increasingly anxious to cement its deepening ties with the United States, and was well aware that that nation had become vaguely suspicious of Japan. The terms of the alliance thus excluded the United States from its purview, which meant that Britain would not militarily aid its ally in the event of a Japanese–American war. The growing weakness of the alliance was clearly evidenced after the outbreak of World War I. At a time when British attentions were entirely focused on the defeat of Germany, Japan pursued policy objectives in China that were clearly to the detriment of British interests.

It was hardly surprising that negotiations for drawing up revised terms of the alliance, which was liable to lapse in 1921, never eventuated. Instead, at the Washington Conference of 1921–1922, a Four-Power Convention was signed between the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France. Far short of a military alliance, it committed the contracting parties to nothing more than consultations in the event of difficulties. With the exchange of ratifications on 17 August 1923, the Anglo–Japanese Alliance came to an end.

**ANSEI TREATIES.** Beginning with the U.S.–Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce finalized by Townsend Harris and Naosuke Ii in July 1858, the Ansei Treaties include similar treaties agreed to between Japan and Holland, Britain, France, and Russia by October
1858. Provisions of these treaties included opening several Japanese ports to foreign trade and foreign residents, establishment of diplomatic legations, tariffs, and extraterritorial rights for foreigners in Japan. The Tokugawa shogunate reluctantly agreed to these treaties without imperial approval, provoking a political crisis in Japan that was not resolved until the overthrow of the Tokugawa government in 1868. As Japan was negotiating from a position of weakness, these treaties are often called “the unequal treaties.” See also MEIJI RESTORATION.

ANTI-COMINTERN PACT (1936). Germany and Japan concluded the Anti-Comintern Pact on 25 November 1936, and Italy joined the pact some 12 months later. By the terms of the pact, the contracting parties were obligated to inform each other about the activities of the Communist International (or Comintern) and to consult with each other so as to coordinate their preventive policies against it. It also included an additional secret agreement that provided for a limited alliance between Germany and Japan against the Soviet Union.

Through an intermediary, German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop in May or June 1935 suggested to the military attaché in Berlin, Colonel (later General) Hiroshi Ōshima, the possibility of a defensive alliance between Germany and Japan against the Soviet Union. He again raised the topic some 12 months later. The Army General Staff in Tokyo subsequently dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Tadaichi Wakamatsu to Berlin, and the Anti-Comintern Pact emerged from the ensuing negotiations. It is worth noting that neither the Japanese Foreign Ministry nor the German Foreign Office knew anything of these negotiations.

Because the Anti-Comintern Pact specifically targeted the Soviet Union, Japanese diplomats invited other nations—most notably Great Britain—to adhere to its terms. The American reaction to the pact, however, was resoundingly negative. Secretary of State Cordell Hull’s principal Far Eastern adviser, Stanley Hornbeck, suggested that “if Japan continued to pursue the course and to apply the methods to which her armed forces were more and more committing her, there would come sooner or later a collision, ‘war,’ between that country and the United States.” To be sure, Hornbeck was more forthright than were most other American policymakers. Nonetheless, the
nation’s war planners at about the same time began planning for a possible war against both Germany and Japan.

ANTI-TERRORISM SPECIAL MEASURES LAW. This law was enacted on 29 October 2001, promulgated and became effective on 2 November 2001. In relation to the series of terrorist attacks that took place in New York and Washington, D.C., on 11 September 2001, this law stipulates the ways in which Japan assists the United States and other foreign countries for their sanctions against Afghanistan. It is a law as temporary legislation with a two-year term limit. This law consists of 13 articles and a supplementary provision. The law was groundbreaking because it enabled the Japanese government to dispatch the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) abroad during wartime.

Japan’s logistical support included mid-ocean refueling of U.S. navy ships and those of other foreign countries in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea by supply vessels of the Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF), assisting transportation of materials and soldiers between military bases including U.S. bases in Japan by the Air Self-Defense Force, and search and rescue activities. In November 2001, Tokyo dispatched Maritime Self-Defense Force to the Indian Ocean. In October 2003, this law was extended for two years; in October 2005, the law was extended again for one more year. See also DEFENSE.

ARITA–GREW CONVERSATIONS. From 10 June 1940, Foreign Minister Hachirō Arita and Ambassador Joseph C. Grew entered conversations with an eye to effecting a Japanese–American diplomatic rapprochement. The American objective in these talks was colored by the success that the German armies achieved in Europe. Through Grew, the United States State Department hoped to prevent both a Japanese–German alliance and a Japanese advance into the defenseless colonial regions of Southeast Asia. For his part, Arita hoped to revive the two countries’ treaty of commerce and navigation, which Washington had abrogated six months earlier in response to Japanese aggression in China. It became readily evident throughout the course of the conversations that the United States would not consider such a step until Japan first renounced the use of force. The conversations broke down in July 1940, and soon thereafter the cabinet of Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai collapsed. Its successor cabinet, which included
Yōsuke Matsuoka as foreign minister, showed more enthusiasm for a German alliance than for rapprochement with the United States. The Arita–Grew conversations thus ended without yielding any tangible results. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

ARITA, HACHIRÔ (1884–1965). A graduate of Tokyo Imperial University’s law school, Arita entered the Foreign Ministry in 1909. After serving in China, Ottawa, and Honolulu, in 1918, Arita joined the Japanese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. In the early post–World War I period, Arita assumed diplomatic posts in Thailand, Washington, and Peking, before being appointed head of the Foreign Ministry’s Asia Bureau in 1927. From this position, Arita led a powerful group within the ministry known as the Asia Faction. It included within its ranks such influential officials as Mamoru Shigemitsu, Masayuki Tani, and Toshio Shiratori. In October 1930, Arita was appointed minister to Austria and thus was out of the country when the Manchurian Incident occurred. He returned to Tokyo in May 1932 as vice foreign minister, only to resign the post 12 months later. He was appointed ambassador to Belgium in November 1933. At this time, he summarized his worldview in a letter to Shiratori: “We should proceed at once to drive Communist Russia out of China and then gradually exclude Britain, the United States, and other nations.” In other words, Arita firmly believed that Japan was to be the sole arbiter of China’s fate.

He was appointed ambassador to China in February 1936, although following the February 26 Incident, he assumed the foreign ministership in the cabinet of Kōki Hirota (April 1936–February 1937). In this position, he strived to strengthen Japan’s political and economic control over China, with varying degrees of success. He subsequently served as foreign minister in the first Fumimaro Kōnoe cabinet (October 1938–January 1939), the Kiichiro Hiranuma cabinet (January 1939–August 1939), and the Mitsumasa Yonai cabinet (January 1940–July 1940). His record as foreign minister is ambiguous. On the one hand, he firmly opposed strengthening the existing Anti-Comintern Pact to make of it a full-fledged military alliance aimed at the United States and Great Britain. On the other hand, he put Washington on notice that Tokyo would brook no interference in its efforts to establish political hegemony over China.
ARTICLE NINE. The present Japanese constitution is an amendment to the Constitution of the Empire of Japan. It was promulgated on 3 November 1946 and went into effect on 3 May 1947. Article Nine of the Japanese constitution expressly stipulates pacifism, one of the three principles of the constitution. Article Nine alone forms Chapter Two of the constitution. Article Nine consists of three major elements: renunciation of war, no possession of military forces, and denial of the right of belligerency. The Japanese constitution is called a “peace constitution” because of the existence of the preamble to the constitution and Article Nine.

Article Nine states, in part: “Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

“In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, 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.”

There are four major interpretations of Article Nine.

1. Japan renounces any act of war or the possession of military forces, including the right of self-defense.
2. Japan renounces any act of war or the possession of military forces for that purpose; however, Japan does not renounce its sovereign right of self-defense.
3. Both acts of war and military forces are permitted within the limits of self-defense.
4. Japan has the right to individual self-defense, but collective self-defense is unconstitutional.

The Japanese government’s official interpretation of Article Nine has been changing. At first, the government took the view that the constitution prohibited any military forces and even war for self-defense. However, as the Korean War precipitated Japanese remilitarization, the government took the stand that the constitution prohibited only aggressive war, excluding war for self-defense. Moreover, the Japan Self-Defense Forces constituted minimum “forces” not the “military forces” prohibited by the constitution. As for the right of collective defense approved by the United Nations, the Japanese government officially argues that Japan has this right but Japan shall not exercise it. See also JAPANESE CONSTITUTION.
Asian Currency Crisis. In July 1997, a currency crisis in Thailand precipitated an Asian currency crisis centered on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). In August 1997, Japan took the initiative in advocating a proposal to establish an Asian Monetary Fund (AMF). In the postwar era, Japan had been dependent on the United States in terms of economic, security, and diplomatic relations. Tokyo regarded the Asian currency crisis as an opportunity to acquire relative autonomy from the United States and emphasized its belongingness to Asia. Unfortunately, this AMF proposal was aborted primarily because of strong U.S. objections and China’s indifference. Then, Japan made announcements of cooperation loan plans with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank. In October 1998, Japan issued an active proposal to provide Asia with $30 billion and in December the same year, another plan to prepare $600 billion in total for the next three years as special yen credits.

Atlantic Conference. In August 1941, United States President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met secretly for a conference at Argentia, Newfoundland. Upon the conference’s conclusion, the two leaders officially proclaimed their wartime political objectives—even though the United States had not formally entered World War II—by means of the much-publicized Atlantic Charter. Notable among its objectives were the Anglo–American leaders’ eschewal of “aggrandizement, territorial or other”; their desire “to see no territorial changes that [did] not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned”; and their respect for “the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live.”

The meeting’s more immediate effect was to confirm and strengthen the Anglo–American de facto alliance that had emerged in opposition to the German–Japanese–Italian Tripartite Pact. Nowhere was this more evident than in the two leaders’ discussions on policy toward Japan. Churchill urged upon Roosevelt a joint declaration that “any further encroachment by Japan in the Southwest Pacific” would produce a situation in which Britain and the United States “would be compelled to take countermeasures even though these might lead to war” between Japan and the two nations. In spite of his opposition to Japanese aggression, Roosevelt was less convinced of an ultimatum’s utility.
Over the previous 12 months, his administration had adopted ever-hardening policies toward Japan’s hegemonic aspirations in the Far East, yet it had always sought to leave that nation something other than a stark choice between war and peace. Roosevelt saw no pressing need to abandon that policy at Churchill’s behest. He proposed instead to revive a proposal he had floated in an earlier conversation with the Japanese ambassador, whereby if Japanese troops withdrew from French Indochina, Washington would seek to settle remaining issues with Japan. Only if and when the Japanese failed to respond to this proposal and instead undertook further aggression, would Roosevelt respond with measures that “might result in war between the United States and Japan.” This might not have been as firm as Churchill had hoped, but Roosevelt had committed the United States to an ever-stiffening program of deterrence of Japanese expansion in the Far East.

After returning to Washington, Roosevelt further watered down his statement. In a meeting with the Japanese ambassador Admiral Kichisaburō Nomura on 17 August, Roosevelt stated that if Japan undertook any further aggression Washington would take the steps necessary to safeguard the rights and interests of the United States. He also informed the ambassador that he was willing to see a resumption of negotiations between the two countries (which had broken down after Japanese troops had occupied southern Indochina in July).

**ATOMIC BOMB ATTACKS (AUGUST 1945).** After the research and development of uranium and plutonium-based atomic weapons in a top-secret program known as the Manhattan Project, United States political and military decision-makers approved two atomic bomb attacks. The first atomic bomb attack was on the city of Hiroshima on 6 August 1945; the second, three days later on the city of Nagasaki. The attack on Hiroshima killed approximately 200,000 people, while the attack on Nagasaki killed over 80,000 people. Both cities are port cities, and had some military-related installations. But over 90 percent of the dead and injured were civilians. Hours before the attack on Nagasaki, the Soviet Army began its invasion of Japanese-controlled Manchuria in northern China. On 15 August 1945, Emperor Hirohito made an announcement of surrender ending the war. See Also ATOMIC BOMBING DEBATE; PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.
ATOMIC BOMBING DEBATE. America’s atomic bomb attacks against Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 continue to spark heated historical controversy. The fundamental issue that has divided scholars is whether the use of atomic bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki was necessary to achieve victory in the war against Japan.

The traditional interpretation insists that the decision to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki was informed by an aversion to the huge losses in American lives that an invasion of the Japanese home islands entailed, and this was only heightened by the Battle of Okinawa. The revisionist interpretation argues that Japan in any event was near defeat and that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was informed less by military necessities than by an attempt to intimidate the Soviet Union.

A reading of those works that make extensive use of Japanese source materials reveals a different set of controversies. One line of argument put forth in the late 1990s takes direct issue with the revisionist argument that—with or without Hiroshima and Nagasaki—Japan was on the brink of defeat. This argument maintains that although defeat is a military fait accompli, surrender is an act of political decision-making. It concludes that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki made it possible for a hopelessly divided Japanese government to reach the political decision for surrender. A separate line of argument takes issue with this interpretation, concluding that the single most crucial issue in Japan’s decision to surrender was not the atomic attacks against Hiroshima and Nagasaki but the Soviet Union’s entry into the war. See also ATOMIC BOMB ATTACKS.

ATOMIC ENERGY BASIC LAW. This law promulgated on 19 December 1955 regulates the use of nuclear energy in Japan. The stated aim of the law is to promote the general welfare of Japanese citizens, improve the standard of living by securing future energy resources, advancing academic research, and promoting industrial development. Use of nuclear energy is strictly limited to peaceful purpose and is guided by three principles: self-determination, democracy, and openness. In order to ensure safe use of nuclear energy, the law stipulates that Japan should implement its own independent government policies for regulating nuclear energy under a process that is democratic and open to the public.
ATOMIC INDUSTRIAL FORUM. The Atomic Industrial Forum was established on 1 March 1956 as the only comprehensive nuclear energy forum in the private sector. As of April 2004, the forum has 80 staff members. Some of its main activities are comprehensive research into and development of nuclear energy, hosting information exchanges, gathering opinions to achieve and formulate consensus policy proposals, providing input into the governmental planning and promotion of nuclear energy development and usage policies, and promoting vigorous development of the national economy and social welfare. Forum activities are based on the importance of utilization of isotope and nuclear radiation as well as on Japan’s pledge to make peaceful use of nuclear energy. In 1960, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) authorized the forum to be a consultative body, the first private organization awarded this status. The forum sends delegates to meetings of non-governmental organizations and the IAEA general assembly. It maintains mutual cooperative and collaborative relationships with atomic industrial forums and nuclear energy-related institutions in many countries, such as the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, South Korea, Russia, and China. In addition, as a private-sector organization that has volunteered to promote relationships with developing countries, especially those in Asia, the forum established an International Cooperation Center in 1983 and an Asian Cooperation Center in 1999.

AZUMA. See STONEWALL, CSS.

BACON, ALICE MABEL (1858–1918). Raised in an anti-slavery family in Connecticut, Alice Mabel Bacon worked and taught at the Hampton Institute in Virginia, one of the first educational institutions specifically for African Americans and American Indians. She later founded Deephaven Camp in New Hampshire, a Christian and literary summer resort, where many of her students from Hampton Institute worked to pay for tuition. Her interest in Japan began when her family hosted Sutematsu Yamakawa, one of five Japanese girls brought to the United States by the Iwakura Mission in 1872, to live
and be educated in America. Along with Yamakawa, **Umeko Tsuda**, another of the five Japanese girls from the Iwakura Mission and later the most well-known proponent of education for Japanese women, became a close friend of Alice Mabel Bacon. Bacon traveled to Japan in the 1890s and early 1900s to write and teach. For two years, she taught daughters of the political nobility at the Peer’s School in Tokyo. Her books, especially *A Japanese Interior* (1893) and *Japanese Girls and Women* (1902), were widely read in both Japan and the United States. See also **YATOI**.

**BAKER, HOWARD HENRY, JR. (15 NOVEMBER 1925– ).**


On March 2003, the U.S. invasion of Iraq began. Ambassador Baker played an important role in encouraging the **Junichiro Koizumi** Cabinet to dispatch the SDF to Iraq. On 26 July 2003, Tokyo enacted the **Special legislation calling for assistance in the rebuilding of Iraq** by which the Japanese Self-Defense Forces were dispatched to Iraq. On 16 January 2004, Tokyo dispatched an advance party of the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force to Iraq.

Ambassador Baker also conducted negotiations to gain Tokyo’s acceptance of the importance of **Missile Defense (MD)**. In December 2003, Japan decided to adopt the MD system.

**BASEBALL.** Baseball is one of the four major professional sports in the United States along with American football, basketball, and ice hockey. In 1869, the Cincinnati Red Stockings was established as the first professional baseball team in the United States (later, Reds).
Baseball is also very popular in Japan. It is said that in 1871, H. Wilson, an American teacher in Japan, brought baseball to Japan for the first time. In 1935, the Tokyo Giants was established as the first professional baseball team, followed by the Osaka Tigers in the same year and five other teams in 1936.

In 1905, the Waseda University baseball team visited the United States as the first Japanese baseball team. In 1908, the University of Washington baseball team went to Japan as the first mainland American team to travel to Japan. In 1908, the Reach All-American team, the first American professional baseball team, stopped in Japan during their world tour. Although the team consisted mostly of Minor League (AAA) players, they won all 17 games against Japanese university and club teams. In 1913, the Chicago White Sox and New York Giants, the first Major League baseball teams to visit the country, came to Japan on their Around the World Tour. The teams played two exhibitions against each other and then played against Keio University. The American collaborative team made a landslide victory over Keio by a score of 16-3. In 1922, the Major League Baseball sent an All-Star team to Japan for the first time. Surprisingly, on 19 November, this team experienced the only Major League loss in 88 pre–World War II baseball games in Japan against the Mita Club, consisting of Keio University alumni. American teams visited Japan eight times before World War II. The San Francisco Seals, a Minor League team (AAA), came to Japan for the first time in the post–World War II era in 1949. In the postwar era, American teams visited Japan 28 times, constantly generating mutual love for baseball.

Many current and former major leaguers, as well as minor league players, have joined Japanese professional baseball teams. Nowadays, however, more and more Japanese players become major leaguers. The first Japanese major leaguer was Masanori Murakami, who joined the San Francisco Giants in 1964. Hideo Nomo became the second Japanese major leaguer in 1995. Now, some Japanese players are leading major league players such as Nomo, Ichiro Suzuki, Hideki Matsui, and Tadahito Iguchi.

**BATTLE OF MIDWAY (JUNE 1942).** Japanese forces met with wild success in the early stages of the Pacific War. Within weeks of Pearl Harbor, Japan had captured Guam and Wake Island. Then, in early
1942, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Singapore, Burma, the Dutch East Indies, and the Malayan peninsula fell into Japanese hands. Japanese forces seemed to advance almost at will.

Seen against this backdrop, the massive Japanese reverses in the Battle of Midway of 4–6 June 1942 represented a significant turning point in the war. Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto had long argued that seizure of the Midway Atoll—which lay only 1,300 miles north of Hawai‘i—would “immobilize the enemy fleet and simultaneously advance our strategic bases.” In aiming at the destruction of the American fleet, Yamamoto hoped to force Washington to the negotiating table. The chances of victory at Midway may have been slight, but in Yamamoto’s estimation, they represented Japan’s only chance of emerging victorious in war over its infinitely more powerful enemy. The gamble did not pay off. Admiral Chester Nimitz on 4 and 5 June 1942 caught the enemy aircraft refueling on their carriers. More than 300 Japanese planes were destroyed and four carriers were sunk. The heart of Japan’s carrier striking force had been destroyed, and with it had gone many of Japan’s best veteran pilots and naval crewmen.

In a word, the Battle of Midway decisively reversed Japan’s war fortunes. Its production capacity was such that it was not easily able to replace the ships and planes lost at Midway, which, in turn, meant that the navy was largely unable to launch any new offensives. In short, Midway put Japan on the defensive. This was a posture, which, given America’s superior industrial strength and resource base, Japanese leaders had sought desperately to avoid. So far as the American leadership was concerned, Midway bought them breathing space in the Pacific, which, in turn, allowed them to maintain their prioritization of the defeat of Germany. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

**BATTLE OF OKINAWA (APRIL–JUNE 1945).** The three-month Battle of Okinawa from 1 April to 21 June 1945 was one of the bloodiest battles in the Pacific theater of World War II. It was the last in a series of operations—including the capture of the Mariana Islands (9 July 1944), the battle of Leyte Gulf (October 1944), the invasion of Luzon (commenced January 1945), and the battle of Iwo Jima (February–March 1945)—preliminary to the assault on the Japanese home islands. Well aware of that fact, the Japanese were
prepared to defend the island. Allied invading forces first had to contend with hundreds of kamikaze pilots, who destroyed or disabled 28 ships and killed some 5,000 sailors. The Allies coped with the kamikaze, and also sank the enormous battleship Yamato, along with 3,000 of its crew in the largest single loss of life in naval history.

Initially, the ground invasion proved relatively easy. This was because the defending forces, numbering some 100,000 soldiers, chose not to defend Okinawa’s beaches or its relatively flat central and northern portions. Instead, they established defensive positions in the mountainous southern portion of the island. The fighting that ensued was slow and bloody. Japanese troops killed 10,000 Americans in two army and two marine divisions, and wounded 30,000 more. Virtually all Japanese soldiers involved in the defense of Okinawa perished, as did 100,000 Okinawans. There can be no doubt that the brutality of this battle left American forces and planners with a grim foreboding concerning the shape that any invasion of the home islands might take. For their part, the Japanese leadership was now confronted by the imminence of the invasion of the home islands. To punctuate this point, the Soviet Union on 5 April had announced its intention not to renew the two nations’ neutrality treaty. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

BIDDLE, COMMODORE JAMES (1783–1848). Sent on a mission to East Asia by the United States government, Commodore James Biddle arrived in Edo Bay in 1846 with two U.S. Navy ships, the Columbus and the Vincennes, to inquire about establishing diplomatic and trade relations with the Japanese government. Although deliberately bumped by a Japanese sailor, Biddle and his crew were well-treated by the Tokugawa shogunate. However, Japanese officials politely and firmly refused Biddle’s request to establish diplomatic and trade relations. Biddle and his ships continued on to China for the second phase of his mission, where he successfully negotiated a trade treaty between China and the U.S. government. Seven years after Biddle’s unsuccessful attempt in Japan, Washington sent Commodore Matthew Perry with four large warships and several times more sailors to convince Japan to begin trade and diplomatic relations with the United States. Commodore James Biddle was the brother of Nicholas Biddle, government official and financier who
served as president of the Bank of the United States in the late 1820s and 1830s. See also ROBERTS, EDMUND.

**BILATERAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGREEMENT BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES.** The Japan–U.S. Atomic Energy Agreement was Japan’s first international agreement concerning nuclear energy. Under the agreement, which took effect in December 1955, the U.S. provided Japan with atomic power reactors for the first time in the country’s history. Two research reactors (the JRR-I and JRR-II) were delivered and placed under the control of the Japan Atomic Energy Research Institute. Also, the U.S. supplied enriched uranium to be used as fuel for the reactors, but with the stipulation that spent fuel had to be returned to the U.S. government, which in principle prevented Japan from engaging in fuel reprocessing.

In 1958, the Japan–U.S. Atomic Energy Agreement was revised to allow Japan to undertake fuel reprocessing at atomic energy facilities at the discretion of the U.S. government. In February 1968, the agreement was revised again to allow Japan the freedom to engage in fuel reprocessing under safeguard agreements that were jointly decided by the U.S. and Japan governments. A 1973 modification to the agreement substantially raised the ceiling on the amount of enriched uranium the U.S. would deliver to Japan. The agreement was last updated in July 1988 to allow the introduction of a comprehensive consent method: The United States and Japan stipulate certain conditions and as long as these conditions are met, pre-consent rights in reprocessing and regulation rights of the provider government with respect to nuclear materials can be approved en mass. Consequently, Japan can undertake stable operations of the nuclear fuel-cycle plan with a long-term perspective.

**BINGHAM, JOHN A. (1815–1900).** Bingham was elected as a United States Congressman from Ohio from 1855 to 1863 and 1865 to 1873, and played a leading role in the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson. In 1873, President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Bingham as minister to Japan, where he served for nearly 12 years until 1895, an unusually long time. During his years in Japan, Bingham dealt with treaty, trade, and Japanese immigration issues.
BLACK SHIPS (IN JAPANESE, KUROFUNE). A widely used Japanese term describing the four ships commanded by U.S. Navy Commodore Matthew Perry when he first arrived in Japan in July 1853. Two of the four ships, the Mississippi and the Susquehanna, were steam frigates and produced black smoke, while all four ships had darkened hulls. As these ships were much larger and potentially more dangerous than any previous vessels in Japanese waters, “black ships” was both a literal reference to color and a symbolic reference to death. See also TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE.

BONIN ISLANDS. See OGASAWARA ISLANDS.

BORAH, WILLIAM (1865–1940). Senator William E. Borah of Idaho was elected to the Senate in 1907, where he served until his death in February 1940. A powerful orator, he first took interest in foreign affairs in the aftermath of World War I, emerging as a die-hard isolationist who bitterly opposed American entry into the League of Nations. The “Idaho lion,” as he was known, firmly believed that the United States must avoid foreign entanglements. He was also convinced that the United States ought to set a moral example to the world.

Borah was an unpredictable character. For instance, in 1921, he introduced to Congress a resolution urging disarmament upon his own country and the other powers (most notably Britain and Japan). Having set the stage for the Washington Conference of 1921–1922, he subsequently denounced that conference for having gone beyond the issue of naval arms limitation, to include Far Eastern political issues.

Appointed chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1924, Borah championed the cause of isolationism. In 1927, he nonetheless came out in support of the Kellogg–Briand Pact, which attempted to outlaw war. Borah once remarked that it was “the only kind of a treaty the United States could sign” with the rest of the world.

Borah did not, however, abandon his isolationist instincts. In 1934, he insisted that America would not be isolated economically, “but in all matters political, in all commitments of any nature or kind . . . we have been free, we have been independent, we have been isolationist.” Along with Senator Key Pittman in 1935, Borah authored a bill re-
quiring the president, in the event of a foreign war, to forbid arms shipments to both belligerents without distinction for attacker and attacked. He belittled arguments for an accelerated naval buildup so as to counter the growing Japanese threat, arguing in 1938 that “however much we may disapprove of what is going on in the Orient, there is, to my mind, no probability of Japan attacking the United States.” Borah remained isolationist to the bitter end. He died in February 1940.

**BOSHIN WAR.** Lasting from early 1868 to mid-1869, the Boshin War was a civil war fought between the primarily northern domains that supported the *Tokugawa shogunate* and the *Satsuma* and *Choshu*-led domains fighting to unify Japan under a new imperial government led by *Emperor Meiji*. The last *Tokugawa shogun* ceded power to the emperor in late 1867, but many supporters of the *Tokugawa* government, led by *Aizu domain*, regarded the establishment of the new Meiji imperial government as a coup d’etat by the Satsuma and Choshu domains. Though initially outnumbered by their opponents, the “imperial forces” of Satsuma and Choshu and their allies defeated the steadfast Tokugawa supporters with improved military tactics and Western firearms, especially Armstrong cannons, mostly obtained from European and American merchants. See also MEIJI RESTORATION; TOKUGAWA, YOSHINOBU.

**BOXER UPRISING.** The Boxer Uprising erupted in 1900. A massive uprising against the foreign and Christian presence in China, the Boxers first targeted foreign missionaries and their Chinese converts in Shantung province, but their aims soon broadened to include the elimination from China of all foreign influence. Attacking foreign rails and property along the way, the Boxers advanced against the imperial capital of Peking and laid siege to the legation quarter. The outside world’s contacts with the legation quarter were cut, and it was feared for some weeks that all foreign diplomats and foreign residents may have perished.

The Boxers convinced themselves that they had magic powers that made them invulnerable. They were soon disabused of this notion. The foreign powers dispatched troops—including 13,000 Japanese troops, 8,100 Russian troops, 5,800 British troops, 4,000 American troops, and 2,100 French troops—who possessed overwhelming military force.
Order was soon restored, and the Chinese government agreed to the payment of an indemnity for foreign lives lost and properties destroyed. It also agreed to punish those responsible for the attacks on foreigners and to permit the foreign powers to police the railroad line connecting Peking with the coast near Tientsin.

So far as the United States government was concerned, a far more intractable problem rested with the possibility that the uprising might provide such nations as Japan, Russia, Britain, and France with a pretext for partitioning China into so-called spheres of influence. Although this process had been going on for some time already—Washington had put itself on record as opposing the partition of China in the first of its Open Door notes in 1899—the presence of foreign troops on Chinese soil greatly increased the likelihood of swollen imperial ambitions. In order to ward off this possibility, Secretary of State John Hay issued the second of his Open Door notes, which specifically and unequivocally expressed U.S. respect for China’s “territorial and administrative integrity.” Diplomatic notes, however, held little water in the face of Russian determination to remain in Manchuria. There can be little doubt that, in the minds of Washington’s policymakers, Russia’s opportunistic expansionism compared unfavorably with Japan’s seeming compliance with the Open Door policy. This proved invaluable to Japan once the Russo-Japanese War broke out, for United States President Theodore Roosevelt proved a ready and reliable friend for Japan.

BROOKS, CHARLES WOLCOTT (1833–1885). American owner of a trading company in San Francisco having business interests in California, the Kingdom of Hawaii, China, and Japan. In addition to operating his trading business during Gold Rush era San Francisco, in 1858, Brooks was appointed by the Tokugawa shogunate as its commercial agent and consul general for Japan in the United States, a position he continued to serve until 1873 under the new Meiji government. Brooks arranged commercial transactions for Japan, looked after castaway Japanese sailors brought to San Francisco, and made arrangements for both the Shogun’s Embassy of 1860 and the Iwakura Mission of 1871–1873. In 1876, Brooks published an informative work on Japanese castaway sailors, titled Japanese Wrecks Stranded and Picked Up Adrift in the North Pacific Ocean.
BROTHERHOOD OF THE NEW LIFE. A Christian utopian community founded by Thomas Lake Harris in 1860 in New York and lasting until his death in 1906. Several Japanese samurai students in England in the mid-1860s were influenced by Laurence Oliphant, a British diplomat, to travel to the United States and join the Brotherhood of the New Life. Among the young Japanese who joined were Arinori Mori, Kiyonari Yoshida, Kanaye Nagasawa, and Junzo Matsumura. In 1875, Harris moved the Brotherhood of the New Life to Fountaingrove, near Santa Rosa, California. By then, only two Japanese remained as devoted members of this utopian community. See also CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.

BROWN, SAMUEL ROBBINS (1810–1880). Christian missionary and educator. After missionary and education work in China, Samuel Brown spent two decades in Japan (1859–1879) as an educator and missionary for the Dutch Reformed Church of America. Many Japanese officials in both the Tokugawa shogunate and the succeeding Meiji government were wary of Christianity, but Brown gained their trust and was allowed to teach and engage in missionary work despite the political and social turbulence in Japan during the 1860s and 1870s. See also CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.

BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS (1860–1925). An Illinois lawyer, William Jennings Bryan ran unsuccessfully as the Democratic party candidate for president in 1896, 1900, and 1908. He subsequently served as President Woodrow Wilson’s secretary of state from 1913 until 1915. He brought to the position little knowledge of international affairs, and contented himself with judging foreign politics from a moral point of view.

When, on 19 August 1914, Japan declared war against Germany—thereby entering World War I—Bryan almost immediately reminded Tokyo of the American pledge to support “the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations.” Japan, however, was not listening. Early in 1915, it secretly presented China with the infamous Twenty-One Demands, which, if accepted in their entirety, would have made of China a virtual Japanese protectorate. When Washington learned of Japan’s move, Bryan responded by warning Tokyo that the U.S.
government remained committed to its traditional **Open Door** policy toward China. At the same time, he acknowledged that “territorial contiguity” created special relationships between Japan and China. Then, in May 1915, Bryan notified both Tokyo and Peking that the United States refused to recognize any agreement that threatened the Open Door policy. In other words, the United States was not committed to China per se; rather, it was committed to protecting its own vital interests in that beleaguered country.

At the same time that Bryan was lodging formal protests with the Japanese government over its infringements of the Open Door, he was pleading with President Wilson to remain neutral in World War I. Wilson disregarded Bryan’s advice, and adopted an ever harder line toward Germany. In an apparent—and ultimately failed—effort to mobilize domestic peace sentiment against the administration’s policies, Bryan resigned on 9 June 1915.

**BUCHANAN, JAMES (1791–1868).** President of the United States from 1857 to 1861, James Buchanan previously served as secretary of state and minister to Great Britain. In 1857, he met the Japanese castaway sailor Joseph Heco, also known as Hikozo Hamada. In 1860, President Buchanan met with Japanese officials from the Shogun’s Embassy in Washington, D.C.

**BUCK, ALFRED E. (1832–1902).** An officer in the Union Army during the **American Civil War**, Alfred Buck later served as U.S. Congressman from Alabama even though he was a native of Maine. He was appointed in 1897 as United States minister to Japan and died at his post in Tokyo in 1902. During his service in Tokyo, the **Spanish–American War**, the American annexation of **Hawaii**, the **Boxer Rebellion** in China, and Secretary of State **John Hay**’s “**Open Door**” Notes were issues of concern between the American and Japanese governments.

**BUDDHISM.** Originating in India with Siddharta Gautama—the Buddha—around 500 BCE, Buddhism entered Japan by way of Korea and China in the late 500s CE. Imperial family members and warrior clans adopted various Buddhist beliefs associated with Mahayana Buddhism over the next several centuries, which also spread to many of
the common people. Tendai, Pure Land, True Pure Land, Shingon, Nichiren, and Zen have long been the most widespread Buddhist sects in Japan, while Sokka Gakkai is a more recent and growing Buddhist movement in Japan, with many followers in the United States. Although most Buddhist sects in Japan include the core Buddhist beliefs of the Four Noble Truths, the Eightfold Path, transmigration of the soul, and nirvana, Buddhism in Japan incorporates indigenous Japanese cultural and philosophical beliefs. Traditional Shinto, for example, often overlaps and complements Buddhism in Japan.

**BUNMEI KAIKA.** See CIVILIZATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT.

**BURMA ROAD.** After Japanese forces captured much of China’s coastline during 1938, and Chiang Kai-shek moved his capital to the inland city of Chungking, the Burma Road constituted the principal route of supply from the outside world to China. Throughout the first half of 1940, Japan sought to pressure its British counterpart (which was Burma’s colonial master) into closing the road. In this endeavor, the Japanese government was aided immeasurably by Adolf Hitler’s stunning military successes across Western Europe in the summer of 1940. Unable to face off against both Germany and the Japanese, the cabinet of Prime Minister Winston Churchill in July 1940 agreed to close the Burma Road for three months.

By September 1940, however, Churchill was increasingly optimistic concerning the courses open to his nation both in Europe and in the Far East. In part a product of Churchill’s confidence in Washington’s willingness to involve itself actively in world politics, his cabinet judged that they should reopen the Burma Road once the three-month period ended in October. After that time, shipments from America, and smaller amounts from Britain, were resumed. For Chiang Kai-shek, this was indeed good news.

If this was good news for Chiang, it did not last. Soon after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941, they advanced into Burma and Rangoon fell to them on 7 March. Until Japan’s control of Burma was broken, China could receive supplies only from “Over the Hump” flights from India. By the time that Burma was recaptured, Chiang Kai-shek had fallen out of power calculations in the Far East.
CAIRO CONFERENCE. In November and December 1943, United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek met at Cairo to discuss their nations’ war against Japan. Chiang pressed his allies to launch an amphibious assault in the Bay of Bengal to coincide with a Chinese intervention in Burma. Churchill was uninterested. Roosevelt was sympathetic, although his sympathy did not translate into any commitments on this score. Unable to offer anything immediate to Chiang, Roosevelt instead assured the Chinese leader that his nation would recover its territorial integrity following Japan’s defeat. In a declaration that the three statesmen issued on 1 December, they emphasized their determination to expel Japan from all territories it had “taken by violence and greed,” and the Allies further specified that, “Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914, and that all the territory Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.” They also promised that Korea would become free and independent “in due course.” Although silent on the future of Okinawa, this declaration put Japanese leaders on notice that their enemies were driven by the objective of reducing Japan territorially to the position it had occupied at the outset of the Meiji era some 100 years earlier. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

CALIFORNIA. California is connected to Asia and Japan by the geographic proximity of the Pacific Ocean, and ports such as San Francisco and Los Angeles have been hubs of Asian trade and immigration since the 1850s when large numbers of Chinese and later Japanese immigrated to the United States.

Formerly the Mexican territory of Alta California, California became part of the United States in 1850, soon after the discovery of gold and the end of the Mexican–American War. The Gold Rush attracted people from all over the world to travel to California and find their fortune in “the golden state.” Most people did not find a fortune, but many stayed and transformed California into a state with a di-
verse population and economy. Many people soon realized that California’s land, particularly the Central Valley, is superb for many kinds of agriculture. Beginning in the 1920s, the motion picture industry in Hollywood and Southern California added another dimension to the state’s diversity, as did the shipbuilding and military bases that sprang into existence during World War II. High-tech and computer-related industries inland from the Bay Area (“Silicon Valley”) have attracted people and capital since the 1950s. California is the most populous of the 50 states, and is the third largest in area (Alaska and Texas are larger).

Yet, California has also been a center of racial controversy and source of discriminatory, race-based laws, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, segregation of Asian schoolchildren in San Francisco in 1906, Alien Land Laws of the 1910s, the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924, and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. The largest of the internment camps (formally known as War Relocation Camps) was located at Manzanar, California.

Despite the discrimination faced by Japanese from the 19th century to the end of World War II, more Japanese and Japanese Americans live in California than any other state, and more Japanese students attend colleges in California than any other state as well. In addition to Japanese American businesses and farms throughout the state, Japanese-owned corporations are a significant portion of California’s economy.

**CAPRON, HORACE (1804–1885).** Horace Capron led a cavalry unit during the American Civil War, and later served as a special representative of the president for Indian Affairs. A specialist in cotton mills and agricultural technology, Capron became commissioner of agriculture of the United States in 1867. He resigned this cabinet-level position in 1871 to lead a team of Americans and Japanese employed by the Japanese government to work with the Hokkaido Colonization Bureau (Kōtakushi) to improve the agricultural and economic development of Japan’s large northern island. Capron was one of the highest-profile “foreign experts” (yatoi) in Japan during the early Meiji Era. He returned to Washington, D.C., in 1875, where he continued to advocate Japan’s interests until his death in 1885.
CASTAWAY SAILORS, JAPANESE. With their small, coastal ships blown by storms into the vast Pacific Ocean, only a few Japanese castaway sailors were rescued and ultimately returned to Japan. According to the “closed country” (sakoku) laws of the Tokugawa Era (1600–1868), it was punishable by death for Japanese to return home if they had been abroad—even by accident. Although this law was rarely enforced, in the Morrison Incident of 1835, three Japanese castaways were not allowed back on Japanese soil and were obliged to return to Hong Kong. Japanese castaway sailors in the first half of the 19th century who were allowed to return, such as Otokichi, Manjiro, and Joseph Heco, were the first Japanese to observe American social, political, and cultural customs and report their observations to their fellow Japanese.

CASTLE, WILLIAM R., Jr. (1878–1963). William Castle was an influential American diplomat who consistently saw Japan as a force for stability in the Far Eastern region. His influence reached its peak during the administration of President Herbert Hoover.

Born in Honolulu, William Castle graduated from Harvard University in 1900. He held various administrative posts at Harvard until he was appointed director of the Bureau of Communications of the American Red Cross in World War I. At the end of the war, he was appointed special assistant to the State Department, and served from 1921 to 1927 as chief of the Department’s Division of West European Affairs. In 1927, he was promoted to assistant secretary of state. Three years later, Castle’s close friend President Herbert Hoover named him special ambassador to Japan. Possessed of the belief that Japan represented a force for order in East Asia, Castle openly and unashamedly labeled himself a “friend of Japan.” His ambassadorial posting came at a crucial time, coinciding as it did with the First London Naval Conference. Henry L. Stimson, chairman of the U.S. delegation to that conference, later admitted that Castle’s actions as ambassador helped secure Japan’s agreement to the London Naval Treaty.

Castle returned to Washington in 1931 to succeed Joseph Cotton as under secretary of state. Almost immediately, he was faced with the unwelcome prospect of the Manchurian Incident. Entirely out of step with his direct superior, Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson,
Castle argued that Japan’s control on Manchuria was to be preferred over that of China. During the ensuing months, Castle successfully opposed economic sanctions against Japan, and exercised a vital influence over the so-called Stimson Doctrine of nonrecognition of conquests of aggression, restricting it to nonrecognition of “treaties affecting American rights which might be secured through military pressure of Japan on China.”

In late 1931, after Cameron Forbes resigned as ambassador to Japan, Castle worked behind the scenes to have Joseph C. Grew, the ambassador to Turkey, appointed to Tokyo. He took personal charge of preparing Grew for his new assignment, which included introducing him to the State Department’s premier Japan expert in Eugene H. Doorman. Republican to the core, Castle left the State Department soon after Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president in 1933. Castle emerged in the early postwar period as an influential member of the American Council on Japan, a pressure group that wielded some influence in the remaking of postwar Japan.

**CHARTER OATH.** Issued on 6 April 1868 by the new Meiji government, the oath included five articles, the last stating that, “Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.”

**CHIANG KAI-SHEK (1887–1975).** Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek led China throughout its long war against Japan. Irascible, arrogant, and stubborn, he confounded foreign observers—including American and Japanese—with his all-consuming commitment to the eradication of Chinese communism, and his simultaneous pursuit of anti-Japanese resistance.

By the late 1920s, Chiang had risen to a position of leadership in China. He faced serious domestic opposition from the Chinese Communists, various warlords, and a rival faction of his own Kuomintang. He chose not to respond with force to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, preferring instead to concentrate on consolidating his control over the rest of China. This changed after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in July 1937. Although Japanese troops met with considerable battlefield successes, Chiang retreated to China’s interior and from there directed the fight against the Japanese. Prime
Minister Fumimaro Konoe in January 1938 announced that the Japanese government would deal with Chiang only on the battlefield and at the surrender table. Washington responded by extending loans to Chiang in an attempt to keep him in the fight. In 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt allowed American airmen to resign from their service to form a “volunteer” air force in China known as the Flying Tigers.

Chiang, who had long nursed visions of a Sino–American alliance, was understandably elated when in December 1941 the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. He also could not help but be impressed by Roosevelt’s repeated statements to the effect that China would emerge as one of the postwar world’s great powers. Chiang became disillusioned, however, as it soon became obvious that the United States had little in the way of concrete assistance to provide China. As one observer has noted, China received all of the praise and some of the loyalty due an ally, but little of the substance.

It should be noted that Chiang did nothing to help his cause. Determined to keep his forces intact for a future clash with the Chinese Communists, Chiang throughout 1943–1944 turned a blind eye as Japanese troops launched offensives in Burma and China. This led one American Foreign Service officer in late 1943 to suggest that the United States could “accomplish [its] immediate objective in Asia—the defeat of Japan—without him.” By mid-1944, if not earlier, Roosevelt agreed with this prognosis.

CHINA INCIDENT. See SINO–JAPANESE WAR.

CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT (1882). Passed by the U.S. Congress in response to labor unions, farmers, and politicians from Western states complaining that Chinese immigrants were taking too many jobs from American citizens and white immigrants. Initially set for 10 years, the act was modified in 1892 and then made permanent in 1902. It was finally repealed during World War II. The Chinese Exclusion Act did not affect Japanese; but in 1924, the U.S. Congress passed the Oriental Exclusion Act that prohibited nearly all Japanese immigration.

CHOSHU DOMAIN (YAMAGUCHI PREFECTURE). A warrior-dominated domain on southern Honshu Island led by the descendants
of Motonari Mori. Its primary castle town was Hagi. Choshu was a leading advocate of the violent “revere the emperor, expel the barbarian” movement of the 1850s and 1860s. In 1863, Choshu fired on Western ships passing through the Shimonoseki Straits. After the Tokugawa shogunate failed to settle the matter, an armada of American, British, French, and Dutch ships attacked Hagi the following year. Choshu quickly agreed to a settlement with the Westerners. Along with samurai from Satsuma, Tosa, and Hizen domains, Choshu overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate and its allies in early 1868, resulting in the Meiji Restoration. During the Meiji Era, many top leaders of Japan’s government, such as Hirobumi Ito, were from Choshu. In 1871, Choshu domain was formally incorporated into Yamaguchi Prefecture.

CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN. Spanish and Portuguese missionaries in Japan during the 16th century converted some Japanese to Christianity, especially on the southern island of Kyushu. From the late 16th century, however, Japanese were forbidden to convert to Christianity, primarily because the central government believed Christianity was a threat to its political power. A small number of European missionaries and several Japanese converts to Christianity were executed in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Because of increased contact with Westerners during the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s, the anti-Christian policies of Japan became the subject of diplomatic disputes. After discussions among members of the Iwakura Mission, their American and European counterparts, and Japanese college students in America, the Meiji government officially dropped the prohibition on Christianity in 1873. There have been no central government laws against Christianity since 1873, but during the patriotic movement of 1880s and during World War II, Christianity and pacifist Buddhism were often denounced by Japanese ultranationalists.

Despite considerable efforts of Western missionaries and Japanese Christian leaders, less than 2 percent of Japanese identify themselves as Christians. However, Western missionaries and Japanese Christians have had a notable influence since the beginning of the Meiji Era in establishing schools, colleges, hospitals, and programs to assist Japanese in need. See also BROTHERHOOD OF THE NEW LIFE; BROWN, SAMUEL ROBBINS; CLARK, WILLIAM
SMITH; DOSHISHA UNIVERSITY; KIDDER, MARY EDDY; NIJIIMA, JO; UCHIMURA, KANZO.

CHURCHILL, WINSTON S. (1874-1965). From 10 May 1940 until 27 July 1945 (and again from October 1951 until April 1955), Winston Churchill served as Great Britain’s prime minister. An eloquent public speaker (and writer), Churchill was possessed of an immense energy and steadfastness, qualities that enabled him to carry Britain through some of its darkest days in World War II.

Born in 1874 to a British father and American mother, Churchill as a 21-year-old joined the army. This gained him considerable experience abroad, until 1900, when he embarked on a career in politics. Elected to parliament in 1900, he served over the ensuing years as under secretary of state for the colonies, home secretary, first lord of the admiralty, minister of munitions, secretary of state for war, secretary of state for air, secretary of state for the colonies, and chancellor of the exchequer. In the late 1930s, he emerged as a fierce critic of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain’s appeasement policies toward Adolf Hitler. He marked his rise to the prime minister’s office by claiming that his people would fight to the bitter end rather than see their country occupied by Nazi Germany. He forged an intimate relationship with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, based at least partly on the hard political calculation that Britain could emerge victorious only if the United States were willing to bring its immense power to bear upon Germany.

Through 1941, Churchill inevitably viewed Japanese intentions through the prism of Britain’s fight for survival against the Axis. Japan’s alliance relationship with Nazi Germany signified clearly that nation’s intentions toward the colonial regions of Southeast Asia. Britain, however, did not have the resources at its disposal to simultaneously fight Germany and strengthen the defense of its Far Eastern colonial outposts. Churchill thus found himself almost wholly dependent on Washington. This placed him in an awkward position, for although he could do little to strengthen Britain’s stance in the Pacific, he recognized the need to encourage every initiative that the United States might take against Japan. Not only would this serve to buttress Britain’s exposed position in the Far East, but it might also serve to facilitate American entry into the war against Germany.
Churchill’s elation when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor was real: “So we had won after all!”

Thereafter, Churchill was content to let the United States take the lead in the war against Japan. In May 1944, he explained to the Commonwealth prime ministers: “We must regard ourselves as junior partners in the war against Japan.” Having acquiesced in America’s preponderance of power in the Pacific theater of war, Churchill played only a peripheral role in the decision to use the atomic bomb against Japan. In 1944, he agreed with United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt that, in the event the bomb became available, it should be used against Japan. Then, after Washington in late June 1945 informed London of its intention to use the bomb some time in August, Churchill approved “without a moment’s hesitation.” When he met with President Harry S. Truman at the Potsdam Conference, Churchill again reiterated his belief in the efficacy of the bomb. On this matter, Churchill seemed to recognize not only that the atomic bomb would shorten the war against Japan, but that it could prove a powerful diplomatic weapon vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

It is also worth noting that during the endgame of the war against Japan, Churchill quietly pressed his American allies to modify the unconditional surrender policy. At the Yalta Conference, he asked Roosevelt whether a mitigation of the unconditional surrender policy might shorten the war, although he was careful to add that on this score his government was prepared to abide by Washington’s judgment. He again raised the issue with Truman at Potsdam, although he chose not to press the matter.

From the viewpoint of securing the postwar peace, Churchill throughout the war was adamant that the British and their American (and perhaps Soviet) allies must continue to work together. He was anxious to see the United States obtain many of the islands for which it was fighting the Japanese—including the Carolines, Marshalls, and Marianas—if only because such would ensure against a return to the isolationism that had hamstrung American foreign policymakers throughout the 1930s. He was also convinced that Japan must be rendered powerless to again threaten the peace and security of the Pacific, and at one time spoke of the need to reduce Japanese industrial centers to ashes. Churchill’s alignment with those who advocated a harsh peace for Japan was somewhat mollified after its surrender. As
the trials of Japanese war criminals was set in motion, Churchill (who had been voted out of office) remarked that it was “stupid” to hand “prominent people” when the Allies needed Japanese cooperation.

“CIVILIZATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT” (BUNMEI KAIKA).
A phrase often used in the 1870s to indicate the admiration and often adoption of Western cultural and social life in the “new” Japan of the Meiji Era. Yukichi Fukuzawa, Arinori Mori, Amane Nishi, and the Meirokusha group of intellectuals are often associated with the idea of “civilization and enlightenment.”

CLARK, WILLIAM SMITH (1825-1886). Professor of chemistry and zoology at Amherst College in Massachusetts during the 1850s and 1860s, Clark served with the Union Army during the American Civil War, and later in several appointed political positions in Massachusetts. From 1867 to 1878, he was president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, which later became the University of Massachusetts—Amherst. Clark was hired by the Meiji government in 1876 to work with the Hokkaido Colonization Bureau (Kaitakushi) for the agricultural development of Hokkaido, and to establish Sapporo Agricultural College, which later became Hokkaido University. When teaching Japanese students agricultural techniques, he emphasized Christian principles, and is therefore regarded as both an education specialist and missionary during his one year in Japan. As he was departing Sapporo, Clark reportedly told his students, “Boys, be ambitious.” The phrase became an inspiration for many young Japanese, and is still widely known in Japan today. See also CAPRON, HORACE; YATÔI.

CLASS SYSTEM IN JAPAN. The formal, hereditary, Confucian-derived class system in Japan during the Tokugawa Era (1600–1868) was divided into four major groups: samurai, farmer, artisan, and merchant (shi-nô-kô-shô in Japanese). At the top of this system were the samurai and their families, who were less than 10 percent of the overall population of Japan. The top samurai were the shogun; ranking members of the shogun’s government, known as the Tokugawa shogunate; and daimyô, the feudal lords. Farmers, or peasants, were the largest proportion, with around 70 percent of the
population, while artisans and merchants comprised most of the remainder of this hierarchy. Although formally despised because they were considered unproductive members of society, many merchants amassed considerable wealth and exercised influence during the Tokugawa Era. Imperial family members, Buddhist and Shinto priests, burakumin (so-called hamlet people), Ainu, and foreigners were outside the formal class system and considered special categories. The system was abolished in 1872; but most top government positions throughout the Meiji Era (1868–1912) were held by men from samurai families. See also MEIJI RESTORATION.

COLLATERAL FUND OF U.S. ASSISTANCE TO JAPAN. As a special counterpart yen fund budget, the Japanese government incorporated the Japanese yen equivalent of the total amount of U.S. assistance to Japan. The Japanese government was able to use this fund under the supervision of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). This fund is called the Collateral Fund of U.S. Assistance to Japan. Joseph Dodge, President Harry S. Truman’s special envoy to Japan to stabilize Japanese inflation, ordered the establishment of the fund. The total amount of funding in the first year amounted to 140 billion yen. It was used for railroads, telecommunications, and direct investment in private corporations. The Japanese cabinet decided the outline for the use of the Collateral Fund on 12 April 1949. The Economic Stabilization Board (ESB) made a plan of operation as an integral part of a comprehensive fund scheme. In reality, however, the Ministry of Finance managed and operated the counterpart fund.

CONFUCIANISM. Based on the ancient teachings of Confucius, Mencius, and later Zhu Xi of China, Confucianism has been part of Japan’s social, political, and cultural heritage from the late 500s CE. Emphasizing the values of benevolence, sincerity, harmony, proper order, self-discipline, and education, Confucianism is not actually a religion but an ethical value system that has been widely observed by East Asians for more than 2,000 years. During the Tokugawa Era, Confucian values were used to maintain the class system. Confucian values often overlap with Buddhism (particularly Zen Buddhism) and Shinto in Japan. See also CLASS SYSTEM IN JAPAN.
COTTON CREDIT. In 1951, the Export–Import Bank of the United States (EIBUS) decided to provide Japan with $765 million in credit for 13 years for purchasing U.S. cotton. The first cotton credit was awarded in December 1951. The EIBUS continued to provide cotton credits until the arrangement came to an end with the 14th and last credit offering in July 1964. The first 10 blocks of cotton credit were handled by the Bank of Japan and the last four blocks were handled by the Tokyo Bank. The U.S. goal in this credit arrangement was to promote exports of U.S. cotton by providing Japan and other countries with the financial assistance to purchase cotton. The first block of cotton credit awarded Japan in December 1951 was valued at $40 million. Another block of $40 million was given in May 1953 followed by $60 million in December 1953. These initial three credit blocks, which functioned as revolving funds, helped to improve Japan’s foreign exchange situation. Japan also concluded the fourth cotton credit with the sum of $60 million in August 1954. Throughout the 1950s, the overall impact of these credits aided in facilitating Japan’s economic growth. The agreement also assisted Japan’s shipping industry by stipulating that, in principle, cotton shipped from the U.S. to Japan should be handled by either U.S. or Japanese cargo ships (though not less than 50% of cotton cargo was to be handled by U.S. ships).

CRIMINAL EXTRADITION TREATY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES. When an alleged criminal flees abroad, where Japanese national sovereignty has no authority, the investigative authorities cannot arrest that person. Consequently, Japan makes treaties with foreign countries concerning criminal extradition. The Criminal Extradition Treaty between Japan and the United States became effective in March 1980. Following the conclusion of this treaty, the Japanese government enacted a Law on Extradition. When Japan is requested to extradite a foreign fugitive staying in Japan, the request would be forwarded along with related papers from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Tokyo High Public Prosecutors’ Office to the Tokyo High Court. This court will then examine whether it is appropriate or not to extradite the alleged criminal. Unless the alleged criminal has Japanese nationality or may be involved in a political crime, the Tokyo High Court in principle approves of
the extradition. When the Tokyo High Court decides the extradition, the alleged criminal will be sent to an investigative institution in the requested country. Besides the United States, Japan has also concluded a criminal extradition treaty with South Korea.

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DAIMYŌ. The title given to lords of large domains from the 1300s until 1871. The size of domain and position of the daimyō relative to the shogun determined their place in the hierarchy of political and military leaders. During the Tokugawa Era (1600–1867), most daimyō were forced to obey regulations and restrictions established by the Tokugawa shogunate. When U.S. Navy Commodore Matthew Perry and other Westerners began arriving in Japan in the 1850s, long-frustrated daimyō took advantage of the opportunity to launch an ultimately successful movement to overthrow the Tokugawa bakufu. See also AIZU DOMAIN; CHOSHU DOMAIN; CLASS SYSTEM IN JAPAN; MEIJI RESTORATION; SATSUMA DOMAIN.

DE LONG, CHARLES (1832–1878). United States minister to Japan from 1869 to 1873. On several occasions, De Long formally complained to the Japanese government about still-existing anti-Christian laws, which were finally repealed in 1873. Temporarily acting as the Kingdom of Hawaii’s chief representative in Japan, De Long negotiated and signed the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Hawaii and Japan in 1871. De Long also accompanied and assisted the Iwakura Mission during its journey in the United States. He also recognized Japan’s claim of sovereignty over the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa) on behalf of the U.S. government. See also CHRISTIANITY; MARIA LUZ INCIDENT.

DEFENSE. After World War I, Japan found it beneficial to cooperate with the United States. This cooperation led to the success of the Washington Conference (1921–1922). However, the economic depression and subsequent establishment of economic blocs in the 1930s pressured Japan into resorting to military force to advance into China. The United States opposed Japan’s advance to China. In order
to resist U.S. pressure to leave China, Japan concluded the Tripartite Pact in September 1940 and was getting ready to drive into South-east Asia in order to access the region’s rich natural resources.

In response, Japan was faced with the ABCD encirclement in April 1941. American, British, Chinese, and Dutch officials agreed to collaborate to strangle Japan economically.

Finally, in December 1941, the Japanese military attacked Pearl Harbor—the start of the Pacific War. Japan had some success early on, but the Battle of Midway in June 1942 was a turning point. U.S. forces captured islands that Japan had occupied, such as the Mariana Islands and Iwo Jima. Finally, from April to June 1945, the Battle of Okinawa, one of the bloodiest battles of the war, took place. Finally, President Harry S. Truman resorted to Atomic bomb attacks in August 1945. The Pacific War ended on 15 August 1945.

One of the major purposes of the Allied Occupation of Japan was the demilitarization that culminated in inserting Article Nine, the so-called war-renunciation clause, in the new Japanese Constitution that was promulgated and became effective on 3 May 1947. Pacifist sentiment was widespread among the Japanese people.

However, the emergence of the Cold War in the late 1940s, and especially the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, prompted talks on Japanese defense. As U.S. military forces were poured into the Korea War, GHQ established the National Police Reserve on 10 August 1950 in order to defend Japan. On 8 September 1951, immediately after the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty was concluded. This latter became effective along with the Peace Treaty on 28 April 1952. The United States also urged Japan to increase its defense capabilities. On 26 April 1952, the Marine Police was established as an arm of the Japan Coast Guard. On 1 August, the Japan Guard (Hoancho) was formed to govern the National Police Reserve and the Marine Police.

Nevertheless, Japan adopted the Yoshida Doctrine. Tokyo made every effort to maintain a delicate balance between accommodating pressure from Washington to increase its defense forces, on the one hand, and its pursuit of economic recovery, on the other. At the Ikeda–Robertson Talks in October 1953, despite insistent and consistent U.S. pressure, Ikeda agreed only an incremental increase in its defense forces. On 8 March 1954, Washington and Tokyo signed the

The Japan-U.S. Security Treaty was revised on 19 January 1960 in order to make the alliance more equal, and it became effective on 23 June 1960. In November 1978, the Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation were formulated in order to “create a solid basis for more effective and credible U.S.-Japan cooperation.” However, the Japanese government has an official interpretation of Article Nine that although, as a sovereign nation, Japan has the right of collective self-defense, Article Nine will not permit the authorization of the use of this right, nor will it allow the dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) abroad.

The Gulf War in 1991 precipitated a heated debate about appropriate ways in which Japan can make an international contribution. In April 1991, after the war was already over, Tokyo decided to send SDF minesweepers to the Gulf. In June 1992, the Peace-Keeper Operations (PKO) International Cooperation Law was enacted and it became possible for the SDF to participate in PKO abroad. On 29 October, the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law was enacted enabling Tokyo to dispatch the SDF abroad during wartime. In November 2001, Tokyo, in fact, dispatched the Maritime Self-Defense Force to the Indian Ocean. On 6 June 2003, laws on war contingencies were enacted. On 26 July 2003, special Self-Defense Forces were dispatched to Iraq.

Even though the ratio of defense spending against Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is relatively low in global terms, about 1 percent of the GDP, Japan’s defense budget is the third largest in the world, after the United States and Russia. For the fiscal year 2006, Japan’s defense budget was 4,814 billion yen. As of March 2005, there were about 234,000 SDF members comprising about 147,000, 45,000, and 44,000 in the Ground SDF, Air SDF, and Marine SDF, respectively. As of 2004, there were about 400,000 American servicepersons stationed in Japan, of which 18,000 members stay in Okinawa. Washington and Tokyo agreed that 8,000 members would move to Guam from Okinawa. See
DEFENSE AGENCY ACT. The Defense Agency Act became effective on 9 June 1954. It stipulates the inauguration of the Defense Agency. It also lays down the Agency’s official role, the clear domain of duty necessary to fulfill this role, and the organization necessary to carry out administration effectively. The law established for the first time the Defense Agency as an extra-ministerial bureau of the Cabinet office. It created a new appointment: the Director of the Defense Agency. The role of the Defense Agency includes maintaining a peaceful, independent and secure Japan. In order to achieve these goals, the Defense Agency controls and operates the Ground Self-Defense Force, Maritime Self-Defense Force, and Air Self-Defense Force, as well as assuming administrative responsibilities for related affairs. See also DEFENSE; SELF-DEFENSE FORCES LAW.

DEFENSE INDUSTRY COMMISSION OF THE JAPAN BUSINESS FEDERATION. The Japan Economic Federation (Nihon
Keizai Dantai Rengokai: Keidanren) and the Japan Federation of Employers’ Associations (Nihon Keieisha Dantai Renmei: Nikkeiren) were integrated into the Japan Business Federation (Nihon Keizai Dantai Rengokai: JBF) in May 2002. The JBF comprises 1,645 member corporations and business organizations, among them, some 90 major foreign-financed corporations, 131 major industry-classified national organizations, and 47 local economic organizations (as of 26 May 2005). The Defense Industry Commission (DIC) of the JBF summarizes the views on the business world in order to reflect their opinions in the National Defense Program Outline and the mid-term defense buildup program. The DIC serves as Japan’s secretariat in the Industry Forum for Security Cooperation (IFSEC), a forum established in January 1997 that aims to provide the Japanese and U.S. defense industries with opportunities to have a dialogue and to make policy recommendations to the Japanese and U.S. governments. See also DEFENSE.

DEFENSE-RELATED MINISTERS ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE. The Ichiro Hatoyama administration decided to establish a Defense-Related Ministers Round-Table Conference on 2 August 1955. A bill to establish this conference was submitted to the 22nd special Diet session, but it was not passed. As a result, the conference was established as a prime minister’s advisory committee. It was responsible for examining various defense-related issues at a ministerial level upon request. In August 1955, the conference approved the “Six-Year Defense Program.” This program would increase the size of the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force to 180,000 people provided that the U.S. ground forces pulled out within three years. In 1956, another bill to provide this advisory committee with a legal base was submitted to the Diet. On 2 July 1956, the conference became the “National Defense Conference” and was established within the cabinet.

DEJIMA (NAGASAKI PREFECTURE). A relatively small, man-made island in Nagasaki harbor where Dutch and European merchants working for the Dutch East India Company were allowed to work and live during most of the Tokugawa Era. The island and the Europeans living on it were restricted and kept under tight surveillance by guards of the Tokugawa shogunate. Dejima became symbolic of the sakoku
"national seclusion") policies of the Tokugawa government. See also DUTCH LEARNING.

**DODGE LINE.** The Dodge Line was a series of fiscal and monetary austerity policies carried out in Japan in March 1949. The policies were based on a nine-point economic stabilization program that General Headquarters/Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) showed to Japan in December 1948, and SCAP was insistent on strict adherence. The nine-point directive ordered Japan to: balance the consolidated budgets; increase tax collection efficiency; restrict the increase of credit extension; control wages; control prices; control foreign trade; maximize exports by improving allocation and rationing systems; increase industrial and mining production; and increase the efficiency of the food collection program. In order to stabilize the Japanese economy based on the nine-point program, President Harry S. Truman sent Joseph M. Dodge, president of the Detroit Bank, to Japan in 1949. Dodge forcefully laid down the so-called Dodge Line, consisting of the following measures: balancing the consolidated budget; more efficient tax collection; tight credit; reducing wage and price increases; controlling trade; allocating supplies to exporters; replacing the RFB with yen counter part funds; establishing a single exchange rate; and decreasing the amount of currency circulation. In March 1949, Dodge made a budget proposal based on rigid balance in the consolidated budget, including those of general, special, other government-related institutions, and local governments, which would result in a 156.7 billion yen surplus. The Dodge Line, in fact, rapidly achieved the balanced budget; however, the Japanese economy severely suffered from deflation, a large amount of unemployment, and general economic deterioration. The Japanese economy could not return to growth until the outbreak of the Korean War brought economic windfall to Japan.

**DOLLAR DIPLOMACY.** President William Howard Taft (1909–1913) once explained that his foreign policy was driven by the concept of "substituting dollars for bullets." In practice, Taft’s dollar diplomacy aimed not only to use diplomacy to advance America’s foreign business interests, but inversely to use dollars abroad to promote American diplomacy.
As it related to the Far East, Taft’s dollar diplomacy represented a repudiation of the policies of his predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt. Whereas Roosevelt was willing to recognize Japan’s predominant position in northern China—as evidenced by, most notably, the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908—Taft sought to challenge Japan’s position by means of expanded American economic activities in China. This, in turn, it was hoped, would increase America’s political leverage. Because the United States remained committed to the Open Door, a central tenet of which was the maintenance of China’s territorial integrity, Taft apparently believed that he was acting not only in American but also Chinese interests.

In October 1909, an American banking group that included J. P. Morgan and Kuhn, Loeb, secured Chinese approval to build a railway that would run part of the way parallel to Japan’s South Manchurian line. So long as Japan had maintained sole control of the transportation system in southern Manchuria, it exerted strategic domination over the region. The challenge that the new railway project posed to Japanese interests in Manchuria was obvious.

Taft’s secretary of state, Philander C. Knox, quickly raised the stakes. In November–December 1909, he sent notes to Japan, Russia, France, Germany, and Great Britain, demanding the neutralization of Japanese railways in southern Manchuria and Russian railways in northern Manchuria. He hoped that the major powers—Japan and Russia excluded—would make available to the Chinese government the necessary funding to purchase the neutralized railways. Very few in Tokyo needed reminding that such a scheme would serve to end Japan’s strategic domination of southern Manchuria.

Various factors combined to ensure the failure of Knox’s initiative. Knox counted heavily on British receptivity to the railway neutralization scheme, but this was hardly likely given the alliance relationship that Britain shared with Japan. Britain, moreover, was increasingly interested in strengthened ties with Russia to offset the German threat. It should, then, have come as no surprise when the British did not climb aboard Knox’s scheme. At the same time, Knox drove Japan and Russia closer together. The two nations in July 1910 reached an agreement whereby Manchuria was divided into a Russian sphere in the north and a Japanese sphere in the south. Japan’s position in southern Manchuria seemed further
entrenched when the American banking group-backed railroad failed to materialize.

DOOLITTLE RAID. Almost immediately after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt had called for a bombing raid against Tokyo. Vengeance obviously colored Roosevelt’s motives, but he was also informed by a belief in the applicability of air power against Japan. In any case, the president got his wish when, on 18 April 1942, Captain James Doolittle led 16 B-25 bombers off the carrier Hornet and launched a surprise attack against Tokyo, Kobe, Nagoya, Yokosuka, and Yokohama. None of the planes were shot down. Instead they flew on to China, with one plane landing in the Soviet Union (where its crew was interned). The physical damage to Japanese cities was minimal, although the effects of the so-called Doolittle Raid were tangible. On the one hand, it provided the United States—whose forces had been soundly defeated by the Japanese enemy in almost every battle since Pearl Harbor—with a much-needed morale boost. On the other, it painted a grim picture for Japanese wartime leaders of the future shape of the war. In an effort to prevent further carrier-based air attacks against Japan, Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto hastened plans for offensives against Port Moresby and Midway. These were the first significant losses in battle sustained by the Japanese and represented the beginning of the end for Japan in World War II.

DOSHISHA UNIVERSITY. A private, Christian college founded in 1875 by Jo Niijima, also known as Joseph Hardy Niishima, a Japanese Christian minister who lived and studied in the United States from 1865 to 1874. Though it struggled to survive in its early years, Doshisha University currently has more than 20,000 undergraduate and graduate students in its many programs and attracts many international students and international faculty. Doshisha is located near the former imperial palace in Kyoto, Japan. See also CHRISTIANITY; HARDY, ALPHAEUS.

DULLES, JOHN FOSTER (1888—1959). John Foster Dulles was born in Washington, D.C., the son of a Presbyterian minister. He was educated at Princeton University, the Sorbonne in Paris, and George
Washington University Law School. He joined the New York City law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, where he specialized in international law. In 1918, President Woodrow Wilson appointed Dulles as legal counsel to the United States delegation to the Paris Peace Conference following the end of World War I. Dulles later returned to practicing law, but, in 1945, he was asked to serve as adviser to Arthur H. Vandenberg at the San Francisco Conference to help draft the preamble to the United Nations Charter. Dulles also attended the United Nations General Assembly as a United States delegate in 1946, 1947, and 1950. In 1951, President Harry S. Truman appointed Dulles as ambassador at large to negotiate the peace treaty with Japan, along with a U.S.–Japan security pact, both of which were signed on 8 September 1951.

Dulles was chosen to be secretary of state during the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower, serving in that position from 1953 to 1959. Dissatisfied with the Truman policy of containing communism that had become the centerpiece of U.S. foreign policy, Dulles advocated a more aggressive stance, which included the U.S. engaging in collective security with its allies, the development of a large arsenal of nuclear weapons as part of a strategy of “massive retaliation” in case a nuclear attack against the United States or its allies, and political and military brinkmanship with the Soviet Union and China to defend against communist advances. Some of his main accomplishments during his service in the Eisenhower administration were strengthening the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); the 1952 creation of the Australia, New Zealand, United States of America (ANZUS) Treat; and the 1954 establishment of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), consisting of the United States, Australia, Great Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand, which was intended to provide the nations of Southeast Asian with collective security against aggression. In the Suez Canal crisis of 1956, Dulles opposed Egypt’s President Gamal Abdel Nasser’s efforts to nationalize the canal and was highly critical of the Anglo–French–Israeli military campaign to wrest control of the canal back from Egypt. See also SHIGEMITSU—DULLES MEETING.

DUTCH LEARNING (RANGAKU, IN JAPANESE). During most of the Tokugawa Era, Dutch language books on “practical sciences,” such as medicine and astronomy, were the only Western books allowed
into Japan, and Japanese studies of the West became known as “Dutch learning.” Until the 1850s, when Japanese began to have contact with Westerners (such as Americans, British, Russians, and French), Japanese scholars wanting to learn of the West struggled to read Dutch. See also DEJIMA; FUKUZAWA, YUKICHI; SAKUMA, SHOZAN; SAKOKU.

– E –

EAST ASIA ECONOMIC CAUCUS (EAEC). The East Asia Economic Caucus was established as an internal organization within the Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC) on 10 December 1990. The EAEC emerged as a response to a call by Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia to establish an independent East Asia Economic Grouping (EAEG). Under Mahathir’s proposal, the EAEG would seek to develop policy cooperation in the interest of promoting Asian regional trade and investment. He suggested that the members of the EAEG be the ASEAN countries plus Japan, South Korea, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Indochina. Mahathir put forth this proposal because of his distrust of the APEC as an organization lead by the developed nations and his opposition to the U.S. and European Union-led Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations. He believed that if ASEAN nations cooperated with Japan, China, and newly industrializing economies (NIES), they would be able to deal with Europe and the United States on an equal basis. Mahathir not only proposed to challenge the economic dominance of the West but to also promote the superiority of “Asian values” over Western values. In his view, Asian economic development was a result of those “Asian values” that emphasized order and stability, discipline, family and social responsibility, industry, frugality, thriftiness, and group centeredness. It was his belief that the values held in the West were the causes of economic stagnation, increased crime, sliding educational standards, and destruction of the family in Western countries. In making this comparison of values, Prime Minister Mahathir was criticizing the framework that held that “Western values are equal to world universal values.”
The United States was highly critical of and annoyed by Mahathir’s argument. It believed that if the EAEG flourished, it might be possible to build a strong economic bloc in East Asia, led by an economically powerful Japan, that would serve as an alternative core of world economic growth. Japan expressed interest in Mahathir’s proposal, but faced with strong pressure from Washington, it decided to reject his ideas, instead opting to turn the EAEG concept into a subsidiary organization of the APEC.

“EASTERN ETHICS, WESTERN SCIENCE.” A political slogan first articulated by Shozan Sakuma in the 1850s as a dualistic approach to dealing with Japan’s internal and external problems. “Eastern ethics” meant a re-emphasis on Confucian values while “Western science” meant the study and adoption of science, technology, and organizational structures that developed in several Western countries since the Industrial Revolution. By the 1880s, this phrase was transformed into the more nationalistic call for “Japanese spirit, Western technology”. See also CIVILIZATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT; FUKUZAWA, YUKICHI; IWAKURA MISSION; MEIJI ERA; MEIJI RESTORATION.

ECONOMIC STABILIZATION BOARD (ESB). The Economic Stabilization Board was responsible for the overall economic planning and management in occupied Japan. The Board was set up for a temporary period in August 1946 because it was necessary to have an organization that would coordinate the operations of several ministries in a strong and integrated fashion in order to overcome the economic crisis immediately after World War II. The ESB was the core institution for promoting the Priority Production System in order to contain inflation and to promote production.

The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) was pleased with the achievements of the ESB and, in March 1947, SCAP asked the Japanese government to expand its function and allow it to take more powerful actions in economic and financial control. In July 1947, an economic emergency measure was approved at a cabinet meeting based on which the ESB assumed primary responsibility for planning concrete economic policies. Also in July 1947, the ESB compiled the first Economic Survey of Japan. In 1948, the ESB analyzed the possible impact of setting a single foreign exchange rate.
In August 1952, the ESB was abolished. In its place, the Economic Planning Council was established. This was an external organ of the General Administrative Agency of the cabinet. It assumed responsibility for planning and adjusting fundamental economic policies, investigating economic trends, for long-term economic planning. In July 1955, the Economic Council Agency was changed into the Economic Planning Agency of Japan.

EDO. The capital city of the Tokugawa shogunate. In 1868, the name was changed to Tokyo, “Eastern Capital,” when the newly enthroned Emperor Meiji moved his government to the city. See also KYOTO.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066. See INTERNMENT.

EXPULSION EDICT OF 1825. Because of increased sightings and contact with Western ships, primarily Russian and British, the Tokugawa shogunate reemphasized and strengthened the sakoku (“national seclusion”) regulations against allowing Western ships safe harbor with this edict. See also TOKUGAWA ERA.

FEBRUARY 26 INCIDENT. On 26 February 1936, Japan faced the largest uprising of its modern existence. Some 1,400 troops seized the center of Tokyo and announced that they would not retreat until a new cabinet, led by General Jinzaburō Mazaki as prime minister and General Sadao Araki as home minister, was formed. At the same time, assassination squads murdered Lord Privy Seal Admiral Makoto Saitō, Inspector General of Military Education General Jōtarō Watanabe, and Finance Minister Korekiyo Takahashi. They also targeted—but for various reasons were unable to kill—Prime Minister Admiral Keisuke Okada, Grand Chamberlain Admiral Kantarō Suzuki, and Count Nobuaki Makino. Although the young rebels maintained that they were acting to separate the emperor from his “evil advisers,” their actions did not meet with the Throne’s approbation. Largely because Emperor Hirohito vociferously expressed his opposition to the uprising, the army high command ordered the suppression of the rebellion.
The February 26 Incident marked the last significant act of army insubordination. It did not, however, lessen the army’s influence in domestic Japanese politics. To the contrary, a clique dedicated to long-term, large-scale economic planning came to dominate the army’s upper echelons. At the same time, army budgets increased by more than 30 percent as officials sought to both lessen internal army factionalism and prepare for greater war. After the February 26 Incident, as one observer has noted, the future of the army rested with cool-headed, bureaucratic figures like General Hideki Tōjō.

**FENELLOSA, ERNEST (1853–1908).** American sociologist who also studied art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Ernest Fenellosa arrived in Japan in 1878 and taught philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University for several years. He became interested in studying and collecting Japanese art, and helped found the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. He returned to Boston and dramatically increased the Japanese art collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. After spending another three years in Japan from 1897 to 1900, he took up an academic position at Columbia University in New York. Fenellosa’s collections and publications introduced and popularized Japanese art among Americans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. See also YATOI.

**FILLMORE, MILLARD (1800–1874).** Serving as vice president, Millard Fillmore unexpectedly assumed the highest office when President Zachery Taylor suddenly died of gastroenteritis on 9 July 1850. As president from July 1850 to March 1853, Fillmore and his Secretary of State Daniel Webster ordered Commodore Matthew Perry to lead a U.S. Navy squadron to Japan and negotiate the Kanagawa Treaty, formally known as the U.S.-Japan Treaty of Friendship.

**FOREIGN EXCHANGE ALLOCATION SYSTEM.** Prior to 1964, Japan’s export management regulations stated that allocations of foreign exchange to pay for imports required permission from the Minister of International Trade and Industry (MITI). This regulatory arrangement was called the foreign exchange allocation system. Based on revisions to foreign exchange and trade management laws
made when Japan became an International Monetary Fund (IMF) Article 8 nation at the end of March 1964, the Japanese government abolished the foreign exchange allocation system and replaced it with a new import quota system. Under this new system, Japan would not allow the import of certain items not regulated by import quotas established by MITI. Imports of crude oil and petroleum products were subject to the foreign exchange allocation system prior to 1964, but starting in that year, they became automatic approval items; that is, items that could be imported freely under Japan’s foreign exchange and trade management systems.

**FOREIGN EXCHANGE SPECIAL QUOTA SYSTEM.** The foreign exchange special quota system went into effect on 20 August 1953. It exists to prevent discriminative dealings in terms of commodities or currencies in export by simplifying foreign exchange allocation procedures. Regardless of the export item, exporters are allowed to use 10 percent of the foreign currencies earned from exports for importing certain types of cargo that might otherwise face difficulty in being awarded a foreign exchange allocation or payment for specific invisible items, such as transportation expense, to go abroad. Consequently, procedures for regulating foreign exchange allocation were simplified. When Japan obtained the status of an Article Eight nation in the IMF in March 1964, the foreign exchange special quota system was abolished. Instead, Japan adopted an import quota system. Specific items could not be imported unless such importation was within import quotas set by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

**FUKOKU KYOHEI.** See RICH NATION, STRONG ARMY.

**FUKUZAWA, YUKICHI (1835–1901).** From a low-ranking samurai family on Kyushu Island, Yukichi Fukuzawa moved to Osaka to study the Dutch language and Western science. He established his own school in Edo (later Tokyo) in 1858, which emphasized English after he realized Americans and British were more numerous than Hollanders. In 1860, Fukuzawa was chosen to accompany the Shogun’s Embassy to the United States. In 1862 and 1867, he traveled to the United States and Europe on Tokugawa shogunate mis-
sions. As a result of his Western studies and experiences, he wrote Conditions of the West in 1866, which became a bestseller in Japan. He later wrote The Encouragement of Learning, A Theory of Civilization, and other works primarily on the West, education, and equality of opportunity. In the 1870s, Fukuzawa helped establish the Meirokusha Society of scholars advocating Westernization and practical knowledge as the paths for a New Japan of political and economic strength. "Civilization and enlightenment" (Bunmei Kaika) became a well-known slogan for Fukuzawa and others who advocated such Westernizing policies. Fukuzawa later established the Jiji Shimpō newspaper; in 1890, the school he originally founded in 1858 was transformed into Keio University, which remains to the present day as one of Japan’s premier universities. In recognition of Fukuzawa’s prominence as a philosopher, writer, and educator, his picture is on the 10,000 yen bill. See also MEIJI ERA.

– G –

GANNENMONO. Literally, “first year people,” the gannenmono refers to the group of 150 Japanese who traveled to the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1868—the first year of the Meiji Era—to work as laborers on sugar cane plantations. Eugene Van Reed, an American businessman living in Yokohama, made the arrangements between the Japanese laborers and the Kingdom of Hawaii. The new Meiji government in Japan complained to the United States and Hawaiian governments that it had not given its approval for the gannenmono arrangement. A settlement was soon reached between the three governments, which included bringing some of the Japanese laborers back to Japan. Despite the hard work on sugar cane plantations and the sometimes harsh treatment by American and European plantation owners, most of the gannenmono ultimately chose to stay in Hawaii, and many of their descendants still live on the Hawaiian Islands.

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT).
One of the important lessons from World War II was that establishing multilateral and liberal trade rules would be essential in order to maintain peace and stability around the world. Based on this idea,
and led by the United States, in October 1947, 23 nations signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), an international agreement designed to expand trade and deal with trade conflicts among GATT members. GATT’s basic ethos was to promote liberal, multilateral, and non-discriminatory trade. GATT came into effect in January 1948 and Japan joined in 1955. Along with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), GATT underpinned the Bretton Woods framework in the post–World War II era. From its establishment, there were eight rounds of multilateral GATT negotiations. From 1947 to 1993, advanced countries’ tariff rates on mined products and manufactured goods were cut from an average of 40 percent down to 3 percent, and the volume of trade of physical goods increased about 14-fold. At the end of 1993, 114 nations were members of GATT. In January 1995, the World Trade Organization (WTO) succeeded GATT. GATT covered trading of only physical goods, while WTO deals with not only physical goods but also services and intellectual property rights. As of 2005, 148 nations are WTO members.

**GENERAL HEADQUARTERS/SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS (GHQ/SCAP).** GHQ/SCAP is a central administrative institution for the allied powers that occupied Japan after World War II. On 26 July 1941, the United States created General Headquarters for the U.S. Army Forces Far East (GHQ/USAFFE) in Manila, Luzon, The Philippines, and appointed Major Douglas MacArthur as commander. After the outbreak of the Pacific War, Japan landed in Luzon, and after the fall of the Corregidor Fortress, the USAFFE lost its unified command. On 18 April 1942, the United States, Great Britain, Netherlands, Australia, and New Zealand concluded an agreement to establish General Headquarters for a unified front forces for the Allied Powers in Southwestern Pacific Area (GHQ/SWPA) and appointed MacArthur as Commander-In-Chief of the Allied Forces. On 3 April 1945, the United States established General HQs, U.S. Army Forces in the Pacific (GHQ/AFPAC) in order to unify command authority for the Army forces in the Pacific area and appointed MacArthur as commander-in-chief. Consequently, GHQ/AFPAC and GHQ/SWPA came to coexist at this point. Because occupation of Japan was an occupation of a high-level non-Western
European country, the United States required a large-scale institution. Consequently, on 5 August 1945, Washington established the Military Government Section (MGS) within GHQ/AFPAC. On 15 August 1945, President Harry Truman appointed MacArthur as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers to give authority to implement surrender provisions of the Potsdam Declaration. GHQ/SWPA was demolished. MacArthur was both commander-in-chief for AFPAC and supreme commander for the Allied Powers for occupation of Japan. On 30 August 1945, MacArthur arrived at Atsugi, Kanagawa. On 2 September, an instrument of surrender was signed by the United States and Japan on the battleship *Missouri*. On 17 September 1945, MacArthur moved GHQ/AFPAC from Yokohama to Tokyo. In order to govern more than 70 million Japanese people with different languages, customs, and traditions, the MGS required a large number of highly skilled civilian administrators. Consequently, the Economic and Scientific Section (ESS) and the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) became separate institutions from the MGS on 15 September 1945 and 22 September 1945, respectively.

Finally, on 2 October 1945, the MGS was dissolved and General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) was established with the general staff section and the special staff section. The general staff section consisted of four parts: G1 (personnel), G2 (intelligence), G3 (operation), and G4 (logistics). The special staff section consisted of nine sections: Legal Section (LS), Public Health and Welfare (PHW), Government Section (GS), Civil Intelligence Section (CIS), Natural Resources Section (NRS), Economic and Scientific Section (ESS), Civil Information and Education Section (CIE), Statistical and Reports Section (SRS), and Civil Communications Section (CCS). GS took the initiative in promoting demilitarization and democratization; however, GS severely confronted G2 in terms of methods and orientation of U.S. occupation policies in Japan. GS with many New Dealers in the section tended to support progressive forces in Japan, such as the Tetsu Katayama and Hitoshi Ashida administrations, while G2 supported the Shigeru Yoshida administrations. The special staff section expanded to 11 sections in January 1946 and 14 sections in the end.

General MacArthur came to serve concurrently as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and Commander-in-chief for AFPAC.
On the one hand, as the former, MacArthur had to obey orders of the Far Eastern Commission (FEC), established in February 1946, consisting of 11 countries: the United States, Great Britain, China, the Soviet Union, France, India, Netherlands, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines (Burma and Pakistan joined later in November 1949). Washington, D.C., hosted the FEC while it established its local agency in Tokyo called the Allied Council for Japan (ACJ) in April 1946. In theory, the FEC was the supreme policy decision-making institution, the ACJ was a consultative agency for MacArthur, and he was supreme commander to implement the FEC’s decisions; however, in practice, things did not go as smoothly as the theory indicated. The FEC had the authority of sending directives to MacArthur, but because the United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union held veto power, the FEC in reality did not function well. As a way to break the stalemate, the United States took the advantage of its authority of issuing “interim directive in case of emergency” to carry out its occupation policy. On the other hand, as commander-in-chief for AFPAC, MacArthur had to obey the directives from Washington. This double commissions sometimes put MacArthur in an awkward position; however, he, in reality, took advantage of his two assignments to carry out occupation policies effectively.

GHQ/SCAP adopted indirect governance: to give directives and orders to the Japanese government and let it carry out actual policies to govern the Japanese people. Two primary purposes of GHQ/SCAP were demilitarization and democratization. For this purpose, GHQ/SCAP implemented a series of severe reforms, such as women’s suffrage, enactment of labor union laws, educational system reform, abolition of oppressive legal system, zaibatsu dissolution, agrarian land reform, formulation of a new constitution, and more reforms.

On 25 June 1950, the Korean War broke out. As the war situation went against the United Nations forces led by the U.S. forces when the Chinese communist army entered the war in October 1950, General MacArthur strongly demanded bombing China and even using atomic bombs against China. His hawkish demands precipitated serious conflicts with President Truman. The president finally relieved MacArthur from command of SCAP on 11 April 1951. Lieutenant General Matthew Bunker Ridgway succeeded MacArthur and assumed SCAP on 16 April 1951. Ridgway was promoted to general in May 1951.
GHQ/SCAP continued until the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into force on 28 April 1952. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

**GENEVA NAVAL CONFERENCE (1927).** Held from 28 June to 4 August 1927, the Geneva Naval Conference was a failed attempt on the part of the United States, Great Britain, and Japan to extend the naval limitations agreements originally reached at the **Washington Conference of 1921-1922**. In the years after the Washington Conference of 1921–1922, Japan and Great Britain had concentrated their efforts on building those vessels that remained outside the system of naval limitation, namely cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. U.S. President Calvin Coolidge—who was no less fiscally minded than was Congress—had refrained from building these vessels, and by 1927, was alarmed at the prospect of losing parity with Britain and superiority over Japan. Not wishing to be drawn into an arms race, President **Herbert Hoover** sought instead to fix limits for auxiliary craft, and he invited Britain, Japan, France, and Italy to meet in Geneva in the summer of 1927. The Geneva Naval Conference was a conspicuous failure. France and Italy refused to attend. The American and British delegates wrangled over large versus small cruisers, and the conference broke down because of their inability to compromise.

Convinced of the need to avoid a ruinous naval arms race with the United States and Great Britain, Plenipotentiary Admiral Makoto Saitō made every effort to make the conference a success, mediating between his British and American counterparts. He had entered the conference informed by the objective of avoiding any increase in the actual existing strength of each power, and aimed at a 70-percent ration in surface vessels vis-à-vis the United States and Great Britain. The American–British split threatened these objectives. This was amply evidenced by an immense naval authorization bill that the United States Navy General Board submitted to the House of Representatives in 1929. Although the bill was ultimately withdrawn, it called for the construction (over a nine-year period) of 25 heavy cruisers, nine destroyer flotilla leaders, 32 submarines, and five aircraft carriers.

**GENTLEMEN’S AGREEMENT (1908).** In February 1908, President **Theodore Roosevelt** and Japanese ambassador Viscount Aoki Keikichi concluded the so-called gentlemen’s agreement. A cooperative
attempt to curb Japanese immigration to the United States—which, it was hoped, would remove a cause of Japanese–American friction—it continued in force until 1924, when the United States Congress passed the prohibitive National Origins Act, better known as the Oriental Exclusion Act.

The gentlemen’s agreement was a response to racist, anti-Japanese (anti-Asian) sentiment that raged in California as Japanese nationals in the early 1900s entered the United States in considerable numbers. The matter came to a head when, in 1906, the San Francisco school board barred Japanese school children (along with their Chinese and Korean counterparts) from the city’s regular public schools, requiring that they attend a segregated oriental public school. Chafing at the segregation of its citizens, the Japanese government lodged an official protest with Washington.

In his annual message of 1906, President Roosevelt called the board’s act a “wicked absurdity.” He subsequently summoned San Francisco school officials to the White House and dictated a deal: rescind the segregation order in return for a Japanese promise to curb immigration to the United States. It took 18 months before he finalized with Japanese officials the gentlemen’s agreement on 18 February 1908. Its key provisions stipulated that Japan would refuse passports to laborers going to the mainland United States (which it had been doing since 1900); and it would make no objection if Japanese nationals were barred from entering the mainland United States from intermediate points, such as Hawaii, Canada, or Mexico. Put into effect by an executive order, the gentlemen’s agreement succeeded—in the short term—in pouring oil over the turbulent waters of race and immigration.

**GIRARD INCIDENT.** The Girard Incident of 1957 was a criminal case in which a 46-year-old Japanese housewife, named Naka Sakai, was collecting scrap metal on an off-limits U.S. Army shooting range located in Somogahara, Gunma Prefecture. She was shot and killed on 30 January 1957 by a 21-year-old non-commissioned American officer, William S. Girard. According to Girard’s testimony, he lured Sakai closer to him and shot her close up, at about 10 meters, with an empty cartridge case from a grenade launcher. At first, the U.S. forces insisted that the United States has jurisdiction over such incidents.
But there was a furious public outcry over the killing in Japan, and this led to a jurisdictional dispute between Japan and the United States. The incident illuminated the real situation regarding the restricted Japanese sovereignty under the Japan–U.S. Status-of-Forces Agreement. A Japan–U.S. joint commission was set up to discuss the issue, but it could not reach any agreement. Finally, taking hardening of Japanese public opinion on the issue into consideration, the United States saved the situation not by making any interpretation of the Japan–U.S. Status-of-Forces Agreement, but by taking a special measure of “not using jurisdiction” over this particular incident.

On 18 May 1957, the prosecutor indicted Girard with charges of injury resulting in death. American people expressed resentment at this development. Girard’s elder brother filed a lawsuit to the Federal district court seeking habeas corpus for Girard. On 18 June, the Federal district court gave a decision forbidding Girard’s extradition to Japan. The United States government appealed this court ruling. At last, on 11 July 1957, the Federal Supreme Court rejected a lower court decision and approved Japanese jurisdiction over the Gerard incident.

On 26 August 1957, the Girard incident trial began at the Maebashi district court. The prosecutor demanded a five-year prison term for the accused with charges of injury resulting in death. On 19 November 1957, the court handed down a sentence of three years in prison with a probation period of four years. Despite this extraordinarily light sentence, the prosecutor did not appeal this court ruling, while Girard accepted it. After the court ruling, Girard returned to the United States with his Japanese wife. The U.S. military forces did not make any formal compensation payment; instead, it paid only 620,000 yen as consolation payment. Subsequent to this incident, U.S. military personnel committed crimes in various places in Japan. See also DEFENSE.

GOVERNMENT AID AND RELIEF IN OCCUPIED AREAS (GARIOA). This term describes aid assistance that was funded by the U.S. military budget given to Japan and Germany to help both countries economically recover following the end of World War II. The aid was used to pay for emergency supplies of daily necessities such as food, clothing, and pharmaceuticals needed in occupied areas. The
United States established two major funds to handle reconstruction costs in postwar occupied areas: the Government Aid and Relief in Occupied Area (GARIOA) fund and the Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Area (EROA) fund. Japan received money for relief and reconstruction from both funds, first from the GARIOA fund starting in 1946 and then from the EROA fund starting in 1949. The total amount received was $1.8 billion, of which $1.3 billion were provided interest free. These counterpart funds (profits from selling commodities bought by GARIOA and EROA funds) became capital sources of low-interest loans to be used for funding such economic recovery activities as currency stability and investment in national infrastructure (railroads, electric power generation and communications, marine transportation, and coal mining). The United States and Japan concluded an agreement in 1962 that stipulated that Japan would repay the aid provided by the two funds by giving aid to developing countries and subsidizing Japan–U.S. cultural exchange activities. See also Pacific War.

**GRANT, ULYSSES S. (1822–1885).** General in the Union Army during the American Civil War and president of the United States from 1869 to 1877. After serving two terms as president, during which he met with members of the Iwakura Mission, Grant and his wife Julia took a long-planned world tour for the next two years. Hailed as the hero of the American Civil War and treated as if he were a visiting head of state wherever he went in Europe and Asia, Grant arrived in Japan in early 1879 and spent several months in the country. They were treated exceptionally well in Japan, in part because Japanese leaders wanted to gain international respect by demonstrating to the former American president that their country had significantly progressed in many areas of political, social, and cultural life. While in Japan, Grant was asked to arbitrate a dispute over possession of Okinawa between Japan and China, and he decided in Japan’s favor. In discussions with Emperor Meiji and other Japanese leaders, Grant made it clear he believed Japan to be an equal to the United States and Europe and wished the Ansei Treaties, also known as the “unequal treaties,” forced on Japan in the 1850s to be revised on an equitable basis.
GREAT WHITE FLEET. After the Spanish–American War of 1898, the United States emerged as a power to be reckoned with. Central to the nation’s rise was the strength of its navy. In 1904, the United States possessed the world’s fifth largest navy, and had risen to second place in 1907. Much of the fleet’s expansion was directly attributable to President Theodore Roosevelt’s enthusiasm for naval strength. In July 1907, Roosevelt decided to flex his nation’s naval muscle, directing the service to embark on what became one of the most impressive peacetime naval demonstrations of all time.

After numerous port calls throughout Latin America—which through the so-called Roosevelt corollary of the Monroe Doctrine had been declared totally off limits to all powers but the United States—the Great White Fleet traveled to New Zealand, Australia, and the Philippines. The Japanese government requested a visit by the fleet, which duly arrived at Yokohama in October 1908. The ships were granted a wildly enthusiastic welcome by both Japanese officialdom and people alike.

The effect exerted by the Great White Fleet on Japanese–American relations is difficult to gauge. Certainly, its arrival in Japanese waters coincided with increasing tensions between the two nations. In October 1906, the authorities in San Francisco ordered that all Chinese, Japanese, and Korean children go to a segregated oriental public school (See CALIFORNIA). The Japanese government duly protested the segregation of its citizens, and a war scare exploded on both sides of the Pacific. Given the rousing reception the Great White Fleet received in Japan, it seems fair to conclude that it poured oil on these troubled waters. It may also have facilitated the signing of such conventions as the Taft–Katsura Agreement and the Root–Takahira Agreement. It is also necessary to recognize, however, that the U.S. Navy in 1906 had begun planning war scenarios with Japan as its hypothetical enemy, and continued to do so through 1907 and beyond. For its part, the Japanese navy in 1907 nominated its American counterpart as its hypothetical enemy number one.

GREATER EAST ASIAN CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE. The Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere was a slogan devised in mid-1940 to rationalize Japan’s frankly aggressive designs toward the resource-rich
colonial regions of Southeast Asia. An expeditious response to the success with which Germany’s blitzkrieg had met in Europe, which, in turn, rendered defenseless British, French, and Dutch colonial possessions in Southeast Asia, it was deemed essential to Japan’s existence as an independent nation. For this purpose, the Japanese government in late July 1940 determined that if favorable circumstances arose, it would use force in Southeast Asia as a means to the construction of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.

On 1 August 1940, Foreign Minister Yōsuke Matsuoka publicly announced Japan’s intention to construct the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, and stated that it was logical to include French Indochina and the Netherlands East Indies within it. Within weeks, Japanese troops had moved into northern Indochina. The United States, among the few nations still able to exercise a decisive influence on Japan’s aggressive designs, signified its opposition by slapping a virtual embargo on aviation gasoline, high-grade iron, and steel scrap. This pattern was more or less repeated in July 1941, when Japanese troops occupied the entire Indochinese peninsula and Washington responded by freezing Japanese assets and embarguing oil.

Following Pearl Harbor, despite Japanese appeals to Asian nationalism, the fundamentals of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere remained bluntly utilitarian. Indeed, government leaders behind closed doors made reference not to the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, but to the “Imperial resource sphere.” Nonetheless, the Japanese government in November 1943 convened a Conference of Greater East Asia, with delegates from Manchukuo, the Nanjing regime in China, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines, and India in attendance. On 7 November, they released a joint statement that affirmed their commitment to such principles as coexistence and co-prosperity; respect for mutual autonomy and independence; and the abolition of racial discrimination. These were fine-sounding principles, but they were clearly honored in the breach by Japan. Any country, by them, the relentless American counteroffensive against Japanese positions in the Pacific rendered Japan’s self-appointed position at the apex of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere extremely vulnerable. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.
GREW, JOSEPH C. (1880-1965). Joseph Grew was America’s ambassador to Japan throughout the decade prior to Pearl Harbor from 1932 to 1944. Sensitive to Japan’s needs, he often found himself out of step with his colleagues in the State Department, although during the war he wielded a not-inconsiderable influence over planning for post-surrender Japan.

A graduate of Harvard University, he began his diplomatic career with a consular assignment in 1904. He went through the whole process from third secretary to Counselor of Embassy before achieving the rank of minister, as secretary of the United States Commission to the Paris Peace Conference. For a short time, he was assigned as counselor to the Paris Embassy and then to Denmark as minister. After a tour as minister to Switzerland, Grew was sent to Lausanne to negotiate the Turkish Treaty. He became under secretary to Secretary of State Charles Evan Hughes in 1924 and contributed to the reorganization of the Foreign Service. He left Washington to assume the post of ambassador to Turkey in 1927. His mentor at the State Department, William R. Castle, Jr., successfully secured Grew’s appointment in 1932 as ambassador to Japan.

Grew’s assignment was difficult. The Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931 had poisoned Japanese–American relations, and Tokyo continued to take actions that were inimical to American interests throughout Grew’s time as ambassador. He nonetheless believed that Japan could be a force for stability in the Far East. In his communications with Washington—with a few notable exceptions—he consistently counseled a moderate policy so as not to provoke the hardliners in Tokyo. In his dealings with Japanese officials, he sought to convey the fundamentals of American policy and to gently suggest how Japan might prosper by working with—rather than against—those interests.

Grew in February 1944 was appointed head of the State Department’s Office of Far Eastern Affairs; in December of that year, he was appointed under secretary of state. Throughout he propounded his basic assumption that affording Japan a liberal peace was the surest way to attain the ultimate American objective of peace and security in the Pacific. He retired from the State Department the day after Japan surrendered.
GRIFFIS, WILLIAM ELLIOT (1843–1928). American yatoi (expert) in Japan during the early Meiji Era, religious leader, and author of several books. After serving in a Pennsylvania regiment during the American Civil War, William Elliot Griffis entered Rutgers College in New Jersey, then affiliated with the Dutch Reformed Church. After becoming an instructor, he met and taught several Japanese students who came to Rutgers College on the recommendation of Guido Verbeck, an American teacher and missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church in Japan. Griffis traveled to Japan in 1871 and was put in charge of education in Echizen Prefecture, and later became a professor at Tokyo Kaisei Gakko (later called Tokyo University). His sister, Margaret Clark Griffis, joined him in Japan and promoted women’s education. After returning to the United States, Griffis earned a doctorate in theology from Union College in New York and served as pastor in churches in New York and Boston. He became a prolific author, with most of his writings on Japan, Japan–America relations, and Holland. His best-known work, The Mikado’s Empire, originally published in 1876, went through several printings and editions and became the most widely read book on Japan in the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

GUIDELINES FOR U.S.-JAPAN DEFENSE COOPERATION, 1978. At a summit between Prime Minister Takeo Miki and President Gerald Ford in August 1975, the two men agreed to consult regarding appropriate forms of defense cooperation in order to prepare for joint engagement in case of emergency. For this purpose, in August 1976, the United States and Japan established the Subcommittee for Defense Cooperation (SDC) under the auspices of the Japan–U.S. Security Consultative Committee (SCC). Finally, in November 1978, the SDC formulated the Guidelines for U.S.–Japan Defense Cooperation. “The aim of these Guidelines is to create a solid basis for more effective and credible U.S.–Japan cooperation under normal circumstances, in case of an armed attack against Japan, and in situations in areas surrounding Japan. The Guidelines also provided a general framework and policy direction for the roles and missions of the two countries and ways of cooperation and coordination, both under normal circumstances and
during contingencies.” The Guidelines stipulated the basic principles in terms of emergencies in Japan, but they left emergencies in the Far East other than Japan for future consideration.

GUIDELINES FOR U.S.-JAPAN DEFENSE COOPERATION, 1997. These are new guidelines of 1997 that revised Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation, 1978. The United States and Japan agreed with the new guidelines on 23 September 1997. The guidelines stipulate U.S.-Japan cooperation in emergencies in the areas surrounding Japan. Its defense areas extended to cover not only Japanese territories but also the Asia-Pacific region, and its primary aim is to contribute to bringing peace and stability in the region. The new guidelines are significant because even in emergencies outside the Japanese territories, Japan, for the first time in its history, may cooperate with the United States militarily beyond providing the United States with military bases in Japan and other facilities. In order to secure effectiveness of the new guidelines, the so-called three new guidelines-related laws were enacted on 24 May 1999: the Law on a Situation in the Areas Surrounding Japan, the amendment of the Self-Defense Forces Law, and the revised Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement.

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HALL, FRANCIS (1822–1902). An American businessman, reporter for the New York Tribune, and friend of missionaries Samuel R. Brown and Guido Verbeck, Francis Hall lived in the treaty port of Yokohama from 1859 to 1866. He helped found Walsh, Hall & Company while living in Japan. He returned to his native Elmira, New York, where he continued his business success and became a prominent philanthropist. The journal of his years in Japan, published as Japan Through American Eyes: The Journal of Francis Hall, 1859–1866 (edited by Fred Notehelfer), is a wealth of information about life during the turbulent years of Japan’s contact with the West just before the Meiji Restoration. See also HECO, JOSEPH.
HAMAGUCHI, OSACHI (1870-1931). Born in 1870, Osachi Hamaguchi was a leading politician in the Taishō and early Shōwa periods. Graduating from Tokyo Imperial University in 1895, he entered the Ministry of Finance soon thereafter. In December 1912, he was appointed vice communications minister in the third cabinet of General Tarō Katsura, although within three months he had resigned from his post in order to join the newly formed Protect the Constitution Movement. In 1914, he was appointed vice finance minister in the cabinet of Shigenobu Okuma; the following year, he was elected to the House of Representatives. He was finance minister from 1924 to 1926, and home minister from 1926 to 1927. In June 1927, he became president of the newly formed political party Minseitō, and little more than two years later formed his own cabinet. Along with his foreign minister, Kijūrō Shidehara, Hamaguchi strived for a foreign policy characterized by cooperation with the great powers. This was most readily evident in his actions throughout the First London Naval Conference of 1930. At this conference, American, British, and Japanese delegates hammered out a complicated naval limitation agreement that for the most part met Japan’s pre-conference desires. Despite the heated opposition of (particularly) the Navy General Staff, Hamaguchi—who was known as “the Lion”—showed considerable political acumen in steering this agreement through to ratification.

All the while he faced charges of having trampled on the “right of supreme command,” with the chief of the Navy General Staff spuriously arguing that Hamaguchi had ignored his arguments. Although refusing to be drawn into this controversy, Hamaguchi was shot by a right-wing fanatic in November 1930. His cabinet resigned in April 1931, and Hamaguchi died in August of that year.

HARA, TAKASHI (1856-1921). Takashi Hara was one of Japan’s most influential politicians of the early 20th century. Born into a samurai family in 1856, he worked as a journalist before entering the Foreign Ministry in 1882. Serving first as Japanese consul to Tientsin, he was later posted to France. In 1889, he left the Foreign Ministry for the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. He served as secretary to both Kaoru Inoue and Munemitsu Mutsu before being appointed vice foreign minister (under Foreign Minister Mutsu) in the second cabinet of Hirobumi Itō. He left his post after Mutsu’s
death in 1897. After a brief period in private business, Hara in 1900 joined Hirobumi Itō’s new political party, the Seiyūkai. From October of that year, when Itō formed his fourth cabinet, Hara served as communications minister. By 1903, Hara had emerged as one of the principal powerbrokers within his political party. He served as home minister in Kimmochi Saionji’s numerous cabinets, and in 1913 worked with Saionji and Admiral Gombei Yamamoto to forge a cabinet headed by the latter. In 1917, he was appointed a member of the Advisory Council on Foreign Relations, and in August 1918 formed his first cabinet. He was the first prime minister to head a majority party cabinet and hold a seat in the lower house.

Hara paid close attention to his nation’s foreign policy. At its most basic, his foreign policy was driven by the sensed need for cooperative relations with the United States and non-interference in Chinese internal affairs. Both these policies were realized at the Washington Conference of 1921–1922, although Hara did not live to see the results of the conference. He was stabbed to death by a 19-year-old youth eight days after the conference opened.

HARDY, ALPHAEUS (1838–1912). Wealthy businessman from Boston, member of the Congregationalist Church–sponsored American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and trustee of Amherst College, Alphaeus Hardy and his wife Susan were Jo Niijima’s primary benefactors during the young Japanese man’s educational and spiritual sojourn in the United States from 1865 to 1874. Niijima referred to himself in English as “Joseph Hardy Niishima” and regarded Alphaeus and Susan Hardy as his “American father” and “American mother.” See also DOSHISHA UNIVERSITY.

HARRIS, TOWNSEND (1804–1879). Harris was the first American chargé d’affaires, later minister (ambassador) to Japan. A businessman dealing in the China trade and active in New York politics, Harris tried unsuccessfully to join Commodore Matthew Perry’s mission to Japan in 1853–1854. However, he convinced President Franklin Pierce to appoint him as America’s first resident diplomat in Japan and took up his post in 1856. With assistance from his secretary and interpreter, Henry Heusken, Harris negotiated and signed the United States–Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the Tokugawa...
shogunate in 1858. Tragically, Naosuke Ii, the chief negotiator and representative of the Tokugawa government, and Henry Heusken were later assassinated by anti-foreign samurai. According to legend and not scholarly evidence, the Tokugawa shogunate provided Harris, a lifelong bachelor, with a mistress named Okichi, who later committed suicide because of her shameful relations with the barbarian diplomat. Harris remained in Japan until 1862, then returned to New York and promoted public education for the remainder of his life. He founded the Free Academy of the City of New York, now known as City College of New York.


HAWAII or HAWAI’I. Independent Kingdom of Hawaii from 1810–1893; Provisional Government of Hawaii, then Republic of Hawaii to 1898; Territory of the United States from 1898 to 1959; State of Hawaii from 1959. A volcanic archipelago with eight major islands, native Hawaiians lived without significant contact from the outside until 1778 when English Captain James Cook “discovered” the islands. In the early 19th century traders, sailors, and missionaries began coming to the islands and by the mid-19th century sugar cane plantations were established by Americans, British, and other Westerners. The production of sugar cane on the islands, and geographic proximity to the growing West Coast of the United States and to Asia made the islands of particularly strategic importance to the United States. Americans gradually established the most significant Western presence on the islands and, by the 1890s, the islands came under American control through the actions of private Americans and United States Marines.

Japanese shipwrecked sailors, such as Manjiro Nakahama and Joseph Heco, spent time on the islands in the 1850s, and one of the first significant diplomatic disputes between the Japanese and American governments was over the fate of 150 Japanese laborers, known
as the *gannenmono*, who arrived in Hawaii in 1868 in a deal arranged by American businessman *Eugene Van Reed* and Hawaii’s plantation owners. In 1871, American Ambassador to Japan *Charles De Long* was temporarily appointed as Hawaii’s diplomatic representative in Japan and signed the Japan–Hawaii Friendship Treaty on behalf of the Kingdom of Hawaii. Upset over the increasing influence of Americans in Hawaii, King Kalakaua asked *Emperor Meiji* in 1881 to be the leader of a league of Asia nations, including Hawaii. Emperor Meiji firmly rejected the idea; yet his grandson, *Emperor Hirohito*, considered the possibility of including Hawaii in the “Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere” several decades later.

Significant numbers of Japanese immigrants began arriving in Hawaii in the mid-1880s because of economic hardship in rural areas of Japan, including *Okinawa*, and would continue until Japanese immigration to the United States and its territories was stopped in 1924 by the *Oriental Exclusion Act*. Japanese immigrants in Hawaii worked on sugar cane and pineapple plantations on several islands, while some began businesses in Honolulu.

On 7 December 1941, Japanese Imperial Navy planes attacked the U.S. Pacific Fleet base at *Pearl Harbor* and several other military facilities on Hawaii in the opening phase of the *Pacific War* between Japan and the United States. With the U.S. Pacific Fleet crippled, more than 2,400 dead, and Japanese Americans numbering more than one-third of the total population of the islands, there was substantial fear among the civilian community that Japanese military forces would invade Hawaii. This did not happen, and General Delos Emmons took charge as American military commander of Hawaii and maintained control of both the civilian and military populations. He also resisted pressure from authorities in Washington, D.C., to put Japanese Americans into *internment* camps, and only 1,000 of more than 100,000 thousand Japanese Americans on Hawaii were interned. This was unlike the fate of Japanese Americans in the western United States, where 120,000 were forced to spend years in internment camps as so-called enemy aliens. More than 2,000 Japanese Americans from Hawaii served in the U.S. Army’s 442nd Regimental Combat Team unit during *World War II*.

After World War II, politicians, business leaders, and many Americans living on the islands lobbied for statehood and Hawaii became
the 50th state of the United States in 1959. When George Ariyoshi was elected Governor of Hawaii in 1974, he became not only the first Japanese American governor but also the first Asian American governor in United States history. Other well-known Japanese Americans from Hawaii are Senator Daniel Inouye and U.S. Army General Eric Shinseki.

Since the end of World War II, Hawaii has developed a substantial tourist industry. Americans from the mainland, Japanese, and people all over the world come to Hawaii to enjoy its warm climate, beaches, scenic mountains, and active volcanoes. The U.S. Pacific Command and other American military facilities are based in Hawaii, while the University of Hawaii and its affiliated East–West Center have become internationally renowned education and research facilities. In recent years, many native Hawaiians have joined a movement promoting Hawaiian sovereignty, arguing that the American takeover of the islands in the 1890s was illegal. The biggest success of this movement was in 1993 when both Houses of the U.S. Congress passed and President Bill Clinton signed a resolution apologizing for the actions of the American government in overthrowing the Hawaiian monarchy in the 1890s. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, there are more than 1.2 million people living in Hawaii, the majority of whom are of Asian descent. See also IMMIGRATION; INTERNMENT.

**HAY, JOHN (1838–1905).** Born in 1838, John Hay first rose to notice as assistant private secretary to President Abraham Lincoln. He was appointed assistant secretary of state in 1879, and in 1897, he was posted as ambassador to Great Britain. An outspoken Anglophile, Hay returned to Washington in 1898, President William McKinley having named him secretary of state.

Hay provided the framework for Japanese–American relations throughout much of the 20th century when, in 1899 (and again in 1900), he issued his famed Open Door notes. Issued to Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Japan, the Open Door notes sought to ensure the future expansion of American trade in China by guarding against the disintegration of that beleaguered country. Specifically, Hay’s Open Door notes asked the imperial powers not to discriminate against the trade of other countries within their spheres of influence in China. The notes also asked the powers to refrain from interfering with Customs Service collection of tariff du-
ties. As Hay himself put it, the Open Door policy asked for a fair field and no favor for all traders.

HEARN, LAFCADIO (ALSO KNOWN AS YAKUMO KOIZUMI; 1850–1904). An educator and author of several books and essays on Japan, Hearn was born in Greece, studied in England, Ireland, and France, and emigrated to the United States in 1869. He worked as a translator and journalist before moving to Japan in 1889 to become an English teacher in rural Matsue. He later taught at a college in Kumamoto, and afterward obtained a position at the University of Tokyo. Despite his partial blindness, he wrote several widely read works on Japan, including Glimpses of an Unfamiliar Japan and Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation. He married Setsuko Koizumi, and took her family’s name upon becoming a Japanese citizen in 1894.

HECO, JOSEPH (ALSO KNOWN AS HIKOZO HAMADA; 1836–1897). As a young boy, Heco was on a coastal trade ship between Edo and Kobe blown into the open Pacific Ocean by a storm and eventually rescued by an American ship returning from China to San Francisco. Assisted by American benefactors, especially the sailor Thomas Troy and the politically well-connected businessman Beverly C. Sanders, Heco remained in the United States until 1859. He went to school in San Francisco and Maryland, worked at a commercial trading firm, converted to Catholicism, met Presidents Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, and, on a return trip to the U.S., met President Abraham Lincoln. He adopted the name “Joseph Heco,” and, in 1858, became the first Japanese granted American citizenship. He returned to Japan in 1859, and worked as an interpreter and secretary for American charge d’affaires Townsend Harris. He made friends with several Americans in Japan, including Francis Hall and Eugene Van Reed. Although Heco worked with the American and Japanese governments from time to time, including two years in the Japanese Finance Ministry (1872–1874), he spent most of life back in Japan as a commercial agent and business entrepreneur. See also CASTAWAY SAILORS, JAPANESE.

HEPBURN, JAMES CURTIS (1815–1911). A medical doctor and American missionary, James Curtis Hepburn and his wife, Clara, lived and worked in Japan from 1859 to 1890. Dr. Hepburn provided
free medical care to many Japanese living in the Kanagawa–Yokohama area while Clara Hepburn worked as a teacher for Japanese girls. Dr. Hepburn produced the first Japanese–English dictionary in 1867, and then an English–Japanese dictionary a few years later. He devised a coherent system of writing Japanese words with romanized letters, known as the Hepburn Romanization System, which is still the standard system used when translating between English and Japanese. Dr. Hepburn also helped establish the first Presbyterian Church in Japan, and later he assisted fellow missionaries Samuel R. Brown and Guido Verbeck in establishing Meiji Gakuin University. See also Christianity in Japan; Yatoi.

HEUSKEN, HENRY (1832–1861). A native of Holland who immigrated to the United States, Henry Heusken accompanied Townsend Harris, America’s first counsel-general to Japan, as secretary and interpreter of the American legation. Heusken’s language fluency in Dutch, English, and Japanese proved invaluable during treaty negotiations and discussions between Harris and Japanese officials such as Naosuke Ii. Heusken also assisted the British and Prussian delegations during their negotiations with Japanese officials. In January 1861, Heusken was assassinated by anti-foreign samurai from the Satsuma domain. See also Ansei Treaties; U.S.–Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce.

"HIGUCHI REPORT" (THE MODALITY OF THE SECURITY AND DEFENSE CAPABILITY OF JAPAN). Believing that arms control would be a trend in the security environment after the end of the Cold War, the Morihiro Hosokawa administration established the Advisory Group on Defense Issues in February 1994 in order to acquire a basic philosophy for a new defense program outline. This group consisted of nine members, all intellectuals in the private sector, chaired by Hirotaro Higuchi of Asahi Breweries, Ltd. The group submitted to Prime Minister Tomiichiro Murayama the final report, “The Modality of the Security and Defense Capability of Japan—The Outlook for the 21st Century.” This report suggested that Japan should adopt more active security policy. “Japan should extricate itself from its security policy of the past that was, if anything, passive, and henceforth play an active role in shaping a new order.” The re-
port emphasizes “multilateral cooperation centering on the United States;” however, sensitive American defense experts were afraid that Japan was beginning to lose respect for the primary importance of the U.S.–Japan alliance. Consequently, they sought to redefine the alliance that resulted in the so-called “Nye Report” in February 1995.

HIROHITO (1901–1989). Hirohito ascended the throne in 1926 and remained there until 1989. For much of the first two decades of his reign, Japan was at war. Precisely what role Hirohito played in Japanese politics—and what effect he exerted over Japanese–American relations—in the period leading up to Japan’s surrender in World War II is necessarily a matter of debate.

His authority as established by the Meiji Constitution of 1890 was great: he was a “sacred and inviolable” figure who exercised the rights of sovereignty and legislative power with the consent of the Diet. He had wide authority to issue ordinances. He maintained supreme command of the army and navy and held the authority to determine the organization of the armed services. He had the power to make war and peace and to conclude treaties. The emperor did not however operate in a vacuum, and relied on the conclusions reached by the responsible ministers of state as well as military officials.

Some historians argue that Hirohito was a dynamic emperor who exercised real power and participated closely in the making of national policy. They maintain that he influenced not only the course of his nation’s diplomacy, but that he played an active role in shaping Japan’s war planning, strategy, and conduct. According to this line of reasoning, moreover, Hirohito, toward the end of the war, refused to break with the hardline military figures who were arguing for a decisive home-island battle, and thus bore heavy responsibility for delaying Japan’s surrender.

Other historians stress that Hirohito’s role amounted to little more than sanctioning policies that had already been decided upon. They argue that, for the most part, policies were drawn up by ad hoc committees of middle echelon bureaucrats (or officers), which were then circulated to higher levels within their respective ministries (or general staffs), then faced discussion and possible amendment at the hands of cabinet level ministers (and army and navy chiefs of staff). These historians maintain that Hirohito ratified policies only after they had been through such a process. They also argue that far from
delaying the war’s end, it was Hirohito’s “sacred decision” that made it finally possible for a government divided between those advocating surrender and those who refused to admit defeat to surrender.

HIROTA KÔKI (1878-1948). Hirota was an influential diplomat and politician throughout the Taishô and Shôwa periods, and was the only civilian tried and found guilty as a Class A war criminal at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. As a student of Tokyo Imperial University—from which he graduated in 1905—he received instruction from career diplomat Enjirô Yamaza. He entered the Foreign Ministry in 1906, the same year as Shigeru Yoshida and Eijirô Hayashi. He served in various posts in China, Britain, and the United States before he was appointed head of the Foreign Ministry’s Europe–America Bureau in 1923. Three years later, he was sent to Holland, and in 1930 he was appointed ambassador to the Soviet Union. He returned to Japan in November 1932, and, in September 1933, assumed the foreign minister’s post. In a speech before the Imperial Diet in January 1934, Hirota declared that Japan alone bore responsibility for the maintenance of peace in Asia and that foreign nations must recognize that fact. Hirota repeatedly professed that he sought cooperative relations between Japan and China, although his willing acquiescence in the application of military pressure against China’s northern provinces provided a revealing pointer as to his conception of Sino–Japanese cooperation.

Hirota assumed the prime minister’s post following the February 26 Incident of 1936. Insofar as it concerned itself with foreign affairs, his cabinet placed highest priority on Soviet Russia, and in November 1936, Japan and Germany signed the Anti-Comintern Pact. This, in turn, helped facilitate Japanese aggression in China by reducing the threat of Soviet intervention.

In January 1937, Hirota’s cabinet was replaced by that of General Hayashi Senjûrô, which, in turn, was replaced by the first cabinet of Fumimaro Konoe in June 1937. Hirota was appointed foreign minister. Within a month, fighting between Japanese and Chinese forces broke out outside Peking near the Marco Polo Bridge. By August, the fighting had spread to Shanghai. Hirota did nothing to slow—much less prevent—the slide into all-out war. To the contrary, he favored its extension. He resigned as foreign minister in May 1938.
After an extended period on the sidelines, Hirota reemerged in June 1945. At Foreign Minister Shigenori Tōgō’s behest, Hirota met with Soviet ambassador Yakov Malik in an effort to lay the groundwork for Soviet good offices in ending World War II (the Soviet Union at this time had not entered the war against Japan). It was an act of diplomatic futility.

HOOVER, HERBERT (1874–1964). Herbert Hoover was president of the United States from 1929 to 1933. A graduate of Stanford University, he earned his fortune as an engineer who had a knack for scouting out mining opportunities. During World War I, he revealed his administrative prowess first as director of Belgian relief, then as Food Administrator in the administration of President Woodrow Wilson. He subsequently spearheaded postwar relief activities in Europe. He was appointed secretary of commerce in the administration of President Warren Harding, enhancing his reputation as both a humanitarian and as an administrator.

Hoover secured the Republican presidential nomination in 1928. Popular with the nation at large, his candidacy was also boosted by the booming prosperity his Republican predecessors had presided over throughout the 1920s. Although his presidency will be most remembered for its inability to respond effectively to the Great Depression, his presidency also coincided with Japan’s 1931 invasion of Manchuria. Unsurprisingly, he played an important role in devising the American response.

In responding to Japanese aggression in Manchuria, Hoover was largely out of step with his secretary of state, Henry L. Stimson. Whereas Stimson advocated firmness, Hoover preferred a go-soft approach. He nonetheless agreed with Stimson that some form of response was necessary. Thus was born the Stimson notes, which were issued to Japan and China in January 1932. In these notes, the American government refused to recognize any changes in China brought about by force and in violation of the Open Door policy. The Hoover administration’s Far Eastern policy, although it largely accorded with the antiwar sentiment of the American people, does not deserve high marks. For although it thought and talked in terms of high moral principles, it refused to act in terms of power, which was the only language to which the frankly expansionist Japanese army was responsive.
HORNBECK, STANLEY (1883–1966). Stanley Hornbeck was chief of the United States State Department’s Division of Far Eastern Affairs from 1928 to 1937 and adviser on political relations from 1936 to 1944. He entered the State Department as a scholar of some renown, having published on Far Eastern politics while teaching at various Chinese colleges and later at Harvard University. He had moreover served as a delegate to the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Conference. Once he entered the State Department, he revealed himself to be possessed of both an incisive mind and sharp tongue, regularly rebuking his subordinates for not having met his expectations.

Hornbeck held various assumptions regarding the maintenance of peace in the Far East. In the first instance, he held to the conviction that China must be able to defend its political and territorial integrity. He also believed that the United States must display resoluteness—and if necessary force—to warn off predatory nations, principal among which was Japan. His position toward Japan noticeably hardened after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in July 1937, when he began to advocate economic sanctions in an effort to force Japan to step back from its perceived ambitions. When, in September 1940, Japan concluded an alliance relationship with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, Hornbeck was convinced that this “left no doubt that the world [was] confronted . . . not with merely regional or local wars but with an organized and ruthless movement of conquest.” President Franklin D. Roosevelt agreed with Hornbeck, stating that, by its actions, Japan had announced itself as “openly and unashamedly one of the predatory nations and part of a system which aims to wreck about everything the United States stands for.”

Hornbeck’s abrasiveness in his dealings with his subordinates, combined with his unshakeable confidence in Chiang Kai-shek’s leadership of China, eventually proved his undoing. In late January 1944, several junior officers and emerging China specialists, who were convinced that Hornbeck had “sold his soul to Chiang Kai-shek,” petitioned Secretary of State Edward Stettinius for Hornbeck’s sacking. He was subsequently appointed ambassador to the Netherlands, where he remained until his retirement in 1947.
HOUSE, EDWARD H. (1836–1901). An American journalist who first went to Japan in 1871, House wrote for several publications and taught in Tokyo. House accompanied the Japanese army during the invasion of Taiwan in 1874. In his articles, books, and letters to American friends, such as Mark Twain and former President Ulysses S. Grant, House often argued that Japan should be treated as an equal to the Western powers. See also YAT01.

HULL, CORDELL (1871–1955). Cordell Hull served as secretary of state from 1933 to 1944—approximately half again as long as any predecessor in that high office and nearly the double the term achieved by the most enduring of his 20th-century forerunners. Born on 2 October 1871 near Byrdstown, Tennessee, Hull spent two terms in the state legislature before he entered the House of Representatives in 1906. He remained there (with one two-year interruption) until 1930, when he successfully ran for the Senate. As a Congressman, he developed a political philosophy that revolved around the concept of free trade as the key to worldwide economic growth and political stability.

Through the 1930s, Hull’s political philosophy came under sustained assault as Germany, Italy, and Japan sought through military conquest to carve out autarchic spheres. Two factors combined, however, to curtail his ability to respond to this threat. First, the Great Depression meant that the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt had to focus the vast majority of its energies on domestic issues. Second, Roosevelt was inclined to act as his own secretary of state. That said, Roosevelt did allow Hull an unusual degree of autonomy throughout the Japanese–American negotiations of 1941. In his negotiations with Japanese Ambassador Kichisaburō Nomura, Hull repeatedly asked for Japan’s acceptance of four principles: respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations; non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; equality of commercial opportunity; and no disturbance of the status quo in the Pacific except by peaceful means. Adhering inflexibly to these principles, Hull reacted negatively to various Japanese counterproposals for diplomatic rapprochement between the two nations, arguing that the United States should conclude no agreement that ran counter to its basic principles.
For all the logic inherent in Hull’s arguments, he has come under criticism for drawing a false line between diplomatic and military considerations. According to this criticism, he should have used diplomacy not to browbeat the Japanese but rather to allow the Pentagon to focus more properly on Germany, which had long been considered the principal threat to American security.

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II, NAOSUKE (1815–1860). Daimyō of Hikone domain, Naosuke Ii was appointed chief minister of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1858. Ii negotiated and signed the Ansei Treaties with the United States, Britain, and France without gaining the approval of the imperial house. He also negotiated an acrimonious shogunal succession dispute. These actions and decisions created many enemies for Ii and the Tokugawa shogunate, and Ii dealt harshly with his enemies by having many imprisoned and several executed. He was assassinated by samurai from Mito and Satsuma domains in March 1860. See also Harris, Townsend; U.S.–Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce.

IKEDA, HAYATO (1899–1965). The Japanese politician Hayato Ikeda was born in Hiroshima. After graduating from the Law Department of Kyoto University, he was an official in the Ministry of Finance from 1925 to 1948. In 1947, he was promoted to vice minister of Finance. In 1949, he was elected to the House of Representatives. Ikeda was immediately appointed finance minister in the third Shigeru Yoshida Cabinet. In 1950, he also held the post of minister of international trade and industry. Supported by Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, Ikeda was an ardent advocate of the Dodge Line, the nine-point economic stabilization plan directive. He became Secretary General of the Liberal Party in 1954. After the amalgamation of the two major conservative parties, Ikeda served as minister of finance (1956–1957) and minister of international trade and industry (1959–1960). He became prime minister in 1960. After severe turmoil because of controversy surrounding the revision of the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty, Ikeda maintained a low profile, advo-
cating tolerance and patience, and proposing a plan to double national income. Ikeda governed Japan for four years from 1960 to 1964, during which he cemented the postwar recovery and entered into the stage of rapid economic growth.

**IKEDA–ROBERTSON TALKS.** Hayato Ikeda, who was then chair of the Liberal Party’s Policy Research Council, served as Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida’s special envoy during approximately four weeks of talks with Walter Robertson, United States assistant secretary of state for the Far East, in Washington, D.C., in October 1953. The significance of these talks is that they led to the formulation of basic principles that would guide Japan’s increase of its defense capabilities. For example, concerning ground forces, Japan proposed putting 180,000 troops in uniform, whereas the United States insisted on 325,000 troops. During the talks, Ikeda presented four major reasons why Japan could achieve modest but not drastic increases in its defense capabilities:

1. Legal constraints: It would be impossible to amend the Japanese constitution, especially Article Nine, during the foreseeable future.
2. Political constraints: Because of a thorough peace education program conducted by the Occupation authorities, a sentiment of “not taking up arms” had become prevalent among young people suitable for military service.
3. Economic constraints: Japan at that time needed not a program of rearmament but economic growth and social security.
4. Physical constraints: Even if Japan made plans to expand its Police Reserve Force (in effect, a standing army), it could not recruit enough people. As a result of the “peace education” program, very few young people exhibited an interest in voluntarily enlisting in the Police Reserve Force. If Japan were forced to proceed with a rapid expansion of the police force, that might encourage ideologically suspect people to join the Force. Moreover, the constitution clearly prohibited conscription.

Japan convinced the United States to accept a compromise: Japan would increase the size of Police Reserve Force to 180,000 within three years, starting with an increase of 30,000 in the first year alone.
On 30 October, Ikeda and Robertson issued a joint communiqué that contained the following points:

1. Japan would continue to increase its own defense capabilities while taking into account constitutional and economic constraints.

2. Delegates from both countries would continue to hold discussions concerning military aid in Tokyo.

3. An agricultural surplus provision in the amount of some $50 million (a sum that was based on Article 559 of the Mutual Security Act [MSA]) and reciprocal yen funds acquired from sales of agricultural surplus would be used to subsidize Japan’s defense production and used for overseas purchases and investment to help strengthen the country’s defense-related industries.

IMMIGRATION. The first Japanese in the United States arrived as castaway sailors in the 1840s and 1850s, with Japanese students, government officials, and businessmen arriving by the 1860s and 1870s. The first Japanese immigrants were members of the Wakamatsu Colony and arrived in California in 1869. In the 1880s, the number of Japanese immigrants in the United States began to significantly increase and, by 1910, outnumbered Chinese immigrants on the mainland, and were by far the largest ethnic group in Hawaii. From 1910 until the 1970s, Japanese Americans were the largest Asian ethnic group in the United States, with the largest number living in California and Hawaii. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, more than 700,000 Japanese Americans live in the U.S.

At first respected for their diligence and hard work, by the early 20th century Japanese Americans increasingly became the target for racially based discrimination. The “Gentlemen’s Agreement” of 1907–1908; Alien Land Laws of the 1910s; the Oriental Exclusion Act of the 1924 Immigration Bill, and especially the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II are the best-known examples of discriminatory laws against Japanese Americans. Despite hardship and discrimination, first generation (issei) and second generation (nisei) Japanese Americans significantly contributed to the agricultural development of western states and Hawaii, and also developed thriving business communities in many areas of the United States. During World War II, many Japanese American soldiers fought
bravely in both Europe and Asia—even though some of their relatives were imprisoned in American internment camps as possible “enemy aliens” by the United States government.

After the animosity of World War II subsided, by the 1960s, Japanese Americans were hailed as a “model minority” because they were viewed as a law-abiding, industrious, and studious ethnic group contributing to the diversity of American life while maintaining elements of traditional Japanese culture. A few prominent Japanese Americans are George Takei, actor; Ann Curry, TV news reporter; George Ariyoshi, Governor of Hawaii; Daniel Inouye, Senator from Hawaii; Robert Matsui, Congressman from California; Ellison Onizuka, astronaut; Ronald Takaki, UC Berkeley professor and author; Kristi Yamaguchi, Olympic gold medal winner in figure skating; and Gen. Eric Shinseki, U.S. Army Chief of Staff. Although many Japanese Americans reject the designation of “model minority,” they have been remarkably successful in their personal and professional lives, and have persevered in the midst of discrimination faced by themselves and their immigrant ancestors in the United States.

As of 2003, just under 50,000 Americans were living in Japan (not including American military personnel). Many Americans living in Japan are businesspersons, students, or teachers. Although some are permanent residents, especially if they have Japanese spouses, very few are naturalized Japanese citizens because Japanese government immigration rules make it extremely difficult for foreigners to obtain Japanese citizenship. The cost of living in Japan, plus lack of Japanese language ability also tends to keep the number of Americans living in Japan at relatively low numbers. Nevertheless, since the early 1980s, there has been a slow growth in the number of Americans living in Japan. See also JAPAN EXCHANGE AND TEACHING PROGRAM; YATO.

INDUSTRY FORUM FOR SECURITY COOPERATION (IFSEC).

With the agreement between the Japanese and U.S. governments, the Industry Forum for Security Cooperation was established in January 1997 as a forum of dialogue between Japanese and U.S. defense industries to promote effective Japan–U.S. defense cooperation toward realization of peace and stability in post–Cold War Asia. The IFSEC has two primary purposes: Promotion of dialogue between Japanese
and U.S. defense industries toward encouraging Japan–U.S. defense equipment cooperation and formation of informal advisory group from the defense industries toward the Japanese Defense Agency and the United States Department of Defense. The Defense Industry Commission of the Japan Business Federation serves as Japan’s secretariat in the IFSEC while the U.S. counterpart is the National Defense Industrial Association (NDIA).

INOUE, KAORU (1835–1915). Samurai from Choshu domain (Yamaguchi Prefecture) and top official in the Meiji government. Kaoru Inoue, Hirobumi Ito and other Choshu samurai studied Western science in England in the early 1860s then returned to Japan and were among the Choshu and Satsuma samurai who defeated the Tokugawa shogunate and founded a new government centered on Emperor Meiji. Inoue held several ministerial posts in the Meiji government, including that of Foreign Minister from 1881 to 1887. See also MEIJI ERA; MEIJI RESTORATION.

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY (ICU). This is a private university located in Mitaka City, Tokyo Prefecture. Japanese and American Christians had dreamed of establishing an interdenominational Christian university for half a century. Finally, on 15 June 1949, their leaders formally founded the International Christian University (ICU). In 1948, the Japan International Christian University Foundation was established in New York primarily for coordinating the American participation and for leading a fund-raising drive. In Japan, Hisato Ichimada, governor of the Bank of Japan, led a fund-raising campaign. In March 1953, the ICU was legally recognized as a school juridical person, and the College of Liberal Arts was opened in April as Japan’s first four-year liberal arts college. Yuasa Hachiro was the first president of the university. In April 1957, the Graduate School opened with a master’s program in Education, followed by Japan’s first master’s program in Public Administration (in 1963), a doctoral program in the Division of Education (in 1964), by doctoral programs in the Division of Public Administration and the Division of Comparative Culture (in 1976), and a master’s program in the Division of Natural Sciences (in 1987). The administrative and educational system resembles an American college of liberal arts.
The ICU is a child of the great U.S. influence on Japan during the occupation period.

**INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST (IMTFE).** The International Military Tribunal for the Far East was a tribunal created by the Allied Powers after Japan’s defeat in World War II to administer justice to Japanese wartime leaders indicted as war criminals. In accordance with Article 10 of the Potsdam Declaration of July 1945, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) issued an ordinance on 19 January 1946 stipulating the creation of the IMTFE. The tribunal’s first court session was held on 3 May 1946. On 12 November 1948, sentences were handed down for those charged with war crimes. The tribunal consisted of one justice each from 11 countries: the United States, Great Britain, France, China, Canada, Australia, Holland, New Zealand, the Soviet Union, India, and the Philippines. Sir William F. Webb, the justice from Australia, was appointed as the presiding judge. Somei Uzawa, a prominent attorney who later became president of Meiji University, led the defense counsel while Joseph Keenan, former U.S. assistant attorney general, served as chief prosecutor and leader of a team of international prosecutors. A total of 28 Japanese leaders who served before or during the war were indicted by the IMTFE. Out of the 28, seven, including former Prime Minister Hideki Tōjō, were sentenced to death; 16, including Koichi Kido, Lord Keeper, were sentenced to life in prison; and two former foreign ministers, Shigenori Togo and Mamoru Shigemitsu, received prison sentences of 20 years and seven years, respectively. During trial proceedings, an extreme rightist university professor was dismissed because of a mental disorder, and former Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka and former full Admiral Osami Nagano died from natural causes. At the end of the trial, Justice Radhabinod Pal of India dissented from the sentences handed down by the tribunal. There were calls from all over the world for Japan’s Emperor Hirohito to be prosecuted, but General Douglas MacArthur, SCAP, rejected this idea. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

**INTERNEMENT.** The Japanese military attack on Pearl Harbor, besides plunging the United States into war, also gave rise to, in historian
Roger Daniels’s estimation, “the worst single governmental violation of civil rights in modern times.” In the early months of 1942, 120,000 Japanese-Americans living on the West Coast—more than two-thirds of whom were native-born American citizens—were removed from their homes and incarcerated in concentration camps from California to Arkansas.

These people were incarcerated not for crimes—real or supposed—but on the grounds of their ethnicity. War against Japan, and in particular Japan’s stunning successes in the early months of that conflict, brought into full relief deep-seated antipathies among many West Coast Americans toward their neighbors of Japanese ancestry. Newspapers and radio broadcasts on the West Coast loudly proclaimed the dangers posed by this supposed fifth column. To cite but one example, the San Diego Union argued that “a viper is nonetheless a viper wherever the egg is hatched.”

These prejudices reached to the very top levels of the United States government. Heeding the advice of General John DeWitt, commanding officer of the Western Defense Command, and most of California’s elected officials, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and his deputy, John J. McCloy, argued for the internment of Japanese living on the West Coast on the grounds that they posed a military threat to the nation. President Franklin D. Roosevelt on 19 February 1942 responded by signing Executive Order 9066, which in effect authorized Stimson to carry out the internment of Japanese Americans living in California and other western states. Although Hawaii suffered an attack by Japanese military forces, only 1,000 out of 150,000 Japanese Americans living on the island territory were interned because military and business leaders did not want to lose so many needed laborers.

Historians have long disparaged the purported military necessity of this measure. Their views were in large part mirrored by the presidential Commission on the Wartime Internment and Relocation of Civilians (CWIRC), which, in 1982, judged that the “promulgation of Executive Order 9066 was not justified by military necessity.” Instead, “race prejudice,” “war hysteria,” and “a failure of political leadership” underlay the decision to incarcerate Japanese Americans. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

IRAQ. See SPECIAL LEGISLATION CALLING FOR ASSISTANCE IN THE REBUILDING OF IRAQ.

ITO, HIROBUMI (1841–1909). Samurai from Choshu domain (Yamaguchi Prefecture) and top official in the Meiji government. Hirobumi Ito traveled to England in 1863 with other Choshu samurai to study Western science and later helped lead the Choshu–Satsuma coalition that overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868. Ito then held several top positions in the Meiji government, serving as prime minister four times. He traveled with the Iwakura Mission to the United States and Europe from 1871 to 1873, and traveled to Europe in the 1880s to study Western constitutions. The Meiji Constitution, promulgated in 1889 and lasting until 1946, was primarily Ito’s work. Ito was assassinated by a Korean nationalist in 1909 while serving as the resident-general of Japan-controlled Korea. See also MEIJI ERA; MEIJI RESTORATION.

IWAKURA MISSION. From late 1871 until 1873, top-ranking members of the new Meiji government journeyed to the United States and Europe. Led by Prince Tomomi Iwakura, the Iwakura Mission had two purposes. One was to renegotiate the "unequal treaties" (also known as Ansei Treaties) between the United States, several European countries, and Japan that the previous Tokugawa government signed in the late 1850s. The other purpose was to study the science, education, military, government systems, and social systems of the West that could be utilized by the Meiji government for industrializing and modernizing Japan. Although treated well by U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant, other heads of state, and political leaders, the Iwakura Mission was unsuccessful in renegotiating the “unequal treaties.” However, much of the information about Western societies and institutions carefully studied by Meiji government officials and Japanese students who accompanied the Iwakura Mission would be adopted and adapted in the years and decades to come and significantly contributed to Japan’s industrialization and modernization. See also IWAKURA, TOMOMI (1825–1883); MEIJI ERA.
IWAKURA, TOMOMI (1825–1883). Imperial prince, supporter of the anti-Tokugawa forces, and top official in the Meiji government. He led the Iwakura Mission to the United States and Europe from 1871 to 1873, held high positions in the Meiji government, and was a close adviser and confidant of Emperor Meiji. See also Iwakura Mission; Meiji era.

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JANES, LEROY LANSING (ALSO KNOWN AS CAPTAIN JANES; 1838–1909). American educator and missionary. A former military officer, Janes arrived in Japan in 1871 to teach mathematics, science, and history at the Kumamoto prefectural school for Western studies. A fervent Christian, Janes also taught the Bible and Christianity, and converted a number of his students who called themselves the Kumamoto Band. Some of these Japanese converts went on to became well-known Japanese ministers, such as Ebino Danjo and Ukita Kazutani. The school was forced to close in 1876 because of anti-Christian sentiment in Kumamoto, and several members of the Kumamoto Band moved to Kyoto to attend Doshisha College run by Japanese Christian Jo Niijima. Janes taught English in Osaka, and then returned to the United States. He came back to Japan in 1893 and taught in Kyoto before returning to California, where he died in 1909. See also Yatoi.

JAPAN-AMERICA ECONOMIC ALLIANCE CONFERENCE. The Japan Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren) founded the Japan–America Economic Alliance Conference in February 1952. Taking advantage of special military procurement during the Korean War, the conference served to promote close economic cooperation between Japan and the United States. It also aimed to foster use of Japan’s rearmament program as a measure to maintain economic prosperity even after the end of special Korean War–related procurement. In cooperation with U.S. military forces, Keidanren mapped out a plan for Japan’s future self-defense force needs consisting of 300,000 troop ground forces, 300,000 tons of naval ship tonnage, and 3,000 military aircraft. Keidanren estimated that with this
size self-defense force, Japan would be able to defend itself for at least two months regardless of who attacked it. See also DEFENSE.

**JAPAN-AMERICA SOCIETY (JAS).** The JAS is a non-partisan, private organization promoting education and cultural exchange, and a forum for the exchange of political and business views of its members. There are approximately 100 Japan–America Society chapters in Japan and in the United States, based either in cities, prefectures, or states. Individual Japan America Societies first emerged in the late 19th century and were organized under an umbrella national organization in 1960.

The National Association of Japan–America Societies, Inc. (NAJAS) is a private, non-profit, non-partisan organization that sponsors educational, cultural, and business programs about Japan and U.S.–Japan relations that are open to the general public. NAJAS performs its activities through its society members in both Japan and the United States (the latter are called Japan–America Societies). In the United States, NAJAS is the only national non-profit network dedicated to public education about Japan, consisting of about 40 independent Japan-related organizations located in 32 U.S. cities. Its members come from all walks of life, including business, political, and academic, who live in either the United States or Japan. Consequently, NAJAS can provide a variety of perspectives on U.S.–Japan relations.

In 1979, 13 Japan and Japan–America Societies participated in a meeting in Los Angeles to formally establish an umbrella association. The first chairman was former U.S. Ambassador to Japan U. Alexis Johnson. The association was incorporated in New York State and based in New York City until October 1999, when it moved its headquarters to its current location in Washington, D.C. In 1981, the association’s first annual conference was held in Chicago. In October 1990, the name of the organization was officially changed to the National Association of Japan–America Societies. Today, NAJAS has about 15,000 individual members and over 15,000 corporate representatives. See also AMERICA–JAPAN SOCIETY, INC.

**JAPAN-AMERICA STUDENT CONFERENCE (JASC).** The Japan–America Student Conference is a non-profit educational and university student cultural exchange program. It was created as Japan’s
first international organization for promoting student exchanges. Based on a joint exchange program begun with Aoyama Gakuin University in Tokyo in 1934, the JASC has also become the oldest student-run exchange program operating in the United States. In the early 1930s, Japanese and American university students concerned about the deterioration of U.S.–Japan relations following the 1931 Manchurian Incident founded the JASC. Japanese students were worried that America might become hostile toward Japan and were therefore interested in founding a program that could encourage mutual trust between Japanese and Americans. A principal JASC belief was that world peace flowed from the Pacific Ocean while peace in the Pacific Ocean itself depended on peaceful relations between Japan and the United States. To achieve this goal, university students had to make some contribution. JASC sought to facilitate exchanges of Japanese and American university students with different backgrounds to encourage a mutual flow of different opinions about issues affecting the Japan–U.S. relationship. It was thought that discussions about common problems could help young people from both countries achieve mutual understanding and foster friendship and trust. The conference continues to operate today and provides future leaders in both Japan and the United States with opportunities to live together for about a month for the purpose of deepening mutual understandings through engaging in small group discussions, field trips, and public forums.

**JAPAN–AMERICAN TRADE ARBITRATION AGREEMENT.** The Japan–American Trade Arbitration Agreement was concluded between the Japan Commercial Arbitration Association (JCAA) and the American Arbitration Association (AAA). It took effect on 16 September 1952. The agreement created a process for deciding the geographic location of arbitration proceedings (in the form of a joint arbitration commission) in the event of a commercial or legal dispute between the U.S. and Japan. Following the creation of this arbitration agreement with the U.S., Japan proceeded to conclude a series of cooperation agreements with Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) institutions in various countries. As of September 2003, Japan had concluded arbitration agreements with 43 ADR institutions. Nine of these agreements created a joint arbitration commission method modeled on the commission created with the AAA and the Inter-American Commercial Arbitration Commission. See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.
JAPAN ATOMIC INDUSTRIAL FORUM (JAIF). The Japan Atomic Industrial Forum was created by Japan’s atomic energy industry in March 1956 to serve as a non-governmental and non-profit organization that would promote the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy for the benefit of the Japanese people. JAIF’s primary mission is to conduct studies of nuclear energy, facilitate an exchange of knowledge about nuclear energy, promote consensus on policy issues concerning the nuclear energy industry, assist the government in the development of nuclear energy policy, and utilize the plan and promotion of its policies. JAIF encourages cooperation and communication between the nuclear energy industry and other industries, local communities, universities, the mass media and other groups involved in or related to nuclear energy activities. JAIF believes that economically viable and stable energy resources, particularly nuclear energy, are necessary for the public’s welfare and the development of Japan’s national economy. Each spring, JAIF hosts a three-day conference in Japan to provide a forum for leaders in the global nuclear energy community to meet and exchange opinions. The conference typically attracts more than 1,000 participants from around the world. JAIF cooperates with nuclear energy-related forums and organizations in the United States, Great Britain, and more than 20 other, as part of its goal to promote the peaceful and safe use of nuclear energy. On a global level, JAIF is a co-founder of the International Nuclear Forum and is involved in the campaign to prevent global warming.

JAPAN EXCHANGE AND TEACHING (JET) PROGRAM. Started in 1987 by the Foreign Ministry of Japan, the JET Program employs thousands of young American and other Western university graduates as assistant teachers and instructors in public Japanese schools for one to three years.

JAPAN IS DIFFERENT ARGUMENT. After the end of World War II, Americans and Japanese had more opportunities to get to know each other. For the first decade or so after the war, the United States as a winner and ruler in Japan during the occupation, by and large imposed Western ways of thinking and values on Japan, firmly believing that these are universal values. Naturally, Americans emphasized the foreignness of Japanese culture and urged Japan to adopt Western culture as rapidly and as much as possible. The representative work of this era
is Ruth Benedict’s, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture.

In the 1960s, the world paid a great deal of attention to the rapid growth of the Japanese economy. Even in the 1970s, Japan successfully overcame the oil shock and maintained social stability and order. The world began to suggest that unique Japanese values and Japanese methods of management must be the primary causes of the country’s success and the world tried to learn from Japan. The representative work of this era is Ezra F. Vogel’s, Japan as Number One: Lessons for America.

In the late 1970s, revisionists rose to surface and they insisted on critically reviewing the friendly Japan–U.S. relationship. They argued that America’s real threat was not the military and ideological threat from the Soviet Union, but the economic threat from Japan. They reversed the previous argument about Japan’s uniqueness: a Japan that does not adopt global standards, but maintains its own idiosyncratic economic and social structures is an “alien” country and this alien character is a real threat to the United States. Consequently, the United States should force Japan to become a “normal” country observing the global standard by implementing economic and social reforms. This opinion became popular in the United States in the late 1980s as the Soviet Union declined its power and the United States suffered from twin deficits in budget and trade while Japan enjoyed economic prosperity. The representative works of this era are Karel van Wolferen’s, The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation and Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle: the Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925–1975. The momentum of revisionism, however, waned from the 1990s onward as the Japanese economy suffered from a long-term economic depression.

**JAPAN–U.S. ADMINISTRATION AGREEMENT.** The Japan–U.S. Administration Agreement was signed by Japanese Chief Cabinet Secretary Katsuo Okazaki and United States Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk on 28 February 1952. The agreement provides the U.S. military with the legal right and authority to use certain zones and facilities within Japan. Moreover, the agreement contains rules that govern the entry of the U.S. Army into Japanese harbors, U.S. military’s use of public utility and services, tax free of imports, procure-
ment of goods and services, nontaxable privileges, rights of criminal and civil trials, foreign exchange controls, defense measures in case any hostile actions take place within the Japanese territory, and allocation of fees for military stationing.

As for criminal trials, the United States insisted on jus sanguinis. Consequently, under the agreement Japan was not allowed to exercise any jurisdiction over U.S. military officers and soldiers, U.S. army civilian employees, and related family members stationed or living in Japan. However, on 29 September 1953, Japan and the United States amended this agreement to allow Japan to bring criminal charges against any U.S. officer, soldier, or army civilian employee arrested for a crime when not undertaking official duties.

**JAPAN-U.S. AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN ENERGY.** The Japan–U.S. Agreement on Cooperation in Research and Development in Energy (now commonly called the new Japan–U.S. Science and Technology Agreement) was signed on 2 May 1979. Its aim is to engage in energy research and development through cooperation or joint ventures based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit. The agreement deals primarily with nuclear energy. In implementing plans concerning nuclear fusion, the Department of Energy (the United States) and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (Japan) assume administrative responsibility. Today, in the nuclear energy field, Japan and the United States have four major fields of cooperation: general interchange plans; joint plans (fusion reactor engineering, fusion reactor physics, etc.); joint research organization for fusion reactor theories; and joint projects. Because of this agreement, it has become possible for Japan and the United States to exchange research results with their counterparts, to promote mutual advancement and provide the necessary environment for research and development by lending and borrowing expensive facilities and equipment.

**JAPAN-U.S. AGREEMENT ON TRUST ISLAND TERRITORY IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN (MICRONESIA ARRANGEMENT).** The Japan–U.S. Agreement on Trust Island Territory in the Pacific Ocean (Micronesia Agreement) was signed in Tokyo on 18 April
1969 by Foreign Minister Kiichi Aichi and Acting Ambassador to Japan Charge Osborn. Based on the League of Nations’ code and the mandatory rule clause, Japan had been governing the old Southern Ocean Islands until the end of World War II, but these islands came under U.S. administrative control based on the United Nations’ Charter and the trusteeship agreement in the postwar era. Residents on the islands had been demanding compensation for damages suffered during World War II. The United Nations Trusteeship Council also asked both Japan and the United States to solve this problem swiftly. Because it was a fact that the islands were fierce battlegrounds between the United States and Japan during World War II and there were many casualties among native residents, as well as serious material damage and mental distress, it was desirable to find a practical solution to the problem. As a result of negotiations between the U.S. and Japanese governments, each country agreed to make a voluntary contribution amounting to 1.8 billion yen in order to contribute to promoting the welfare of all the residents. Japan made it clear that these were not war reparations from World War II for the trust territories on the Pacific Islands. Moreover, the United States approved Japan’s demand that their fishing boats should be able to call at Truk Lagoon and Palau. In addition, when Japanese vessels were sunk within the trust territorial waters, it was approved that Japan could salvage them. See also PACIFIC WAR.

**JAPAN–U.S. BUSINESS COUNCIL (JUSBC).** The Japan–U.S. Business Council is a Japanese organization that cooperates with the U.S.–Japan Business Council (USJBC) in the United States in exchanging opinions on business policy and making business-related recommendations to the Japanese and U.S. governments, other business organizations, corporations, and think tanks. The Japan Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren), the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Nihon Shokou Kaigisho), and the Japan Foreign Trade Council (Nihon Boekikai) formed the Joint Commission on Trade with the United States in 1958, which later evolved into the Japan–U.S. Business Conference in 1961. The JUSBC comprises about 90 public and private companies doing business in Japan as well as in the United States. It is supported by the Japan Business Federation, the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Japan
Association of Corporate Executives, the Kansai Economic Federation, and the Japan Foreign Trade Council.

In April 1971, the United States formed the Advisory Council on Japan–U.S. Economic Relations (ACJUSER) under the chairmanship of Najeeb E. Halaby, the chairman of Pan American World Airways. Japan responded to this development by establishing the Japan–U.S. Business Council under the joint leadership of Kogoro Uemura, chairman of the Federation of Economic Organizations; Shigeo Nagano, chairman of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry; Kazutaka Kikawada, chairman of the Japan Association of Corporate Executives; and Yoshizane Iwasa, chairman of Fuji Bank. In 1985, the ACJUSER became the U.S.–Japan Economic Council, and in 1989 it took on its present name, the U.S.–Japan Business Council. Membership in the USJBC is open to executives from U.S. companies doing business in Japan; leading consulting, accounting, and law firms; and other major service providers.

The JUSBC has five major goals:

1. To make proposals on basic, long-term business policy to the Japanese and U.S. governments, and to other governments around the world.
2. To study current and possible future business issues involving the U.S. and Japan.
3. To promote an exchange of business opinions between the two countries and to reach constructive agreements with the U.S.–Japan Business Council.
5. To promote all activities necessary to achieve the purposes of the Japan–U.S. Business Council.

JAPAN–U.S. BUSINESSMEN’S CONFERENCE. The Japan–U.S. Businessmen’s Conference is a private-sector conference that brings together business-world representatives from the United States and Japan to exchange opinions on economic issues of interest to both countries. The first conference was held in 1961, followed by eight more by the end of 1971. After the ninth conference in 1972, the
conference changed to a biannual format, once in the United States and a second time in Japan. The conference is sponsored by the Japan–U.S. Business Council and the U.S.–Japan Business Council. Each conference usually has three working groups devoted to contemporary economic issues, a plenary session, and a session dedicated to formulating joint policy recommendations. The conference forwards its joint recommendations to the Japanese and U.S. governments, and also to business-related organizations, corporations, and think tanks.

**JAPAN–U.S. CONSULAR AGREEMENT.** The Japan–U.S. Consular Agreement between Tokyo and Washington became effective in 1963. It concerns consuls, whose primary responsibility is to promote trade with the other country and to provide people of their own country with assistance and protection. This agreement provides detailed stipulations about possible problems in relation to practical matters in order to prevent such problems between Japan and the United States before they take place. These stipulations are closely related to, as well as within, the limits of the contents of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations that was made and adopted in 1963.

**JAPAN–U.S. COTTON PRODUCTS TRADE AGREEMENT.** The United States and Japan began negotiating an agreement to control trade in cotton products in December 1962. After a long and acrimonious negotiation process, both countries finally concluded the Japan–U.S. Cotton Products Trade Agreement on 27 August 1963. This agreement stipulated that for a three-year period starting in January 1963, Japan would cap its annual total exports of cotton products at 287,500,000 square yards and the United States would cooperate with Japan. Because of a limit on the quantity of corduroy products, the insertion of a consultative clause concerning regulation of other clothing fabric, intensification of stipulation on equalization of the amount of export in every quarter period, new establishment of items with export ceilings, and other limitations, Japan’s actual exports of cotton products to the United States in 1963 decreased from the previous year. See also JAPAN–U.S. TEXTILE AGREEMENT; U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.
JAPAN–U.S. ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP FOR GROWTH. At a summit in June 2001, President George Bush and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi agreed to initiate the Japan–U.S. Economic Partnership for Growth. Its primary purpose was to promote sustainable growth in both countries and in the world as a whole. For this grand purpose, they agreed to set up a “Subcabinet Economic Dialogue” in order to conduct strategic dialogues; a “Private Sector/Government Commission” in order to have lively dialogue with civilian business groups; a “Regulatory Reform and Competition Policy Initiative” to form a more liberal economic system; a “High-Level Officials Group” to discuss specific themes in specific sectors, such as telecommunications, information technology, energy, and medical devices/pharmaceuticals; a Financial Dialogue to deal with financial and fiscal issues; an Investment Initiative to discuss issues regarding investment and corporations; and a Trade Forum to give early warning on possible U.S.–Japan trade conflicts.

JAPAN–U.S. FLEET LOAN AGREEMENT. The Japan–U.S. Fleet Loan Agreement was signed by the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) and the U.S. Army on 14 May 1954. The agreement made it possible for the U.S. Army to lend vessels from the U.S. fleet to Japan. When the Korean War broke out in June 1950, the Marine Guard was separated from the Japan Coast Guard and became an independent agency on 26 April 1952. It later developed into the Maritime Self-Defense Forces (MSDF), established on 1 July 1954. During the Cold War era, as Japan was allied with Western nations, the MSDF had to assist the U.S. Navy by being prepared to combat submarines and naval mines in Northeast Asia. When World War II had ended, the 58 Japanese submarines left in Japan were seized by the Allied countries. They were destroyed or sunk in the Pacific Ocean. Because Article Nine of the Japanese constitution prohibits Japan from maintaining military forces capable of engaging in forward defense in order to solve international disputes, the construction of new submarines lagged behind the construction of destroyers and escort ships. Consequently, the cooperation of the U.S. Navy was necessary for contributing a minimum number of submarines. Based on this agreement, in August 1955, the United States loaned Mingo, a fleet-type submarine, to Japan and it was renamed
“Kuroshio.” By the end of 1957, Japan had borrowed seven Multi-
Purpose Support Ships.

JAPAN–U.S. FRAMEWORK FOR A NEW ECONOMIC PART-
ERSHIP. In 1993, the Structural Impediments Initiative (SII)
talks were succeeded by the Japan–U.S. Framework for a New Eco-

nomic Partnership replaced. These talks dealt with specific sectors,
including government procurement, insurance, and automobile parts.
Washington tried to set up numerical targets to increase U.S. exports
to Japan; however, Tokyo resisted these because they might lead to a
controlled trade. In the end, in 1995, the two countries concluded an
agreement without numerical targets.

JAPAN–U.S. FRIENDSHIP COMMERCE NAVIGATION
TREATY. The Japan–U.S. Friendship Commerce Navigation Treaty
was concluded on 2 April 1953 in Tokyo and became effective on 30
October of the same year. The representatives from the two countries
during the talks that led to the treaty were Japan’s Foreign Minister
Katsuo Okazaki, and U.S. Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipo-
tentiary in Japan Robert Murphy. The purpose of the treaty is to
strengthen traditional peaceful and friendly relations between Japan
and the United States, encourage a closer economic and cultural re-

lationship between the citizens of both countries, promote a mutually
beneficial trade relationship, and increase bilateral investment. The
treaty, which consists of a preamble, 25 articles, and 15 protocol
clauses, establishes the basis for the economic and trade relationship
between the United States and Japan. It provides for bilateral appli-
cation of unconditional most-favored-nation and national treatment
status, though there are exceptions in the case of certain political and
national economic considerations. The treaty also incorporates the
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)’s conventional
tariff rates.

JAPAN–U.S. INCOME TAX TREATY. The Japan–U.S. Income Tax
Treaty was concluded on 6 November 2003 and took effect on 30
March 2004. The purpose of the treaty was to expand trade between
the two countries by eliminating or decreasing dual taxation of major
tradable items. The treaty imposed no tax withholding as for royal-
ties. Because tax withholding by the local government on royalties of immaterial intellectual property rights on which patent and trademarks are acquired, royalties generated, just like other profits, will be taxed in the resident country only based on the net profit. The treaty is significant for being the first treaty under which Japan agreed to eliminate tax withholding by the local government. The Japan–U.S. Income Tax Treaty also eliminated or reduced tax withholding by local governments on corporate dividends paid to overseas foreign investors. Under the treaty, the local government pay-as-you-go taxation of interest income paid to financial service companies and pension funds was also abolished. Aside from a few exceptions, such as taxation of real estate and restructured financial institutions, the treaty in principle abolished pay-as-you-go taxation.

**JAPAN-U.S. JET AIRCRAFT PRODUCTION AGREEMENT.**
The first Japan–U.S. Jet Aircraft Production Agreement was concluded on 3 June 1955. It stipulated U.S. support for the production of jet aircraft in Japan. Because the United States assisted Japan in kind, there is no record of exactly how much Washington provided for this purpose, but the sum reached approximately $11 billion. Because the government delayed its announcement of the conclusion of the first Japan–U.S. Jet Aircraft Production Agreement in the Diet, it became a controversial issue in Japan. In order to rectify this situation, when Japan and the United States decided to discuss a second Japan–U.S. Jet Aircraft Production Agreement, the government reported to the Diet at an early stage that Japan and the United States carried out negotiations and the U.S. assistance would reach around 100 million yen. The second Japan–U.S. Jet Aircraft Production Agreement was finally concluded on 17 April 1956. Based on this agreement, the United States provided Japan with parts to produce 110 F-86F jet aircraft. The agreement brought large profits to jet aircraft makers in Japan.

**JAPAN-U.S. JOINT DECLARATION ON SECURITY—ALLIANCE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY.** The end of the Cold War precipitated the need for a redefinition of the security relationship between the United States and Japan. Negotiations of this redefinition were largely led by Washington. They began in 1994 and continued for
more than a year. Finally, on 17 April 1996, President Bill Clinton and
Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto formally announced a Japan–U.S.
joint declaration on security—the Alliance for the 21st Century. The
Declaration confirmed that the relationship between Washington and
Tokyo based on the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty should be the essen-
tial basis for maintaining economic prosperity and stability in the
Asia–Pacific region. The declaration also confirmed the necessity for
the presence of about 100,000 members of the American armed forces
in the region. While the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty had stipulated
Japan–U.S. cooperation to deal with emergencies in Japan and the Far
East, this Declaration contained qualitatively new contents: the pur-
pose of the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty included the maintenance of
peace and stability in the Asia–Pacific region. To this end, Washington
and Tokyo agreed to revise the Guidelines for U.S.–Japan Defense
Cooperation formulated in 1978. In September 1997, the Japan–U.S.
Security Consultative Committee (SCC) agreed on the Guidelines
for U.S.–Japan Defense Cooperation, stipulating cooperation between
Washington and Tokyo on three stages: peacetime, emergencies in
Japan, and emergencies in the Asia–Pacific region.

**JAPAN–U.S. MARINE VESSEL LEASE AGREEMENT.** The
Japan–U.S. Marine Vessel Lease Agreement was concluded in Tokyo
between Japan and the United States on 12 November 1952. Foreign
Minister Katsuo Okazaki represented Japan and Ambassador Extra-
ordinary and Plenipotentiary to Japan Robert Daniel Murphy repre-
represented the United States. The U.S. government agreed to lease its ma-
rine vessels to the Japanese government for five years. Upon the
Japanese government’s request, and provided that both Tokyo and
Washington consented, the lease duration could be extended up to
two years. The United States would hand over marine vessels to
Japan at an agreed time, at an agreed place. The Japanese government
would be responsible for fees, delivery, operation, and navigation.
The Japanese government was also responsible for returning the
leased marine vessels to the U.S. government in virtually the same
condition at a given time and at a given place selected by the U.S.
government. If damage to a vessel was adjudged to mean a total loss,
the Japanese government should consult with the U.S. government
concerning compensation.
JAPAN–U.S. NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENT. The Japan–U.S. Nuclear Cooperation Agreement was signed on 26 February 1968 by the Japanese and U.S. governments to promote their close cooperation for the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. Both countries confirm the importance of nuclear research, development, and utilization for peaceful purposes. Respecting each government’s national strategies, Japan and the United States hope to continue and expand their cooperation in this field. Both countries agree to peaceful nuclear utilization based on transparency and credibility, taking into account both governments’ long-term nuclear plans. Tokyo and Washington reconfirm that they should carry out nuclear research, development, and utilization in line with the objectives of the nonproliferation treaty. Both Japan and the United States confirm that they support the goals of the International Atomic Energy Agency and they promote universal participation in the nonproliferation treaty.

JAPAN–U.S. PRODUCTIVITY AGREEMENT. The Japan–U.S. Productivity Agreement was concluded on 6 April 1955. Under the agreement, the Japan Productivity Center (JPC) was established on 14 February 1955 to serve as a pilot project for bringing together corporate managers, labor representatives, people with certain business skills, and academics to explore ways of increasing productivity in Japan’s domestic economy. The JPC helped launch a productivity-improvement campaign across Japan that was based on three principles: maintenance and expansion of employment; cooperation and consultation between capital and labor; and fair distribution of economic fruits. U.S. involvement consisted of providing financial assistance to the JPC to help it carry out its tasks. The agreement contained broad productivity improvement goals, ranging from greater technological efficiency to a healthier labor force. As a result of U.S. economic assistance and sponsorship, postwar productivity improvement campaigns, which were also known as industrial rationalization campaigns, became popular not only in Japan but also in other major capitalist countries.

JAPAN–U.S. SECURITY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (SCC). The Japan–U.S. Security Consultative Committee was established in
August 1957 (the first SCC meeting was held on 16 August 1957). The purpose of the SCC is to consider matters that pertain to implementation of the Japan–U.S. security treaty. At the initial SCC meetings, Japan was represented by its foreign minister, Defense Agency director and other ministers depending on the issues discussed, while the U.S. was represented by officials below cabinet-level. This disparity was amended in 1990 when both countries decided to send cabinet-level officials.

An SCC meeting can be held at anytime at the request of either side. Meetings were at first generally held in Tokyo under the direction of Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Embassy. The SCC produced a series of important accomplishments. For example, on 22 December 1996, after holding a meeting, Foreign Minister Yukihiko Ikeda, Defense Agency Director Fumio Kyuma, Secretary of Defense William J. Perry, and U.S. Ambassador to Japan Walter Mondale made a joint announcement. They reached the common conclusion that because the Japan–U.S. security relationship would continue to be a cornerstone of stability and prosperity in the Asia–Pacific region, forward deployment of U.S. forces would be indispensable factor to the pursuit of common goals in regional security. They confirmed the facilities and districts with which the Japanese government provided the U.S. forces and underscored the importance of the host nation’s support. They also agreed that the United States and Japan should pursue cooperation in ballistic missile defense.

Moreover, in 1997, the SCC announced new guidelines on Japan–U.S. defense cooperation and, in 2000, the Committee implemented “sympathy” budget allocations (See JAPAN–U.S. STATUS-OF-FORCES AGREEMENT). The SCC holds its meetings regularly. On 19 February 2005, its joint announcement stressed the importance of mutual cooperation in responding to new threats of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, as well as in finding peaceful solutions to various problems concerning North Korea. In recent years, Washington and Tokyo have used the SCC to go beyond immediate security treat matters to address the security environment in East Asia, cooperation on global issues, and common strategic goals with regard to such issues as energy and international terrorism.
JAPAN–U.S. SECURITY TREATY, 1952. The formal name of this treaty is the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the United States of America and Japan. The treaty was signed by the United States and Japan immediately after the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty on 8 September 1951 and the treaty became effective along with the Peace Treaty on 28 April 1952. The treaty stipulates military cooperation between the United States and Japan in order to maintain security in Japan and peace and stability in Asia. Tokyo proposed that Washington station its armed forces inside Japanese territory in order to maintain Japan's security. The treaty consists of a preamble and five articles. This treaty was an unequal treaty because the United States claimed the right to station its armed forces in Japan, but did not specifically assume any obligation to defend Japan. Moreover, U.S. armed forces stationed in Japan can provide “assistance given at the express request of the Japanese Government to put down large-scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan, caused through instigation or intervention by an outside power or powers.” In short, U.S. forces were able to intervene in Japanese domestic affairs. In addition, the treaty contained the so-called Far East clause: the U.S. armed forces “may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East . . . against armed attack from without.” Because the geographical limitation of the Far East is not specifically defined in the treaty, and dangers in other areas, such as the Middle East, may cause a security threat to the Far East, it is virtually impossible for Japan to limit the behavior of the U.S. armed forces stationed in Japan. Tokyo began to discuss possible revision of this security treaty under the Ichiro Hatoyama Cabinet in the 1950s in order to amend these unequal clauses and turn the treaty into a more equal one. The Nobusuke Kishi Cabinet implemented treaty revision negotiations in earnest and a new security treaty was signed on 19 January 1960. See also DEFENSE; PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

JAPAN–U.S. SECURITY TREATY, 1960. The formal name of this treaty is the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan. The treaty was signed between the United States and Japan on 19 January 1960 and it became effective on
23 June 1960. The treaty consists of a preamble and 10 articles. In comparison with the Japan–U.S. security treaty of 1952, this revised treaty is different in four major respects. First, the new treaty does not contain a clause allowing the U.S. armed forces to suppress large-scale domestic strife and civil disorder. Second, the new treaty is good for 10 years, and “after the Treaty has been in force for ten years, either Party may give notice to the other Party of its intention to terminate the Treaty, in which case the Treaty shall terminate one year after such notice has been given.” Third, the treaty contains a specific clause that both the United States and Japan defend Japan and U.S. armed forces stationed inside Japanese territory: “Each Party recognizes that an armed attack against either Party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes.” Fourth, the new treaty has a clause agreeing that both countries, as equal partners, consult closely: “The Parties will consult together from time to time regarding the implementation of this Treaty, and, at the request of either Party, whenever the security of Japan or international peace and security in the Far East is threatened. After the end of the Cold War, the United States and Japan redefined the meaning of the Japan–U.S. alliance, culminating in the Japan–U.S. Joint Declaration on Security—Alliance for the 21st Century of 17 April 1996 and the Guidelines for U.S.–Japan Defense Cooperation concluded on 23 September 1997.

JAPAN–U.S. SECURITY TREATY, REVISION NEGOTIATIONS.
The so-called Vandenberg Resolution of June 1948 stipulates that when the United States assumes responsibility for the military defense of another country, it must be based on that country providing for its self-defense and mutual assistance. Consequently, in the early 1950s, the United States could not enter into a mutual defense agreement with Japan because of that country’s lack of self-defense forces. The Japan–U.S. Security Treaty of 1951 was one-sided in that U.S. forces stationed in Japan would not assume responsibility for defending Japan. This is why the United States repeatedly demanded that Japan increase its self-defense forces after the treaty was signed. At
the same time that Japan began making incremental increases to the size of its self-defense forces, Japanese Foreign Minister Aiichiro Fujiyama, who served in Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi’s government, began negotiations with Washington in October 1958 to revise the one-sided mutual defense treaty. A revised treaty was signed on 19 January 1960 and became effective on 23 June. The new treaty stipulated that in the event of the external military attack against Japan, the United States would assume responsibility for defending Japan, while in case of U.S. forces stationed in any of the territories under Japanese administration coming under attack, Japan would act in their defense. In addition, the revised treaty eliminated a clause in the initial treaty that gave the responsibility for preventing domestic warfare and civil disorder in Japan to U.S. forces.

The revised treaty, which was to last 10 years, also contained these elements: an automatic renewal clause; a new clause describing economic cooperation between the two countries treaty; and a stipulation that when the United States makes an important change in the alignment of U.S. forces stationed in Japan or their equipment as a result of plans by Japan-based U.S. forces to initiate military operations, Washington would first hold prior consultation talks with Tokyo.

The most controversial part of the revised treaty concerned Article Nine: “For the purpose of contributing to the security of Japan and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East, the United States of America is granted the use by its land, air and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan.” Opponents of treaty revision in Japan argued that even if Japan was not directly affected by a conflict in the “Far East” and that non-interference was Japan’s best policy option, Article VI created the risk of Japan being drawn into the conflict once Japan-based U.S. forces initiated military operations. Moreover, opponents expressed fears that by entering into a closer military relationship with the United States, Japan would lose its diplomatic independence. For these reasons, strong political resistance to treaty revision developed across Japan. Following much contentious debate, on 19 May 1960, the Liberal Democratic Party took advantage of its majority strength in the Lower House of Japan’s Diet to push through parliamentary ratification of a revised treaty. This precipitated huge demonstrations against the revised security treaty all across Japan. In accordance with Article 59 of the Japanese constitution, the revised treaty
was automatically enacted on 19 June 1960 without any discussion in
the Upper House. However, widespread Japanese domestic opposition
to the revisions, along with anti-Kishi and anti-U.S. demonstrations,
forced U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower to cancel a planned visit
to Japan. In order to restore political calm, the Kishi government re-
signed en masse in July 1960. See also NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR
BLOCKING REVISION OF JAPAN–U.S. SECURITY TREATY;
SHIGEMITSU–DULLES MEETING.

JAPAN–U.S. SEMICONDUCTOR AGREEMENT. In September
1986, the Japan–U.S. Semiconductor Agreement was concluded be-
tween the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and
U.S. Department of Commerce for the purpose of expanding the for-
gain share of semiconductor sales in the Japanese market. However,
in March 1987, the United States imposed punitive tariffs on Japa-
nese imports because officials in Washington made a determination
that Japan was failing to abide by the terms of the semiconductor
agreement.

To resolve the dispute, Japan and the United States entered into a
new round of semiconductor trade negotiations. In July 1991, a sec-
ond Japan–U.S. Semiconductor Agreement was reached. Unlike the
first agreement, the new agreement contained a numerical target: by
the end of 1992, sales of foreign semiconductors were expected to ac-
to account for 20 percent of all semiconductor sales in the Japanese
market. The duration of the second agreement was five years. In spring
1993, Japan was able to verify that the foreign share of the Japanese
semiconductor market was above 20 percent. In December 1994,
MITI formally announced the end of semiconductor trade friction be-
tween Japan and the U.S., stating that Japan had achieved its prom-
ise of increasing market-entry opportunities for foreign semiconduc-
tor (namely, U.S.) makers and had created a domestic market
environment conducive to permitting competition from foreign mak-
ers over the long term.

When the second Japan–U.S. Semiconductor Agreement expired in
1996, the U.S. share of the Japanese semiconductor market was 26 per-
cent. The United States insisted on extending the agreement in order to
continue controlled trade with numerical market share targets, while
Japan regarded this as no longer unnecessary. Based on the under-
standing that it was the age of transnational cooperation in semiconductor industry, Japan proposed to build a new high degree of international division of labor based on measures to protect environment and security, standardization, and improvement of access to third-nation markets. With support from U.S. semiconductor makers, a new framework of U.S.–Japan semiconductor cooperation along with the Japanese proposal was passed on to the World Semiconductor Council that was held three times after the second Japan–U.S. Semiconductor Agreement expired. See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.

JAPAN–U.S. SPECIAL PROCUREMENT NEGOTIATIONS.
Japan and the United States negotiated an agreement on special procurement contracts in the 1950s after the outbreak of the Korean War. The dollar value of procurement contracts spiked in 1952, and then decreased by 3 percent, 23 percent, and 5 percent in 1953, 1954, and 1955, respectively, in comparison with the previous year. In 1956, this decreasing trend finally came to an end with an increase of about 8 percent compared to the previous year. An increase in domestic consumption and a substantial expansion of exports contributed to this increase.

JAPAN–U.S. STATUS-OF-FORCES AGREEMENT (SOFA). The Japan–U.S. Status-of-Forces Agreement, which took effect in June 1960, details the legal status of U.S. military forces stationed in Japan. As the agreement was ratified by Japan’s Diet and the U.S. Congress, it has the status of a formal treaty. The agreement consists of 28 clauses and various official exchanges of notes and consented proceedings approved by the United States and Japan that pertain to operation of the agreement.

The SOFA originally stipulated that Japan would provide the United States with military bases that were to be maintained at U.S. expense. However, in 1978, Japan began to assume responsibility for costs pertaining to use of Japanese labor, housing and other facilities for American forces and their families, utilities, and training relocation. Because these costs have no legal basis, they are sometimes referred to as “sympathy budget” allocations by Japan’s government. The amount allocated to cover these costs tended to experience annual increases, but the deterioration in Japan’s government finances
caused the allocation to start declining in 2001. In 2004, the “sympathy budget” was 244.1 billion yen.

The SOFA also gives extraterritorial rights to U.S. forces and their family members, including exemptions from Japanese legal requirements that concern passport and visa issuance, alien registration, and other administrative procedures normally applicable to foreigners visiting or working in Japan. For many Japanese people, especially the residents of Okinawa, where most U.S. military facilities are currently located, the existence of extraterritorial for the U.S. military forces has resulted in complaints and protests. Some local and national Japanese political leaders have demand fundamental changes in the SOFA. Among the demands are relocation of U.S. military facilities, amending the extraterritorial status and relieving certain conditions that some communities adjacent to U.S. military bases believe are excessively burdensome. See also DEFENSE.

**JAPAN–U.S. SURPLUS AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES AGREEMENT.** The Japan–U.S. Surplus Agricultural Commodities Agreement, which was signed by the United States and Japan in 1955, was designed to help U.S. farmers unload surplus agricultural crops (especially wheat) and to allow Japan to overcome an unavailability of U.S. dollar and yen financing to purchase desperately needed food imports. After ratification by Japan’s Diet, the agreement took effect in June 1955.

In order to solve the problem of excess production and inventory of wheat in the postwar period, the United States enacted the Agricultural Trade and Assistance Act in July 1954 to provide Asian countries with shipments of wheat imports financed by long-term interest-bearing loans provided by the U.S. The Act allowed Japan, which at that time was still struggling with financial and food shortage problems following the war, to purchase wheat (and other food stuffs) despite its lack of U.S. dollars and sufficient yen reserves. The creation of the Act led to the conclusion of the Japan–U.S. Surplus Agricultural Commodities Agreement.

Under the agreement, Japan purchased imports of wheat, barley, rice, cotton, tobacco in Japanese yen equivalent to $85 million. The proceeds from the sale of these agricultural products in Japan’s domestic market were deposited into a special U.S. government fund.
created and managed by the Bank of Japan. The Japanese government used approximately 70 percent of this fund for economic reconstruction, such as development of a supply of electricity, while the remainder was paid to the United States. In addition to the aid made possible by this fund, the United States provided Japan with a gift of free wheat, nonfat dry milk for school children, and other agricultural products valued at the time at $15 million.

Because the Surplus Agricultural Commodities Agreement was scheduled to expire in 1956, the Japanese government began negotiating its renewal with the U.S. government in July 1955. As a result, both countries formally agreed on a second surplus agreement in February 1956.

**JAPAN–U.S. TEXTILE AGREEMENT.** The Japan–U.S. Textile Agreement reached in January 1972 contains a promise by Japan to voluntarily self-restrict exports of 18 textile items to the United States. From the late 1950s, the Japanese synthetic fiber industry began to expand and reached the point of becoming the world’s largest exporting country of synthetic fiber by 1965. However, this rapid expansion of exports precipitated trade frictions with the United States. After a series of severe and emotional negotiations between the two countries, including Washington raising the possibility of linking the textile issue to the issue of the reversion of Okinawa to Japan, a decision was finally made to work out a compromise. Under the Japan–U.S. Textile Agreement, Japan’s acceptance of voluntary restrictions on its textile exports to the United States did tremendous damage to the country’s textile industry. The Japanese government allocated 127 billion yen from the national budget to provide relief to the textile industry, but, partly because of Japan’s voluntary restrictions, in 1972 the industry suffered from declining production. Also, because of the Agreement, Japan’s textile corporations were hurt by a big increase in price-cutting competition among themselves in the domestic market and cheap imports from developing countries. Steep price-cutting competition undermined investment by textile companies in capital investment and technical innovation, which retarded technology and eventually led to the textile industry’s overall decline. See also JAPAN–U.S. COTTON PRODUCTS TRADE AGREEMENT; U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.
JAPAN–U.S. WISE PERSONS COMMITTEE (JUSWPC). The Japan–U.S. Wise Persons Committee was a forum in which Japanese and U.S. civilians discussed the economic relationship between Japan and the U.S. The committee was established at the Japan–U.S. summit held on 30 April 1979 in order to minimize trade friction between the two countries. The JUSWPC consisted of four members from each country. After submitting its final report, the JUSWPC dissolved itself in September 1981. The final report proposed the following five points: holding a regular ministerial-level conference; encouragement of Japanese private corporations’ investments in the United States; convocation of a national productivity conference in the United States; establishment of an ombudsman in Japan; and liberalization of the Japanese agricultural market. See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.

JAPAN–WEST GERMANY–U.S. LOCOMOTIVE THEORY. The Japan–West Germany–U.S. Locomotive Theory was presented by the United States at the London and Bonn Summits in 1977 and 1978, respectively, and urged that not only the United States but also Japan and West Germany should provide leadership in the global world economy by cultivating their domestic markets.

In the 1970s, the United States suffered a current account deficit and inflation, mainly because of spending on the Vietnam War. Consequently, the United States demanded that Japan and West Germany should play more important roles in the world economy. With respect to Japan, the U.S. believed that given the large size of its domestic market, it should assume part of the burden of maintaining a liberal international trading system and promote global trade by expanding its imports, even at the risk of damaging some Japanese industries. Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda took this idea seriously and publicly pledged to encourage domestic demand-led economic growth of 7 percent. As a result, in 1978 Japan’s central government spending on public works dramatically increased 34.5 percent and government-bond issuance rose 38.8 percent compared with previous year levels. In addition, when serious trade friction developed between the United States and Japan in 1981, Japan took the initiative of voluntarily restricting its exports of automobiles to the United States by capping the export level at 1.68 million vehicles. See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.
JAPANESE–AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS, 1941. The Japanese–American negotiations of 1941 opened in February 1941 and ended some 10 months later with the Japanese attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor. Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Ambassador Kichisaburō Nomura were the principal protagonists. From the outset, the gulf separating the two nations was wide.

The Japanese government months earlier had decided that if favorable circumstances arose, it would advance militarily into the resource-rich colonial regions of Southeast Asia. The United States government, for its part, was convinced that the defense of Great Britain was the best defense of the United States. In this connection, it was hardly amenable to a Japanese advance against Britain’s Far Eastern possessions. Compounding the issue was Japan’s ongoing war in China. As early as January 1940, Washington had put Japanese policymakers on notice by abrogating the two nations’ treaty of commerce. Then when, in September 1940, Japan allied itself with Nazi Germany, its war in China presented itself to American policymakers not as a regional or local war but as part of “an organized and ruthless movement of conquest.”

The course taken by the negotiations reflected the slim chances of success. To be sure, the prospect of diplomatic rapprochement—in the form of the so-called Draft Understanding between Japan and the United States—flickered briefly in April. For reasons of his own, however, Foreign Minister Yōsuke Matsuoka refused to play ball. In the meantime, as Matsuoka raised the ire of American officialdom, Germany launched its assault on the Soviet Union. Matsuoka counseled an immediate attack on the Soviet Union’s Far Eastern provinces, although the army and navy chiefs of staff carried the debate with their insistence on an attack to the south. Japanese troops occupied the Indochinese peninsula in its entirety in late July 1941.

From Washington, Ambassador Nomura had repeatedly warned his government that an advance into Southeast Asia would torpedo his negotiations with American officialdom. He also sought to bring America’s state of war-preparedness to his government’s attention. Nobody listened until Washington responded to the occupation of Indochina first by freezing Japanese assets and then by slapping a total embargo on oil. In August Foreign Minister Teijirō Toyoda (who replaced Matsuoka in mid-July) and Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe
proposed a summit meeting between Konoe and United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Although there is some room for conjecture concerning whether Konoe planned to make far-reaching concessions at the proposed summit meeting, the fact remains that neither he nor Toyoda were willing to offer anything substantial prior to the conference. The proposal thus appeared as an attempt to change the negotiators but not the terms of negotiation, and met with a negative response from Washington.

In the meantime, Japanese policymakers had agreed that if no diplomatic breakthrough was reached by mid-October, Japan would launch war against the United States. Konoe in mid-October resigned and halted the slide toward war, although the successor cabinet of General Hideki Tōjō was unable to set terms for negotiation that held out the prospect of diplomatic success.

In a final attempt to break the deadlock, Ambassador Nomura on his own initiative conceived of a modus vivendi, whereby the two governments would agree on the least contentious issues, leaving (particularly) the solution of the China problem until a later date. For a short time, the United States government toyed with the idea as it had long prioritized the defeat of Germany over and above that of Japan. In the end, however, it dropped the idea because it feared that such an agreement might undermine Chinese morale and lead to that nation’s surrender. Thus, on 26 November, Secretary Hull presented Ambassador Nomura with an uncompromising note, which effectively shut the door on the possibility of a diplomatic rapprochement. Within days, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. See also WORLD WAR II.

**Japanese Constitution.** The Japanese Constitution succeeded the Meiji Constitution. On 3 November 1946, a new Japanese constitution was promulgated and it became effective on 3 May 1947. It consists of a preamble and 103 articles grouped into 11 chapters. These are:

- Chapter I. The Emperor (Articles 1–8)
- Chapter II. Renunciation of War (Article 9)
- Chapter III. Rights and Duties of the People (Articles 10–40)
- Chapter IV. The Diet (Articles 41–64)
- Chapter V. The Cabinet (Articles 65–75)
- Chapter VI. Judiciary (Articles 76–82)
Chapter VII. Finance (Articles 83–91)
Chapter VIII. Local Self-Government (Articles 92–95)
Chapter IX. Amendments (Article 96)
Chapter X. Supreme Law (Articles 97–99)
Chapter XI. Supplementary Provisions (Articles 100–103)

The constitution is founded primarily on popular sovereignty, respect for basic human rights, and pacifism. Additionally, the constitution stipulates that the emperor is a symbol of the state, renunciation of war, the separation of the three branches of government, the Diet as the highest organ of the state power, security of local autonomy, freedom of thought, universal suffrage, social rights, and more.

On 4 October 1945, Fumimaro Konoe, a prominent politician who had been prime minister three times, visited General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), and explained that the so-called feudal forces in Japan centered around the emperor and the Zaibatsu had resisted Japan’s waging war against the Allied Powers, and if SCAP eliminated the emperor and the Zaibatsu, the country would immediately become communist. On hearing this plea, MacArthur informally suggested that Konoe engage in revising the Constitution of the Empire of Japan. Konoe and his associates began to draft a new constitution. However, on 1 November 1945, because Konoe was accused of being responsible for waging the war, SCAP announced that it had nothing to do with the Konoe’s idea of a new constitution. Nonetheless, Konoe continued his study and on 12 November 1945, he announced his ideas. On 24 November, Soichi Sasaki, one of Konoe’s associates, also publicized his own ideas for constitution. Rejecting these ideas, SCAP forcefully interposed their own views.

Meanwhile, General MacArthur directed Kijūrō Shidehara to revise the Constitution of the Empire of Japan. The Shidehara cabinet established the Constitutional Problems Investigation Committee headed by Minister of State Joji Matsumoto. On 1 February 1946, the Mainichi Newspaper got a scoop of one of many drafts that the committee rejected in the process of its examination. On 3 February, General MacArthur ordered the Government Section (GS) of the General Headquarters (GHQ) of SCAP to draft a new Japanese constitution. In just nine days, the GS drew up a draft constitution and submitted it to the Japanese government on 13 February 1946. Based on this
draft constitution, the Japanese government made some revisions. The Japanese constitution is the supreme law in Japan and it has never been amended.

**Article Nine** is a groundbreaking clause renouncing war as a sovereign right. The articles states: “(1) Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. (2) In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, 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.” Article Nine deepened the Japanese pacifist sentiment; however, in the post–Cold War era, Article Nine has been a major stumbling bloc for Japan to play a more proactive military role in the international community. This is one of the major reasons why there are so many people who would like to amend the constitution. The Special Committee on the Japanese Constitution was established in September 2005 to examine measures concerning the institutionalized system for referendums for amending the Japanese Constitution and to carry out an extensive as well as comprehensive investigation of the Japanese Constitution. See also **ARTICLE NINE; MEIJI CONSTITUTION**.

**“JAPANESE SPIRIT, WESTERN LEARNING.”** An exhortation that became prominent in the midst of the modernization drive in Japan during the **Meiji Era**. While maintaining and emphasizing traditional Japanese values, Japanese were encouraged to learn methods of Western education, science, and technology to strengthen the nation. See also **EASTERN ETHICS, WESTERN SCIENCE; IWAKURA MISSION; MEIJI ERA; SAKUMA, SHOZAN**.

**JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA.** The first Japanese to attend American schools were Manjiro Nakahama and Joseph Heco (also known as Hikozo Hamada) in the late 1840s and 1850s. In the 1860s and 1870s, more Japanese came to America and studied at colleges, such as **Rutgers College** in New Jersey, Amherst College in Massachusetts, Hope College in Michigan, and Pacific University in Oregon. The **Iwakura Mission** brought more than 50 Japanese students to attend American schools and colleges, including the first Japanese female
students. By the end of the 19th century, several hundred Japanese had studied at American high schools and colleges, including West Point and the U.S. Naval Academy. The number of Japanese students in the United States gradually increased throughout the 20th century, except during World War II when Japanese citizens and even many American citizens of Japanese ancestry were forced to stop their studies by the United States government, despite the objections of many college presidents. By the early 1990s, the number of Japanese students in America exceeded 40,000. Many Japanese K–12 students are the children of Japanese businessmen at American-based factories, such as Honda, Nissan, Sony, etc., while Japanese college students decide to attend an American college for both educational and social reasons. Many Japanese graduate and post-graduate students attend American colleges to study business or one of the sciences. Japanese students can be found at almost any sizeable university or college in America, with the largest number on the West Coast and in the Northeastern United States. See also IMMIGRATION; MAKINO, NOBUAKI; MATSUDAIRA, TADAATSU; MORI, ARINORI; MURRAY, DAVID; NAGAI, SHIGEKO; NIJJIMA, JO; NITOBE, INAZO; TSUDA, UMEKO; UCHIMURA, KANZO; YAMAKAWA, SUTEMATSU.

JAPAN'S ACCESSION TO THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT). The United States established a liberal, multilateral world economic structure in the postwar era centered on General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Japan joined the IMF and the IBRD in August 1952 without much difficulty. However, it was very difficult to join GATT.

Because the Japanese economy depended on foreign trade, Tokyo had a strong interest in GATT even during the occupation. In July 1952, 10 months after signing the peace treaty, Tokyo applied to join GATT; however, Great Britain objected to Japan’s membership, insisting that Japan should carry out formal multilateral tariff negotiations. Consequently, Japan’s accession to GATT was pending. In 1953, Japan became a pro tempore member of GATT and acquired the right to participate in GATT conferences. In October 1954, GATT made a resolution to start tariff negotiations with Japan. Finally, in
September 1955, Japan joined GATT as a full member. The United States strongly endorsed Japan’s accession to GATT because Japan’s economic independence based on multilateral liberal trade would be beneficial for the United States to fight the Cold War. In contrast, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Spain strongly opposed Japan’s accession because of their bad experience regarding Japan’s export thrust with its low-price textile goods to the world market in the 1930s. In the end, Japan had to accept the imposition of GATT Article 35, Non-application of the Agreement Between Particular Contracting Parties, stipulating that “A contracting party may withhold application of its schedule of tariff concessions, or the entire agreement, from another contracting party with which it has not entered into tariff negotiations.” In short, Japan was excluded from the non-discriminatory principle of GATT. By the mid-1960s, the four major European countries mentioned previously repealed their application of GATT Article 35 in return for Japan’s acceptance of voluntary export restraint, and still, in the 1960s, about 40 countries, including underdeveloped ones (such as Chad in Africa) applied Article 35 to Japan. Tokyo had to deal with the discriminatory status resulting from GATT Article 35 until the World Trade Organization (WTO) came into being 1995 as the successor to GATT. See also GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT).

**JAPAN’S THREE NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES.** These are the principles of not producing, not possessing, and not allowing the entry of nuclear weapons into Japan. On 11 December 1967, at a meeting of the Lower House Budget Committee, Prime Minister Eisaku Sato clearly stated these three non-nuclear principles for the first time. He reconfirmed them in an administrative policy speech made at the Diet in January 1968. In November 1971, a Lower House plenary session adopted a resolution of the three principles. It is habitually suspected that U.S. naval vessels and combat aircraft are equipped with nuclear weapons, but Tokyo argues that as long as Washington offers no prior consultation, they do not carry nuclear weapons. On 30 May 2002, Chief Cabinet Secretary Yasuo Fukuda stated that because of changes in the international situation, Japan’s non-nuclear principles might be altered. This statement sparked controversy; overwhelming Japanese sentiment is still opposed to possessing nuclear weapons. See also NUCLEAR ENERGY.
JOHN DOE ASSOCIATES. The so-called John Doe Associates, whose membership included an American priest, a Japanese army colonel, and a Japanese banker, worked behind the official diplomatic scenes of the 1941 Japanese-American negotiations with the intention of maneuvering the United States and Japan into a peaceful settlement of their differences. As the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor attests, their endeavors ended in failure. In fact, a noted authority on this private effort for peace regards the John Doe Associates as a distracting and disruptive element that made Japanese-American rapprochement harder—not easier—to obtain.

Their activities began in late 1940, when Fr. James Drought met with various Japanese officials. As he informed President Franklin D. Roosevelt in January 1941, he emerged convinced that Japan was prepared to leave the Tripartite Alliance, and that it was ready to conclude the China Incident on terms acceptable to the United States. Roosevelt was too prudent to take Drought’s evaluations at face value. After all, they flew in the face of other indicators of Japanese policy, including—most importantly—the bellicosity of Foreign Minister Yōsuke Matsuoka. Roosevelt chose instead to await the arrival of Japan’s newly appointed ambassador, Kichisaburō Nomura.

Through no fault of his own, Nomura arrived in Washington in February without any concrete proposals for bettering Japanese-American relations. Soon thereafter, however, Tadao Ikawa, a banker who was a friend of Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe, arrived in the United States. He was followed closely by Colonel Hideo Iwakuro, who was dispatched in response to Ambassador Nomura’s specific request for the army’s understanding and assistance. Drought, Ikawa, and Iwakuro—the so-called John Doe Associates—proceeded over the ensuing months to draft various proposals for Japanese-American understanding. They maintained quite close relations with Ambassador Nomura. At the same time, Ikawa intermittently contacted Konoe, and Iwakuro remained in close contact with the War Ministry. On the American side, their principal contact came in the form of Postmaster General Frank Walker.

The so-called Draft Understanding between the United States and Japan, which Secretary of State Cordell Hull in April 1941 informed Nomura would be acceptable as the basis for negotiations, was the product of the John Doe Associates’ endeavors. The Japanese government, however, refused to play ball. Foreign Minister
Matsuoka in May rewrote the Draft Understanding so as to significantly change its character. The changes were in no way acceptable to the United States, which, in June, submitted its own proposal. The terms contained in this proposal were considerably stronger than those of the original April document, and the Japanese government—wrongly—seized on this as evidence of the stiffening of Washington’s position. The American proposal, moreover, coincided with the outbreak of the Soviet–German war. Tokyo responded to this development by advancing its troops into southern Indochina, which, in turn, prompted Washington to freeze Japanese assets in the United States and to place an embargo on oil. These actions virtually guaranteed that the J**apanese–American negotiations of 1941**—and of course the efforts of the John Doe Associates—ended in war. See also WORLD WAR II.

**JOINT DEVELOPMENT OF FSX.** The Fighter Support X (FSX) is an F2 support fighter plane for Japan’s Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF) that was co-developed with the United States. Initially, the ASDF and Japanese engineers in both the public and private sectors insisted on domestic production of the plane, but the United States, which strongly desired to sell its own fighters to Japan and feared that Japan might become a serious competitor to the U.S. aerospace aircraft industry, raised strong objections.

In October 1987, Japan compromised by agreeing to Japan–U.S. joint development of a fighter plane based on the U.S.-made F16. This was the first time the United States and Japan had ever decided on joint development of a fighter. In return for abandoning its hope of domestic development, Japan was permitted to acquire most of the technology used in the F-16 joint development; however, owing to opposition from the Congress, Japan was forced to develop its own flight-control computer software.

The direction of technology flow was not one way. The co-development agreement obligated Japan to provide the United States with Japan’s own cutting-edge technologies used in, for example, radar, shipbuilding, digital flight control, ducted rocket engines, ceramic engines for military vehicles, shallow water acoustic sound systems, and ballistic **missile defense.** Because of limitations imposed by Japan’s arms export regulations, the United States was not allowed to export U.S.-made arms that incorporated any technologies
originally provided by Japan. In addition, if new missile-defense technologies jointly developed by Japan and the United States are to be deployed in an operational national missile defense system, this raises questions of whether such deployment might conflict with Japan's ban on exercising the right of collective defense. The FSX is to be used for interception, as well as for anti-ship and anti-surface offense.

While the United States and Japan agreed that the maximum development expense for the FSX would be 165 billion yen, to be paid entirely by Japan, in the end the actual development cost was about twice that amount (327.4 billion yen). Core contractors for the FSX were Mitsubishi Heavy Industries (Japan) and Lockheed Martin (U.S.).
important foundation for future cooperation in regard to global problems that public sector institutions alone cannot tackle.

**JOINT STATEMENT ON THE JAPAN-UNITED STATES FRAMEWORK FOR A NEW ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP.** The Japan–U.S. summit held in July 1993 agreed to establish a framework for building a new Japan–U.S. economic relationship. The two countries decided that the core of the new relationship would be an agenda for Japan–U.S. cooperation that would be based on a common global perspective and on joint consultations on matters pertaining to economics, industrial sectors, and economic structure. Among the purposes underlying the creation of the framework was achieving a more balanced and mutually beneficial Japan–U.S. economic relationship, promotion of global economic growth, greater market liberalization, and—the next was considered extremely important by the two countries—an expansion of global free trade. Joint consultations on these matters were to consist of biannual summits.

Under the new partnership, the two countries committed to achieving certain goals. Japan pledged to achieve a meaningful reduction of its current-account surplus over the medium term; significantly increase its imports of goods and services from all countries, not just the United States; encourage strong and pervasive domestic-demanded economic growth; and aggressively increase access by competing foreign goods and services to the domestic market over the medium term. The United States agreed to such medium-term goals as a sizeable reduction of its fiscal debt, greater domestic savings, and work to strengthen its international business competitiveness.

One of the explicitly stated aims of the new partnership was to implement policies that would result in a substantial reduction of Japan’s trade surplus with the United States. The partnership also decided to apply a global perspective to a variety of important issues, such as the environment, technology, human resource development, global population growth, and HIV/AIDS. See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.

**JOINT U.S.–JAPAN COMMITTEE ON TRADE AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.** The U.S.–Japan Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Problems was established in June 1961 during Prime Minister Hayato
Ikeda’s visit to the United States. It came about through an exchange of official notes between Foreign Minister Zentaro Kosaka and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Its primary purpose was to make Japan–U.S. economic relations more intimate by setting up direct economic-related ministerial talks between the United States and Japan. Japanese representatives consisted of major economic-related ministers, such as the ministers of the Foreign, Finance, and International Trade and Industry Ministries headed by the foreign minister, while the U.S. representatives also consisted of major economic-related secretaries, such as the secretaries of state, the Treasury, and Commerce, headed by the secretary of state. The Japanese foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state became chairperson of the committee alternately. The committee is not a formal place to negotiate concrete issues or make agreements, but provides a forum where both sides exchange opinions freely in order to strengthen friendship ties and to contribute to developing closer cooperative ties in the economic relationship between the United States and Japan. The primary agenda of the committee is the promotion of economic cooperation between the United States and Japan, especially an exchange of information and opinions concerning trade issues and economic assistance programs. The first committee was held in November 1961 and the committee was held 13 times during the period up to 1973. See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.

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KAGOSHIMA BOMBARDMENT. In August 1863, a British squadron of seven ships bombarded Kagoshima, the capital city of Satsuma domain, in retaliation for the murder the previous year of a British merchant by Satsuma samurai in the Namamugi Incident. After the bombardment of Kagoshima, the Tokugawa bakufu agreed to pay an indemnity to the British government.

KAISEIJO. Originally called “the Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books,” the name of this government-funded college in Edo was changed in 1863 to “Kaiseijo,” meaning Institute for Development. It was the Tokugawa shogunate’s primary center for higher education in Western languages, sciences, and military studies. Later known as
Kaisei Gakko, it formed part of the original University of Tokyo founded in 1877.

**KANAGAWA TREATY (1854).** Formally known as the **U.S.-Japan Treaty of Friendship**, this treaty was negotiated and signed by U.S. Commodore **Matthew Perry** and **Tokugawa shogunate** officials in March 1854. The three major agreements in the treaty are: better treatment for shipwrecked sailors; allowing purchase of coal, wood, fresh water, and other provisions by American ships at the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate; and allowing an American diplomat at Shimoda. This was the first formal treaty between Japan and a Western government. See also ANSEI TREATIES; HARRIS, TOWNSEND.

**KANEKO, KENTARO (1853–1942).** Early Japanese overseas student who studied at Harvard University from 1872 to 1878, where he became friends with fellow student **Theodore Roosevelt**. Kaneko was a close associate of **Hirobumi Ito**, and held a number of positions in the Meiji government, including serving as Japan’s Ambassador to the United States during the **Russo-Japan War**, which occurred during President Theodore Roosevelt’s administration. See also JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

**KATAYAMA, SEN (1860–1933).** Influential labor leader, socialist, and Christian, Katayama studied in the United States from 1884 to 1894, mostly at Yale University, before returning to Japan and founding the first labor newspaper (published in both Japanese and English). He helped establish the original Japan Socialist Party in 1906. In 1914, he returned to the United States and settled in California. By the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917, Katayama had become a communist and moved to Moscow in 1922, where he died 11 years later. See also JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

**KATŌ, KANJI (1870–1939).** Admiral Kanji Katō was a hawkish figure—and an important one at that—in the Imperial Japanese Navy throughout the Taishō and Shōwa periods. Impulsive and hot-headed, he was widely popular with younger officers within the service. Unfortunately, Katō prioritized cultivating and maintaining that popularity over and above cold calculations of national interest.
In 1891, Katō graduated from the Naval Academy, and was chief gunner on the enormous battleship Mikasa during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. His pedigree was impeccable: after serving as Admiral Gombei Yamamoto’s aide-de-camp in 1906, he was posted in 1909 as naval attaché to the Japanese embassy in London. He attended the Washington Conference of 1921–1922, and emerged as a vociferous opponent of plenipotentiary (and navy minister) Admiral Tomosaburō Katō’s decision to accept the American proposal for the reduction of capital ship strength according to the ratio of 5:5:3 for the United States, Great Britain, and Japan.

Having been promoted to admiral in 1927, Katō in 1929 was appointed chief of the Navy General Staff. In this position, he violently opposed the naval limitations agreements hammered out at the 1930 First London Naval Conference. He charged the government with having ignored his opinions, which he argued constituted an infringement on the rights of the supreme command. This, in turn, sparked a shrill political controversy—with debate centering on the government’s prerogatives vis-à-vis those of the supreme command—in the midst of which Katō (in June 1930) resigned his post. In subsequent years, he worked behind the scenes to empower those within the navy who opposed the system of naval limitation.

**KATŌ, RYOZO (1941).** Ryozo Katō has been ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States since 2001. In 1965, he graduated from Faculty of Law of Tokyo University and entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. After holding a series of official posts, he was promoted to deputy minister for Foreign Affairs in 1999. In the 21st century, a number of delicate issues exist between the United States and Japan. In particular, the United States has been implementing global military realignment. Because of this, Washington has agreed to reduce 8,000 marines currently stationed in Okinawa. Ambassador Katō plays an important role in these negotiations.

**KATŌ, TOMOSABURŌ (1861–1923).** Admiral Tomosaburo Katō was a towering figure in the Imperial Japanese Navy through the 1910s and early 1920s. A judicious judge of Japan’s war-making capabilities, he exercised his authority to drag the navy into the era of naval limitation.
In 1880, he graduated from the Naval Academy. He was chief gunner on the cruiser Yoshino during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, and during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 was appointed fleet chief of staff, a position in which he was directly responsible to commander of the Combined Fleet Admiral Heihachirō Tōgō. He subsequently served as vice minister of the navy, commander-in-chief of the Kure Naval District, and commander of the First Fleet, before being appointed navy minister in August 1915, in the cabinet of Shigenobu Okuma. As navy minister, Katō emerged as the architect of the so-called eight-eight fleet plan—which entailed a fleet with a nucleus of eight battleships and eight cruisers. In the immediate postwar era, however, the United States began trumpeting its policy of constructing a navy “second to none,” and it was obvious to Katō that Japan simply could not keep pace.

In such a frame of mind, Katō led Japan’s delegation to the Washington Conference of 1921–1922. Violent opposition from within naval ranks notwithstanding, he accepted Secretary of State Charles Evan Hughes’s proposal for the reduction of capital ship strength according to the ratio of 5:5:3 for the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. In so doing, he conceded that the Japanese navy was not an instrument for war against the United States. It was instead an instrument for deterring the United States from interfering in Japan’s sensed prerogatives.

Katō assumed the prime minister’s post soon after his return from the Washington Conference. He also remained as navy minister. He established a foreign policy of cooperation with the great powers. To this end, he effectuated the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Siberia and China’s Liaotung peninsula (both issues had been a sore point in post–World War I Japanese–American relations). He also implemented the Washington treaties, although he died in August 1923 while still in office.

KATSU, KAISHU (1823–1899). Born in Edo, Katsu was a student and then instructor in Western languages and military science, and served as a top naval officer in both the Tokugawa shogunate and Meiji governments. In 1860, he commanded the Kanrin Maru, one of two ships taking Japanese officials of the Shogun’s Embassy to the United States. After returning from the United States, Katsu estab-
lished a naval school in Kobe and served as the Tokugawa government’s chief naval engineer. In March 1868, he avoided a potentially devastating war in Edo between Tokugawa warriors and imperial forces led by Satsuma and Choshu by negotiating a peaceful surrender of the city. From 1873 to 1875, he served as deputy minister and then minister of the navy in the Meiji government, and continued to hold government posts until his death. See also BOSHIN WAR; MEIJI RESTORATION; SAKUMA, SHOZAN.

KIDDER, MARY EDDY (1834-1910). American missionary and educator. Arriving in Japan during the late 1860s as a teacher and missionary for the Dutch Reformed Church of America, Mary Eddy Kidder founded a school for Japanese girls, and then established Ferris Women’s College in Yokohama in 1870. Now known as Ferris University, this was the first college for women established in Japan. See also YATOI.

KIDO, KOIN (ALSO KNOWN AS KIDO, TAKAYOSHI; 1833-1877). A samurai from Choshu domain, Kido studied with Shoin Yoshida and became a leader in the imperial restoration and anti-Tokugawa shogunate movements. Kido helped negotiate an alliance between Choshu and Satsuma domains in 1866, and the Satsuma–Choshu-led forces overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate in early 1868. He served in a number of Meiji government positions until his death, including as an ambassador with the Iwakura Mission to the United States and Europe. See also MEIJI ERA; MEIJI RESTORATION.

KISHI, NOBUSUKE (1896-1987). The politician Nosubuke Kishi was born in Yamaguchi prefecture. After graduating from the Law Department of Tokyo Imperial University, he became a bureaucrat in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. In 1935, he was made chief of the Engineering Works Department. In 1936, he became deputy director of Manchukuo Business Department and he promoted the five-year plan for Manchu industrial development. Kishi returned to Japan in 1939 and was promoted to vice minister of commerce and industry. Along with the vice minister of health and welfare, Kishi announced a plan to bring 85,000 Korean workers to Japan as forced laborers in
May 1939. In October 1941, he was appointed minister of commerce and industry in the Hideki Tōjō Cabinet.

After World War II, Kishi was arrested on A-class war-crime charges; however, he was exempted from prosecution and released from prison in December 1948. As soon as the purge was lifted after the San Francisco Peace Treaty became effective, Kishi returned to politics. In 1953, he won the House of Representatives election as a member of the Liberal Party. In November 1954, he played a major role in establishing the Japan Democratic Party and became its secretary general. Kishi was one of the chief promoters of amalgamation of two major conservative parties, the Japan Democratic Party and the Liberal Party. As a result, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was established in November 1955 and Kishi was appointed its secretary general. In December 1956, Tanzan Ishibashi defeated Kishi in the LDP presidential election, and Kishi became foreign minister. However, when the prime minister resigned his post because of illness, Kishi became prime minister in February 1957. Kishi began negotiations with the United States in order to amend the one-sided Japan–U.S. Security Treaty. On 18 May 1960, Kishi decided to unilaterally ratify a new Japan–U.S. Security Treaty in the Lower House. After violent reactions, in June 1960, the Kishi Cabinet dissolved itself in order to defuse the crisis among the people.

KOIZUMI, JUNICHIRO (1942- ). Junichiro Koizumi was born in Kanagawa Prefecture. Koizumi was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1972 as a Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) member. He became prime minister in April 2001. When the United States suffered from a series of terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, Prime Minister Koizumi denounced the terrorism and on 29 November 2001, the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law was enacted. Koizumi seemed to be pro-United States; however, on 17 September 2002, Koizumi visited North Korea as the first Japanese prime minister in history to do so. He held a summit with Chairman Kim Jong-il and signed the Japan–DPRK Pyongyang Declaration. Prime Minister Koizumi did this without close consultation with the United States, and Washington regarded this surprise summit as an indication of Japan’s moving away from the U.S.–Japan alliance. The United States imposed strong pressure on the Koizumi administration.
to move back to the alliance. The Koizumi administration had to accommodate an insistent U.S. request to strengthen the U.S.–Japan military alliance by making appropriate legal arrangements. On 6 June 2003, three laws on war contingencies were enacted. On 26 July 2003, Special legislation Calling for Assistance in the Rebuilding of Iraq was enacted. In January 2004, Tokyo dispatched the main unit of the Air Self-Defense Force to Samawa, Iraq, known as the Japanese Iraq Reconstruction and Support Group. On 14 June 2004, seven laws on war contingencies were enacted. In the end, Prime Minister Koizumi reinforced the U.S.–Japan alliance and expanded Japan’s military role in the international community.

KOMURA, JūTARŌ (1855-1911). A product of Harvard Law School, Jūtarō Komura was a distinguished diplomat in the late Meiji period. At ease in American circles, Komura has been given high marks for his diplomacy as foreign minister.

Having joined the Foreign Ministry in 1884, Komura gained wide experience in China and Korea before being appointed vice foreign minister in 1896. In this post, he served beneath foreign ministers Kimmochi Saionji, Shigenobu Ōkuma, and Tokujirō Nishi. In September 1998, he was appointed ambassador to the United States. It was a difficult assignment. He sought, without success, to guarantee the rights of Japanese nationals in Hawaii and California. He was similarly unsuccessful in his attempts to protect Japanese trading rights in Hawaii. In his communications with officials in Tokyo, Komura advised a conciliatory stance toward America’s annexation of the Philippines, sought to explain Secretary of State John Hay’s enunciation of the Open Door, and spoke of the necessity of restricting immigration to the American West Coast.

After an 18-month stint as ambassador to Russia, Komura in September 1901 was appointed foreign minister in the first cabinet of Prime Minister Tarō Katsura. Along with the genrō, General Aritomo Yamagata, and Prime Minister Katsura, Komura in 1902 led a divided government to conclude the Anglo–Japanese alliance. Russia subsequently revealed its imperialist ambitions not only in Manchuria but also in Korea. Komura was prepared to concede Russia’s superior position in Manchuria, but he would not assent to the continued stationing of Russian troops there (Russian troops had remained in Manchuria since the
**Boxer Uprising.** He was assertive of Japan’s preeminent rights in Korea, and would brook no Russian influence on the peninsula. Negotiations with Russia broke down in December 1903, and Tokyo made the decision for war in January 1904. Within a month, Komura defined Japan’s war aims as the extension and solidification of its influence over Korea and the extension of its interests in Manchuria. Komura represented his nation at the negotiations ending the Russo–Japanese War, and in August 1905 signed the **Portsmouth Treaty.**

He resigned as foreign minister in January 1906, but returned to the post in August 1908 in the second cabinet of Tarō Katsura. His foreign policy was predicated on securing Japan’s paramount interests in Korea and Manchuria, and gaining the great powers’ recognition of Japan’s position in the Far East. In light of the latter objective, he viewed the **Root–Takahira Agreement** of 1908 as a success. This success was tempered however by President William Howard Taft’s subsequent adoption of dollar diplomacy, which squared off against Japan’s interests in southern Manchuria. To counter this unwelcome development, Komura turned to Russia. The two nations reached an agreement on their respective spheres of Manchurian influence in 1910. Komura nonetheless remained convinced of the necessity of close economic ties with the United States, and presided over efforts toward the **U.S.-Japan Treaty of Commerce and Navigation** of 1911.

**KONOE, FUMIMARO (1891–1945).** Scion of one of Japan’s most aristocratic families, Fumimaro Konoe was an influential politician in the World War II period. However, whether he used his influence judiciously is open to serious doubt. Educated at Kyoto Imperial University, he accompanied the ｇｅｎｒｏ Kimmochi Saionji to the **Paris Peace Conference** of 1919. At this time, he shot to prominence—and raised Saionji’s ire—with publication of an essay that attacked the “Anglo–American peace” as hypocritical and unfair.

While still a student he had been given a seat in the Diet’s House of Peers and became president of that body in 1933. He cultivated acquaintances with men of many stripes, although by far the most extensive were his contacts with right-wing reformers, traditional conservatives, and Asianists. He was also popular with army officers, particularly after he came out in ardent support of Japan’s actions in Manchuria in 1931. In 1936, Konoe gathered around himself a group
of leading bureaucrats and intellectuals—including Hozumi Ozaki, who in 1941 was executed for his involvement in the Sorge spy ring—in the so-called Shōwa Research Association.

Konoe assumed the prime minister’s post in June 1937. A month later, Japan was at war with China. His leadership at this crucial moment was wanting. Utterly incapable of capitalizing on the desires of both nations for a speedy local settlement, Konoe instead allowed reinforcements to be sent and then looked on as the fighting intensified and developed into a major war. With no exit strategy in sight, in the following January, Konoe proclaimed that his government would deal with Chiang Kai-shek only on the battlefield and at the surrender table.

Having in November 1938 announced a “new order” in Asia, Konoe in January 1939 resigned as prime minister. He returned to office the following July, launching a series of foreign policies with disastrous consequences. His foreign policy rested on an alliance relationship with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, which, far from bringing an end to the war in China, threatened to embroil Japan in a much wider war against the United States and Great Britain. Not until late August 1941 did Konoe recognize how close he had brought Japan to war with the United States. His effort at warding off such a disaster, which amounted to a proposal for a personal summit between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and himself, was a classic too-little, too-late response.

Late in the war, Konoe feared an impending Communist revolution and thus advised the emperor to seek a conditional peace with the United States. He saw such a peace in the terms of the Potsdam Proclamation. After the war, he attempted to rewrite the Meiji Constitution. The American authorities not only rejected his efforts, but arrested him as a war criminal. Embittered, Konoe committed suicide in December 1945.

KONOE–ROOSEVELT SUMMIT MEETING (1941). Foreign Minister Teijirō Toyoda in early August 1941 instructed Japan’s ambassador to Washington, Kichisaburō Nomura, to sound out American policymakers on the possibility of a summit meeting between Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe and President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Talks to this end continued for some two months, although Japanese policymakers’ inability to define the terms to which Konoe would agree at the summit meeting ensured that the proposal never got off the ground.
The proposal came against an inauspicious backdrop. Japan remained embroiled in its war with China. By means of the Japan–Germany–Italy Tripartite Pact, it had allied itself to Washington’s quasi-enemy. It had moreover undertaken an advance into the colonial regions of Southeast Asia. For its part, Washington had adopted increasingly stringent countermeasures, culminating in its freezing of Japanese assets and embargoing oil in late July–early August 1941. Japanese army and navy policymakers began eyeing the oil-rich Dutch East Indies to make up for this loss, all the while threatening that a forceful occupation of the colony meant war with the United States.

Konoe and Foreign Minister Teijiro Toyoda hoped by means of the summit meeting to halt the slide toward war. In short, they wanted to have both the embargo on oil lifted and Japanese assets in the United States unfrozen. It stood to reason, however, that if the United States were to do so, it would first require Japan to undo the action that had prompted these economic sanctions in the first place. In other words, Washington required a firm guarantee that Japanese troops would withdraw from the Indochinese peninsula. Although there is room for speculation as to whether Konoe would have offered Indochinese withdrawal had the summit meeting taken place—where he would have been free of the overbearing arguments of the army and navy—the fact remains that neither he nor Toyoda were able to meet this basic requirement prior to the proposed conference. In light of this failure, it is hardly surprising that the U.S. government reacted for the most part negatively to this proposal.

KUMAMOTO BAND. See LEROY LANSING JANES.

KUME, KUNITAKE (1838–1931). A samurai from Saga province, Kume became a writer and scholar of the Meiji and Taisho eras. Appointed as the official secretary of the Iwakura Mission, Kume wrote and published the official, five-volume report of the Iwakura Mission in 1878. He spent most of the rest of his career as a history professor and writer at Kyoto University and Waseda University.

KURIYAMA, TAKAKAZU (1931– ). Takakazu Kuriyama joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1954. He was promoted to director of the
Treaties Bureau in 1981 and to director-general of the North American Affairs Bureau in 1984. He then served as ambassador to Malaysia in 1985 and became deputy minister of foreign affairs in 1989. Finally, he became ambassador to the United States in 1992. Although Japan contributed $13 billion to the U.S.-led coalition forces during the Gulf War, many American people, as well as U.S. officials, criticized Japan for not dispatching Japan’s Self-Defense Forces to the War. Ambassador Kuriyama made every effort to diffuse their anger and sought to solidify the U.S.–Japan alliance by every means he could find.

KUSAKABE, TARO (1845–1870). One of the first Japanese students in America, Kusakabe studied at Rutgers College in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was the first Japanese to be elected to the Phi Beta Kappa honor society, and graduated from Rutgers in 1870. Sadly, his graduation was posthumous as he died from tuberculosis three weeks before the graduation ceremony.

KYOTO. Imperial capital city of Japan from 794 to 1868. During the 1850s and 1860s, Kyoto became a mecca for anti-Tokugawa samurai who claimed the emperor should be “restored” to his rightful place as sovereign leader of Japan. After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Tokyo (formerly known as Edo) became the political capital city of Japan. Kyoto is in many ways a modern city, but it had a nearly 1,100-year reign as Japan’s imperial capital, and is full of major Buddhist temples, Shinto Shrines, and other traditional institutions that attract tourists from all over Japan and the world. At the end of World War II, Kyoto had been considered as a target for an atomic bomb but this was passed over at the insistence of Secretary of War Henry Stimson.

LANMAN, CHARLES (1819–1895). A prolific writer on many subjects during the second half of the 19th century, Charles Lanman also served as secretary to the Japanese legation in Washington, D.C., for many years during the 1870s and 1880s. One of his works on Japan was The Japanese in America, published in 1872, and he assisted Arinori Mori, Japan’s first resident diplomat in Washington in researching and
writing Life and Resources in America. In 1883, Lanman published Leading Men of Japan, With a Historical Summary of the Empire. For several years, Lanman and his wife, Adeline, were also the host family for Umeko Tsuda, who first arrived to live and study in the United States with the Iwakura Mission in 1871.

**LANSING–ISHII AGREEMENT (1917).** The name given to the exchange of formal notes between envoy Kikujirō Ishii and U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing in November 1917. Against the backdrop of deep differences over the two nations’ policies toward China, the Lansing–Ishii agreement represented a bargain whereby the United States recognized Japan’s dominant role in China in exchange for promises of moderation.

From the outset, Lansing asked Ishii to reaffirm the Open Door and to disavow closed spheres of influence in China. Aware that his government had cemented its hold over Manchuria through a series of secret pacts with the European nations, Ishii refused. He argued instead that Japan’s rights in China resembled U.S. rights under the Monroe Doctrine: they “exist regardless of the recognition of other nations.” Japan wanted recognition as well of its “paramount interests” in Manchuria.

For his part, Lansing was unwilling to recognize Japan’s “paramount interests” in Manchuria. The implications—the entire China market could in time become a Japanese-controlled area if “paramount interests” were admitted—were too great. Instead, Lansing handed Ishii a letter on 2 November that declared that “territorial propinquity creates special relations” between countries. In return, Ishii declared his government’s continued adherence to the policy of respecting the independence and territorial integrity of China and the preservation there of the Open Door for commerce and industry.

The agreement nonetheless failed to define the meaning of the Open Door or the nature of Japan’s “special interests.” Japan interpreted it to signify recognition of its preeminent position politically, as well as economically in China, but the United States maintained that it merely had recognized that Japan had special geographical relations to its huge neighbor.

**LAW ON A SITUATION IN THE AREAS SURROUNDING JAPAN.** Based on the stipulation of the Guidelines for U.S.-Japan
Defense Cooperation, 1997, this law governs U.S.–Japan defense cooperation in a situation surrounding Japan. This law and the amendment of the Self-Defense Forces Law were enacted and the revised Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement was approved on 24 May 1999. The Law on a Situation in the Areas Surrounding Japan was promulgated on 28 May and became effective on 25 August of the same year. This law basically stipulates that the Japanese government will assist military campaigns conducted by the U.S. armed forces in areas surrounding Japan.

This law clearly states, “situations in areas surrounding Japan will have an important influence on Japan’s peace and security.” However, “the concept, situations in areas surrounding Japan, is not geographic but situational.” The law is unclear what “situations in areas surrounding Japan” really mean. According to the Japan–U.S. Joint Declaration on Security, Alliance for the 21st Century of April 1996, the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty is the base for maintaining peace and security in the Asia–Pacific area. Considering in this context, the areas surrounding Japan means the Asia–Pacific region. This law allows the Self-Defense Forces to carry out not only defending Japan but also preserving peace and stability in the Asia–Pacific region.

LEGENDRE, CHARLES (1830–1899). A native of France, LeGendre became a naturalized American citizen and was later wounded fighting as a Union Army officer during the American Civil War. He was appointed American consul at Amoy, China, in 1866 and served in that position until 1872. He was then hired by the Japanese government as a military adviser and received the Order of the Rising Sun commendation from Emperor Meiji for his assistance with the Japanese expedition to Formosa in 1874. LeGendre remained in Japan working as an adviser to government leader Shigenobu Okuma until 1890. He left Japan to become an adviser to the Korean government, and died in Seoul in 1899. See also MEIJI ERA; YATOI.

LEND LEASE. Lend Lease was the means by which the United States made available vast quantities of aid to those nations fighting the Axis in World War II. The Lend Lease program eventually conveyed goods and services valued at over $50 billion to America’s wartime friends and allies, including Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China.
United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt in December 1940 received a letter from Prime Minister Winston Churchill explaining that Britain required vast amounts of aid if it were to carry on the fight against Germany. Roosevelt responded by telling his constituents on 17 December that America should lease Britain those materials necessary to win its struggle for survival against Germany. As he explained, “they would be more useful to the defense of the United States if they were used in Great Britain than if they were kept in storage here.” Then, in one of his famed “fireside chats,” Roosevelt on 29 December denounced the “unholy alliance” of Germany, Italy, and Japan, on the grounds that it sought to “dominate and enslave the entire human race.” Maintaining that the United States was the “arsenal of democracy,” he called on the American people to “support the nations defending themselves against the Axis.” Then, on 10 January 1941, the Roosevelt administration officially made the proposal that resulted in the Lend Lease Act of 11 March 1941.

Much as Roosevelt had anticipated, it sparked intensive debate. Domestic critics of Lend Lease charged that it paved the way to American involvement in war—and added that Roosevelt sought nothing less than dictatorial powers—while proponents countered that it offered the best protection so long as the United States remained a non-belligerent. Opponents forced the administration to make several changes to the proposal, although in its final form the Lend Lease Act empowered the president to make available to “any country whose defense the president deems vital to the defense of the United States” any “defense article,” any service, or any “defense information.”

The Roosevelt administration decided in early July 1941 to establish in China a military advisory corps, whose principal duty was overseeing the implementation of the lend-lease program. The message to Tokyo was clear: the United States was acting as China’s de facto ally in that nation’s war against Japan.

**LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE (1930).** The London Naval Conference convened from 21 January to 22 April 1930, with delegates from the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy in attendance. The conference’s principal aim was to reach an agreement limiting auxiliary naval vessels, an aim that had informed the failed Geneva Naval Conference of 1927.
Several factors combined to ensure the London Naval Conference’s successful conclusion, although the most important of these was Anglo–American conciliation. Some months before the conference opened, British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald met with United States President Herbert Hoover in the White House, where the two men reached mutual understanding on the issue of naval limitation. In this way, the recrimination that had characterized Anglo–American relations since the Geneva Naval Conference of 1927 was dispelled, and the Anglo–American dispute that had broken up the Geneva Conference was resolved before the London Conference was convened.

The most protracted negotiations that took place at the London Naval Conference were those between U.S. Senator David Reed and Japan’s ambassador to Great Britain Matsudaira Tsuneo (parallel talks were also held between Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson and former Prime Minister Wakatsuki Reijirō). The Japanese delegates’ negotiating position was informed by the so-called Three Basic Principles, which the Japanese government in November 1929 had adopted as basic policy. The principles regarded as necessary a 70 percent ratio for Japan (vis-à-vis the United States and Great Britain) in auxiliary vessel strength; called for a 70 percent ratio vis-à-vis the United States in heavy cruisers; and maintained that Japan should be able to possess submarines totaling 78,000 tons. They achieved in large part these objectives, and, on 14 March, sent a complicated plan to Tokyo that gave Japan a cruiser strength approximately 70 percent of that of the United States and Great Britain, and allowed Japan to maintain its 78,000 tons in submarines.

In Tokyo, the cabinet of Prime Minister Osachi Hamaguchi was receptive to this plan. The core policymaking group within the Navy Ministry—Vice Navy Minister Yamanashi Katsunoshin, chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau Hori Teikichi, and chief Navy Ministry adjutant Koga Mineichi—were also willing to accept the plan. Prime Minister Hamaguchi, on 1 April, cabled his government’s acceptance of the plan to the conferees, and, on 22 April, the London Naval Treaty was signed.

For both the Japanese navy and government, the aftermath of the conference was messy and complicated. The Navy command, led by Chief of Staff Admiral Kanji Katō and his vice-chief, Vice Admiral
Nobumasa Suetsugu, registered their unalterable opposition to the treaty. They received inestimable support from Admiral Heihachirō Tōgō, who remained a national hero for his exploits in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. Over the ensuing months, a bitter quarrel broke out in which the Navy General Staff repeatedly accused the government of having infringed the right of the supreme command (constitutionally, the cabinet had no power over the command and operations of the armed forces, these being the concern of the chiefs of staff in their role as adviser to the emperor).

**LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE (1935–1936).** The London Naval Conference of 1935–1936 represented the final naval arms limitation conference of the pre–World War II period. Held because the naval limitation treaties signed at the Washington Conference and London Naval Conference would both terminate at the end of 1936, the conference’s outcome was assured even before it convened: the Japanese government in 1934 demanded naval parity with the United States and Great Britain.

Several factors underlay the Japanese navy’s determination to end the era of naval limitation. First was Japan’s international isolation, brought about by the army’s invasion of Manchuria in 1931. The second—and perhaps more important—factor was the makeup of the upper echelons of the Japanese navy in the mid-1930s. In the aftermath of the London Naval Conference of 1930, navy hawks saw to it that those officers who had supported the naval limitations agreements were either retired or placed on the reserve list. In the estimation of one authority, there remained in 1934–1935 few voices of caution and restraint in the navy’s upper echelons.

Whatever the case, the Japanese delegation withdrew from the conference on 16 January 1936, after the American and British delegations refused to concede parity. The earlier naval limitations agreements subsequently came to an end in December 1936. Thereafter there was no limit on the number of naval vessels to be built by any nation. Although between 1935 and 1940, the United States government undertook no significant new naval construction programs, in June–July 1940, Congress provided funds for an enormous 1,325,000 tons of naval construction. The construction program envisioned a two-ocean navy with seven new battleships, six battle cruisers, 19 carriers, more than 60
cruisers, 150 destroyers, and 140 submarines. As one observer has noted, any advantage Japan had gained by ending the era of naval limitation was undermined—and would eventually be swept away—by American construction.

LUCKY DRAGON INCIDENT (DAIGO FUKURYUMARU INCIDENT). The Lucky Dragon (Daigo Fukuryumaru) Incident occurred on 1 March 1954. The United States exploded the largest hydrogen bomb as part of a test conducted on Bikini Island in the Marshall Islands. The crew of a Japanese tuna fishing boat that was fishing in waters near the test site, the Daigo Fukuryumaru, suffered adverse health effects as a result of explosion to radiation fallout from the bomb. Before the test explosive was conducted, the United States had failed to give prior warning to Japan’s Coast Guard and Fisheries Agency. On 14 March, the Daigo Fukuryumaru returned to Japan and all 23 crewmembers were found to be in need of medical attention. They were admitted to hospitals in Tokyo, but on 23 September 1954, the oldest member of the boat’s crew died. The remaining 22 crewmembers were eventually discharged, but they continued to experience health problems. By 2003, 12 more crewmembers had died. It was later discovered that vast sections of the Pacific Ocean had been contaminated by substantial amounts of radiation spread by the 1 March and additional test explosions, resulting in serious damage to the fishing industries of Japan and other Pacific island countries. Because not only the Daigo Fukuryumaru but also approximately 900 tuna fishing boats fished in areas near the Marshall Islands, close to 20,000 people ended up suffering from radiation poisoning. The Daigo Fukuryumaru incident led to the birth of the anti-nuclear peace movement in Japan and in other countries, which coalesced into a worldwide ban-the-bomb movement.

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MACARTHUR, GENERAL DOUGLAS (1880-1964). Douglas MacArthur was born in Little Rock, Arkansas, on 26 January 1880. In 1903, he graduated top in his class from West Point Military Academy. MacArthur commanded the 42nd Division on the Western Front
in World War I. He was promoted to the rank of brigadier in August 1918. Two months later in November, MacArthur was chosen as the youngest U.S. divisional commander in France. When he returned to the United States after the war ended, he was again promoted, to the rank of brigadier general and he became the youngest superintendent of West Point in history. In 1922, the Army sent MacArthur to the Philippines to command the Military District of Manila. Another promotion in 1923 resulted in MacArthur becoming the U.S. Army’s youngest general.

In 1930, Douglas MacArthur was selected as the youngest chief of staff of the U.S. Army in history. In June 1932, he suppressed protests by war veterans (known as the Bonus Army) in Washington, D.C., believing that the United States was on the verge of a communist upheaval. In 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent MacArthur to the Philippines, where he had planned to remain after retiring in 1937. When it became clear that war with Japan was imminent, Roosevelt recalled MacArthur to active duty in June 1941 as a major general.

Japanese troops invaded the Philippines after the Pacific War broke out in December 1941. MacArthur and U.S. troops under his command were forced to retreat to the Bataan peninsula, but MacArthur managed to escape in February 1942 and then travel to Australia to take up new duties.

In December 1944, MacArthur was named general of the Army. In March 1945, U.S. forces captured Manila. With Japan’s defeat in August 1945, he was appointed as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) and head of the Allied occupation of Japan. On 30 August 1945, MacArthur arrived at Atsugi Airport in Japan. Through his position as SCAP and leader of the occupation, he was responsible for the demilitarization and democratization of Japan for the next five years and eight months. During this period, he adopted a somewhat imperious attitude and suggested—or imposed—far-reaching reforms, such as changes in the educational system, support of the moderate political parties, taming of the trade unions, and dissolution of the zaibatsu.

When the Korean War broke out in June 1950, MacArthur was appointed commander of United Nations forces. On 15 September 1950, he landed U.S. and South Korean marines at Inchon, 200 miles behind North Korean lines, and began a counterattack. By 24 October 1950, MacArthur had marched all the way up to the Yalu River, the border
between Korea and China. But that prompted an intervention by Chinese troops, who pushed U.S.-led United Nations’ forces back to the southern half of the Korean peninsula. Objecting to a cautious war policy decided on by the administration of President Harry S. Truman, MacArthur demanded the freedom to wage all-out war against China, even including the use of atomic weaponry. A defiant MacArthur was removed from his command by Truman in April 1951.

Shortly thereafter, MacArthur returned to America. He addressed the U.S. Congress on 19 April 1951, ending his speech with the famous line: “Old soldiers never die; they just fade away. And like the old soldier of that ballad, I now close my military career and just fade away, an old soldier who tried to do his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty.” Following a long career of military service, MacArthur entered the private sector to become chairman of the board of the Remington Rand Corporation. But, he did not quite fade away; he made political comments and was even wanted as a presidential candidate. He died at Water Reed Hospital in Washington, D.C., on 5 April 1964.

**MACARTHUR LINE.** The MacArthur Line, designated by Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers Instruction Note (SCAPIN) 1033 in November 1945, was a boarded area of the sea inside of which Japanese fishing vessels were permitted to fish. SCAP established this line to prevent Japanese fishing vessels from overfishing as well as to protect South Korean fishing. In September 1951, the MacArthur Line was abolished with the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. In its place was substituted the newly created Syngman Rhee Line, created under a marine sovereignty declaration issued by South Korean President Syngman Rhee in 1952. Through this unilateral declaration by Rhee, South Korea claimed sovereign rights over all natural resources and fisheries that existed within the waters surrounding the Korean Peninsula.

The MacArthur and Syngman Rhee Lines are closely related to the Tokdo–Takeshima island dispute between South Korea and Japan. SCAPIN 1033 indicated that, with respect to related areas or any other area, it was not the Allied Powers’ definitive policy concerning Japanese jurisdiction, international border, or fishing rights. Consequently, the Japanese government insisted that Takeshima Island was part of Shimane Prefecture in western Japan. On the other hand, the
South Korean government insisted that Tokdo Island (the Korean name for Takeshima Island) was under South Korean jurisdiction in accordance with the Syngman Rhee Line. Japan has refused to recognize the Syngman Rhee line, which Japan believes was abolished under the Japan–South Korea Fishery Agreement concluded in 1965. Nevertheless, the Tokdo–Takeshima island dispute continues to be an unresolved matter between Japan and South Korea.

MacDonald, Ranald (1824–1894). Born in Oregon territory then claimed by the United States, Britain, and Mexico, MacDonald was the son of a Hudson’s Bay Company executive and a Chinook Indian woman. He became fascinated with Japan and convinced a whaling ship to land him near Hokkaido in 1848. Captured by native Ainu and turned over to officials of the Tokugawa shogunate, MacDonald was sent to Nagasaki to wait for a Western ship. Technically, MacDonald was under arrest for breaking Japan’s sakoku (“national isolation”) policies, but was allowed to teach English to samurai interpreters in Nagasaki. One of the interpreters taught by MacDonald in Nagasaki was Einosuke Moriyama, who would later be an interpreter for many negotiations between the Japanese and American governments until the 1870s. MacDonald spent 10 months in Nagasaki and was then returned to the United States with some shipwrecked sailors. He spent the rest of his life as a wandering adventurer in Europe, Australia, Canada, and the Northwest United States. His autobiography, Ranald MacDonald: The Narrative of His Life, contains useful and interesting information about Japan and Nagasaki before the arrival of U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry. See also Castaway Sailors, Japanese.

Maekawa Reports. The Maekawa Report, produced by the economic structural adjustment study group for international cooperation, was submitted to Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone on 7 April 1986. This study group consisted of 17 members and was chaired by Haruo Maekawa, former Governor of the Bank of Japan. On 23 April 1987, the special committee of economic structural adjustment in the Economic Council, Maekawa published another report (the so-called New Maekawa Report) that contained provisions for putting the first Maekawa Report into effect. Together, the two reports argued that
Japan should seek to turn its export-oriented economy into a domestic demand-led economy, relying less on achieving economic parity with the other industrially developed countries through foreign exchange rate adjustment. These reports stated that reorientation of the economy would require demand-side improvements in the quality of daily life in Japan, a transformation of Japan’s industrial structure and an expansion of imports. Achieving an industrial structural transformation, the reports stressed, should be based on utilizing market-incentive mechanisms. Taken together, the two Maekawa Reports contained six major recommendations:

1. Expansion of domestic demand for housing, improvements in the quality of social capital, more effective land usage, the introduction of capital investment for promoting industrial structural adjustments, and increased consumption (such as by taking advantage of the appreciating yen, promoting paid holidays, and distributing the benefits of improved labor productivity in the form of higher wages and shorter working hours).

2. Shorter working hours. Japan should adjust the number of working hours to its economic capabilities. Annual working hours should be reduced to 1,800 hours by the year 2000. A two-day weekend for public servants and financial institutions was recommended.

3. Japan should implement an industrial structure harmonious with international norms. For this purpose, Japan needed to make changes in five areas: undertake planned industrial structural adjustment; permit foreign direct investment; improve its corporate competitiveness both at home and abroad; expansion of imports; and creation of new agricultural policies suited to international trade.

4. Japan should focus on improving domestic employment conditions through the following: stress on the importance of employment; changes of employment structure and obtaining an appropriate demand-supply balance; comprehensive employment measures; redistribution of employment opportunities; emphasizing the importance of regional economies; and contributing to the international community.

See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.
**MAGIC.** MAGIC was the name given to the code-breaking device that allowed American officials after 25 September 1940 to read Japanese diplomatic traffic. The intercepted and decoded messages—which by late 1941 numbered between 50 and 75 messages a day—were immediately made available to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, his secretaries of state, war, and the navy, and a select group of other officials.

The question inevitably arises: Did the Roosevelt administration use these decoded messages judiciously? From the vantage point of hindsight, it might be answered in the negative. To cite but one example, MAGIC in early July 1941 alerted the Roosevelt administration to Japan’s decision to occupy southern Indochina. After various warnings and a proposal for the neutralization of Indochina were ignored by Tokyo, a presidential order froze Japanese assets in the United States on 25 July. This may have had the unfortunate effect of convincing the Japanese army and navy leadership—who had not foreseen such a sharp reprisal—that they now had nothing to lose. On 28 July, 40,000 Japanese troops marched “peacefully” into southern Indochina. In short, there was no compelling reason to freeze Japanese assets before the occupation of southern Indochina had taken place. In this way, MAGIC may have had the unfortunate effect of nullifying the admittedly slim chances of a diplomatic breakthrough on the issue of Indochina.

In light of revisionist charges to the effect that Roosevelt maneuvered the Japanese into firing the first shot—and, in particular, the charge that he was aware of Japanese plans to attack Pearl Harbor—it is necessary to recall that Magic did not enable Washington to read Japanese army or navy plans. As one authority has noted, though Washington by late November 1941 had come to expect war with Japan, that expectation did not imply knowledge of an attack on Pearl Harbor. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

**MAHAN, ALFRED THAYER (1840-1914).** After service as an officer in the U.S. Navy, Mahan became a lecturer on naval affairs and president of Newport War College. His book, *The Influence of Seapower Upon History*, first published in 1890, was an influential work around the world, including in Japan, which was then building its modern navy. See also AKIYAMA, SANEYUKI.
MAKINO, NOBUAKI (1861–1949). Son of Toshimichi Okubo, a major leader in the early Meiji government, Makino was also the father-in-law of Shigeru Yoshida, who served as prime minister and foreign minister during most of the American Occupation of Japan. Makino studied in the United States from 1871 to 1874, and thereafter held a number of foreign affairs–related posts in the Japanese government. Seen as too pro-British and pro-American by right-wing militarists, Makino was forced out of the government in 1935 and nearly killed the following year in the 26 February 1936 Incident. See also JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

MANCHURIAN INCIDENT (1931). In its most limited sense, the Manchurian Incident refers to the events of September 1931, when Japanese army forces conquered China’s northeastern provinces and later detached them from China proper to create the nominally independent state of Manchukuo. Its meaning and portent was, however, much broader in scope than these basic details attest. It was sparked by an explosion on 18 September on the South Manchurian Railway, just south of the southern Manchurian city of Mukden. Although the Japanese claimed that Chinese troops dynamited a section of the South Manchurian Railway track, the truth of the matter was that the explosion was part of a plot for the invasion of Manchuria that was engineered by a group of middle-echelon Kwantung Army officers, including Lieutenant-Colonel Kanji Ishiwara, Colonel Seijirō Itagaki, and Colonel Kenji Doihara. Thus marked the high point of the concept of gekokujō—domination of superiors by inferiors—which continued to haunt both the army and navy through the 1930s and early 1940s.

The Manchurian Incident’s second point of significance derives from the fact that the army in the field consistently ignored and out-maneuvered the cabinet in Tokyo. The army’s initial response to the explosion was undertaken on its own initiative: it surrounded the Chinese barracks at Mukden, captured the garrison and military stores, and seized various points near the railway line in question. Once the Japanese cabinet learned of these developments, it sought to limit international fallout by keeping the fighting localized. Army authorities on the ground, however, ignored this decision and instead widened the sphere of operations. The Manchurian Incident thus provided ample evidence of the locus of power within the Japanese government.
A third point of significance derives from the ineffectiveness of the international reaction to the Manchurian Incident. Recognizing its inability to take the fight to the Japanese, the Chinese government at Nanjing appealed to the United States and to the League of Nations. Working on the mistaken assumption that the Japanese cabinet—most notably Foreign Minister Kijūrō Shidehara—might rein in the nation’s unruly soldiers, both the League and the United States at first treaded softly. By the closing days of 1931, however, the Japanese army had occupied most of Manchuria in defiance of world opinion. Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson responded on 7 January by issuing his “non-recognition doctrine,” which refused to recognize any changes in China brought about by force and in violation of the Open Door policy. Stimson’s non-recognition doctrine, however, was not backed by the threat of force and as such it left no impression on Japanese forces in Manchuria. The nominally independent state of Manchukuo was created later that year.

**MANIFEST DESTINY.** The political, economic, cultural, and even moral ideology of Americans during the 19th century that they had the right to expand across North America at the expense of the indigenous inhabitants, chiefly Mexicans and Native Americans. From 1803 to 1853, the nation increased its territory by 300 percent through conquests, purchases, and diplomacy. The high point of Manifest Destiny came in the 1840s, when the controversy over Texas and the resulting Mexican–American War led to the U.S. acquisition of vast southwest and Pacific territories. Commodore Matthew Perry’s mission to Japan in 1853–1854 for trade and diplomatic relations can be viewed as an extension of the ideology of Manifest Destiny. In the second half of the 19th century, the U.S. continued to expand by acquiring the territories of Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippines. See also CALIFORNIA.

**MANJIRO (ALSO KNOWN AS MANJIRO NAKAHAMA, JOHN MANJIRO, AND JOHN MUNG; 1827–1898).** Manjiro is the most well-known and romanticized Japanese castaway sailor. Shipwrecked in 1841, Manjiro and four other young fisherman were rescued by Captain William Whitfield, then commanding a whaling vessel in the Pacific. Manjiro and the other Japanese castaways were taken to
Hawaii, and Manjiro chose to accompany Whitfield to his hometown of Fairhaven, Massachusetts. Manjiro spent four years in Massachusetts, where he attended public school, studied English and mathematics, and became proficient at navigation and sailing. He and two of his fellow castaways returned to Japan in 1851, 10 years after they were believed lost at sea. Manjiro was elevated to honorary status of samurai and allowed to take a family name, Nakahama, from the name of his village on Shikoku Island. He worked occasionally for the Tokugawa government as an interpreter, and accompanied the Shogun’s Embassy to the United States in 1860. In 1870, the Meiji government included Manjiro on a mission to the United States and Europe. Unlike another well-known Japanese castaway, Joseph Heco, Manjiro never wrote a memoir of his overseas experiences. After his death in 1898, several works of fact and fiction were published on Manjiro emphasizing his gaman (strength, courage) and his role as a bridge between Japan and America. See also CASTAWAY SAILORS, JAPANESE; SAKOKU.

MANSFIELD, MIKE (1903–2001). Long-serving Democrat congressman and senator from the state of Montana, Mike Mansfield was also a professor of political science and history. After Lyndon B. Johnson was elected as vice president on the ticket with John F. Kennedy in 1960, Mansfield became the Senate majority leader from 1961 to 1977. Mansfield criticized fellow Democrat President Lyndon Johnson’s policies during the Vietnam War. After he decided not to run for reelection to the Senate in 1976, newly elected President Jimmy Carter asked Mansfield to serve as United States Ambassador to Japan. After President Carter was defeated in 1980, the politically conservative Republican President-elect Ronald Reagan surprisingly asked the politically liberal Democrat Mike Mansfield to remain at his post as ambassador. Mansfield continued to serve throughout Ronald Reagan’s two terms. As ambassador, Mike Mansfield dealt with many of the trade friction issues between Japan and the United States. He also became famous for stating in several speeches that, “the Japan–U.S. relationship is the most important relationship in the world, bar none.” Just before leaving office in January 1989, President Reagan awarded Mike Mansfield the Presidential Medal of Freedom in a ceremony at the White House.
MARIA LUZ INCIDENT. In 1872, the Peruvian ship María Luz anchored in Yokohama Bay to avoid a storm. The ship was carrying over 200 Chinese laborers bound for Peru. A Japanese court determined that the Chinese were mistreated and should be allowed to return to China. This resulted in a diplomatic incident between Japan and Peru eventually settled through negotiations mediated by Russia and the American minister to Japan, Charles De Long. The María Luz Incident also publicized the often poor treatment of Asian immigrant laborers.

MARINE POLICE. The Marine Police was an institution designed to take all necessary measures at sea in emergencies. Its role was to protect human life and property and to maintain peace and security at sea. The Marine Police was established on 26 April 1952, and attached to the Japan Coast Guard, an external agency of the Ministry of Transport. On 1 August 1952, the Marine Police became the “Guard Police” and was placed under the authority of the Peace Preservation Agency, an external organ of the General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet. On 1 July 1954, the Guard Police became the Maritime Self-Defense Forces because of the enforcement of the Defense Agency Act and the Self-Defense Forces Law. See also DEFENSE.

MATSUDAIRA, TADAATSU (1852–1888). Tadaatsu Matsudaira and his brother Tadanari attended Rutgers College in New Jersey in the early 1870s. Tadaatsu transferred to Harvard and graduated in 1877, while Tadanari finished his studies at Rutgers in 1879 and returned to Japan. Tadaatsu remained in the United States and worked as an engineer for the Manhattan Elevated Railway in New York, for the Union Pacific Railway in the West, and then became the city engineer of Bradford, Pennsylvania, in 1884. After marrying, having two children, and contracting tuberculosis, he and his family moved to Denver, Colorado, where he briefly worked for the Colorado state government before dying in 1888. See also JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

MATSUMURA, JUNZO (1842–1919). Junzo Matsumura was part of group of young Japanese samurai from Satsuma domain who studied in England from 1865–1867, and later lived at the Brotherhood
of the New Life in upstate New York for one year. He was allowed
to enter the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1869 and graduated
from its regular course in 1873. During his lengthy career as a Japan-
ese naval officer, ultimately reaching the rank of vice-admiral, Mat-
sumura played a key role in expanding the Imperial Japanese Navy.

MATSUOKA, YÔSUKE (1880–1946). As foreign minister from July
1940 until July 1941, Yôsuke Matsuoka exerted a profound effect
over Japan’s road to war with the United States. Garrulous and abra-
sive, Matsuoka was regarded by Secretary of State Cordell Hull as
being “as crooked as a basket of fish hooks.” Several of his contem-
poraries—both Japanese and American—went so far as to question
the foreign minister’s mental health.

Born into an impoverished merchant family in March 1880, Mat-
suoka in 1893 entered the United States as an itinerant. He remained
on the West Coast of the United States until 1902, by which time he
had graduated second in his class from the University of Oregon
School of Law. After his return to Japan, he entered the Foreign Min-
istry and served in posts in China, Russia, and the United States. Fol-
lowing World War I, he served as a member of Japan’s delegation to
the Paris Peace Conference, and soon after left the Foreign Min-
istry. He was subsequently appointed to the board of the South
Manchurian Railway Company, a quasi-governmental body that
spearheaded Japan’s aggressive policies toward northern China. In
February 1930, Matsuoka was elected to the House of Representa-
tives only to resign his seat in December 1933. In the meantime, he
negotiated an end to the Shanghai Incident and led Japan out of the
League of Nations to protest that body’s criticism of Japan’s 1931 in-
vasion of Manchuria.

Appointed foreign minister in July 1940, Matsuoka worked with
the army and navy leaders and Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe to
set a foreign policy agenda that included an alliance with Germany
and Italy, and an opportunistic policy of expansion into the colonial
regions of Southeast Asia. He also sought an adjustment of diplo-
matic relations with the Soviet Union and the United States, believ-
ing that a German alliance would empower Japan to the extent that
rapprochement with Moscow and Washington would come largely on
Tokyo’s terms.
Matsuoka’s diplomacy failed because it rested on several false assumptions. First and most important, the alliance relationship with Germany did not empower Japan vis-à-vis the United States. Even as Japan and Germany announced their alliance relationship to the world, Washington retaliated to Japan’s simultaneous occupation of northern Indochina by slapping a virtual embargo on aviation gasoline, high-grade iron, and steel scrap. Throughout Matsuoka’s time as foreign minister, the United States continued to insist that rapprochement was only possible if and when the Japanese government dissociated itself from Adolf Hitler and his brand of militaristic aggression.

The possibility of rapprochement with the Soviet Union proved Matsuoka’s second false assumption. Although there is some historical debate concerning whether or not he sought to incorporate the Soviet Union into the Tripartite Alliance, there is no mistaking that Matsuoka was caught off guard when, in June 1941, German forces invaded the Soviet Union. Showing scant regard for the non-aggression pact he had personally negotiated in April 1941 with Soviet leader Josef Stalin, Matsuoka in late June–early July 1941 urged an immediate attack against the Soviet Union’s Far Eastern provinces. This put him in direct opposition to the army and navy leadership, who responded to the outbreak of the Soviet–German war with a renewed enthusiasm for an advance into Southeast Asia, and he soon found himself dismissed as foreign minister.

**MCKINLEY, WILLIAM (1843–1901).** President of the United States from 1897 until his assassination in 1901. During McKinley’s presidency, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and Hawaii came under formal United States control. The situation in Hawaii, the **Boxer Rebellion** in China, and Secretary of State John Hay’s **Open Door** Policy caused political tensions between the United States and Japan. See also ROOSEVELT, THEODORE; SPANISH AMERICAN WAR.

**MEIJI CONSTITUTION.** Promulgated in 1889, it was an important symbol of Japan’s national progress. Based to a large extent on the Prussian monarchical constitution, the Meiji Constitution placed the emperor as head of state; instituted a two-house parliament (Diet) with a cabinet of ministers led by a prime minister; allowed for in-
creasing suffrage for adult males; and provided limited rights to all Japanese. The Army and Navy, however, were subjected only to the authority of the emperor, not to the parliament or the cabinet. This would eventually lead to military domination of government affairs by the 1930s. The Meiji Constitution was replaced in 1947 by a new constitution primarily drafted by American Occupation authorities. See also ITO, HIROBUMI; JAPANESE CONSTITUTION; MEIJI EMPEROR; MEIJI ERA.

MEIJI EMPEROR (1852–1912; REIGNED 1867–1912). Son of Emperor Komei, 15-year-old Mutsuhito ascended the throne upon his father’s death in February 1867. The following year, Satsuma- and Choshu-led forces overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate, claiming to have “restored” the emperor to his role of supreme leader of Japan. To mark this event, the era name changed to “Meiji,” meaning enlightened rule, and the emperor became known as the Meiji Emperor as well. Led primarily by government officials from the victorious Satsuma and Choshu domains, the long reign of Emperor Meiji became known for industrialization; modernization; wars with China, Korea, and Russia; and the beginnings of Japanese imperialism. Emperor Meiji did not personally rule Japan, but, by the mid-1870s, he increasingly held substantial discussions with top Japanese government officials and made decisions based on their advice. Among his lengthiest discussions with foreigners were his meetings with Ulysses S. Grant when the former American president and Civil War general visited Japan in 1879. Emperor Meiji’s son, Yoshihito, succeeded him as Emperor Taisho, and his grandson was Emperor Hirohito. See also MEIJI ERA; MEIJI RESTORATION.

MEIJI ERA (1868–1912). Denoted by the reign of the Meiji Emperor, this era is primarily known for industrialization, modernization, the adoption of Westernization, and the beginnings of imperialism. Significant events include the Iwakura Mission to the United States and Europe from 1871 to 1873; the beginnings of Japanese immigration to Hawaii and the United States; the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889; the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895; the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905; and the formal annexation of Korea in 1910. The Meiji Era was preceded by the
Tokugawa Era of 1600–1868, and followed by the Taisho Era of 1912–1926. See also MEIJI CONSTITUTION; MEIJI EMPEROR; MEIJI RESTORATION.

MEIJI RESTORATION. After several years of political and economic discontent, armies led by samurai from the domains of Satsuma and Choshu overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate in early 1868 and forced the last Tokugawa shogun, Yoshinobu, to cede his powers to Emperor Meiji. Begun in 1600 with Ieyasu Tokugawa, two and a half centuries of Tokugawa rule in Japan came to an end with what was called the “restoration” of imperial rule. See also AIZU DOMAIN; ANSEI TREATIES; MEIJI ERA; SAIGO, TAKAMORI.

MEIROKUSHA. The “Meiji Six Society,” so named because it was founded in 1874—the sixth year of the Meiji Era—was founded by progressives Arinori Mori and Yukichi Fukuzawa to promote “civilization and enlightenment” in Japan. Meirokusha held regular meetings and published a journal that advocated such Western liberal ideas as political democracy, public education, women’s rights, and religious tolerance. Although short-lived as a formal society, Meirokusha had a lasting influence among Japanese progressives in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. See also NISHIMURA, SHIGEKI; PEOPLE’S RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

MISSILE DEFENSE (BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE). Missile Defense (MD) can be divided into a number of different categories: Theater Missile Defense (TMD) for defense of U.S. allies outside the United States and National Missile Defense (NMD) for defense of the United States.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, one of the major problems was proliferation of theater ballistic missiles. The Gulf War in January 1991 was a watershed for MD. In this war, Iraq launched about 40 missiles at Israel and 51 missiles at Saudi Arabia. This war rapidly emphasized the need for TMD to defend American military forces and U.S. allies close to the battlefield.

In August 1999, the United States and Japan agreed to promote joint technological research on MD. Japan is currently equipped with patriot missiles (PAC-2), but it has already decided to upgrade these
to PAC-3 in order to counter Taepodong missiles from North Korea. The Japanese government developed future warning and control system radar (FPS-XX) and the Advanced Infrared Ballistic Missile Observation Sensor System (AIRBOSS) to search for ballistic missiles. Tokyo has also already decided to adopt standard missiles (SM-3), interceptor missiles operated by Aegis guided missile destroyers. The missile defense system will be deployed from 2007 in Japan. There are several concerns. First, the commander in the field has a wide range of discretionary powers to launch the missiles so that civilian control may not function properly. Second, because the Japanese constitution prohibits collective security, MD could become a controversial political problem. Third, MD will require a great deal of money but at the present technology levels, chances are that these missiles may not intercept ballistic missiles. Consequently, some experts question the validity and effectiveness of MD.

**MITSUYA KENKYU.** Mitsuya Kenkyu (Mitsuya Military Planning) was a contingency simulation scheme conducted in 1963 by top officials of the Joint Staff Committee. Assuming the outbreak of a second Korean war, this military planning focused on how the Japan Self-Defense Forces and U.S. military forces stationed in Japan could conduct a joint response, how to implement national mobilization, and what kind of legal preparations would be necessary. This was the first contingency planning made in the postwar era.

Haruo Okada, a Lower House member from the Japan Socialist Party, revealed the existence of this secret military planning at a meeting of the Lower House Budget Committee on 10 February 1965. The Defense Agency submitted the necessary documents to explain the Mitsuya Military Planning to the Mitsuya Kenkyu subcommittee of the Lower House Budget Committee and the Upper House Budget Committee on 10 March 1965. Revelations about this planning provoked a strongly negative reaction among a pacifist public. After this incident, “contingency planning” became taboo in Japan.

See also **DEFENSE.**

**MONDALE, WALTER FREDERICK (5 January 1928– ).** Walter Mondale was born in Ceylon, Minnesota. He is a lawyer by profession, but served two terms as U.S. Senator from Minnesota. Then,
he served as vice president from 20 January 1977 to 20 January 1981. He ran for president against the incumbent Ronald Reagan, but was defeated.

President Bill Clinton appointed Mondale as Ambassador to Japan, a post he held from 13 August 1993 to 15 December 1996. His incumbency was a crucial time for the United States and Japan to redefine their alliance. On 12 August 1994, the Advisory Group on Defense Issues under Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama issued the Modality of the Security and Defense Capability of Japan: The Outlook for the 21st Century that seemed to emphasize Japan’s wish for more independent military behavior and to regard regional multilateral security organization as more important than the bilateral alliance with the United States. On 27 February 1995, the United States Security Strategy for the East Asia-Pacific Region (Nye Report) was announced in order to strengthen the U.S.–Japan bilateral alliance. On 4 September 1995, three American servicemen abducted and raped an Okinawan schoolgirl. The crime renewed tensions over the U.S. military presence in Okinawa. On 12 April 1996, Washington and Tokyo agreed on the return of the Futenma Base in Okinawa to Japan. On 17 April 1996, the two countries announced the Japan-U.S. Joint Declaration on Security, Alliance for the 21st Century. On 2 December 1996, the Security Consultative Committee approved the Special Action Committee’s recommendations on the Okinawa Final Report. These series of agreements between the United States and Japan solidified the alliance. Ambassador Mondale also helped conclude numerous trade agreements and expanded educational exchanges between the United States and Japan.

MORI, ARINORI (1847–1889). From Satsuma domain, Mori was one of the earliest Japanese overseas students, an official and diplomat of the Meiji government, and a philosopher. After studying in England with a few other young samurai from Satsuma, Mori traveled to the United States and lived at the Brotherhood of the New Life Christian commune in upstate New York from 1867 to 1868. Soon after returning to Japan, Mori was appointed Japan’s first resident diplomat to the United States in 1870 when he was only 24 years old, and served until late 1873. During his posting as Japan’s chargé d’affaires in Washington, Mori helped
arranged the **Iwakura Mission**, looked after Japanese students at American colleges, and wrote *Life and Resources in America* with the help of **Charles Lanman**. He later served as Japan’s minister to China and England, and then as minister of education from 1886 to 1889. He co-founded the **Meirokusha**, or “Meiji Six Society,” that promoted liberalism and progressivism in the 1870s. Although Mori clearly became more conservative and nationalist by the 1880s, he was assassinated on 11 February 1889—the same day the **Meiji Constitution** was promulgated—by an ultra-nationalist who believed Mori did not show proper respect to Japan’s native **Shinto** religion. See also **CIVILIZATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT; FUKUZAWA, YUKICHI; MEIJI ERA.**

**MORRISON INCIDENT.** In 1837, the unarmed, private American ship **Morrison** attempted to return three Japanese **castaway sailors** turned over to Americans in Macao by the British, but was driven away when local officials fired on the vessel with small coastal guns. Although the captain of the American ship sent two notes in Chinese indicating his desire to return Japanese castaways, Japanese officials acted strictly in accord with centuries-old **sakoku** policies of not allowing Western ships to approach—except Dutch ships—and foreigners or Japanese castaways were prohibited from coming ashore. These policies were strengthened by the **Expulsion Edict of 1825**, which directed officials to fire on Western ships. The **Morrison** returned to Macao and left the Japanese castaways to fend for themselves. The **Morrison** Incident motivated some **samurai**-scholars to question the **Tokugawa shogunate**'s policies concerning relations with the West. Two scholars who publicly criticized these policies were arrested, jailed, and allegedly committed suicide.

**MORSE, EDWARD (1838–1925).** An American biologist hired as a **yatoi**, or “foreign expert” by the Japanese government in 1877. Morse conducted archaeological research and taught at Tokyo University until 1883. He also collected ceramics, many of which are at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

**MURAYAMA, TOMIICHI (1924– ).** Tomiichi Murayama was born in Oita Prefecture. He was first elected to the House of Representa-
atives in 1972 as a Japan Socialist Party (JSP) member and became the party chairman in 1993. Murayama served as prime minister, the second prime minister from the JSP after Tetsu Katayama in 1947, from 30 June 1994 to 11 January 1996.

In July 1994, as prime minister, Murayama drastically changed the JSP’s philosophy on security policies: the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (SDF) were legal and Japan would maintain the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. This drastic change was a turning point for the JSP. The party lost its identity and raison d’etre and it has been rapidly declining in power and influence since then. Murayama hardly demonstrated his ideas as a left-wing politician. On 15 August 1995, at the 50th commemoration of the end of World War II, Prime Minister Murayama made a statement, “On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the war’s end,” in which toward Asian countries, he said, “[I] express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state my heartfelt apology.” This has become Japan’s starting point of its Asian diplomacy since then.

MURRAY, DAVID (1830–1905). Murray was a professor at Rutgers College in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in the 1860s when Japanese students began arriving on campus. Taking a strong interest in these Japanese students, he was hired by Arinori Mori, the Japanese chargé d’affaires in Washington, to go to Japan and work as a special adviser to the new Education Ministry in Tokyo. Murray worked for the Education Ministry until 1879, when he returned to the United States. See also JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA; YATOI.

MUTSU, MUNEMITSU (1844–1897). Politician and diplomat who served in several foreign affairs–related posts in the Meiji government, including as Japan’s ambassador to the United States from 1888–1890. As Japan’s foreign minister from 1892 to 1896, Mutsu was instrumental in revising the Ansei Treaties (“unequal treaties”) between Japan, the U.S., and other Western countries. See also TREATY REVISION.

MUTUAL SECURITY AGREEMENTS (MSAs). The Mutual Security Agreements were signed on 8 March 1954 by Foreign Minister Katsuo Okazaki and U.S. Ambassador John M. Allison. Because of
the outbreak of the Korean War and the U.S. policy of containment against the People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union, the United States embarked on an effort to remilitarize Japan. On 8 September 1951, the United States and Japan concluded the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, which permitted U.S. forces to be stationed on Japanese soil.

The MSAs comprised four agreements: the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement, the Surplus Agricultural Products Purchase Agreement, the Economic Measures Agreement, and the Investment Guarantee Agreement. The primary purpose of the MSAs was for the United States to give assistance to Japan in order to strengthen Japanese military power based on the Mutual Security Act enacted in the United States on 8 October 1951. The Shigeru Yoshida Cabinet was interested in this program and official MSA negotiations began in July 1953. Discussions continued at the Ikeda–Robertson Talks in October 1953, and the MSAs were finalized in March 1954 and promulgated on 1 May 1954. Prior to the Agreements, Japan only had ground forces, but the agreements prompted Japan to enact two important defense-related laws: the Defense Agency Act and the Self-Defense Forces Law. Because of these laws, Japan upgraded its Security Agency into the Defense Agency and turned the Police Reserve Force and Police Guard into the Japan Self-Defense Forces consisting of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force in July 1954.

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**NAGAI, SHIGEKO (ALSO KNOWN AS BARONESS URIU; 1861-1928).** One of five Japanese girls chosen to accompany the Iwakura Mission to the United States and Europe in 1871. She later studied music at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, from 1878 to 1881. Nagai and Sutematsu Yamakawa, who also attended Vassar College, were the first Japanese women to study at an American college. See also BACON, ALICE MABEL; JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA; TSUDA, UMEKO.

**NAGASAWA, KANAYE (1852-1932).** A young samurai from Satsuma domain sent to England to study the West in 1865, Nagasawa
traveled to the United States in 1867 with six other Japanese to live at the Brotherhood of the New Life Christian commune in Brocton, New York, led by the charismatic spiritualist Thomas Lake Harris. Unlike the other Japanese who initially joined the Brotherhood of the New Life, Nagasawa remained a member for the rest of his life. In 1875, he moved with Harris and a handful of British and American members to Santa Rosa, California, and helped establish Fountain-grove Winery. After Harris returned to New York in the early 1890s, Nagasawa became the owner of Fountaingrove and developed it into a well-known winery, now known as Paradise Ridge Winery. See also IMMIGRATION.

NAKASONE, YASUHIRO (1918- ). Yasuhiro Nakasone was born in Gunma Prefecture. After graduating from Tokyo Imperial University, he served in the Home Ministry. After World War II, he became a member of the House of Representatives in 1947. He was a vehement advocate of constitutional amendment. He served as prime minister for five years from 27 November 1982 to 6 November 1987. In the 1980s, the United States strongly pressured Japan to increases its defense budget and this precipitated conflicts between these two countries. Nakasone, however, succeeded in building a close personal relationship with President Ronald Reagan (the “Ron–Yasu” relationship) and recovered a relationship of mutual trust between the United States and Japan by strengthening the U.S.–Japan security system. In January 1983, the Nakasone administration approved the transfer of Japanese military technology to Washington as an exception to the three principles of arms export—three specific areas to which Japan was prohibited from exporting arms—communist countries; countries under embargoes mandated by the United Nations; and countries currently, or likely to be in the near future, involved in military conflicts. Nakasone broke the barrier of one percent of GNP for the limit of Japan’s defense expenditure that had been decided at the Cabinet meeting in 1976. Nakasone also made a bold statement that Japan was an unsinkable aircraft carrier.

NAMAMUGI INCIDENT. On 14 September 1862, samurai escorting the former daimyō of Satsuma domain attacked a group of British travelers for allegedly not bowing while the daimyō’s entourage passed.
One British traveler was killed and two were injured. The Tokugawa shogunate apologized and paid an indemnity to the British government, but Satsuma domain refused, leading to the Kagoshima Bombardment one year later. Occurring one and a half years after the murder in Edo of American legation secretary Henry Huesken, the Namamugi Incident demonstrated that the “revere the emperor, expel the barbarian” movement was still strong. See also MEIJI RESTORATION.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR BLOCKING REVISION OF THE JAPAN-U.S. SECURITY TREATY. The National Council for Blocking Revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty was established on 28 March 1959 by the Japan Socialist Party, the Japan Communist Party, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, and more than 100 organizations shortly after Japanese and U.S. officials began holding high-level discussions on revising the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty. The Council, which became the main umbrella group of Japanese civic organizations opposed to treaty revision, conducted a nationwide petition drive and hosted mass demonstrations in opposition to the pro-revision position of Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi. The principal argument of the Council was that treaty revision would bind Japan more strongly to the United States, thereby restricting Japan’s independence and obligating it to participate in military conflicts that were outside the control of the Japanese citizens or their government. The Council voiced three policies: Japan’s security would be best maintained by not joining a military bloc; the Japanese would best be served by being militarily self-dependent; and Japan should pursue a neutral-country diplomacy. The Council believed these goals could be realized without violating the tenets of Japan’s postwar “peace constitution.”

Nevertheless, despite widespread popular resistance, the Liberal Democratic Party was able to accomplish ratification of revisions to the treaty in the Lower House of the Japanese Diet. In the end, however, the powerful protest campaign waged by the Council triggered the resignation of Prime Minister Kishi’s cabinet. See also ARTICLE NINE.

NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL (NDC). In addition to the two military defense institutions Japan already had, the Defense Agency and the Japan Self-Defense Forces, the National Defense Council
was an organization established in July 1956. It was a cabinet body that examined important issues with respect to national defense. An enforcement order of the Law on the Establishment of the Security Council of Japan abolished the NDC in July 1986. It was different from the Defense Agency or Japan Self-Defense Forces in that the latter two bodies are military defense organizations.

The NDC was responsible for the following: First, it examined items that the prime minister was required to take on advice: the basic policy for national defense; the National Defense Program Outline; a regulatory plan outline for industries related to the National Defense Program; the advisability of defensive mobilization; and other important national defense-related issues that the prime minister considered necessary. Second, when necessary, the NDC offered its recommendations to the prime minister concerning important national defense-related issues in accordance with Article 62 of the Defense Agency Act.

The NDC consisted of the prime minister as chairperson, vice prime minister, foreign minister, finance minister, Defense Agency director, and the chief of the Economic Planning Agency. When necessary, the prime minister could invite state ministers, chiefs of staff, and others concerned to the council and listen to their opinions. In 1972, in order to strengthen civilian control, the cabinet council decided to add the minister of international trade and industry, the director-general of the Science and Technology Agency, the chief cabinet secretary, and the director of the National Public Safety Commission.

NATIONAL POLICE RESERVE. On 25 June 1950, the Korean War broke out. In order to maintain domestic order and security, the Japanese government established the National Police Reserve (NPR) on 10 August, based on a directive given by General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). The NPR took the form of a police institution, but in substance it was a lightly armed military organization. As for chain of command, the NPR was independent from the police and it was directly under the General Administrative Agency of the cabinet directed by the prime minister. The Peace Preservation Agency was established on 1 August 1952 and the headquarters of the NPR became an internal bureau of
the Peace Reservation Agency. However, except for the headquarters, the organization continued under the name of “National Police Force” until it was abolished on 15 October and the Police Reserve Force formally came into being.

**NEW PACIFIC COMMUNITY INITIATIVE.** In June 1993, President Bill Clinton announced his New Pacific Community initiative, placing U.S.–Japan relations at the center and promoting economic cooperation through the Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), democracy and human rights across the region. The United States had until then not made a serious commitment to the APEC, but President Clinton changed this stance and began to seriously engage with the rapidly growing East Asian economy. Following strong U.S. pressure on the APEC, the organization held a summit conference in Seattle in 1993. Making use of this initiative, the United States sought to change the economic structure of each East Asian nation through “liberalization of trade, investment, and exchange rate” in order to establish firm grounds for shaping Asia in a fashion favorable to the U.S. multinational corporations. Objecting to holding this conference, Malaysia was absent from the APEC summit meeting. In the end, Clinton’s initiative was unsuccessful, but U.S. tactics toward Asia became clearer.

**NIJJIMA, JO (ALSO KNOWN AS JOSEPH HARDY NEESHIMA; 1843–1890).** From a middle-level ranking samurai family of Annaka domain (Gunma Prefecture), Nijjima became interested in Western science and Christianity after seeing Western ships in Edo Bay and reading translations of Western books. Among the first Western books he read were *Robinson Crusoe*, *Historical Geography of the United States*, and the *New Testament* of the Christian Bible. Desiring to learn more about Western science and Christianity, he secretly left Japan in 1864 by stowing away on a foreign ship, and arrived in Boston several months later. The wealthy Alpheaus Hardy and his family were impressed with young Nijjima’s determination and became his benefactors for the several years he remained in the United States. Nijjima went to Amherst College in Massachusetts, where he studied Latin, Greek, geography, and botany, though Christianity was his primary interest. Graduating from Amherst College in 1870, Nijjima and Taro Kusakabe, who
simultaneously graduated from Rutgers College, were the first Japanese graduates of American universities. Niijima then attended Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts, worked as an interpreter for the Iwakura Mission, and became an ordained minister in the Congregational Church before returning to Japan in 1874. The following year, Niijima established Doshisha University in Kyoto. Doshisha, a Christian college, struggled to survive in its early years. But by the time of Niijima's death in 1890, the college had become a significant institution of higher learning—as it is to the present day. In addition to establishing Doshisha College, Niijima worked tirelessly as minister and missionary and is the most well-known Japanese Christian of the 19th century. See also JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA; JANES, LEROY LANSING; UCHIMURA, KANZO.

NISHIMURA, SHIGEKI (1828–1902). Educator and philosopher. Shigeki Nishimura studied Confucianism and Western learning under Shozan Sakuma whose philosophy of “Eastern ethics, Western science” shaped many policies of the Meiji Era. Nishimura was founding member of Meirokusha, the literary and philosophy society that promoted Western culture among the Japanese elite. Nishimura worked for the Ministry of Education from 1873 to 1886, often presented lectures to Emperor Meiji, and was tutor to the crown prince (later Emperor Taisho) for several years.

NITobe, Inazo (1862–1933). Philosopher, educator, government official, and Christian. Inazo Nitobe graduated from Sapporo Agricultural College founded by Christian educator William Smith Clark, and subsequently studied in Germany and at John Hopkins University in Maryland. He met and married Mary Patterson Elkington while at John Hopkins University, and became a Quaker. After returning to Japan, Nitobe held several government and educational positions, including president of Japan Women’s University, and later became a member of the House of Peers. Concerned especially with international affairs, Nitobe served as a top official in the League of Nations Secretariat from 1920 to 1926. Widely known in Japan as an educator, government official, and Christian liberal, Nitobe is best known in the West as the author of Bushido—The Soul of Japan. See also CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.
NIXON SHOCK. The Nixon shock is the fact that on 15 August 1971, President Richard Nixon announced cessation of conversion of dollars to gold. This was a major change in the framework of international finance.

Since the late 1960s, because of skyrocketing war expenses for the Vietnam War and of the implementation of the “Great Society,” the United States suffered from economic overheating: a fiscal deficit, acceleration of inflation, and an expansion of the trade deficit. President Nixon needed more and more fiscal expenditure in order to continue the Vietnam War and maintain domestic employment. In order to overcome these difficulties, he abandoned the fixed exchange rate regime and shifted to a floating exchange rate regime.

In order to adjust exchange rate, in December 1971, a financial ministerial meeting was held at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. The exchange rate from yen to dollars was highly appreciated from 360 yen to 308 yen to the dollar, an appreciation of 16.88 percent. Combined with the Oil Shock in 1973, that is, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) unilaterally raising crude oil prices and the shock this policy gave to the international economy, the Japanese economy experienced “the worst economic depression in postwar history” and recorded negative growth for the first time since the war.

NOMURA–GREW CONVERSATIONS. The administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in July 1939 announced its intention to abrogate the U.S.-Japan Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. A blunt response to Japan’s widening of its sphere of military activities in the China Incident, it meant that the United States would be in a position from January 1940 to impose trade sanctions on Japan. Aware of Japan’s dependence on trade with the United States, Japanese Foreign Minister Kichisaburō Nomura in November–December 1939 entered conversations with American Ambassador Joseph Grew with an eye to laying the foundations for a new treaty of commerce.

Having assumed the foreign minister’s post at the behest of Prime Minister Nobuyuki Abe in September 1939—at virtually the same time that World War II began in Europe—Nomura warned his cabinet colleagues of the necessity of conciliating the United States. To this end, he sought their commitment to a policy of respecting China’s
territorial integrity, and allowing equality of commercial opportunity in that nation. In other words, he argued for an explicit Japanese commitment to the American principle of the Open Door. Backed by cabinet unanimity on this score, Nomura entered conversations with Grew in early November. By December, Nomura proposed that Japan would compensate the United States for damages it had inflicted on American interests in China. He also promised to honor and respect American interests in China, and, as a show of good faith, he offered to partially open the Yangtze River to foreign ships. In return, he sought a new treaty of commerce from the United States. Through Grew, Washington responded coolly to Nomura’s overtures. This, in turn, convinced those in the Japanese government who opposed Nomura’s diplomatic stance of the futility of seeking a rapprochement with the United States, and the Abe cabinet collapsed in January 1940. Within days, the United States formally abrogated the two nations’ treaty of commerce. See also PACIFIC WAR.

NOMURA, KICHIŠABURŌ (1877–1964). Kichišaburō Nomura was an admiral of the Imperial Japanese Navy who sought throughout his career to establish cordial relations between Japan and the United States. The third son of a former samurai family in Wakayama prefecture, he graduated second in his class from the Naval Academy at Etajima in 1899. His first extended contact with the United States came in World War I, when he served as naval attaché to the Japanese Embassy in Washington from 1914 to 1918. He returned to the United States as Admiral Tomosaburō Katō’s chief aide de camp at the Washington Conference of 1921–1922. In the face of violent opposition from within naval ranks, Nomura offered Katō his unequivocal support for the latter accepting Secretary of State Charles Évan Hughes’s proposal for the reduction of capital ship strength according to the ratio of 10:10:6 for the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. Over the ensuing years, Nomura emerged as a leading figure among those who supported the naval limitation treaties. After retiring from active service in 1937, he served as foreign minister (September 1939–January 1940) in the short-lived cabinet of General Nobuyuki Abe, and reemerged in the postwar era as the “father” of Japan’s Maritime Self-Defense Forces.

Nomura inevitably will be remembered best as Japan’s ambassador to the United States at the time of Pearl Harbor. Although historians
traditionally have not looked favorably upon his efforts to avert war between the two nations throughout the *Japanese-American negotiations of 1941*, more recently a revisionist literature has emerged that portrays Nomura as a positive activist for peace. In any case, Nomura was handicapped throughout his ambassadorial posting by, first, Tokyo’s increasingly obstreperous determination to go it alone in the Far East, and second, the United States’ ever-increasing resolve to resist that development. See also PACIFIC WAR.

**NUCLEAR ENERGY.** On 28 April 1952, the *San Francisco Peace Treaty* came into effect. In the following month, the Liberal Party led by Shigeru Yoshida unveiled a plan to establish the Science and Technology Agency to carry out research and development into high-tech weapons and nuclear energy. In March 1954, the Diet approved Japan’s first nuclear budget (250 million yen), opening the door for nuclear development in Japan. The *Lucky Dragon* (*Daigo Fukuryumaru*) *Incident* had already occurred on 1 March 1954, but the Japanese people were not aware of it before the nuclear budget was passed. Nevertheless, because of this incident, Japan took more cautious nuclear energy policies. In December 1955, the *Atomic Energy Basic Law* was enacted, including the three principles of peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. Based on this law, the Science and Technology Agency was established in April 1956.

On 7 May, Prime Minister *Nobusuke Kishi* stated in the Upper House that within the right of self-defense, it would be possible to have nuclear weapons. On 2 March 1959, in the Upper House Budget Committee, he also indicated that, in his judgment, it is constitutional to have small nuclear weapons for defense. In 1960, the Nobusuke Kishi Cabinet established an official policy that possessing nuclear weapons is constitutional.

On 11 December 1967, the Lower House Budget Committee, Prime Minister *Eisaku Sato* presented the three non-nuclear principles of not producing, not possessing, and not allowing the entry of nuclear weapons into the country. In his administrative policy speech in January 1968, Prime Minister Sato confirmed these three non-nuclear principles.

In order to make Japan less dependent on energy imports, the government promoted research and development of nuclear energy. However, in December 1995, Monju, Japan’s only fast breeder reactor,
suffered a serious accident and had to be shut down. The Japanese government has tried to provide nuclear energy and safety simultaneously in the face of strong anti-nuclear movements and sentiments among the Japanese people. See also ATOMIC ENERGY BASIC LAW; ATOMIC INDUSTRIAL FORUM; BILATERAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGREEMENT BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES; JAPAN ATOMIC INDUSTRIAL FORUM; JAPAN–U.S. AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN ENERGY; JAPAN–U.S. NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENT; LUCKY DRAGON INCIDENT.

“NYE REPORT” (UNITED STATES SECURITY STRATEGY FOR THE EAST ASIA–PACIFIC REGION). This was a report prepared by the Office of International Security Affairs of the Department of Defense in February 1995. After the end of the Cold War, the U.S.–Japan alliance seemed to be in limbo. The “Higuchi Report” prepared by an advisory group directly under the prime minister and submitted in August 1994 seemed to confirm that Japan was beginning to lose respect for the primary importance of the U.S.–Japan alliance. This situation urged the Defense Department to redefine or reconfirm the importance of the U.S.–Japan alliance. The “Nye Report” is a product of this redefinition. According to the report, “Security is like oxygen: you do not tend to notice it until you begin to lose it. The American security presence has helped provide this ‘oxygen’ for East Asian development.” This is the justification for the United States “to maintain a stable forward presence in the region, at the existing level of about 100,000 troops, for the foreseeable future.” Washington tried to stop Japan’s tendency to move away from the U.S.–Japan alliance by affirming the critical importance of their bilateral relationship. “There is no more important bilateral relationship than the one we have with Japan . . . . Our security alliance with Japan is the linchpin of United States security policy in Asia.”

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OGASAWARA ISLANDS (ALSO KNOWN AS BONIN ISLANDS).
Four groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean 600 miles south of Tokyo.
These islands include Chijijima, Hahajima, and Iwojima. Shipwrecked sailors from Japan, such as Manjiro Nakahama, have landed on the Ogasawara Islands since the 1600s, but the first permanent residents were Americans and Europeans who settled on Chijijima in 1830. Commodore Matthew Perry and his ships briefly stopped at Chijijima before sailing to Edo in July 1853. The islands came under formal control of the Japanese government in 1876, and were an area of heavy fighting between Japanese and American military forces during World War II, especially the Battle of Iwojima. After World War II, the Ogasawara Islands were administratively controlled by the United States military until returned to the Japanese government in 1968. See also PACIFIC WAR.

OIL SHOCK. The oil shock (or oil crisis) was a worldwide economic depression because of shortages of oil and a rapid rise in the oil price in 1973–1974. Because Japan depended heavily on imported oil especially from the Middle East, it suffered from a severe economic crisis. The oil crisis was a turning point in postwar Japanese rapid high economic growth. When the fourth Middle East war broke out in October 1973, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) and the Organization of Pacific Economic Cooperation (OPEC) resorted to reducing crude oil production, to restricting exports of oil to pro-Israeli nations, including the United States, and to quadruple oil prices. Following pro-Israeli U.S. policy, Tokyo had been very close to Jerusalem. The oil shock demonstrated the decline of U.S. hegemony and pushed Japan to adopt more flexible foreign policies and to majorly revise its Middle East policy in particular. In November 1973, the Kakuei Tanaka administration decided to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people and it promised to review its policies toward Israel. Moreover, OPEC’s continuous increase of the crude oil price and disruption of crude oil exports because of the Iranian Revolution in 1979 precipitated the second oil shock (oil crisis).

OKAKURA, TENSIN (ALSO KNOWN AS KAKUZO OKAKURA; 1862–1913). Influenced by American professor Ernest Fenellosa at Tokyo University, Okakura studied and promoted Japanese art and culture. Okakura established two art academies, promoted Japanese art and culture to the West through writings, such as The Book of Tea,
and worked for several years as the curator of Oriental Art at the Boston Museum of Art.

**OKAWARA, YOSHIO** (1919– ). In 1942, Yoshio Okawara graduated from Faculty of Law of Tokyo University and entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. After holding a series of official posts, he served as ambassador to the United States from 1980 to 1985. He was one of the few ambassadors to the U.S. who had not previously served as deputy minister for foreign affairs. In the 1980s, Japan faced serious trade conflicts with the United States. Ambassador Okawara carried out skillful negotiations with his counterpart in the U.S. and actively dealt with U.S. congressmen in order to establish a better U.S.–Japan relationship.

**OKINAWA.** The largest island in the Ryuku Island archipelago. Okinawa and the rest of the Ryukyu Islands were a nominally independent kingdom, partly controlled by Satsuma domain since the early 1600s, and were formally annexed as part of Japanese territory in 1879 and named Okinawa Prefecture. Commodore Matthew Perry stopped at Okinawa during his 1854 voyage to Japan, and former American President Ulysses S. Grant mediated a dispute over Okinawa between Japan and China in 1879 and decided in Japan's favor. Okinawan culture and people have been influenced throughout history by China, Korea, the South Pacific, Japan, and since 1945 by the United States military.

From early April to late June 1945, United States and Japanese military forces fought the devastating Battle of Okinawa. The United States military was formally in charge of Okinawa from the fall of 1945 until 1972, and still maintains substantial bases and numbers of personnel on the islands. See also PACIFIC WAR.

**OKINAWA, RESTITUTION OF.** U.S. forces began to land on mainland Okinawa in April 1945. The United States and Japan fought horrific battles, but in the end, the organized resistance by the Japanese forces ended in late June. As soon as the U.S. forces occupied Okinawa, America declared the enforcement of military governance.

On 15 December 1950, the U.S. forces abolished U.S. military government and established the U.S. Civil Administration of the
Ryukyu Islands in order to acquire residents' cooperation for enduring governance.

The **San Francisco Peace Treaty** formally terminated the occupation of Japan by the Allied Powers; however, the United States was allowed to use U.S. military bases in Okinawa. The region being declared to be outside the application of the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty, 1952. Washington approved Tokyo’s residual sovereignty over Okinawa, but Okinawa had different legal status from that of Japan. Consequently, people both in Okinawa and on mainland Japan promoted movements for the restitution of Okinawa back to Japan. Civilians in both Departments of State and Defense agreed that in order for the United States to maintain military bases in Okinawa, it was necessary to return the administrative rights over Okinawa back to Japan. Finally, at the summit in November 1969, Prime Minister **Eisaku Sato** and President Richard M. Nixon agreed the restitution of Okinawa to Japanese administration. On 17 June 1971, the United States and Japan signed the Okinawa Restitution Agreement. According to the agreement, the United States continued to retain its military bases in Okinawa, but those bases were to be nuclear-free. The U.S. military still controlled about 19 percent of Okinawa. On 15 May 1972, Okinawa was formally returned to Japanese sovereignty.

**OKUBO, TOSHI MICHI (1830–1878).** A *samurai* from Satsuma domain. Okubo helped lead Satsuma and Choshu forces against the **Tokugawa shogunate**. Okubo was a major official in the early Meiji government, and took part in the **Iwakura Mission** to the United States and Europe from 1871 to 1873. He was assassinated in 1878 by former samurai from Satsuma after he helped put down a rebellion against the Meiji government in his native domain. See also **MEIJI RESTORATION**.

**OKUMA, SHIGENOBU (1838–1922).** From Saga domain near Nagasaki, Okuma studied Dutch and Western learning, and then participated in the anti-**Tokugawa shogunate** movement in the 1860s. A member of the **Iwakura Mission** to the United States and Europe, Okuma later served in a number of government positions until his death, including as foreign minister and prime minister. Okuma also founded Waseda University in 1888, which remains one of the Japan’s
most respected private universities. See also MEIJI ERA; MEIJI RESTORATION.

OPEN DOOR. The Open Door informed American policies vis-à-vis China and Japan throughout much of the first half of the 20th century. As originally envisaged, the Open Door rested on two main principles: China’s territorial integrity should be preserved; and all nationals should receive equality of treatment in their economic pursuits in China. For many years, the Open Door remained little more than a principle, with no indication that Washington was prepared to use force in its defense.

The concept of the Open Door grew out of 19th-century imperial rivalries that threatened to carve China into colonies and exclusive spheres of interest. It was formalized by Secretary of State John Hay’s Open Door notes of 1899 and 1900, and resurfaced intermittently over the ensuing years, usually in response to Japanese efforts to shut the door on American business interests in northeastern China. Then, at the Washington Conference of 1921–1922, the United States, Britain, and Japan signed a treaty in which they explicitly undertook to respect China’s sovereignty as well as the principle of “equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.” In other words, the Open Door had become a treaty commitment.

Through the 1930s, the Open Door continued to provide American policymakers with a point of reference in their efforts to devise a response to Japanese aggressions in China. Then, in April 1941, Secretary of State Cordell Hull informed ambassador Kichisaburō Nomura that diplomatic rapprochement between their two nations would have to conform to several principles, included among which were respect for all nations’ territorial integrity and sovereignty, and support of the principle of equality of commercial opportunity. In other words, the principle of the Open Door had shifted away from its exclusive emphasis on China, and instead had become the benchmark of American policies toward all nations. Washington did not shift from this commitment to the Open Door throughout 1941, and Japan was equally stubborn in its refusal to acquiesce in the principle.

In this sense, the Pacific War was fought over two conflicting visions of the future of East Asia. On the one hand, the United States
fought for a single world order in which goods and trade would flow freely between nations. Such was necessary, in the minds of American policymakers, in order to ensure against a revisit of the economic disasters of the late 1920s and early 1930s. On the other hand, the Japanese government was fighting for the creation of an autarchic economic sphere that covered the greater part of East Asia.

Neither side got what it wanted. When, in August 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally to the United States and its allies, its dreams of economic autarchy lay in ruins. The American vision of the Open Door fared little better. Not only did the Soviet Union show scant regard for its wartime ally’s policy prescriptions, but China—the very nation upon which the Open Door policy had been founded—plunged headlong into a civil war that, by late 1949, saw it shift into the Soviet orbit.

**OPIUM WAR (1839–1841).** The war fought between Britain and China over the issue of trade in opium. The Chinese imperial authorities tried to halt British trade in opium in China, but Britain argued this was a restriction of trade. British gunboats and troops defeated the outdated Chinese military forces, and the Treaty of Nanjing (1842) was negotiated in Britain’s favor. A second opium war, sometimes called the *Arrow War*, was fought in 1857–1858. As a result of the Opium War between Britain and China, foresighted observers in Japan, such as Shozan Sakuma, began pushing the Tokugawa shogunate to utilize Western science and technology to build up its military forces, or Japan would wind up losing a war and losing its independence to the West. See also EASTERN ETHICS, WESTERN SCIENCE.

**ORDERLY MARKETING AGREEMENT.** The Orderly Marketing Agreement was concluded between the Japanese and U.S. governments in May 1977 for the purpose of regulating trade between the two countries. In the 1970s, a Japanese export thrust precipitated trade friction in various parts of the world. This, in turn, caused an appreciation of the yen. In particular, there occurred severe friction in the automobile and electronics industries because of the competitiveness of Japanese exports. This friction led to a series of negotiations between the United States and Japan and finally the Orderly Marketing Agreement was concluded. This agreement strictly stipulated the market share that
Japanese exporting corporations could acquire in the U.S. market. Japan accepted the use of U.S. corporations for building urban infrastructure, sewage systems, and highways in Japan. See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.

**ORIENTAL EXCLUSION ACT (1924).** The United States Congress in May 1924 debated a prohibitive immigration law aimed squarely at Japanese citizens. Passed in July 1924, it was dubbed the Oriental Exclusion Act, and remained a sore point in Japan–U.S. relations up until the attack on Pearl Harbor. The law provided for immigration based on national quotas: the number of immigrants to be admitted annually was limited to 2 percent of the foreign-born individuals of each nationality living in the United States in 1890. On the grounds that Asian nationals were ineligible for citizenship, the law entirely prohibited Asian immigration. Because Congress had previously prohibited all non–Japanese Asian immigration, the new law left little doubt as to which nationality was being targeted. Unsurprisingly, the Japanese government protested the new law, with Japan’s ambassador to Washington Hanihara Masanao expressing his fear that the exclusion act could have “grave consequences” for Japanese–American relations.

What then were the consequences of the law for Japanese–American relations? Certainly it was out of step with the cooperative and friendly spirit established at the Washington Conference of 1921–1922. Recognizing this, Secretary of State Charles Evan Hughes worried about “what the reaping will be after the sowing of this seed.” His fears were well founded. Foreign Minister Kijūrō Shidehara, who predicated his diplomacy on the spirit of the Washington Conference, found himself later in the decade under sustained attack for his “weak-kneed diplomacy.” Although the Oriental Exclusion Act was not the sole reason for these attacks, it did have a decisive effect in turning Japanese public opinion against the United States. This augured poorly for those Japanese diplomats and statesmen who sought to overcome—or ignore—the animosity engendered by the racism of the United States Congress. As one perceptive commentator has noted, the law left a permanent scar on Japanese–American relations. See also IMMIGRATION; INTERNMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS DURING WORLD WAR II.
PACIFIC WAR. See WORLD WAR II.

PANAY INCIDENT (1937). On 12 December 1937, Japanese warplanes attacked the American gunboat Panay and three Standard Oil Company tankers on the Yangtze River and strafed survivors in the water. For obvious reasons, the Panay Incident had the potential to exacerbate existing Japanese–American tensions. Yet the most notable feature of the Panay Incident was the conciliatory approach that both Washington and Tokyo adopted in its aftermath.

Some months earlier, in July 1937, Japan had plunged into a frankly aggressive war in China. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt responded in October by publicly indicating his belief that “international gangsters” should be segregated in much the same way as society quarantines the carriers of dangerous and communicable diseases. Certainly, the Panay Incident—which neatly coincided with the much-publicized Rape of Nanjing—would have seemed to confirm Japan’s place amongst the “international gangsters.” Nonetheless, the United States government refused to take any action that might accord with Roosevelt’s statement. Washington summarily refused a British proposal—HMS Ladybird was attacked the same day as the Panay—to impose economic sanctions, instead contenting itself with stern demands for an apology and reparations.

Doubtlessly, the actions of the Japanese government in the aftermath of the incident played a role in convincing Washington against more forceful countermeasures. A Japanese navy warship almost immediately sailed from Nanjing to help in the rescue of survivors from the American vessels. In Tokyo, Foreign Minister Kōki Hirota told Ambassador Joseph Grew of his dismay and regret at the incident. Japan’s ambassador to Washington, Hiroshi Saitō, admitted to the American public that Japan was entirely in the wrong and offered apologies.

PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE. In the aftermath of World War I, the victorious allies held the Paris Peace Conference from January to June 1919 to decide the terms of peace to be accorded Germany. This
gave rise to several thorny issues in the Far East, most of which centered on the former German rights and concessions in the Chinese province of Shantung.

Japan was included along with the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy as one of the five great powers of the conference. The Japanese delegation, led by Prince Saionji Kimmochi, saw its most important task as retaining all German rights and concessions in Shantung (in 1914, Japan seized the German leasehold). The Chinese delegation sought the province’s restoration to China. It found a sympathetic supporter in President Woodrow Wilson, who led the American delegation to the conference. Japan, however, was bargaining from a position of strength. During the war, it had reached secret agreements with Britain, France, and Russia, which supported its territorial claims. The Chinese, too, had committed themselves to supporting Japan’s territorial claims. In the event that these claims were not met, the Japanese delegates threatened to walk out of the conference and to boycott the League of Nations, whose establishment Wilson believed to be the most important task of the conference.

Wilson backed down and consented to a clause in the Versailles peace treaty, which transferred the former German holdings to Japan. For its part, the Japanese delegation offered reassurances that political control of Shantung would be returned to China in due course (irreconcilable, China refused to sign the treaty). The treaty also handed Japan the Pacific islands formerly held by Germany, the Marianas, Carolines, and Marshalls, under a League of Nations mandate. Nonetheless, Japan walked away from the conference with a bad taste in its mouth: its fellow great powers had refused to insert a racial equality clause in the League of Nations charter. Across the Pacific, Wilson met with implacable congressional opposition to his peacemaking efforts. The United States never joined the League of Nations and signed a separate peace with Germany in 1921. See also DULLES, JOHN FOSTER.

**PEACE IN VIETNAM! CITIZENS’ COALITION.** The Peace in Vietnam! Citizens’ Coalition was a civic movement in Japan that started in 1965 to protest U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. The founding leaders of the movement were Professor Michitoshi Takabatake of Surugadai University, Professor Shunsuke Tsurumi of Doshisha University,
sity and Makoto Oda, a popular left-wing novelist. When U.S. bombing of North Vietnam began in February 1965, these three individuals decided in April 1965 to organize Peace to Vietnam!, a coalition of citizen cultural groups, with Makoto Oda serving as lead representative.

On 16 October 1966, the coalition changed its name to the Peace to Vietnam! Citizens’ Coalition and began efforts to organize a larger movement throughout all of Japan. This coalition developed a variety of unique citizen protest actions, such as sponsoring monthly demonstrations, hosting 24-hour teach-ins (in August 1965), publishing an anti–Vietnam war advertisement in the New York Times (16 November 1965), holding a Japan–U.S. citizens’ conference to examine American involvement in Vietnam (August 1966), providing assistance to U.S. soldiers who did not wish to serve in Vietnam (beginning in November 1968), establishing anti-war organizations that operated underground on U.S. military bases in Japan, and publishing Weekly AMPO (from November 1969 through June 1970).

The coalition defined itself as “not an organization but as a movement,” insisting on the importance of “coalition through action.” The coalition gradually increased its organizational ties with leftist Japanese university and high school students. Working together, a large-scale anti-war demonstration of 70,000 people was organized in June 1969, which startled the Japanese government and helped to energize progressive political forces throughout Japan. The signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1973 between the U.S. and Vietnam led to the complete evacuation of U.S. military forces from Vietnam. On 26 January 1974, the Peace to Vietnam! Citizens’ Coalition was dissolved.

PEACE KEEPING OPERATION (PKO) COOPERATION LAW.

The formal name of this law is “A Law Concerning Cooperation of United Nations’ Peace Keeping Operation and Other Activities.” It was enacted in June 1992, stipulating that Japanese Self-Defense Forces may participate in UN-led peacekeeping operations as long as the PKO five principles of participation are met: a cease-fire agreement between the warring parties, agreement to the presence of Japanese forces by the country to which they will be dispatched, adherence to neutrality in any operations undertaken, discontinuance of activities and retreat of work force and military units, and necessary minimum use of small arms to protect the lives of the workforce.
This law was amended in June 1998. The old law allowed each member of the Self-Defense Forces to make a judgment concerning the use of firearms, but the amended law stipulates that each member can use firearms on the orders of a superior officer. The law was amended again in December 2001, going hand-in-hand with the enactment of the special anti-terrorism legislation (October 2001) to support the U.S. military attack against Afghanistan in response to a series of terrorist attacks against the United States on 11 September 2001. The amended law allowed the Self-Defense Forces to participate in the Peace Keeping Forces (PKF) operations and eased the standard of use of firearms by the members of Self-Defense Forces. Despite such major amendments, the Japanese government did not abandon the observation of the five conditions that were placed on SDF involvement in peacekeeping activities. Consequently, it is practically impossible for the Self-Defense Forces to directly participate in the PKF operations.

PEARL HARBOR. On 7 December 1941, some 400 Japanese carrier-based torpedo bombers launched an attack on the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor. They sank five of the fleet’s six best battleships, damaged numerous lesser vessels, and destroyed more than three-quarters of the fleet’s 230 planes. Nearly 2,330 American military personnel were killed. American naval power in the Pacific was crippled. Seen from a purely tactical viewpoint, the attack on Pearl Harbor was a resounding success.

The attack on Pearl Harbor was accompanied by attacks on Western positions throughout the Far East. Within days of Pearl Harbor, two British battleships—the Prince of Wales and the Repulse—had been sunk. Within weeks, Hong Kong had fallen to Japanese invaders. Soon thereafter, Malaya and then Singapore were in Japanese hands. Resistance to the Japanese in the Dutch East Indies, Burma, and Ceylon collapsed in early 1942. The Philippines fell to Japanese troops within six months of Pearl Harbor.

The state of panic that gripped the United States in the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor was soon replaced by a grim determination to roll back the marauding Japanese forces. This determination was fed in large part by the perception that Japan had not only violated international law but also basic tenets of decency in launching the at-
tack without first issuing a declaration of war. United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt went before Congress the day after Pearl Harbor, branding it an act that would “live in infamy.” Implicit in Roosevelt’s statement was the supposition that Japan had long planned a “sneak attack”—even as America was negotiating in good faith. In this way, acting on the war cry “Remember Pearl Harbor!,” the American people united behind their nation’s war effort. See also PACIFIC WAR.

PERRY, COMMODORE MATTHEW C. (1794–1858). American Navy officer and brother of Admiral Oliver Perry. Nearing the end of his career, U.S. Navy Commodore Matthew Perry was asked by President Millard Fillmore to command a squadron ships sent to Japan for the purpose of establishing trade and diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan. Perry and his four ships arrived in Uraga Bay near Edo on 8 July 1853. The four ships were larger than any ships in Japan—two were steam-fired frigates belching black, coal smoke—and became known as “the black ships” for their dark, ominous appearance. Perry presented a letter from President Fillmore to Japanese officials asking for good treatment of shipwrecked sailors; permission to buy wood, water, and other supplies for American ships; and a trade treaty between the two countries. Perry departed to allow Japanese officials time to discuss the matter, and returned in February 1854 with nine ships to negotiate the first formal treaty between Japan and a Western country.

Despite the “gunboat diplomacy” element to the negotiations, Japanese officials refused to grant a general trade agreement to Perry. Nevertheless, the United States–Japan Treaty of Friendship, usually known as the Kanagawa Treaty, established diplomatic relations between the two countries, and other countries soon followed Perry into Japan and negotiated similar treaties. Perry’s mission began American formal relations with Japan, allowed other Western countries to establish relations with Japan, and played a significant role in breaking open pent-up grievances by many Japanese against the Tokugawa shogunate, leading to its demise by 1868. See also ANSEI TREATIES; BIDDLE, JAMES; HARRIS, TOWNSEND; MEIJI RESTORATION; SAKOKU.
PLAZA ACCORD. This was an agreement on foreign exchange rates concluded by the Group of Five (G5: the United States, Great Britain, France, West Germany, and Japan) at the Plaza Hotel in New York on 22 September 1985. The accord stipulated the reduction of the dollar’s value by 10 to 20 percent through cooperation by G5 central bank intervention. By the end of October 1985, the dollar exchange rate had declined rapidly and the accord was achieved. The Plaza Accord was a watershed in the transition from floating rates to managed rates in which major countries intervene in the exchange market on appropriate occasions. The accord also stipulated that the United States would have to reduce its fiscal deficit and both Japan and West Germany should expand their domestic demand.

The dollar value continued to decline and major advanced countries did not desire any further decline. Finally, in February 1987, the Group of Seven (G7: G5 + Canada and Italy) reached the Louvre Accord. The G7 agreed to stabilize exchange rates at around contemporary levels while Japan and West Germany pledged to implement economic stimulation policies.

PORTSMOUTH TREATY (AUGUST 1905). The Portsmouth Treaty of August 1905 brought a formal end to the Russo-Japanese War. Sponsored by United States President Theodore Roosevelt, the treaty transferred to Japan the Russian lease of the Liaotung Peninsula and the South Manchurian Railroad rights. The southern half of the island of Sakhalin became Japanese territory. Russia was also forced to recognize Japan’s paramount interest in the Korean peninsula. Japan, however, received no indemnities.

The terms of the Portsmouth Treaty quite neatly reflected the course which the Russo–Japanese War had taken. In February 1904, Japan launched a surprise attack against the Russian Far Eastern fleet, which lay at anchor outside the defense of Port Arthur. Over the ensuing 18 months, Russia’s Far Eastern fleet was destroyed, and its Baltic fleet was annihilated in the battle of Tsushima. Port Arthur surrendered to Japanese forces in January 1905, and the main Russian army was utterly defeated by March 1905. These victories left their impression on President Roosevelt, who wrote to a British friend in June 1905: “What wonderful people the Japanese are!”
If Roosevelt’s sympathy toward Japan was partly sentimental, it was also based on his reading of the balance of power in the Far East. Although aware that Japan might rise to challenge American interests in the region, Roosevelt firmly believed that Russia posed the more immediate threat. He was also aware that although Japan was everywhere, victorious it had strained its financial resources to the limit. Nor did he wish to see Russia driven out of Far Eastern balance-of-power calculations altogether—it might, he reasoned, have a “moderative effect” on future Japanese actions. This intuition, coupled with the intransigence of the Russian negotiators who maintained that their nation’s superior resource base meant that it could continue the war, led Roosevelt to broker a peace that included no indemnity payments for Japan.

**POTSDAM DECLARATION (1945).** Issued on 26 July 1945 over the signatures of United States President Harry S. Truman, British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the Potsdam Declaration called for the unconditional surrender of Japan’s armed forces, for the complete elimination of militarism and militarists, the removal of obstacles to democratic tendencies, and the punishment of war criminals. It promised that the Japanese would not be “enslaved” as a race or “destroyed” as a nation, although it made clear that, following Japan’s surrender, Allied forces would occupy the nation until there should have been established “in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government.”

Prepared in advance by the United States government, the Potsdam Declaration underwent a complicated drafting process. Acting Secretary of State Joseph Grew, in May 1945, approached President Truman and suggested that Japan’s surrender might be facilitated if the Japanese were assured that surrender would not endanger the institution of the emperor. He was, in effect, arguing for modification of the unconditional surrender policy to which Truman’s predecessor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had earlier committed the United States. If his primary objective in doing so was to secure Japan’s prompt surrender, that objective dovetailed neatly with the sensed need to secure Japan’s acquiescence in the postwar international order as defined by the United States, as well as a grim foreboding of the need to contain the postwar influence of Soviet Russia.
Grew received support from Secretary of War Henry Stimson, who revealed himself "inclined to agree with giving the Japanese a modification of the unconditional surrender formula." Truman vacillated, although by early July a committee made up of representatives from the State, War, and Navy Departments had drafted a declaration that included direct reference to the continued postwar existence of a "constitutional monarchy." Grew submitted this draft to the new secretary of state, James F. Byrnes, although mindful of Byrnes's disinclination to modify the unconditional surrender policy, Grew lamented that the text would probably be "ditched on the way over." In one aspect he was correct: the Potsdam Declaration made no mention of the Japanese monarchy. The Japanese government subsequently indicated its intention to "ignore" the Potsdam Declaration, and Washington responded by dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Soviet Union simultaneously entered the war against Japan. Tokyo then accepted the Potsdam Declaration in its entirety although, immediately after its surrender, it indicated that it saw no contradiction between the terms of surrender and retention of the monarchy. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

PRIOR CONSULTATION. Under a special arrangement stipulated in an exchange of official notes at the time the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty was amended in 1960, Washington assumed the following obligation: Before the United States makes an important change in the military alignment or equipment of U.S. forces stationed in Japan, or before it conducts military operations that require use of its military bases located in Japan, the U.S. government should engage in prior consultations with the Japanese government. The primary reason for the prior consultation is to secure Japan’s right to have a voice in the use of U.S. military bases located in Japan. President Dwight D. Eisenhower assured Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi that the United States had no intention of conducting any kind of military operation that would go against the wishes of the Japanese government expressed in any prior consultation.

However, no prior consultation precedent has ever been established, partly because the official note exchange left the following important loophole: The United States would have to carry out prior consultation with Japan only when U.S. forces found it necessary to conduct sorties directly from U.S. bases in Japan. U.S. forces sta-
tioned in Japan did participate in the Gulf Wars of 1990 and 2003, but the United States did not engage in prior consultation with Japan on the grounds that its forces did not conduct combat operations against Iraq directly from U.S. bases in Japan but “received the order while they were moving.”

In the event that the United States might wish to store nuclear weapons in Japan, the exchange of official notes also contained a promise by the United States that it would hold prior consultation talks with Japan. However, when Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira met with U.S. Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer in April 1963, Ohira stated that when U.S. naval ships carrying nuclear weapons called at or passed through a Japanese harbor, Japan would not consider these actions to be violations of Japan’s three non-nuclear principles of not producing, not possessing and not allowing the entry of nuclear weapons into Japan, nor a violation of the promises contained in the 1960 exchange of official notes. See also DEFENSE.

**PRIORITY PRODUCTION SYSTEM**. The Priority Production System was the Japanese economic policy for increasing production. It was devised and implemented from the end of 1946 to 1948 in order to revive production after the destruction caused by World War II. It was proposed by Hiromi Arisawa, chairman of the Coal Committee and established by the first Shigeru Yoshida Cabinet.

Japan allocated all the heavy oil it was allowed to import by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) to the steel industry to increase production. Then, the government allocated steel to coal production and vice versa in a reciprocal manner. In other words, Japan placed top priority on increasing production of steel and coal first. Only then, did the Japanese government allow coal to be used for major economic sectors other than steel. This resulted in increasing production as a whole. The coal production at the end of 1946 fell to 21 million tons (less than 40% of wartime production.) This was barely adequate to cover railroad and occupation operations. The Japanese government aimed to increase coal production to 30 million tons by fiscal year 1947. Both the Yoshida and Katayama Cabinets implemented this economic program and Japan managed to attain this initial goal.

The Reconstruction Finance Bank (RFB) that was established in January 1947 supported this economic program financially. The RFB lent money primarily to critically important industries including coal,
steel, electric power, and marine transportation. The Ashida Cabinet continued to espouse the Priority Production System, and this played an important role in getting Japan’s economic recovery off the ground. However, the RFB depended for its funds on floating RFB bonds underwritten by the Bank of Japan and this precipitated accelerated inflation. The Japanese government also provided a large amount of price-support subsidy so that coal was transferred to the steel industry at a price lower than cost and steel was transferred to the coal industry at a price lower than cost. The Japanese government issued a financial emergency order, but it could not stem the inflation. Both the Katayama and Ashida Cabinets tried, but neither succeeded to contain the high wages that partly caused inflation. Japan had to wait for the Dodge Line to contain inflation.

PRUYN, ROBERT H. (1815–1882). Appointed American minister to Japan by President Abraham Lincoln in 1861, Robert Pruyn served until 1867. In addition to dealing with several tumultuous events in Japan during the final years of the Tokugawa shogunate, he helped guide several young Japanese men to colleges in the United States, especially to Rutgers College in New Jersey, his alma mater. See also JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

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RAPE OF NANJING. After capturing Nanjing, the Chinese Nationalist capital, in early December 1937 during the Second Sino-Japanese War, Japanese soldiers went on a rampage of slaughter and rape. Surrendering Chinese troops were summarily executed. Yet, the vast majority of victims were civilians—old men, women, and children. The number of Chinese killed by Japanese troops in the area of Nanjing from December 1937 to February 1938 is still a matter of considerable controversy, but most scholars put the total number at approximately 200,000—one of the worst atrocities of the 20th century. In addition to the Panay Incident, which occurred on 12 December 1937 at the nearby Yangtze River, the Rape of Nanjing inflamed anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States. See also PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.
**RED PURGE.** The Red Purge was an unjustified removal or discharge of members of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) and suspected sympathizers from their workplace by the government or by corporations. On 6 and 7 June 1950, all 24 members of the JCP’s central committee (including seven members of the House of Councilors) and 17 members of the editorial board of the Akahata, the JCP’s official newspaper, were removed from their posts. After the outbreak of the Korean War on 25 June 1950, General Douglas MacArthur escalated the Red Purge, prohibiting JCP members and suspected sympathizers from working for such major industries as newspapers, broadcasting, electricity, coal, transportation, and iron. In September, the Japanese government expanded the scope of the Red Purge to government institutions and public enterprises. In 1950 alone, 1,177 people were purged from government institutions and 10,972 people from private corporations.

The JCP could not implement effective resistance against the Red Purge because of its internal disunity and confusion. As a result, the JCP lost its influence and leadership in the postwar labor movement. Labor unions expressed their intentions of disagreeing with the Red Purge, but they could not organize an effective systematic anti-Red Purge movement. As a result, labor unions in Japan also suffered great damage and lost much of the influence gained in the early stage of the Occupation.

**REISCHAUER, EDWIN O. (1910-1990).** Born in Japan to missionary parents, Edwin Reischauer was one of America’s first scholars of East Asia. After growing up in Tokyo, he attended Oberlin College and Harvard University in the United States. During World War II, he served as an officer in the U.S Army translating and deciphering Japanese codes. He became well known as an Asia expert at Harvard University in the 1950s, and was selected by newly elected President John F. Kennedy to be the United States ambassador to Japan. As an academic with no political or previous diplomatic experience, and because of his public criticism of State Department policies regarding Japan, Reischauer’s appointment was both unusual and resisted by many in Washington. Nevertheless, he was able to mediate between the two countries he knew so well during the five years he served as ambassador before returning to Harvard. Reischauer’s wife, Haru...
Matsukata Reischauer (his first wife, Adrienne, died in 1955) was a major asset during Reischauer’s years as ambassador. After returning to academia, Reischauer wrote several works on Japan, and Japan’s relations with the United States that became textbooks for a generation of scholars. See also REISCHAUER STABBING INCIDENT.

**REISCHAUER STABBING INCIDENT.** In March 1964, U.S. Ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer was stabbed in front of the U.S. Embassy by a 19-year-old Japanese man suffering from a mental disorder called integration dysfunction syndrome. State Minister Masayoshi Ohira visited Ambassador Reischauer on behalf of the Japanese government. Ryuji Takeuchi, Japan’s ambassador to the United States, also expressed formal regrets to the U.S. government. Ambassador Reischauer survived with the help of a massive blood transfusion made possible using blood purchased from blood banks operated by lightly regulated blood providers known as “blood sellers.” When it was later discovered that following the blood transfusion Ambassador Reischauer had incurred inflammation of the liver, the competence of Japan’s health system was called into serious question. As a result, Japan’s national system for blood provisioning using private blood banks was abolished and replaced with a blood-donation system operated by the Japanese Red Cross.

The stabbing incident also made clear that Japan’s medical care of mentally disturbed people was a major social problem. As a result, the Mental Health Act was partly modified in 1965 to require local healthcare centers to become the frontline in providing mental healthcare. The centers would arrange for mental health consultants to visit homes to conduct health consultations with people suffering mental disturbances. Also, mental health centers were established of Japan’s prefecture. The national government assumed financial responsibility for half of the healthcare expenditures for the mentally disturbed living at home. When a patient suffering a mental disorder leaves a hospital without permission from hospital managers, that unauthorized absence has to be reported to the police. For mentally disturbed individuals who pose a serious danger to themselves or others, the government has established provisions for compulsory legal hospital admissions. New government rules were also created related to discharging and confidentiality obligations.
REPARATIONS. These are monies, property, and products that the loser pays to the winner to compensate for damage as a result of a war. A U.S. reparation mission led by Edwin W. Pauley came to Japan in November 1945, and submitted an interim report in December 1945 and a final report in November 1946. Overestimating Japan’s ability to pay reparations, these reports were severe on the Japanese. Japanese production levels were limited to those of 1931, and 1,000 factories were ordered to be set aside for reparations. In early 1947, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) began to take machine facilities to China, Holland, the Philippines, and Great Britain.

As the Cold War progressed, in April 1947, SCAP sent an interim directive to remove only 30 percent of the factories that the interim reparations designated and passed 15 percent of them to China and 5 percent each to the Philippines, Holland, and Great Britain. Finally, in May 1949, Washington made a unilateral announcement to cease the removal of the rest of the war reparations that the interim directive had designated.

In September 1951 at the San Francisco Peace Conference, the United States wished to exclude any statement on reparations, but because of opposition by Asian countries, Article 14 of the peace treaty stipulates the reparations principle simply: “It is recognized that Japan should pay reparations to the Allied Powers for the damage and suffering caused by it during the war.” Article 14 left Japan and Asian countries to make their own negotiations: “Japan will promptly enter into negotiations with Allied Powers so desiring, whose present territories were occupied by Japanese forces and damaged by Japan, with a view to assisting to compensate those countries for the cost of repairing the damage done.” Japan concluded a peace treaty and a reparations agreement with Burma in November 1955 and promised to pay $200 million for reparations “by making available the services of the Japanese people in production, salvaging and other work for the Allied Powers in question.”(Article 14) Japan concluded a reparations treaty with the Philippines in May 1956 and promised to pay $550 million for reparations in accordance with Article 14 of the San Francisco peace treaty. Japan concluded reparations agreement with Indonesia in January 1958 and promised to pay $223.8 million for reparations. Japan concluded reparations agreement with South Vietnam in May 1959 and promised to pay $39 million for reparations.
REPARATIONS TREATY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE PHILIPPINES. The Reparations Treaty between Japan and the Philippines was concluded in Manila, the Philippines on 9 May 1956. Japan agreed to pay $55,000 for reparations. This treaty was concluded with substantial U.S. mediation, as part of that country’s anti-Communist policy. Through this treaty, Japan and the Philippines achieved diplomatic normalization. After paying the reparations, Japan began official development assistance to the Philippines.

REVERE THE EMPEROR, EXPEL THE BARBARIAN (SONNÔ JÔI, IN JAPANESE). An often-used slogan to unite the disparate groups of anti-Tokugawa and anti-foreign samurai in the 1850s and 1860s. Ironically, many of those who fought under this slogan became officials in the Meiji government after 1868 and actively promoted foreign relations and Westernization. See also ANSEI TREATIES; II, NAOSUKE; MEIJI RESTORATION; NAMAMUGI INCIDENT; TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE.

REVERSE COURSE. The reverse course was a movement attempting to draw a halt to the democratic momentum generated in Japan after World War II and attempting to return to the militaristic Japan of the prewar era. The movement arose in the context of an intensifying Cold War atmosphere and it became especially prominent after the San Francisco Peace Treaty became effective.

After 1948, U.S. occupation policy toward Japan changed from emphasizing democratization and demilitarization to focusing on Japanese economic recovery, as well as on militarization as a member of the Western bloc. In August 1950, soon after the outbreak of the Korean War, General Douglas MacArthur ordered the Japanese government to establish the National Police Reserve. This precipitated Japanese remilitarization. After the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in September 1951 to gain independence, although Japan primarily depended on a U.S. military umbrella for its security, it nevertheless pursued gradual remilitarization despite the fact that Article Nine of the Japanese constitution renounced war and prohibited Japan from possessing any military power.

In education, on 14 November 1951, Teiyu Amano, minister of education in the third Shigeru Yoshida Cabinet, advocated the
teaching of “morals” as a school subject and he promoted “An Outline for National Moral Practice,” a postwar version of the Imperial Rescript on Education. The Yōmīuri Newspaper defined these proposals as the “reverse course” and published a series of articles from 2 November to 2 December 1951, which made this term popular. See also DEFENSE.

RICH NATION, STRONG ARMY (FUKOKU KYOHEI, in Japanese). A slogan and policy adopted by the early Meiji government meant to strengthen the economy and military forces for the purpose of maintaining Japan’s independence.

ROBERTS, EDMUND (1784–1836). Edmund Roberts was the first American sent by the United States government to attempt treaty negotiations with Japan. Sent on two missions to Asia, in 1832 and 1835, Roberts successfully negotiated treaties with Muscat (Oman) and Siam (Thailand). However, he died of cholera in Macao in 1836 and never reached Japan. Ten years later, Commodore James Biddle made the next attempt to establish formal relations between the United States and Japan. See also PERRY, MATTHEW C.

ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO (1882–1945). As president of the United States from 1933 until 1945, Franklin D. Roosevelt looms large in the 20th-century history of Japanese–American relations. Born into a patrician family in New York, he was educated at Groton, Harvard, and Columbia Law School. He served as assistant secretary of the navy in the administration of President Woodrow Wilson, in which capacity he established a “close and personal” friendship (his words) with the naval attaché to the Japanese embassy in Washington, Kichisaburō Nomura. He was the Democratic nominee for vice president in 1920. The following year, he was struck by polio myelitis, which crippled him for the remainder of his life. He was elected governor of New York in 1928; four years later, he defeated incumbent Herbert Hoover in the presidential election. His inaugural address, in which he addressed himself directly to the torpor of the Great Depression, has been quoted so many times as to appear almost redundant: “Let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.”
Summarizing Roosevelt’s presidency (he won reelection an unprecedented three times, serving until his death in April 1945) is fraught with difficulties. He left little in the way of written records, and he was (in)famously flexible and deceptive. His first term saw little in the way of foreign policy initiatives. It was characterized instead by the belief that foreign policy must play a secondary role until the domestic economic crisis was eased. As a result, many historians (most notably Robert Divine) have portrayed Roosevelt as an isolationist who painfully metamorphosed into an interventionist sometime after the Munich crisis of 1938.

Other historians have depicted Roosevelt as a fairly consistent internationalist (in his thought, if not always in his actions). After all, he reversed the policies of his predecessors when, in 1933, he established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union—purportedly for the purpose of fostering strategic cooperation against Japan. Following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, he delivered his so-called Quarantine Address, which amounted to an unsuccessful effort to prepare the American people for a greater role on the world stage.

Whether Roosevelt’s sympathies lay with the isolationists or the internationalists, there is no mistaking that his administration adopted an increasingly proactive stance following conclusion of the German–Japanese–Italian Tripartite Pact of September 1940. (This has itself given rise to historical controversy, with Charles Beard and the violently anti-British Charles Tansill blaming an ostensibly conspiratorial President Franklin D. Roosevelt for American intervention in the war.) Denouncing the Tripartite Pact as an “unholy alliance” that sought “to dominate and enslave the entire human race,” Roosevelt called on the American people to “support the nations defending themselves against the Axis.” Having, however, assigned priority to the defeat of Germany, and furthermore not in possession of a two-ocean navy, the Roosevelt administration until at least late November 1941 trod a delicate diplomatic line toward the Japanese. Whereas, on the one hand, there was an unmistakable display of firmness toward Japanese hegemonic pretensions, on the other, there was a determined effort not to shut the door on the possibility of conciliation should the Japanese dissociate themselves from Adolf Hitler and his brand of militaristic aggression.
Following Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt grappled tirelessly with both the military and the longer-range political problems that defined that conflict. Nonetheless, his ideas concerning post-surrender Japan—even in the dark days of early 1942 when Japanese forces overran the western Pacific, neither Roosevelt nor his advisers seriously contemplated the possibility of a Japanese victory in the Pacific—remain an unknown quantity. Certainly, he was an advocate of a “hard peace” for Germany, and there is every reason to believe that he envisioned nothing less for Japan. See also UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER; YALTA CONFERENCE.

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE (1858-1919). President of the United States from 1901 to 1909, Theodore Roosevelt was convinced that the Pacific Ocean represented the future for American policy and power. Despite his usually racist perspective, he held the Japanese in high esteem. Born into a wealthy New York family in 1858, Roosevelt graduated from Harvard University in 1880. He subsequently entered Columbia Law School, although he dropped out in 1881 to pursue a political career. President William McKinley appointed him assistant secretary of the navy in 1897. In this position, Roosevelt worked with McKinley to have the U.S. Asiatic Squadron attack the Spanish colony of the Philippines. An avid reader of the naval theorist Alfred Thayer Mahan—who, among other things, urged both the construction of a massive American fleet and the acquisition of naval bases in the Caribbean and Pacific—Roosevelt pushed vociferously for the annexation of the Philippines.

Included as McKinley’s running mate in the 1900 election, Roosevelt rose to the presidency in September 1901 following his boss’s assassination. He was elected president in his own right in 1904. In the realm of foreign affairs, Roosevelt sought a position of leadership for the United States in world affairs. Sea power held the key to his aspirations. At the same time, Roosevelt recognized the limits to his nation’s power and thus was not averse to diplomacy. Nowhere was this more visible than in his dealings with Japan.

Roosevelt viewed Japanese–American relations through the prism of the Far Eastern balance of power. Great Britain, Germany, Japan, Russia, and the United States all had interests in the region, most of which centered on China. Roosevelt was nonplussed by Russian designs in
China, and, for this reason, supported Japan throughout the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. At the same time, he did not desire the complete eradication of Russian power in the Far East precisely because he realized that nation’s ability to hold Japanese ambitions in check.

Roosevelt recognized the potential for Japanese–American friction in the post–Russo–Japanese War era. He sought to preempt this possibility by arranging for an agreement—the so-called Taft-Katsura Agreement of 1905—in which Tokyo acknowledged American control over the Philippines in exchange for Washington’s recognition of Tokyo’s right to rule the Korean peninsula. In the aftermath of the Russo–Japanese War, he confronted Japanese–American friction over both the immigration issue and China. He poured oil over these troubled waters with the Gentlemen’s Agreement and the Root-Takahira Agreement. He also recognized that the United States was not in a position to defend the Philippines in the event that the Japanese launched an attack on the colony, and ordered the U.S. Pacific base to be moved from Manila to Hawaii. See also PORTSMOUTH TREATY.

ROOT, ELIHU (1845–1937). A native of New York, Elihu Root served as both secretary of war (1899–1904) and secretary of state (1905–1909). He was a firm believer in the notion that Japan was a force for order in the Far East, and was never convinced—as he put it at the Washington Conference of 1921–1922—that China was a full-fledged member of the family of nations.

After a successful career in corporate law, Root in 1899 was appointed secretary of war by President William McKinley. He remained in the post under McKinley’s successor, Theodore Roosevelt, until 1905. His principal efforts as secretary of war were aimed at the institutional modernization of the United States Army, and he also maintained responsibility for the administrations in Cuba and the Philippines. Root replaced John Hay as secretary of state in July 1905, in which position he worked closely with President Roosevelt to steer the United States toward a cooperative Japan policy. The Gentlemen’s Agreement of February 1908 and the Root-Takahira Agreement of November 1908 represented his principal diplomatic achievements vis-à-vis Japan.
Root left the State Department in 1909, and was subsequently elected senator of New York state. A powerful Republican voice on foreign affairs, he worked with fellow Republican Senator Henry Cabot Lodge to draft reservations as conditions for Senate ratification of the Versailles Peace Treaty (see PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE). Wilson refused to bend, and so did the Senate. The United States signed a separate peace with Germany in 1921.

As an elder statesman, Root played an important role in the Washington Conference of 1921–1922. He drafted a statement of principles designed to tie Britain and Japan to a broad interpretation of the Open Door, or respect for the principles of China's territorial integrity and the equality of commercial opportunity in that country. Root refused to countenance, however, that American principles vis-à-vis China should poison the nation's relations with Japan, intimating to the Japanese delegation that the United States would not insist on any change in Japan's status in Manchuria.

ROOT–TAKAHIRA AGREEMENT (30 NOVEMBER 1908). On 30 November 1908, Secretary of State Elihu Root and ambassador Takahira Kogorō signed an agreement designed to dispel Japanese–American frictions that had intensified in the aftermath of the Russo–Japanese War. One source of friction—Californian discrimination against resident Japanese citizens—had been removed earlier in 1908 by means of the Gentlemen's Agreement. An equally important source of friction, however, remained: Tokyo's actions threatened to shut the Open Door in Manchuria. It was precisely this issue that the Root–Takahira Agreement sought to address.

By the agreement, the two nations agreed to respect each other's possessions and to maintain the status quo in the Pacific. They also affirmed the "independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire." At the same time, the agreement confirmed American recognition of Japan's possessions in Korea and Manchuria. This last provision—particularly as it pertained to Manchuria—seemed to depart from the two nations' declared commitment to the principle of equality of opportunity throughout China. Yet it is necessary to recognize—as did Root and President Theodore Roosevelt—that Washington was in no position to force the open door upon the
Japanese in Manchuria. Insofar as the Root–Takahira Agreement was concluded against the backdrop of the fait accompli of Japanese expansion into Manchuria, it represented an attempt to maintain the status quo in both the Pacific and in China.

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR (1904-1905). The Russo-Japanese War opened on 8 February 1904 when Japan launched a surprise attack against Russian naval forces at Port Arthur. Over the ensuing months, Russian forces were driven from Port Arthur and, in March 2005, from the Manchurian city of Mukden. Fighting effectively ended when, in May 1905, the Japanese navy annihilated Russia’s Baltic Fleet in the Straits of Tsushima.

The war was directly attributable to the two nations’ competing ambitions in Manchuria and Korea. The Russians had signaled their intentions in the aftermath of the Boxer Uprising of 1900 when they refused to withdraw their troops from Manchuria. They also sought to expand their influence on the Korean peninsula. For their part, Japanese governing circles were convinced that a foreign-dominated Korea would prove to be a dagger pointed at the heart of their nation. From July 1903, the two nations sought to negotiate their differences but these negotiations ended in naught.

The Russo-Japanese War carried with it obvious implications for Japanese-American relations. After all, United States President Theodore Roosevelt sponsored the Portsmouth Treaty (which formally ended the hostilities). Washington’s policy toward the region had hitherto rested on the twin assumptions of, first, the defense of the Philippines, and second, the promotion of trade in China (Open Door). Because Russia had positioned itself contrary to the Open Door, Washington welcomed Japan’s victories in the Russo-Japanese War. At the same time, however, Japan’s victories raised new questions. What was the extent of its own imperialist ambitions? Was it committed to the Open Door? Might it attack the Philippines? Could the United States defend the Philippines against Japanese attack? President Roosevelt grappled with all these issues both during and after the Russo-Japanese War, and his response can be seen in such diplomatic agreements as the Taft-Katsura Agreement, the Gentlemen’s Agreement, and the Root-Takahira Agreement.
Rutgers College. Originally established in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1766 as an affiliate of the Dutch Reformed Church, Rutgers became a state college of New Jersey. From the mid-1860s to 1880, approximately 40 Japanese students studied at Rutgers College or its affiliated high school—more than any other American university at the time. These early Japanese overseas students were initially encouraged by Rutgers alumni in Japan, such as Guido Verbeck, William Elliot Griffis, and Robert Pruyn. While more Japanese students attended colleges in New York and Boston by the end of the 19th century, and then colleges on the West Coast by the 20th century, Rutgers College and its long legacy with Japanese students and visitors. The William Elliot Griffis Collection of Rutgers Library’s Special Collections and University Archives is a major collection of 19th-century materials on Japanese students in America and Westerners in Japan during the Meiji Era. See also KUSAKABE, TARO; MATSUDAIRA, TADAATSU; MURRAY, DAVID.

Ryukyu Islands. See OKINAWA.

Saigo, Takamori (1827–1877). Samurai from Satsuma domain who led the pro-imperial military forces during the decisive battles near Kyoto and in Edo against the Tokugawa forces in early 1868. Saigo became the top general in the new Meiji government, but quit in 1873 after most of the rest of the Meiji leaders opposed his plan to invade Korea. In 1877, Saigo and some of his followers rebelled against the government in what is called the Satsuma Rebellion. The new conscript army of the Meiji government defeated Saigo, and he committed suicide. By the 1890s, however, Saigo was posthumously rehabilitated as an example of a principled Japanese warrior and a large statue of him (and his dog) was erected at the entrance to Ueno Park in central Tokyo. See also BOSHIN WAR; MEIJI RESTORATION; OKUBO, TOSHIMICHI.

Sakamoto, Ryoma (1835–1867). Samurai from Tosa domain, Sakamoto became a major figure in the anti-Tokugawa and pro
imperial movement. He worked with Katsu Kaishu in studying shipping and naval training, and later played a key role in negotiating an alliance between Satsuma and Choshu domains. His assassination by Tokugawa bakufu supporters in late 1867 motivated opposition to the Tokugawa government.

SAKOKU. Meaning “national isolation,” the maritime and overseas travel restrictions ordered by the Tokugawa shogunate in the 1630s became known as the sakoku policy. Although never absolute, sakoku restricted relations between Japan and Western countries for two centuries. According to sakoku policies, Japanese castaway sailors were not allowed to re-enter the country; the only Westerners allowed to live in Japan were Dutch traders who had to live on the small island of Dejima; and Japanese were forbidden from converting to Christianity. See also EXPULSION EDICT.

SAKUMA, SHOZAN (1811–1864). Samurai scholar from Matsushiro domain (Nagano), Sakuma was a Confucian scholar who also conducted experiments and studied Western scientific methods. He took part in making defense arrangements during Commodore Matthew Perry’s 1853 visit to Japan. He promoted the dualistic concept of “Eastern ethics, Western science”—a blending of Neo-Confucian ethical principles with knowledge of Western science, languages, and economics. Among his students and colleagues were Katsu Kaishu (Sakuma’s brother-in-law), Shoin Yoshida, Ryoma Sakamoto, and Shigeki Nishimura. While acting as a mediator between the imperial court and the Tokugawa shogunate in 1864, Sakuma was assassinated by anti-foreign samurai in Kyoto. See also MEIJI RESTORATION.

SAMURAI. See CLASS SYSTEM IN JAPAN.

SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY. After World War II, the San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed by Japan and 48 other countries on 8 September 1951. It became effective on 28 April 1952. Fifty-two countries (including Japan) participated in the conference, but the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia did not sign the treaty. India and Burma were so dissatisfied with the treaty that they did not attend the conference. China was a major player in the war with Japan, but
neither the People’s Republic of China nor the Republic of China (Taiwan) was invited to the conference. After the San Francisco Treaty, Japan made a separate peace treaty and other agreements with those who did not sign the San Francisco Peace Treaty. It concluded a peace treaty with Republic of China on 28 April 1952, India on 9 June 1952, and Burma on 5 November 1954. The Japan–Soviet Union Joint Declaration was signed on 19 October 1956. Japan made agreements on the resumption of diplomatic ties with Poland on 8 February 1957, Czechoslovakia on 13 February 1957, Indonesia on 20 January 1958, South Korea on 22 June 1965, and finally made the Sino–Japanese Joint Statement on 29 September 1972.

The San Francisco Peace Treaty consists of seven chapters with 27 articles, one protocol, and two declarations. Article One stipulates that the state of war between Japan and each of the Allied Powers is terminated when the Treaty comes into effect. Article Two stipulates that Japan recognizes the independence of Korea, renounces all rights, titles, and claims to Korea, Formosa, the Pescadores, and the Kurile Islands. Article Three stipulates that the United States would place Nansei Shoto south of 29 degrees north latitude, Nanpo Shoto south of Sofu Gan, and Parece Vela and Marcus Island under the United Nations’ trusteeship system with the United States as the only administering authority. Article Six indicates that although the Allied Powers’ occupation forces are to be withdrawn, the United States would be able to station its forces under its bilateral agreement with Japan. Immediately after signing the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan and the United States concluded the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty so that the U.S. forces would be able to continue to be stationed in Japan after the formal termination of the Allied Powers’ occupation of Japan.

SATO, EISAKU (1901–1975). Eisaku Sato was born in Yamaguchi Prefecture. Nobusuke Kishi was Sato’s elder brother. He became vice-minister of transportation in 1947. He served as prime minister for seven years and eight months, from 9 November 1964 to 7 July 1972, the longest serving prime minister in the post–World War II period in Japan. He was primarily responsible for achieving the restitution of the Ogasawara Islands and Okinawa from the United States back to Japan in 1968 and 1972, respectively. Afraid of the rise
of the anti-**U.S.-Japan Security Treaty** movement every 10 years when the Treaty came for renewal, the Sato administration decided to maintain the Treaty with automatic extension for one year every year without renewal or abolition of the Treaty. On 11 December 1967, at a meeting of the Lower House Budget Committee, Sato clearly stated for the first time the Japanese non-nuclear principles of not producing, not possessing, and not allowing the entry of nuclear weapons into the country. With the three non-nuclear principles, Sato decided to operate the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty. With his policies including the three non-nuclear principles, he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1974.

**SATSUMA DOMAIN (KAGOSHIMA PREFECTURE).** With its capital city at Kagoshima, Satsuma was a large, samurai-dominated domain led by the Shimazu clan. Satsuma adopted Western learning, manufacturing, and sciences—even before Commodore Matthew Perry arrived in Japan in 1853. In 1864, Satsuma began sending a few of its young samurai to England to study Western subjects. In addition to Satsuma’s long-standing trade relations with the **Ryukyu Islands** and China, American and British merchants began trading with the domain in the late 1850s independently of the control of the **Tokugawa shogunate**. After the **Kagoshima Bombardment** in 1863, Satsuma domain became even more determined to learn Western sciences—especially weaponry. A leader in the “**revere the emperor, expel the barbarian**” movement, many Satsuma leaders were more dedicated to overthrowing the Tokugawa shogunate than expelling Westerners.

After distancing themselves from **Aizu domain**—their nominal ally and Tokugawa supporter—Satsuma formed an alliance with **Choshu domain** in 1866 and together led the forces that overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate and restored the emperor to control over Japan in 1868. Satsuma’s forces, calling themselves the “imperial army,” then fought against Aizu domain and their allies in the **Boshin War**, forcing Aizu’s surrender in November 1868. As with Choshu domain, many Satsuma samurai became leaders in the Meiji government. In 1877, **Saigo Takamori**, a Satsuma samurai and former minister of the army in the Meiji government, led a failed uprising against the Meiji government known as the Satsuma Rebellion. In
1871, Satsuma domain was formally incorporated into the new prefectural system as Kagoshima Prefecture. In addition to its historical and political legacy, Satsuma/Kagoshima is well known for its ceramics and unique spoken dialect. See also MEIJI RESTORATION; OKUBO, TOSHIMICHI.

SCHNELL, JOHN HENRY. See WAKAMATSU COLONY.

SCIOTO. Under command of Captain William Reagan through an arrangement by American businessman Eugene Van Reed, the ship Scioto sailed from Yokohama on 17 May 1868 with 150 Japanese laborers aboard. On 19 June 1868, it arrived in Honolulu with a group of Japanese laborers known as Gannenmono. This was the first group of Japanese laborers in Hawaii, many of whom would remain on the islands for the rest of their lives, becoming the ancestors of Hawaii’s substantial Japanese ethnic population. See also IMMIGRATION.

SELF-DEFENSE FORCES LAW. The Self-Defense Forces Law, which became effective on 9 June 1954, stipulates the assignments of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF), the organization and alignment of the SDF’s military units, the permissible behaviors and authorities of the SDF, the status and classes of SDF members, and other things related to the SDF. Article seven clearly claims that the prime minister has supreme command and the regulatory authority to ensure the civilian control of the SDF. See also DEFENSE.

SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUÉ. This Sino–U.S. joint communiqué was announced on 28 February 1972 when President Richard Nixon visited the People’s Republic of China (PRC). At the beginning of the 1970s, the Soviet Union’s foreign policy became increasingly expansionist. President Nixon, who had been elected in 1969, reviewed U.S. policy toward the PRC and attempted to establish formal diplomatic relations. Henry Kissinger, Nixon’s national security adviser, made two secret trips to the PRC in July and October 1971. He conferred with Premier Zhou Enlai, then in charge of Chinese foreign policy under Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong, and prepared an amicable agreement between the two countries. On 15 July 1971,
President Nixon made a public announcement on television that Kissinger had gone to the PRC to talk with Premier Zhou Enlai, and Nixon accepted an invitation to visit the PRC. He actually visited from 21 to 28 February 1972. This was known as the “Nixon Shock.” It was especially surprising for Japan, a country that had had historically close contact with China, but had failed to establish a formal diplomatic relationship due to the strong U.S. pressure against this. This announcement was “shocking” in the sense that Washington had not consulted with Tokyo in advance—even though Japan had been a faithful ally of the United States.

In the Shanghai Communiqué, the treatment of Taiwan was a crucial issue. The U.S. government clearly declared: “The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position.” The Shanghai Communiqué marked the beginning of normalized relations between the United States and the PRC.

**SHANGHAI INCIDENT (1932).** Twice in the 1930s, large-scale fighting broke out between Chinese and Japanese forces in the port city of Shanghai. The first Shanghai Incident began in early 1932 and the second Shanghai Incident in late 1937. Because the second Shanghai Incident formed part of the wider China Incident (or Sino-Japanese War) that began in July 1937, this account concerns itself with the first incident alone.

As China’s northeastern provinces fell under Japanese control in the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident of September 1931, anti-Japanese demonstrations spread throughout China. Japanese concessions in the port city of Shanghai came under attack, and, in January 1932, Japanese nationals resident in Shanghai were attacked. One died as a result. It emerged in the postwar era that these attacks were plotted and effectuated by Japanese army major Ryūkichi Tanaka in an attempt to shift world attention away from Manchuria.

A Japanese naval brigade and China’s 19th Route Army clashed on 29 January 1932. The Japanese forces were hopelessly outnumbered and it was obvious that reinforcements were necessary. At the same time, Japanese policymakers were aware that an intensification of the incident directly threatened the livelihood and interests of the 14,000
British, American, French, and Italian residents in Shanghai. For this reason, the Navy General Staff worked on the premise that army forces were neither desirable nor necessary to conclude the incident. The Third Fleet was subsequently organized under the command of Vice Admiral Kichisaburō Nomura, who was respected within American naval circles.

For reasons of his own, Navy Minister Mineo Ōsumi ignored his service’s determination to resolve the incident without the army’s intervention and asked War Minister General Araki Sadao to dispatch troops. Subsequently, the forces under Nomura and army general Yoshinori Shirakawa’s command launched a crippling attack against their Chinese counterparts without at the same time threatening American, British, French, or Italian lives. Hostilities came to an end on 3 March. An armistice agreement was signed on 5 May by Japanese, Chinese, British, American, French, and Italian representatives.

SHIBUSAWA, EIICHI (1841–1931). Sometimes known as the “father of Japanese business,” Shibusawa supported the Tokugawa shogunate during its final years but was soon hired by the new Meiji government because of his knowledge of business and finance. Although he continued to work closely with the Meiji government, he left government service in 1873 to devote himself to private business. He helped establish well over 100 businesses during his career and was especially noted for adopting Western manufacturing and finance techniques. Shibusawa also strongly supported education and international knowledge. See also MEIJI ERA; ZAIBATSU.

SHIDEHARA, KIJÛRÔ (1872–1951). An immensely influential diplomat through the 1920s and early 1930s, Kijûrô Shidehara was known for his conciliatory policies toward the United States and China. He also reemerged briefly during Japan’s postwar occupation as prime minister.

After graduating from Tokyo Imperial University, Shidehara in 1896 entered the Foreign Ministry. In his early career, he served in China, London, and Antwerp. Between 1904 and 1914, he served in a variety of Foreign Ministry posts in Tokyo, during which time he was trained in the finer aspects of diplomacy by Foreign Ministry adviser Henry W. Denison. After a brief stint in the Netherlands, Shidehara
returned to Tokyo to assume the post of vice foreign minister. He re-

mained in that post through the cabinets of Shigenobu Ōkuma, Masatake Terauchi, and Takashi Hara. Ambassador to the United States from 1919 to 1922, he served as a member of Japan’s delega-

tion to the Washington Conference of 1921-1922. A perceptive ob-

server of the United States, he alerted Tokyo throughout the Washing-

ton Conference of America’s determination to bring an end to the diplomacy of imperialism.

As foreign minister from 1924 to 1927 and again from 1929 to 1931, Shidehara showed himself to be a consummate realist, always seeking to integrate his foreign policy objectives with the available means. Historians are generally agreed that the main characteristics of Shidehara’s foreign policy were non-intervention in the internal aff-

airs of China international (or great power) cooperation and eco-

nomic rationalism.

The arrival of the Great Depression spelled the end for Shidehara’s diplomacy. Powerful voices—most notably from within the army—charged that his policy of peaceful, economic expansion into China had failed. They advocated the adoption of more proactive measures, regardless of what these measures signified for the future of great power cooperation. His support for the naval limitation proposals put forth at the London Naval Conference of 1930, furthermore, caused powerful elements within the Navy to turn against him. The final nail in the coffin of his diplomacy came with the Manchurian Incident of 1931. Washington initially had faith in Shidehara’s ability to lo-

calize the fighting and bring a prompt end to the affair, but it soon be-

came obvious to all concerned that he was powerless in the face of the Kwantung Army’s intransigence.

SHIGEMITSU–DULLES MEETING. In 1955, Japanese Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu and U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles held a three-day meeting from 31 August to 2 September to discuss contemporary political events pertaining to East Asia and other regions of the world. Regarding East Asia, the two officials shared the same opinion: destabilizing factors remaining from World War II meant that the free world, or mainly Western countries, would have to continue to closely cooperate to maintain peace in the region. Shigemitsu indicated that Japan
was determined to take part in cooperating with the free world, led by the United States, a decision that became the core of Japan’s foreign policy for helping to preserve international peace. Shigemitsu and Dulles agreed that it would be necessary for the United States and Japan to foster closer cooperation and consultation with each other on a range of issues that were of common interest to the governments of both countries.

In regard to Japan’s national security, Shigemitsu and Dulles addressed certain basic issues. One issue was an argument by Shigemitsu that while Japan had managed to acquire substantial defensive capabilities since the end of World War II, any increase in its capabilities would have to be done incrementally because of domestic political and budget constraints. Shigemitsu outlined to Dulles plans by Japanese defense authorities for increasing Japan’s defensive military posture. The two officials agreed to examine these plans together, and they also jointly voiced the opinion that the U.S.–Japan security treaty existing at that time should be replaced by a treaty with enhanced bilateral features. Shigemitsu and Dulles also agreed in principle on two other points: the U.S. and Japanese governments should explore a gradual withdrawal of American ground forces from Japan as the latter increased its defense capabilities; and the desirability of a gradual decrease in Japan’s financial assistance to U.S. forces stationed in Japan over the next several years.

SHIMONOSEKI BOMBARDMENT (1864). Choshu domain leaders upset at the Tokugawa shogunate for not expelling foreigners, began attacking Western trade ships passing through the Shimonoseki Straits between Honshu and Kyushu Islands. In 1864, a force of naval ships from United States, France, Britain, and Holland attacked forts along the area, landed troops, and destroyed Choshu weapons. Choshu domain and the Tokugawa government signed a treaty, which included a substantial indemnity and trade concessions, with the Western powers. As with the Kagoshima bombardment in Satsuma one year earlier, Choshu domain turned its attention away from attacking foreigners and toward overthrowing the Tokugawa bakufu in the wake of the Shimonoseki bombardment. See also MEIJI RESTORATION.
SHINTO. Literally meaning “the way of the gods,” Shinto is recognized as Japan’s native religion, although it has similarities to ancient practices in Korea. It is a shamanistic, animistic religion of purity based upon worship of kami (gods or spirits) who inhabit nature. There are four main categories of Shinto: imperial Shinto, shrine Shinto, state Shinto, and folk Shinto. In Japan, Shinto often overlaps with Buddhism, and many Japanese consider themselves adherents of both. Shinto was regarded as enflaming Japanese nationalism and exercising militarism and was thus repressed by the American authorities just after World War II.

SHOGUN. Shogun is the shortened version of the title, sei i tai shogun, literally meaning “barbarian-expelling general.” Shogun was the title used by the commander of a military government of samurai, known as shogunate or bakufu. The shogun and his government were formally appointed by the emperor and nominally under the emperor’s command; but in reality it was the shogun and the bakufu government in command of the country until the Meiji Restoration in 1868. The first shogun was Yoritomo Minamoto (reigned 1192–1199), who established the Kamakura bakufu; the last shogun was Yoshinobu Tokugawa. See also CLASS SYSTEM IN JAPAN; TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE.

SHOGUN’S EMBASSY of 1860. The Tokugawa shogunate sent more than 70 officials and servants on an embassy to the United States in 1860 for the official purpose of ratifying the United States Treaty of Amity and Commerce negotiated by the American minister Townsend Harris and shogunate regent Naosuke Ii. In addition to meeting with President James Buchanan and other American officials, the embassy visited San Francisco; Washington, D.C.; Philadelphia; and New York. This was the first Japanese government overseas mission to a Western country. See also A BROADWAY PAGEANT.

SIBERIAN INTERVENTION. From July 1918, Japanese, American, British, and French troops advanced into Siberia. Hopelessly divided as to the purpose of the intervention, the allies—with the exception of Japan, whose troops remained until October 1922—withdraw their troops in early 1920.

In the immediate aftermath of Russia’s Bolshevik revolution of November 1917, the Japanese army saw an opportunity to extend Japan’s
influence into Manchuria and Russia’s Far Eastern provinces. In short, the Japanese army emphasized that the Bolshevik revolution afforded an opportunity to eliminate the Russian threat to Japan’s national security. The army moreover evinced a willingness to dispatch troops, regardless of the attitude of other nations. Although Foreign Minister Ichirō Motono supported the army’s stand, most policymakers in Tokyo emphasized the necessity of first gaining allied understanding.

Debate in Tokyo heightened after receipt of a British–French proposal for an allied intervention into Siberia. The army and Foreign Minister Motono remained proactive in their emphases on a move into Siberia, although various members of the powerful Advisory Council on Foreign Relations—including Takashi Hara and Nobuaki Makino—as well as Prime Minister Terauchi Masatake urged caution. Their major point of focus was the perceived need for American cooperation. Washington in March made clear its stance when it stated that intervention might arouse “hot resentment” in Russia. American attitudes turned, however, after Bolshevik forces clashed with some 60,000 Czech troops who had been fighting the Germans. So far as Tokyo was concerned, the issue was decided when, in July 1918, Washington proposed a joint intervention.

The allied troops’ ostensible purpose was to guard military supplies—which it was feared might fall into German hands—and to assist in the escape of the above-mentioned Czech troops. American troops, in reality, kept a close eye on their Japanese counterparts, whose numbers quickly swelled from 7,000 to 80,000. For their part, Japanese troops were motivated by the perceived need to halt the Far Eastern territorial gains of the Bolshevik regime. A significant step to this end was taken when, in May 1919, the Japanese government granted de facto recognition to the Aleksandr Kolchak regime in western Siberia. Even after that regime collapsed, Japanese troops continued fighting against the Soviet-sponsored Far Eastern Republic. In a conciliatory gesture to the United States, Tokyo withdrew its troops in 1922.

**SINO-JAPANESE WAR (1894–1895).** Once the internal Tonghak Rebellion in Korea grew too large for the Korean government to contain, both China and Japan sent in military forces to protect their nationals and their economic interests. Chinese and Japanese troops soon began
fighting against each other and declared war on each other. Fighting took place primarily in Korea and in the Manchurian province of China. Japan’s modernized forces defeated China’s ill-equipped forces. With the Shimonoseki Treaty, China was forced to pay a large indemnity, cede Taiwan to Japan, and allow several other Japanese economic and military concessions. With the Triple Intervention of Russia, Germany, and France, Japan was forced to give up one of the major gains from the Shimonoseki Treaty, the Liaotung Peninsula. See also ITO, HIROBUMI; MEIJI ERA; RUSSO–JAPANESE WAR.

SINO–JAPANESE WAR (1937–1945). The China Incident (Sino–Japanese War) raged for eight years, from 1937 until 1945. It started with a small skirmish on the Marco Polo Bridge (just west of Peking) on 7 July 1937. In the immediate aftermath of this skirmish, the cabinet of Prime Minister FUMIMARO KONOË was confronted with a choice: it could seek to force an armistice agreement by militarily chastising the Chinese, or it could adopt a conciliatory policy toward the Chinese and in so doing smooth Japan’s relations with the great powers. Konoe’s cabinet chose the former course, in the apparent belief that Chinese leader CHIANG KAI-SHEK would back down if confronted by a preponderance of force. This was the first in a litany of disastrous policy options that characterized Japanese efforts to end the China Incident.

By the end of 1938 most major cities in China had fallen into Japanese hands. Even so, Chiang Kai-shek’s refusal to surrender confronted Japan with a quandary of mammoth proportions. There was no conceivable end to the war, and Japan’s national strength was draining away in the quagmire. All the while, Japan’s reliance on the United States for precious resources—particularly oil—was increasing. Washington offered a timely reminder of this fact when, in July 1939, it announced its intention to abrogate the U.S.–JAPAN TREATY OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION.

In the hope of bringing an end to the China Incident, in March 1940, Japan helped establish a collaborationist regime in Nanjing. Headed by Wang Ching-wei, a prominent government official who had parted company with CHIANG KAI-SHEK and had chosen instead the path of cooperation with the Japanese, the establishment of the Nanjing regime did little to extricate Japan from China. Fighting continued, as did guerilla attacks within those regions under Japanese control. Japan’s re-
action to its inability to bring an end to the China Incident was curious: it widened its sphere of military activities. Japanese forces in September 1940 moved into northern Indochina, and the United States responded by slapping a virtual embargo on aviation gasoline, high-grade iron, and steel scrap. The fighting in China continued unabated; in July 1941, Japanese forces occupied the remainder of Indochina. For its part, Washington froze Japanese assets in the United States and established an embargo on oil.

The Japanese Government was by no means united, although significant voices—particularly within the army and navy—at this juncture began positing the inevitability of conflict with the United States. Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. This step ensured that Japan would never emerge victorious over China, for the enormous fighting capacity of Japan’s new enemy guaranteed that its attentions—and resources—were concentrated not on the continent, but in the Pacific. After Japan accepted the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, it formally surrendered to Chiang Kai-shek on 9 September 1945. See also SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUÉ.

**SOUTHWARD ADVANCE.** The term southward advance refers to Japan’s advance into the resource-rich colonial regions of Southeast Asia. Long considered the prerogative of the Japanese navy, for many years, it was conceived of as a peaceful, economically driven undertaking. All this changed as German armies in the summer of 1940 overran the region’s colonial masters in Western Europe.

The navy’s hawkish middle echelons began trumpeting the opportunity that German victories had given Japan to replace the European colonial powers in Southeast Asia. Of particular interest was the oil of the Dutch East Indies, which carried with it the tantalizing prospect of reducing the navy’s dependence on the United States. For reasons of its own, by mid-1940, the army had shelved its traditional emphasis on operations against northern China and the Soviet Union, and turned its attentions to a southward advance. Upon his assumption of the foreign minister’s post in July 1940, Yōsuke Matsuoka revealed his receptivity to this enthusiasm for a southward advance, stating that Japan should take “positive measures” to incorporate British, French, Dutch, and Portuguese colonies into Japan’s empire. By September 1940, Japanese troops had marched into northern Indochina. If Japanese policymakers
required any reminders that the United States provided the principal stumbling block to the southward advance, they got it when Washington responded to the advance into northern Indochina by slapping a virtual embargo on aviation gasoline, high-grade iron, and steel scrap.

Japan undertook no further advance to the south in the first half of 1941. In March the army and navy agreed that Japan should only progress peacefully, unless the Japanese empire’s self-existence and self-defense were at stake. When Adolf Hitler launched his assault against the Soviet Union in late June, however, attentions in Tokyo again turned to the southward advance. The navy was particularly vociferous. By late July, Japanese troops had occupied all of Indochina. Washington again responded, this time by freezing Japanese assets in the United States, embargoing oil, and cutting off negotiations with Japan’s ambassador, Kichisaburō Nomura. This placed the Japanese navy in a desperate situation. Without oil, its battleships could not move. It subsequently turned its attentions to securing the oil of the Dutch East Indies, even at risk of war with the United States. For its part, the army began pressing for a decision of war against the United States and Britain. The navy was trapped in its own circuitous reasoning: in order to prepare for war against the United States, it needed to secure the oil of the Dutch East Indies, which, in turn, made war against the United States inevitable. See also PEARL HARBOR.

**SOVIET–JAPANESE NEUTRALITY TREATY (1941).** The Soviet–Japanese Neutrality Treaty was part of Foreign Minister Yōsuke Matsuoka’s grand design for strengthening Japan’s hand at the negotiating table with the United States. Upon his assumption of the foreign minister’s post, Matsuoka negotiated the terms of the Japan–Germany–Italy **Tripartite Pact** in September 1940. At that time, he explained to his colleagues in Tokyo that the only course open to Japan in its dealings with the United States was to maintain a “firm stand.” In short, he sought to draw the Soviet Union into an expanded alliance network that was aimed ultimately at cowing the United States into its isolationist shell. This, in turn, he argued, would free Japan in its efforts to establish its hegemony over the greater part of East Asia. It was with such a diplomatic vision that Matsuoka departed for Europe in March 1941.

After a brief stopover in Moscow, during which he bored Joseph Stalin with his lectures on Japanese–Soviet compatibility, Matsuoka
proceeded to Berlin. For someone who prided himself on his sharp diplomatic mind, this segment of the trip should have revealed to Matsuoka the bankruptcy of the Tripartite Pact. Adolf Hitler, who was immersed in plans for an assault on the very nation that Matsuoka planned to bring into the Axis, refused to be drawn into Matsuoka’s idea of an expanded pact. Matsuoka, for his part, having been forbidden by the Imperial Army to make any binding commitments about Japanese contributions to the German subjugation of Great Britain, could not give Hitler the much-sought guarantee that Japan would invade Singapore. Then, in spite of the Germans’ implicit warnings of pending war with the Soviet Union, Matsuoka proceeded to Moscow and, on 13 April, signed a neutrality treaty with Stalin. Rather than creating an overwhelming anti–Anglo–American front, Matsuoka deepened the fissures that had appeared in Japan’s alliance with Germany, while in no way lessening Washington’s resolve to oppose the Axis alliance.

Following Pearl Harbor, the two nations maintained an uneasy neutrality until April 1945, when the Soviet Union announced that it would not renew its neutrality treaty with Japan. The Japanese government chose to ignore the writing on the wall and sought the Soviet Union’s aid in securing a favorable peace settlement from the Allies. Why the Soviet Union should turn its back on its alliance relationship with the United States and Great Britain to instead back the side that was obviously losing the war is a question that Tokyo never seriously contemplated. The truth hit home when the Soviet Union in August 1945 mauled Japanese forces in Manchuria, at the same time that the United States was launching the world’s first atomic bomb attacks against Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

SPANISH–AMERICAN WAR, 1898. War fought by United States military forces against Spanish military forces in Cuba and the Philippines. The outcome of the war marked the end of the Spanish overseas empire and the emergence of an American overseas empire. Spain was forced to give Cuba its freedom, while ceding the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico to the United States. Because of the geographic proximity of the Philippines to Japan, and with the near-simultaneous American annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, political tensions arose between the United States and Japan. See also HAWAII; MCKINLEY, WILLIAM, ROOSEVELT, THEODORE.
SPECIAL LEGISLATION CALLING FOR ASSISTANCE IN THE REBUILDING OF IRAQ. This legislation was enacted as a temporary statute with a four-year life span on 26 July 2003 in order to dispatch Self-Defense Forces (SDF) to Iraq to assist in rebuilding the country. It was promulgated and became effective on 1 August 2003. The legislation consists of 21 articles and a supplement to the law.

The dispatch of the SDF is based on UN Security Council resolution concerning assistance for rebuilding Iraq. The SDF has two primary responsibilities: humanitarian assistance for reconstruction activities, such as providing medical services and supplies, and providing logistic support for multinational armed forces stationed in the region. The Japanese government planned to dispatch government survey missions to Iraq immediately, and the Ground Self-Defense Force in October 2003; however, because of the danger, Tokyo had to postpone this.

Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi dispatched government survey missions and the SDF’s special survey missions to Iraq in September and November 2003, respectively. On 9 December 2003, the Koizumi administration passed the Humanitarian Relief and Iraqi Reconstruction Special Measures Law as a basic plan stipulating the terms of dispatch and the contents and scale of activities. Based on this legislation, the Defense Agency drew up an implementation outline of the framework for SDF deployment that was approved by Prime Minister Koizumi on 18 December 2003. Tokyo dispatched an advance group of the Air Self-Defense Force in December 2003 and the main unit of the Air Self-Defense Force in January 2004 to Samawa. They were known as the Japanese Iraq Reconstruction and Support Group. The term of dispatch was for one year from 15 December 2003 to 14 December 2004. The Koizumi administration extended the term for one year on 9 December 2004. In December 2005, the Koizumi administration extended the special legislation calling for assistance in the rebuilding of Iraq for another year. As Britain seriously considered withdrawing its armed forces from Iraq, Japan announced in January 2006 that it was considering similar action. On 22 March 2006, Prime Minister Koizumi claimed that Japan would decide when to withdraw the SDF from Iraq when it saw fit. See also DEFENSE.
STIMSON, HENRY (1867–1960). An old follower of Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Stimson conceived of international relations as governed by strict standards of moral principles and moral respect. From 1911 to 1913, Stimson served as Secretary of War in the administration of President William Howard Taft, in which capacity he reorganized and modernized the War Department. After the outbreak of World War I, he joined the army and served in France as an artillery officer. He was appointed governor of the Philippines in 1927, only to leave the islands after two years to take up a position as President Herbert Hoover's secretary of state. Hoover—who did not know Stimson well and approached him only after three other men had turned down the post—may well have regretted the decision, for the two men differed sharply over Far Eastern policy.

But this split was not immediately obvious. Stimson headed the American delegation to the London Naval Conference of 1930. He emerged impressed with the courage of the Japanese government for having pushed ahead with naval limitation in spite of the opposition of the Navy General Staff. He told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: “I take my hat off to the Japanese government in this treaty.”

Soon after the Manchurian Incident of September 1931, when the Japanese cabinet revealed itself more or less powerless to rein in its army, however, Stimson’s attitude toward Tokyo hardened. Viewing Japanese aggression as a threat to international peace, Stimson emerged as a foremost advocate of a policy of firmness toward the Japanese. This, in turn, put him at odds with President Hoover, who was determined to limit the nation’s foreign commitments. Hoover, nonetheless, agreed with Stimson that the United States should condemn Japan’s actions. Thus was born the Stimson Non-Recognition Doctrine. In identical notes to Japan and China on 7 January 1932, the American government refused to recognize any changes in China brought about by force and in violation of the Open Door policy. This remained a benchmark of American policy right through until Pearl Harbor.

After Franklin D. Roosevelt won the presidential election of 1933, Stimson practiced law. He remained in the public eye, however, with his public calls for a hardline policy toward Japan. Roosevelt then appointed him Secretary of War in July 1940. In this
position, he continued until Pearl Harbor to advocate a hardline policy toward Japan’s hegemonic aspirations. Toward the end of the war, he promoted the use of the atomic bomb. He also believed that Washington should assure Tokyo that surrender would not endanger the institution of the emperor. He resigned his post as Secretary of War in September 1945, soon after Japan’s surrender.

STONEWALL, CSS. Built by a French shipbuilding company and sold to the Confederate States of America in 1864, the ironclad ram CSS Stonewall arrived in the United States too late to help the Confederacy turn the tide in the American Civil War. The ship was sold by the United States government to the Tokugawa shogunate in 1867, but delivered to the new Meiji government after the fall of the Tokugawa government in early 1868. Under the name Kōtetsu (literally “ironclad”), the ship took part in the Battle of Hakodate in 1869, the last significant battle between the new Meiji imperial forces and supporters of the fallen Tokugawa government. Renamed Azuma, the former CSS Stonewall served in the Imperial Japanese Navy until 1888. See also BOSHIN WAR.

STRUCTURAL IMPEDIMENTS INITIATIVE (SII). During the U.S.–Japan summit meeting at the Arche Summit in July 1989 attended by U.S. President George H. W. Bush and Japanese Prime Minister Sosuke Uno, the two leaders formally decided to establish the Japan–U.S. Structural Impediments Initiative. The first Structural Impediments talks were held in Tokyo in September 1989, while later talks alternated between the two countries’ capitals until the initiative process ended in June 1990. Starting in the mid-1980s, new frictions in the Japan–U.S. economic and trade relationship began to surface. The problem areas were individual commodities, such as automobiles and semiconductors, and a structural trade imbalance arising from certain institutional and business practices. In July 1990, the final report of the Structural Impediments talks was issued.

The purpose of this was to supplement economic policy cooperation efforts for correcting foreign trade imbalances and to distinguish and solve structural impediments that had become barriers to adjusting trade and the balance of international payments between Japan and the United States.
Japan cited seven structural impediments in the American economy, including savings, investment patterns, corporate investment activities and productive power, and corporate behaviors. Japan not only pointed out the necessity of increasing individual savings rates and efforts to reduce fiscal deficit, but also suggested ideas for American corporations to recover their competitiveness. On the other hand, the United States indicated six structural impediments in the Japanese economy including savings and investment patterns, the product distribution system, and exclusive trade practices.

It is important to note that because both Japan and the United States recognized that contributing to solving foreign trade imbalance problems and developing smooth economic relations between Japan and the United States would be essential conditions for the world economy to achieve balanced growth, these countries decided to carry out the SII. In particular, it was epoch-making that the United States, which had often unilaterally passed the responsibility for trade friction to Japan, actually recognized that there were many structural impediments within the United States itself and it demonstrated its willingness to tackle the problems. The SII was not a negotiation, but an exchange of ideas to deal with structural impediments by friendly nations in various fields. See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.

SUPER 301 PROVISIONS OF THE OMNIBUS TRADE AND COMPETITIVE ACT OF 1988. The Super 301 provisions of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 were enacted into law by the United States in 1988. The law was created to help identify countries, categories of foreign businesses, and import items that were associated with unfair trading practices based on annual U.S. government surveys. If an unfair trading practice was discovered, the Super 301 law provided a grace period during which the U.S. government was to negotiate an end to the practice with the offending country. If an agreement could not be reached, the law allowed Washington to impose trade sanctions.

The Super 301 law was only valid for a short period. It expired in 1997, after being extended twice. However, through presidential order by President Bill Clinton on 1 April 1999, the Super 301 provisions were revived owing to new appearances of trade friction following the increase of the U.S. trade deficit and exteriorization of
downward trend in the U.S. economy. The Super 301 law passed by the U.S. Congress stipulated that after the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) wrote a report about trade barriers, it would have to enter into investigation of a specific country to break these barriers. However, the Super 301 revived under the presidential directive allowed only very limited time before picking the specific country. Moreover, because the revived Super 301 established a 90-day period for intensive negotiations, it was easier for the U.S. government to put pressure on the other country to liberalize its market. Other countries were highly critical of the revived Super 301, viewing it as a U.S. unilateral measure of trade sanctions that might be in violation of the World Trade Organization agreement. The earlier Super 301 was effective in opening up the Japanese market to imports of U.S. super computers and telecommunications equipment. The revived Super 301 further opened Japan’s market to imports of U.S. automobiles, automobile parts, insurance, and rice. See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.

SUZUKI, KANTARO (1867–1948). Kantaro Suzuki, full admiral, was prime minister of Japan from 7 April 1945 to 17 August 1945. Suzuki was born in Sakai, Osaka. He graduated from the naval academy and served in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. In 1923, he was promoted to full admiral. Suzuki intensified preparations to fight against the Allied forces on the mainland of Japan after the bloody battle in Okinawa. At the same time, he made every effort to end the war by negotiating with the Soviet Union with the ultimate purpose of maintaining Japan’s national polity. When the Allied powers announced the Potsdam Declaration, he was reported to say, “ignore it entirely” or “reject” the declaration. However, Suzuki meant to say, “I will not make any special comment.” The dropping of the atomic bombs and Soviet entry into the war compelled Japan to accept the Potsdam Declaration. In December 1945, Suzuki once again became president of the Council.

TAFT–KATSURA AGREEMENT (1905). The Taft–Katsura Agreement was a secret agreement negotiated in July 1905 by U.S. Secre-
tary of War William Howard Taft and Japanese Prime Minister Taro Katsura. By the terms of the agreement, Japan acknowledged American sovereignty in the Philippines. For its part, the United States promised its approval if Japan should find it necessary to assume control of the international relations of Korea.

United States President Theodore Roosevelt approved the agreement on 2 August 1905. As an executive agreement, it avoided potentially raucous ratification debates in the U.S. Senate. Concluded before Japanese and Russian delegates met to negotiate the terms of the Portsmouth Treaty (which brought a formal end to the Russo-Japanese War), the Taft–Katsura Agreement should be seen within the larger context of a Japanese–American effort to prevent a clash between their growing empires. The agreement formed the basis of the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908, which reaffirmed American and Japanese commitments to respect each other’s possessions in Asia.

TERASHIMA, MUNENORI (1832–1893). From Satsuma domain. Terashima studied Western languages and medicine, and was one of several Satsuma samurai sent to study in England in 1865. After returning to Japan, Terashima became the minister of foreign affairs in the new Meiji government and thereafter served in several foreign affairs-related posts. See also MEIJI ERA.

TÔGÔ, SHIGENORI (1882–1950). Shigenori Tôgô was a career diplomat who held the post of foreign minister at the time of both Pearl Harbor and Japan’s surrender. A graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, he entered the Foreign Ministry in 1912. His first post was to Mukden, the center of Japanese activities in Manchuria. During the war, he was posted to Switzerland, before serving as a member of Japan’s delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. In the early post-World War I era, Tôgô was posted to Berlin. He returned to Tokyo in 1921, and after working for recognition of the Soviet government, he was posted to the United States in 1925. After a brief subsequent stint in Germany, Tôgô again returned to Tokyo in 1933. He worked closely with Foreign Minister Kôki Hirota, and in 1937, was posted as ambassador to Germany. Soon thereafter, he was transferred to Moscow, at which post it fell upon him to negotiate an end to the Battle of Nomonhan.
Recalled from the Soviet Union by Foreign Minister Yōsuke Matsuoka in August 1940, Tōgō in October 1941 was appointed foreign minister in the cabinet of Prime Minister Hideki Tōjō. His primary task upon assumption of the foreign minister’s post was unraveling the deadlocked Japanese-American negotiations, to which end he contributed little, sending the so-called Plans A and B to ambassadors Kichisaburō Nomura and Kurusu Saburō in November 1941.

After Japanese forces attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Tōgō directed his subordinates in the Foreign Ministry to direct all their energies toward an early negotiated peace. A negotiated peace, however, rested on the assumption that the United States was willing to negotiate, which it patently was not. Tōgō resigned his post later in 1942 to protest the creation of the Greater East Asian Ministry.

Again appointed foreign minister in April 1945 in the cabinet of Prime Minister Kantarō Suzuki, Tōgō masterminded an approach to the Soviet Union in an effort to secure a favorable peace settlement from the United States. The Soviets remained noncommittal, and on 26 July the United States, Great Britain, and China issued the Potsdam Declaration. Tōgō only came into his own after the American atomic bomb attack against Hiroshima on 6 August, when he moved decisively to bring an end to the war.

Tōjō, Hideki (1884–1948). Japan’s prime minister at the time of Japan’s attack against Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Hideki Tōjō was an incisive, quick-tempered army general who in the postwar era was executed as a Class-A war criminal. The son of a lieutenant-general, Tōjō graduated from the army’s War College in 1915. He spent several years in Switzerland and Germany from the late 1910s to the early 1920s, and subsequently held various important posts in Manchuria (including chief of staff of Japan’s forces stationed there). He returned to Japan in 1938 to serve as vice war minister, and in July 1940 was appointed war minister in the second cabinet of Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe. In October 1941, Tōjō precipitated the collapse of Konoe’s third cabinet by arguing against the possibility of conciliation with the United States. Insofar as he refused to consent to the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China, Tōjō was consistent in his arguments.
Whatever the case, Tōjō was appointed Konoe’s successor as prime minister. Directed by the emperor to seek diplomatic rapprochement with the United States, Tōjō led his cabinet in early November to the decision whereby it would carry on negotiations with the United States while at the same time preparing for war. It should be noted, however, that the terms for diplomatic rapprochement that Tōjō’s cabinet agreed upon offered next to no hope of a diplomatic breakthrough with Washington.

The Tōjō cabinet entered war against the United States, Great Britain, and the Dutch in the belief that Germany would emerge victorious over the British. Japan would facilitate this by knocking Britain out of Southeast Asia. In the meantime, it would force the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek’s regime and simultaneously build an East Asian sphere impregnable to American counterattack. In this way, the Tōjō cabinet hoped to bring an isolated and dispirited United States to the negotiating table. This scenario never eventuated, and, by July 1944, Japan had suffered enough setbacks in the war to force Tōjō’s surrender. Arrested soon after the war’s end as a war criminal, he accepted responsibility for his government’s actions during the war and was hanged in December 1948. See also INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST; WORLD WAR II.

**TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE.** The Tokugawa “military government” (bākufu), headed by a shogun from one of three Tokugawa family branches, was established in 1600 and lasted until 1868. Although formally appointed by the emperor, the Tokugawa shogunate was the dominant government in Japan, primarily because its samurai armies could be called upon to meet any challenge and put down any rebellion. Any challenge to shogunate authority usually meant death for the challenger. Individual daimyō (lord) who followed shogunate rules and were not suspected of disloyalty were allowed to rule their provinces with relative autonomy. In the 1850s, however, strong individual daimyō with significant numbers of samurai, and the imperial house challenged Tokugawa rule, leading to the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate and transfer of power from the last shogun to the emperor in 1868. See also AIZU DOMAIN; CHOSHU DOMAIN; CLASS SYSTEM IN JAPAN; DUTCH LEARNING (RANGAKU, IN JAPANESE); EDO; SATSUMA DOMAIN.
TOKUGAWA, YOSHINOBU (ALSO KNOWN AS KEIKI HITOTSUBASHI, 1837–1913). The 15th and last shogun of Japan, he reigned for only two years, 1866–1867, but played a major role in the Tokugawa shogunate government for several years before he ascended to the position of shogun. He formally gave up his powers to the imperial house in late 1867, but his supporters fought against the anti-Tokugawa forces led by Satsuma and Choshu domains for another year. He was declared an enemy of the state in 1868, and then pardoned the following year. Although admired by many Japanese, he played no role in political affairs after 1868. See also BOSHIN WAR; MEIJI RESTORATION.

TOKYO FIREBOMBING (9–10 March 1945). The largest and most deadly firebombing raid launched by American military forces during World War II killed more than 100,000 people in Tokyo. During the final months of the war, American B-29 bombers struck Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe, Sendai, and several other cities with either firebombs (incendiary bombs) or conventional bombs. See also ATOMIC BOMBINGS; PACIFIC WAR; WORLD WAR II.

TOSHIBA MACHINE INCIDENT. On 27 May 1987, the Japanese police arrested two senior executives from Toshiba Machine Co. The two had been in charge of designing and exporting strategically sensitive products to the Soviet Union: Toshiba Machine Co.’s four nine-axis and four five-axis milling machines in 1982–1984 and 1984, respectively, in violation of the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM). The United States complained that the machines were used to make improved propellers for Soviet submarines that made them quieter and harder to detect. However, information disclosed after the collapse of the Soviet Union revealed that this was a false accusation. The Soviet Union had just improved its nuclear-powered submarines to absorb noises. This incident developed into a major diplomatic row, resulting in a U.S. ban of Toshiba, the parent company of Toshiba Machine Co., exports to the United States. This harsh sanction was partly a consequence of U.S.-Japan trade conflicts that had arisen in the 1970s. U.S. criticism of Japan escalated. In order to deal with this crisis, Tokyo promised to strengthen domestic laws concerning the COCOM regula-

**TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA (TREATY OF TAIPEI).** The Treaty of Peace between Japan and Republic of China (ROC) was designed to terminate the war status between Japan and ROC. It was signed in Taipei on 28 April 1952, and became effective on 5 August of the same year. Major clauses of this treaty include Japan’s abandonment of territorial rights over Taiwan, assurance of making efforts to conclude trade and fishing agreements, and establishment of a peaceful and friendly relationship between the two countries. When sex slaves for Japanese soldiers demanded compensation, the Tokyo District Court handed down a judgment that because of the Treaty of Peace between Japan and ROC, Taiwan had relinquished its right to request reparation. This treaty was approved by the United States, which used ROC as part of its efforts to contain the People’s Republic of China during the Cold War. See also YOSHIDA LETTER.

**TREATY REVISION.** From its reluctant acceptance of the Ansei Treaties of 1858, which Japan regarded as “the unequal treaties,” a primary diplomatic goal of the Tokugawa shogunate and then the Meiji government was to revise these treaties on a more equitable basis. The Iwakura Mission and other diplomatic missions sent by the Japanese government failed to substantially revise the Ansei Treaties with Western countries until the 1890s. See also MEIJI ERA; MEIJI RESTORATION; MUTSU, MUNEMITSU.

**TRILATERAL COMMISSION.** The Trilateral Commission is a private, non-profit policy consultative group advocated by David Rockefeller, chief executive officer of the Chase Manhattan Bank, established in 1973 by prominent leaders in the private sectors in Japan, North America, and Europe. The commission carried out joint research and discussions about domestic and international problems common to advanced countries such as macroeconomic policy, international trade, financial problems, politics and security issues, energy and science and technology issues. Members also made efforts to deepen their common understanding and make policy recommendations to governments and
leaders in the private sector. Contributions from foundations and member corporations form the financial basis of the commission.

Each region has its own commission, and the general assembly is jointly operated by these three commissions. The general assembly is held in each region in turn once a year. During the three-day session, there are seminars on the political and economic conditions in the three regions, reports and discussion of joint policy research by task forces, panel discussions on current affairs, public lectures by opinion leaders outside the three regions, and exchanges of opinions with government officials of the host country. The contents are compiled in a report and research papers are published as part of the “Triangle Papers” series. Because of changes in the international situation and the development of globalization, central European countries began to join the Europe sector after the mid-1990s, Mexico joined North America in 2000, and the Japan group was expanded to the Pacific Asian group and Asian countries other than Japan joined this region after 2000.

The headquarters of the Pacific Asian group are located in the Japan Center for International Exchange, and Yotaro Kobayashi, Chairman of the Board, Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd., serves as its chairman. The European group, including members from Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Cyprus, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, has a ceiling of 150 members. The ceiling for the North American group is 110, including 15 Canadian members, 10 Mexican members, and 85 U.S. members.

In 2000, the Japanese group of 85 members was expanded to become a Pacific Asian group of 117 members, and includes 75 members from Japan, 11 members from Korea, 7 from Australia and New Zealand, and 15 from the original five Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) members (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand). The new Pacific Asian group also includes participants from the People’s Republic of China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

TRIPARTITE PACT. The Tripartite Pact signed by Germany, Japan, and Italy on 27 September 1940 was by any standard one of the greatest failures in Japanese diplomacy. Long desired by the Imperial
Japanese Army—and long opposed by the Imperial Japanese Navy—the pact in the end result was the brainchild of Foreign Minister Yōsuke Matsuoka. Upon his assumption of the foreign ministership in July 1940, Matsuoka found in the services a congenial audience when he spoke with confidence of Germany’s ultimate victory in Europe. Matsuoka argued that tying Japan’s fortunes to Germany made sense because that nation’s war had rendered the European colonial regions of Southeast Asia ripe for Japan’s picking. Furthermore, the prospect of incorporating the Soviet Union into the Tripartite Pact—the Soviets were after all signatory to a non-aggression pact with Germany—held out the possibility of freeing the Japanese army from its long-standing preoccupation with the threat of the Red Army. This could only serve to heighten enthusiasm for Japan’s advance into resource-rich Southeast Asia.

According to Matsuoka’s diplomatic vision, there was but one remaining obstacle to Japan’s pursuit of empire: the United States. Through the Tripartite Pact, Matsuoka aimed to overcome that obstacle by adhering to his self-professed “firm stand” toward that nation. Witness Article Three of the Pact, which committed the signatories to “assist one another with all political, economic, and military means when one of the three contracting parties is attacked by a power at present not involved in the European War or the Sino-Japanese conflict.” This was, as President of the Privy Council Hara Yoshimichi noted, “a treaty of alliance with the United States as its target.” By presenting the United States with the threat of war against an overwhelming anti-democratic front—which, once the Soviet Union had been brought into the fold, would stretch across the Eurasian continent—Matsuoka hoped to cow the United States back into its isolationist shell. With the United States out of the way, Japan would be free to undertake its southward advance.

The Tripartite Pact was a failure for many reasons. Far from breaking Washington’s resolve, it steeled it. In threatening the United States with the use of force, it did not account for the fact that the force Japan could muster was merely a fraction of that which the United States possessed and Japan’s alliance partners were in no way able to make up for that shortfall. It pushed Japan—now allied militarily to America’s proxy enemy in Europe—perilously close to an unwinnable war with the United States. Finally, Matsuoka’s dream of
drawing the Soviet Union into the fold was never anything more than a dream. See also SOVIET–JAPANESE NEUTRALITY TREATY.

TRIPLE INTERVENTION. Soon after Japan and China signed the Shimonoseki Treaty ending the Sino–Japanese War of 1894–1895, Russia, France, and Germany demanded that Japan restore the Liaotung Peninsula to Chinese sovereignty. Russia, which wanted the Liaotung Peninsula for its own railway and imperial interests, led the Triple Intervention challenge. Appealing in vain for American and British support, Japan reluctantly handed the Liaotung Peninsula back to China, which soon turned over its administration to Russia. The humiliating Triple Intervention of 1895 was a major reason Japan fought—and won—the Russo–Japan War of 1904–1905.

TSUDA, UMEKO (1865–1929). Daughter of progressive scholar Sen Tsuda, Umeko Tsuda was one of five Japanese girls chosen to accompany the Iwakura Mission in 1871 and live in the United States. She lived with the family of Charles and Adeline Lanman, and attended school in the Washington, D.C., area until returning to Japan in 1882. In 1889, she entered Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, majored in biology, and graduated in 1892. Tsuda was the third Japanese woman to attend an American college, and the second to graduate. After teaching at the elite Peeress’s School in Tokyo for several years, Tsuda established her own college in Tokyo in 1900, the Girls English School. Despite the name, the Girls English School adopted a “whole education” program for Japanese women and later changed its name to Tsuda College. Because of significant interest of young Japanese women in obtaining higher education, the college grew to include undergraduate and graduate programs in the many of the arts and sciences, and celebrated its centennial anniversary in 2000. Tsuda College is the best-known women’s college in Japan, and Umeko Tsuda was the foremost promoter of women’s education in the late 19th and early 20th century. See also JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS, 1915. Japanese Foreign Minister Takaaki Katō in January 1915 handed the so-called Twenty-One Demands to Chinese President Yuan Shih-kai. A brash attempt to bring
China under Japanese control, the Twenty-One Demands incurred not only the wrath of Chinese nationalism, but also the displeasure of the United States. By the demands, Japan would acquire all German rights in the Shantung peninsula; receive vast concessions in South Manchuria and Inner Mongolia; control a rich iron and coal company in central China; and obtain essential control of Fukien province. The final set of demands, which were only added after it was realized that negotiations were in the offing, included a provision for the employment of Japanese political, financial, and military advisers by the Chinese government. This is last set of demands, in particular, would have resulted in substantial infringements on Chinese sovereignty. By May 1915, the Japanese government dropped the last of these demands, and the Yuan government signed a series of treaties incorporating the remaining demands.

One of the last surviving genrō, Aritomo Yamagata, was opposed to this policy, questioning whether it would promote Sino–Japanese relations and fearing that it might incur the wrath of the great naval powers. He was right on both counts. Virulent anti-Japanese sentiment was aroused in China, and this was harmful to Japanese trade with that country. Moreover, the reaction of the United States—which, unlike Britain, was not wholly engaged in defeating the Germans in Europe and thus was in a position to do something about Japan’s frankly expansionist maneuvering in China—confirmed Yamagata’s fears of a great naval power response. Lodging a strong protest, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan warned the Japanese that the United States would not recognize any actions that “violated Chinese sovereignty.” Although this protest was not backed by the threat of force, it was enough to force Katō to drop the most extreme of his original demands. In the longer term, the Twenty-One Demands left many Americans with a fundamental distrust of Japanese objectives in China.

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UCHIMURA, KANZO (1861–1930). He studied at the Sapporo Agricultural College (now known as Hokkaido University) and became a Christian, along with Inazo Nitobe. From 1884 to 1888, Uchimura
lived and studied in the United States. Upon his return to Japan, he took up teaching, but his refusal to acknowledge the “Imperial Rescript on Education” and bow before portraits of the Emperor Meiji led to his removal from teaching positions. Uchimura also founded a new Christian movement called Mukyōkai, literally “without church,” and began publishing Christian magazines. He took up writing autobiographical and religious works, some in Japanese and some in English, for the remainder of his life. See also CHRISTIANITY; NIIJIMA, JO.

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER. Unconditional surrender was the overarching military objective of the United States in its war against Japan. Enunciated by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Casablanca Conference of January 1943, it also went a long way toward setting the parameters of the postwar peace. To borrow the words of a State Department official, the pursuit of Japan’s “unconditional surrender” suggested that America’s goal was not only to defeat that nation militarily, but also “to render it incapable of renewed aggression and at the same time to eliminate the various factors, whether economic, social, or political, upon which this aggressive spirit has thrived.” Debate within the United States government revolved around the means that would best facilitate such an end.

Protagonists in the debate regarding the unconditional surrender policy as it applied to Japan offered two widely divergent visions. On the one hand, there arose a concept of a harsh peace. It stressed the adoption of extremely restrictive measures so as to preclude the possibility that Japan might again threaten the peace. On the other, there were those who advocated a soft peace for Japan. Animated by the basic belief that vindictive postwar punishment would most likely result in renewed Japanese militaristic adventures, this vision looked instead to those Japanese who had pursued cooperative relations with the United States in the pre–Pearl Harbor era to again lead Japan in the aftermath of World War II.

Over the course of the war, the advocates of a soft peace gained the ascendancy in this debate. They suffered various setbacks, however, as evidenced most significantly by their failure to have included in the Potsdam Declaration an assurance of the continuation of the institution of the Japanese emperor. The debate over a soft or harsh
peace toward Japan—or the debate over the fundamental meaning of unconditional surrender—remained unresolved even as Japan’s post-war occupation got underway. See also SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS (SCAP).

Unequal Treaties. See ANSEI TREATIES.

U.S.-JAPAN CONFERENCE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL INTERCHANGE (CULCON). The U.S.—Japan Conference on Cultural and Educational Interchange was established in 1961 by an agreement made at a summit meeting between Japanese Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda and U.S. President John F. Kennedy. The Conference’s primary purposes are: to discuss various problems concerning cultural and educational exchange programs between Japan and the United States by assembling Japanese and American persons of learning; to provide recommendations to the Japanese and U.S. governments; to increase exchange programs in cultural and educational fields and to improve mutual understanding. The first Japan–U.S. joint conference was held in Tokyo in January 1962. Since then, a joint conference has been held every two years in Tokyo and Washington, D.C., in turn.

In 1968, the Japanese and U.S. governments exchanged official notes to establish a joint committee that regularly examines Japan–U.S. cultural and educational problems and that indicates the implications of CULCON’s proposals and recommendations. At the 15th committee held in 1991, it adopted a resolution entitled “Towards a Stronger CULCON” in order to further revitalize CULCON’s activities. The committee agreed to establish an ad hoc task force to deal with specific problems and a permanent secretariat at the Japan Foundation. The Japanese secretariat is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japan Foundation. As for the United States, the Japan–U.S. Friendship Commission serves as permanent secretariat. The U.S. secretariat is funded by the Department of Education.

In order to prepare the joint meetings and to follow up their proposals consistently, two panels, one for each country, consisting of 12 members, representatives of government, the business world, academic circles, and many other walks of life has been established in both Japan and the United States. Moreover, in order to implement
CULCON’s recommendations and proposals, a joint Japan–U.S. working group has been established whenever needed.

U.S.-JAPAN FRAMEWORK TALKS ON BILATERAL TRADE.
These bilateral trade talks are an extension of the Structural Impediments Initiative (SII). In April 1993, President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa decided to establish them at the summit. These talks have three major pillars: sectoral negotiations, macro economy issues, and global issues. During the negotiations, the United States consistently argued that Japan imported less American manufacturing goods because Japan was different and its market was very closed. Consequently, it demanded Japan’s expansion of imports by setting numerical targets. Japan opposed this idea because it might lead to controlled trade and would destroy the liberal trade system. After heated negotiations, by June 1995, Washington and Tokyo made agreements on three priority sectors: insurance, government procurement, and automobile/automobile parts.

U.S.-JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS. The United States and Japan experienced trade friction primarily because of increased exports from Japan to the United States. After World War II, under tutelage of the United States, Japan made great efforts toward economic recovery. The U.S. market was the lifeblood for Japan’s postwar recovery. Japan’s exports of textiles, silverware, and other miscellaneous goods rapidly increased. In this period, textiles were Japan’s largest-volume export item, and a flood of cheap Japanese cotton goods did great damage to the American textile industry, precipitating a Japanese voluntary export restraint in January 1956. The United States had a favorable trade balance with Japan until 1964, but since then, it has generally run a trade deficit. In the late 1960s, Japan’s exports of cotton, wool, and synthetic fiber products to the United States rose to the surface as the first instance of trade friction. In January 1972, the Japan-U.S. Textile Agreement was concluded based on the Multi Fiber Agreement (textile trade).

Between the late 1970s and early 1980s, Japan’s exports of steel, color TVs, machine tools, and automobiles became major targets for trade friction with the United States. In 1969, a three-year agreement was signed to set up a voluntary export restraint on Japan, and this
was extended through 1974. In September 1977, a dumping suit was filed against Japanese steel producers. The Japanese producers were ready to carry out voluntary export restraint; however, Washington introduced a price-trigger mechanism in 1978: when steel prices fell below the standard prices, dumping investigations were automatically initiated.

In 1968 and between 1970 and 1977, a series of dumping suits were filed against Japanese color television manufacturers. In May 1977, Tokyo concluded an orderly marketing agreement with Washington to pledge a three-year period of voluntary export restraint on Japanese manufacturers.

Japan occupied 9.3 percent of U.S. automobile market share in 1976, but this had jumped drastically to 21.3 percent by 1980. Both the private sector and U.S. Congress demanded import relief or a market-share agreement with Japan. In May 1981, Tokyo concluded with Washington a three-year voluntary export restraint on automobiles and renewed this later. The restrictions were set at 2.3 million vehicles per year in April 1985. Many Japanese automakers moved their manufacturing base to the United States, which resulted in reducing Japan’s exports of automobiles. In 1994, Tokyo eliminated its voluntary export restraint on automobiles.

In the late 1970s, Washington focused not only on Japan’s exports but also on the closed nature of Japan’s domestic market that prevented the United States from increasing its exports to Japan. In January 1978, due to strong U.S. demand, Japan expanded its import quotas for beef, grapefruit, and fruit juice.

In January 1985, Tokyo and Washington started Market-Oriented Sector Selective talks (MOSS). The first round covered four sectors: telecommunications, electronics, pharmaceuticals and medical equipment, and forestry products. Transportation equipment was added to the MOSS agenda in the second round in 1986.

In September 1986, the Japan–U.S. Semiconductor Agreement was concluded in order to prevent Japanese dumping in the U.S. market and to increase the share of foreign semiconductors in the Japanese market. Dissatisfied with the lack of visible results, in March 1987, Washington resorted to sanctions against Japan.

In April 1988, the Super 301 provisions of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 were enacted by the United States. The
Super 301 authorized the United States to impose sanctions when negotiations fail. With the **Super 301** in hand, Washington focused on three sectors to open their markets: supercomputers, satellites, and wood products; however, Tokyo did not agree to further negotiations.

The U.S. trade deficit with Japan increased rapidly from 1981 to 1987, when it peaked at $52.1 billion. Consequently, not only specific trade items but also Japanese business practices and administration became serious issues. Trade friction gradually turned into economic friction between Tokyo and Washington. Between September 1989 and June 1990, the Japan–U.S. **Structural Impediments Initiative (SII)** was held to discuss the domestic structural problems of both countries in order to resolve the Japan–U.S. trade imbalance. Because the Super 301 did not cover structural impediments in the Japanese market, these were discussed separately at the SII.

The U.S. trade deficit began declining in 1988, but it rose again in the 1991 to 1994 period. In July 1993, succeeding the SII, the **U.S.–Japan Framework Talks for a New Economic Partnership** on bilateral trade were started to discuss not only each trade item but also a wide range of subjects, such as macroeconomic problems, development of human resources, and environment issues. In the sectoral consultation, Tokyo and Washington decided to focus on three sectors: government procurement, insurance, and automobile parts. Washington strongly demanded the setting up numerical targets, while Tokyo consistently opposed this because it would ruin the free-trade principle. Finally, in October 1994, a consensus was reached in principle on government procurement and insurance. In June 1995, the two countries concluded another agreement on automobile parts without numerical targets.

U.S. trade deficit with Japan dropped in the mid-1990s, which eased trade friction between the two countries. In the late 1990s, the American economy continued in prosperity while Japan suffered from a long-term economic slump. Moreover, the World Trade Organization (WTO) tended to deal with trade-related conflicts, but there was no significant trade friction between Tokyo and Washington. In June 2001, President George Bush and Prime Minister **Junichiro Koizumi** agreed to start the **Japan–U.S. Economic Partnership for Growth**, which aims to promote sustainable growth in the United States, Japan, and the world through their close dialogue and cooperation. See also FOREIGN EXCHANGE ALLOCATION SYSTEM; FOREIGN EXCHANGE SPE-
CIAL QUOTA SYSTEM; JAPAN–AMERICAN TRADE ARBITRATION AGREEMENT; JAPAN–U.S. COTTON PRODUCTS TRADE AGREEMENT; JAPAN–U.S. FRIENDSHIP COMMERCE NAVIGATION TREATY; JAPAN–U.S. SEMICONDUCTOR AGREEMENT; JAPAN–U.S. SURPLUS AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES AGREEMENT; JAPAN–U.S. TEXTILE AGREEMENT; JOINT STATEMENT ON THE JAPAN–UNITED STATES FRAMEWORK FOR A NEW ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP; JOINT U.S.–JAPAN COMMITTEE ON TRADE AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS; MAEKAWA REPORTS; MORISON INCIDENT; ORDERLY MARKETING AGREEMENT; STRUCTURAL IMPEDIMENTS INITIATIVE (SII); SUPER 301 PROVISIONS OF THE OMNIBUS TRADE AND COMPETITIVE ACT OF 1988; U.S.–JAPAN YEN DOLLAR COMMITTEE; VOLUNTARY EXPORT RESTRAINT.

**U.S.-JAPAN TREATY OF AMITY AND COMMERCE.** Sometimes called the “Harris Treaty,” this treaty negotiated by Townsend Harris and Naosuke Ii was the first of the Ansei Treaties between Japan and Western countries in 1858. Trading rights, opening of ports to trade and Western residents, and extraterritoriality provisions of the U.S–Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce and the other Ansei Treaties caused significant tensions between the Tokugawa shogunate in Edo, represented by Naosuke Ii, and the imperial house in Kyoto, which refused to ratify the treaties. See also MEIJI RESTORATION; REVERE THE EMPEROR, EXPEL THE BARBARIAN.

**U.S.-JAPAN TREATY OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION.** Ever since Commodore Matthew Perry in the 1850s negotiated the Ansei Treaties with Japan—treaties whose inequality was replicated by the agreements Japan subsequently reached with all the major powers—Tokyo had sought to revise those “unequal treaties.” In particular, it sought the right to control its own tariffs and ports. By February 1911, the Japanese got what they wanted through the U.S.–Japan Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, and, in return, reiterated an earlier promise—as encapsulated in the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1908 to restrict Japanese immigration to the United States.
Conclusion of this treaty confirmed an idea that was already current among policymakers in Tokyo: Japan was a member of a coterie of great powers. The treaty also confirmed that Japan was recognized as such by the United States. Following the outbreak of the Sino–Japanese War, 1937–1945 in July 1937, however, Japan appeared less interested in being included as a member of any great power coterie than it was in establishing its political domination over China. It furthermore attacked American interests in China, as dramatically evidenced by the Panay Incident. Debate in Washington soon turned to the idea of economic pressure.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced on 26 July 1939 that Japan was being given the mandatory six months' notice of the abrogation of the treaty. This meant that the United States would be in a position in January 1940 to impose trade sanctions on Japan. Because Japan's economic well-being depended on close commercial relations with the United States, such a step clarified American opposition to Japan's policy of aggression. At the same time, however, the door to the two nations' trade had not been shut. The application—or non-application—of sanctions would depend on subsequent Japanese actions. Foreign Minister Kichisaburō Nomura worked to ensure respect for foreign rights and interests in China and for the hallowed American principle of the Open Door. He was undermined, however, by Japanese troops on the ground in China, as well as by his subordinates in the Foreign Ministry, and the U.S.–Japan Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was abrogated in late January 1940.

**U.S.–JAPAN TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP.** See Kanagawa Treaty.

**U.S.–JAPAN YEN DOLLAR COMMITTEE.** The U.S.–Japan Yen Dollar Committee was established with a U.S.–Japan joint announcement made in November 1983. Its purpose is to serve as forum for Japanese and U.S. financial authorities to discuss financial matters. The committee discussed many financial topics, including issues relating to the Yen–Dollar exchange rate, the liberalization of Japanese financial and capital markets, the internationalization of the yen, and others. In May 1984, the committee announced a report including the following points, which were actually carried out: Liber-
alization of interest rates for large deposits; abolition of restrictions of an exchanging foreign currencies into yen; creation of a yen-based bankers acceptance market; and acceptance of foreign banks’ unilateral entrance into the fiduciary business.

In 1989, along with the U.S.–Japan Structural Impediments Initiative, a Japan–U.S. financial market working group was established that discussed issues on financial liberalization both in the United States and in Japan, as well as their common concern about world financial markets. Moreover, under the U.S.–Japan Framework Talks on bilateral trade begun in 1993, the U.S.–Japan Financial Service Consultation was established as a sub-basket (group of services) in the financial service field that examined deregulation in this field. In 1995, when the U.S.–Japan Financial Service agreement was reached, as its follow-up meeting, the U.S.–Japan Yen Dollar Committee continued to be held to discuss the development of financial markets both in the United States and in Japan. See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.

- V -

**VAN REED, EUGENE (1835-1873).** American businessman, adventurer, and part-time diplomat, Van Reed lived in Yokohama and Tokyo from 1859 to 1872. He met Joseph Heco, the castaway Japanese sailor in San Francisco in 1858 and decided to follow him to Japan. To the consternation of American diplomatic officials, Van Reed soon developed a close business relationship with Satsuma domain. Van Reed was involved in other business ventures, including arranging the first group of Japanese laborers, known as Gannen-mono to be sent to the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1868. The arrangement among Van Reed, the Hawaiian government, and Japanese labor recruiters caused political difficulties between Japan, the United States, and Hawaii that were eventually resolved by a treaty between Japan and the Kingdom of Hawaii negotiated by Charles De Long, the American minister to Japan.

**VERBECK, GUIDO (1830-1898).** Born in Holland, Verbeck became an American citizen and missionary for the Dutch Reformed Church.
He arrived in Nagasaki in 1859 as one of the first missionaries in Japan and taught English and Dutch. He helped arrange for several young Japanese men to attend Rutgers College in New Jersey. He was hired by the Meiji government in 1869 as a yatoi and worked for the government for several years. See also GRIFFIS, WILLIAM ELLIOT.

**VOLUNTARY EXPORT RESTRAINT.** When exports of specific Japanese items suddenly increased or their market share rapidly expanded, trade friction between Japan and other countries was a consequence of this. Voluntary export restraint was Japan’s response to avoid such trade friction with various countries.

For example, in May 1981, the Japanese automobile industry imposed voluntary restraint on its exports to the United States for three years, on the assumption that U.S. automobile manufacturers would make great efforts to revitalize themselves. Because of this restraint, automobile exports to the United States did not surpass 1,690,000 cars in the fiscal years of 1981 and 1982. In the fiscal year of 1981, the total amount of automobile exports declined by 6.8 percent over the previous year. This voluntary export restraint tentatively resolved trade friction concerning automobiles between Japan and the United States. This example indicates that Japan’s voluntary export restraint measures prevent its trade counterparts from taking import-restriction measures. Japan carried out major voluntary export restraints in the steel industry between 1972 and 1974, in the automobile industry between 1981 and 1984, and in the machine tool industry between 1987 and 1993. Japan’s voluntary export restraint is not a fundamental solution to Japan’s trade friction with other countries, but an extraordinary and temporary measure that, in the long run, maintains and develops further liberal free-trade principles. See also U.S.–JAPAN TRADE CONFLICTS.

– W –

**WAKAMATSU COLONY (ALSO KNOWN AS AIZU COLONY, AIZU-WAKAMATSU COLONY).** After Aizu was defeated supporting the Tokugawa shogunate against the Satsuma and Choshu-led forces in late 1868, approximately 30 Japanese from the region traveled to Coloma, California, to establish a tea and silk farm. Most
were *samurai* class, and were political and economic refugees. Led by John Henry Schnell, a German merchant and adviser to Aizu *daimyō* Katamori Matsudaira, the “Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm” in California seemed to prosper at first, but then water problems developed and the project collapsed by 1871. Three Japanese remained in northern California for the rest of their lives; it is unknown what happened to the others or to Schnell. Although *Japanese castaway sailors*, diplomats, and students had already arrived in America, the Wakamatsu colonists can be considered the first group of Japanese immigrants in America. See also BOSHIN WAR; IMMIGRATION; MEIJI RESTORATION.

**WASHINGTON CONFERENCE (1921-1922).** The Washington Conference was convened from November 1921 to February 1922. Its purposes were twofold. First, it sought to resolve a number of controversies in the Pacific and Far East. Second, it was aimed at halting a costly and dangerous competition in armaments between the world’s three leading naval powers. In a word, the Washington Conference represented an attempt to redefine international relations in the post–World War I Far East.

The Washington Conference was convened against the backdrop of growing Japanese–American discord. In the first instance, the two powers were at odds over their perceived interests in China. At issue was Japan’s ambivalence toward the American principle of the *Open Door*. The two powers were also unable to agree on the disposition of former German possessions in the Pacific. It had been agreed at the *Paris Peace Conference* that these possessions—the Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana Islands—would be mandated to Japan, but the United States had not ratified the peace treaty and therefore argued that it had not assented to Japan’s mandate. The *Siberian Intervention* provided another source of friction, particularly as Japanese troops alone remained in the Soviet Union’s far eastern provinces. These controversies sparked a Japanese–American naval armaments race that also involved Great Britain, which had no intention of overseeing the demise of its traditional mastery of the seas. At the same time, Washington was leery of the *Anglo-Japanese Alliance* for the simple fact that its existence might see Britain siding with Japan if the latter went to war with the United States.
The tone of the Washington Conference was set from the outset, when American plenipotentiary Secretary of State Charles Evan Hughes proposed the reduction of capital ship strength according to the ratio of 5:5:3 for the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. In the face of violent opposition from within naval ranks, Japanese plenipotentiary (and navy minister) Tomosaburō Katō accepted the proposal. Thus, was born the Five-Power Treaty (which included not only the United States, Britain, and Japan, but also Italy and France) on naval limitation. Publicly connected to the Five-Power Treaty was the Four-Power Treaty (which incorporated the United States, Britain, Japan, and France), a non-aggression pact that replaced the Anglo–Japanese Alliance. It had little in the way of concrete commitments.

Having disposed of the naval armaments race and the Anglo–Japanese Alliance, the conferees were then free to concentrate on the political problems centering on China and the Pacific. To this end, the Washington Conference produced the Nine-Power Pact, whose signatories included the United States, Britain, Japan, France, Italy, China, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal. By the terms of the pact, the signatories agreed to respect China’s sovereignty, as well as the principle of “equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.” In other words, the signatories accepted in treaty form the traditional American policy of the Open Door.

Japanese delegates also entered delicate discussions with their Chinese counterparts over the future of the Shantung peninsula. A Sino–Japanese agreement was reached, which provided for the restoration of Chinese sovereignty in Shantung, the withdrawal of Japanese troops, and the purchase by China from Japan of the principal railroad in the province. For its part, the United States gave its consent to the exercise by Japan of its mandate over former German possessions in the Pacific, in return for a Japanese promise to allow American access to the island of Yap for the purpose of cable and radio communications. Finally, Japanese delegate Kijūrō Shidehara assured his fellow conferees that Japan would withdraw its troops from Soviet territory.

WILSON, WOODROW. Inaugurated as president of the United States in 1913, Woodrow Wilson championed a moralistic world order free from the imperialistic rivalries that led inexorably to World War I.
Born in 1856 in Staunton, Virginia, Wilson earned a law degree at Princeton and practiced briefly in Atlanta before earning a doctorate from Johns Hopkins University in 1886 (his dissertation on Congressional Government has been viewed as a landmark study in political history). He taught at Princeton before becoming the university’s president, when the phrase “Princeton in the nation’s service” was frequently on his lips. Elected as Democratic governor of New Jersey in 1910, he won the presidential election in 1912.

Wilson’s foreign policy goals as president were colored by his belief that the United States ought to use its power to serve the interests of people everywhere. An advocate of democratic values, he eventually sent American forces into World War I to make the world “safe for democracy.” In the Far East, however, Wilson’s foreign policy seemed driven less by democratic ideals than it was by the perceived necessity of the preservation of the Open Door. Mindful of this fact, the Japanese government upon its entry into World War I offered repeated assurances that it did not intend to violate the integrity of China. Wilson, however, remained cautiously watchful. Then, in January 1915, Tokyo laid the infamous Twenty-One Demands before Chinese President Yuan Shih-kai, Wilson’s secretary of state, William Jennings Bryan, refused to recognize their legitimacy.

After the crisis surrounding the Twenty-One Demands had been defused—not altogether satisfactorily—Wilson had to engage in a serious rethink of his policy toward Japan. Wilson’s growing realization by 1916 that the United States would enter the war in Europe carried with it the implication that American military intervention in the Far East was less a possibility than it had ever been. The following question thus arose: how best to contain Japanese ambitions? At the same time, it was in the interests of the anti-German alliance to smooth relations with the Japanese (who, after all, were fighting on the side of their alliance partners, the British). Wilson’s energies vis-à-vis Japan subsequently revolved around an effort to construct friendly relations with Japan, while acting to prevent Japanese hegemony in the Far East. It was in such a climate that the Lansing-Ishii Agreement emerged. Furthermore, reversing his administration’s earlier rejection of American participation in an international banking consortium in China, Wilson reasoned that the United States could outspend the Japanese. As he stated in 1916, Americans were now the
“creditors of the world,” and they were in a position to “determine to a large extent who is to be financed and who is not to be financed.”

This delicate diplomatic strategy of courting Japanese friendship while concurrently seeking to contain Japan was brought into full relief by the Siberian Intervention. Following the Bolshevik Revolution, Wilson agreed to participate in a joint American–Japanese occupation of Siberia, ever mindful that an American presence in the region could serve to limit the extent of Japanese influence.

In the end result, Wilson’s inability to disentangle his Japan policy from the reality of power politics contributed to his downfall. At the Paris Peace Conference, his approval of the transfer of Chinese territory (previously held by the Germans) to Japan seemed an abandonment of the idealistic war aims that he had so eloquently and so frequently proclaimed. Certainly, the U.S. Senate saw it this way, and refused to ratify the treaty. The American people evidently agreed. Although Wilson did not run for reelection in 1920, his successor, James M. Cox, was soundly defeated by the Republican candidate, Warren G. Harding.

WORLD WAR II (1939–1945). German troops on 1 September 1939 invaded Poland. Two days later, Great Britain and France—albeit reluctantly—declared war on Germany. World War II had begun.

For its part, Japan was embroiled in war with China. It was, moreover, allied to Germany by means of the Anti-Comintern Pact. It nonetheless viewed the opening of World War II with circumspection. Nonplussed by Germany’s recent actions in concluding a nonaggression treaty with the Soviet Union—the very nation that the Anti-Comintern Pact targeted—Tokyo chose to remain aloof from the fighting in Europe.

All that changed following the success with which the German blitzkrieg met in the spring of 1940. Tokyo began to conceive of an alliance relationship with Germany as the means by which it might expand into the resource-rich regions of Southeast Asia, which had been rendered defenseless by Germany’s war against their colonial masters. At this time, Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke publicly announced Japan’s intention to establish the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, which he indicated would incorporate both French Indochina and the Dutch East Indies. The Japanese–German–Italian Tripartite
Pact was signed in September 1940, and, almost simultaneously, Japanese troops advanced into northern French Indochina.

Japan did not, however, formally enter World War II until it attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941. To be sure, its troops in the interim remained in the quagmire of their own making in China, and, in July 1941, advanced throughout the French Indochina peninsula in its entirety.

The months after it entered the conflict were spectacularly successful for Japan. It ousted the colonial powers from the Malay peninsula, Hong Kong, Singapore, Burma, the Dutch East Indies, and the Philippines, all the while threatening Australia, the British in India, and the U.S. Navy’s Pacific Fleet. It also launched an ideological offensive that espoused the notion of an Asian crusade against the West. According to this pan-Asian reasoning, Japan was the self-appointed “liberator” of the region from the yoke of Western imperialism. This ideological offensive was successful insofar as it gave rise to revolutionary movements throughout the region that after the war militated against a return to Western colonial rule. At the same time, the wide gap between Japan’s professed ideals and its policies—it clearly prioritized access to the region’s natural resources over and above independence for those colonies it had recently “liberated”—ensured that its efforts to win the hearts and minds of the region’s peoples were largely in vain.

Far more damaging to Japan’s chances of attaining its objectives in World War II, however, was its inability to turn back the American counteroffensive. This counteroffensive met with its first notable success in the Battle of Midway in June 1942, when the Japanese navy was handed a stinging defeat at the hands of its American counterpart. Thereafter, Japan sought in vain to maintain a defensive posture against an increasingly virulent American counterattack, and, in September 1943, delineated an “absolute sphere of Imperial defense,” which nominated the Kurile and Bonin Islands, the inner South Pacific, western New Guinea, and Burma as the line from which Japan would not retreat. It was to no avail. The United States, buttressed by its immense industrial strength, was, by this time, irrepresible. This was brought home with startling clarity when, in mid-June 1944, American forces undertook an invasion of Saipan, an island well within Japan’s sphere of defense. Saipan’s
fall rendered Prime Minister Tōjō Hideki’s position untenable, and he was replaced in July 1944 by General Koiso Kuniaki. Koiso’s cabinet fell in April 1945, coinciding rather neatly with the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Germany surrendered in May 1945 (Italy had surrendered in September 1943), and most major urban centers in Japan were subjected to American aerial attack. The Battle of Okinawa, which began in April 1945, ended in June 1945 in total defeat for the Japanese forces. It was, at this point, quite clear that Japan had been defeated, yet Tokyo was unable to make the political decision to surrender. The Emperor on 15 August 1945 finally announced his nation’s surrender, after Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been subjected to the world’s first—and, to date, only—atomic attacks and after the Soviet Union had discarded its neutrality to enter the war against Japan. See also ABSOLUTE SPHERE OF IMPERIAL DEFENSE; AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; ATLANTIC CONFERENCE; ATOMIC BOMB ATTACKS; BURMA ROAD; CAIRO CONFERENCE; DOOLITTLE RAID; HORNBECK, STANLEY; HULL, CORDELL; INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST; INTERNMENT; JAPANESE–AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS; JOHN DOE ASSOCIATES; KONOE–ROOSEVELT SUMMIT MEETING; LEND LEASE; MAGIC; NOMURA–GREW CONVERSATIONS; POTSDAM DECLARATION; SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY; SINO–JAPANESE WAR; SOUTHWARD ADVANCE; SOVIET–JAPANESE NEUTRALITY TREATY; TOKYO FIREBOMBING; UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER; YAMAMOTO, ISOROKU.

– Y –

YALTA CONFERENCE. From 4–11 February 1945, United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet leader Josef Stalin met at Yalta in the Russian Crimea. Coming at a time when the Allies’ war against Germany and Japan was drawing to a close—Italy had surrendered in 1943—the conferees discussed, among other things, the terms of Soviet Russia’s entry into the war against Japan. Both the U.S. and British governments had long been convinced that Soviet military intervention in
the Far East was essential if Japan were to be defeated in a timely fashion. Roosevelt and Churchill thus sought—and duly received—a reiteration of Stalin’s earlier promise that the Red Army would enter the war against Japan after Germany’s defeat. There was, of course, a political price to pay for Soviet intervention, but one that Roosevelt was willing to pay. In short, the conferees agreed that the Soviet Union would recover the Kurile Islands, southern Sakhalin, and obtain a naval base at Port Arthur in Manchuria. Dairen would become an internationalized port, and the Soviets would exercise joint control with China over the Manchurian railways. Outer Mongolia’s status as a Soviet puppet state was also recognized. For his part, Stalin indicated that he would support Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist Chinese government—not Mao Tse-tung’s Communists—in the forthcoming effort to unify China.

No single act of Roosevelt’s presidency has been more harshly criticized than his actions at Yalta. After all, the territorial agreements as they pertained to the Far East appeared to betray the self-same Open Door principles for which the United States was fighting Japan. Yet, on the assumption that Soviet military intervention might save the lives of countless American soldiers, would another president in Roosevelt’s place have refused it? See also WORLD WAR II.

YAMAGATA, ARITOMO (1838-1922). Regarded as the “father of the Japanese army,” Yamagata was a samurai from Choshu who strongly supported the imperial restoration movement that overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868. He played a key role in establishing and developing Japan’s army using Western strategies, tactics, and materials during the Meiji Era. He served in a number of government positions throughout his long career, including Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Military Affairs, and twice as Prime Minister. See also ITO, HIROBUMI; MEJI RESTORATION.

YAMAKAWA, SUTEMATSU (ALSO KNOWN AS BARONESS OYAMA; 1860-1919). From an Aizu samurai family, she was one of five young women chosen to accompany the Iwakura Mission in 1871. She and the other Japanese girls (Umeko Tsuda, Shigeko Nagai, Ryo Yoshimasa, and Tei Ueda) lived with American host families and attended American schools. Yamakawa lived with the Bacon
family, and became close friends with Alice Mabel Bacon. In 1878, Yamakawa and Shigeko Nagai entered Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York. Yamakawa graduated in 1882 with honors, becoming the first Japanese woman to graduate from an American university. Yamakawa, who married General Iwao Oyama soon after her graduation from Vassar College, often worked to improve educational opportunities for Japanese women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

**YAMAMOTO, ISOROKU (1884–1943).** As the architect of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, and as commander-in-chief of the Combined Fleet throughout the first half of World War II, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto remains one of Japan’s best-known wartime leaders. He graduated from the Naval Academy in 1904 and first came into contact with the United States in 1908. From April 1919, he began a two-year period of study at Harvard University, and revisited the United States on an inspection tour in 1923–1924. He again returned to the United States in December 1925, having been appointed naval attaché to the Japanese embassy in Washington. He remained in this post for two years.

Yamamoto’s experiences in the United States left him with two firm convictions. First, naval power depended as much on abundant sources of oil as it did on the traditional indices of naval strength, such as the quality and size of a fleet. This, in turn, informed Yamamoto’s belief that Japan could not hope to defeat the United States in war because the latter was matchless in terms of its abundant oil reserves. Yamamoto’s second conviction revolved around the novel concept that naval aviation would play a decisive role in any future conflict. Through the 1920s, 1930s, and beyond, he thus stressed that carrier-based aircraft represented the future of naval warfare.

Rear Admiral Yamamoto was a delegate to the First London Naval Conference of 1930. He revealed himself through the course of the conference to be antithetical to the naval limitation system that allotted Japan an inferior ratio vis-à-vis the United States and Great Britain. He soon dropped his opposition to the naval limitation system, however, believing that it prevented a potentially ruinous naval armaments race, which Japan could not hope to win. He was Japan’s chief delegate to the Second London Naval Conference of 1935,
where—contrary to his own beliefs—he carried out his government’s instructions in demanding parity between Japan, the United States, and Great Britain. It was at this conference that the era of naval limitation came to an end.

Appointed vice navy minister in 1936, Yamamoto steadfastly supported Navy Minister Mitsumasa Yonai’s blunt opposition to the conclusion of an alliance relationship with Nazi Germany. He was subsequently appointed commander-in-chief of the Combined Fleet in August 1939, in which position he convinced an unenthusiastic Navy General Staff to accept his strategy for an attack on Pearl Harbor. He remained in this post until his plane was shot down by enemy fire in April 1943.

**YATOI.** Meaning “foreign expert,” yatoi or the more honorific, oyatoi, usually refers to foreigners hired by the Meiji government or by local Japanese governments. Especially during the 1870s, many yatoi were hired to assist in establishing government, educational, and economic institutions. Among Americans hired as yatoi by the Japanese government were William Smith Clark, David Murray, and Horace Capron. See also BACON, ALICE MABEL; BROWN, SAMUEL ROBBINS; FENELOSSA, ERNEST; GRIFFIS, WILLIAM ELLIOTT; HEPBURN, JAMES CURTIS; HOUSE, EDWARD; KIDDER, MARY EDDY; LEGENDRE, CHARLES W.; MORSE, EDWARD; VERBECK, GUIDO.

**YOKOI, SHONAN (1809–1869).** A renowned philosopher and political adviser from Kumamoto, Yokoi advocated opening Japan to international trade and Western scientific ideas during the 1850s and 1860s. His nephews, Sahei and Daihei Yokoi, briefly studied at Rutgers College in New Jersey in the late 1860s. At the time, his advocacy of “opening” Japan to the West was controversial and he was assassinated in 1869. See also MEIJI RESTORATION; REVERE THE EMPEROR, EXPEL THE BARBARIAN; SAKUMA, SHOZAN.

**YONAI, MITSUMASA (1880–1948).** An admiral who served as both navy minister and prime minister in the late 1930s and early 1940s, Mitsumasa Yonai was a man of courage and determination. Through the late 1930s, he stubbornly opposed the conclusion of an alliance...
relationship with Germany, and, in the endgame of war, was a powerful force for surrender within the Japanese government.

In a service whose elite officer corps was drawn from high-ranking graduates of the Naval Academy, Yonai was somewhat of an anomaly. He graduated 68th (from a class total of 125) in his Naval Academy class of 1901. He participated in the Russo-Japanese War, and, from 1915, served as naval attaché to the Japanese embassy in Petrograd. Over the ensuing years, he was appointed commander of the First, Second, and Third Fleets, and commander-in-chief of the Kure, Sasebo, and Yokosuka Naval Districts. In December 1936, he rose to commander-in-chief of the Combined Fleet, although he left the post in February 1937 to take up his duties as navy minister. He was promoted to admiral in April that year. Following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in July 1937, Navy Minister Yonai sought to keep the fighting localized. To this end, he opposed the establishment of Imperial Headquarters, although he was unsuccessful in this endeavor.

Throughout much of his time as navy minister, Yonai squared off against the incessant calls of the army for an alliance relationship with Nazi Germany. Although his subordinates were by no means unanimous in their approval of this policy, Yonai received inestimable support from his vice navy minister, Isoroku Yamamoto. Yonai’s basic premise in refusing to give his assent to the alliance was simple: tying Japan to America’s quasi-enemy in Europe raised the risk of a Japanese-American war. As Japan could not hope to emerge victorious from war with the United States, it was prudent to avoid measures that gave rise to that possibility.

In January 1940, Yonai was appointed prime minister, and soon thereafter Adolf Hitler’s armies overran Western Europe. Insistent on the necessity of an alliance relationship with Germany—and convinced that such was not possible so long as Yonai remained as prime minister—the Japanese army in July 1940 brought about the fall of Yonai’s cabinet.

In July 1944, Yonai was again appointed navy minister in the cabinet succeeding that of General Hideki Tōjō. He remained in that post in the cabinet of Admiral Kantarō Suzuki, in which position he squared off against the army minister, as well as the army and navy chiefs of staff to emphasize the necessity of surrender.
YOSHIDA DOCTRINE. Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida established this doctrine, which became a consistent Japanese post–World War II political philosophy. The Yoshida Doctrine consists of three primary principles. First, Japan is on the Western side in the Cold War and makes Japan’s alliance with the United States its basis of diplomacy. Second, in terms of national security, Japan depends on the United States and limits its defense forces to its minimum. Third, Japan emphasizes economic diplomacy. In order to gain independence as soon as possible, Yoshida was confirmed that this is the most practical way for Japan. Both the Hayato Ikeda and Eisaku Sato administrations in the 1960s firmly inherited Yoshida’s philosophy and established it as Japan’s mainstream policy. See also DEFENSE.

YOSHIDA, KIYONARI (1845–1891). From Satsuma, Yoshida was an early Japanese university student in England and the United States, and later held a number of posts in the Meiji government, including Japan’s minister to the United States in the late 1870s. While in the United States as a student in the late 1860s, Yoshida attended Monson Academy in Massachusetts and Rutgers College in New Jersey. He also lived with the Brotherhood of the New Life in upstate New York from 1867 to 1868. Later, as Japan’s minister to the United States, he helped plan former President Ulysses S. Grant’s visit to Japan in 1879.

YOSHIDA LETTER. The Yoshida Letter, written by Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida and sent to U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in December 1951, informed the U.S. government that Japan would recognize the Nationalist Chinese government in Taiwan as the official government of China. As representatives from China to the 1952 San Francisco Peace Conference, the United States wanted to invite the Nationalist Chinese government, whereas Great Britain preferred the victorious communists who had taken control of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). Because the two Western powers could not agree on which representative to invite, neither the PRC nor the Nationalist Chinese government attended the San Francisco conference. The effect of this on Japan is that it was left on its own to decide which of the two competing Chinese political organizations it would engage in concluding a Sino–Japan peace treaty.
Because Japan believed that the mainland Chinese market would play an important role in its postwar economic recovery, Prime Minister Yoshida did not wish to antagonize the PRC by breaking off relations. However, when Chinese communist forces entered Korea to engage U.S. troops during the Korean War, the United States intensified its existing embargo of China and advocated policies that were hostile to the communists running the PRC. On the pretext of securing U.S. Senate ratification of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Secretary of State Dulles places strong demands on the Japanese government to sever diplomatic relations with the PRC. Forced to choose sides, Prime Minister Yoshida sent what became known as the Yoshida Letter to Dulles, which contained Japan’s promise to normalize diplomatic relations with the Nationalist Chinese government based in Taiwan. In March 1952, the Japan–China Peace Treaty was signed between Japan and Taiwan. See also TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA.

YOSHIDA, SHIGERU (1878–1967). Shigeru Yoshida was a diplomat and one of the most prominent politicians in postwar Japan. He was born in Tokyo and was adopted by Kenzo Yoshida, a businessman, when he was three years old. After graduating from the Law Department of Tokyo Imperial University, he became a diplomat.

He served as minister of foreign affairs in the Naruhiko Higashikuni and Kijūrō Shidehara cabinets. The president of the Liberal Party, Ichiro Hatoyama, was the victim of a purge just before he was about to be appointed as prime minister. So Hatoyama asked Shigeru Yoshida to become president in his stead. He was appointed prime minister in May 1946, and he formed the first Yoshida Cabinet, which lasted from 22 May 1946 to 24 May 1947. Yoshida was the very last person to become prime minister without first being a Diet member. Although Yoshida promoted the Economic Stabilization Board and the Priority Production System, he was not enthusiastic about the direction of the economic planning encouraged by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP).

After the Tetsu Katayama and Hitoshi Ashida Cabinets, Yoshida formed the second Yoshida Cabinet (15 October 1948 to 16 February 1949). The Liberal Party won a landslide victory at the general election and Yoshida formed the third Yoshida Cabinet (16 February 1949
to 30 October 1952). Yoshida made positive responses to changes to U.S. occupation policies around 1947, especially to the **Dodge Line**, an austere fiscal policy established in February 1949. Yoshida determined the route for the postwar Japanese economic policy that turned economic recovery into economic growth. Yoshida concluded the **San Francisco Peace Treaty** and the **Japan-U.S. Security Treaty** on 8 September 1951.

Yoshida formed the fourth Yoshida Cabinet (30 October 1952 to 21 May 1953). At this time, he was criticized for concluding the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty. The anti-Yoshida movement grew gradually. At a Lower House Budget Committee meeting held on 28 February 1953, Yoshida used offensive language to Eiichi Nishimura, a representative from the Japan Socialist Party (JSP). The JSP proposed a disciplinary motion against Yoshida, and it was passed on 2 March 1953. Moreover, a no-confidence motion against the cabinet was submitted, and it was passed on 14 March 1953. Yoshida dissolved the Lower House and a general election for the House of Representatives was held on 19 April 1953. The Liberal Party lost more than 40 seats, but Yoshida organized the fifth Yoshida Cabinet (21 May 1953 to 10 December 1954), although this was a minority government. The anti-Yoshida movement gained influence and on 7 December 1954, Yoshida finally resigned as prime minister and as president of the Liberal Party. On 14 October 1963, Yoshida decided to withdraw from politics by declaring that he would not run in the next general election. Yoshida died on 20 October 1967 and the Japanese government accorded him a state funeral for the first time in postwar history at the Budokan, Tokyo on 31 October 1967.

Yoshida’s philosophy was to make use of economic technocrats for economic revival in the postwar era. Joining the Western military bloc, Yoshida depended on the United States for Japan’s security. Yoshida gradually adopted U.S. requests for Japan’s remilitarization; at the same time, he used the connection with the United States for Japanese economic revival.

**YOSHIDA, SHOIN (1830–1859).** A **samurai** from **Choshu domain**, Yoshida was a student of **Shozan Sakuma** and proponent of the philosophy of combining “Eastern ethics” with “Western science” to protect Japan from the West. Yoshida also became a strong supporter
of the movement to “restore” the emperor to his rightful place as the head of government. After being arrested by the Tokugawa shogunate ( bakufu ) for trying to stow away on one of Commodore Matthew Perry’s ships in 1854, Yoshida was placed under house confinement. Nevertheless, a number of young Choshu samurai studied with him who would later overthrow the Tokugawa bakufu. Yoshida was executed by the Tokugawa bakufu in 1859 for his role in planning the assassination of a government official.

YOUNG MEN’S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA) IN JAPAN.
The first YMCA in Japan started in Tokyo in 1880, with the second established two years later in Osaka. As of 2000, there were more than 100,000 members of the YMCA in Japan. See also CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.

– Z –

ZAIBATSU. Literally, “financial combines,” most were established or significantly developed because of close relationships with government officials during the Meiji Era. The most well-known zaibatsu are Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo, and Yasuda. Most were dissolved or dramatically downsized during the Occupation of Japan. See also SHIBUSAWA, EIICHI.
## Appendix A

**United States Presidents and Secretaries of State 1789–2005**

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<tr>
<th>President</th>
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*Served as acting secretary of state, August–December 1992.*
Appendix B
Japanese Prime Ministers

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* During this interval, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Sanjo Sanetomi concurrently held the post of prime minister.
** During this interval, Privy Council chairman Kuroda Kiyotaka was the interim prime minister.
*** During this interval, Privy Council chairman Saionji Kinmochi was the interim prime minister.
**** During this interval, Foreign Affairs minister Uchida Yasuya was the interim prime minister.
***** During this interval, Home minister Wakatsuki Reijiro was the interim prime minister.
******* During this interval, Finance minister Takahashi Korekiyo was the interim prime minister.
********* During this interval, Cabinet Secretariat chairman Masayoshi Ito was the interim prime minister.
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About the Authors


**Peter Mauch** is a lecturer of international history at Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan. He has recently completed a postdoctoral fellowship at Kyoto University, and is writing a biography of Admiral Nomura Kichisaburo, entitled, *Sailor Diplomat: Nomura Kichisaburo and the Japanese–American War*. He has published numerous articles detailing Nomura’s pre- and post–Pacific War efforts to place Japanese–American relations on a cordial footing.
