

INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1995 I was serving as Deputy Chief of Mission at the Japanese Embassy in Moscow. President Yeltsin was in power, implementing his reform policy and preparing for the election in the following year. The political situation was very tense. It was interesting and stimulating for a diplomat to serve in this historic period of transition in Russia.

One day, I was conversing with my long-time friend in the Russian Foreign Ministry, the then Deputy Minister in charge of Asia and the Pacific region, Alexander Panov. I began outlining a vague idea I had, to give lectures at one of the leading universities or institutions in Moscow on Japan or Japanese foreign policy.

“Is it not useful to give some deeper knowledge on Japan or Japanese foreign policy to a younger generation in Russia?” I asked Deputy Minister Panov.

“Do you think that a diplomat like me could make a significant contribution?”

Deputy Minister Panov not only supported this idea, but also showed a great interest in implementing it. Almost instantaneously he suggested that I should focus on MGIMO, the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. MGIMO was a university established during the Soviet regime primarily for those ‘elite students’, who were considering a career in the Foreign Service. After the demise of the Soviet Union, the majority of Russian diplomats are still MGIMO graduates.

Things proceeded smoothly and in the autumn of 1995 I was given a rare opportunity to give a one-term lecture to MGIMO undergraduate students on ‘Japanese Foreign Policy 1945–1995’. I spent a fair amount of time during that summer preparing for the lecture both in contents and language. Colleagues and friends were helpful in gathering material and I devoted all my private Russian language lessons to studying technical and specialized terms. As a member of the Japanese Foreign Service, I had specialized in the Russian language since joining the service in 1968 and had already served twice at the Embassy in Moscow, in the early seventies and the mid-eighties. But to cover over a dozen different themes on

Japanese foreign policy 1945–1995 in Russian required thorough preparation.

Despite my initial anxieties, the lectures proceeded very smoothly. In the oral examination, or *zachet* in Russian, all 23 students passed.

Particularly for a diplomat of my generation, whose memory of the Soviet Union was one where freedom of speech was totally suppressed, my experience at MGIMO was astonishing. At no time throughout the course of the lecture was I approached by anyone from the university or elsewhere. The content of the lectures was left entirely to my own discretion. I felt it a particular honour that such complete trust was shown to a diplomat from Japan, given the prevailing and painful situation regarding the unresolved territorial issue of the ‘four islands’ located to the northeast of Hokkaido.

When the lectures ended at the end of 1995, there emerged an idea from the university whether the major content of my talks could not be outlined in a form of a book or a reader for other students, who had not followed the course. It was another honour for me that such a proposal was offered and I naturally accepted it. For half a year I struggled with my notes and the recorded minutes of my lectures, assisted by an Embassy staff member and native speaker. In July 1996, I managed to produce, virtually on the eve of my departure to Tokyo to assume a new post in the Foreign Ministry, a book in Russian, entitled ‘50 Years of Japanese Foreign Policy (1945–1995)’.

During the latter part of the 1990’s, the book has played a discrete role, so I hope, in enhancing deeper understanding in Russia and among Russian speaking neighbouring countries, of the development of Japanese foreign policy after World War II. On a personal note, I had several surprising encounters when unexpected visitors to Japan from Central Asia or the Russian Far East, not to mention Moscow, told me that they had read my book and referred to particular passages that had caught their attention.

My teaching experience in Moscow and the publication of ‘50 Years of Japanese Foreign Policy (1945–1995)’ made me realize that the combination of teaching and daily work at the Foreign Ministry is very helpful in clearing one’s mind and expanding the scope of one’s thinking. After my return to Tokyo in 1996, I continued lecturing, this time at Japanese universities. I gave courses at the Sofia University Undergraduate School 1996–98 and Keio University Graduate School 1999–2000. In essence my lectures remained the same. However, this time I added a substantial section regarding

Japanese foreign policy from the Meiji Restoration to World War II.

When I retired from the Foreign Ministry in the spring of 2002, after serving for a short while as ambassador of Japan in the Netherlands, I entered a new phase in my life and thought it to be a worthwhile task to put down in writing a synthesis of Japanese foreign policy in the era I had lived through. What I wrote seven years ago in Russian in Moscow served as a good starting point for this task.

Thus, from the autumn of 2002 onwards I began to write, this time in English, primarily for a European and American audience, a reader about the foreign policy of Japan from 1945 to 2003.

While I was in the process of writing my first draft, I was given an opportunity to combine my writing with teaching. Professor Rikki Kersten of the Leiden University Centre of Japanese and Korean Studies suggested that I teach a class at Leiden University in the spring term of 2003 and use my manuscript in my teaching. This was an exciting offer!

Some twenty students attended my class 'Japan and the World'. Each week they received a draft text of the chapter to be discussed the following week. The teaching process naturally gave me further opportunity to clarify and deepen the contents of my writing. Some of the comments given by the students have contributed substantially to the formulation of this book.

It was against this brief background that my book was written.

Much like the one which I wrote seven years ago, this book was written based primarily on the assumption that the readers did not have prior knowledge of Japanese foreign policy. Students who are studying Japan as well as those who have a general interest in the subject matter are welcome to read this book.

The author naturally is flattered if experts on the subject are able to derive any meaningful impression from the contents of this book.

With these points in mind, my three objectives while writing this book were:

First, I wanted to introduce the basic facts, which constituted the major framework of postwar Japanese foreign policy. I tried to be careful in selecting the most important facts that a reader is advised to know if he or she is interested in the development of Japanese foreign policy after World War II.

Second, the intention of the author was to describe not only the facts, but also to give an analysis of the reason and logic through

which Japanese foreign policy has developed. In other words, knowing 'what happened' is essential, but knowing 'why it happened' is what shapes the depth and meaning of history.

Since the author had been in the Japanese Foreign Service until quite recently, it is most purposeful to present, as far as possible, the 'inside views' of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the government of Japan. Naturally all 'inside views' presented here are written 'as I saw them' and the government of Japan bears no responsibility for their content. But probably the more I could tell my own views, the more insights readers could have about the inner perspectives of the formulation of Japanese foreign policy. I particularly tried to show the interrelationships between the external events which shaped foreign policy and the internal factors which in many cases conditioned foreign policy.

Third, through my experience in teaching at Leiden University, I felt that one of the liveliest discussions in class developed around my personal experiences, which I explained candidly. Why not include some of these experiences in this book? Naturally, there are so many colleagues of mine who could tell so many inspiring personal stories, but since I happen to write this book, why not tell 'my experiences'? At the suggestion of the students, these episodes are highlighted in a box form in the text. I hope that they will help make the conduct of Japanese foreign policy a little friendlier to those newcomers.

In this context, I also did not hesitate to give some accounts on my grandfather Shigenori Togo, twice Foreign Minister of Japan at the beginning and the end of the Pacific War, and my father Fumihiko Togo, who held a key position in the Foreign Ministry at the time of the revision of the Security Treaty with America and the reversion of Okinawa. I hope that these family experiences may also help in giving a little more animation to the subject in this book.

After the Prologue, which covers the period from the Meiji Restoration to World War II, this book consists of 12 Chapters. Other than Chapter 1, which describes the postwar situation until the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, each of the 11 Chapters is dedicated to individual issues, which constitute major spheres in postwar Japanese foreign policy.

Given the limited size and the introductory nature of the book I had to omit some important aspects, such as Japan's policy toward South America and science and technology in general. More words could also have been spent on Africa and on cultural relations. I

apologize to the reader for these omissions and those fellow countrymen who have been working in these areas.

I also apologize for some inevitable complexity which emerged, because of the vertical structure of this book. The reader must refer back eleven times through the course of historical development to obtain a full view of the major events which have taken place over a period of half a century. So as to cope with these structural difficulties, I endeavoured to give cross references on major intersecting points and introduce a summary of horizontal analysis in the Conclusion.

In closing, let me add that the major portion of this book is dedicated to the historical analysis of postwar Japanese foreign policy. But writing the history led me to identify seven agendas for future Japanese foreign policy at the threshold of the 21st century. In addition, as the book shows, the success and failure, the dynamism and limitations of postwar foreign policy in Japan have been strongly conditioned by the way Japan dealt with the past. Five limitations emerged from the past while writing this book.

These seven future perspectives and five past limitations are summarized in the concluding chapter.