

**QUESTION OF GUILT:**

**JAPAN'S FOREIGN MINISTRY &  
ITS WAR RESPONSIBILITY**

By Seishiro Sugihara

Translated by Norman Hu

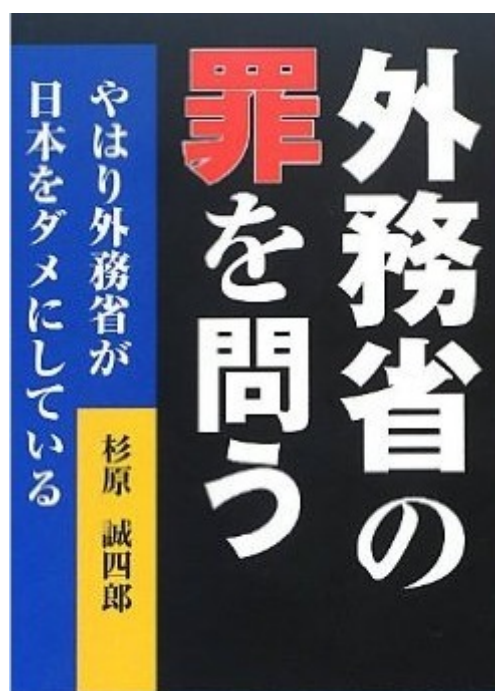
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## Foreword

The diplomatic services of Japan and the United States have one thing in common: the Japanese Foreign Ministry is sometimes referred to as Kasumigaseki (literally, “gate of fog”) and the U. S. State Department, sometimes as “Foggy Bottom.”

Another thing they share is diplomats from both countries are disliked by officials from other government agencies.

Perhaps it is a diplomat’s fate that, to become an expert about a foreign country, he or she invariably succumbs to that country’s charms. It is remarkably easy to fall into the trap of becoming an advocate for that foreign country.

Immerse yourself as a diplomat in the language and culture of a country in the southern seas, for instance, and you may find yourself developing a strong affinity for that country, including perhaps the custom of “head hunting.” Become preoccupied by that country, and you may even forget Japan’s national interest. It is a pity that many in our Ministry of Foreign Affairs have fallen victim to this lack of clarity about national allegiance.

At the outset of the Takeo Fukuda cabinet (1976-1978), when I was 41, I was asked to arrange final preparations ahead of the first Fukuda-Carter summit. I received the title of Special Adviser to the Prime Minister, and set off for Washington.

I became acquainted with Senator Humphrey, former Democratic vice president and a mentor to President Carter; and with Professor Brzezinski, special adviser in the National Security Council during the Carter administration.

After the cabinet was launched, Chief Cabinet Secretary Sunao Sonoda asked my advice whether there was anything suitable to use as a centerpiece for the joint statement to cap off the Japan-U.S. summit.

I gave Secretary Sonoda a “secret formula” to use. The prime minister apparently agreed, saying, “That’s it!”

But I also met up with the Foreign Ministry’s American Affairs Bureau Chief Toshio Yamazaki. He proceeded to tell me “such a thing isn’t possible,” and gave me the cold shoulder. As the summit approached I asked to see the talking paper, namely the record of meetings between the two countries thus far, but my request was flatly refused.

I urged that we “share the burden of duties,” but from start to finish I was rebuffed at every turn.

I flew to the remote town of Plains, Georgia, outside Atlanta. This was the hometown of President-elect Carter, and where the president-elect had established his administration's transition office.

At Plains, I got to know people in his entourage, such as Miss Lillian, the president-elect's mother; Hamilton Jordan, the incoming administration's White House chief of staff; Jodi Powell, White House press secretary; and Billy Carter, the president-elect's brother. I became close friends with his sister Ruth, who doted on the president-elect.

As for the talking paper, Foreign Minister Ichiro Hatoyama showed it to me before I left for Washington, so that was no longer a problem.

In any case, I wasn't able to leave for Washington immediately because of lecture commitments I had made the previous year; I made it to Washington the day before the prime minister and his party arrived, and did the rounds of the White House, the State Department, and the Department of Defense. Before my departure from Japan, we had brought everything together by phone, so it was more of a recap.

The next day, I met up with the prime minister and his party in front of the White House, and reported that everything had gone well.

In the joint statement to emerge from the Fukuda-Carter talks, in the end my suggestion became the central feature.

As an advisor to Foreign Minister Sonoda over the course of two cabinets, I often accompanied him to the United States.

For some reason we got on quite well, even though he was in the "dove" faction, and I was considered a "hawk." Sonoda would call the bureaucrats at the Foreign Ministry "perfectly logical idiots."

Some time later, I went ahead to help lay the groundwork for a defense technology exchange agreement to be signed in Washington by Defense Secretary Kazuho Tanigawa and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, but I was exasperated by the Foreign Ministry whose jealousy even led to outright interference. The Japanese Defense Agency's Washington office was located in the Watergate building, infamous for the Watergate scandal, but Defense officials stationed in D.C. bypassed the Japanese embassy when contacting the Defense Agency's home office in Tokyo.

I received my final appointment during the Nakasone cabinet, with the title of special advisor to the prime minister. So I have a lengthy relationship with the Foreign Ministry.

Even now, I still visit Washington from time to time. I am invited to parties at the homes of administration officials or friends who are members of Congress, and may find myself sharing a table with diplomats from various countries. But not once have I ever met a Japanese diplomat at one of these gatherings. To pass Japan's senior civil service examinations means immersing yourself to the exclusion of everything else, including developing social skills; so this social awkwardness leads to few invitations.

In Japan these days, overemphasis on cramming in education produces too many unrefined men and women.

I have been acquainted with Donald Rumsfeld, defense secretary during the Ford administration, since his days as a member of Congress. Kenneth Adelman was an assistant to Secretary Rumsfeld.

When the Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter defeated President Ford, Mr. Adelman became a researcher at the Stanford Research Institute's Strategic Studies Center, but was recalled during the first Bush administration to become deputy ambassador to the United Nations.

Adelman recalled angrily that, "during the previous administration, I phoned many times to arrange meetings with Japanese diplomats, but none were ever willing to meet with me. When I became an ambassador to the United Nations, they were insistent about a meeting, but no-one wanted to see them. They would only associate with those who were of suitable rank."

During the Fukuda cabinet I served as director of the Security and Strategy Research Center of Japan, which had been created by Asao Mihara, the director-general of the Defense Agency. It was something that had been passed down by Michita Sakata, the Defense Agency's director-general during the previous Miki cabinet.

As such, Director-General Sakata would sometimes ask me to accompany him when visitors came from abroad. Each time, the Foreign Ministry would send a young novice secretary to interpret.

Watching from the sidelines, I was appalled at their poor grasp of English. They would frequently make mistakes, but I kept quiet because my corrections would have damaged many a promising career.

Any Japanese with a passion for the English language should exercise a degree of caution. Foreign languages are merely tools, and should be treated as such.

Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, who actually hailed from the Ministry of Finance and not the Foreign Ministry, was a typical example. He was well-known for showing off by holding an English-language newspaper under his arm. But during his tenure as prime minister, he infuriated the New York Times and other parts of the American media when he stated, in English, that he "wanted to show compassion for the United States." He had mistakenly used the word "compassion" when what he really meant was "sympathy."

In August 1992, the Miyazawa cabinet individually invited fourteen experts to the prime minister's official residence, to canvass their opinions on the Emperor's trip to China. I was one of those experts.

I voiced the opposing view, saying that when His Majesty travels abroad, he goes in order to represent Japan and celebrate that country, but this would be inappropriate in a country like China and its domestic human rights record.

The month before, Mr. Tarui, a section head at the Foreign Ministry's China desk, came to my office to plead with me. "I studied abroad in China at government expense. Since those days, I vowed to devote my life to Sino-Japanese friendship. When you go to the prime minister's residence, please don't oppose the Emperor's visit to China."

When I asked him about the issue of the suppression of human rights in China since the Tiananmen Incident, he declared unapologetically that "even before Tiananmen there was no such thing as human rights." And on the issue of China's nuclear testing, he replied that, "the military did it without listening to the central government."

"Your vow to devote your life to Sino-Japanese friendship," I said, "is a personal decision, but has nothing to do with the national interest of Japan." When I told him, "I intend to oppose the Imperial visit to China," his shoulders drooped, and he left, quite dejected.

It was an unfortunate example of someone becoming a mouthpiece for a place where they were once posted.

The criticism of the Foreign Ministry running through this book by Mr. Sugihara is penetrating; he sheds a welcome light on many issues, and holds the reader in breathless suspense.

The author is thoroughly familiar with Japan's diplomatic history since the Meiji period when the country opened up to the outside world, and has looked closely into the serious errors committed by our Foreign Ministry. I would like to take this opportunity to attest to the author's brilliant insights.

My hope is that this book shall be widely read, to help put right the diplomacy of our country.

Hideaki Kase

## Author's Preface

My objectives for publishing this book are twofold. One of these will be to hold the Foreign Ministry to account for its many mistakes and lack of good judgement. The other is the Senkaku Islands issue, which currently presents a dilemma for Japan.

On April 6, 2012, during a visit to the United States then Tokyo governor Shintaro Ishihara announced the capital city's plans to purchase the Senkaku Islands. Almost immediately donations began pouring in, amassing a vast sum. China, in turn, began to kick up a fuss.

So on July 7, the Japanese government announced a policy of nationalization. In the end, it was decided the nation would make the purchase, thus settling the issue of who would buy the Senkaku Islands.

If Tokyo had made the purchase, effective control of the Senkaku Islands would have been settled beyond question, because of plans to build infrastructure there such as, at the very least, a typhoon shelter for Japanese fisherman. Fearing this, China's Foreign Ministry must have confidentially informed Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs that it was preferable to have the nation rather than the capital make the purchase, and thereby maintain the status quo where no structures of any sort would be built. What is not clear though is which of the two diplomatic services, China's or Japan's, came up with the idea of the Japanese national government making the purchase. But it is almost certain there was solid agreement between the two that all would be well so long as the purchase was made by Japan's national government.

From the nation's point of view, and in the long term, it would have been better if Tokyo had made the acquisition, and strengthened effective control over the area through Governor Ishihara's plans. Purchase by the Japanese government gives China direct leverage, and makes strengthening effective control all the more difficult. But if Tokyo had made the purchase, and if through the city's plans an actual record of effective control had been set, the Chinese government's leverage over Japan's national government would have been greatly reduced. So in the long term, purchase by the Tokyo government would have been much better for Japan. However, Japan's Foreign Ministry colluded with the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to force the nation to make the purchase. It can be argued that, from the Japanese public's point of view, even this incident reveals the true nature of Japan's Foreign Ministry to work against the national interest.

In any case, it was evident that the Foreign Ministry had "selfish motives" to crush plans by Tokyo to make the purchase, stemming from its deep-rooted hostility towards Governor Ishihara. Besides, even if it is unclear which side first broached the idea of the Japanese government making the purchase, as a result Japan has been put in the position of having to beg for instructions from China.



However from China's overall perspective, the plan for the Japanese government to purchase the Islands, compared to the Tokyo plan, gives the impression of an even stronger countermeasure against China. Consequently, the entire Chinese government, including the military, has not quieted down.

Because it has exacerbated the problem by doing the Chinese Foreign Ministry's bidding, Japan's Foreign Ministry can no longer back down. Then-Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda did not revise the policy of having the national government make the purchase, and stuck to the nationalization policy.

Japan maintains the Senkaku Islands as Japanese territory, and claims that no territorial dispute with China over Senkaku exists, and yet it takes no steps to enhance its effective control there by, for instance, building a typhoon shelter for Japanese fisherman. Under the influence of Japan's Foreign Ministry, who is in mortal fear of China, it is only natural that such backsliding would occur. However, the Japanese government still held rigidly to the nationalization plan, and went ahead with the purchase. I have revealed how Japan's Foreign Ministry was unyielding as it stood squarely behind the government.

For the Foreign Ministry, the problem of the Senkaku Islands was a minor issue, but things like the process described above have become an opportunity for this author to consider how to expose the reality of the Ministry to the public. My interest in Japan's Foreign Ministry began in 1982 during the history textbook misinformation controversy, but now that the Liberal Democratic Party has been returned to government, I would like the readers of this book to understand that Japan cannot be revitalized without the LDP administration's reform of the Foreign Ministry. Perhaps no other book criticizes the Foreign Ministry quite as fiercely or stridently as this, in other words Japan's Foreign Ministry may never have been the target of such harsh criticism; but I urge readers to understand that Japan has no future if our Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not reformed on the basis of these criticisms.

Japanese modernization since the Meiji era has seen our government agencies adopt various systems, but none has failed as miserably as that of the Foreign Ministry. It is an unrivalled failure. How much have the people of Japan suffered because of the Foreign Ministry's present state of existence? It is my hope this book will explain the exact nature of the harm done to Japan.

I employ a narrative style where some incidents may be recounted several times. However, each retelling of the same incident is done from a different perspective, so there is no unnecessary repetition. The degree of overlap signifies precisely the severity of each incident.

Finally, I would like to thank the diplomatic historian Hideaki Kase for kindly agreeing to write the Foreword. It is my sincerest wish that, for the sake of Japan's rebirth, government officials and politicians, including Diet members and ministers of state, as well as the judiciary, will take time to consider the critical issues raised in this book.

Seishiro Sugihara  
January 2013

## Translator's Note

It is my privilege to have been asked to translate Seishiro Sugihara's *Question of Guilt: Japan's Foreign Ministry and Its War Responsibility* from Japanese into English. This is the first full length book to trace the incompetence and culpability of Japan's Foreign Ministry since its beginnings in the Meiji era. Although the Ministry introduced an examination system in the 1870s based on models established in Europe and the United States to select and train staff, Sugihara shows how this paradoxically produced a coterie of individuals dedicated to the pursuit of ministerial interests over those of the Japanese people.

Most egregious of the Ministry's blunders was its administrative mishandling of the "final notice" to the United States that turned the Imperial Japanese Navy's surprise assault on Pearl Harbor into an unannounced "sneak attack," and led to tragic consequences for Japan. The author explains how this and other blunders were largely due to the incompetence of Ministry staff, and to deeply flawed institutional, organizational, recruitment and training issues. He analyzes more recent bribery and embezzlement cases, and also shows how the Ministry has failed when reacting to exigent circumstances abroad such as efforts to evacuate Japanese nationals during the invasion of Kuwait in 1990. Critical of the Ministry's attempts to enact internal reforms, he makes recommendations to correct these flaws so that Japan may finally conduct a decent and proper foreign policy that remains true to the national interest, and to the people of Japan.

Conventional postwar multi-volume narratives of Japanese diplomacy have largely portrayed the Foreign Ministry in a passive role during the events of the 1930s, leading up to a war instigated exclusively by Japan's two military services. This paradigm has persisted and is perpetuated in treatments by insiders and former diplomats, who largely take an uncritical approach to the Ministry's actions in the postwar era. Little has been made of the antiquated systems in place within the Ministry, some of which have remained unchanged since their introduction in the Meiji era, nor of the effect these structural and institutional problems have had on the Ministry's general performance. However, factional and policy disagreements over the past decade have revealed unprecedented influence peddling and embezzlement scandals, and triggered widespread scrutiny of the workings of the Foreign Ministry in greater detail than ever before.

In a welcome departure from such uncritical narratives, Sugihara has written the first major work to examine the Foreign Ministry's chronic weaknesses. He has produced an unsanitized history of Japan's diplomatic blunders and errors, from both the turbulent decades leading up to war with the United States, and the postwar period as Japan slowly reestablished its standing in the international community.

Sugihara has written extensively on the diplomatic history of Japan. *Question of Guilt* can be viewed as the fourth volume of an unofficial "tetralogy" chronicling

the failings of the Foreign Ministry. The first book in this quartet is *Japanese Perspectives on Pearl Harbor* (Asian Research Service, 1995), translated by Theodore McNelly, and is a survey of media reports around the time of the fiftieth anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The second is *Between Incompetence and Culpability: Assessing the Diplomacy of Japan's Foreign Ministry from Pearl Harbor to Potsdam* (University Press of America, 1997) where he examined in detail the circumstances surrounding the bungling by diplomats at Japan's Washington embassy on the eve of war that inadvertently turned the Imperial Japanese Navy's assault on Pearl Harbor into a "sneak attack." This led him to examine more closely the administrative and political record of Japan's Foreign Ministry in the postwar period to determine how officials assessed, recorded, concealed, and begrudgingly acknowledged their culpability for this egregious error. The third book of the series is *Chiune Sugihara and Japan's Foreign Ministry* (UPA, 2001) which championed the causes of individuals such as Chiune Sugihara (unrelated to the author, Seishiro, by family or marriage) and Naoya Nakano, two Ministry employees who followed their consciences to uphold the national interest over the narrower interests of the Foreign Ministry, and were subsequently ostracized for their "insubordination." He ties all these threads together in *Question of Guilt* (the final volume in this tetralogy) to produce an unprecedented survey of the failings of the Foreign Ministry, since its beginnings in the Meiji period to the present day, and offers alternatives for future reforms.

Sugihara has also written extensively on the Japanese education system, and the significance of the Fundamental Law of Education, the emperor system, and the separation of church and state in Japan. His work on jurisprudence, religious education, and historiography in pedagogical studies was recognized by the Japan Buddhist Education Association in 1998. He was appointed president of the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform in 2011, and has recently shepherded a new middle school textbook through the complicated authorization process, a book that deals with these complex and controversial wartime, foreign policy and diplomatic issues in a frank and principled manner. He is dedicated to the cause of overcoming the tragic consequences of the war between Japan and the United States, and demonstrates how, even in our fractious and turbulent world, erstwhile foes can indeed come together as true friends and allies.

*Norman Hu*  
*Translator*  
*November 2016*

## Chapter 1

# The Incompetence and Culpability of Japan's Foreign Ministry: The Prewar Period

## 1.1 What A Disgrace! I Came Back Because I Was Afraid Of This

### *The Foresight of Jutaro Komura*

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed in 1902, and this was thanks to the foresight of Jutaro Komura. The prevailing view within the government to that time followed the lead of the influential figure Hirobumi Ito, and was held by those who believed Japan's security rested with cooperation with Russia.

Besides the fact that Japan could not match Russia's might, the rationale behind cooperation with Russia was to acknowledge its special rights in Manchuria, in exchange for recognition of Japan's special rights in Korea and the Korean Peninsula, and in its own way was quite realistic.

However, Jutaro Komura insisted on opposing this idea. It was true that cooperation with Russia would bring temporary benefits, but wouldn't produce long-term guarantees given Russia's aggressive nature; moreover he pointed out that, as a distinct disadvantage, ties with Russia would offend the Qing. On the other hand, ties with the British would be useful in preserving peace in the Far East in the long term since Britain's purpose for being in Asia was to preserve the status quo for the benefit of commerce and profit, rather than territorial expansion. China under the Qing would begin to trust the Japanese, and Japan's business reputation would also improve; and even as far as the economic development of Japan was concerned, it was more beneficial to forge ties with Britain, rather than with Russia, which had control of Siberia. And Komura was of the opinion that, if Japan was destined to clash with Russia in the future, an alliance with Britain would be of great benefit to Japan.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hisahiko Okazaki, *Komura Jutaro to sono jidai* [Komura Jutaro and his era] (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyujo, 2003), pp. 203-204.

During this period, Britain had been isolated internationally because of the Boer War, but it still had to prevent Russia from expanding its influence. The British, who traditionally excelled at diplomacy, hoped to make allies in the Far East, and Britain made advances towards Japan in the hope of forming an alliance. Komura realized there was more to gain by accepting Britain's overtures, than by strengthening ties with Russia. He showed great foresight.

At Komura's insistence, Japan signed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and within two years, clashed with the Russian Empire in 1904, plunged headlong into the Russo-Japanese War, and ended victorious.

The war between Japan and Russia began in 1904, as is widely known. Towards the end of a closely-fought struggle, Japan won a great victory on January 1, 1905, with the destruction of the Russian fleet concealed at Port Arthur, thanks to the capture of the strategic stronghold of 203 Meter Hill. Gaining the momentum, Japan went on to win the Battle of Mukden in March. In May, Russia's Baltic Fleet arrived in Japanese waters after sailing around the Cape of Good Hope, but the battleships stationed at Port Arthur it had hoped to merge with had already been sunk. Even so, it still projected a commanding presence. However, it was completely destroyed by the Japanese Navy's Combined Fleet commanded by Heihachiro Togo. It was a victory that stands out in the annals of world history.

It may be worthwhile to discuss this victory briefly. At the time, Japan did not have sufficient capacity in ammunition or military personnel to continue the battle. Conversely, Japan's adversary Russia still had troops to spare to deploy against Japan. But Russia was gripped by fear of revolution at home.

U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt chose his moment well to mediate for peace. It is said that Roosevelt was impressed after reading Inazo Nitobe's *Bushido, the Soul of Japan* and became enamored with Japan, but this doesn't necessarily mean he mediated this peace while siding with Japan. He would also have kept U. S. interests in mind, but in any case, given Japan's situation his mediation couldn't have come at a better time.

But there was nothing coincidental about this situation. When war broke out between Japan and Russia, the elder statesman Hirobumi Ito dispatched Kentaro Kaneko, a good friend of President Roosevelt's, to the United States. Thanks in part to Kaneko's efforts, the president indicated to Kaneko in June 1904 to the effect that he would be willing to mediate peace at a suitable time. In short, this is how outstanding Japanese diplomacy was in this period. In a war that would decide the fate of the nation, it was as though the utmost consideration had been given to produce the most favorable development possible for the Japanese side.

It wasn't simply a question of diplomatic maneuvering, because even though Russia had lost a series of battles against Japan, arguably it still had sufficient numbers of elite troops to fight Japan. Despite having these troops in reserve, what forced Russia to accept peace was its unease about a possible revolution unfolding at home. Disturbances within Russia fomented by Colonel Motojiro Akashi and others brought about welcome results, and the "Bloody Sunday" incident occurred in January 1905, an uprising of workers in St Petersburg.

Thus far Japan's diplomacy, in the broadest sense of the word, had been impeccable. At the peace conference that lasted about four weeks in the American state of New Hampshire, Ambassador Plenipotentiary Jutaro Komura acquitted himself admirably. The Japanese public was enraged Japan had received so little at

the peace conference despite winning the war, and held a protest rally in Hibiya Park, giving rise to the Hibiya Incendiary Incident. However, Japan had exhausted its supplies of troops and ammunition during the war effort, and with the advent of peace, information about serious problems facing Japan's combat readiness was withheld from the public. The government had no choice but to wait for public anger to subside.

In any event, Japanese diplomacy to this point was outstanding. Foreign Minister Munemitsu Mutsu devoted his life to the abolition of unequal treaties signed at the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate; and even during the First Sino-Japanese War (1894), his performance was exemplary. At the end of his memoirs *Kenkenroku*, a diplomatic record of the Sino-Japanese war, Mutsu wrote that the diplomatic policies he pursued couldn't be matched by any other.<sup>2</sup> He was saying he wanted the reader to believe that his judgment in handling problems arising in any situation could not be surpassed. In other words, his decisions were made in order to achieve the greatest benefit for the Japanese state.

### *Deplorable Blunder by Jutaro Komura*

It could be argued that Jutaro Komura, who revealed his superb skills while securing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the peace accord between Russia and Japan, performed outstandingly until the latter accord was reached. However, directly after the Russo-Japanese accord was reached, Komura was to commit a terrible blunder for Japan.

Upon returning to Japan, Komura opposed a proposal for Japan and the United States to jointly run the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria, put forward by Prime Minister Taro Katsura and others with the American rail magnate E. H. Harriman. A provisional agreement was reached under Katsura, but despite this being more or less approved as Japanese government policy, Komura overturned it. Komura's main assertion was that advantages gained by spilling the blood of Japanese soldiers should be Japan's exclusively, but this didn't exactly sit well with the United States whose good will had brought about mediation for peace, and rescued Japan from a difficult situation.<sup>3</sup>

Had this plan to jointly operate the railway been realized, the extent of conflict between Japan and the United States may not have been exacerbated when later dividing up rights and interests in China. And it may also have meant that the Chinese people, when it came to foreign troops stationed on their soil, may not have been solely focused on Japan's military as the enemy, or at least not to as great an extent as they did. If Japan and the United States had jointly managed the railroad in Manchuria,

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<sup>2</sup> Munemitsu Mutsu, *Kenkenroku*, edited by Nobutoshi Hagihara (Tokyo: Chuokoron, 1984), p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> Shigeru Shiramatsu, *Sono toki, kubo wa inakatta* [Back Then There Were No Aircraft Carriers] (Tokyo: Bungeishunju, 2013) pp. 338-41. In this book about the "sneak attack" at Pearl Harbor Shiramatsu writes that, when Franklin Roosevelt was younger, he heard from his distant cousin President Theodore Roosevelt about Japan's lack of cooperation with the United States following the conclusion of the 1905 Portsmouth Treaty, and argues that his disliking of Japan was therefore not surprising.

rather than being at odds with each other, the two countries would have had to work together to deal with domestic turmoil occurring later in China.

Japan was also indebted to Harriman because he had underwritten a large amount of Japanese war bonds himself. Harriman, whose proposal for joint management had been rejected, returned to the United States, and warned that an ominous fate would later befall Japan.<sup>4</sup> The tragedies visited upon Japan in the future far outstripped the prediction made by Harriman.

What sort of serious reflection should Komura's behavior have elicited? It's that debts owed to another country must be properly repaid. This was during the Meiji period, when many Japanese still observed the tenets of Bushido, the way of the warrior. However prewar Japanese foreign policy, including that during the Meiji period, was inconsistent with Bushido in many respects. Don't cower before the strong, don't lord it over the weak: that was the spirit of Bushido. At first glance, prewar Japanese diplomacy involved not fawning upon a strong country because of their strength, but also included the unwelcome habit of moving forcefully against those in a weaker position. The diplomatic goal during the Meiji period was to abolish the unequal treaties, and this mandated adopting a realistic approach, but at no time did Japanese diplomacy become servile to achieve that. However, an arrogant and highhanded attitude was frequently adopted towards vulnerable individuals and countries.

Still, there were quite a few people who individually possessed the temperament of Bushido. Couldn't it be argued that diplomacy during this period which disregarded Bushido and ignored debts of gratitude, became the cause of the tragedy in Japan that followed?

The sharp-eyed Komura should have realized it was a good idea to accept Harriman's proposal, even if only by anticipating that Japan and the United States would not have been forced to become rivals over China, had the American's proposal been accepted. However, Komura resorted to a diplomacy that went against the spirit of Bushido.

Japanese diplomacy, up to the moment that peace was concluded between Japan and Russia, was as Munemitsu Mutsu had said: it followed a path that was unmatched in its excellence. Nevertheless, Jutarō Komura's behavior immediately following the conclusion of that accord with Russia was ill-considered, and was the beginning of Japan's downfall.

According to a book by former Japanese diplomat Hisahiko Okazaki, Komura heard about the Harriman proposal when he returned to Japan through the port of Yokohama, and said, "What a disgrace! I came back even though I was ill, because I was afraid of a situation like this."<sup>5</sup> The disgrace, though, was Komura himself.

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<sup>4</sup> Okazaki, *Komura Jutarō to sono jidai*, p. 357.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 355.

## 1.2 The Foolish Twenty-One Demands

### *The Twenty-One Demands, Focal Point for Chinese Resentment*

With the outbreak of the Great War in July 1914, there were in fact many outstanding issues between China and Japan.

In January the following year, Japan slammed China with the so-called Twenty-One Demands.

In February 1912, Yuan Shikai became president when the Qing dynasty fell, and China entered a period of instability. It is widely known the term “twenty-one demands” was originally coined by China, and these “demands” were divided into five groups, the fifth of which contained articles Japan hoped to attain from China through suasion rather than force. In other words, the Chinese side began to misuse the term “twenty-one demands” intentionally, but from the Japanese side it was more a case of “fourteen demands and a seven-item wish list.”

However, Japan clearly mishandled the timing and manner in which the demands were imposed upon China. It seemed indeed like a golden opportunity for Japan to submit them in order to attain those demands, because the major powers were preoccupied with the Great War and paid little attention to East Asia, and were therefore unlikely to interfere. But from a long-term perspective, it wasn’t wise to incur the world’s distrust by taking advantage of the turmoil in China and acting like a thief at a fire. And looking to the future, didn’t Japan actually lose more than it gained?

Nor was unilaterally forcing the “demands” on China a good idea. When these twenty-one articles were first submitted to Yuan Shikai at the beginning of January they were in the format of mere requests; but by May, and at the Chinese government’s own request, they were lodged as a “final notice” or “ultimatum” to make it easier for the Chinese government to accept.<sup>6</sup> The fifth group of articles detailing what Japan merely hoped to attain was eliminated, but the arrogant and unilateral imposition of this “ultimatum” soon became a target of hostility for the people of China.

On May 4, 1919, students from universities across Beijing gathered in Tiananmen Square, and staged demonstrations that became known as the “May Fourth Movement.” The demonstrations lasted slightly longer than a month. The target of the struggle at this time was to abolish treaties listed in the Twenty-One Demands.

Granted there were indeed many pressing issues between Japan and China at the time, nevertheless the timing of its presentation, the unilateral way these “demands” were pushed on China, and the air of finality with which the “ultimatum” was presented, left a deep legacy of trouble for later generations. They were truly Twenty-One Foolish Demands.

While a lot of the responsibility for the Twenty-One Demands rests with Shigenobu Okuma, it is undeniable that the Foreign Ministry, supposedly an

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<sup>6</sup> Morinosuke Kashima, *Nihon Gaiko shi 11: Shina Mondai* [History of Japan’s Diplomacy Vol. 11: China Issue] (Tokyo: Kashima Kenkyujo Shuppankai, 1971), p. 3111.



organization of professional diplomats, executed its diplomatic craft clumsily. Apart from the hugely ill-advised timing of the document's presentation, and its formulation as a set of "demands," closer examination reveals it was naïve diplomacy in the extreme to readily accede to, and then enact, the Chinese side's request. Namely, to make it easier to accept by using the format of an ultimatum and force it upon China.

Shigenobu Okuma was the prime minister at the time, and his minister of foreign affairs was Takaaki Kato. Born in 1860, Kato had no personal experience of the carnage from the late Edo period through the early years of Meiji; but Okuma, as a politician of those times, experienced far more turmoil than even Hirobumi Ito and his generation; and in an ever-changing political career, Okuma had served as foreign minister and could also claim revision of the unequal treaties with the Western Powers as an achievement. One wonders then why a man as capable as Okuma wasn't able to discern that the Twenty-One Demands were flawed, nor how flawed the diplomacy to implement it was. Looking back in the context of Japan's diplomatic history, this surely arouses a sense of foreboding.

### *Criticism by Kan'ichi Asakawa*

Now let me draw a quote from a book written in 1909 called *Nihon no Kaki* [Japan's Misfortune] by Kan'ichi Asakawa, which criticizes Japan's foreign policy. Asakawa was born in 1873 in Fukushima Prefecture, and at the age of 21 went abroad in 1894 to study in the United States at Dartmouth College. He continued his studies at Yale University, earning a doctorate in history, and thereafter became a prominent historian, teaching at both Dartmouth and Yale. Asakawa began to develop a harsh critique of Japan for promptly losing its sense of humility in the wake of its victory in the Russo-Japanese War. In 1909, Asakawa published *Nihon no Kaki* which severely chastised the nation's betrayal by Japanese diplomacy.

"Clearly China ought to be severely reprimanded for hurting our national pride through its arrogance, irrationality, and stubbornness, but if we respond in a high-handed manner, public opinion throughout the world will sympathize with weak China and denounce strong Japan, and as a result it is undeniable China will take advantage of this to become even more intractable. On the contrary, we ought to patiently offer our counsel, and expect nothing in return for this effort, nor ask for obsolete rights and interests; and if China reacts unreasonably like a child, or as cunning as a fox, we should respond magnanimously, and only protest when we believe it will benefit China."<sup>7</sup>

Asakawa's astuteness cannot be praised enough. When Hitler was about to invade Poland in 1939, he presented Britain and France, who had declared war against Germany, with a temporary peace proposal. Asakawa wondered, even at this early stage, whether Hitler might not kill himself in the end, thus shrewdly anticipating Hitler's suicide.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Kan'ichi Asakawa, revised by Kimiyoshi Yura, *Nihon no Kaki* [Japan's Misfortune] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1987), p. 139.

<sup>8</sup> Yoshio Abe, *Saigo no Nihonjin - Asakawa Kan'ichi no shogai* [The Last Japanese: The Life of Asakawa Kan'ichi] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2004), p. 192.

From Japan's perspective, China does indeed behave in a thoroughly unreasonable manner. Sometimes Japan can become completely exasperated from outrage. However, China's 5,000-year history has always been embellished by murders and lies. With such an ignoble history, it would mean very little to China to deceive Japan. When interacting with such a China, what is the point of getting angry over every little act of Chinese dishonesty? The issue is how to build a peaceful relationship when dealing with this sort of China, and how best to pursue our national interest.

During the chaos towards the end of the Qing dynasty, China was gasping for air. That being the case, Japan should have responded by contributing to China's rebirth as an orderly modern state. Japan could have avoided treating China so unfairly, and especially not have behaved conspicuously when compared to the Great Powers. Indeed if anything, Japan ought to have done no more or less than any of the other Powers. However Japan and China had a history of interaction spanning two millennia, and from China's perspective any action by Japan that harmed Chinese interests, even if it differed little from that of the other Powers, would be seen to stand out. But because Japan had belonged to China's traditional cultural sphere, it would have aroused particular hostility in the Chinese people even if Japan had acted just like one of the other Great Powers.

Asakawa argued that since Japan and China had this sort of relationship initially, Japan ought to have taken this factor into account when building diplomatic ties with China.

And then there's Bushido. During the final years of the Edo period much effort was expended trying to abolish the unequal treaties, a series of agreements that had been ratified with no clear understanding of what they actually represented. Japan was subjected to much humiliation because of those unequal treaties. That being the case, Japan should not have subjected other countries to the same humiliation. Bushido was revered in Japan by the people, and should have been carried through into Japanese diplomacy. This perspective has been consistently absent from Japanese diplomacy since the Meiji era.

Moreover, diplomatic bungling to the extent committed by Japan has rarely been seen in other nations. During the two and a half centuries spanning the Edo period, Japan did not forge relationships with other nations. As a result, Japan did not accumulate any diplomatic skills. Japan created a ministry for dealing with diplomatic affairs that in appearance seemed like a professional government agency, but in substance lacked the true essence of a ministry capable of handling foreign matters.

This is how Japan's failed diplomacy associated with the Twenty-One Demands later became the cause of much anguish and suffering for the Japanese people.

### **1.3 We Will No Longer Deal with the Chiang Regime**

*The Foreign Ministry Promoted Statement "We Will No Longer Deal with the Chiang Regime"*

The February 26 Incident, an attempted coup of the Japanese government by young Army officers, occurred in 1936. Koki Hirota was appointed prime minister on March 9 to head a cabinet to deal with the situation.

On December 12 of the same year, the Xi'an Incident occurred in China. Zhang Xueiliang imprisoned Kuomintang (KMT) leader Chiang Kai-shek, who had flown to Xi'an to rally Zhang and other members of the Northeast army to the leadership of the KMT regime. There were two rival centers of power in China at that time: the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The KMT felt a war with Japan would be unfavorable, and that suppressing the CCP should have priority. Zhang Xueiliang was ordered to subdue the CCP, and was specifically urged to do so, however Zhang supported Communist calls for a united KMT-CCP front against Japan, and placed Chiang Kai-shek under house arrest. The Communist Party's Zhou Enlai joined them at Zhang's invitation, and Chiang Kai-shek was released after talks resulted in an agreement to suspend their civil war and form a united front against Japan.

While in CCP custody, it seems fortunate that Chiang Kai-shek was not killed. The Xi'an Incident itself was instigated by Zhang Xueiliang, but pressure to kill Chiang Kai-shek came from troops loyal to Mao Zedong, leader of the CCP. Apparently Chiang was spared because of the wishes of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. Stalin's aim was to lure Japan's army into China's vast interior, to keep Japanese troops away from the Soviet border. Stalin wanted a unified China, not a divided one, to fight a war of resistance against Japan. So, Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek began negotiations. Chiang's son, Ching-kuo, had been a student in Moscow for eleven years, and was virtually a hostage. Chiang Kai-shek saw war with Japan as a path to self-destruction for China, and had no intention of launching a war of resistance against Japan, but agreed to do so in exchange for his son's life.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile in Japan as these global events were unfolding, on January 23, 1937, Diet member Kunimatsu Hamada of the Seiyukai Party criticized the military in the lower house of the Diet during the so-called "heated exchange over *hara-kiri*" (*hara-kiri mondo*), and Army Minister Toshiichi Terauchi demanded the Diet's dissolution which resulted in the cabinet's resignation. Prime Minister Hirota had been criticized for reviving the "active duty system" (*gen'eki bukan sei*), previously abolished by the Gombei Yamamoto cabinet in 1913, whereby only serving military personnel could be appointed as Navy or Army ministers, but now Hirota suffered the consequences of this reversal earlier than expected.

On February 2, Senjuro Hayashi was appointed prime minister, and formed the new cabinet. As commander in chief of the Chosen Army in Korea during the outbreak of the 1931 Manchurian Incident, Hayashi ordered his Korean-based troops into Manchuria without authorization. Lower house elections were held shortly thereafter, but due to a crushing defeat on May 31, the Hayashi cabinet was dissolved after a mere four months.

In all this confusion, Fumimaro Konoe arrived on the scene carrying the hopes of the nation. The Konoe family, considered progressive, was the highest ranking of the five regent houses in the Fujiwara clan; furthermore, Fumimaro had been a member of Ambassador Plenipotentiary Kinmochi Saionji's delegation to the 1919

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<sup>9</sup> Shudo Higashinakano, "Nitchu zenmen senso no kakusareta shinso" [The Hidden Reality of All-Out War between Japan and China] *Shushin* (February 2006), p. 9.

Paris Peace Conference, and was believed to have had a flawless political career. Following the resignation of the Hayashi cabinet, Konoe stepped in to form the new cabinet on June 4, 1937.

However, Konoe's cabinet was dogged by misfortune. On July 7, barely a month after the cabinet was formed, Japanese troops clashed with the Chinese army at Lugouqiao Bridge on the outskirts of Beijing. This was the so-called Marco Polo Bridge Incident. There is compelling evidence that the shots fired on the Japanese army which triggered this incident were the work of Communist troops, whose aim was to incite the Japanese military and Chinese Nationalist troops to fight each other.

Thereafter, Japan and China fought a war that would continue until Japan's defeat in the Greater East Asia War. If in the very beginning Japanese troops had captured the KMT government's capital of Nanjing, the Nationalist government may have capitulated and Nanjing would have fallen on December 13 during the advance into the city. However from the very start the KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek, who was prepared for a protracted war, refused to surrender, and moved the capital to Chongqing to avoid the full brunt of the Japanese Army. In fact amidst the growing nationalism fueled by anti-Japanese sentiment, the KMT government through its resistance was able to increase its support from the Chinese people.

It was under these circumstances that Konoe, on January 16, 1938, issued the statement "We will no longer deal with the Chiang regime," thereby terminating negotiations with the KMT government.<sup>10</sup>

However, the real issue is whether the wording of the phrase "to no longer deal with" was appropriate as diplomatic language. Another issue is whether such a strongly worded statement was indeed necessary, or if its intention was to mask the inability to resolve the China question because of the failure to capture the capital of Nanjing and bring about the subsequent surrender of the KMT government. However, humiliating the KMT government only stiffened its resolve, and patriotic movements fueled by anti-Japanese sentiment spread, actually increasing the Chinese public's support for the KMT government.

A unilateral declaration not to negotiate with one party to those negotiations can only make it more difficult to resolve the situation, and turn that situation into a quagmire. The inherent failure of this statement was also clearly evident to some within Japan. The Imperial Japanese Army General Staff Office certainly saw it this way. Central figures in the Army were most concerned about the Soviet Union, which was why war between Japan and China had to be avoided at all costs. The Army resolutely opposed the statement "to no longer deal with the KMT government," and perversely it was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who actively promoted it.

### *Imperial Army Voices Fierce Opposition to Statement*

Shortly beforehand, on December 24, 1937, the Cabinet had approved a policy statement titled "Outlines of Measures for the China Incident" (*Shina jihen taisho*

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<sup>10</sup> Shin'ichi Kamimura, *Nihon Gaiko shi 20: Nikka Jihen ge* [History of Japan's Diplomacy Vol. 20: The Sino-Japanese War, Pt. 2] (Tokyo: Kashima Kenkyujo Shuppankai, 1971), pp. 201-202.

yoko) which argued to the effect that little could be expected from negotiations with the KMT government. As a result, on January 16 the following year, Konoe declared Japan would “no longer deal with the KMT government,” but this had been the subject of a heated discussion at an Imperial General Headquarters-Government Liaison Conference the day before.

While Prince Kan'in Kotohito headed the Army General Staff at the time, the man actually in charge of operations was his deputy, Vice Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Hayao Tada. Koki Hirota, the foreign minister in Konoe's cabinet, suggested terminating negotiations because very little good faith could be seen in China's replies. Tada countered by saying they shouldn't treat the KMT's answer as completely without prospects. Admiral Mineichi Koga, vice chief of the Navy General Staff, agreed with Tada. Foreign Minister Hirota bristled with anger though, and said: “In view of my lengthy experience as a diplomat, it is clear from the Chinese side's responses that they have no real desire for any peaceful resolution. Doesn't Vice Chief Tada have confidence in the foreign minister?” To which Hajime Sugiyama, the notorious Army minister, threatened in a totally unprincipled display that, if the Supreme Command has no confidence in the foreign minister, it also has no confidence in the government, and “either the Army General Staff can resign, or the cabinet can resign.” But despite the efforts of the Army and Navy general staffs, the statement “to no longer deal with the KMT government” was released on January 16, 1938.<sup>11</sup> Konoe soon became aware of the flaw inherent in this statement.

Regardless of whether the military came up with the proposal or not, it is problematic that the foreign minister and the Foreign Ministry actively pursued the matter and overruled objections by the military.

During those years, the Chinese side would readily go back on its word or break its promises, and it is undeniable this happened countless times to the sheer exasperation of the Japanese side. However, from China's perspective, it is also undeniable there were many examples of incidents on the Japanese side, too, which had obviously inflamed the Chinese people's nationalism due to anti-Japanese sentiment, and would have made any peaceful resolution all the more difficult. For instance, Japanese troops stationed in China would often disregard Tokyo's directives, and expand the war front unnecessarily; or Japan would first force one demand on China, only to increase this demand further at some future date. In terms of diplomatic fundamentals, any statement removing altogether the KMT, a strong negotiating counterpart for a peaceful resolution, from the negotiation process was surely inconceivable under these circumstances.

Suppose the KMT government was to weaken and could no longer function as a partner for negotiations; even so, the future remained unpredictable, and it would surely be common sense to retain the KMT as a negotiating partner to at least keep the channels of communication open. Moreover, although many other political

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<sup>11</sup> Kazuo Horiba, *Nisshi jihen senso shidoshi, Meiji hyakunen shi soshō* [Guided History to the Sino-Japanese War, Meiji Centennial History Series] (Tokyo: Hara Shobo, 1973), pp. 128-32; *Sankei Shimbun*, December 10, 2000, “Shijō tsui taiken, ano senso, 207-kai: saigo no kizoku Konoe no jiketsu” [Reliving That War in Print, Part 207: The Last Aristocrat, Konoe's Suicide].

organizations existed at this time, the dominant political force in control of China was the Nationalist government. To declare no interest in negotiating with the KMT, was like directly closing a key channel of communication for resolving the constant stream of problems arising between Japan and China.

Thereafter, an appreciation of the long-term view was abandoned even within Japan itself; and without a sufficient grasp of the overall context, impulsive hardline measures were bandied around, and hardliners took control of the political, military and civilian spheres. Relations between Japan and China developed under circumstances where such hardline policies were impossible to keep in check. And the people of Japan were thrown down into the depths of despair.

Koki Hirota was sentenced to death at the Tokyo Trial after Japan lost the Greater East Asia War and was placed under U.S. occupation. He was the only civilian among the seven men who received death sentences, but even though the Tokyo Trial was a one-sided tribunal conducted by the occupying forces, it was perhaps only natural that Hirota would be held to account by that tribunal. Because, among other things, when he took over as prime minister after the February 26th Incident, he revived the active duty system where only serving military officers could be appointed to head the two service ministries. It could certainly be argued that if you were to hold Hideki Tojo responsible for his involvement in the war, you could similarly blame Hirota for his war responsibility, regardless of the degree of that responsibility.

His wife Shizuko, saying she wanted to put her husband at ease, committed suicide before his death sentence was carried out. Although this story of the love between husband and wife is heartwarming and exemplary, still, it must be noted quite unambiguously that as foreign minister, this professional diplomat pushed ahead with the statement “to no longer deal with the Nationalist government” which anyone could see was flawed, and threw the people of Japan down into the depths of despair. And certainly, this author seeks to expose the problems within Japan’s Foreign Ministry, so it is not something that can be glossed over.

## **1.4 Your Boys Are Not Going To Be Sent Into Any Foreign Wars**

### *Roosevelt Pledges To American People Not To Take Country To War*

In the fall of 1940, Franklin D. Roosevelt defeated the Republican presidential candidate Wendell Wilkie to win an unprecedented third consecutive term as president.

In Europe, Hitler had already precipitated the start of World War II in September 1939. And in September 1940, Japan, Germany and Italy signed the Tripartite Pact. Therefore it goes without saying that Roosevelt was extremely concerned about the war. Under pressure, Wilkie went on the offensive by claiming that reelecting Roosevelt to a third term would get the United States embroiled in hostilities. Faced by this crisis, Roosevelt made a bold concession.

The election was scheduled for November 5, but Roosevelt promised in a radio broadcast the week before (on October 30) that, “Your boys are not going to be

sent into any foreign wars.” To emphasize the point, he repeated this promise: “I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again.”<sup>12</sup>

Thus Roosevelt won an unprecedented third term as president. This meant that the United States could no longer get involved in any war under the Roosevelt administration, no matter how concerned Roosevelt was about the war in Europe. The American administration was committed to this framework. Unfortunately though, not a single reference material on the Japanese side prior to the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States draws attention to this.

Roosevelt had been reelected to a third term, and a brutal war was already unfolding in Europe; but what should we make of the fact that, between the moment Japan and the United States began negotiations to avoid Japan’s possible involvement in hostilities, and the eventual outbreak of the Japan-U.S. war on December 8, 1941 (Japan time), there are no Japanese documents making even the slightest reference to this? It means that, over a considerable period, no analysis was ever made of the political situation taking these factors into account, either in the Foreign Ministry’s home office or its Washington embassy. This represents a severe dereliction of its diplomatic responsibilities.

Every element of foreign policy must be based on sound judgments regarding the long-term significance of individual events over an extended period of time.

However because Japan held talks in a haphazard manner without conducting any such analysis, the American side had a free hand to treat diplomatic negotiations to prevent war between Japan and the United States quite casually.

Diplomatic negotiations between Japan and the United States leading up to the historic outbreak of war on December 8, 1941, are a case in point. The Foreign Ministry was set up at great expense, as was the Japanese embassy in Washington, but neither were able to prevent the people of Japan from plummeting into the depths of despair.

### *The German-Soviet War, A Lost Opportunity*

Let me now demonstrate how incompetent Japan’s Foreign Ministry and its embassy in Washington were in their failure to prevent the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States.

On July 22, 1940, Fumimaro Konoe launched his second cabinet. He appointed Yosuke Matsuoka as foreign minister. On September 27, Japan, Germany, and Italy signed the Tripartite Pact.

At the end of March 1941, Matsuoka toured Europe, and met with Hitler and Mussolini. On his way back to Japan, he stopped over in Moscow, met with Stalin, and signed the Japan-Soviet Neutrality Pact. This neutrality alliance, in conjunction with the Tripartite Pact, in effect produced a “quadripartite pact.” Matsuoka’s intent was to gain leverage from the “quadripartite pact” to extract concessions from the Americans regarding bilateral relations with Japan, and thereby avoid war between Japan and the U.S. Arguably, from the perspective of avoiding war between Japan and

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<sup>12</sup> James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom, 1940-1945* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), p. 6.

the U.S., it was in a sense a practical and compelling solution. In terms of Japanese foreign policy, it was an uncharacteristically preemptive and dynamic act of diplomacy.

However, what came next was hopeless. On June 22, 1941, war broke out between the Soviet Union and Germany. When Japan and the Soviet Union signed a neutrality pact three months beforehand, the Soviet Union had previously endorsed a secret protocol with Germany in September 1939, which approved the partitioning of Poland. There was thus a loose association between the two countries, and Japan's non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union was largely based on the type of broad alliance that already existed between the Soviet Union and Germany. But when Germany launched a war against the Soviet Union, any notion that a "quadrupartite alliance" could be used to extract concessions from the United States soon crumbled.

When war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union, there was a moment, a brief moment, when Japan might have obtained some concessions from the United States and avoided hostilities between them. In other words, if Germany was to launch a war against the Soviet Union, Japan could also attack the Soviet Union under the pretext provided by the Tripartite Pact. Alternatively, Japan could refrain from invading the Soviet Union, and stand by the Japan-Soviet Neutrality Pact. The choice Japan made would be of vital concern to the Soviet Union in deciding the outcome of its war against Germany. It would surely have had enormous influence over the outcome of World War II. The United States viewed Germany with suspicion, and must have hoped wholeheartedly that Japan would remain neutral and not invade the Soviet Union.

Japan should have been able to use this card to its advantage in its negotiations with the U.S., and bring about peace between their two nations. Hypothetical scenarios like these should surely have been considered within the Foreign Ministry as a matter of course, but apparently there were no strategies devised regarding a hypothetical attack on the Soviet Union. This notion was obvious for the United States though, and in the end Japan was simply used as a means for the U. S. to become a belligerent in the war. Even here, it must be stressed how incompetent overall the Foreign Ministry was.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> With the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and the Soviet Union, Walter Adams, assistant chief of the State Department's Division of Far Eastern Affairs, wrote a memorandum with suggestions for how the U.S. should deal with Japan. This is in stark contrast to the strategic thinking of Japan's Foreign Ministry, and clearly President Roosevelt's later actions took the suggestions in Adams' memorandum into account. See U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1941, Vol. 4 The Far East*, (Washington DC: GPO 1941) pp. 278-80.

[Washington, June 25, 1941.]

"...From the short point of view, having in mind our very considerable interest in the maintenance of peace in the South Pacific, there would seem, at least superficially, to be some merit in the idea of allowing Japan to attack Soviet Siberia and thus to expend its military resources in that direction. From the long point of view, however, having in mind our interest in defeating the forces of aggression as a whole, it is believed that the United States should



Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka was responsible for Japan's inaction at this time, so to ouster the intractable Matsuoka, Prime Minister Konoe was forced to dissolve this cabinet and form a new one. Under the Meiji Constitution, only truly weak cabinets could be formed.

As soon as the third Konoe Cabinet was established, Japanese troops occupied southern French Indochina on July 28, a region later to be known as South Vietnam. Thanks to this incursion, on August 1 Japan was forced to swallow a complete oil embargo imposed by the United States. The disturbing lack of insight by Japan's Foreign Ministry continued throughout this period, but the finer details will not be discussed in this book. For a detailed analysis of those events, see my book *Between Incompetence and Culpability: Assessing the Diplomacy of Japan's Foreign Ministry from Pearl Harbor to Potsdam* (1997, University Press of America).

### *The Unattainable Summit Between Konoe And Roosevelt*

Let us now focus our attention on the circumstances surrounding Konoe's proposal to Roosevelt for a U.S.-Japan summit meeting.<sup>14</sup>

Japan occupied southern French Indochina on July 28, 1941, and was hit by an oil embargo on August 1. Konoe panicked. In an attempt to escape this predicament, on August 8 Konoe sent word to Secretary of State Cordell Hull that he desired a

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now endeavor to immobilize Japan both as regards an attack upon Siberia and as regards an attack against Singapore or the Dutch East Indies. Moves or gestures by the United States which would render Japan uncertain in regard to the intentions of the United States in the South Pacific would operate in the direction of preventing Japan becoming involved in Siberia....

"...There are suggested below certain possible further steps which should, if taken, tend to discourage military actions by Japan against Russia: (a) the immediate freezing of Japanese assets in this country would increase Japanese uncertainty as to the intentions of this Government; (b) increased restrictions upon the exports of petroleum products to Japan from the United States would further increase Japanese uncertainty; (c) there should be made during the next two or three months increased efforts to strengthen the position of American, British and Dutch defenses in the Far East; (d) there might be permitted to leak out hints of a cooperative defensive arrangement between the American and British and Dutch armed forces in the Far East; (e) finally the United States might present to Japan in response to any overtures that Japan might make, suggestions in regard to the restoration in the Pacific of the status quo at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese hostilities. For example, it could be suggested that the Japanese withdraw entirely from French Indochina and from the islands of the South Pacific which Japan has recently occupied, etc."

<sup>14</sup> On the matter of the summit meeting between Japan and the United States, and for a detailed account of how Roosevelt and Secretary Hull toyed with Japan, see Seishiro Sugihara, *Between Incompetence and Culpability: Assessing the Diplomacy of Japan's Foreign Ministry from Pearl Harbor to Potsdam*, trans. Norman Hu (Lanham: University Press of America, 1997) (hereafter, *BI&C*), pp. 28-30.

U.S.-Japan summit meeting. But Hull already held Japan in contempt, and shunned Konoe's overtures.

Roosevelt, however, had other ideas. On August 9, 1941, Roosevelt met with the British prime minister Winston Churchill off the coast of Newfoundland and held meetings from August 9 through August 12.

When Konoe sent word about a possible summit meeting with Roosevelt, he was completely unaware of the talks being held between Roosevelt and Churchill, and was pursuing a totally unrelated initiative; but with the announcement at sea of the Atlantic Charter on August 14, news of the secret Roosevelt-Churchill summit became known around the world.

Roosevelt arrived back in Washington on the morning of August 17, and despite it being a Sunday, invited Japan's ambassador Kichisaburo Nomura to meet him that very day. Roosevelt came straight to the point, and recalled that he, along with "the secretary of state, and you the ambassador, sir, we all very strongly aspire to maintain the peace in the Pacific Ocean."

Nomura took this as a friendly overture from Roosevelt, and enthusiastically broached the subject of Konoe's summit meeting with the president. Roosevelt responded positively, and asked whether Juneau, Alaska, around the middle of October would be suitable. Even Secretary of State Hull, whose attitude had considerably mellowed compared to their last meeting, said, "Come see me at any time" when it was time for Nomura to leave.

It looked as though the Japan-U.S. summit meeting was a distinct possibility, and that Japan and the United States were beginning to move towards a peaceful understanding. On August 28, Nomura met again with Roosevelt. He handed over a message from Prime Minister Konoe, who was delighted at reports that Roosevelt had accepted the proposal for a summit meeting, and also a document outlining the position of Japan's government that Roosevelt had requested at the previous meeting. As he read Konoe's message, the president "complemented the tone and spirit of it," and then suggested a meeting of three or four days.

But there was a catch. That evening, Nomura paid a call on Hull who pointed out that "if the discussions at the conference are not agreed upon, the results would be deplorable, so I would like to arrive at an agreement concerning the general nature of the talks." Nomura conferred again with Roosevelt on September 3, who added that, "In both countries there is public opinion to be taken into account. Even if I made a compromise with Japan, in America there would be repeated demands on me to make no changes in our previous policies." Then, on October 2, the United States government delivered a lengthy memorandum to Ambassador Nomura. The purpose of the memorandum was in fact to reject the proposed summit. "[T]he various broad assurances given by the Japanese Premier and the Japanese Government are highly gratifying. [However, in] putting forward its attitude of peaceful intent toward other nations, the Japanese Government qualified its assurance with certain phrases the need for which is not easily understood."

It was a groundless accusation. The proposed meeting was stymied because of this false charge.

Konoe's proposal for a summit meeting of course reflected the complex situation within the Japanese government. While Konoe strived to bring about a peaceful settlement between Japan and the United States, it was hard to reconcile opinions within the government, such as those of the Army and Navy. Public opinion

also took a hard line. However without any change, Japan and the United States would clash, and the outbreak of war would ensue. Konoe's intention was to take along top Japanese military leaders and hold discussions with the U.S. president, establish the terms of the settlement and then obtain the Emperor's sanction, thereby turning it into national policy in one fell swoop.

So while it seemed quite reasonable for Hull to insist that "if the discussions at the conference are not agreed upon, the results would be deplorable, so I would like to arrive at an agreement concerning the general nature of the talks," in fact there were reasons why Konoe couldn't go along with this.

Telegrams sent by the American Embassy in Tokyo to its home office in Washington were for the most part being decrypted by the Japanese Army. From the outset Konoe's plan was unlike that held by the Army and other military authorities, and since it would be hard to ensure domestic support he tried to use the summit to resolve the issue at a single stroke. If Roosevelt had been given advance notice of the proposal, the Japanese military would have decrypted the telegrams and been tipped off. However Robert Feary, who worked under the U.S. ambassador to Japan Joseph Grew, claimed that Konoe was boldly prepared to offer up a proposal the Americans couldn't refuse. Konoe made a serious attempt to bring about peace between Japan and the United States, but there was no way he could accept Hull's demands for a prior "agreement concerning the general nature of the talks." Indeed it could be argued that, had this prior agreement been possible, there would have been no need for a summit meeting at all.

Then something unexpected happened at this time, and it is unclear whether it occurred at Konoe's direction, but I suspect not. For more detail on this matter, please refer to my book *Between Incompetence and Culpability*.<sup>15</sup>

On August 6, the day Konoe approached Ambassador Grew with word of the summit meeting, Konoe's secretary Tomohiko Ushiba told one of Grew's subordinates that telegrams the U. S. embassy in Tokyo was sending to Washington were being read by Japanese authorities. Ushiba was obliging enough also to explain that there was still one code left that the Japanese had been unable to crack. Ushiba's disclosure was immediately relayed to the United States government. Therefore, we can say categorically that Roosevelt and Hull definitely knew, at this time, that Japan was decoding its diplomatic telegrams.

In which case, when Hull pointed out to Nomura on August 28 that, "if the discussions at the conference are not agreed upon, the results would be deplorable, so I would like to arrive at an agreement concerning the general nature of the talks," it would appear that Hull made this seemingly reasonable approach knowing full well that Konoe, on hearing this, could not possibly come on board. Given Roosevelt and Hull's elaborate approach to diplomacy, this interpretation is probably accurate.

It follows, then, that Roosevelt's receptiveness to Konoe's idea for a summit meeting was from the start merely a gesture or ruse.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 49-51.

Further examination though shows that such a conference was never, from the very beginning, destined to be held. Before returning from the Atlantic conference, Roosevelt had already promised Churchill he would provoke Japan into a war.

He had in fact gone so far as to exchange drafts with Churchill regarding a “warning to Japan.” Which means that Roosevelt had no intention from the very beginning to hold a summit meeting with Konoe. The historical record in the United States shows that Stanley Hornbeck, an advisor on political affairs to the State Department, was strongly opposed to the summit, so it might seem as though Hornbeck was the one who killed the idea. But the record merely makes this appear to be the case, because Hornbeck’s disapproval emerged only after Roosevelt had gone through the motions, and then rejected the idea. Meanwhile, Japan had already selected its delegation, and even the ship it would travel in. However, from the very start, there were no signs at all of such preparations by the U.S.<sup>16</sup>

So far, we have discussed how Roosevelt and Hull gave the Japanese side the impression they were favorably disposed towards the summit meeting. As mentioned earlier, Roosevelt had returned from secret talks with Churchill on the Atlantic, and so from the beginning was unlikely to agree to the summit with Konoe.<sup>17</sup> Roosevelt claimed he would “baby” Japan along. Feigning interest in the summit meeting with Konoe was merely a part of that. But when Roosevelt returned after concluding the Atlantic meeting, this feigned gesture was needed not only to “baby” Japan along, but also for another purpose.<sup>18</sup>

The top-secret meeting on the Atlantic became known publicly (while Roosevelt was still at sea but on his way home) with the announcement of the Atlantic Charter on August 14. That being the case, for the isolationists who opposed United States involvement in the war, this confirmed suspicions that a secret agreement of some kind may have been concluded. It was prudent in order to forestall a troublesome investigation to go through the motions of displaying an open and friendly disposition towards Japan. Just as it had done at the conference with Churchill, the United States appeared to have shifted its Japan policy towards reaching a peaceful understanding.

After his return from the Atlantic conference, Roosevelt repeatedly explained at press conferences, and even in a meeting with Congressional leaders, that there had only been an “interchange of views” and that no special deal to get involved in the war had been struck. The United States, he confirmed, was no “closer to entering the war,” and that the chief dangers of early involvement in a “shooting war” lay in the Far East.

And ostensibly, the idea of a summit conference between Japan and the United States was to be kept absolutely secret. But the idea for a summit was, in fact, openly disclosed to American newspaper reporters. The United States would appear to be working actively for a structure for peace if these deliberate (yet off-the-record) leaks—along with the announcement that any danger of war would arise in the Far

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 31; *Sankei Shimbun*, December 8, 1996.

<sup>17</sup> Charles A. Beard, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War 1941* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), p. 244.

<sup>18</sup> *BI&C*, pp. 32-34

East—made it look as though positive moves were being made towards a summit with Japan. Roosevelt could then dodge persistent cries that he might have made a deal concerning the war in Europe. This is why Roosevelt, who arrived back in Washington on the morning of August 17, invited Nomura to meet him that same day, despite it being a Sunday, and claimed to be favorably disposed towards a summit meeting with Konoe. Setting up this *fait accompli* made it easier for Roosevelt to respond to questions about the Atlantic meeting at the press conference the following day. This is how Konoe's proposal to the U.S. government for a bilateral summit collapsed, and despite the lack of success it appeared to have been handled cordially enough. However, what are we to make of the fact that, afterwards, no-one responsible for Japan's diplomacy even suspected that Roosevelt's initial display of goodwill in accepting the proposal had been deceptive, an empty gesture? It was a measure of Japan's second-rate diplomacy.

With any failure one must retrace one's steps, analyze the reasons for this lack of success, and learn some lessons. But no-one tried to clarify what the failure of the bilateral summit proposal meant, nor determine what structural relationships existed in the negotiations between Japan and the U.S. The incompetence within Japan's Foreign Ministry and its embassy in Washington was horrendous. This was how the Japanese people were plunged into the depths of despair. In fact with regards to this summit, apart from the foreign minister, few Japanese officials responsible for bilateral negotiations were even aware that Japan too was able to read the United States's diplomatic telegrams. And none knew the U. S. government had been tipped off that Japan was able to decrypt American diplomatic cables. So it was indeed difficult to read any subterfuge into Roosevelt's behavior. But even so, when Roosevelt met with Churchill on August 9 and the Japan-U.S. summit became a talking point, Japan had not yet done anything so egregious as to anger the Americans. Although "Guideline for the Execution of Imperial Policy" (*"Teikoku kokusaku suiko yoryo"*), the decision to launch war against the United States in the final weeks of October, was drawn up at an Imperial Council in the emperor's presence on September 6, from the outset Konoe was not disposed towards war, but had hoped to resolve these issues in a single stroke at a summit meeting with President Roosevelt. So on the surface, at least, nothing further had been done to offend the United States. That is to say, the situation remained unchanged between August when Roosevelt said he accepted Konoe's proposal for a summit, and the end of September when he turned it down. Therefore, it is natural to suspect that his positive agreement in August to attend a summit with Konoe was probably merely a disingenuous gesture.

#### *Inability to Grasp Hidden Intent Behind Absurd Hull Note*

The United States could not initiate hostilities. There was therefore a realization of the need to do whatever was necessary to provoke Japan to go to war, and the best chance for this finally materialized on November 26 when the so-called Hull Note was thrust upon Japan.

The contents of the memorandum were extreme, and bore no resemblance to prior negotiations. Ben Blakeney, counsel for Japan's defense at the so-called Tokyo

Trial convened after Japan's defeat, paraphrased American libertarian Albert Jay Nock by claiming that "even the Principality of Monaco [and] the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg would have taken up arms" if they had received the Hull Note.<sup>19</sup>

However, no-one responsible for conducting Japan's diplomacy was able to discern America's intent to provoke Japan into launching a war, even after receiving such an extreme memorandum.

To pull this off, Roosevelt and Hull naturally were quite ingenious in forcing the issue. Some time prior to this, a cable was sent to Ambassador Grew as well as the American ambassador to China, advising them of a decision not to submit a provisional draft agreement (*modus vivendi*) which would sanction limited oil and rice exports if certain conditions were met within a six-month deadline. This was decrypted by the Japanese Army, and its contents came to the attention of key military leaders and the foreign minister.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile in Japan the Konoe cabinet collapsed when the Japan-U.S. summit meeting was rejected, so on October 18 Hideki Tojo was appointed prime minister, and formed a cabinet in which he appointed Shigenori Togo as the new foreign minister. As a last ditch effort to bring about peace between Japan and the United States, two compromise agreements, the so-called Proposal A and Proposal B, were sent to Washington on November 4. Broadly speaking, the contents of Proposals A and B roughly corresponded to the previous *modus vivendi* drawn up by the U.S. State Department.

The decision not to submit this *modus vivendi* to Japan meant the U. S. would be unlikely to accept either Proposal A or Proposal B. For the Japanese authorities, this meant war should be launched as soon as possible. By decrypting the cable sent to both Ambassador Grew and the U.S. ambassador to China, the Japanese military and the Foreign Ministry were aware the U.S. was not going to submit this *modus vivendi*, and should have known that any further negotiation was useless. And then, at this precise moment, Japan was confronted with the Hull Note. The Hull Note was in fact a permanent "basis for agreement" drawn up by State Department officials, which was to accompany the previously-rejected *modus vivendi*. Since it was prepared in conjunction with the *modus vivendi*, the contents of the "basis for agreement" were harsh. Even so, at this purely preparatory stage within the State Department, the

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<sup>19</sup> Nobuo Fuji, "*Tokyo Saiban*" wa shogen suru, gekan-Fucho ni owatta Nichi-Bei kosho, sono shinso ni semaru [The "Tokyo Trial" Bears Witness, Vol. 2: Approaching the Truth about Japan-U.S. Talks Ending In Failure] (Tokyo: Kakubunsha, 1991), p. 179; International Military Tribunal for the Far East, *Proceedings* (Tokyo: 1946-1948), Defense summation, p. 43698.

<sup>20</sup> *BI&C*, p. 48. Roosevelt and Hull informed Joseph Grew, the U.S. ambassador to Japan, that they had decided not to present the *modus vivendi* to the Japanese, on the assumption that America's diplomatic cables were being decrypted by the Japanese side. The Japanese intercepted and decoded this cable, and began to believe the Hull Note would be Washington's final proposal. Moreover, even though this *modus vivendi* was not going to be presented, the Japanese were in effect led to believe that the Americans had considered a draft agreement, and were conducting the talks with Japan in good faith; this would have made it difficult for them to suspect that Japan was being goaded into launching a war.

section dealing with withdrawing troops from China featured an “exemption for Manchuria.” However, the exemption was dropped from the actual Hull Note that was forced on Japan, and this allowed a possible interpretation that Japan would have to withdraw its troops from all of China, including Manchuria.<sup>21</sup>

This ignored the progress of previous negotiations, and made it impossible for Japan to swallow. Foreign Minister Togo recalled that he “tried as it were to close my eyes and swallow the Hull Note whole, as the alternative to war, but it stuck in the craw.” Japan’s war capacity was being sapped because oil supplies were dwindling daily thanks to an embargo enacted on August 1, and if war was inevitable it would be better to launch it as soon as possible. Under this pressure, the military was persuaded to extend the negotiating period; but further talks only resulted in being confronted by the Hull Note, so the Japan-U.S. negotiations had to be abandoned. By decrypting America’s diplomatic cables, Japan knew beforehand that the preliminary draft agreement (*modus vivendi*) would not be forthcoming; furthermore, the abruptly-presented Hull Note could only be interpreted as the U.S.’s final proposal, but was unpalatable to the Japanese. It was unavoidable that launching into war seemed like the only option.

Also, when Japan learned that the *modus vivendi* had been shelved, it became aware that the U.S. too had looked into a preliminary draft agreement, making it even harder to discern that Japan was being goaded by the United States into starting a war.<sup>22</sup>

Given the cunning use of tactics like the Hull Note by the United States, one might perhaps argue it was inevitable Japan would be completely outmaneuvered, thanks to the incompetence of the Foreign Ministry who plunged the people of Japan into the depths of despair.

### *Why Wasn’t The Hull Note Announced to the American Public?*

But there was a catch. What would have happened if Roosevelt’s campaign promise, during his bid for reelection to a third term, not to send America’s sons “into any foreign wars” had been properly scrutinized, and the people of the United States had been more conscious of the fact that, politically, the U.S. was unable to go to war? Roosevelt’s attempts to goad Japan into hostilities is the corresponding corollary to the American public’s anathema to war.

And consequently, what would have happened if the Japanese side had on its own initiative revealed the contents of the Hull Note to the American public, and made it plain that Roosevelt had forced impossible demands upon Japan? Shouldn’t

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<sup>21</sup> Yuzuru Sanematsu, ed., *Taiheiyo Senso (I)* [The Pacific War, Vol. 1] (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobo, 1968), pp. 157-58, 165-66; In a draft proposal for the Hull Note, dated November 22, 1941, the clause dealing with China clearly included a footnote “excluding Manchuria”; but this was deleted from the actual Hull Note presented on November 26, leading to the possible interpretation that Japan should withdraw its troops from all of China, including Manchuria.

<sup>22</sup> *BI&C*, p. 48.

Japan have put Proposals A and B to one side, and announced that it wanted to find as much common ground as possible to avoid war?

On December 4, the American press leaked “war plans” secretly drawn up by Roosevelt who had made a no-war pledge, and put the President into a difficult situation.<sup>23</sup> If the attack on Pearl Harbor had been postponed a couple of days, Roosevelt may have had to actively pursue a peaceful settlement with Japan in order to escape these problems. Two or three days could have transformed history forever. Or if Japan’s Pearl Harbor attack had been rescheduled three days later, a peaceful settlement between the two countries may have been reached, and the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States may not even have happened. In fact, Roosevelt prepared another personal telegram to the Emperor just before the outbreak of war—a proposal more akin to the aforementioned *modus vivendi*—unlike the cable actually sent which did little to help avoid war.<sup>24</sup>

Therefore, the fact that no thought was given to publicly leaking the Hull Note to the American people when it was thrust upon Japan, attests again to the ineptitude of Japan’s Foreign Ministry. Ministry personnel, both home office staff and those at embassies abroad, lacked the skills to analyze the “no war” promise Roosevelt made to the electorate when he was reelected to a third term, or to calculate the restraints this promise placed on American diplomacy, and then use this framework to interpret events as they unfolded and formulate the most suitable response.

When the Foreign Ministry received the Hull note it was incapable, due to its ineptitude, of devising an alternative proposal that could yet break the deadlock, therefore it could be argued that the Foreign Ministry threw the people of Japan down into the depths of despair.

## **1.5 Couldn’t Predict The Predictable: Protracted War Meant Certain Defeat**

### *Forecast By Japan’s Army and Navy Regarding War With United States*

The degree to which action was taken to block or avoid war between Japan and the United States, was proportional to one’s assessment of the probable progress and outcome of that war. Believing that any war would progress and conclude in a gruesome and tragic manner only boosted one’s determination to evade hostilities, whereas without such a view those efforts were commensurately diminished.

First, let’s examine the Army’s position. For a relatively straightforward narrative, I refer the reader to *Showa 16-Nen Natsu no Haisen* [Defeat in the summer

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp. 51-53.

<sup>24</sup> Seishiro Sugihara, “Ruzuberuto no Showa Tenno ate shinden wa do natta ka?” [What Happened to Roosevelt’s Personal Telegram to the Showa Emperor?] *Seiron*, February 2009, pp. 220-54. For the English translation, see “Last Secret of the Outbreak of War between Japan and the United States: Developing Roosevelt’s Final Telegram to the Emperor of Japan” ([http://www.sdh-fact.com/CL02\\_1/56\\_S4.pdf](http://www.sdh-fact.com/CL02_1/56_S4.pdf).)



of 1941] published in 1983 by Naoki Inose, later to become Governor of Tokyo following the resignation of Shintaro Ishihara.<sup>25</sup>

In August 1941, roughly four months before the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States, the Total War Research Institute organized a mock “cabinet” made up of researchers with an average age of 33, and concluded that Japan would certainly lose the war. The Total War Research Institute, created in June 1940 by the Fumimaro Konoe cabinet, was formally established by Imperial Ordinance four months later on September 30, and was tasked with conducting basic research on waging total war.

The mock “cabinet,” set up on April 1, 1941, comprised 35 researchers who looked into Japan’s total war from every angle, including military, economic, and ideological. Their conclusion was roughly as follows.

If Japan was to launch a successful surprise attack strategy in the middle of December, it might expect to take some early wins; however, resource-poor Japan would have no chance of overall victory, the war would be protracted, and in the end the Soviet Union would join the hostilities leading to defeat for Japan. So they recommended war between Japan and the United States be avoided at any cost.

Isn’t this precisely how history later unfolded? On August 27 and 28, these findings were made known to a gathering of high-ranking individuals from the Army, the Navy and the Cabinet Planning Board. Naturally, this also included Hideki Tojo, the Army minister in the Konoe cabinet.

After listening to reports over the two days about Japan’s certain defeat in any war with the United States, Tojo’s first observation was that “these were, after all, only desktop simulations.” But in an actual war, like Japan’s war with Russia, victory was gained without certain knowledge of who would win. In war, things do not always go to plan. In conclusion, he gave strict orders that the simulation be kept absolutely secret.

The Japanese Army actively contributed to setting up the Total War Research Institute, and deserves credit for researching Japan’s total war. However even after being apprised of the findings of this research, it stubbornly insisted during the Japan-U.S. negotiations that Japan would not withdraw troops from China; it put Prime Minister Konoe, who strove to avoid war, in an awkward position; and in the end it launched a war against the United States, and ignored the findings that war ought to be avoided.

Konoe believed the Russo-Japanese War had been fought with some expectation that Japan could win, and to a certain extent that the United States could be called upon to mediate; but in the case of war with the United States, those conditions did not exist and he would not budge from his position that the outbreak of war be avoided. In other words, he insisted Japan could not start a war whose outcome was unforeseeable. It was, it has to be said, an astute assessment.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Naoki Inose, *Showa juroku-nen natsu no haisen* [Defeat in the Summer of 1941] (Tokyo: Sekai bunkasha, 1983), pp. 193-202.

<sup>26</sup> Teiji Yabe, *Konoe Fumimaro (ge)* [Konoe Fumimaro, Vol. 2.], (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1952), pp 385-86.

Army Minister Tojo, in contrast, pushed the prime minister into a difficult position in the Japan-U.S. negotiations by maintaining that Japanese troops could under no circumstances be withdrawn from China. This inflexibility on the Japanese side regarding refusal to withdraw troops from China, in full knowledge of the Total War Research Institute's findings, resulted in an inexorable slide into war between Japan and the United States.<sup>27</sup>

The Army was unsure when war might break out and had to galvanize the fighting spirit of the Japanese people towards war, but conversely, this act of stirring the nation made the Army even more insistent it could not change course in China. Nevertheless, Hideki Tojo and the Army must bear a heavy responsibility in this regard, because they were aware of the Institute's conclusions and should have based their actions on these findings.

After the collapse of the Konoe cabinet, Tojo was appointed prime minister and formed a cabinet on October 18, 1941. In response to the Emperor's keen determination to avoid war, efforts were redoubled to steer the Japan-U.S. negotiations back towards peace, but ultimately the Army was unable to modify its fundamental demands, and launched into war in December. Japan's ability to wage war was diminishing by the day due to an oil embargo placed on it by the United States, so if war was unavoidable it would certainly be better for hostilities to begin sooner rather than later. But it is worth reiterating that, once Tojo and the Army learned of the Total War Research Institute's findings and the no-win scenario for Japan, their responsibility for not fully incorporating those findings into their war strategy clearly cannot be set aside.

What was the Navy's position? On October 12, 1941, with his cabinet on the verge of collapse, Prime Minister Konoe summoned the Army, Navy and Foreign ministers, along with the Planning Board president, to a meeting at Tekigaiso, his personal residence on the outskirts of Tokyo.

The Navy at this time faced the dilemma of wanting as far as possible to avoid hostilities with the United States, but was unable to openly oppose the war. Its approach was to leave any decision concerning war or peace to the discretion of the prime minister.<sup>28</sup>

The Army's position on this was that, if the Navy really did not want war it was obliged to say so overtly, because it was difficult for the Army to take steps to evade war simply on the word of the prime minister.<sup>29</sup> While the fate of the nation hung in the balance, they tussled over some ridiculous rivalry concerning honor.

While the Navy believed Japan probably couldn't win a war against the United States at this time, it still behaved in this stubborn manner; undeniably, then, the Navy too must share in the blame. It is also problematic that throughout this period, preparations were still in progress for Isoroku Yamamoto's plan to attack Pearl Harbor.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 378-85.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 379.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 387.

Yamamoto claimed on January 7, 1941, in a memorandum to then Navy Minister Oikawa Koshiro that in any war with the United States, Japan's first offensive must be a violent and crippling blow to the enemy's main fleet, to discourage the United States and its people and break their morale.<sup>30</sup>

The Japanese Navy was not originally set up to conduct long-distance raids like the Pearl Harbor attack. Since the Russo-Japanese War, the Navy was structured solely on the assumption that enemy forces would be lured into Japanese waters where they could then be destroyed. Moreover, the Naval General Staff's table-top simulations of the Pearl Harbor surprise attack strategy invariably ended in failure.<sup>31</sup>

Ultimately, Yamamoto browbeat the General Staff into approving execution of his strategy for a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor.<sup>32</sup> His October 24, 1941, memo, months after gaining this approval, to the newly-appointed Navy minister Shigetaro Shimada, claimed that "when the overall situation is taken into consideration, war with America and Britain should still be avoided if possible; Japan must wait patiently and bide its time, and the only thing that can save the situation now is the imperial decision."<sup>33</sup> In other words, this hopeless war could only be circumvented by the Emperor's decree.

This approach was quite unlike what he had written previously. Yamamoto had served as a deputy minister of the Navy during the first Konoe cabinet in 1937, and had originally been a proponent of preventing war with the United States. This same Yamamoto pushed ahead with the surprise attack strategy for Pearl Harbor even though simulations had shown it would fail; as execution of the plan approached, he said that the Japan-U.S. war should be prevented through an Imperial decision by the Emperor.

Perhaps nerves got the worst of him on the eve of such an ambitious undertaking. How would Yamamoto have explained the contradiction of launching a war that, if it could have been circumvented through an Imperial decision, should have been avoided in the first place?

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<sup>30</sup> Seishiro Sugihara, *Japanese Perspectives on Pearl Harbor: A Critical Review of Japanese Reports of the Pearl Harbor Attack*. trans. Theodore McNelly. (Hong Kong: Asian Research Service, 1955), p.112.

<sup>31</sup> Boeicho boeikenkyujo senshishitsu [The National Institute for Defense Studies Military History Department] ed., *Senshi sosho: Hawai sakusen* [Military history series: Hawaii operation] (Tokyo: Asagumo shimbunsha, 1967), pp. 101-104; Kazutoshi Hando, "Shinjuwan ware kishu ni seiko seri" ["We Have Succeeded in Our Surprise Attack at Pearl Harbor!"], in J. Toyoda, T. Yoshida and K. Hando, eds., *Yamamoto Isoroku: higeki no rengokantai shirei chokan* [Yamamoto Isoroku: The Tragic Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet] (Tokyo: Purejidentosha, 1990), pp. 274-77.

<sup>32</sup> Gordon W. Prange, *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), pp. 295-303.

<sup>33</sup> Yuzuru Sanematsu, ed., *Taiheiyo Senso* (2) [The Pacific War, Vol. 2] (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobo, 1969), pp. 128-30. As an aside, Isoroku Yamamoto was granted an audience with the Emperor on December 2. However, he offered no particular opinions that day, since the decision for war had formally been made in the imperial presence the previous day; Prange, *At Dawn We Slept*, p. 432.

Gordon W. Prange, in his exhaustive study of the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor *At Dawn We Slept*, deals with this issue in the following manner: “If he had enough weight to force-feed the Pearl Harbor scheme to the Naval General Staff, he might have carried sufficient influence to persuade the Navy to refuse to sanction hostilities that offered so little prospect of victory.”<sup>34</sup> Surely no truer words have been written.

While not strictly related to diplomacy, it is worth reconsidering that the tragedy of the first third of the Showa period—from the late 1920s to the mid 1940s—arose because of the contrary behavior of individuals like this.

### *The Naivety of Shigenori Togo*

Now, let’s examine what was happening at this time in the Foreign Ministry. If the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had a more serious appreciation of the enormity of war with the United States, it might have tackled peace talks with the U.S. more keenly and with more vigor.

In truth, what understanding did Shigenori Togo, Japan’s last prewar foreign minister, have towards the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States?<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Prange, *At Dawn We Slept*, pp. 302-303.

<sup>35</sup> Hideki Tojo formed a new cabinet on October 18, 1941. Shigenori Togo, Tojo’s appointment for foreign minister, reportedly held the following tragic outlook on war between Japan and the United States. See Tami Torii, *Nichi-Bei kaisen no nazo* [The Mystery of the Outbreak of War between Japan and the United States] (Tokyo: Soshisha, 1991), p. 219. Torii describes Togo’s state of mind, as follows:

“At the October 23 conference to review national policy, the ‘outlook for the European war situation’ was examined. Togo’s position was ultimately ignored, but he maintained that Germany would lose. Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations Shinichi Tanaka summarized the remarks of the foreign minister in his diary, thus: ‘[Germany’s] chances next year are fifty-fifty, but the year after Britain will likely win.’

Then, Togo made the following sorts of remarks to [Marquis Koichi] Kido.

‘The United States cannot be defeated in battle. The Naval General Staff has insisted repeatedly that we don’t know what will happen in 1944. The chances of Germany gaining victory are slim. By 1944, I’m afraid Germany’s entire theater of war will be hopeless.’ ”

However, after being confronted by the Hull Note, when war with the United States was accepted as inevitable, [Togo believed] “the war might be protracted, but certain defeat is inconceivable” as I have discussed in the main text of this chapter.

Despite having such a prudent outlook at the time of his appointment, in the course of performing his duties as foreign minister, Togo’s perspective gradually approached the opinion held by the military. This was because the Foreign Ministry, when it operated as an organization, was unable to gather information in a purposeful manner, or conduct any meaningful analysis. Ministry staff had the same potential as personnel from other government departments when they joined the ministry, but it must be concluded that the inability of the Foreign Ministry to develop that potential speaks to a problem with the structure of the organization itself.

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However Togo's acquiescence to the military's position was not because his skepticism regarding war with the United States had turned, irresponsibly, into an acceptance that war was unavoidable. Undoubtedly, there was enough information about the military situation in the Pacific area at the time to prevail upon the armed services. Shigeru Shiramatsu is the author of *Sono toki, kubo wa inakatta* [Back Then There Were No Aircraft Carriers] published by Bungeishunju (see fn 3, above) which, at the time of its publication in 2013, was the most comprehensive examination of available historical materials. Shiramatsu wrote the following about the military situation in the Pacific area. What follows below is a lengthy, but worthwhile, excerpt from his book.

However, the lack of organizational strength within the Foreign Ministry resulted in not paying attention to Germany's battle for Moscow, as alluded to above. Further, they neglected to investigate the obvious fact that a protracted war would mean certain defeat for Japan. Also, there is no evidence the Foreign Ministry studied the issue of how the American people would react if war was started by an attack by Japan, something the Ministry surely should have taken into consideration in the first place.

Nevertheless as far as Foreign Ministry headquarters was concerned, along with the Army and the Navy, war would be launched on the assumption that prior notice would be given. From Japan's perspective, the most important thing was that the war between Japan and the United States be started in this way. Indeed, it was an absolute requirement. For Japan, there were fundamental implications underlying this war. Put aside for the moment that it is doubtful the Japanese side understood these essential implications underlying the war, once hostilities actually started; however, in order to maintain that this war, subjectively at least, was an unavoidable war of self defense, and was inherently a war of non-aggression, they had to abide by international law until the very last moment. Nevertheless, an unimaginable series of administrative blunders at Japan's Washington embassy turned the Japanese Navy's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor into an assault without advance warning, and the war was launched with a "sneak attack." This "sneak attack" destroyed the major premise of this absolute requirement, making Japan's war against the United States an illegal one in international law both in name and in reality, and it can be argued that it effectively altered the basic nature of this war. In any case, let us look at what Shiramatsu has to say about the military situation at the time war broke out between Japan and the United States. (Shiramatsu, *Sono toki, kubo wa inakatta*, pp. 11-12.)

"Throughout the ages and across all lands, when countries in dispute go to war as a last resort because they cannot reach a compromise, inevitably the fate of the nation is risked on the battle, and those solely responsible for the lives and property of the people absolutely cannot afford to lose, because, as the saying goes, for the winner might makes right. Of course the enemy's power must be measured against one's own, but it is only natural to employ any means to win, including provocation, economic blockades, espionage activities, media manipulation, sham negotiations, decoy operations, and not all these are to be considered subterfuge. To the contrary, broadly speaking they are to be regarded as war strategy. On the other hand, this does not mean Japan should go to war if it assumed defeat is inevitable. In anticipation of this moment, the massive battleship 'Yamato' was completed on December 16, 1941, four years after work on building it began, and 'Musashi' was also scheduled for completion within six months of that. New and powerful flagship aircraft carriers 'Shokaku' 'Zuikaku' were completed in quick succession, in August and September 1941, also four years after work on them

When I published *Between Incompetence and Culpability: Assessing the Diplomacy of Japan's Foreign Ministry from Pearl Harbor to Potsdam* (University Press of America) in 1997, I didn't have a clear view of Togo's attitude on the eve of war towards hostilities with the United States. After the war, Togo wrote his memoirs *Jidai no Ichimen* [Portrait of an era] during incarceration under charges levied against him by the Tokyo Trial, in which he claimed he would "never forget the despair which overpowered me. I had fought and worked unflaggingly until that moment [I received the Hull Note]; but I could feel no enthusiasm for the fight thereafter...." "I tried as it were to close my eyes and swallow the Hull Note whole, as the alternative to war, but it stuck in the craw." This is how he described the way he eventually yielded to the call for war by the military.<sup>36</sup>

However, what assumptions did Togo actually make about the war that broke out with the United States in this manner? I was unaware at the time I wrote my previous book that this issue was fully examined in an article published in the March 2009 edition of the journal *Bungei Shunju*, by Chuo University's Associate Professor Motoei Sato entitled, "Togo gaisho wa Nichi-Bei kaisen wo soshi dekita" [Foreign Minister Togo could have prevented the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States].<sup>37</sup>

Togo was counseled at the last moment by Naotake Sato, Japan's wartime ambassador to the Soviet Union, to try to evade hostilities, but Togo apparently maintained his position that war was inevitable and couldn't be avoided, claiming that "the war might be protracted, but certain defeat is inconceivable."<sup>38</sup>

If you believed the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States was unavoidable, then you had to actively go along with the military's reasoning that war be launched as soon as possible. But as far as the actual war with the United States was concerned, it must be noted that while Togo's assessment the war would be protracted was correct, his judgment as foreign minister that it would not end in defeat for Japan was clearly in error. In other words, it's true Togo appreciated more than most the gravity of war with the United States, but as foreign minister it must be said his level of understanding of the situation was naive in the extreme.

On this particular point, there is a familiar story of how Shigeru Yoshida paid a call on Togo and advised the Hull Note was not an ultimatum, and to avoid war with

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began. Comparing their respective military strength, Japan had a total of 235 naval vessels to the United States's 345, of which 158 belonged to its Pacific Fleet. Japan's Combined Fleet boasted nine aircraft carriers, vastly outnumbering the U.S. Pacific Fleet's mere three. Almost two year's worth of oil had been stockpiled over the previous two years. Germany also had the upper hand against the Soviet Union. It was decided this war was a 'golden opportunity' for victory if action was taken right away."

<sup>36</sup> *BI&C*, pp. 47-51.

<sup>37</sup> Motoei Sato, "Togo gaisho wa Nichi-Bei kaisen wo soshi dekita" [Foreign Minister Togo Prevented the Outbreak of War between Japan and the United States], *Bungei Shunju*, March 2009, pp. 306-19.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319.

the United States Togo simply had to resign as foreign minister.<sup>39</sup> Togo knew at the time from reading decrypted American diplomatic cables—actually deliberately leaked by the American side on compromised codes for the Japanese to read—that the United States was not going to present any *modus vivendi*, so he believed war with the United States was unavoidable and had to be launched as soon as possible, and not surprisingly he rejected Yoshida's suggestion. Even if Yoshida, on the spur of the moment, had counseled Japan should avoid war with the United States, his argument did not specifically highlight the seriousness of the war itself, and so from the start lacked any forcefulness. Not only that, he failed to detect the historical reality that the United States hoped to get drawn into the war by Japan, so naturally his counsel had limited effect.

In short, as foreign minister Shigenori Togo had a very naive understanding of the war between Japan and the United States. His appreciation that the war would be protracted was reasonable, but it has to be said his belief that “certain defeat is inconceivable” was naive. Togo's naive understanding undoubtedly reflected a general naivety in the Foreign Ministry. Although Togo had not been present when the findings of the Total War Research Institute were made known in August earlier that year, he should have somehow gotten hold of the report and made it the incontrovertible basis for negotiations with the United States. The fact that not the slightest evidence of this exists, again attests to the fateful lack of ability on the part of Togo and the Foreign Ministry.

For instance, even without knowledge of the findings of the Total War Research Institute, the Foreign Ministry was the organ of government tasked with carrying out Japan's diplomacy, so it had a duty to conduct its own independent war simulations for this colossal gamble to wage war against the United States. Set aside for the moment the fact that, contrary to expectations, the Foreign Ministry didn't even attempt this; as Japan's organ of diplomacy, it should have researched and analyzed what effect waging war against the United States would have on the global situation. If Japan launched a war against the United States, how would this affect the relationship between Germany and the United States? Was Germany really sure to win its war against the Soviet Union, a conflict which more or less led to the outbreak of the Japan-U.S. war? The Foreign Ministry could have conducted its own independent investigation and analysis, and conversely used these findings to press the Army and Navy for clarification.

Germany's war with the Soviet Union was already not going as the Germans planned. As mentioned above, December 8, 1941, marked the start of the war between Japan and the United States, but coincidentally it was also the day the German military announced its suspension of hostilities on the Eastern Front, for all intents and purposes a declaration of its failure to capture Moscow.<sup>40</sup> The Foreign Ministry

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<sup>39</sup> *BI&C*, p. 50; Shigehiko Togo, *Sofu Togo Shigenori no shogai* [My Grandfather Togo Shigenori's Life] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1993), p. 266.

<sup>40</sup> Adolf Hitler's Directive No. 39, dated December 8, 1941, begins as follows: “The severe winter weather which has come surprisingly early in the East, and the consequent difficulties in bringing up supplies, compel us to abandon immediately all major offensive operations and

should share blame with the Army and Navy for not grasping the situation at all; but as the organ specifically charged with Japan's diplomacy, the Ministry's failure to play any role in making such subtle observations also clearly attests to its incompetence.

### *Foreign Ministry's Ineptitude in Japan-U.S. Negotiations*

Viewed in this light one has to wonder, conversely, whether peace negotiations with the United States held during Shigenori Togo's time in office weren't actually rather amateurish. Let me elaborate on this matter.

When war with the United States was looming, Ambassador Saburo Kurusu was dispatched to Washington on November 16 to assist Japan's ambassador to the United States Kichisaburo Nomura. Togo cabled Nomura on November 4, to clarify that Kurusu's objective was to "assist you" and that he "is carrying with him no additional instructions."<sup>41</sup> Assuming they believed Japan's diplomatic traffic was still secure from American codebreakers, why was it necessary to deliberately send this cable? Presuming they didn't know of the security breach, there was no need to deliberately leak this information to Roosevelt and Hull, and disabuse them of concerns that perhaps Kurusu was arriving on some secret mission.

Moreover, after Kurusu arrived in Washington he used rudimentary code words when telephoning home office in person to discuss the progress of the negotiations with the United States, for example referring to Roosevelt and Hull as "Miss Kimiko" and "Miss Umeko" respectively. But the Foreign Ministry sent a table listing these code words by an encrypted cable that was decoded the same day by the United States, allowing the Americans to immediately figure out the actual substance of these telephone conversations.<sup>42</sup> Although this list was cabled on the assumption that Japanese diplomatic codes were still secure, why didn't Kurusu at the very least simply carry the list with him when he travelled to Washington? Indeed, if Kurusu was dispatched to the Japanese embassy in Washington to try to avert war with the United States, all sorts of advance preparations would have been made, so why didn't Togo and Kurusu devise their own private codewords, undetectable by the Japanese Army and Navy, and use them during emergencies when contacting each other? There are no signs that any such preparations were made. As we have seen, the Foreign

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to go over to the defensive." For an English translation, see Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Hitler's War Directives 1939-1945* (New York: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1962), p. 165.

<sup>41</sup> Yuzuru Sanematsu, ed., *Taiheiyo Senso (I)*, p. 476; Shigenori Togo, *Jidai no Ichimen* [Portrait of an Era] (Tokyo: Kaizosha, 1952), p. 224; U.S. Congress. Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, *Pearl Harbor Attack: Hearings before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1946), part 12, exhibit no.1, p 97; Shigenori Togo, *The Cause of Japan*, trans. Fumihiko and Ben Bruce Blakeney (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956), p.153. There are slight differences between the U.S. decoded intercept of this cable, and the version recounted in Togo's memoirs, but the gist is the same.

<sup>42</sup> Yuzuru Sanematsu, ed., *Taiheiyo Senso (I)*, p. 542; *PHA*, part 12, exhibit no.1, p 178.



Ministry's handling of the negotiations between Japan and the United States was clumsy.

The Japanese Army and Navy must both bear responsibility for the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States, but it is clear the Foreign Ministry too must share a considerable portion of the blame. If you consider the Ministry, right until the end of the talks, was unaware its diplomatic codes had been broken, and did not work out that the United States behind the scenes hoped to be drawn into hostilities by Japan, then you might conclude the Ministry deserves even greater blame than the Army and Navy.

## 1.6 As A Diplomat, Why Should I Suicide?

### *How Significant Was Delay in Delivering "Final Notice" To U.S.?*

On December 7, 1941, at 2:20 p.m. local Washington time, Japanese Ambassadors Kichisaburo Nomura and Saburo Kurusu entered the office of Secretary of State Cordell Hull. They were one hour and twenty minutes late for their scheduled 1:00 p.m. appointment.<sup>43</sup>

Before sitting down, Nomura explained first that his government had instructed him to deliver the note at 1:00 p.m., but they were late because decryption had taken longer than expected. Pointing to the clock, Hull asked Nomura "why he had specified one o'clock in his first request for an interview." Nomura replied that "he did not know, but that was his instruction."

Hull had already read a decoded intercept of the Japanese cable containing the text of this "final note," so although initially he went through the motions of reading it, as he progressed he put on a show of becoming steadily angrier.<sup>44</sup>

By the time he had finished, he exploded with rage.

"I must say...that in all my conversations with you during the last nine months I have never uttered one word of untruth. This is borne out absolutely by the record. In all my fifty years of public service I have never seen a document that was more crowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions—infamous falsehoods and distortions on a scale so huge that I never imagined until today that any Government on this planet was capable of uttering them."<sup>45</sup>

Nomura was about to say something, but Hull cut him short and nodded towards the door for the two ambassadors to get out.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Kichisaburo Nomura, *Beikoku ni tsukaishite: Nichi-Bei kosho no kaiko* [On a Mission to the United States: Reflections on Negotiations between Japan and the United States] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1946), pp. 164-66; Cordell Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1948), pp. 1095-97.

<sup>44</sup> Hull, *Memoirs*, pp. 1095-97.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

Hull then continued with this elaborate charade. He summoned a stenographer, and proceeded to dictate what he had said in parting to the two ambassadors. This was to be used in future press conferences. The ambassadors in question, Nomura and Kurusu, were as yet unaware that the U. S. government had already learned of the Japanese Navy's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. So Hull had read through the notice as though for the first time, presumably in full awareness of the Pearl Harbor attack. Indeed, he already knew the document's contents thanks to decoded intercepts of Japan's diplomatic cables; but since the fact that Japan's diplomatic codes had been broken was classified, he had to pretend he was reading it for the first time. And then he cursed Nomura out. What he apparently said to Nomura, and later dictated to the stenographer, was likely something Hull had prepared in advance. They were not impromptu remarks. Clearly, the shrewd hand of Roosevelt was at work here. Looking at subsequent developments, his remarks were quite beneficial to the American side.<sup>47</sup>

On the other hand, what about Nomura and Kurusu? They were still unaware of the surprise attack at Pearl Harbor. It wasn't until they returned to the embassy that they surmised Hull may have cursed at them in that manner after hearing news about Pearl Harbor on the radio.<sup>48</sup>

When Nomura and Kurusu arrived back from the State Department, crowds were beginning to form in front of the embassy. Among them were also newspaper reporters. As Nomura and Kurusu entered the embassy building, they learned for the first time that war had begun by a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. For the first time, they realized why the Foreign Ministry's home office had indicated this specific time for delivering the document. The embassy was inundated with phone calls of protest. Everyone was hurling abuse at Japan. Many newspaper reporters demanded interviews, and some even barged into the embassy through an open side gate.<sup>49</sup>

Their failure to submit the designated document at the designated time meant the Japanese Navy's attack on Pearl Harbor came first, turning it into an attack without warning.

Nomura was stunned. Despite all his efforts to bring about peace during the ten months since his appointment to Washington in February that year, it ended in the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States.

Not only that, what was the significance of Japan starting the war without any advance warning? Unfortunately, Nomura was the sort who seemed to lack any appreciation of the gravity of the situation. War broke out between Japan and the United States and Nomura was unable to achieve his original mission of bringing about peace; but, be that as it may, serious errors occurred in the execution of administrative duties at the Washington embassy for which he bore direct responsibility, and as a result the final notice was not delivered at the designated time, and the Japanese military attacked the United States without prior warning.

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Saburo Kurusu, *Homatsu no sanjugonen: gaikokan hisshi* [Thirty-Five Years of Vain Endeavor: A Secret Diplomatic History] (Tokyo: Bunka Shoin, 1948), p. 127.

<sup>49</sup> Noboru Kojima, *Kaisen zen'ya* [On The Eve of The Outbreak of War] (Tokyo: Shueisha, 1973), pp. 316-17.

Anticipating this would anger the people of the United States, he should have explained to the throng of American journalists at the embassy gates that the designated delivery time for the final notice was in fact 1:00 p.m., but due to administrative delays it was delivered late. But it seems this was beyond Nomura's ability to grasp. With the outbreak of hostilities, the embassy was cut off from the outside world. But at that precise moment, American reporters were crowding around the gates of the Japanese embassy. It apparently never occurred to Nomura that he ought to make the truth about the situation known to the press. Hypothetically, the American public might have been persuaded Japan had not intended to launch a "sneak attack" if Nomura had realized what had happened and tried to explain things in front of the embassy or, moreover, if he had assumed responsibility at the embassy gates by shooting himself.

Because they were kept in the dark about the reasons for delaying the final notice, along with some extremely shrewd manipulation by the United States government, the American people believed Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor was a deliberate "sneak attack," and fought a war with Japan until August 15, 1945. This is why the United States did not hesitate to drop the atomic bomb on Japan.

As has been shown above, it's possible to discuss the consequences of delaying the delivery of the "final notice"; but as for the issue of the delay itself, this is really not so straightforward. Even if the final notice had been delivered on time at precisely 1:00 p.m., the American people may still not have accepted that the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor hadn't been a "sneak attack."

The Japanese government considered the document in question, the "final notice" signaling the start of hostilities, also to be a "declaration of war," and therefore from Japan's point of view, logically it was crucial it be delivered at the designated time of 1:00 p.m. Hull said as much in his memoirs. "Nevertheless, knowing the importance of a dead line set for a specific hour, Nomura should have come to see me precisely at one o'clock, even though he had in his hand only the first few lines of his note, leaving instructions with the Embassy to bring him the remainder as it became ready."<sup>50</sup> This measure is obvious when you think about it and it's worth pointing out that, the fact it did not even occur to Nomura or the Washington embassy during such an urgent crisis, attests to their incompetence as Japan's diplomatic representatives; but putting this aside for the moment, what would have happened if the "final notice" had actually been delivered at precisely 1:00 p.m.?

Hull probably would have questioned the wording of the "final notice," and still have considered the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor as a "sneak attack."

In other words, the "final notice" went into great detail about how the talks to that point had been disappointing, and in conclusion merely referred to the outbreak of war as follows: "the Japanese Government regrets to have to notify hereby the American Government, that in view of the attitude of the American Government, it can not but consider that it is impossible to reach an agreement through further negotiations." Reading this, Hull would have understood that Japan wanted to terminate the Japan-U. S. negotiations because there was no prospect of agreement,

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<sup>50</sup> Hull, *Memoirs*, p. 1097.

but what if one considers that it didn't actually read like a declaration of war, since nowhere does it state "Japan reserves the right to act" or anything else resembling a call for war.<sup>51</sup>

But, another catch. Again, it involves considering the opposite. If the note had been delivered on time at exactly 1:00 p.m., it would have arrived half an hour before the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor regardless of any clever maneuvering by the United States government; it would then have been difficult to deny that the note contained advance notice of the surprise attack, and when the American public turned its attention to the massive losses at Pearl Harbor, suspicions would have been raised as to what exactly their government had been up to during those thirty minutes, and perhaps the anger directed at Japan for its "sneak attack" at Pearl Harbor may have been somewhat reduced. In which case, perhaps even the atomic bombings may not have taken place.<sup>52</sup>

In any case, the problem really lies with the basic administrative errors that caused the delay in delivering the note. In fact, it is worth emphasizing that this sort of incompetence was present on a systemic level within the Foreign Ministry and its missions abroad.

We will not go into copious detail here about the events leading to the delay in delivering the note, since they have been explored elsewhere. When instructions came not to employ local typists to process important documents from home office, the only person qualified to type was First Secretary Katsuzo Okumura, who tapped at the keys with one finger and typed extremely slowly. Of those qualified for diplomatic posting to the United States, why couldn't anyone type properly in English; and why did the only person who could barely type at all do so laboriously by tapping at the keys one finger at a time?

### *Taking Responsibility after Delaying Delivery of Final Notice*

We will not describe in detail in this book the process by which the delivery of the final note to the United States was delayed. Like one might forensically examine a traffic accident, it is important to look at how Katsuzo Okumura, the official directly responsible, was later held to account, but this will be examined in more detail in the next chapter which deals with the postwar period.

I would like here to focus some attention on Nomura, even though he was not responsible for either decrypting cables nor typing up documents. On a purely

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<sup>51</sup> *BI&C*, p. 60; Hull, *Memoirs*, p. 1095.

<sup>52</sup> Sixteen hours after the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, President Harry Truman informed the nation that an atomic weapon had been detonated in Japan. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor features prominently at the beginning of this statement. Also, General George C. Marshall's Biennial Report of the Chief of Staff, issued September 1, 1945, gives the "treachery" at Pearl Harbor as reason for the use of the atomic bomb in Japan. See, Harry S. Truman Library, "Army press notes," box 4, Papers of Eben A. Ayers; George C. Marshall, *Biennial Reports of The Chief Of Staff of The United States Army to The Secretary of War 1 July 1939-30 June 1945* (Washington DC: Defense Dept., Army, Center of Military History, 1996), p. 185.

practical level, he was not to blame. However, he cannot escape responsibility for negligence in the overall operation of the embassy. When the American people were outraged that the attack on Pearl Harbor was literally a “sneak attack,” thanks to the late delivery of the “final notice” by about an hour and twenty minutes, at the very least he had a duty to somehow inform them that the time specified for delivery was in fact 1:00 p.m.

Blame for the ambiguous wording of the “final notice” so that it didn’t actually read like a declaration of war, rests with the home office of the Foreign Ministry, and not with Nomura as such. But not meeting the designated deadline meant the war between Japan and the United States was based on a misunderstanding and turned it into an appalling military campaign, and ordinarily, one might clearly have expected Ambassador Nomura to consider killing himself. This was precisely where the responsibility rested.

So on the evening when the Japanese embassy was cut off from the outside world, various members of the embassy staff including Naval Attaché Ichiro Yokoyama and Army Attaché Saburo Isoda took turns keeping watch outside Nomura’s bedroom. Rumors circulated that Nomura might commit suicide out of remorse. When Isoda later reported this to the ambassador, surprisingly Nomura merely replied: “Why should I commit suicide? I’m a diplomat.”<sup>53</sup> I was at a loss for words when I learned of this. Nomura had originally been a Navy man; he was one of the elite who had been a member of Japan’s delegation to the 1921 Washington Naval Conference, and had served as a vice-chief of the Naval General Staff. He had also served as foreign minister in the Abe cabinet of 1939. As a young man he had been a naval attaché at Japan’s Washington embassy, during which time he got to know Roosevelt, then the U. S. navy secretary; this personal connection is why he was selected in the first place for appointment as Japan’s ambassador in the 1941 negotiations with the United States.

He may not have had any responsibility for the wording of the “final notice,” but he was clearly to blame for not delivering this document at the designated time. However, Nomura took no responsibility for this at all. If being a diplomat meant he didn’t need to accept any responsibility, then it sounds like you could make any blunder at all as a diplomat and never accept any blame. Upon reflection, this is to the contrary rather insulting to serious diplomats.

In his memoirs, a hefty tome entitled *Beikoku ni tsukaishite* [On a mission to the United States] published in 1946, Nomura mentions he was directed by the Foreign Ministry home office to deliver the “final notice” at 1:00 p.m.—and initially an appointment with Hull was indeed made at this designated time—but regarding the actual time the document was delivered, Nomura merely claims that “it was delayed due to problems with cable decryption and typewriting.” However, not one word is written about the fundamental reasons why this situation came about.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Kojima, *Kaisen zen’ya*, p. 318.

<sup>54</sup> Nomura, *Beikoku ni tsukaishite*, pp. 164-66.

After returning to Japan, he served two terms in the postwar era in the upper house of the National Diet of Japan. What really happened to his sense of responsibility?

For a serious diplomat, Nomura's statement repudiating the need to commit suicide would have seemed ridiculous, but indeed, diplomats in the Foreign Ministry since the Meiji period seemed to have lacked this sense of duty. It would be insulting to serious hardworking diplomats to suggest that everyone in their profession is irresponsible, because not all diplomats are this way; but it is worth pointing out that Japanese diplomats tend towards a lack of a sense of duty.

It could probably be said that Nomura became thoroughly infected with this negative behavior while he was in contact with the Foreign Ministry. Perhaps he had difficulty accepting responsibility to begin with, but while exposed to the Foreign Ministry, this part of his being undoubtedly became tarnished and took over the core of his personality.

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## Chapter 2

# The Incompetence and Culpability of Japan's Foreign Ministry: The Postwar Period

## 2.1 “I Come Before You to Offer Myself to the Judgment of the Powers You Represent”

### *Showa Emperor Makes Statement Admitting War Responsibility*

Chapter 1 dealt with the issue of the responsibility of Foreign Ministry officials for the “sneak attack” on Pearl Harbor in the prewar era, but the saga, sadly, continues into the post-war period and is the focus of this second chapter. Though only briefly touched upon previously, the official directly responsible for delaying the delivery of the “final notice” was First Secretary Katsuzo Okumura who, on the eve of the outbreak of war, was absent from the embassy even though he had been entrusted with typing out the decoded text of the document.

The next official to blame was Counselor Sadao Iguchi, the embassy's general manager who, ahead of receiving the “final notice” from the Ministry's home office, was given instructions to “put the document in order and make every preparation to present it to the Americans whenever you receive instructions,” but nonetheless did not implement emergency measures within the embassy, and caused the error of allowing Okumura to be absent from the embassy that evening. The manner in which these two individuals were treated after the war is a matter that warrants further discussion.

On September 27, 1945, General MacArthur and Emperor Hirohito held their first meeting.

Officially at least, MacArthur then believed Japan had carried out a “sneak attack” at Pearl Harbor in a deliberate and methodical manner, with regards to the assault that triggered the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States.

But since it was a war Japan could not possibly win, he was curious why they had started the war in this reckless way.

During the meeting, the Emperor brought up the issue of the “sneak attack” at Pearl Harbor. The record on the American side shows the Emperor at this time revealed Tojo had “tricked” him.<sup>55</sup> It is doubtful whether the mild-tempered Hirohito would have used the term *damasareta* (“tricked”) in referring to Tojo, but at this time the Emperor was clearly unaware why the “final notice” was delayed and had turned the raid on Pearl Harbor into a “sneak attack.” He must have thought it was a strategy implemented as part of Tojo’s operational plans.

MacArthur was apparently trembling with excitement at meeting the Emperor, because the latter’s statement taking sole responsibility for the war seems to have stemmed from their talk about the “sneak attack.” In his memoirs MacArthur recalled the Emperor told him that, “I come to you, General MacArthur, to offer myself to the judgment of the powers you represent as the one to bear sole responsibility for every political and military decision made and action taken by my people in the conduct of the war.”<sup>56</sup> It was a solemn statement that acknowledged his responsibility as emperor.

Let me digress here slightly on whether or not the Emperor actually made this statement. For some time it was believed there was no official report of these remarks in the Foreign Ministry records. In 1988 the author Noboru Kojima, while not disclosing his source, unexpectedly revealed that such a report indeed existed within the Foreign Ministry. However, there were in fact no such remarks in this report.<sup>57</sup> The Ministry had withheld these official records for quite some time, but finally released them to the public on October 17, 2002. They revealed that the Emperor appeared to have made no such statement.<sup>58</sup> But on the issue of whether the Emperor actually made such remarks, some time prior to 1965 Okumura who interpreted at this meeting testified to Fumio Aoba, of the Japan Economic Research Council, that the Emperor had indeed made them. Some historians still openly maintain that the Emperor made no such statement,<sup>59</sup> but this degree of naivety in any historical research is simply appalling. MacArthur had no motive to fabricate such a statement

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<sup>55</sup> BI&C, p. 142.

<sup>56</sup> BI&C, p. 143; Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p.288.

<sup>57</sup> Noboru Kojima, *Tenno to senso sekinin* [The Emperor and His War Responsibility] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1988), pp. 59-66.

<sup>58</sup> On October 17, 2002, the Foreign Ministry formally declassified the minutes of the first meeting between Emperor Hirohito and General MacArthur. The Emperor’s statement apologizing for the “sneak attack” on Pearl Harbor was absent. But there is no doubt the Emperor did in fact make this statement regarding the “sneak attack.” See BI&C, pp. 141-144

<sup>59</sup> An example of this is *Showa Tenno Makkasa kaiken* [The Hirohito MacArthur Meetings] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008), by Narahiko Toyoshita, a professor at Kansai University. Toyoshita argues that Emperor Hirohito made no such apology regarding the “sneak attack” at Pearl Harbor. See pp. 1-37.

Historical research into the Allied Occupation, a period which greatly affected the fate of Japan, is sadly of an inferior standard. Incidentally, the list of key references cited at the end of his book neglected to include my publication *Sugihara Chiune to Nihon no Gaimusho* (Tokyo: Taisho Shuppan, 1999), translated into English as *Chiune Sugihara and Japan’s Foreign Ministry*, (University Press of America, 2001). Perhaps this is to be expected from research of this poor quality. See Toyoshita, *Bibliography*, pp. 5-8.



by the Emperor in his memoirs, an important insight into the record on the American side, so in any case it seems apparent the Emperor really did make these remarks.

Now who was this person chosen to interpret at the first meeting between the Emperor and MacArthur? Unsurprisingly, it was the aforementioned Katsuzo Okumura. First Secretary Okumura was the one who was directly responsible for why the Japanese Navy's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor had been turned into a "sneak attack," and had gone out on the eve of war between Japan and the U.S., instead of typing up the decrypted text of the "final notice" to the United States.<sup>60</sup>

This means that, while Okumura knew fully well that he himself had turned the attack on Pearl Harbor into a "sneak attack," he had interpreted remarks by the Emperor to the effect that Tojo had deliberately and methodically carried out that assault.

How did such a strange turn of events come about? Obviously, Okumura did not maneuver himself to be the interpreter at this meeting. Shigeru Yoshida, who had succeeded Mamoru Shigemitsu as foreign minister, gave the orders for this appointment on September 17. When Yoshida became foreign minister, he learned the truth about the "sneak attack" at Pearl Harbor. In fact, only a handful of people within the Japanese government knew that the war actually started with this "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor, and had become the reason why the American military and people yelled out "Remember Pearl Harbor" in fury and anger as they attacked Japan. If the Japanese people had been aware of the truth, they would also have been furious about this blunder by the Foreign Ministry. Yoshida was trying to prevent the truth about this truly egregious problem from spreading. He appointed Katsuzo Okumura, who was directly responsible for turning the assault on Pearl Harbor into a "sneak attack," to be the interpreter at the first meeting between the Emperor and MacArthur when this issue had to be explained, so that he could prevent the truth from getting out.

Yoshida certainly can't be forgiven for trying to cover up the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry, but his astonishing behavior in connection with this matter continued. Okumura later served again as an interpreter between MacArthur and the Emperor, but he was sacked afterwards by the Foreign Ministry for leaking details of those talks. However in October 1953, after peaceful relations with the United States had been restored, Yoshida abruptly recalled Okumura to the Foreign Ministry and appointed him to the position of vice minister for foreign affairs.<sup>61</sup>

It was as though a sentry had fallen asleep on duty and missed the enemy's attack, leading to serious losses to the point of almost total annihilation. Surely that sentry's negligence would warrant his execution by firing squad.

On August 6, 1945, an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. Sixteen hours later, U.S. President Harry Truman made an announcement that the atomic bomb had been used, in which he said the Japanese "have been repaid many fold" for a war they had begun with the surprise assault on Pearl Harbor.<sup>62</sup> The first time the atomic bomb was used against humanity was inextricably connected with retaliation for the "sneak

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<sup>60</sup> BI&C, p. 141.

<sup>61</sup> BI&C, p. 144.

<sup>62</sup> See Chapter 1, footnote 52.

attack” at Pearl Harbor. It is perhaps understandable that Yoshida may have been truly alarmed by the enormity of this issue of responsibility, and would have wanted to conceal it. However, it was unforgivable that Yoshida went so far as to appoint the culprit to vice minister, one of the highest positions within the Foreign Ministry, and to bestow the bureaucratic service’s highest honors upon him.

*Shigeru Yoshida Promotes Culprit To Blame For “Sneak Attack” Vice Minister*

This is not the only dubious act perpetrated by Yoshida. In September 1951, Japan signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty, but none other than Sadao Iguchi was appointed as a member of the Japanese delegation. Iguchi, now a vice minister, had been embassy counselor at the Japanese mission in Washington on the eve of the Japanese Navy’s surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, and had neglected to implement emergency measures within the embassy despite receiving clear instructions from the Foreign Ministry’s home office to “make every preparation.” He allowed Okumura and other key staff members to leave the embassy that evening, and as a result there were insufficient preparations for typing the “final notice.” Iguchi was another person responsible for turning the assault on Pearl Harbor into a “sneak attack.”

In other words, when the peace treaty came into force on April 28, 1952, and the Occupation of Japan was lifted, these two individuals were appointed as vice ministers around this time, and between the two of them, one of their careers was barely interrupted. Iguchi later went on to serve as Japan’s ambassador to Canada and then the United States. In Okumura’s case, he was appointed ambassador to Switzerland after resigning as vice minister, and remained for many years as an advisor to the Foreign Ministry.<sup>63</sup>

In short, rather than hiding the two culprits responsible for the administrative bungling that turned an assault not originally meant to be carried out without warning into a “sneak attack,” Yoshida “concealed” them in plain view by elevating them within the ranks of the Foreign Ministry.

What were the dire consequences of this? The Japanese people could no longer properly appreciate the tragic nature of this war.

In the United States, a Joint Congressional Committee consisting of Members from both Houses started an investigation into the Pearl Harbor issue in the fall of 1945 when the war was over. The majority of Members were Democrats who naturally favored Roosevelt’s position, so there may have been some question about impartiality; nevertheless, the investigation gathered together as much information as possible, and focused on its study and examination. On the other hand, although Japan suffered so much tragedy, not once has a national commission been established to study or examine that war. Although the focus of its attention may have been subject to dispute, if there had been a proper examination of that war—for instance, a formal investigatory commission at a national level—on the issue of why war had not been

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<sup>63</sup> Sugihara, *Chiune Sugihara and Japan’s Foreign Ministry*, p. 123.

evaded, some overall distinctions would at least have been drawn between where Japan's actions in the war were avoidable and where they were not.<sup>64</sup>

The very existence of such an investigation and its findings may have allowed the people of Japan access to an automatic rebuttal to the so-called Tokyo Trial that, objectively, deserves little recognition; and may have prevented the tragic phenomenon we see today of the historical view which emanated from the Tokyo Trial. Regarding the masochistic view of history that still pervades Japan six decades after the Occupation, some Japan experts lament over the Tokyo Trial; but rather than criticize the Tokyo Trial itself, shouldn't we—the Japanese people, on our own—tackle the problem of Japan's language paradigm which cannot abandon the Tokyo Trial? And shouldn't more attention be paid to the root cause, namely that the Foreign Ministry concealed its own war responsibility?

If a national commission had been established immediately following the lifting of the Occupation, and if it had clarified, even only partially, why war had not been avoided, the historical perspective of the Tokyo Trial at that point may have fundamentally passed into oblivion. At the very least, it would probably not be as rampant as it is today.

We will not criticize Shigeru Yoshida too harshly here since he is not the central focus of this book, however Yoshida also missed an opportunity to revise the Constitution, and failed to establish a military. Looked at from this perspective, he was undoubtedly the worst prime minister in the postwar era. We must reevaluate Yoshida's actions. The problems Japan suffers from today, including those of constitutional reform and military rearmament, are a direct consequence of the actions Yoshida did or did not take. Readers interested in reading more of my criticisms of Shigeru Yoshida are advised to see *Between Incompetence and Culpability: Assessing the Diplomacy of Japan's Foreign Ministry from Pearl Harbor to Potsdam* (UPA, 1997), and *Hoshu no shimei* [The Conservative Mission] (Jiyusha, 2011).<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> In fact, during a cabinet meeting on October 30, 1945 under Prime Minister Kikujiro Shidehara, a "Committee to Investigate the Great East Asian War" was established to examine the causes and circumstances of the war. On December 15, the Occupation Forces prohibited further use of the term "Great East Asian War", so the body was renamed the "Committee to Investigate the War." Shidehara assumed the role of committee president on February 26, 1946. Later though, the Soviet Union was critical of the committee and called for its dissolution; consequently, it was abolished on September 30.

During this period, the foreign minister was Shigeru Yoshida, who had also become prime minister at the time of the committee's abolition. Therefore he would have known that establishing a committee of this nature around the time the Occupation was lifted would have been problematic. It is inconceivable that this simply did not occur to him. It can only be concluded that Yoshida, who during this period had promoted the two culprits directly responsible for turning the assault on Pearl Harbor into a "sneak attack" to the position of vice foreign minister, had deliberately derailed the committee. By promoting these two culprits to vice foreign minister, and awarding them the highest honors available to bureaucrats, he ensured that such a committee could never be set up.

<sup>65</sup> BI&C, pp. 141-160; Seishiro Sugihara, *Hoshu no shimei* [The Conservative Mission] (Tokyo: Jiyusha, 2011), pp. 191-222.

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*Addendum: Vindictiveness toward Japan by U. S. Troops*

Location and Rank of United States Troops	Percentage Who Would		
	Wipe Out the Whole Nation	Make the People Suffer Plenty	Punish the Leaders Only
A. Europe			
Officers	44 (15)	16 (18)	37 (64)
Enlisted men	61 (25)	9 (6)	26 (65)
B. Pacific			
Officers	35 (13)	19 (20)	43 (63)
Enlisted men	42 (22)	9 (8)	47 (68)
C. United States			
Enlisted men	67 (29)	8 (4)	23 (65)

Notes: Surveys conducted in November 1943, and February-April 1944;  
Number of divisions surveyed: Europe, 2; Pacific, 3; United States, 3;  
Parentheses indicate percentages with respect to Germany.

Source: Stouffer, *The American Soldier* (Princeton, 1949), p. 158

This survey was carried out by Princeton University from March through April, 1944. At the time, American troops were unaware of the real reason for the delay of Japan's "final notice" to the United States. Nor did they know President Roosevelt, before the Japanese attack, had read decrypted intercepts of that document. All the officers and men believed then that Japan had deliberately carried out a "sneak attack."

The problem is however that 67 percent of officers and men on the home front, with no battle experience, hated their enemy so much they wanted to "wipe out the whole Japanese nation." By contrast, among forces in the Pacific who had actually engaged in combat with the Japanese, only 35 percent of the commissioned officers and 42 percent of the non-commissioned officers and men expressed the desire to "wipe out the whole Japanese nation." Although units actually fighting the Japanese might be expected to hate their enemy more, in fact those still in the United States who had yet to face the Japanese in the battlefield had more hatred for Japan.

When troops assigned to the Pacific arrived at the battlefield and saw the tremendous fighting spirit of the Japanese soldiers, they came to feel there was something to be said for Japan, even though they clearly did not understand it. There was hatred, but also a begrudging understanding about the enemy.

Consequently, officers and men on the U. S. mainland without such firsthand experience could only rely on their impressions of the “sneak attack” on December 7, 1941. They could only react to the misleading impression they were led to believe by Roosevelt; and in the end, this impression also became associated with the dropping of the atomic bomb.

This Princeton survey was first introduced in Japan by Noboru Kojima in his book *Gosan no ronri* [The Logic of Miscalculation], published in 1987 by Bungei Shunju. The original citation was omitted from his book, so in order to reproduce the survey in my 1992 overview of Japanese press reports on the 50th anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack—*Sotenken - Shinjuwan 50-shunen hodo: Nani ga doko made wakatta ka*—which I published through Morita Shuppan under the penname Makoto Sugita, I approached Mr. Kojima who kindly advised the location of the original reference at the National Diet Library.

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### *Yoshida's Sense of Responsibility Differed from that of Ordinary People*

What are we to make of Yoshida's behavior and the actions taken by Okumura and Iguchi, examined here, as well as those of Kichisaburo Nomura discussed in the previous chapter?

Nomura and the others committed the inexcusable administrative blunder of delaying the “final note” to the United States. And even though Nomura clearly knew this became a major factor behind why the atomic bomb was used, what are we to make of his insensibility to serve two terms in the House of Councilors, the upper house of the Japanese Diet? And as for Iguchi and Okumura, while not solely responsible because their names were probably put forward by Yoshida, they had the impudence to accept promotions to the position of vice foreign minister.

In other words, the sense of responsibility they had as officials or diplomats within the Foreign Ministry clearly differed from that of the general public living in the world around them.

There is bound to be rivalry between staff members in any government ministry, and while furthering one's career normally involves a degree of fairness, sometimes even unfairness, a degree of stiff competition is to be expected; however this competition transforms itself to achieve the objectives of the ministry. For instance the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry which regulates trade, fulfills its duty as the ministry in charge of boosting economic growth while allowing such competition over career advancement to take place.

The same applies for private corporations. Employees strive to advance their careers while producing the economic value demanded of them by their companies.

However, the Foreign Ministry is quite different. It does not produce anything concrete. What it does “produce” are stable relations administered by diplomats with specific foreign countries. Moreover, this stability is merely limited to certain areas of jurisdiction. They do not take the protection of the national or public interest into consideration at all. And since Japanese diplomats only concern themselves with securing stability during their term in office, the foreign countries in question are also not being taken seriously.

In other words, the sense of responsibility of Foreign Ministry diplomats and officials lies merely with satisfying their own needs. Those working now in the Foreign Ministry would probably strongly disagree with these statements, but the end result demonstrates the inherent truth behind them.

## 2.2 He felt Like Alice in Wonderland

### *Shigeru Yoshida Concealed the Foreign Ministry's War Responsibility*

On June 21, 1950, John Foster Dulles, then an advisor to the U.S. State Department, arrived in Japan. It was only a matter of days before the Korean War would break out (June 25). Dulles met with Shigeru Yoshida for the first time on June 22, and called for Japan to re-arm itself. Upon hearing this request Yoshida, a furious opponent of rearmament, declared this was out of the question. He explained that “Japan could afford neither the economic costs nor popular outcry rearmament would entail. Dulles found the encounter unnerving; he felt, he later said, like Alice in Wonderland.”<sup>66</sup>

The Allied Occupation was lifted on April 28, 1952, so what should Japan have done when the nation formally and literally reemerged as an independent country?

As is often said, Japan needed constitutional reform. Conceivably, the constitution forcibly imposed by the Occupation forces, when Japan was deprived of its independence, could have been revised in two ways: the first was to simply scrap implementation of this enforced constitution, revert once again to the Meiji version, and use the procedures there to set up a new constitution; the second involved using revision procedures set down in the new Constitution, which despite being forcibly imposed during the Occupation was after all merely a reworked version of the Meiji Constitution, and redraft a new one. Practically speaking though, the latter was probably the more realistic option. There were also two options regarding when this revision could have been done, namely either before or after the Occupation was lifted; but in any case, constitutional reform should have been carried out around the time the Occupation was lifted, in order to settle practical issues with the then-prevailing constitution.

Along with lifting the Occupation, the second requirement for a legitimate independent nation was to create a military in order to protect itself through its own might. The issue of conscription would have been a matter of some debate, but regardless, as an independent nation Japan certainly had its own duty to build a military to defend the nation.

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<sup>66</sup> John Dower, *Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience, 1878-1954* (Harvard, 1979), p. 383; Miki Kase, *Daitoryo ate: Nihonkoku shusho no gokuhi fairu* [To the President: Secret Files of the Prime Minister of Japan] (Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1999), pp. 58-59. In 1954 Dulles met with Yoshida during the Japanese prime minister's visit to the United States, and referred to him as “diminutive.” By contrast, Dulles described then-German Chancellor Adenauer as one of Germany's greatest statesman since Bismarck.

The Korean War began on June 25, 1950. On July 8, MacArthur sent a letter to Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, directing Japan to create a National Police Reserve of 75,000 men, and to boost the Japan Coast Guard by 8,000. In other words, orders were given to establish a National Police Reserve consisting of a constabulary, rather than a military, to provide for Japan's security. These orders were given at the behest of Shigeru Yoshida.<sup>67</sup>

However, what was the mood of public opinion about rearmament at this time? A survey published in the December 22, 1950 edition of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper showed those in favor of rearmament (43.9 percent) clearly outnumbered those who were opposed (36.7 percent). Another survey published in the *Asahi Shimbun* on September 20, 1951, showed 71 percent of respondents agreed with the opinion that "Japan must build a military in order to defend the country on our own," compared to 16 percent who opposed it, showing an overwhelming majority in favor of rearmament. As far as public opinion was concerned, rearmament was a distinct possibility. Clearly the Japanese people were more interested in hard realities than abstract ideals. However, the Japanese government under Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida did not establish a military.

With the Occupation lifted, Japan's task above all was to redeem its reputation, damaged due to the war. During the Occupation, which began under the misconception that the Japanese Navy's "sneak attack" at Pearl Harbor was a deliberate military strike, all responsibility for the war was pushed onto the Japanese side. The Tokyo Trial was the ultimate expression of this and its judgment had weight under international law, so the Japanese government was obliged to execute those verdicts after it regained independence.

Nevertheless, this didn't mean that it was forced to accept the Tokyo Trial's historical interpretation. It had won back its liberty, and could freely choose how to interpret recent events, based on the free will of the Japanese people.

In which case, it should have allowed some form of public debate about the war, and clarified anew those aspects to do with Japan's reputation. As discussed above, constitutional revision and military rearmament would have done much to rehabilitate Japan's reputation; but regarding the historical interpretation that imposed war responsibility completely upon Japan, it should have clearly and openly set out, following a fair reassessment of the Japanese side's position, a view of history acceptable to the Japanese people.

Having just regained independence, and while under some obligation to execute the verdict of the Tokyo Trial, it may have been unlikely Japan could directly criticize those trial proceedings. However, it could probably have deduced for itself that, at the very least, it did not have to simply accept the interpretation that Japan was solely responsible for the war, as expressed in that judgment. Even if, for instance, it was obliged to execute the verdict of the Tokyo Trial, Japan had regained its liberty and should have been able to discuss, free from international constraints, why it had been unable to avoid the war. In doing so, it would probably have been clearer what blunders the Japanese Army and Navy made. However, at the same time, bungling by

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<sup>67</sup> BI&C, pp. 146-48.

the Foreign Ministry would also have been made obvious. The responsibility of the media too, for fanning the flames of war, would have been clarified. Problems inherent in Japan's Imperial Constitution would also have been made more apparent. And the responsibilities of the political parties would also have been clear.

If the war responsibility of each of these entities had been clarified in this way, then conversely, this might have shown that the war Japan had pursued actually brought about a chance for independence for many nations in Southeast Asia; this would have revealed Japan too had made a contribution to the history of humanity through this war.

As previously stated, and whatever one might say about restoring the nation's honor, the exercise of total freedom of speech may not have been possible, since Japan had only recently regained independence and was obliged to carry out the verdict of the Tokyo Trial. But regardless of how imperfect that freedom of speech may have been, there would certainly have been opportunities to reject the unreasonable and one-sided bashing Japan experienced under the Occupation. And it would have offered evidence of actual independence.

However, such ideas did not occur to Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida. In fact, by concealing the Foreign Ministry's war responsibility from the public, Yoshida confined the Japanese people into a warped linguistic space; and by promoting the culprits responsible for turning the assault on Pearl Harbor into a "sneak attack" to the highest echelons of the Foreign Ministry, he locked the people into a national construct from which there was no escape.<sup>68</sup>

For Yoshida, concealing the Foreign Ministry's war responsibility had priority over protecting the honor of the nation. Therefore, restoring Japan's honor would never have occurred to him as far as the concept of war responsibility was concerned.

Nevertheless, Yoshida was quite foolish to assume he could promote the culprits responsible for the "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor to vice foreign ministers, and thereby forever conceal this blunder by the Foreign Ministry from public scrutiny. After all, it has in fact left Yoshida open to accusations of "political crimes" such as those made in this present book. It was a foolish secret to try to hide. Thinking he could conceal matters in this manner reveals Yoshida's utter shallowness.

There is an important caveat, however. The present book is being published in 2013, more than sixty years after Yoshida committed these "political crimes," but few members of the Japanese public are aware of Yoshida's wrongdoing. The concealment of Yoshida's war responsibility has apparently succeeded. Japan has become the sort of society that might label any researcher of history, such as the author of this book, who questions Yoshida's political responsibility or exposes his "political crimes" as bizarre. Such has been the effectiveness of Yoshida's scheming. Arguably though, conversely, this means the ridiculous distortions in present-day Japan are clearly the product of Yoshida's actions.

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 146.



## 2.3 “Has the Defense Agency ever apologized for the Imphal Campaign?”

### *Avoiding War Responsibility During 50th Anniversary of Pearl Harbor*

In this section I'd like to relate my personal experience regarding how distorted a government department the Foreign Ministry has become in the postwar period, because it concealed from public scrutiny the administrative blunder committed by its Washington embassy on the eve of war, which led to the assault on Pearl Harbor being turned into a “sneak attack.” For more detail, see my aforementioned book, *Between Incompetence and Culpability* (UPA, 1997).

I have always had an interest in the “sneak attack” at Pearl Harbor; so I closely scrutinized reports appearing in newspapers and journals and those broadcast on television in 1991, the fiftieth anniversary of that raid. I published a summary of my findings under the penname Makoto Sugita in a book entitled, “Japanese Perspectives on Pearl Harbor: A Critical Review of Japanese Reports on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Pearl Harbor Attack,” translated by Theodore McNelly (Asian Research Service, 1995). That was how intrigued I was by the issue of the “sneak attack” at Pearl Harbor. And while examining these media reports on the Pearl Harbor attack, I discovered that the U.S. Congress, at a January 30, 1991 session, had designated December 7 that same year—the fiftieth anniversary of the attack—as Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day in the United States.

On the other hand in Japan where, even after five decades, responsibility for the “sneak attack” had yet to be properly sorted out, there were no public events organized as the fiftieth anniversary of Pearl Harbor approached. As the anniversary loomed, the Japanese government was committed to complete inaction. And it was therefore unable to do anything like apologize to the United States. While the Foreign Ministry is quick to say sorry about most things, for turning the assault on Pearl Harbor into a “sneak attack,” for this one thing alone, it was simply unable to apologize.

As the fiftieth anniversary of Pearl Harbor approached, Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe remarked in an interview with the *Washington Post* on December 4th that, “we feel a deep remorse about the unbearable suffering and sorrow Japan inflicted on the American people and the peoples of Asia and the Pacific during the Pacific War, a war that Japan started...because of the reckless decision of our military.”<sup>69</sup> Clearly at the behest of the Foreign Ministry, this was a deliberate attempt to obfuscate the problem of the unannounced attack at Pearl Harbor with the issue of the whole Pacific War.

Remarks by Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa were in a similar vein. At a press conference on the evening of December 6, in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of Pearl Harbor Miyazawa explained that the Japanese are “deeply aware of the responsibility [for entering] World War II with the attack on Pearl Harbor, and we inflicted unbearable damage and sorrow on the peoples of the United States, the

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<sup>69</sup> JPPH, p. 9.

Pacific and Asia.”<sup>70</sup> The Foreign Ministry created a scenario whereby the public was prevented from scrutinizing that infamous administrative blunder.

In response to Miyazawa’s remarks, President George Bush, during a commemorative address at the Pearl Harbor Memorial, commented that “Today, all Americans should accept Prime Minister Miyazawa’s expression of deep reflection concerning the Pearl Harbor attack.” And in an interview with CNN, he said, “I do not think that a Japanese apology for the Pearl Harbor attack is necessary.”<sup>71</sup> However, Miyazawa declined to spell out his thoughts on Pearl Harbor. Needless to say, the unannounced attack on Pearl Harbor, and the war between Japan and the United States, are two different things. Regarding Miyazawa’s remarks, behind the scenes the Foreign Ministry consistently engaged in a cover-up, and deflected attention away from the matter over which it should have apologized.

If we evaluate the attack without warning on Pearl Harbor historically, the only conclusion to be drawn is that it unnecessarily expanded hostilities, and made wartime negotiations to end the war much more difficult. For instance even if advance warning had been given, the tragic nature of the Pearl Harbor attack meant the events of the devastating war that followed may still have been unavoidable; but without the stigma attached to the “sneak attack” there is a greater likelihood the war would have ended earlier. Immediately after the war, the Japanese side should have determined the facts behind the “sneak attack,” which was linked psychologically to the dropping of the atomic bomb, and closely examined who was responsible.

The Foreign Ministry did not do this after Japan lost the war, nor did it make any attempt to do so during the fiftieth anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack.

In other words, to conceal its war responsibility, the Foreign Ministry has distorted Japan’s understanding of history. And it has become the organ of state which transmits a masochistic view of history to the outside world.

### *Posing Questions to the Foreign Ministry*

In any case, during my investigation of the Foreign Ministry’s responsibility for turning the attack on Pearl Harbor into a “sneak attack,” I discovered that in 1991, as the fiftieth anniversary approached, the Ministry still hadn’t publicly released any materials related to this issue. So I talked the matter over at that time with Masumi Inagaki, a reporter for *Seiron* magazine, and decided to pose a series of questions to the Foreign Ministry.<sup>72</sup>

The rain fell hard and fast on the morning of October 15, 1992. While I waited for Inagaki under an umbrella in front of the Foreign Ministry, I was questioned closely by a police officer in riot gear.

We went into the ministry building, and headed for the Public Relations Division. The section head who came out to handle my inquiry glanced briefly at the

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>72</sup> BI&C, p. 57.

heading of my question sheet, and immediately flashed a look of displeasure. He spat out a series of “rants.” For a moment, I couldn’t quite believe my ears.

Fortunately I can no longer remember the name of that section head, a career diplomat, so there is no need now to deliberately conceal his identity. But I remember his “rants” as clearly as if it had been yesterday. “Has the Defense Agency apologized for the Imphal Campaign?” And, “What’s the point of making an issue of what was done by the previous generation, our grandfathers and grandmothers?”<sup>73</sup>

The Defense Agency, now the Ministry of Defense, may have replaced the former Japanese Army, but it is not the same government agency. And there has been a lively debate about the Imphal campaign, which has received more than enough criticism from historians. However, the Foreign Ministry is exactly the same organ as it was previously; not once had it publicly released materials related to the “sneak attack” at Pearl Harbor, and over five decades it had never apologized to the Japanese people, nor been criticized by the public.

I was appalled by this section head who behaved like this as soon as he met us, even though it was clear we were there to research a magazine article. During my first contact with people there, I soon discovered just how abnormal career bureaucrats within the Foreign Ministry were.

Fortunately, there were also some reasonable people in the Public Relations Division. Overhearing the extraordinary exchanges of our conversation, Mr. Naoya Nakano, the deputy head of this division, came out to accept the question sheet from me. And although I had very few expectations, Mr. Nakano advised that, “An answer will certainly be submitted.”<sup>74</sup>

Before continuing further, let me note a few things about Mr. Nakano. Thanks to his efforts, the promise he made to provide answers to my question sheet was kept; an official response from the Foreign Ministry, as will be discussed below, was sent to a mere university professor like myself. But in July 1996, this outstanding Mr. Nakano, a career ministry official, committed suicide within the Foreign Ministry. This most reasonable of officials was stifled to death by the Foreign Ministry.<sup>75</sup>

In any event, the title of my question sheet was “Questions Regarding the Delay by Japan’s Embassy in the United States of the Notice for the Attack on Pearl Harbor Fifty-One Years Ago.”

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid. Note that the specific nature of these comments by the Foreign Ministry section head were not included in my previous publications, neither the original Japanese text *Nichi-Bei kaisen iko no Nihon gaiko no kenkyu* (Tokyo: Aki Shobo, 1997) p. 105, nor the English translation BI&C.

<sup>74</sup> See *Chiune Sugihara and Japan’s Foreign Ministry*, pp. xlii-xliv, for a more comprehensive account of Naoya Nakano. This English translation includes more detail than the original Japanese version, *Sugihara Chiune to Nihon no Gaimusho* (Tokyo: Taisho Shuppan, 1999), pp. 223-224.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

## *Declassifying Materials on the Pearl Harbor “Sneak Attack” Issue*

First of all, I would like here to outline the “questions” on my question sheet. They included four enquiries, which were as follows:<sup>76</sup>

Question 1: What is the Foreign Ministry’s assessment of the fact that the delay of the notice of war by Japan’s embassy in the United States meant the Japanese government, unintentionally, launched an unannounced war upon the United States which, during both the war with the U.S. and WW II, later resulted in horrifying consequences?

Q. 2: Due to the fact that the delay of the notice of war by the Japanese embassy in the United States caused such horrifying consequences, does the Foreign Ministry feel it must apologize to the people of Japan?

Q. 3: Regarding the critical issue of the delay of the notice of war by the Japanese embassy in the United States, why, almost fifty-one years later, has there never been a proper investigation to find out what the reasons were and who was responsible? Furthermore, why have reports of the findings from the partial internal investigation headed by Director General of the General Affairs Bureau Katsuo Okazaki in 1946, as well as the findings from other partial investigations, never been made public?

Q. 4: What are the ministry’s thoughts about ongoing impressions that, with an issue as critical as this, the Foreign Ministry has an unshirkable duty as the responsible government agency to investigate what the causes were and who was responsible? Moreover, if an investigation has already been scheduled, please advise when this will be and how it will be conducted.

For more detail about the Foreign Ministry’s responses to these four questions, please refer to my *Between Incompetence and Culpability* (UPA, 1997); however, a summary of those answers would reveal three main points.

First, its formal answer to my questions suggests the Ministry acknowledged the importance of the issue, and handled the issue earnestly, albeit in its own way. Second, we can concede that the Foreign Ministry basically acknowledged the blunder by Japan’s embassy in the United States fifty-one years earlier which caused the Japanese government to unintentionally launch an unannounced attack upon Pearl Harbor, and that this in turn produced the horrifying result of vastly more Japanese than necessary losing their lives and assets. And third, what must be pointed out is that, as of 1992, the Ministry had not implemented any positive measures to remedy this matter, such as permit public access to the related materials.

Shortly thereafter, in June 1994, the Emperor and Empress paid a state visit to the United States. It was widely reported that during their visit to the United States they would go to Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, visit the Arizona Memorial, and pray for the American victims of the Japanese Navy’s attack.

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<sup>76</sup> BI&C, pp. 57-60.

However, the Foreign Ministry had still not apologized to the people of Japan, nor publicly released relevant materials, regarding the blunder by the Japanese embassy in Washington which turned the assault on Pearl Harbor into a “sneak attack.” At such a stage, it would have been unwise for the Emperor to pray only for the souls of American troops who lost their lives. Wouldn’t the Imperial couple’s visit have, in effect, been used to cover up the blunder by the Foreign Ministry?

While I touched upon these issues in my question sheet for the Foreign Ministry, outlined above, I also brought up the issue of the ill-advised nature of the Imperial couple’s visit to Pearl Harbor in the May 1994 edition of *Shokun!*, entitled: “Will His Majesty’s Visit to Pearl Harbor Become the Foreign Ministry’s Apology By Proxy?” Perhaps not entirely by coincidence, the visit to Pearl Harbor by the Imperial couple was canceled.<sup>77</sup>

Finally, on November 20, 1994, the Foreign Ministry declassified materials related to its blunder which turned the assault on Pearl Harbor into a “sneak attack.” At the same time as this release, and possibly because it was under attack by the media over something for which it had never apologized, it made the following statement regarding its official opinion on the matter.<sup>78</sup>

#### The Point of View of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

It is a fact that the delivery of the Memorandum to the United States, which was to break off negotiations with that country, was delayed due to clerical mishandling by the Foreign Ministry of the time. It is extremely regrettable that such a situation arose, and the Ministry feels that there is no room for excuse.

The Foreign Ministry, having brought about such a regrettable outcome at a critical time for the nation, has learned the lesson that such an event must never happen again in future, and strives to improve its operations system.

Although not an apology for the Ministry’s appalling lack of contrition over such a long period, it was formally at least an apology for the blunder itself.

Many of the facts concerning the Pearl Harbor “sneak attack” had already been uncovered by researchers, so not much new was learned from the declassification of materials at this time.

It should be recalled, though, that evidence has come to light revealing it was Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida who gave direct orders to have the Foreign Ministry’s responsibility concealed.<sup>79</sup> It is even clearer now how much of a villain and fool this Shigeru Yoshida was in the context of Japan’s history. At the same time it also clearly gives some idea of how Japan’s “star” ministry, which took the lead in the postwar era, promulgated a masochistic view of history, failed over such a lengthy

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<sup>77</sup> BI&C, pp. 73-83; Seishiro Sugihara, “Heika no Shinjuwan homon wa Gaimusho no dairi shazai ni naranai ka” [Will His Majesty’s Visit to Pearl Harbor Become the Foreign Ministry’s Apology By Proxy?] in *Shokun!* May, 1994, pp. 106-111.

<sup>78</sup> BI&C, pp. 85-86.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., pp. 104-109.

period to express any regret, and pushed all responsibility for the war onto the former Japanese Army and Navy, since these abolished military services could no longer express any opposing argument.

In other words the Foreign Ministry, Japan's "star" ministry which at first glance appeared to be representing the nation, was actually unable to convey the proper version of history because it continued to hide its own war responsibility in this way, and could only become the transmitter of a masochistic view of history to the outside world.

## **2.4 "To advance friendship and goodwill with our Asian neighbors, Japan must heed their criticisms and make necessary corrections"**

### *Voluntary Corrections At Government Responsibility Despite Awareness Of Misreporting*

As mentioned in my 1997 publication, *Between Incompetence and Culpability*, it was a scorcher of a summer in 1982. On June 26, the Japanese media all reported the Ministry of Education had directed school textbooks to refer to the *shinryaku* (invasion) of China merely as *shinshutsu* ([military] advance). (The exception was the *Sankei Shimbun* which began its reports on June 27.) Initially, it did not appear that a major scandal would develop, but China later lodged a formal protest on July 26 through the Japanese embassy in Beijing. South Korea added its protest the following day (July 27). The inflamed passions generated by this scandal rivaled even the searing midsummer heat. Things finally settled down when Chief Cabinet Secretary Kiichi Miyazawa made the following "remarks" [*danwa*] on August 26 concerning the school textbooks in question: "From the perspective of building friendship and goodwill with neighboring countries [in Asia], Japan will pay due attention to these criticisms and make corrections at the Government's responsibility."<sup>80</sup>

Miyazawa also proposed, albeit informally, that "the authorization criteria will be revised following deliberations by the Textbook Authorization Research Council," which meant resolving the issue using procedures barely within the bounds of civil law; in practice though, this measure transcended the law.

It is now generally appreciated that the June 26 press reports claiming that the Ministry of Education had directed the "invasion" of China be referred to merely as a military "advance," had been total misrepresentations by the media.<sup>81</sup>

On September 7, the *Sankei Shimbun* boldly issued the following apology:<sup>82</sup>

Due to Ministry of Education Authorization Procedure, Some Publishers Use Term "Advance" instead of "Invasion" When Referring to Japan-China War

The present dispute over textbooks began when several newspapers,

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., pp. 130-131.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

including the *Sankei Shimbun*, made reports of this nature. But after re-examining the history textbooks in question, the term “invasion” had not in fact been replaced by [military] “advance,” and previous reports were found to be mistaken. The fact that these articles caused the issue to escalate into a diplomatic dispute means we must bear an inordinate responsibility. We deeply apologize to our readers, and also promise from now on to painstakingly strive to ensure “accurate reporting.”

In other words, the 1982 textbook dispute arose because of the false reports made on June 26. But during the period when these false reports were accepted as the truth, many Japanese indeed felt that things “had gone too far” and that Chinese and Korean anger was perhaps justified. These false reports triggered the “remarks by the Chief Cabinet Secretary” and also the supra-legal measures subsequently taken.

When did the Ministry of Education discover that these June 26 reports, which had caused the uproar, were actually incorrect? It should come as no surprise that the Ministry’s Textbook Authorization Division already knew during the period between the end of June and the start of July, 1982. Therefore on July 26, when China lodged its formal complaint, it was already clear within the Ministry that the reports were erroneous.

In other words, Chief Cabinet Secretary Miyazawa was already aware of the facts of the situation when he made his “remarks.” The people of Japan, on the other hand, were not. Although Miyazawa knew those reports had been incorrect, he did nothing to correct them, and even based his “remarks” on them, thereby entrenching the Japanese government’s position. Shouldn’t such a determination ultimately have been made by the government itself?<sup>83</sup>

Why didn’t the Ministry of Education, which was in charge of textbook authorization, announce that those newspaper reports had no merit when China lodged its official protest on July 26? Because it had been told to keep quiet by the Foreign Ministry who felt that, even if the term “invasion” had not been changed to “advance,” it would be put in an awkward position if too much was made of the issue. And since diplomacy is generally the province of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Education acquiesced to this request in the misguided belief that its cooperation would ultimately allow the matter to be resolved fairly.<sup>84</sup>

The Foreign Ministry capitalized on the Japanese people’s ignorance that the press reports were mistaken. Aware that they were indeed false, the ministry manipulated the chief cabinet secretary and forced the Japanese government to

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<sup>83</sup> The text of these “remarks” by the chief cabinet secretary contained untruthful “facts” and was written in full knowledge that these “facts” were false; and because this led to important diplomatic decisions being made as a result, it is conceivable that the person who created this document should have been held legally responsible for the crime of falsifying official government documents. At this late stage, the statute of limitations may already have expired to hold this person to account, but it would be interesting to speculate what might have happened if, within a timely period after the “remarks” were made, that person had been prosecuted.

<sup>84</sup> BI&C, p. 132.

apologize to the government of China on the premise that the false reports were in fact true.<sup>85</sup>

Let me add a brief observation. On July 27, the day after China lodged its complaint against Japan, South Korea followed suit and lodged a complaint of its own. But the fact is, the Korean government had carefully considered the Japanese government's prior stance, and decided to maintain its policy of avoiding diplomatic disputes with Japan. However, day after day the fully-independent Korean press continued to criticize Japan. If one believed those Japanese reports that the term "invasion" really had been changed to "advance," then a press campaign in Korea of this magnitude, given its domestic situation, was perhaps natural enough. Nevertheless, the Korean government contained the Korean public's rage and dealt prudently with a Japanese government mired in crisis. But the Japanese Foreign Ministry, by panicking at the first hint of any complaint from China, showed an utter disrespect for the Korean government.<sup>86</sup>

Some astute decisions by then-Chief Cabinet Secretary Kiichi Miyazawa could have prevented the textbook dispute from ever happening. However, Japan's diplomacy often involves swallowing Foreign Ministry proposals whole, even though they can hardly be considered to be proper statecraft, are at odds with the national interest, and are bordering on criminal; nevertheless, they are blithely carried out.

It is understandable that Japanese diplomacy since World War II has not been straightforward because of the position in which the nation found itself after the war. However, this alone does not explain Japan's questionable postwar diplomacy. The Foreign Ministry has managed Japan's international relations while concealing its own war responsibility, and this has made genuine diplomacy impossible.

One of the Foreign Ministry's slogans is that it conducts diplomacy to protect the national interest; but it has performed this task while keeping many secrets from the public, including its past war responsibility, and only by means of a diplomacy

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid. If the chief cabinet secretary decides to make such erroneous "remarks," he should be prevented from doing so, even if the administrative vice-minister, the most senior Foreign Ministry official responsible for administrative affairs, is forced to resign. This would enable the Foreign Ministry to meet the people's expectations for the first time. Ryohei Murata, Japan's former ambassador to the United States, wrote that,

"Affairs pertaining to before or during the war were formally dealt with in the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with respect to China, and the Treaty on Basic Relations with respect to South Korea, therefore Mr. Miyazawa's commitments relating to matters of Japanese sovereignty were misguided, and a statement could simply have been issued to rescind them. What on earth were the section heads in charge at the time within the Foreign and Education ministries doing? To protect themselves and their careers, they were probably unable to tell their bosses the honest truth: 'Minister, I think that is in error.' This cowardice is inexcusable in government officials who are supposed to serve the public in a fair and impartial manner."

See Ryohei Murata, *Doko e iku no ka, kono kuni wa – Moto chu-Bei taishi, wakamono e no yuigon* [Where Is This Country Heading? Former U.S. Ambassador's Testament to the Youth Of Japan] (Tokyo: Minerva Shobo, 2010), p. 185.

<sup>86</sup> BI&C, pp. 132-133.



imbued with a masochistic view of history. Ultimately, what the Foreign Ministry means by “the national interest” is actually its own interests; and in extreme cases, it means the interests of its officials, in particular its career bureaucrats.

One can only conclude that the organization bringing ruin to Japan is the Foreign Ministry. In the light of its criminal diplomacy in blithely selling out Japan’s sovereign right to determine its own education policy, as demonstrated in the textbook misinformation controversy discussed above, one can only conclude the Foreign Ministry is bringing ruin to Japan.

In response to Chief Cabinet Secretary Miyazawa’s aforementioned August 26 remarks, the Ministry of Education devised the so-called “neighboring country clause” [*kinrin shokoku joko*] so that no authorization opinions would be appended to passages concerning Japan’s neighboring countries in history textbooks, and this is clear evidence of the Foreign Ministry causing harm to Japan.<sup>87</sup>

### *Plot to reject textbook by “Japan Society for History Textbook Reform”*

There is another installment in the saga of the Foreign Ministry’s illegal behavior concerning problems with textbook authorization. In June 1986, the high school textbook *Shinpen nihonshi* [New Edition Japanese History] was mired in controversy. Although the results of the textbook authorization process had been published in the press, the textbook itself had yet to be released, so logically no-one could have had access to it. Nevertheless, China lodged detailed protests against this particular textbook. Officially, China could not have obtained a copy of this textbook. So China lodged its protest using what could broadly be described as “undisclosed materials” to interfere in the authorization process. The Foreign Ministry’s primary

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<sup>87</sup> The “neighboring country clause” [*kinrin shokoku joko*] referred to here is formally known as the “school textbook authorization criteria” [*kyokayo tosho kentei kijun*] and was added to the existing rules on November 24, 1982 by the Textbook Authorization Research Council, a body within the former Ministry of Education (now the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology), in response to the Chief Cabinet Secretary’s remarks earlier that year on August 26. It stipulates that, “textbooks ought to show understanding and seek international harmony in their treatment of modern and contemporary historical events involving neighboring Asian countries.”

At first glance, this clause does not appear to be problematic. One might think this stipulation is only proper and the ultimate in common sense. However, by adding this stipulation, the Textbook Authorization Research Council was forced to agree not to append “authorization opinions” (in other words, “an approval slip”) to matters pertaining to modern and contemporary history. In which case, logically, passages written by textbook authors deemed inconsistent with the national interest would not be approved, which amounts to relinquishing the nation’s sovereign right to approve matters relating to Japan’s recent history. This stipulation is ludicrous in a sovereign nation governed by the rule of law.

In any case, regardless of whether or not the term “invasion” was replaced by [military] “advance” during the textbook authorization process, it must be concluded that, by bringing about the introduction of a damaging stipulation of this sort, the Foreign Ministry’s crime at this time was egregious in the extreme.

mission at the time ought to have been to support the Ministry of Education and admonish China, but it did nothing of the sort at all. Indeed, to the contrary, it forced the Ministry of Education to accept China's demands.<sup>88</sup>

The Foreign Ministry's intervention in the textbook authorization process continued. The "neighboring country clause" came into force; and in 1996, a time when publishers could write history textbooks without censure, spurious descriptions of the enforced mobilization of Korean "comfort women" began appearing simultaneously in all junior high school history textbooks. Public anger mounted due to the injustice of the situation. The "Japan Society for History Textbook Reform" was specifically formed to produce a proper history textbook. In April 2000, a textbook written by the Society was submitted for approval by the publisher Fusosha. Eijiro Noda, a member of the Textbook Authorization Research Council and also a former diplomat, took the initiative at this time to devise a scheme to ensure this textbook would fail the approval process.<sup>89</sup>

On November 13, the *Sankei Shimbun* published a lead article on its front page with the following headlines: "Junior High School Textbook: Former Diplomat Committee Member Works to Block Approval; Foreign Ministry Bureaucrat Suspected of Involvement; Concerns of China and Others Considered." This former diplomat, now a member of the Textbook Authorization Research Council, took it upon himself to write and call other council members, urging them to make sure the Fusosha textbook would not be approved.

Although the Foreign Ministry has a tremendous responsibility for the war, it has efficiently hidden this without the slightest remorse nor any pangs of conscience; as a result, and with no concern for the nation's honor, the Foreign Ministry schemes to benefit itself by promulgating a masochistic view of history.

The interests of the Foreign Ministry are completely disconnected from the interests of the nation and the people. These interests only involve enriching the well-being of its own Foreign Ministry officials.

The findings in this book have revealed for all to see that the Foreign Ministry is leading Japan down the path to ruin. To revitalize Japan, it is absolutely clear that the Foreign Ministry must be reshaped. Without a complete reorganization of the Ministry, Japan cannot gain a new lease of life. It is crucial that the Foreign Ministry be reformed.



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<sup>88</sup> Nobukatsu Fujioka, *Kyokasho saitaku no shinso – kakushite rekishi wa yugamerareru* [The Truth About Textbook Selection: How History Is Distorted] (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyujo, 2005), pp. 93-96.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pp. 98-102.

## Chapter 3

# The Reality Behind the Foreign Ministry and the Skills Expected of Diplomats

### 3.1 Diplomats Must Respond Promptly And Have Strategic Vision

#### *Diplomats Must Be Able To Respond Promptly*

The skills required of any diplomat are the ability to respond in a timely manner, and the aptitude for long-term strategic vision. What ties these two qualities together, mentally, are a sense of patriotism, an understanding of “the national interest,” and an innate sense of responsibility. Another way of describing their “office work” is that it involves the collection and analysis of information.

When examining the qualities and capabilities of diplomats in this light, Foreign Ministry personnel, arguably, are generally lacking in these skills. This doesn’t apply across the board to all Ministry personnel, since it’s true a small number of them have outstanding talents and abilities. But as the saying goes, one rotten apple can spoil the entire barrel; a large majority of Ministry employees are ill-suited for the task, so the Ministry is very poor at conducting state affairs even though nominally it is the government organ charged with carrying out the nation’s diplomacy.

An example of this inability to work efficiently, previously examined in this book, can be found at the Washington embassy where typing of the “final notice” was botched on the eve of the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States in 1941. The only career diplomat in the embassy at the time who was qualified to type in English was First Secretary Katsuzo Okumura. This example clearly pinpoints the inability by Japanese diplomats to work efficiently.

Because of the increasing importance of diplomatic cables in late 1941, instructions had been issued by the home office to type them up using career diplomats rather than locally-hired typists; and among the embassy’s career diplomats only Okumura could type decently, but he was laboriously slow and could only stab at the keys with his index fingers.

If all career diplomats had been able to type to an acceptable standard, the “final notice” would not have been delayed, even if, for instance, one member of staff

had gone out somewhere and had therefore been unavailable for typing duty. As such, although war between Japan and the United States may not have been prevented, at least the Japanese Navy's strike at Pearl Harbor would not have been turned into a "sneak attack." And as a result, the atomic bomb may not have been used. And perhaps also, tragedies such as the Great Tokyo Air Raids might not have taken place, and the end of the war may have come much sooner.

As for the inability to make prompt decisions regarding office tasks, when they realized that, on the tense morning of December 7, 1941 (U.S. time), the typing at the Washington embassy was taking too long and the typed version of the cable might not be delivered to the American side by the designated time, it wouldn't have been inconceivable to decide to use a locally-hired typist to type the document, and then detain that typist in the embassy temporarily to prevent a security leak, allowing the typist to leave only after the document had been handed to the American side and maintaining secrecy was no longer an issue. However, at the time this idea did not even occur to any of the people involved. This is also part of the problem of their inability to make split-second decisions about office tasks.<sup>90</sup>

What does this situation tell us? Diplomatic tests were first set up in 1893, and the Foreign Ministry began to train diplomats in a contrived yet systematic manner. Career diplomats who had undergone this training included those who were posted to

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<sup>90</sup> An article by Masao Yagi, third secretary at Japan's Washington Embassy in 1941, appeared in the February 1995 issue of the magazine *Bungeishunju* entitled "Tai-Bei tsukoku chien no zenshinso" [The Whole Truth About the Delay of the Notice to The U.S.]; and this was the last eyewitness account by an actual participant in those events because most of the others had already passed away. It is an invaluable account of the office routine of Foreign Ministry personnel. The crux of the problem was how staff reacted when they realized the "final notice" had to be delivered at 1:00 p.m., and were pressed to decide whether or not this deadline could actually be met. Yagi first pointed out that Katsuzo Okumura and Sadao Iguchi were the two officials who bore the most responsibility, and he felt that "it was due to administrative blunders made by these two, precisely because they worked for the Foreign Ministry and not some other government department" (p. 186). He then points out that "upon some serious reflection, if a clean copy of the first thirteen parts of the notice could not be completed in time, they should have divided the document, and simply made a clean copy of the remainder" (p. 190). And furthermore, "the problem was, when a specific time on that day was designated for delivery, why wasn't a determination made as to whether or not they would make it in time, when it was clear the matter needed urgent handling" (p. 190). "When I think back on the situation, the officials in charge at the Japanese embassy back then lacked the ability to manage and control embassy staff" (p. 191). "This inability to show leadership was an inherent flaw in the Foreign Ministry" (p. 191), and this flaw "arose because after officials entered the ministry there was no training at all in team work." It bears noting that Yagi astutely pointed out precisely where the Foreign Ministry needs reform.

In the light of Mr. Yagi's assessment, one can't help feeling anger towards the Foreign Ministry for causing such a massive blunder at the time war broke out between Japan and the United States, and bringing such enormous harm to the people of Japan (or the people of the world, depending on your perspective); and to have concealed its responsibility for this—while not undergoing any reflection—nor conducting any analysis at all so that such a mistake can never happen again. If one traces the blame for this back to Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, then he clearly deserves our condemnation.

English-speaking countries such as the United States without even the ability to type in English, meaning that their official training and education was without substance. And regarding their ability to carry out office work in a prompt manner, it was not successful at all.

It is no exaggeration that this poor training and education of diplomats since the Meiji era was partly to blame for why the war between Japan and the United States became so brutal, and even why the atomic bomb was dropped.

### *Diplomats Must Have Capacity For Long-Term Strategic Vision*

The following is a striking example of how the other essential skill for the diplomat, namely the capacity for long-term strategic vision, was also sadly lacking. In the fall of 1940, one year before the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States, President Roosevelt unambiguously pledged to the American people not to take the nation to war, and he subsequently won re-election to a third term. This perhaps meant the U.S. could no longer actively choose to participate in any conflict, but if it was determined to wage war it would have to be drawn into hostilities by another party. However, if this was the case, no-one in the Japanese embassy in Washington put forward the advice that Japan would be wise not to be targeted by such an adversary and allow Japan to be sacrificed. If Japanese diplomats had received training in long-term strategic thinking as part of their daily routine, or were naturally gifted with such abilities, then perhaps war between Japan and the United States might not even have occurred. This would have been immediately apparent if they had closely analyzed how Roosevelt had accomplished the amazing feat of being reelected to the White House for an unprecedented third term.<sup>91</sup>

It highlights the fact that Japanese diplomats had not been trained in the skills or practices needed for long-term strategic thinking, so necessary for a diplomat, nor were they naturally gifted with such abilities.

As discussed previously, another example of this inability to conduct long-term strategic thinking is that of Jutaro Komura who, on returning home from the United States after peace negotiations between Japan and Russia, rejected a proposal from the American rail magnate E. H. Harriman to jointly operate the railway in Manchuria, despite a provisional agreement already having been reached.

A debt of gratitude was owed to the United States, and whichever way you look at it, Japan should have accepted Harriman's proposal at this time. Acceptance of the proposal at this time, and operation of the railway in Manchuria jointly by the United States and Japan, may perhaps have meant the two countries would not have clashed afterwards, and war may not have broken out between Japan and the United States.<sup>92</sup>

Nevertheless, Komura's rejection of that proposal did not necessarily point to a lack of forward strategic thinking. If Komura had pursued cooperative efforts with other American financial conglomerates, there may still have been faint prospects of preventing such deep antagonism between Japan and the United States, even without

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<sup>91</sup> See fn 35; Chapter 1.4.

<sup>92</sup> See Chapter 1.1.

this joint undertaking with Harriman. But the facts of history show that, by rejecting Harriman's overture, the opportunity was lost to advance cooperative ties between Japan and the United States, and gave rise to hostility between the two countries and eventually the outbreak of war.

This being the case, why did Komura reject Harriman's proposal? Conceptually, Komura would not have been completely unconcerned about future relations between Japan and the United States. But he might well have been resentful that the provisional agreement had been arrived at during his absence. It may well have been a question of hubris.

The Twenty-One Demands forced on China in 1915 was another example of a lack of long-term strategic thinking in Japanese diplomacy.

The "ultimatum" associated with the Twenty-One Demands was lodged at the request of Yuan Shikai, who claimed it would then be easier for the Chinese side to accept; however, while the Japanese side may have successfully realized those demands by doing precisely what Yuan had asked of it, what was the significance in the long term? How would this situation later be written into Chinese history? The future implications should have been examined. The historical record also shows Yuan Shikai later outmaneuvered Japan, and fanned the flames of anti-Japanese sentiment by personally disclosing that Japan had forced these "demands" on China. But even if one does not subscribe to this view, Japan should at least have considered the long-term strategy of how such unilateral demands would have been received in the wider world at that time, how the Chinese people would have received them, and how these Twenty-One Demands would later be written into Chinese history or world history. A politician with even the slightest expertise would easily have noticed that the Foreign Ministry, staffed by supposedly professional diplomats, was more lacking in judgment than elected officials.<sup>93</sup>

The January 16, 1938, declaration by Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe "to no longer deal with the KMT government" was a statement completely lacking in long-term strategy.

At the Imperial General Headquarters-Government Liaison Conference the day before, the Army had vigorously opposed the statement, urging that it not be released. Vice Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Hayao Tada opposed Foreign Minister Koki Hirota who had been taunting Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang government. Admiral Mineichi Koga, vice chief of the Navy General Staff, agreed with Tada. As noted earlier, Hirota bristled with anger, and countered: "In view of my lengthy experience as a diplomat, it is clear from the Chinese side's responses they have no real desire for any peaceful resolution. Doesn't Vice Chief Tada have confidence in the foreign minister?" Certainly, a petty minor incident can often be squelched quicker by a strong response than a weak one. However, by issuing this statement "to no longer deal with the KMT government," Japan cut off all negotiations with the most powerful party in China, even though the KMT did not necessarily have control over the entire country at the time.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> See Chapter 1.2.

<sup>94</sup> See Chapter 1.3.

If the Second Sino-Japanese War, which was triggered by the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937, had not occurred, the war between the U.S. and Japan and the Great East Asian War may not have happened. At the time Konoe made this statement, Japan was not in a position to ignore its limited national resources and embark on a protracted war. This being the case, relations with the KMT government should not have been severed. The Army should have blocked the Foreign Ministry's plans, even if it had to assert its right of supreme command. But the foreign minister got the assent of the army and navy ministers, and so the Army was no longer able to prevent it.

The approach of the foreign minister at this time gave no thought to how events would begin to unfold thereafter, thanks to the lack of long-term vision by the two service ministers, and also the announcement of the statement that removed the KMT government as a negotiating partner. To some extent, Hirota was the ultimate success who struggled his way up the ranks to eventually become foreign minister; but he was clearly a failure as a diplomat, and was typical of the caliber of Foreign Ministry officials of the day.

### *The Issue of Patriotism*

Let us now turn to the issue of patriotism as a necessary attribute in a diplomat. Obviously, patriotism is the love and feeling for one's own country. It is an indispensable quality in a diplomat.

Members of the general public generally aren't consciously patriotic. This is perhaps a shortcoming of the education system in Japan, which doesn't deliberately instill students with patriotism in schools.

But diplomats cannot be held to the same standard as the general public in this regard. The duty of diplomats is to represent their country while negotiating with other nations, therefore they must manifest a clear and conscious loyalty to their own country, and the sense of patriotism that this entails.

However, there is no trace whatsoever of patriotism being instilled in staff during their employment and training in the Foreign Ministry. Perhaps this is based on a belief that patriotism should be a natural response rather than something deliberately imposed, but diplomats are not the same as the general public. Diplomats, on behalf of their own country, must negotiate with foreign representatives, so they ought to be consciously patriotic and must be keenly aware of the special characteristics of the history of Japan. In the training and education of diplomats, there is little teaching about history. There are far too many diplomats with only a passing knowledge of history, akin to the level of that of the general public. They must be made aware of the importance, particularly in Japanese history, of the existence of the emperor in matters including: the purpose of the emperor if he wields no political power; what he has come to represent; and how the emperor has been significant over the course of Japan's history.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> There is a book available for those preparing to take the examinations to become a diplomat, entitled *Gaikokan no shigoto ga wakaru hon* [Primer for Understanding the Work of a Diplomat] published in 2002 by Hogakushoin. This primer was created in the private sector,

### *The Issue of the Concept of the National Interest*

We now turn to the concept of the national interest, as it relates to problems with the abilities of Japan's diplomats. Specifically, this notion of the national interest involves the protection of a country's honor, and the safeguarding of the lives and property of its people. Diplomats try to express that patriotism through the work they do on behalf of the nation. The longer term "concept of the national interest" is used here rather than simply "the national interest" in order to keep matters slightly abstract, since "the national interest" may vary according to actual situations.

To illustrate this "concept of the national interest," one has to look no further than an example previously raised in this book, namely the way the Foreign Ministry resolved the July 1982 textbook misinformation controversy. As previously indicated, it was a really hot summer. The Japanese media mistakenly reported, without foundation, that the Ministry of Education textbook authorization process had directed school textbooks to refer to the *shinryaku* (invasion) of China merely as *shinshutsu* ([military] advance), and in response China lodged a formal protest on July 26.

At this time, the Foreign Ministry was already aware that the reports were erroneous, and pressured the Ministry of Education not to reveal this publicly; instead, Chief Cabinet Secretary Kiichi Miyazawa made certain "remarks" as if these false reports were in fact correct. Miyazawa's "remarks" included the comment that "Japan will pay full heed to this criticism in promoting friendship and goodwill with the nearby countries of Asia, and the government will undertake on its own responsibility to make the necessary amendments"; the Foreign Ministry directed the chief cabinet secretary to concede that "the government will undertake on its own responsibility to make the necessary amendments" rather than informing the Chinese that it was a simple case of misinformation, and that what was reported by the media had not in fact taken place.

It becomes only too clear how hopeless Japan's long-term prospects are, because incidents like these show how school textbooks authorized in Japan will be developed in the future, and how this in turn will distort Japanese education. However, putting aside for the moment the issue of the future of Japanese education, the

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and was not an official publication issued by the Foreign Ministry. However, the preface was written by Akitaka Saiki, a Foreign Ministry division head in the Personnel Section, Minister's Secretariat, therefore its contents could be seen as having the Ministry's stamp of approval.

Japanese culture is included in the material covering training and education. However this only refers to things like flower arrangement and the tea ceremony, and cannot be thought to examine in any depth what really constitutes the special characteristics of Japanese culture. Furthermore, there is no emphasis whatsoever on things such as patriotism or the national interest.

The magazine *Weekly Shincho* published a four-page article on October 1, 1987, regarding the now-defunct diplomatic examinations, entitled, " 'Riso no gaikokan' wo motometa Gaimusho: Kotoshi no 'shiken mondai' " [The Foreign Ministry's Search for the Ideal Diplomat: This Year's "Exam Questions"]. The exam contents were found to be inadequate, and there were also problems with testing to determine the language skills essential for a diplomat.



problem is that Japan's "education sovereignty" or the sovereign right of Japan to decide its own policy on education through textbook authorization, has been casually handed over to China and South Korea.

This aberrant behavior and decision making occurred because Foreign Ministry personnel do not, in their daily routine, give any thought to what is in the "national interest." On the other hand Education Ministry officials, while they don't consciously take into account the notion of "education sovereignty," nevertheless try to protect the integrity of the textbook authorization process and are consequently more attuned to the "national interest."

"Education sovereignty" is not a term you come across every day, but upon reflection, every nation has the inherent right to educate its own citizens, and this is precisely what the term means. When problems concerning Japanese education take on an international dimension, staff in the Foreign Ministry, unlike those in other government departments, must consider the question of "education sovereignty"; however, they readily handed over control of Japan's "education sovereignty" to China and Korea without giving it a second thought. This shows that the ones who least understand what diplomacy means are the personnel in the Foreign Ministry.<sup>96</sup>

Problems with misinformation about school textbooks persist. The incident concerning the misreporting about school textbooks led to the creation of a "neighboring country clause" in the authorization process. This clause provides a framework for the Foreign Ministry to issue recommendations to members of the textbook authorization council. Within this framework, Eijiro Noda, a member of the Textbook Authorization Research Council and also a former diplomat, took the initiative to devise a scheme to ensure a textbook for middle schools—called *Atarashii rekishi kyokasho* [New History Textbook] written by the Japan Society for History Textbook Reform, and submitted for approval in April 2000 by the publisher Fusosha—would not pass inspection. Noda's actions were so unusual that even some officials within the Foreign Ministry became suspicious of his behavior, and questioned whether anything was actually wrong with this textbook. In any case, this ex-diplomat committee member contrived a situation during the authorization process, whereby the Japan Society for History Textbook Reform, who wanted to normalize Japanese education, would be unable to publish its textbook. This clearly demonstrates how little the notion of the "national interest" is identified with "education sovereignty." One might even say this typifies diplomats in charge of Japanese diplomacy.

There were further developments in Noda's efforts to interfere with the screening and approval process. Only 521 copies of "New History Textbook," written by the Japan Society for Textbook Reform to protect Japan's honor and promote the sound teaching of history, were selected by the Board of Education for use the following academic year. This represents a pathetic 0.04% of the total number of textbooks for the Japanese middle school student population of around 1.2 million; it must be said that this wholesale rejection of the textbook, the product of much effort to improve Japanese education, attests to the utter chaos in the sphere of education. A

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<sup>96</sup> See fn 87.

summit between the leaders of Japan and Korea was to be held in October that same year, and Hitoshi Tanaka, director of the Foreign Ministry's Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau, prepared a list of anticipated questions and answers for Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to use. In answer to any query as to why the acceptance rate for "New History Textbook" was so low, the answer would have been that it was "a manifestation of the conscience of the Japanese people." Fortunately, Prime Minister Koizumi rejected this answer, and the matter passed without incident.<sup>97</sup>

Individuals are naturally ambitious, so an aspect of acting in the national interest should be a matter of course for those who work at the Foreign Ministry; but for a long time, Ministry personnel have not been taught to clearly consider the notion of what the "national interest" consists of, whether in vocational education, advanced training, or their daily office routine. So not surprisingly, without this force of habit, the "national interest" has no substance for Japanese diplomats. Respect for what is in the "national interest" must be instilled on a daily basis.<sup>98</sup>

### *Problem of Sense of Responsibility*

The third and final quality required in a diplomat, namely that of having a sense of responsibility, is also a crucial matter. As discussed in the previous two chapters, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Kichisaburo Nomura was astonishingly unburdened by any sense of responsibility when, unaware of the Japanese Navy's planned surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, he delivered Japan's "final notice" at 2:20 p.m. on December 7, 1941 (Washington time), approximately one hour after hostilities had begun, and inadvertently turned the Navy's assault on Hawaii into a "sneak attack."<sup>99</sup>

Nomura had no responsibility for the contents of the "final notice," so there was no need for him to accept any blame for what was contained in the notice itself. However, he clearly had responsibility for ensuring the notice was delivered by the 1:00 p.m. deadline. As the highest-ranking official in the embassy, he was ultimately responsible for this failure. His negligence meant Japan inadvertently launched hostilities against the United States with a "sneak attack," and the war became more tragic than was ever necessary. Nomura did not feel the slightest twinge of responsibility that he was to blame for this.

As noted earlier, Nomura bore a large responsibility for this situation, but stunned those around him who feared he might take his own life, by saying: "Why should I commit suicide? I'm a diplomat."

Nomura was not a professional diplomat. He had spent most of his life serving in the Navy. However, it is perhaps conceivable he didn't have much of a sense of responsibility even when he served in the Navy; because if he did have a strong sense of responsibility, he should have realized that—when he was about an hour late delivering the "final notice" to Secretary Hull and returned to the embassy only to learn the attack on Pearl Harbor had happened an hour before—his negligence had in

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<sup>97</sup> *Kokumin Shimbun*, January 25, 2002.

<sup>98</sup> See fn 95.

<sup>99</sup> See Chapter 1.6; Chapter 2.2.

fact turned the assault into a “sneak attack.” It did not even occur to him at the time to at least tell the American press the Japanese government had designated 1:00 p.m. for its delivery, but that it had been delayed roughly an hour because of blunders in the embassy. He even failed to try to inform the reporters thronging around the embassy gates. Such a thought did not occur to him. He was not capable of it.

On August 6, 1945, sixteen hours after the atomic bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima, President Harry Truman made an announcement that the Japanese “have been repaid many fold” for the “sneak attack” at Pearl Harbor.<sup>100</sup> Shortly after Japan’s defeat in the war, General George C. Marshall cited the “treachery” at Pearl Harbor as the reason for using the atomic bomb in Japan.<sup>101</sup> Even though it was obvious there was a direct link between Nomura’s responsibility for the “sneak attack” and the use of the atomic bomb, nevertheless after the war Nomura went on to serve two terms as a member of the House of Councilors, the upper house of the Japanese Diet. It can only be concluded that he had zero, or better yet, less than zero sense of responsibility.

What must be reiterated here is that, around the time Japan signed the San Francisco peace treaty and regained her independence in 1952, Counselor Sadao Iguchi and First Secretary Katsuzo Okumura who were directly responsible for the administrative blunder which turned the assault on Pearl Harbor into a “sneak attack”, both in fact took up positions as vice foreign minister, the highest rank within the Foreign Ministry.

And they hadn’t pushed their way into those positions uninvited, but rather had been appointed as vice foreign ministers by then-prime minister Shigeru Yoshida who, as previously noted, was an abject fool. We will not discuss the foolishness of Shigeru Yoshida here since he is not the central focus of this book, however readers who wish to learn more about Yoshida’s fatuous side are invited to consult two of this author’s previous publications: *Between Incompetence and Culpability: Assessing the Diplomacy of Japan’s Foreign Ministry from Pearl Harbor to Potsdam* (UPA, 1997), and *Hoshu no shimei* [The Conservative Mission] (Jiyusha, 2011).<sup>102</sup>

As previously mentioned, when John Foster Dulles arrived from the United States to call for Japanese rearmament, Yoshida created a National Police Reserve rather than an actual military, and this has led to the distorted Japan of today. Yoshida bears great responsibility for concealing the Foreign Ministry’s war responsibility, and the abnormalization of Japanese history. In other words, Yoshida, critically, also lacked a sense of responsibility. Any average politician would have known instinctively, as prime minister when the peace treaty was signed, what ought or ought not to be done; but fundamentally lacking any sense of responsibility, Yoshida could only act on impulse.

Japanese leaders in recent years—Yukio Hatoyama in 2009, and Naoto Kan in 2010—have been harshly criticized as disastrous prime ministers, but since their terms of office were brief, they could not be blamed for too many instances of egregious misgovernment. However, Yoshida’s tenure coincided with that of the

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<sup>100</sup> See fn 52.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> See fn 65.

lifting of the Allied Occupation, and he acted impulsively without any sense of responsibility, failed to do what had to be done and instead did exactly what should not have been done. As a result, Japan today is suffering as merely a half-fledged nation. Looked at from this perspective, we can understand exactly how deplorable and inept Yoshida was.

And Okumura, the culprit directly responsible for turning the assault on Pearl Harbor into a “sneak attack”—which in turn was linked to the use of the atomic bomb—accepted a promotion to vice foreign minister, the highest rank within the Foreign Ministry, on Yoshida’s recommendation, even though he had directly acknowledged during the Occupation his role in the debacle. What are we to make of his sense of responsibility at that time? There is clearly no excuse for this behavior. While Kichisaburo Nomura’s lack of a sense of responsibility was also considerable, the irresponsibility displayed by Katsuzo Okumura and Sadao Iguchi was second to none.

In which case, we must rethink the consequences of when diplomats totally lack a sense of responsibility. In other words, this lack of responsibility by diplomats means they have no concept of a national interest that must be protected, or that must be realized. Without this concept of the national interest, they have no inkling that there is indeed anything that must be protected or realized, and conversely this makes it unlikely they would even develop a sense of responsibility. This is what it has come to.

Kichisaburo Nomura treated the delay due to clerical bungling in delivering the “final notice” to the United States as a purely factual matter; it was as though he had given no thought whatsoever to, or had any feelings at all about, the significance of his own responsibility for it. This being the case, it can only be concluded Nomura never even considered what the national interest was that should have been implemented.

If they gave no thought to what the national interest was in the usual sense, then what was going on? What part of the national interest were they protecting, or trying to implement? After due consideration, ultimately it must have been that they were trying to maintain smooth and problem-free relations with the foreign country where they were posted. When you think about it, it cannot be denied that the primary goal for a diplomat is to bring about smooth and problem-free relations with their country of posting. However, protecting and implementing Japan’s national interest should probably take priority over this. What are the consequences of maintaining smooth and problem-free relations with a foreign country, if our diplomats don’t understand they must first protect and implement Japan’s national interest? Ultimately, this probably means that inviolable aspects of the national interest are casually surrendered in order to maintain peaceful relations. Without an understanding of the national interest in the usual sense, this is probably inevitable because it matters little to them to give away elements of Japan’s national interest. It never occurs to them there are times when protecting and implementing the national interest in the usual sense is more important than any breach in those peaceful relations. To that extent, it is precisely these Foreign Ministry employees who are no longer qualified to be diplomats. Fundamentally, they lack a sense of responsibility.

What happens when friendly relations are maintained with the foreign country of a diplomat’s posting, at the cost of undermining what is truly in the national interest? In extreme cases, they have done their best if there is no trouble during the

period of their overseas posting, or on the occasions when they have dealings with that country. From the diplomats' perspective, there is nothing more to be said.

If this is the case, what ultimately does this mean for the diplomacy practiced by Japan's diplomats? Their form of diplomacy, in other words, is merely practiced to gratify the needs of Foreign Ministry staff who are supposedly in charge of carrying out the nation's diplomatic affairs. Without an abiding interest in what is truly in the national interest, but only in arranging, for the duration of their tenure, smooth relations with foreign countries or the country of their posting, Ministry staff ultimately only focus on their own gratification. At such times, it could be argued that Foreign Ministry staff, and career diplomats in particular, would in extreme situations simply conduct the nation's diplomatic affairs merely for the gratification of these career diplomats. They do not possess any sense of responsibility at all.

Criticism of the Foreign Ministry has recently intensified, and diplomatic examinations to select career diplomats, introduced during the Meiji era in 1893, were finally abolished in 2000; however career diplomats who have passed these exams, regardless of how incompetent they are, are nonetheless ultimately posted abroad somewhere in the world to the position of ambassador. Bureaucrats in other government ministries, even those who start off in the career stream, are eventually asked to terminate their employment as time progresses; every couple of years, only one person is promoted to the highest bureaucratic position within the ministry, namely that of vice minister—and when that person is promoted, all those who entered the ministry in the same year or those in the career stream who never made it to vice minister are, in principle, all forced to leave the ministry. But career diplomats, without exception, are promoted to ambassador in some foreign country or another, which is the rank equivalent to that of vice minister. It is apparent how much of an interest group this coterie of career diplomats has become, when you see how diplomacy is being performed to benefit this group of bureaucrats. There is no room here to nurture any sense of responsibility. For instance, up until the diplomatic examinations were abolished, family clans spanning four generations since the Meiji era have come to dominate the career stream for diplomats. This phenomenon would be absolutely inconceivable in any other ministry.

How has diplomacy been carried out by these career diplomats who now form their own interest group? They have dispensed with any sense of responsibility, which in turn has erased their notion of the national interest; they will readily hand over whatever is in the national interest in order to maintain trouble-free relations with foreign countries and those in which they are posted.

### *Problem of Masochistic View of History Deriving from Lack of Responsibility*

This issue of diplomats and their lack of a sense of responsibility stems from conditions related to Japan's postwar status as a defeated nation, and has led to an even more tragic situation. In 1945, Japan lost the war. The United States and China were among the victorious powers. Although South Korea was not exactly one of the victors, by gaining independence after the defeat of Japan, it too could be considered as one of the victorious powers.

In other words, as far as Japan was concerned, these primary adversaries—the U.S., China and Korea—were viewed from the onset as nations on the winning side, and Japan's first diplomatic effort as a defeated country was to maintain peaceful relations with such nations. Without an ounce of pride or any sense of responsibility,

Japan from the start conducted a form of diplomacy that was essentially self-deprecating. It was thereby easier to maintain a peaceful and harmonious relationship between the victorious powers and the defeated Japanese nation.

Moreover, the average diplomat could not acknowledge the Foreign Ministry's share in the responsibility for the recent war. They could only endorse the view that the military had unilaterally brought about this war, and moreover that it had been a war of aggression. From today's vantage point, even the general public has not necessarily acknowledged the plausible explanation that perhaps Japan had legitimate reasons for fighting that war, or that it wasn't simply a war of aggression. This being the case, even if the average diplomat believes the military started that war, and moreover that it was a war of aggression, they have little concern about Japanese society. Typical examples of this were the casual betrayal of education sovereignty in 1982, when the "neighboring country clause" was established following the textbook misinformation incident;<sup>103</sup> and also in 2000, when attempts were made to fail certain textbooks during the textbook approval process.<sup>104</sup>

But some discerning and competent diplomats are well aware of the Foreign Ministry's responsibility for that war. After all, wasn't it the Foreign Ministry's role to prevent that war in the first place? Even if for instance it was the military who initiated war hostilities, if the role of diplomacy is to interpret and predict the state of global affairs, then surely it was the Foreign Ministry who should have been in the forefront of efforts to prevent that war. The failure to achieve this meant the Foreign Ministry clearly shared some responsibility for that war.

Moreover, the war was not exclusively a war of aggression. It was undoubtedly also partly a war of self-defense. And while not necessarily planned in advance, the time had finally come in the twentieth century for racial discrimination, something taken for granted by Americans and Europeans up until the nineteenth century, to be abolished. It was time for the "white" colonial rule of regions occupied by "colored" peoples, on the unquestioned basis of racial discrimination, to be abolished, and for these peoples to stand up. The war prosecuted by Japan had elements of this struggle to eliminate racial discrimination.

An understanding of this should be possible for certain competent diplomats within the Foreign Ministry. They ought to be able to understand the responsibility the Foreign Ministry had for that war. However, this is not something they can ever speak out about.

Why is this? It is not as though the Foreign Ministry had simply forgotten its war responsibility. It concealed the blunders committed by Kichisaburo Nomura, Sadao Iguchi, and Katsuzo Okumura, and reprehensible as it may be, it has systematically hidden the Foreign Ministry's war responsibility. And not only has it hidden this. It played the public for fools, by allowing these men to rise to respected positions in Japan, as a member of the House of Councilors, and vice foreign ministers, respectively. Those within the Foreign Ministry who are aware of the Ministry's war responsibility, are unable to speak out on issues related to that war

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<sup>103</sup> See fn 87.

<sup>104</sup> See fn 89.

responsibility. If they speak out, they are immediately stifled internally by the Foreign Ministry.

Those who are aware of this strive to again pursue a diplomacy which places emphasis on the national interest. By pursuing a diplomacy that protects the true national interest, namely to preserve present-day Japan's reputation and to protect the lives and assets of the Japanese people, they conscientiously strive as individuals on behalf of the people of Japan.

However, such conscientious efforts are barely discernible amidst the organized coterie of diplomats who form their own interest group. Any individual who tries to pursue an ethical diplomacy has no choice but to adapt to the interest-group coterie of diplomats they find themselves alongside, an entire organization which is, on the whole, without a sense of responsibility, and without any comprehension of the national interest. As a result, the Foreign Ministry continues to exist as Japan's organ of state that serves to promulgate a masochistic view of history. This is in fact exactly what it has become.

It is undeniable the Foreign Ministry is doing irreparable harm to Japan. If the people of Japan can come to this realization, then it will be clear that the rebirth of Japan will be impossible without a complete overhaul of the Foreign Ministry.

### **3.2 Retreat! Don't React! Save The Protest For Later!**

#### *Northern Territories Dispute With Soviet Union*

Let's now examine actual cases that have occurred since the end of the war and brought ruin to Japan, thanks to the duplicity, incompetence and ineptitude of the Foreign Ministry, its employees and its diplomats. However, incidents discussed previously in this book will not be revisited here.

First, let us turn our attention to the question of the Northern Territories. Since the Edo period, the region known as the Northern Territories was undoubtedly an inherent part of Japan. So even though the invasion by Soviet troops of southern Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands after the defeat of Japan was sanctioned by the Allied nations, the Northern Territories was a different matter entirely. Consequently, Soviet troops apparently behaved fairly cautiously when occupying the Northern Territories.

The Soviet military offshore first checked carefully for signs of the American Stars and Stripes or indications that the U.S. had stationed troops there, and confirmed before making landfall there had been no American occupation.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> When Japan surrendered in 1945, the Soviet Union launched an invasion of the Kuril Islands from the Kamchatka peninsula, which had been Soviet territory before the 1875 Treaty of St. Petersburg. It invaded as far as Uruppu, which had been the southernmost tip of Soviet territory in the Far East before the Treaty of St. Petersburg, but came to a temporary halt. A Soviet detachment sent from Sakhalin to Etorofu—south of Uruppu, and designated as Japanese territory since before the Treaty of St. Petersburg—began their invasion only after they had confirmed there was no American occupation there.

See Boei kenshujo senshishitsu [National Institute of Defense Studies Center for Military History], *Senshi shosho: Hokuto homen rikugun sakusen 2 Chishima, Karafuto*,

That being the case, it is conceivable that if for instance a resident of the Northern Territories had drawn a picture of the Star-Spangled Banner and displayed it prominently on a mountain peak so as to be visible from the sea, the Soviets might not have invaded, and the Northern Territories may not even have become a problem.

Why didn't this idea occur to the Foreign Ministry, and why didn't it relay this as a suggestion to residents in the Northern Territories? But it may be unreasonable to go this far in laying blame upon the Foreign Ministry. When Japan's defeat was imminent, the Foreign Ministry was under pressure to work out how to submit to occupying American forces, and to circumstances that were changing by the day and from moment to moment, and it did not have the luxury to make sense of what was happening in the Northern Territories or what measures it should have taken there. It would not have been reasonable to expect such things of the Foreign Ministry, or its staff, things that they were not normally capable of anyway.

But seven decades after the war, not the slightest progress has been made in resolving the problem of the Northern Territories, and it is probably not unreasonable to conclude that this is due to the Foreign Ministry's incompetence.

Talks between Japan and the Soviet Union from July through October 1955, conducted by the Ichiro Hatoyama cabinet, were aimed at normalizing relations between the two nations, so it was perhaps unavoidable that the Northern Territories dispute would be put to one side.

But maybe the reverse was in fact true. Perhaps priority should have been given to resolving the dispute over the Northern Territories rather than normalizing relations with the Soviet Union. Every year, the need for a Japan-Russian peace treaty grew more urgent. Reaching a peace treaty between Japan and Russia was only a matter of time. However, the goal of resolving the dispute over the Northern Territories was not going to be easy to achieve. Therefore, stern insistence by Japan to refuse to hold talks with the Soviet Union to normalize relations if the Northern Territories dispute was excluded, might have meant resolution of the Northern Territories issue could have been achieved at the same time relations were normalized between Japan and the Soviet Union.

The next major opportunity to resolve the dispute was probably on October 11, 1993, when Russian President Boris Yeltsin visited Japan following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Troubled by the failing Russian economy, Yeltsin was in desperate need of Japanese economic assistance. Wasn't this precisely the moment when Japan should have gambled on the risk of rupturing diplomatic relations in order to resolve the Northern Territories dispute? Moreover, assuming that the Northern Territories dispute might not be resolved for a long time without conducting talks taking diplomatic relations to the brink of rupture, shouldn't Japan have been constantly prepared for just such an opportunity to take those talks to the brink?



### *Takeshima Islands Dispute With South Korea*

How about the Takeshima Islands dispute? Shortly before the San Francisco peace treaty was to come into effect South Korean President Syngman Rhee, partly for domestic reasons, announced a unilateral “Peace Line” declaration on January 18, 1952, which included the Takeshima Islands in Korean territory. But this was at the height of the Korean War, and both Japan and Korea were under the strict supervision of the American occupation forces. This meant that the issue might have been easily resolved through the intervention of the Occupation forces, and the U. S. government.

After the Occupation was lifted, Japan and South Korea then belonged to the liberal democracies under the broad leadership of the United States, and were therefore obliged to amicably maintain friendly relations. Consequently, territorial disputes between the two countries were not desirable. This author believes that clearly there were problems with the negotiations conducted by Shigeru Yoshida, who was serving concurrently as prime minister and foreign minister at the time. At the request of the Japanese government, the Occupation authority issued statements several times that the Takeshima Islands were in Japanese territory. However the Syngman Rhee “Peace Line” was not rescinded, and the Takeshima Islands continued effectively to be administered by South Korea; so it probably has to be concluded there were fundamental problems with the negotiating approach of the Foreign Ministry under the direction of Yoshida. Conversely, it is quite strange why this issue was not resolved during the period of Occupation.<sup>106</sup>

The next major opportunity to resolve the Takeshima Islands dispute came in 1965, with the signing of the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea. Eisaku Sato, prime minister at the time, failed to use this opportunity to retake Takeshima, and indeed seems to have remained noncommittal. Concluding the Treaty on Basic Relations was also significant then for Japan. But it was even more urgent for Korea. It was undesirable to become embroiled in territorial issues, out of consideration for the future relationship between Japan and South Korea. This meant that the signing of the Treaty on Basic Relations was the perfect chance to resolve this dispute. And it follows therefore that the issue regarding the Takeshima Islands should have had a prominent place in the Treaty on Basic Relations. However, the Foreign Ministry chose to maintain an ambiguous stance at this time.

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<sup>106</sup> Syngman Rhee was the first president of South Korea, founded on August 15, 1948, and harbored an intense antipathy towards Japan. He established the so-called Syngman Rhee Line on January 18, 1952, that incorporated Takeshima, an inherent part of Japan, into Korean territory.

General Mark W. Clark succeeded General Matthew Ridgway as commander of the United Nations Command from 1952 through 1953 during the Korean War. He acted as an intermediary when President Rhee visited Japan on January 5-7, 1953, and met with Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida. However, Yoshida barely spoke to Rhee at the time, and the rare opportunity afforded by the visit was wasted. It was anticipated that Rhee’s visit to Japan would be followed by a return visit by Yoshida to Korea, but this also never materialized. It is perhaps conceivable that this might have been a chance to resolve the Takeshima dispute.

See Mark W. Clark, *From the Danube to the Yalu* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), pp.154-167.

Superficially at least, it could be argued that Prime Minister Sato was to blame for this; but taking advantage of this opportunity would have been impossible anyway for Foreign Ministry officials who did not undergo regular training in this type of strategic thinking. As a result, we find ourselves in the mess we are in today.

### *No Awards for Hero of KAL 858 Bombing Incident*

On November 29, 1987, Korean Air Flight 858 exploded in mid-air off the coast of Burma, killing all 115 people on board, including passengers and crew. The plane was scheduled to fly from Baghdad to Seoul, via Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates. In connection with this incident, a couple travelling together, who appeared to be a Japanese man and his daughter, had disembarked the flight at Abu Dhabi, but came to the attention of the Japanese Embassy in Bahrain who identified them as suspicious persons. An inquiry was requested to determine whether these suspicious persons had entered Bahrain or not.

However, such inquiries are not usually responded to immediately. And in any case, there is normally no way such matters can be examined straight away. In normal circumstances, responsibility for the matter would be discharged by simply making a few phone inquiries to bureaucrats in charge, and receiving the reply: “examined, but status undetermined.”

If on this occasion, the Japanese embassy in Bahrain had adhered to standard procedure, there would have been no particular scrutiny made of this father and daughter travelling together, and history probably would have recorded that Japanese citizens had perpetrated this incident. Relations between Japan and South Korea would probably also have been thrown into chaos. As luck would have it though, the man posing as the “father” committed suicide by taking poison, but the “daughter”, Kim Hyon-hui, survived and was arrested. It was ascertained from the woman’s confession that North Korea had planned to disrupt the Seoul Olympics to be held in 1988, the following year, by staging this incident to make it appear as though Japanese citizens had carried it out.

At this time, Shojun Sunagawa, a non-career employee at Japan’s Bahrain embassy, made full use of their daily information network and confidential informants to locate the hotel where the couple had been staying, and successfully detained them at the airport. Unfortunately, although the “father” managed to kill himself, details of the plot were uncovered thanks to the arrest of Kim Hyon-hui; it was learned that Japanese citizens were in fact not involved in this bombing, and the affair came to an end without further consequences for Japan.<sup>107</sup>

There were problems though with the manner in which the Japanese Foreign Ministry handled matters after this Kim Hyon-hui was detained. There were clear suspicions at the time of her detention regarding the unauthorized use of a Japanese passport. If this was the case, the culprit should have been transferred temporarily to Japan, and interrogated by Japanese authorities. However, the Foreign Ministry

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<sup>107</sup> Shojun Sunagawa later published a book regarding the downing of Korean Air Flight 858, entitled *Gokumitsu shirei: Kim Hyonhi kosoku no shinso* [Top Secret Command: The True Story behind Kim Hyon-hui’s Detention] (Tokyo: Nihon hoso shuppan kyokai, 2003).

approved her transfer to South Korea without any hesitation. It was later discovered that Kim Hyon-hi had learned Japanese from Yaeko Taguchi, a Japanese citizen who was kidnapped from Japan by North Korea. If Kim had been transferred directly to Japan, there was a chance that clues may have been discovered earlier about the kidnapping issue.

Also problematic was the fact that Shojun Sunagawa never received proper recognition for his remarkable efforts. One wonders about the extent to which Sunagawa's actions saved the nation's honor. Career diplomats in the Foreign Ministry could only be jealous of his outstanding achievement. They could only show scorn for this non-career official who had achieved something they themselves could never realize. This coterie of career diplomats, so used to moving up in the world by never falling foul of a demerit system, try to eliminate those outside this career stream who actually attain real achievements. Afterwards, Sunagawa tried to clarify the abduction issue and did indeed violate ministry directives by attempting unauthorized contact with countries lacking diplomatic relations with Japan, but the Foreign Ministry refused to overlook this and simply ignored his great achievement, and proceeded as usual to apply the demerit system to ignore the accomplishments of non-career personnel.<sup>108</sup> It is clear from this example that the Foreign Ministry has become an organization that exists merely for the gratification of its career diplomats.

On August 2, 1990, Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait. The lack of crisis management at Japan's Embassy in Kuwait at this time was too appalling for words.

A Japanese weekly magazine reported on the local situation. After the invasion, Japanese citizens living in Kuwait began to flock to the embassy from around August 6, but the embassy had no private power generator, no emergency well for water and no stockpiles of food. Arrangements were made to have these Japanese citizens transferred to Baghdad on August 21, but when the destination was unexpectedly changed en route, the embassy staffer in charge became completely flustered, and was so distraught he was totally useless. It was later discovered he was unable to contact the Japanese embassy in Baghdad, because he had not even remembered to write down that embassy's phone number.<sup>109</sup>

Meanwhile, at the Japanese embassy in nearby Bahrain—the same embassy where Shojun Sunagawa had been involved with resolving the bombing of Korean Air Flight 858—the ambassador and embassy counselor were absent during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, so Japanese citizens wanting to flee had no access to information, and there was significant delay in providing official advice to evacuate the country. Even though they had known about the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait for about a week, the ambassador was still on vacation, and the embassy counselor had returned to Japan for a medical checkup.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-18.

<sup>109</sup> “Shakuho risuto sakusei de Nihon taishikan ga dai shittai” [The Japanese Embassy's Enormous Blunders in Drawing Up List of Releasees], *Bungei Shunju*, August 1997, pp. 201-202.

<sup>110</sup> “Nihonjin wo migoroshi ni shita Nihon taishikan: Okure ni okureta taikyo kankoku” [The Japanese Embassy that Left Japanese Citizens Stranded: Advice to Evacuate Seriously Delayed], *Shukan Bunshun*, September 13, 2000, pp. 28-31.

It can only be concluded therefore that Japan's diplomatic missions abroad cannot be relied upon in times of crisis, and that under pressure Japan's diplomats cannot fulfill the roles expected of them as diplomatic representatives.

### *The "Kono Statement" And "Comfort Women"*

Let us now turn our attention to the comfort women issue, which made the news on August 3 1993, decades after the war. As is already known, there are no facts to corroborate that Korean women were forcibly detained as comfort women to go to the front with the Japanese Army. This term *jugun ianfu* or "comfort women accompanying the army" did not even exist, historically.

Nevertheless, the expression in the so-called "Kono Statement" suggesting that there had been enforced detention, was a political construct settling the matter once and for all under the responsibility of the South Korean government, if the Japanese government recognized the "enforced detention."<sup>111</sup> However, far from settling the matter, it has resulted in an excellent source of pernicious propaganda to use against Japan, and school textbooks must now also include this material. The senior-ranking official responsible for this political decision at the time was Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono, but what were bureaucrats at the Foreign Ministry doing with regards to this matter?

The protest at the time under the responsibility of the South Korean government to settle the matter once and for all was perhaps, to a certain extent, so that it could also achieve the same outcome. This might have been quite unlike the example given previously regarding Yuan Shikai who tricked Japan in 1915 into presenting the Twenty-One Demands in the form of an ultimatum. But instead of settling the matter, it has created an unparalleled source of harmful disinformation. Regardless of Korea's position though, even a layman who knows nothing of diplomacy could see what problems would later develop if you treat something that never existed as though it had existed, and freely admit to a crime that never happened. Why do such things happen when matters are handled by bureaucrats who are supposedly experts in diplomacy? Because the diplomats in charge of these matters are incompetent and lack vision. This is how Japan is losing large swathes of its national interest with each passing day.

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<sup>111</sup> Ikuhiko Hata, *Ianfu to senjo no sei* [Comfort Women and Sex on The Battlefield] (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1999), pp. 249-58; See also Ryohei Murata, *Doko e iku no ka, kono kuni wa-Moto chu-Bei taishi, wakamono e no yuigon* [Where Is This Country Heading? Former U.S. Ambassador's Testament to the Youth Of Japan] (Tokyo: Minerva Shobo, 2010), p. 184. Murata wrote that, "In other words, despite there being no facts to support the notion that Japan forcibly abducted women who were Japanese or from the Korean Peninsula and pressured them into service, Chief Cabinet Secretary Kono rashly and prematurely on behalf of the Japanese government publicly apologized to these 'comfort women' who never actually existed."

### *Reexamining Japanese Embassy Hostage Crisis In Peru*

Let us now turn our attention to the hostage crisis that took place at the Japanese ambassador's residence in Peru, on December 17, 1997.

The long-suffering Japanese hostages were all rescued thanks to a raid by the Peruvian Navy's Armed Forces commandos, conducted on April 22 the following year. Many people still remember the moving scene of the press conference with Ambassador Morihisa Aoki, puffing on a cigarette in the middle of billowing clouds of smoke, shown on television shortly after the hostages' release from their lengthy confinement. By all appearances, Aoki was a typical example of the kind of diplomat who passed the diplomatic exams. Although on the one hand it could be argued that an incident of this kind could not be anticipated precisely because of its unexpected nature, however it is known that the terrorists broke into the ambassador's residence by blowing up the wall of an unoccupied residence next door. This means that, even though the neighboring property was known to be unoccupied, daily checks had not been made as to the status of that empty residence. The vigilance that was required on a daily basis was simply lacking.<sup>112</sup>

The luxurious condition of the ambassador's residence was another surprising thing learned from this incident. It might be argued that such magnificent official residences were necessary during the era of imperialism to show off the splendor of the home country to colonized lands, but it was truly questionable in 1997, on the eve of the 21st century, whether this was still really needed. This luxurious official residence was later demolished, the vacant lot sold to a local real estate agent, and another building erected in its place, but it remains an accurate picture of Japan's outdated Foreign Ministry.<sup>113</sup>

There were also problems with the Foreign Ministry's handling of matters following the hostage crisis at the ambassador's residence in Peru.

After the crisis was resolved, the Ministry launched an official investigation with a vice foreign minister acting as committee chairman. The Peruvian president went through the motions of going along with the Japanese side's insistence on resolving the crisis with a peaceful solution, but in fact mobilized special commandos to resolve the issue through force. The use of force during the president's daring assault was dangerous, but since the rescue of all the Japanese hostages unharmed was considered nothing short of miraculous, this could not be easily pointed out. However,

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<sup>112</sup> Shigeharu Aoyama, "Peru hitojichi jiken Gaimusho hokokusho zen hihan" [Complete Condemnation of the Foreign Ministry's Report on the Peru Hostage Crisis], *Bungei Shunju*, August 1997, pp. 201-202. Ultimately, it would appear the Japanese government concluded the affair without taking any action or becoming any the wiser. See also, Kyodo Tsushinsha Peru tokubetsu shuzaihan hen [Kyodo Tsushinsha Special Peru News Team, eds.], *Peru Nihon taishi kotei hitojichi jiken* [Hostage Crisis at the Japanese Ambassador's Residence in Peru] (Tokyo: Kyodo Tsushinsha, 1997), pp. 284-306.

<sup>113</sup> Japan's embassy in Moscow was built in 2005 at a total construction cost of 10 billion yen, and features a swimming pool, tennis court, and Japanese garden. See Tsutomu Saito, "Taigu dake wa senshinkoku nami da ga domeikoku ni sura suki wo tsukareru 'kyojaku taishitsu'" [Salaries of a Developed Nation, But with a 'Weak Disposition' Even Allies Take Advantage Of], *SAPIO*, December 10, 2003, p. 85-87.

there was also no indication Japan sought to resolve the situation based on the internationally-accepted approach of not negotiating with terrorists.<sup>114</sup>

The investigation's report, compiled solely by parties connected to the Foreign Ministry, was released on June 12 but failed to mention several critical points. The most important point was that all fourteen members of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement terrorist group that took the hostages and barricaded themselves in the ambassador's residence, were killed by the armed commandos. According to Japanese hostages' eyewitness accounts, a number of these terrorists were tied up on the floor. The fact that all the terrorists nonetheless ended up dead, clearly means they were unlawfully killed. It is inexcusable for Japan, a country that claims to support human rights, to feign ignorance of this fact.<sup>115</sup>

### *Japan's U.S. Ambassador Kunihiro Saito's Debacle Over "Nanjing Incident"*

The Foreign Ministry's response to *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, published in 1997 in the United States by Chinese-American Iris Chang, was also deplorable.

Thirty-four photos were reproduced in this book, but none were actually evidence attesting to the "Nanking Incident." Chang gives several different figures for the victim count: 430,000; 260,000; 227,000; and 370,000. This alone brings into question the book's reliability as little more than a work of propaganda, nevertheless the book became a bestseller, and sold more than 120,000 copies in the first four months after its publication in the United States. It has reportedly sold in excess of half a million copies.<sup>116</sup>

But it is clear that what is today known as the "Nanjing Incident" was a fabrication methodically constructed by the occupying forces during Japan's Occupation.<sup>117</sup>

On October 28, 2000, the Japan "Nanking" Society was founded, with Asia University Professor Shudo Higashinakano appointed as chairman. This society's research activities were exhaustive, and demonstrated that, without exception, each photo exhibited at "The Memorial for Compatriots killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression" in Nanjing City was unrelated to the "Nanjing Incident"; and proved that the term "Nanjing Incident" used to refer to the events after the city fell on December 13, 1937, was unknown before the end of the Second World

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<sup>114</sup> Aoyama, "Peru hitojichi jiken," pp. 202-204.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., pp. 208-210.

<sup>116</sup> N. Fujioka and S. Higashinakano, *Za reipu obu Nankin no kenkyu* [A Study of *The Rape of Nanking*] (Tokyo: Shodensha, 1999), p. 18.

<sup>117</sup> Research by the Japan "Nanking" Society has demonstrated that, without exception, no photo exhibited at "The Memorial for Compatriots killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression" in Nanjing City provided any proof of the existence of the "Nanjing Incident." On April 10, 2005, Diet member Nariaki Nakayama clearly demonstrated there was no "Nanjing Incident" by presenting a chart showing changes in Nanjing's population that had been officially published by the government of Nanjing City at the time.

War. It is now possible to say categorically that the “Nanjing Incident” was a fabricated construct.<sup>118</sup>

Problems arose around the time Iris Chang’s book went on sale in 1997. The Japan “Nanking” Society had yet to be formed, and the fabricated nature of the “Nanjing Incident” had still not been entirely substantiated. However, it was obvious there had not been any massacre of the enormity—430,000, 260,000 or 227,000—cited in the book. Even a cursory examination would have clearly shown that this was a book written for propaganda purposes and lacking in credibility. In which case, what should have been done was to counter the propaganda effect of this book.

However, the Japanese Embassy in the United States did not react at all, and maintained complete silence. In December 1998, Japan’s ambassador to the United States Kunihiro Saito finally refuted the book. He went on a television news show to debate Iris Chang. However Saito merely stated that the “Nanjing Incident” was mentioned in Japanese high school textbooks, but failed to make the counterargument that this book by Iris Chang was a propaganda piece, and included many things that were completely without foundation. A seemingly competent official, Saito deftly avoided giving the explicit apology from the Japanese government demanded by Iris Chang, but his explanation hinged solely on the notion that there had indeed been a “massacre” but not a “great massacre.” His pitiful performance can still be seen today on video-sharing websites like YouTube.

The Foreign Ministry is doing nothing at all to protect Japan’s honor regarding this fabricated account of the “Nanjing Incident.” To this day, the Ministry’s website has no specific refutation that the “Nanjing Incident” was a fabrication. It provides itself with a convenient escape route by pointing to theoretical explanations from the Japan “Nanking” Society, but if the Ministry is going to take this approach, then it really should conduct its own research study to rehabilitate Japan’s reputation. The Foreign Ministry disseminates, around the world, the opinion that something “happened” when it didn’t actually happen.

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<sup>118</sup> The Japan “Nanking” Society was established on October 28, 2000, with Asia University’s Professor Shudo Higashinakano as president, and was later dissolved on September 31, 2012. The Society’s research results comprised a journal published in five volumes, which not only dealt with disproving the existence of the “Nanjing Incident,” but also clarified the process by which the “Incident” had been concocted to appear as though it had actually occurred. For a summary of the Society’s research development and results, the reader is advised to consult three articles published in the fifth and final volume of the aforementioned journal, Shudo Higashinakano, ed., *Nihon “Nankin” Gakkai nenpo: Nankin “jiken” kenkyu no saizensen, Heisei 20 nen ban (saishu kanketsu ban)* [Annual Report of the Japan “Nanking” Society: Front Line of Research on the Nanjing “Incident”, 2008, Final Volume] (Tokyo: Tentensha, 2008). See: “Nihon ‘Nankin’ Gakkai nenpo, ‘Nankin jiken kenkyu no saizensen’ somokuji ichiran” [Annual Report of the Japan “Nanking” Society, Overview of Front Line of Research on the Nanjing “Incident”], pp. 26-27; “Nihon ‘Nankin’ Gakkai kaiho (kenkyu happyo kankei) somokuji ichiran” [Japan “Nanking” Society Bulletin (Research Publications), Overview], pp. 271-86; and Seishiro Sugihara, “Saishu kanketsu ban atogaki: Nihon ‘Nankin’ Gakkai hachinen no kenkyu seika wo sokatsu shite” [Afterword to the Final Volume: Summary of Eight Years of Research Results of the Japan “Nanking” Society], pp. 287-317.

Just prior to the founding of the aforementioned Japan “Nanking” Society, it was discovered on October 13, 2000, that Eijiro Noda, a member of the Ministry of Education’s Textbook Authorization Board who had previously worked at the Foreign Ministry, had taken steps to ensure that the middle school history textbook produced by the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform would fail the approval process.<sup>119</sup>

The Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform is a private organization focused on issues to do with education, and was formed as a response to the appearance of references to “comfort women” appearing across the board in middle school textbooks in 1996, because of the so-called “Kono Statement” made three years earlier in 1993. The term *jugun*—literally meaning “accompanying the army”—derives from the expression *jugun kangofu* to refer to the military nursing corps which were directly attached to combat units, and from the onset the expression *jugun ianfu* or “comfort women accompanying the army” never actually existed. Private facilities known as *ianjo* or “comfort stations” could be found near military garrisons, but “comfort women” as an institutionalized arrangement did not exist. Nevertheless, because of the “Kono Statement” references to “comfort women” appeared in all middle school history textbooks simultaneously.

Outraged by these developments, the Japan Society for History Textbook Reform was formed in 1997 to protect Japan’s reputation, and to produce a middle school textbook paying more attention to Japanese culture and tradition. However, by deliberately trying to fail this book, one wonders about Noda, this member of the Ministry of Education Textbook Authorization Board who had previously worked at the Foreign Ministry, and just how qualified he was to be a Japanese citizen. Since he was the Foreign Ministry’s representative on the Authorization Board, this action alone reveals clearly how anti-Japanese and anti-patriotic the Ministry is, and how much the Ministry is in need of fundamental reform. Noda’s scheme was thwarted, of course, thanks to the efforts of the *Sankei Shimbun* and other media who reported the story.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Nobukatsu Fujioka, *Kyokasho saitaku no shinso: kakushite rekishi wa yugamerareru* [The Truth about Textbook Selection: How History Is Distorted] (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyujo, 2005), pp. 98-102.

<sup>120</sup> See fn. 3-2-16; Also, see N. Fujioka and A. Takamori, *Sayoku to Gaimusho ni shogai sareta “Atarashii rekishi kyokasho” no rekishi* [History of the *New History Textbook*, and How it was Sabotaged by the Left and the Foreign Ministry], in *Japanism*, October 2012, pp. 40-41; *Sankei Shimbun*, October 13, 2000. The “sabotage” referred to at this time was not merely limited to the individual efforts of former Foreign Ministry employee Eijiro Noda, a proponent of the masochistic view of Japanese history. Apparently, an internal Ministry study to disqualify the textbook was conducted by a group of staff at the division chief and assistant division chief level.



### *Katsutoshi Matsuo and Others Perpetrate Massive Embezzlement of Secret Funds*

Let us now focus on a scandal involving the embezzlement of approximately 486 million yen from a secret Foreign Ministry fund by non-career official Katsutoshi Matsuo, reported by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper in an exposé on January 1, 2001.

Between October 1993 and August 1999, Matsuo headed the Foreign Ministry's Overseas Visit Support Division and organized a total of sixteen overseas trips for the prime minister and other high-ranking officials. He was charged with embezzling 486 million yen out of the approximately 1.86 trillion yen he received out of discretionary funds from the prime minister's office.<sup>121</sup>

The details of Matsuo's case were shocking. It was scandalous how he used the money he embezzled to purchase luxury apartments, golf club memberships, race horses, and to pay for mistresses.

And this was not the only case of corruption uncovered at the Foreign Ministry. Hiromu Kobayashi, a Ministry assistant director, and another Ministry employee, along with two company employees in the private sector, were charged with embezzlement when they padded expenses by approximately 22 million yen for the Okinawa G8 Summit held in July 2000, for items including limousine hire. In July the same year, the Foreign Ministry sacked Makoto Mizutani, Japan's consul general in Denver, Colorado, for misappropriating public funds. And in September, 2000, Akio Asakawa, another Ministry assistant director, was arrested for embezzling funds in excess of 40 million yen by padding hotel expenses in connection with the APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) summit held in Osaka in 1995.<sup>122</sup>

When examining this series of Ministry fiascos, it is simply not enough to conclude it was brought about by a few delinquent individuals. The Matsuo and Asakawa incidents, for instance, involved the embezzlement of vast sums of public money, so what are we to make of the fact that they went unnoticed for years? Would it even be possible for such enormous amounts of public funds to be embezzled in any other ministry? Nevertheless, the long-term and undetected misappropriation of vast sums of cash in the Foreign Ministry continues to this day. It should be pointed out that the Foreign Ministry is an organizational shambles.

### *Incompetence Of Japanese Consulate During Shenyang Incident*

There was also an appalling incident that took place on May 8, 2002, in Shenyang, China. I will provide a brief description of what happened for the benefit of readers unfamiliar with the details of this "Shenyang Incident." The incident involved five North Korean asylum seekers, including a female child, who attempted to enter the grounds of the Japanese consulate in Shenyang to seek aid; a violent struggle unfolded between the North Korean family group as they desperately tried to get through the consulate's gates, and armed Chinese security guards who tried to drag them out. In the end, the refugees were arrested and failed in their quest for

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<sup>121</sup> Takao Toshikawa, *Kimitsuhi* [Secret Funds] (Tokyo: Shueisha, 2001), pp. 22-25.

<sup>122</sup> Katsuyuki Yakushiji, *Gaimusho: gaikoryoku kyoka e no michi* [The Foreign Ministry: How to Boost Its Diplomatic Prowess] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), pp. 87-89.

asylum. At the time, these scenes were broadcast on Japanese television day after day.

The Japanese vice counsel, Ken Miyashita, made a brief appearance to retrieve a cap dropped by one of the armed guards, but did not reach out a helping hand to the child or her family. It was likely that asylum seekers like these who were captured by armed Chinese police would be repatriated to North Korea. The incident unintentionally exposed the shameful reality of Japanese diplomacy.

However, was this vice consul being particularly negligent as a Japanese diplomat? Not at all. Miyashita's actions in fact demonstrated a pattern of behavior that had been passed down from his senior colleagues in the Foreign Ministry.

When having to deal with exigent circumstances, the received wisdom of diplomats in Japan's Foreign Ministry is to stick to the following behavioral guidelines: "Retreat!"; "Don't React!"; and "Save The Protest For Later!"<sup>123</sup> Ah-hah! So this is how Japan's diplomats minimize any harm to themselves.

At such critical times, they simply don't care how much the national interest is involved, or how much of the national interest is sacrificed. This mantra—"Retreat!"; "Don't React!"; "Save The Protest For Later!"—simply guarantees the personal protection of diplomats themselves. As diplomats, this is why the accumulation of wisdom and the gathering of information are virtually impossible.

At its core, the Foreign Ministry's duties are determined by a demerit system. While on the job, you don't want trouble with your country of posting. So whenever you become embroiled in any sort of incident, deal with the problem by running away and avoiding a response, and make your protests later. This sort of diplomacy is precisely a matter of diplomats working solely for the benefit of diplomats.

### **3.3 What Is The Point Of ODA?**

#### *Three Aspects Of ODA*

Finally, while not related to specific incidents, let us examine problems with Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) to clarify just how incompetent and appalling the Foreign Ministry is.

Japan's international aid in the 21st century is donated entirely in good faith and without regard to benefitting Japan's own national interest, and should be acknowledged as a positive contribution towards the economic development of underdeveloped and developing nations, and improving the lives of their people.

But to donate ODA to countries who are themselves giving aid to other countries, or who are clearly promoting anti-Japanese education in their own country—to use taxes collected from the Japanese people in this way is surely a betrayal of the people of Japan. Japan's initial involvement with ODA was in 1954 when development aid, intended as a form of war reparation, was donated to Burma (now Myanmar) at the same time a peace treaty was signed. The aid package had

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<sup>123</sup> "Haji wo shire! Gaimusho: 'Nigero,' 'Taio suru na,' 'Kogi wa ato de suru!'" [Foreign Ministry, Own Your Shame!: "Retreat!"; "Don't React!"; and "Save The Protest For Later!"], *Sunday Mainichi*, June 2, 2002, pp. 28-32.

three elements—repayable aid (so-called yen loans); grant aid; and technical cooperation—and not only the Foreign Ministry but up to ten other Japanese ministries were closely involved, including the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry. Of these government agencies, the Foreign Ministry took a central role; however because of its incompetence this donation of ODA did not benefit the national interest in any broad sense of the term, but was simply wasted and had the opposite effect intended.

Effectively, Japan's postwar ODA, with the Foreign Ministry playing a central role, had three different aspects: war reparations; returns for the domestic economy; and the pursuit of the national interest. First, as an aspect of donating development aid, it goes without saying that "war reparations" meant Japan, as one of the defeated nations in the war, could in a broad sense pay back the countries on the winning side. Next, "returns for the domestic economy" was another aspect of ODA, and meant that aid funds would be used to place orders with Japanese-affiliated businesses or purchase goods from Japanese companies, and Japanese enterprises would receive knock-on benefits from the donation of ODA. This created huge areas of concessions and vested interests, but the present book is not the place to directly address this issue. However, there were many points where clearly the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry must be brought into question. Finally, to "pursue the national interest" means securing support for Japan's foreign policy from recipient countries, or creating Japan-friendly social conditions in those countries. ODA was originally intended to be carried out precisely as a means of pursuing the national interest. Where this has not been the case is due to the odious nature and deplorable incompetence of the Foreign Ministry who was put in charge of ODA.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Tomokazu Ohosono, "Nihon no ODA wa 'sengo baisho' gata kara 'kokueki tsuikyū' gata ni tenkan subeki da" [Approach for Japan's ODA Must Switch from 'Postwar Reparation' to 'Pursuit of National Interest'], *SAPIO*, December 10, 2003, p. 92. Ohosono sums up Japan's ODA prior to 2003 as follows:

"Unable to contribute internationally through military force, the economic cooperation and global contribution underlying Japan's ODA in a sense represents its contribution to maintaining [Japan's] security. This is partly the rationale for why, in the 1990s, Japan boasted the world's largest commitment of ODA.

However, this myth surrounding ODA and Japan's reliance on this myth, has already revealed contradictions that have resulted in failure. There are five major reasons for this.

1) The 'window display' advertising a 'peace constitution that does not maintain a military' is a sham;

2) ODA to Japan's Asian neighbors has come to represent postwar reparations;

3) Japan's status as an 'economic superpower' hangs in the balance;

4) Japan's ODA focuses on economic infrastructure, and has become a way to 'export public works'; and

5) Corruption of the Foreign Ministry which controls ODA through its diplomats, who have mistaken 'diplomatic privilege' to mean they are a 'privileged diplomatic class.' "

### *ODA As War Reparations*

First, let us examine the issue of reparations to the winning nations. Under international law, defeated countries are generally obliged to pay compensation to those countries on the winning side. The Allied Powers who concluded the 1951 San Francisco peace treaty with Japan waived all reparation claims; but Japan paid compensation to many Asian countries who signed bilateral peace treaties that made provisions for such claims. Some believe one aspect of ODA serves as an extension of those post-war reparations. To a certain extent, because Japan was one of the defeated nations it is perhaps inevitable some would naturally believe this. Japan is an apology culture with a spirituality that values saying sorry, so from this perspective too, some believe that paying war reparations was the natural thing to do.

However, a line should have been drawn here in considering ODA as an extension of postwar reparations. Charges of various sorts have been made against Shigeru Yoshida in this book, but the Foreign Ministry launched into the postwar period by pushing its own war responsibility onto Japan's prewar military forces, and deceiving the Japanese people by acting as though it had no responsibility for the war. Which means that the Foreign Ministry could only regard that war as a war of aggression. If the Foreign Ministry had launched into the postwar period with a clear acknowledgement of its own war responsibility, it may have been in a position to voice subjects essential for Japan, for instance that there were elements of that war which were unavoidable, or that it was partly aimed at awakening the peoples of Asia and liberating colonized lands. But under the leadership of Shigeru Yoshida, the Foreign Ministry carried on after the war as though it had no war responsibility at all, and did nothing except push all blame for that war upon the former military forces; consequently, it became impossible to argue the case for any nobler aspects related to that war. The harm done to the Japanese people would have been relatively minor if a government organ other than the Foreign Ministry, for instance the Ministry of Health, had behaved in this manner. But because the Foreign Ministry represents Japan abroad as its instrument for foreign relations, it does enormous damage to the interests of the people of Japan by employing a masochistic view of history while conducting diplomacy with the outside world. It cannot make statements on a national level about the nobler causes related to that war. The Japanese people are being made to shoulder the burden of the misguided way the Foreign Ministry carried on after the war.

In other words, the element of ODA that represents war reparations was one aspect of international relations for a defeated Japan, but the Foreign Ministry used it for its own purposes, to expand its masochistic view of history through the postwar structures of Japan's defeat, and to secure its own position. The Foreign Ministry used its important role of conducting diplomacy to become the government institution promulgating Japan's spirit of atonement for the war to the outside world, but subsequently became the broad amplifier of a masochistic view of history.

### *ODA As Return For Japanese Economy*

Let us now turn our attention to the issue of the aspect of ODA that brings a return for the domestic economy. ODA for roads, bridges, transportation and energy infrastructure places orders with Japanese-affiliated companies, and this expenditure has certainly contributed to the growth of Japan's economy. But this created large areas of concessions and special interests, and the corruption brought about by the

interference of politicians. Compared to bureaucrats in other ministries, those in the Foreign Ministry know little about domestic politics, but this is a trait they share somewhat with politicians. It is easy for politicians to interfere with Foreign Ministry ODA. This makes it easy to develop cozy relationships with private companies. And it can also be difficult for the Japanese public to monitor.

A “people power” revolution occurred in the Philippines in February 1986. Long-serving president Ferdinand Marcos was ousted from the country, and then Corazon Aquino became president. And it emerged that Japanese companies had paid huge “rebates” (bribes) to Marcos in the form of yen loans. Naturally, this was also a major issue for the Japanese Diet.

What role in this did the Foreign Ministry play at the time? It tried to stifle suspicions over ODA, and to prevent the truth from being exposed. The Foreign Ministry made sure the truth was not conveyed to the Diet by pressuring the newly-appointed President Aquino with words to the effect that, “Japan and the Philippines must work together in the future,” and forcing her to choose between renewing or suspending aid.<sup>125</sup> Incidents like these that occur abroad are difficult for the Japanese public to scrutinize in any case, but on top of this the Foreign Ministry, a state organ, invokes the practice of “diplomatic secrecy” to cover things up.

#### *ODA As Means To Pursue National Interest*

What about the side of ODA as a means to pursue the national interest? The focus of our attention is inescapably drawn to the miserable failure of ODA to China. During a visit to China in December 1979 Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira remarked that, “it is extremely important for the peace and prosperity of not only Japan, but also the Asia-Pacific region, that China is stable and that cordial bilateral relations exist between Japan and China,” and pledged to launch ODA contributions to China. How are matters now between Japan and China, three and a half decades later?

In 2001, Ponom College professor David Arase published a report for the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington D.C., and observed that the pillar of Japan’s diplomacy towards China, namely its ODA donations, had not obtained the desired results and had simply failed.<sup>126</sup> That report was published over a decade ago.

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<sup>125</sup> Kansuke Watanabe, “ODA giwaku wo fusatsu shita Gaimusho no kyoken taishitsu wo tou: Akino daitoryo wo dokatsu” [Questioning Foreign Ministry’s Bullying Posture in Suppressing ODA Scandal: President Aquino Threatened], *Shukan Post*, November 14, 1986, pp. 214-219.

<sup>126</sup> Yoshihisa Komori, “Chugoku bakari ka Betonamu de mo! ‘ODA gaiko’ wa muyo no chobutsu to kashite iru” [Not Only China But Vietnam Too! ‘ODA Diplomacy’ Has Become a White Elephant], *SPIO*, December 10, 2003, pp. 88-90. Komori introduces an American who pointed out the failure of Japan’s ODA to China, as follows: “A U.S. scholar has also concluded that Japanese ODA has failed as a diplomatic strategy towards China. In January 2001, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, chartered by the U.S. Congress, published a special report on China in which Professor David Arase, from Ponom College in Claremont, California, contributed the opening chapter, ‘Sino-Japanese relations: the view from Japan and implications for U.S. policy.’ Professor Arase is an expert on Japanese

The most regrettable period of Japan's ODA policy towards China has been since 1989, when the Tiananmen Square Incident occurred and Jiang Zemin became general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party. With no qualms at all, Jiang introduced an anti-Japanese bias into the education system. The Foreign Ministry did not utter one word of protest at the time, but simply stood by and didn't even try to suspend Japan's ODA contributions. It failed to predict how Japan-China relations would progress if this anti-Japanese sentiment was allowed to continue in this manner. With sufficient foresight, there would have been ways to bring an end to the enormous amounts of ODA in order to counteract this bias slightly, however it attempted no such measures at all.

Executing people is a routine part of the political culture of China, unlike in Japan where it is extremely rare, and while both countries belong to the "Chinese-character cultural sphere" they are as different as night and day. There is surely something about China, with its deeply-ingrained great-power mentality, that makes it rather unapproachable. As such, it could potentially become very anti-Japanese. However, if even the slightest anti-Japanese tendencies take root in this way, the donation of ODA loses its meaning. Therefore discrete moves must be taken to gradually bring an end to the policy of donating ODA to China. These measures should have been put into place in 1979, when ODA to China first began. But the Foreign Ministry was incapable of this sort of long-term vision. If it had this capacity, it would have embraced from the very start a policy of reducing donations of ODA when China showed even the smallest sign of being less than appreciative. If this approach had been taken, Chinese gestures of appreciation for ODA from Japan would have made a more lasting impression on the Chinese people.

What did Chairman Mao Zedong say to Kozo Sasaki, then a member of the Japan Socialist Party, during the latter's visit to China in 1964? Mao's response to Sasaki, who apologized for "the great disruptions caused to everyone by Japanese militarists during their invasion of China," was as follows: "If the Imperial Japanese Army had not occupied the greater part of China, the struggle to unite the Chinese people would not have been possible, and the Chinese Communist Party probably wouldn't have been able to seize power. Japanese militarism brought about significant benefits to China, thanks to which the Chinese people were able to assume power. Without the Imperial Japanese Army, it would have been impossible for us to take control."<sup>127</sup>

It is understandable that Japanese diplomacy might find itself tossed about by a monumentally self-righteous China, but when it does not do what needs to be done

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foreign policy and international relations in East Asia. His conclusion was that Japanese ODA, the pillar of Japan's diplomacy towards China, had for the past two decades failed to achieve its initial aims, and had ended in failure." See David Arase, et al., Amy McCreedy, ed., *China-Japan Relations: Old Animosities, New Possibilities* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2001).

<sup>127</sup> Tokyo Daigaku kindai Chugokushi kenkyukai yaku [Tokyo University Modern Chinese History Study Group, trans.], *Mo Takuto shiso (ge)* [Thoughts of Chairman Mao, vol. 2] (Tokyo: San-ichi Publishing Co., 1975), p. 187.

and merely cowers in fear, one can only wonder whether the Foreign Ministry is even worth keeping.

Currently in 2014, China is achieving remarkable economic growth and has become the second largest economic power in the world, so does Japan really still need to donate ODA? Why is it still necessary to donate ODA to China when China itself is donating aid to other countries? Japan's Official Development Assistance Charter, approved in 1992 and revised in 2003, seeks to promote democratization and pays heed to expansion of military spending in recipient nations. Thus China is clearly moving in the wrong direction even as far as the "Charter" is concerned, so why should Japan still donate ODA to China?<sup>128</sup>

By maintaining ODA to China, Japan's Foreign Ministry continues to betray Japan and its people. Which country does the Foreign Ministry actually work for?



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<sup>128</sup> Apart from ODA, other outstanding problems with China include contradictions inherent in the question of abandoned chemical weapons. Chemical weapons belonging to Japan at the time of its defeat were transferred to China's People's Liberation Army; and even though the PLA abandoned these weapons by burying them in the ground, Japan must bear the expense for their disposal. In 1999, the governments of China and Japan signed the Memorandum on the Destruction of Japanese Discarded Chemical Weapons in China. See Masanori Mizuma, " 'Iki kagaku heiki' wa Chugoku ni hikiwatasarete ita: Nokotte ita heiki hikitsugisho" [So-Called Abandoned Chemical Weapons Were Transferred To China: Handover Report On Weapons Left Behind], *Seiron*, June 2006, pp. 48-61.

## Chapter 4

### Reforming the Foreign Ministry: General Issues

#### 4.1 The Problem With Japanese Diplomats

*Expected to be able to respond promptly*

To be serious about revitalizing Japan, urgent consideration must be given to reforming the Foreign Ministry.

First, there is the problem with Japanese diplomats.<sup>129</sup> The professional diplomat system dates from 1893 in the Meiji era. The employee structure within the Foreign Ministry was revised, establishing the title of “diplomat”; Jutarō Komura, then the envoy to Qing China, and Hara Kei of the Rikken Seiyūkai (Friends of Constitutional Government) political party, among others, declared that “those who have not passed examinations qualifying them as diplomatic or consular staff may not be appointed as diplomats or consuls.” In 1894 they conducted the first examinations for diplomats and consuls, which produced four successful candidates.

From the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate through the early Meiji era, Japan’s international relations were managed by individuals who had not passed these specialized examinations nor received expert training; so could we now expect diplomats who had the benefit of this expert training to achieve better diplomatic results?

Clearly not. As this author has frequently pointed out in the preceding chapters, it is astonishing that, on the eve of war between Japan and the United States, the first secretary went out instead of typing up the “final notice” that had arrived from the home office; and the embassy counselor neglected to put the embassy on emergency alert despite being cabled to “make every preparation to present it to the Americans

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<sup>129</sup> For a simple overview of how diplomacy has evolved throughout human history, see Atsuhiko Yatabe, *Shokugyo toshite no gaikokan* [Diplomacy as a Profession] (Tokyo: Bungeishunju, 2002), pp. 12-35.



just as soon as you receive instructions.” What should be noted here is that the following day when this notice was being typed up, the home office had ordered local typists not be used for security reasons, and the only career diplomat qualified to type at all was this same first secretary, but he could only do so extremely slowly by jabbing at the keys one finger at a time. What are we to make of this?

In other words, a diplomat who had passed the official examinations and had received specialized training, was sent to the United States but was unable to type properly in English. This means that the system put in place in 1893 to train and educate diplomats was clearly flawed even when it came to issues of such an elementary nature.

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the final stages of the war, despite Japan having lost the ability to wage war any further, and due in large part to the Japanese Navy’s “sneak attack” at Pearl Harbor.<sup>130</sup> In light of the clerical blunders that inadvertently led to the “sneak attack,” the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was surely caused by these amateurish diplomats trained and educated in the system devised in 1893.

As discussed in Chapter 3, what is needed in a diplomat is the ability to respond in a timely manner, and the aptitude for long-term strategic vision.<sup>131</sup> The ability to respond in a timely manner means that, for instance, diplomats posted to the United States ought to be able to type competently in English. In spite of this, those appointed as first secretary and embassy counselor were unable to type at all. This matter alone tells us how unsophisticated the training and education of diplomats was.

Though the Japanese Navy differed somewhat, in the past those in the Japanese Army’s military academies who pledged to become future officers, had to undergo training that made them start out as a second-class private before moving up the ranks. In other words, those who wanted to become officers were forced first to familiarize themselves with the Army’s lowest rank and carry out the duties of a private, before they could receive training to be an officer. Naturally, the training of diplomats should have followed a similar course.

In 1893, when the diplomatic examinations were established, separate examinations were implemented for embassy secretaries and temporary staffers. Examinations were divided into three grades—known today as Level 1 Managerial (career track), Level 2 Specialist, and Level 3 Administrative—but those in the career stream should have been forced to first undergo training in administrative duties like part-timers, before being allowed to be trained and educated as diplomats. Ironically, if this training and education had been carried out as should have been required, the atomic bombs may not have been dropped on Japan.

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<sup>130</sup> See Chapter 2.1 “I Come Before You to Offer Myself to the Judgment of the Powers You Represent”; and Chapter 3.1 “Problem of Sense of Responsibility.”

<sup>131</sup> See Chapter 3.1.

### *Negotiating Skills Expected of a Diplomat*

Let us consider here what professional expectations we might have of a diplomat who has passed through this sort of examination system.

A diplomat represents his or her own nation when negotiating with other countries, and when doing so has a major role in ensuring relations with those other countries go smoothly. To do this, a certain level of negotiating skill is required. And at the core of this negotiating skill is a talent for languages. In principle this means mastering foreign languages to a certain degree, but also being adept to some extent at applying knowledge of universally-accepted norms of diplomatic behavior. But this does not mean creating a system where too much emphasis is placed on these skills, so that other abilities, for instance the ability to type, are delegated entirely to ancillary part-time staff.

In the early Meiji period, few Japanese were fluent in foreign languages, let alone had knowledge of diplomatic protocols as well, so it was problematic finding anyone who on top of this excelled at clerical duties; therefore, one might concede a diplomatic system was needed which employed support staff to handle such detailed administrative skills. But when you think about it, can a diplomat skilled at negotiation be entirely without any office capabilities at all? Can a training regime actually cultivate the type of diplomat who is skilled only in negotiation, and has to delegate detailed office work to a subordinate?

It can only be concluded that diplomats trained since 1873, based on such assumptions, were flawed from the very beginning. Although fluency in a foreign language might be necessary to conduct negotiations, such fluency does not necessarily mean competency in all aspects of conversation in that particular language. For instance, even Japanese people fluent in Japanese will be ignorant about conversations regarding medical treatments if they are not doctors; similarly, they would be unable to comprehend professional meetings on economic issues without a background in economics. In other words, language proficiency alone does not guarantee expert negotiating skills.

Negotiations are conducted over concrete issues involved in those negotiations, so only someone fully versed in issues to do with trade and commerce, for example, would have the necessary skills to conduct such negotiations.

According to an ancient Chinese idiom, “a 3-inch tongue can be more powerful than a million soldiers.” During the Warring States Period (453–221 B.C.), Mao Sui was a house guest staying with Ping Yuanjun, a member of the Zhao royal family. At that moment, a large army from the state of Qin attacked Zhao, and surrounded the capital. Whereupon Zhao tried to resist this attack by forming an alliance with the great kingdom of Chu. Ping Yuanjun was the one sent to bring this about. However the person who actually negotiated the alliance was Ping’s house guest Mao Sui, who until then they had thought of as merely an ordinary fellow. When discussing the matter with the King of Chu, Mao Sui demonstrated how Chu needed an alliance to save itself because ancient precedents showed how the powerful kingdom of Chu would invariably lose when waging war against Qin. The story tells how Mao was able to bring about an alliance by swaying the King of Chu, who at first was completely disinterested. Mao Sui’s negotiating skills are extolled in the expression, “a 3-inch tongue can be more powerful than a million soldiers.” But Mao Sui had a natural talent for this fine negotiating skill, and had not mastered it through any specific training. Furthermore, he argued his case with extensive knowledge of

the various relationships between the states of Zhao, Qin, and Chu. No-one could simply be taught such negotiating abilities in a classroom.

It can't be denied outright that basic negotiating skills might be developed through training and education, namely through general language acquisition and general bargaining exercises. Nevertheless, fundamentally there is no level of classroom-based training that can reproduce the professional standards required of a diplomat.

Some forms of training and education for Japanese diplomats and consuls do indeed take place when we examine their postings to Europe and the U.S., and there are cases where such diplomatic training occurs in-house. For instance, teachers who are now sent abroad to Japanese schools in foreign countries receive induction training for such foreign placements, so in that sense, diplomatic training and education already exists.

But it's worth reiterating that, essentially, negotiating skills are not something that can be taught within a training and education facility. People born with innate talents tend to accumulate practical experiences through daily life.

A general overview of the history of the Foreign Ministry reveals that, up until around the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, Japanese foreign policy was exemplary. Japan's foreign affairs were conducted by people without any formal training in diplomacy. Japanese diplomacy began to deteriorate only after so-called professional diplomats took over the handling of Japan's foreign policy.

Although towards the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Japanese authorities presided over the debacle of unequal treaties being forced upon Japan, those who were responsible for Japan's foreign relations, without exception, demonstrated a superior diplomatic sensitivity. Without doubt, officials involved in diplomacy at this time may have had a local advantage because they were dealing with familiar domestic Japanese issues; but they handled these negotiations well despite their lack of specialized diplomatic training or education. This may have been because the negotiations were assigned to individuals who had superior negotiating skills, after they had initially mapped out foreign policy options by widely canvassing opinion.

To this extent, the system established in 1893 to train and educate diplomats produced no tangible results in Japan's diplomatic record, and was a failure from the start because it merely copied the outward format of diplomatic training facilities in the West.

### *Shortage of Successful Diplomatic Exam Candidates Also Problematic*

With such a poor reputation Japan's diplomatic training and education system, along with its prominent and supposedly rigorous entrance examinations, was finally abolished in 2000 after drawing heavy and protracted criticism. Twenty-one people—seventeen men and four women—passed the final diplomatic exam. Only one out of roughly 41 candidates was successful.

The number of successful candidates was rather small, compared to the total number of more than 4,000 employees working in the Foreign Ministry. In fact, the low number of successful examination candidates, who later go on to become career diplomats, also demonstrates the flaw in this diplomat system in use since the Meiji era. Such a low pass rate guarantees that, barring unforeseen incidents, those who pass the diplomatic examinations will later go on to become ambassador to some country in the world just before retirement. The diplomatic examination is the arrangement

which produces a “privileged class” who are treated like feudal lords, and at the end are promoted to the rank of ambassador. In other words, limiting the number of candidates passing the examination guaranteed worldly success for all, and created this “privileged class.”

A phenomenon has arisen, quite spontaneously, where these privileges are handed down from parents to their offspring. As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, a survey conducted in 1994 found a number of diplomats who belonged to family clans spanning four generations.<sup>132</sup> Ambassador Morihisa Aoki, remembered for puffing on a cigarette during a 1997 press conference after being released from the hostage crisis at the Peruvian ambassador’s residence, comes from a clan which boasts four generations of ambassadors, including his mother in whose footsteps he has followed.

It cannot be substantiated that candidates with Ministry familial ties automatically pass the Foreign Service exam, but perhaps there is a natural tendency over time for something approaching this situation to arise. In fact, past application forms provided by the Foreign Ministry’s personnel department included a column to indicate whether a candidate had any relatives in the Ministry.<sup>133</sup> As argued in Chapter 3, it’s no exaggeration that Japan’s diplomacy has been carried out to benefit career diplomats.

As mentioned above, the so-called diplomatic exam was abolished in 2000. New recruits are now found through the general national civil service examination. This open recruitment system for diplomats has recently brought into question whether professional diplomats are even necessary, not only in Japan but also abroad. George F. Kennan was a well-known and leading figure in American diplomacy during the pre- and post-war eras, and in an essay for *Foreign Affairs* in 1997, he voiced the opinion that we now live in an age of “diplomacy without diplomats.” To support this opinion, he argued that the role of the U.S. National Security Council, which answers directly to the President, has grown; the number of staff stationed abroad working for other departments and agencies of the federal government has increased; and overseas exchanges by municipal and local authorities, as well as private enterprises, have expanded. This has produced a situation where professional diplomats who have received traditional training are rendered virtually unnecessary. When considering the future role of Japan’s diplomats, serious heed should be paid to Kennan’s view.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Reiko Tamura, “‘Gaimusho-keibatsu’ no kenkyu” [Study on the Foreign Ministry and Family Clans], in *Foresight*, September 1994, p. 121.

<sup>133</sup> M. Suzuki and T. Kubota, “Pekin ‘Nihon taishikan’ dogeza gaiko no ichibu shushi” [All The Details about the “Feeble Diplomacy” of the Japanese Embassy in Beijing], in *Shokun!* January 1997, p. 48.

<sup>134</sup> See George F. Kennan, “Diplomacy Without Diplomats,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1997. Kennan, a leading figure in American diplomacy, pointed out that the position and relative importance of America’s professional diplomats have declined, leading to a situation where diplomacy can be carried out even without diplomats.

See also, Frank Carlucci, chair; Ian Brzezinski, director, *State Department Reform* (Wash. DC.; Council of Foreign Relations Press) February 2001. This 45-page report was presented to Secretary Powell advising that, as of 2001, the State Department was unable to

## *Generous Conditions for Diplomats Conversely Obstructs Development of Abilities*

We move now to the subject of working conditions abroad. Foreign service personnel, not only those in the career stream such as ambassadors or envoys, but also including consuls and other specialist staff working in missions abroad, are all broadly considered “diplomats,” and those who work abroad are given overly generous financial compensation, which conversely results in an inability to further develop their diplomatic skills.

If Foreign Ministry staff are placed abroad and start working in diplomatic missions overseas, and if they are appointed to developing countries, they sometimes receive an overseas assignment allowance equivalent to nearly twice the base salary for working in Japan. Moreover, because they are not stationed in Japan, they are not subject to Japanese resident taxes. Nor are embassy personnel required to pay taxes in their host country, so they virtually avoid paying tax altogether. They can also purchase many goods that are tax-exempt, that is, exempt from customs duty and consumption tax. They also receive housing allowances on top of this.<sup>135</sup>

In other words, a posting abroad including housing allowances can sometimes mean an increase in annual income by three fold, and sometimes even four fold or more. For instance, there was a case from a decade ago where a posting to Warsaw, Poland, meant an increase in annual income by five and a half fold.<sup>136</sup>

Reasons for providing such generous stipends abroad appear to include concerns over dangerous conditions in the country of posting or the degree of personal inconvenience; but being constantly prepared for such dangers and unexpected incidents seems to justify the logic that staff posted abroad are on call 24 hours a day.

What happens when staff join the Foreign Ministry, work abroad for a few years, and develop a taste for these generous conditions? As diplomats working

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handle America’s diplomatic needs in the 21st century, because of antiquated facilities and equipment, and staff shortages. It claimed that no other government department was in need of as much improvement as the State Department, and called for urgent reform.

<sup>135</sup> Tsutomu Saito filed a two-part article in the *Sankei Shimbun* (June 21-22, 2001, evening edition) on the luxurious buildings and facilities at the Japanese embassy in Moscow, and the generous staff conditions, at the time.

Prominent scientists in Russia only earned the equivalent of less than 30,000 yen per month, where average housing costs were around 3,000 yen per month; however, housing allowances for Japanese embassy staff ranged from the upper threshold of 840,000 yen for the embassy counselor, to 730,000 yen (first secretary), 660,000 yen (second and third secretaries) and 580,000 yen (other staff). They were also paid allowances for working abroad—embassy counselor: 570,000-650,000 yen; first secretary: 440,000-500,000 yen; second and third secretaries: 360,000-390,000 yen; and other staff: 310,000-330,000 yen—in addition to their regular salaries being paid in Japan, which remained virtually untouched. Moreover, they received two month’s paid leave in Japan after being stationed in Moscow for eighteen months, which even embassy staff thought was “strange.”

<sup>136</sup> *Sankei Shimbun*, August 3, 2001, “Tokken kaikyū no koshi kondo: ‘Kikoku sureba hakyū nanda’ “ [Privileged Class Mixes Up Private and Public: “I’m Paid a Pittance If I Go Home.”]

abroad they even enjoy a variety of diplomatic privileges, including being immune from arrest if they commit a crime.

Under these circumstances, they can't do their work properly. No matter what they do, they still earn five times more than what they would in Japan. Which means they lose focus, and their will to work hard is sapped.

Statistically, even those working in dangerous regions are not that much at risk from upheavals. Although diplomats are subject to a 24-hour workday system to account for unforeseen incidents, similar systems are in place in Japan to cover various professions including the police and Self-Defense Force personnel. Even during off duty hours, these personnel must make their whereabouts known so they can be recalled for emergencies. Applying these same conditions to diplomats, Foreign Ministry staff should only be paid for three eight-hour shifts, namely only three times their current salary in Japan. Why are diplomats allowed to enjoy such overly-generous compensation arrangements? Clearly the Foreign Ministry must be forced to reveal its true colors to the people of Japan.

## **4.2 The Problem With Diplomatic Missions Abroad**

### *Diplomatic missions abroad antiquated*

“Housing allowance: early 20s, 580,000 yen; middle-aged, 800,000 to 1.2 million yen. Paid leave: after six months work, 2 weeks; after 18 months, 8 weeks. Place of employment: Moscow.”

“This is no advertisement for a blue-chip corporation. These are some of the maximum thresholds for allowances for the “privileged” class of diplomats at Japan’s embassy in Russia. Last April (2000) housing allowances rose across the board by 60 percent, and more than three out of five Japanese diplomats in Moscow were moved into new accommodation. This supports a truly extravagant lifestyle, given that even prominent scientists in Russia may earn a monthly salary of less than 300,000 yen, and only spend on average around 3,000 yen per month on housing.”

These are the lead sentences from an article lambasting the Foreign Ministry by reporter Tsutomu Saito, in the June 21, 2001, evening edition of the *Sankei Shimbun* newspaper. We discussed the problems with Japanese diplomats in the previous section, so let us now turn our attention to issues with the Foreign Ministry’s diplomatic missions abroad.

The Foreign Ministry uses the diplomatic mission as a base of operations to conduct its diplomacy abroad. There are three types of diplomatic mission: embassy, consulate general, and permanent mission; and Japan has around 200 diplomatic missions around the world. An embassy formally represents Japan in its host country, and is typically located in the capital city. Heading the embassy is the ambassador who represents Japan in the host country, and below that is the minister, the embassy’s “number two.” On the other hand, consulates are located in large cities around the world where Japanese companies are active or where there are many Japanese nationals, and in the main provide consular services. Consular services include providing documentation to Japanese citizens living abroad regarding marriages and births; extending support and aid to Japanese citizens caught up in incidents; and issuing visas to foreign nationals wishing to enter Japan. The consul general is in charge of the consulate general, and below that is the consul.

At present, Japan has just under 120 embassies and fewer than 70 consulates. However embassies also provide consular services, so the total number of offices that provide consular support equals the total number of Japan's diplomatic missions abroad.

This author poses the question whether Japan's diplomatic missions abroad, and its embassies led by ambassadors, function properly; but clearly, the answer is no.

As described above, a career diplomat who passes the current foreign service exams will invariably go on to become an ambassador in some country in the world. This means that Foreign Ministry personnel in the career stream are often stationed at Japanese embassies around the world, without knowledge of the language, culture or political situation in their country of posting. A small number of ambassadors are indeed appointees, as are representatives posted abroad by other government ministries and private enterprises. Therefore, it would not be entirely out of the question to select an individual as ambassador who, from the beginning, understands the language, culture and political situation in the country of posting. However since a career diplomat is always guaranteed posting as an ambassador somewhere, and is subject to personnel decisions that take no account of the specialized knowledge and skills needed in the host country—something clearly required of a professional diplomat—then these personnel decisions do not necessarily match an ambassador to a host country.<sup>137</sup>

While on the subject of ambassadors, they have the prerogative to issue a statement of opinion on behalf of the country they represent. Under international law, ambassadors also have the authority to independently make a declaration of war. Are Japanese embassies, under ambassadors in possession of such enormous authority, fully capable of functioning properly? The answer is, clearly not.

An ambassador sent to a country without a complete understanding of the local language, culture and political situation is supported by embassy staff, under the direction of the embassy counselor, whose role is to assist the ambassador. The complement of embassy staff will include diplomats who have passed the diplomatic examinations and belong to the career stream; below them, those who have passed examinations in specialized qualifications; and further below, those with Level 3 administrative qualifications.

Discrimination based on these three ranks seems to be more extreme at diplomatic missions abroad than it is at the Foreign Ministry's home office in Tokyo's Kasumigaseki district.<sup>138</sup> Specialists may be stationed abroad for lengthy periods, but despite becoming experts in the language, culture and political situation in their country of posting, and accumulating excellent skills and notable achievements, in principle they will never be promoted within the Ministry to positions such as bureau chief or ambassador. Conditions for Level 3 administrative staff are even more restrictive.

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<sup>137</sup> Yoshihisa Komori, *Bokoku no Nihon taishikan* [Japan's Embassies and the Ruin of the Nation] (Tokyo: Shogakukan 2002), pp. 98-174.

<sup>138</sup> Komori, *Bokoku no Nihon taishikan*, pp. 191-192; Yoshihisa Komori, "Kaseki no yona mibun sabetsu" [Fossil-Like Discriminatory Status System], *Sankei Shimbun*, October 29, 1997.

While on the subject of discrimination among Ministry staff stationed abroad, curiously the wives of diplomats also used to be ranked according to their husbands' importance and not by their own age or experience. The Foreign Ministry used to issue a bulky pamphlet entitled "Rules for Diplomatic Wives" (*Zaigai kokan fujin no kokoroe*). It was scrapped in 2001 because of its extremely anachronistic nature, but even now "training courses for wives" can be taken before these women go abroad. Classes in local customs and etiquette are probably necessary, but the aforementioned pamphlet also taught the correct ranking of diplomatic wives, and accordingly, their required dress code and appropriate use of language.<sup>139</sup>

A system designating a wife as an accessory to her diplomat husband was clearly no longer acceptable in the world of diplomacy in the 21st century. But the fact that a ranking "system" like this was still being taught in Japan until the beginning of this century clearly shows how out of step Japan's diplomatic missions abroad have been.

Moreover, Japan's network of diplomatic missions established overseas in the postwar era has found it increasingly difficult to implement Japanese diplomacy, even though ambassadors wielding immense authority, but without an understanding of the situation in their host nations, are ably supported by competent staff within those missions.

For instance, military attachés stationed at the embassy are sent by the Ministry of Defense. In prewar Japan, these were known as "military officers on assignment" (*chuzai bukan*). Their main duties were to gather military intelligence in their host country, and to quickly transmit this back to the Ministry of Defense as defense information. In 1955, one year after the Japanese Defense Agency (JDA), the Ministry of Defense's predecessor, was set up, the Foreign Ministry and the JDA exchanged a memorandum requiring that military attachés not transmit communications directly to the JDA. In other words, without permission from the ambassador military attachés could no longer transmit defense information directly back to Japan. Instead, this information would be sent to the Foreign Ministry's home office, thus often there would be a further delay of several days before it would arrive at the Defense Agency.

An ambassador who had just arrived at a posting would have little knowledge of the situation in the new host country and in a sense was at their weakest; and yet it was frequently the case that embassy staff under the ambassador's considerable authority were unable to send valuable information they had gathered back to Japan. And even if this information did get sent back to Japan, it often arrived at the relevant department after it was no longer useful.

This inefficient system was partly revised in 2003 for military attachés only, whose messages are now automatically and reliably forwarded by the Foreign Ministry to the Defense Agency.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> "Gaikokan fujin no karei na 'oshigoto': ohana toban, otto no joretsu ga tsuma no joretsu" [The Wonderful "Work" of the Diplomatic Wife: The Flower Arranging Roster, and Being Ranked by Your Husband's Rank], *AERA*, June 30, 1997, pp. 42-45.

<sup>140</sup> Tsutomu Saito, "Taigu dake wa senshinkoku nami daga domeikoku ni sura suki wo tsukareru 'kyojaku taishitsu'" [Wages of a Developed Nation, But with a 'Weak Disposition']



### *Improvement of Educational Training Needed*

Let us now consider how Japan's outdated diplomatic missions abroad can be revitalized, and how their operation can be improved.

First, we must start by reviewing the Ministry's in-house training and education. As discussed in Chapter 1, on the day war broke out between Japan and the United States—December 7, 1941 (U.S. time)—orders were given to type up the “final notice” to the United States; but among the career diplomats at the Washington embassy, only one person was even capable of this. And this person's typing technique was poor, because he could only stab at the keys one finger at a time. It was therefore impossible to complete the typing by the designated deadline, and the delivery of the “final notice” was delayed; this meant that the Japanese Navy's attack on Pearl Harbor inadvertently occurred before the “final notice” could be delivered. There would have been ample time had the typing been started the previous night. However with the proper training and education of career diplomats in basic typing skills, the document could very easily have been typed up by the designated deadline even if the typing hadn't been done the night before; and the delivery of the “final notice” would not have been delayed.<sup>141</sup>

Did the Foreign Ministry duly reflect on deficiencies like this, and subsequently revise its postwar training and education system? It can only be concluded that such revisions have not taken place. The Ministry's incompetence and dysfunctionality can only be products of the in-house training and education of its three classes of employees; but there has never been any mention in the postwar era of a reassessment to bring about reforms targeting prewar training and education.

Level 3 administrative staff currently undergo intense training in English and the use of personal computers. While they serve in diplomatic missions abroad, they are also trained in administrative skills such as correspondence, accounting, and document processing.<sup>142</sup> The point to be made here is that career diplomats (Level 1) and specialists (Level 2) should also undergo training similar to that of Level 3 staff, and be required to achieve at least a passing grade. In addition, career diplomats should also undergo training similar to that received by specialists, and be required to achieve at least a passing grade. Specialist staff include those responsible for security, communications, medical health, transportation, housing, supplies, and those who plan and coordinate the ambassador's commitments, namely, those who provide logistical support; to be able to make proper diplomatic decisions, it is essential that

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Even Allies Take Advantage Of], *SAPIO*, December 10, 2003, p. 86; “Boeicho nimo shunsoku joho” [Prompt Information for Japan Defense Agency Too], *Sankei Shimbun*, May 8, 2003.

<sup>141</sup> See fn. 90.

<sup>142</sup> In a commercially-available exam primer for prospective diplomats, training in skills such as correspondence, accounting, and document processing are clearly specified for Level 3 candidates, but these skills are not specified at all for Level 1 candidates. See Hogakushoin henshubu [Editorial Board Hogakushoin], *Gaikokan no shigoto ga wakaru hon* [The Book on How to be a Diplomat] (Tokyo: Hogakushoin, 2002), pp. 34-40.

an ambassador have some experience with, and a basic understanding of, these specialist duties.

The same is true regarding diplomatic missions abroad. There are individual differences between Japan's diplomatic missions abroad, and the way each embassy conducts its business varies considerably. In order for an ambassador to become familiar with the operation of a particular embassy, they must become involved in all aspects of the embassy's running. The ambassador must spend time at the front counter, even if its only for two or three days, and get hands-on experience in issuing visas to develop a thorough knowledge of embassy operations. It would also be an opportunity to get to know local conditions in their country of posting, as well as become acquainted with staff on the front line of embassy operations. Those at the top must familiarize themselves with all aspects of how the embassy works.<sup>143</sup>

### *Diplomatic Mission is a Piece of Japan Abroad*

The improvements discussed above are not enough to revitalize the operations of diplomatic missions abroad and boost their functionality. Under international law the diplomatic mission, whether it be an embassy or a consulate, is not subject to the laws of the host country; it is, so to speak, a part of Japan that is like an enclave in a foreign territory. Although exaggerating the situation somewhat, the diplomatic mission must cover all the functions of the state.

For instance, there is an official known as the "officer in charge of security measures in the diplomatic mission abroad" (*zaigai kokan keibi taisakukan* (security measures officer)). In other words, this official carries out the work that would be handled by the National Police Agency in Japan. They must handle terrorist threats against the embassy, as well as the incidents of crime (not infrequent) within the mission's grounds. A doctor with the title "medical affairs officer" (*imukan*) is also stationed there, and is responsible for managing the health of embassy staff, but may also be called upon to minister to Japanese citizens living in the host country.

A diplomatic mission abroad, viewed in this light, is clearly a small enclave of Japan, and is expected to operate as a separate national entity, regardless of its reduced size.

This means that the "security measures officer" must be personally responsible for devising countermeasures against the remote chance of a terrorist attack, and overseeing and conducting annual anti-terrorism drills for all embassy staff including the ambassador. In the case of the "medical affairs officer," they must be personally responsible for establishing protocols to handle cases of sudden illness, and

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<sup>143</sup> It is surprising that there is no specific training to boost the versatility of staff to handle such a wide range of duties; and as discussed in Chapter 4.3 "12. Strengthening Policy Conception" below, the Foreign Ministry does not employ the *ringisei* system used in other government agencies. *Ringisei*, a group-centered decision making process, is a method whereby a department will circulate a consultative paper on a particular matter to other parallel departments for consent before finalizing a proposal for determination by those above. Although time-consuming, this method produces a high probability that few problems will arise in practice because other departments have also been consulted.

conducting annual emergency-measures drills. Those involved in consular affairs have a duty to safeguard the lives of Japanese citizens residing in the host country. In which case, annual drills should probably be conducted to search for missing persons in that country. In times of war or terrorist attack, Japanese citizens will naturally gather at the Japanese embassy; so it is undoubtedly the duty of officials in charge of consular affairs to make preparations to cope with this.<sup>144</sup>

In other words, every duty section within a diplomatic mission abroad must devise its own contingency plan for how to deal with emergencies should they arise, and carry out annual drills in preparation.

As the embassy's highest authority, the ambassador should take part in consultations for formulating these contingency plans, and give the go-ahead for the execution of drills. And on the day of the drill itself, even the ambassador must follow the orders of the person designated as being in charge.

The diplomatic mission abroad is in an environment where anything that could possibly happen in the home country—even extremely rare situations—might also happen in the host country. Drills must be carried out to establish how to respond flexibly should unexpected upheavals occur, and to seriously consider how the prestige and integrity of the diplomatic mission can be upheld. In times of crisis, people find it virtually impossible to do things not part of their normal routine. Previous participation in a drill clearly allows staff to respond to extreme circumstances in a more organized manner, and the operation of the diplomatic mission is improved considerably. As described in Chapter 3, the clumsy response of Japanese embassy staff in 2000 during the Iraqi military invasion of Kuwait was deplorable.<sup>145</sup>

Acts of crime and terrorism happen infrequently, but it is not unusual for Japanese citizens living abroad to go missing or become embroiled in incidents, so drills should be conducted under the direction of the officer in charge to ensure the entire diplomatic mission is in a position to respond immediately, depending on the scale of the incident. Staff at diplomatic missions abroad should not only be well acquainted with duties they themselves are responsible for, but to some extent be able to handle aspects of all duties in the mission. A small complement of staff at the mission must carry out the duties equivalent to a small national entity, so not only must they be acquainted with their own specialist work, they must also familiarize themselves with all other mission duties, even if only peripherally. Above all, what is required of Foreign Ministry personnel sent abroad to work is flexibility with regards to their duties. In this sense, one might say it is vital to insist that a newly-appointed ambassador become familiar with the business of issuing visas when arriving at their post.

In view of the importance of this matter, such training should be institutionalized at the Foreign Ministry's Kasumigaseki home office, and reports on this training should be demanded on a regular basis. The home office could occasionally send undercover agents abroad to pose as missing persons, as part of a

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<sup>144</sup> Komori, *Bokoku no Nihon taishikan*, pp. 68-77.

<sup>145</sup> See fns. 109, 110.

diplomatic mission's training exercises to conduct searches for them. By so doing, the ability of diplomats to do their jobs quickly at missions abroad will probably be boosted dramatically.<sup>146</sup>

### 4.3 Overall Problems With The Foreign Ministry

#### *Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi's "Forum to Change the Foreign Ministry"*

Let us now finally turn our attention to Kasumigaseki, location of the Foreign Ministry's home office, and begin our critique of overall problems with the Ministry.

In July 2002, Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi presented a report on a "Forum to Change the Foreign Ministry" (*Gaimusho kaikaku ni kansuru "kaeru kai"*) drawn up by an advisory panel chaired by ORIX Corporation Chairman Yoshihiko Miyauchi.<sup>147</sup> Kawaguchi's predecessor was Makiko Tanaka, who served under Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi. On January 1, 2001, when Tanaka was foreign minister, it emerged that Katsutoshi Matsuo, head of the Foreign Ministry's Overseas Visit Support Division, had embezzled close to a total of 500 million yen, and later a series of massive scandals were revealed one after another. Then in March 2002, one month after Kawaguchi was appointed as foreign minister, Muneo Suzuki, a Diet lower house member, was involved in a bribery scandal concerning the selection of contractors for work on four Russian-held northern islands off Hokkaido, and was forced to leave the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP); he was later arrested in June. And as discussed in Chapter 3, on May 8 there was the appalling incident regarding five North Korean asylum seekers in Shenyang, China.

The Foreign Ministry faced a barrage of criticism. It was under these circumstances that Kawaguchi, shortly after her appointment on February 1 that same year, launched her "Forum to Change the Foreign Ministry" to reform the Ministry, and was presented with its final report on July 22.

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<sup>146</sup> One might assume that, potentially, Foreign Ministry employees are now able to perform with distinction since the complex foreign service tests have been replaced by the general national civil service examination. However, these employees still can't put their abilities to use once they enter the organization because of problems with the way the Ministry is structured. We soon discover serious defects in systems to do with, for instance, training, duty performance, and personnel. Even though a blunder of such colossal proportions was committed at Japan's Washington Embassy on December 7, 1941 (U.S. time), no institutional assessment or reflection was ever carried out to prevent such a mistake from happening again; and it can only be concluded that the lack of any such willingness to do so within the Foreign Ministry is the reason why it lags so extraordinarily far behind Japan's other government agencies. See fn 90.

<sup>147</sup> "Forum to Change the Foreign Ministry" [*Gaimusho kaikaku ni kansuru "kaeru kai"*] is the title given by the American Embassy, Tokyo, Japanese morning press highlights, August 22, 2002, p. 4.

See [http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/annai/honsho/kai\\_genjo/change/saishu.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/annai/honsho/kai_genjo/change/saishu.html) for the Japanese version of the final draft. (Retrieved on September 1, 2014.)

This author believes the reform plan was still inadequate, and didn't get to the heart of the problems with the Foreign Ministry.<sup>148</sup> Nevertheless, there were some useful aspects. There has at least been some surface probing around the issue of the antiquated nature of the Foreign Ministry. This decidedly shallow reform paper made no mention of problems such as the overly-generous allowances given to staff working abroad; but an examination of the issues it addressed and the suggestions it made provides an understanding of how the Foreign Ministry is mired in an antiquated amateurism. Let us examine the issues here, as they appeared in this report.

The report put forward twelve items, outlined below:

1. Elimination of undue pressure
2. Elimination of apologetic elitism, and client orientation
3. Rebuilding personnel system
4. Thorough protection of confidentiality
5. Making ODA efficient
6. Ensuring efficient use and transparency of Foreign Ministry budget
7. New relationship with NGOs
8. Rebuilding public relations and canvassing systems
9. Reviewing services and personnel in embassies, etc.
10. Transparency of policymaking process, etc.
11. Developing independent management systems
12. Strengthening policy making

### *1. Elimination of undue pressure*

The following points appear under this heading:

- 1.1 Clarification of first contact rule
- 1.2 Installation of the policy affairs headquarters

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<sup>148</sup> As discussed in fn 146, Ministry employees now have the potential to perform with distinction. It is therefore problematic that even the combined effort of these employees does not result in a competent Foreign Ministry.

The proposals for reform drawn up by this "Forum to Change the Foreign Ministry" are to a certain extent ideas that anyone could come up with, and don't really include proposals that get to the fundamental issues. In other words, it shows there is a complete lack of expertise, both in and outside the Foreign Ministry, on how to transform it into a competent government agency. It reveals that the Ministry itself rarely considers serious proposals for reform. Moreover members of the public outside the Ministry, who seldom have any contact with this government agency, are also unable to devise concrete proposals that are incisive.

However this author is not implying through these observations that suggestions made by the "Forum to Change the Foreign Ministry" have no value at all. For the time being, those who have dealings with the Ministry now should indeed put forward reform proposals for what they deem necessary at the present time. This may include problems that, when compared to issues faced by other government agencies, seem inconceivable and absurd. Even though the Foreign Ministry lags far behind what is expected of a modern government agency, this does not change the fact that it urgently needs revision and reform.

Let us put aside the latter point, and take a closer look at 1.1.

When Diet lower house member Muneo Suzuki became embroiled in a scandal involving the Foreign Ministry, the “Forum to Change the Foreign Ministry” was assigned the task of creating a report that would consolidate comments submitted by Diet representatives. The report would also record feedback from those within the Ministry.

From the outset, Diet members have had no direct authority over the recruitment and promotion of Ministry personnel, nor over Ministry regulation and subsidies. However, the Foreign Ministry has been more susceptible to outside interference than other ministries. There are two reasons for this. First, the Foreign Ministry’s duties consist of conducting the nation’s relations with foreign countries which, compared to those of other ministries, are relatively straight-forward. For instance in the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), the work assigned to each Ministry employee has its own particular requirements and specialized content. Personnel decisions at METI are made on the basis of this premise, therefore careful planning of human resources is essential because positions cannot simply be filled whenever and by whomever they choose. As a consequence, it is not easy for those outside this ministry to interfere in personnel decisions. However, it is relatively easy to make personnel changes at the Foreign Ministry because anyone can be brought in to do the work there. Each section within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does in fact have its own area of expertise, but because there is no real depth to the execution of this work, personnel changes are fairly straightforward. One might say that this is an embarrassing reality for the Foreign Ministry. At diplomatic missions abroad, reassignments involving those with the expertise to collect and analyze high-value information are not easy to carry out due to a lack of human resources; but these staff movements are relatively easy for those doing light, uncomplicated administrative tasks.

Second, the Foreign Ministry is easily subject to external interference, even though it is supposedly less susceptible due to the classified nature of its work; there are many areas beyond the purview of the Japanese people because diplomacy deals with the issue of foreign relations, so public scrutiny is in fact weak and this makes the Ministry even more vulnerable to the involvement of Diet members.

Because of the above two reasons regarding why the Foreign Ministry is easily subject to interference, the report advised that a document containing Diet members’ comments on the matter be produced, and that all the responses by ministry personnel to these comments also be recorded. This advice is of course absolutely correct, and the recommendations of the report should be strictly observed.

However, it has been more than ten years since this report was published, and its not at all clear whether the recommendations were carried out. It can only be hoped that this is not simply a matter of “out of sight, out of mind.”

While on the subject of external interference and meddling in the Foreign Ministry, another situation comes to mind. In June 1987, China’s Deng Xiaoping (who no longer held any official positions) made what could be called a spurious criticism concerning Japan over a trivial issue, to which then-Vice Foreign Minister

Kensuke Yanagiya muttered something about whether the report had made its way up to those who live “in the clouds.” It was a deeply regrettable remark to make as far as Japanese diplomacy was concerned. As such, the Japanese government was forced to remove Yanagiya as vice foreign minister.<sup>149</sup> This was a difficult call to make because it was a political decision by the government; however if Japan had been in the habit of conducting proper diplomacy towards China, it would not have been necessary to sack a vice foreign minister on account of remarks such as these. It can only be concluded that the Foreign Ministry, by not pursuing a proper diplomacy towards China but habitually following a weak-kneed one, had invited its own misfortune.

## *2. Elimination of apologetic elitism, and client orientation*

There were six points raised under this heading.

- 2.1. Provide Foreign Ministry officials with a sense of “mission”
- 2.2. Improve response of diplomatic missions abroad
- 2.3. Improve employees’ use of language
- 2.4. Abolish the provision of diplomatic passports to overseas trainees
- 2.5. Confirm there is no hierarchy among diplomatic wives
- 2.6. Comply with civil servant ethics laws and regulations

The first point—to provide Foreign Ministry officials with a sense of “mission”—is a matter of mental attitude, so as far as that’s concerned it’s probably quite reasonable. The second point was already discussed earlier in this chapter, so we can omit it here. Now, what is meant by improving employees’ use of language in 2.3? It seems likely this concerns ending the practice of ambassadors calling each other “Mr. Ambassador,” and of requiring Japanese citizens abroad to address them as “Your Excellency.” The interim assessment for the report stated that, “The accruing of these seemingly small gestures, such as insisting upon formal greetings on arriving and leaving the office, is closely related to improving motivation.” It is quite apparent how aberrant the Foreign Ministry has become, from its beginnings in the Meiji era, as a place of work.

The abolition of diplomatic passports to overseas trainees, referred to in 2.4, is aimed at doing away with diplomatic privileges for young employees who are sent to diplomatic missions abroad for training. Conferring diplomatic immunity to those in training also clearly demonstrates how that training fails to instill a sense of pressure because of the Foreign Ministry’s lax mentality.

Confirmation that there is no hierarchy among diplomatic wives, referred to in 2.5, was discussed earlier in this chapter; it concerns the issue of forcing diplomatic wives at missions abroad into a hierarchy based on their husbands’ ranks, and is an antiquated system that designates women as accessories to men. The Foreign Ministry used to issue a pamphlet called “Rules for Diplomatic Wives,” and although it is no

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<sup>149</sup> *Yukan Fuji*, June 21, 1987.

longer current, it was previously used as the basis for training. This had no place in the conduct of proper diplomacy by diplomats.<sup>150</sup>

Compliance with civil-servant ethics laws and regulations, referred to in 2.6, is only common sense; but conversely, the fact that what is “common sense” has to be deliberately spelled out reveals that, overall, Foreign Ministry staff are in fact not in complete compliance.

### *3. Rebuilding personnel system*

The following items are raised here.

- 3.1. Total competitiveness
- 3.2. Establishing personnel system with fairness, objectivity, transparency, and predictability
- 3.3. Drastic overhaul of training programs
- 3.4. Review of personnel structure
- 3.5. Personnel structure at Home Office
- 3.6. Review of vacation system, etc.

Total competitiveness, referred to in 3.1, is an attempt to boost competitiveness among personnel, and should bring about improved staff performance. In particular, although there is a relatively small number of personnel in the career stream who have passed the Foreign Service exams implemented in the past, the number of ambassadorial posts around the world vastly outnumber the number of division chiefs at the home office. When personnel in the highest-ranked positions outnumber lower-ranking ones, this is called a reverse pyramid. Those in the career stream and in ambassadorial posts definitely constitute a reverse pyramid lacking in competition, and after entering the career stream they lose all incentive to improve themselves, which constitutes a major reason for the stagnation of Japanese foreign policy.

As previously stated, the diplomatic exams were abolished in 2000. Successful applicants were instead selected from among those who passed Level 1 of the general national civil service examination, however the problem will persist if the number of successful candidates hired is kept low.

The report recommends a predetermined proportion of ambassadorial posts, namely one in five, be filled by Level 2 specialist personnel. There seems to be some resistance among career diplomats within the Foreign Ministry to accept this recommendation of 20%, however if greater numbers of successful Level 1 candidates are hired and perform specialist duties competently, then these candidates should probably be promoted. Under those circumstances, and as a purely objective assessment, there would seem to be no need to reassess the number of successful Level 2 candidates as a proportion of the total. There will be successful Level 1 candidates who don't pass the Level 2 specialist examinations, but regardless of the proportion, even those who pass the Level 2 examinations should be approved if they

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<sup>150</sup> See fn. 139.



can perform their specialist duties competently. After all, shouldn't the Ministry's employment guidelines be fair and rigorously competitive?<sup>151</sup>

Furthermore, it should be made easier for those from other government agencies to enter this competitive workplace.

Regarding the establishment of a personnel system with fairness, objectivity, transparency, and predictability, as referred to in 3.2, the report recommends expanding the recruitment system, refining personnel evaluations, and abolishing nepotism by incumbent staff.

However, while it is obvious that personnel decisions should be fair and based on ability, some allowances probably need to be made for the Foreign Ministry because, compared to other government agencies, its personnel administration is faced with certain difficulties.

Many Foreign Ministry officials work at the approximately 200 diplomatic missions around the world, and they vastly outnumber those who work at the home office. How is it even possible to objectively evaluate the performance of so many staff working at Japan's numerous diplomatic missions abroad? Somehow evaluations become solely based on interaction with a particular member of staff, and the process becomes highly susceptible to favoritism and personal connections.

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<sup>151</sup> See Komori, *Bokoku no Nihon taishikan*, pp. 266-72.

Employing non-career diplomats in one-fifth of all ambassadorial posts may have seemed like a decisive move, however only a small number were chosen from the 1,500 or so in the non-career stream, and the selection was made by career diplomats which ultimately preserved the dominance of the career stream. In fact in December 2001, under the previous foreign minister Makiko Tanaka, criteria for appointing non-career diplomats above those in the career stream were so unclear they were considered unfeasible, and it was decided to replace this with a system inviting applications from within the Ministry. The recommendation by the "Forum to Change the Foreign Ministry" to employ non-career diplomats in one-fifth of ambassadorial posts clearly represented a U-turn.

Komori points out that when the U.S. State Department appoints diplomats, no distinction is made between the career and non-career streams. He argues that with regards to Japan's non-career diplomats, "apart from eliminating the difference between Level 1 and Level 2, the Foreign Ministry has made no real reforms."

With respect to the adoption of this open recruitment for ambassadors described above, a search to see whether anyone within the career stream had come up with such recommendations uncovered only one person. This was Atsuhiko Yatabe, the author of *Shokugyo toshite no gaikokan* [Diplomacy as a Profession] (Tokyo: Bungeishunju, 2002). Mr. Yatabe recommended that qualifying exams open to all be held for important Ministry posts, and a personnel advisory committee be set up within the Ministry consisting of staff representatives to ensure fairness and transparency of personnel decisions. This committee would hold (strictly) closed meetings to consider the list of applicants for each post, determine the most suitable candidates from the list submitted, and report several names to a vice minister or a chief secretary; the personnel administrator would then consider this report, and determine the successful candidate from these and other applicants. Yatabe argued that this would stimulate the willing participation of senior personnel while the rank and file would feel less constricted, and the atmosphere in the Foreign Ministry would be vastly improved. See Yatabe, *Shokugyo*, pp. 208-212.

Assuming this is the case, there is probably no choice other than to assess staff performance by things such as specific tests, more so than in other government agencies.

Also, this author has argued elsewhere in Chapter 4 that various drills should be routinely carried out at diplomatic missions abroad. The execution of these drills would be easily scrutinized, and should probably be used as a component for any evaluation.

An important element of objective personnel evaluations for staff at Japan's approximately 200 diplomatic missions abroad is to strictly reward good work and penalize those who perform poorly. Recognizing good performance and disciplining poor behavior does not mean doing so on a trivial level. Upon actual inspection of the Foreign Ministry's record, those who clearly deserved to be penalized have escaped punishment, while those who clearly merited being rewarded have failed to be recognized.<sup>152</sup>

An example of this occurred after Japan's defeat: the culprit who, on the eve of the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States, went out instead of typing up Japan's "final notice" to the United States, inadvertently turned the Japanese Navy's assault on Pearl Harbor into a "sneak attack." This in turn was inextricably linked to the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, he was promoted to vice foreign minister and was awarded the highest honor to be conferred upon administrators, the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Sacred Treasure. This really turned the situation on its head. The diplomat who did not put the Washington embassy on emergency alert despite receiving orders to do so, and who negligently allowed the official responsible for typing the "final notice" to go out and neglect his duties, was also promoted to vice foreign minister and awarded the Grand Cordon.<sup>153</sup>

On the other hand, the specialist diplomat Chiune Sugihara who saved the lives of 6,000 Jews was dismissed from the Foreign Ministry, not because he had violated regulations by issuing them visas, but ostensibly on account of retrenchment due to overstaffing. He was given a sum of money and a letter of appreciation when he retired, by Administrative Vice Minister Katsuo Okazaki; but afterwards, the Foreign Ministry consistently avoided honoring Sugihara for his heroic efforts. The Ministry intended to keep ignoring him, no matter how well-known he became in the rest of the world. It was only in 2000, fourteen years after Sugihara passed away, that

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<sup>152</sup> See Chapter 3.2 "No Awards for Hero of KAL 858 Bombing Incident."

Conversely, the chief cabinet secretary who discovered the misappropriation of secret funds in 1997, and successfully eliminated all evidence of this on an institutional level, was appointed as Japan's ambassador to the United Nations five years later in 2002. The U.N. appointment was clearly a reward for "distinguished service." See "Gaimusho 'kimitsuhi de kan-kan settai' no gizo kosaku naibu bunsho suppa nuki" [Exposing Internal Report on Diversionary Tactics Re: Officials Entertaining Officials with Foreign Ministry Secret Funds], *Shukan Posuto* (Weekly Post), August 2, 2002.

<sup>153</sup> See Chapter 2.1 "Shigeru Yoshida Promotes Culprit To Blame For 'Sneak Attack' Vice Minister."

the Foreign Ministry honored him by installing a commemorative plate at its Diplomatic Archives, formerly known as the Diplomatic Record Office.<sup>154</sup>

Recent examples of professional negligence include the ambassador's absence from the Japanese Embassy in Kuwait during the Iraqi army's invasion on August 2, 1990. At the Japanese Embassy in nearby Bahrain, the ambassador and embassy counselor were also absent. Furthermore, on August 9, 1991, in the Soviet Union, hard-liners placed President Mikhail Gorbachev under house arrest. The ambassador of the Japanese Embassy in Moscow was also absent during this incident. Those absent from their posts included some who had legitimately returned to Japan for medical treatment, but if the ambassador must go home due to incapacitation at such a critical time in the host country, a replacement should be appointed immediately. Therefore, for its negligence the home office could rightly be admonished for lacking a sense of urgency. But this author is taking issue with something much broader in scope. If an ambassador is absent from his post when such momentous events are occurring in their host country, this means that the embassy's everyday information gathering is insufficient, and that crisis preparations in the middle of this emergency have been completely overlooked. For this to happen to an ambassador during their period of tenure is an unmitigated disgrace. There ought to be some sort of disciplinary action. However, no punishment whatsoever was meted out.<sup>155</sup>

On the other hand, as previously discussed in Chapter 3, when a Korean Air Lines jet was blown up on November 29, 1987, Shojun Sunagawa, a specialist investigator working at Japan's embassy in Bahrain, discovered that North Korean perpetrators had posed as Japanese citizens, and this led to an arrest. However, Sunagawa was later found to have acted illegally, and not only did he receive no award, he was dismissed from the Foreign Ministry and then completely cast aside. If a perpetrator hadn't been arrested at this time, it would have looked as though this incident had been carried out by Japanese citizens, just as North Korea had planned, and this would have left a huge blemish on Japan's diplomatic reputation with regards to its relations with South Korea. Moreover, considering that the arrest of Kim Hyon-hui for this crime considerably advanced progress on the issue of the abduction of Japanese citizens in North Korea, Sunagawa's contribution was worthy of the People's Honor Award. The Foreign Ministry pursues the sort of diplomacy that readily abandons someone like Sunagawa, so ultimately it can be argued that the Ministry carries out diplomacy for the benefit of its regular staff, in particular those in the career stream.<sup>156</sup>

To improve fairness, objectivity, transparency and predictability within the Ministry regarding personnel, systems for rewards and punishments must be clearly established.

Exactly as the report indicates in 3.3, training programs should be drastically overhauled, but at the top of the list must be improving the quality of language training. In the pre-war era when very few Japanese were fluent in foreign languages,

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<sup>154</sup> See Seishiro Sugihara, *Chiune Sugihara and Japan's Foreign Ministry* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2001).

<sup>155</sup> See fn. 110.

<sup>156</sup> See fn. 152.

one might conclude that the Foreign Ministry's in-house language training was somewhat necessary; however nowadays, when superior language skills are expected and there are any number of people in the general population who are fluent in foreign languages, such in-house language training cannot produce results to the required standard, and is probably not useful. That is to say, there are plenty of Japanese who are fluent in foreign languages. If such people with foreign language fluency were tested and then hired, there would be no need for training in foreign languages in the first place. Also, this report indicates that private corporations, international organizations and others also provide outside training, but for diplomats, gaining experience in the Foreign Ministry's workplaces abroad is essential. Foreign Ministry officials have a reputation for being less than punctual—consistently arriving late for meetings, for instance—but this also indicates the aberrant nature of employment practices in the Ministry workplace. It should be pointed out that they must be made aware of the typical pressures experienced by Japanese employed in other workplaces.

Incidentally, although training and education in the Foreign Ministry is also important for other reasons,<sup>157</sup> this report makes no mention of it.

As touched upon earlier in this chapter, these days many officials from other government agencies are being called upon to work in diplomatic missions abroad. Moreover, even outside the diplomatic mission, for instance at Japanese schools abroad, many individuals are being brought in to work, almost in the role of public servants. These quasi-public servants working abroad almost certainly require basic training in the language, culture, local conditions and customs of the host country. The Foreign Ministry should probably be required to provide training facilities for this purpose, in order to boost the efficiency of Japanese working abroad.

3.4, the review of personnel structure, and 3.5, the personnel structure at the Home Office, relate to the question of organization and duty consignment within the Foreign Ministry's personnel section, and probably don't require further discussion here.<sup>158</sup>

However 3.6, the review of the vacation system, is important. Up to the present time, a period of two month's paid leave in Japan has been approved for those who have worked eighteen months in countries designated as hazardous to health, such as China. While the designation of "hazard" has also been inconsistent, even if a

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<sup>157</sup> Emphasis placed here on training and education refers not only to improving general administrative skills and versatility in various duties, as outlined in Chapter 4.2 "Improvement of Educational Training Needed." Training and education to improve these abilities are necessary, but this author is placing additional emphasis on the need to boost the sense of patriotism and an understanding of the national interest, in order to produce competent Foreign Ministry personnel able to meet the expectations of the Japanese public. On these particular issues, the "Forum to Change the Foreign Ministry" makes few suggestions of any substance.

<sup>158</sup> The report touches upon issues such as expanding the current personnel system; effectively using human resources by placing the right person in the right position to surpass job performance boundaries; and increasing staff numbers to meet personnel shortages. However, it is rather superficial and makes no recommendations regarding any specific initiatives. See fn. 151.

country is considered to be a genuine health hazard, to a certain extent it is possible in this information age to manage health issues remotely. Even in situations requiring repatriation to Japan for a checkup at a medical facility, one week is ample time for this. The number of medical officers at diplomatic missions seems to be on the rise, but since health care can now be handled remotely, this absurd system from bygone days should probably be abolished immediately. To the contrary, it is precisely because the Foreign Ministry is paralyzed with regards to its obligation to conduct diplomacy on behalf of the people, that such outdated institutions remain in place rather than being abolished.

#### *4. Thorough protection of confidentiality*

The three items in this section are as follows:

- 4.1. Reaffirm employees' utmost discretion in handling all intelligence (non-disclosure externally of any information obtained on the job)
- 4.2. Review "rules for protection of secrets"
- 4.3. Take measures to actively release information while maintaining confidentiality

All three issues will be discussed together, but it should be noted that many things must remain confidential during diplomatic negotiations. Therefore, it is only right that the Foreign Ministry exercises extreme caution to ensure confidentiality.

However with respect to how Japan's Foreign Ministry actually does this, is it enough merely to point out problems of a theoretical nature?

Under the guise of confidentiality, should information the public deserves to know be concealed, thereby allowing the pursuit of a warped diplomacy? On the contrary, in order to pursue this warped diplomacy, doesn't the Foreign Ministry in fact cover up and refuse to release information the public has a right to know, and brazenly carry out the resultant warped diplomacy?

As mentioned in Chapter 3, suspicions arose in 1986 concerning ODA "rebates" when Filipino president Ferdinand Marcos fled the country. At the time the Foreign Ministry tried to conceal the matter by invoking diplomatic confidentiality.<sup>159</sup> There are also some noteworthy examples from more recent years. One of these took place in 2010, namely the "Chinese Fishing Trawler Seizure Incident." On September 7, a Chinese fishing trawler operating illegally in disputed waters was ordered to leave by a Japan Coast Guard patrol vessel, and tried to escape by ramming the Japanese vessel. Naturally, the trawler was boarded and its captain was arrested and detained for prosecution. Initially, the Japanese government proceeded strictly with the judicial process in a circumspect manner, in accordance with the laws of Japan. However, after succumbing to heavy-handed pressure from the Chinese government, it released the captain and allowed him to return home, even though the matter was still pending. At this point, the Japanese government stubbornly put a blanket ban on all media images of the entire collision. The decision to impose this

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<sup>159</sup> See fn. 125.

ban came more from Yoshito Sengoku, then chief cabinet secretary, and other government leaders than it did from the Foreign Ministry, so they must bear a greater burden of responsibility; but the Foreign Ministry cannot escape its share of the blame.

The fishing trawler's second collision was intentional and serious enough to damage a mast on the Japanese patrol vessel's deck, so obviously the trawler captain should have been arrested; video footage of the incident should have been released to give the Japanese public enough information to make up their own minds, so that proper diplomacy could be pursued.

Responding to the government's blanket ban policy, on November 4 Masaharu Isshiki, an exasperated Japan Coast Guard officer, deliberately leaked key portions of the video footage so the Japanese public could see for themselves.

Formally, Mr. Isshiki could have been punished for being a public servant who disclosed confidential information; but there was no justification in the first place for the government decision to ban the release of this material. And China had pursued an unjust diplomacy.

One must keep in mind that the Foreign Ministry's duty to protect confidential information is also used as a pretext to carry out an unjust and improper diplomacy.

Moreover, it's also worth considering that the current Foreign Ministry, arguably third-rate at best, frequently responds in a certain way when the following situations arise. That is, when information the Foreign Ministry should naturally have gathered and analyzed is lacking due to its lack of competence, it asserts it has a duty to protect confidential information and acts as though it in fact has the information. It pretends to have this confidential information even though it has nothing at all. And it lies about the fact that there has been a dereliction of duty.

On the subject of maintaining secrecy, the Ministry hides things from the public that it considers top secret, and also conducts an arrogant type of diplomacy as far as the people are concerned. Admittedly, in principle there are cases when diplomacy is carried out where certain things must be kept absolutely secret. However there are situations when an impartial explanation can bring the public completely on side, but the Foreign Ministry will keep things secret anyway; it is as though the Ministry feels it can act arrogantly towards the public because it has exclusive access to privileged information.

Also, an extension of this behavior is that the Ministry carries out "diplomacy by secret accord"—important items of agreement are placed in a separate secret document and concealed from the public—for the foolhardy reason that it's too difficult to get the Japanese people to understand. It blithely concludes secret accords over diplomatic matters that, because of their importance, ought to be put before the people in an impartial manner to gain public assent, but in the Diet and other settings, explanations continue to be given that are at odds with the facts. Acting this way may bring about an easy fix for some diplomatic matter, at least temporarily, but does not nurture any resolve or sense of responsibility towards the public with regards to Japan's diplomacy. As a result, Japanese diplomacy shows contempt for the public.

In addition, the report presented to Foreign Minister Kawaguchi has the following phrase: "Structure within the Ministry needs to be bolstered when there is an actual, or even suspected, breach of confidentiality." This is important because the Foreign Ministry is not an environment which rewards good conduct while punishing bad.

Incidentally, the report also suggests “the positive implementation of open systems for diplomatic records.” On this particular point, the Foreign Ministry should be commended.

Government agencies in Japan maintain considerable quantities of documents, but uphold a Confucian tradition dating from the Edo era—whereby “the people can be made to follow, but can not necessarily be made to understand”—that makes them rather indifferent to opening up these archives to the public. But in modern societies, where the people have a civic duty to engage constructively in politics, documents concerning previous political affairs must not only be preserved but also actively made available to the public. Based on this suggestion, in 2009 the Foreign Ministry enacted, albeit belatedly, the “Public Records and Archives Management Act,” the so-called official documents management act. Quite early on the Foreign Ministry realized the importance of making diplomatic documents open to the public, and set up its diplomatic archives in 1971. It has striven hard to publish valuable diplomatic documents from the Meiji era and beyond. This is definitely to be commended.

### *5. Making ODA Efficient and Transparent*

Four points are listed here.

- 5.1. Measures to ensure transparency of selection and implementation process for grant aid
- 5.2. Measures to broaden monitoring and verify effectiveness of ODA
- 5.3. Measures to achieve public accountability regarding debt forgiveness for yen loans
- 5.4. Measures to ensure transparency of selection and implementation process for ODA

Issues concerning ODA were previously discussed in Chapter 3, so let me touch on more specific problems to do with the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV).

Under the foreign minister’s authority, JICA strives for international cooperation through person-to-person contact, and many Japanese work on cooperative projects abroad. Among these is JOCV, established in 1965. JOCV accepts applications for volunteers from people aged between 20 and 39, to take part in a variety of support activities.

However, what has long been a problem for JOCV volunteers is that after returning, they are unable to find employment, and many are unable to readjust to life in Japan. At first glance they seem to be in the full bloom of youth, but the reality is quite different. Returning to Japan, there are no job openings; those who do find work cannot adapt to their organizations, and many fail when it comes to human interaction.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> “Seinen kaigai kyoryokutai wo konna ni daraku saseta ‘baramaki’ “ [How “Handouts” to Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers are Corrupted], *Shukan Shincho*, September 6, 2000, pp. 34-38.

Despite the lofty ideals of raising Japan's profile by carrying out cooperative projects abroad through human contacts, the results do not match these ideals because the Foreign Ministry, as an organization and government agency, does not have deep roots within Japan itself.

This author can't help thinking therefore that, whether it be for JICA or JOCV, there are a vast number of opportunities outside Japan which call for teaching positions in one form or another, where instruction of some sort could be given.

In which case, more effort should be made to connect these opportunities with educational institutions in Japan. There is virtually an unlimited number of teachers available in Japan who can teach about any job or business, whether it be in technical, business or other specialized high schools, or universities.

Sending them abroad through an educational organization or agency would bring concerns about reemployment, and also the quality of teaching skills, to an end. At the same time, for these teachers it would be a significant way to broaden their training and study of new knowledge. Rather than standing at a lectern one's entire life, time abroad during a long teaching career can also benefit teachers by providing a welcome break as well as an opportunity for further training and study on new vocational fields. Further, it will make them more effective teachers. And as teachers, if they apply the leadership skills they have gained in this way, they will make a much greater contribution than those currently volunteering with JOCV.

When considering the relationship between ODA and education, aid for developing infrastructure such as roads and dams is of course also significant; but in terms of Japan's national interest to develop long-term friendly relations with recipient countries, it might be worthwhile to consider the option of donating funds to institutions of higher education in these countries, to support courses and institutes that teach Japanese language and culture. If teachers from higher education institutions in Japan are dispatched to teach abroad periodically and on rotation, wouldn't this also result in improvements to higher education in Japan? By so doing isn't it possible that, in the future, a great many leaders who are favorably disposed towards Japan might be nurtured in these recipient countries?

The reason why ideas like these never even occur to the Foreign Ministry is because it has not put down roots in Japan itself; and on a daily basis, other government agencies in Kasumigaseki, where most of Japan's cabinet ministry offices are located, manifest their lack of respect for the Foreign Ministry.

## *6. Ensuring efficient use and transparency of Foreign Ministry budget*

First, let us list the points made under this heading.

- 6.1. Review of budget expenses
- 6.2. Implementation of accountability for compensation expenses
- 6.3. Review of procurement procedures
- 6.4. Improvement of budget spending procedures
- 6.5. Tightening audits
- 6.6. Early implementation, etc., of training courses
- 6.7. Improving accounts

One can immediately see by looking at these seven headings how sloppy the Foreign Ministry's accounts are. As discussed in detail in Chapter 3, it was revealed



on New Year's Day 2001 that Katsutoshi Matsuo, a non-career Foreign Ministry official, had embezzled close to a total of 500 million yen, and this showed just how sloppy the Ministry's accounting was. Moreover, this incident made the Japanese public aware of how amateurishly organized the Foreign Ministry was as a public agency. But of course, this did not happen all at once. Matsuo became head of the Foreign Ministry's Overseas Visit Support Division in 1993, and the embezzlement occurred over a period of six years.<sup>161</sup>

Even so, the fact that a total of 500 million yen was embezzled before anyone noticed can only mean that, as an organization, the Foreign Ministry was clearly not up to standard.

Along with tightening the audit itself (Point 6.5), the prompt implementation of training regimes (Point 6.6) is intended to improve the audit process. Concerning accounting practices within the Foreign Ministry, payment of funds to Japan's diplomatic missions abroad varies according to different and specific local practices in each country; furthermore, the reality is these missions are scattered across the world, so it is understandable that auditing them from Japan is all the more difficult. However, when it was discovered in 1993 that the accountant at Japan's Australian embassy had diverted public money for private use, the Ministry's home office sent an internal inspection team. They intended to take measures against him, but the accounting officer in question (a first secretary) escaped punishment by claiming that he was merely "exposing unauthorized use of secret funds."<sup>162</sup> This makes it abundantly clear the Foreign Ministry as an organization is not run properly because, even when accounting irregularities that occur on a daily basis are discovered, they are not dealt with correctly.

But this is not all that is inexcusable when it comes to the Foreign Ministry's bookkeeping and accounting.

Let us suppose for the sake of argument that "compensation expenses" are indeed necessary, namely, budget items used in the course of carrying out diplomacy that cannot be explicitly declared, or simply known as "secret funds." After Matsuo's embezzlement was uncovered, it was reported in the press in 2001; the Ministry set aside 5.56 billion yen in secret funds for diplomacy, of which 2 billion yen was paid annually to the prime minister's official residence. The Chief Cabinet Secretariat at the prime minister's residence also received secret funds, amounting to an estimated 1.62 billion yen. The Foreign Ministry paid an additional 2 billion yen to this, making the secret funds from the Chief Cabinet Secretary a total of 3.62 billion yen.<sup>163</sup>

Understandably, the Foreign Ministry had hoped that the Chief Cabinet Secretary would overlook the incident. With neither talent nor ability, it still wanted to exert an influence in the Japanese government comparable to other agencies, so it made payments to the Chief Cabinet Secretary in expectation of the Secretariat's protection. This is how the Ministry developed a masochistic diplomacy, and this is not something the Japanese public can tolerate any longer.

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<sup>161</sup> See fn. 121.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 192-93.

## *7. New relationship with NGOs*

There are two items under this heading.

7.1. Measures to strengthen cooperative ties with NGOs

7.2. Measures to build foundations to support NGO activities

Human society will become more international and global, and it is inevitable that international exchanges will also flourish in the private sector. It is important that the Foreign Ministry, charged with handling Japan's foreign relations, nurtures NGOs (non-governmental organizations) and establishes cooperative ties.

We shouldn't reject efforts made by JICA and JOCV, as mentioned previously in Point 5 ("Making ODA Efficient and Transparent") and also in the section dealing with ODA, to dispatch people to further international cooperation; but doing so through the private sector, rather than direct involvement by a government agency like the Foreign Ministry, is often more efficient and can yield greater results. In addition, the knowledge gathered in that manner can provide serious food for thought regarding the Ministry's international cooperation projects.

Therefore, the report's recommendations—the importance of measures to strengthen and support new ties with NGOs—are well founded.

## *8. Rebuilding public relations and canvassing systems*

There are two items under this heading.

8.1. Expanding the public relations system

8.2. Strengthening canvassing systems

What stands out in this section is the recommendation to bolster the role of the press secretary.

Normalizing the announcement of situation reports and policy lines through the press secretary integrates information released by the Ministry, and increases the Ministry's sense of urgency regarding policy decisions. Currently in the Foreign Ministry, some departments gather good intelligence and analyze it, but frequently this is not reflected when essential policy decisions are made, and these efforts end up being wasted. If the press secretary were to announce the views of the Foreign Ministry as a normal procedure, then he or she would have to attend important meetings when these views are determined; confirmation of those policy decisions by the press secretary should then evoke the authority of someone who was a party to those decisions. This will contribute to raising the competence of the Foreign Ministry.

In addition, this section also suggests greater emphasis on opinion-canvassing activities such as town meetings. Direct exposure to the public's voice in this way may bring an end to the Ministry's all too frequent and thoroughly ridiculous masochistic policies. The reason the Ministry has, to this day, blithely pursued these masochistic policies is because it has had few opportunities for contact with the public, and has therefore also felt little need to fulfill its responsibility to them.

## *9. Reviewing services and personnel in embassies, etc.*

The following two items appear in this section.

### 9.1. Diplomatic missions abroad, overview

### 9.2. Consular services

9.1, namely the issue of diplomatic missions abroad, was discussed in detail earlier in this chapter.<sup>164</sup> However, I would like to expand on a few points here. At Japan's diplomatic missions abroad, and at embassies in particular, there are a number of officials who have been dispatched from other government agencies. Because being in the career stream is standard practice in other agencies, those posted from elsewhere are granted the status of third secretary while at the embassy. These individuals from other ministries also receive additional generous stipends for working abroad, and tend to assimilate quite readily to the lazy atmosphere in the embassy. Perhaps phrasing the situation in this way does a disservice to workers among those on loan from other ministries who actually work hard, but because of the overly generous conditions provided by the Foreign Ministry, these people find themselves unable to criticize the place they are on loan to, and soon blend in completely. Enjoying favorable treatment that can include pay for working abroad totaling five times their annual salary, along with a convenient and comfortable working life made possible by a strict class system consisting of career officials, specialists, and local hires, respectively, means that career officials on loan from other agencies find themselves unable to voice any strong criticism even when confronted by questionable situations. In effect, many of these officials from other agencies enjoy a luxurious and lengthy vacation.<sup>165</sup>

As previously mentioned, embassies and consulates are like foreign enclaves of Japan abroad. To stretch the point somewhat, an embassy has a small population and must carry out all the tasks to be found in any nation state. This means that even third secretaries dispatched from other government agencies for instance, must have a minimum level of familiarity with all the operations in the embassy. They should be made to perform some consular or security duties shortly after arriving for duty. These third secretaries on loan from other agencies should also receive some minimum training in Japan to prepare them for life in their overseas posting, and this is probably also true for others, such as those from JICA.

Just as those dispatched from other agencies say little on their return to Japan about the problems they have personally witnessed at diplomatic missions abroad, there is a device in place that ensures Diet members and politicians are also reluctant to overtly criticize the Foreign Ministry.

This device is mentioned in the report submitted to Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi, namely the so-called convenience provision paid to Diet members on overseas business trips. The importance of Diet member diplomacy—where influential Japanese lawmakers travel abroad and meet with high-ranking government officials in other countries—is undeniable. However, some Diet members travel abroad without any particular business except to meet and greet prominent foreign officials, and pose for two-shot photos; frankly, this is merely to provide a good

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<sup>164</sup> See Chapter 4.2.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

anecdote to tell later in their constituency. Arranging these meetings is highly embarrassing for Japanese ambassadors abroad, even if they are coerced, when holiday snapshots are the only outcome of such meetings. Some blame lies with Japanese lawmakers who take foreign trips that don't really qualify as "Diet member diplomacy," but it's a problem when this activity becomes normal procedure, embassies are forced to attend to even the private requests of these Diet members, and this phenomenon in fact becomes normalized. It is for this reason the report seeks an end to support for private requests; but the issue I raise here is that, as a result of this lavish catering to lawmakers' private needs, an arrangement has evolved whereby Diet members who personally witness the Foreign Ministry's woeful state, and that of its diplomatic missions abroad, don't criticize it. This is also something the public must consider when scrutinizing the Foreign Ministry.<sup>166</sup>

In 9.2, regarding consular services, the following statement is included: "Use Japanese citizens acquainted with local conditions to handle activities to protect Japanese nationals." Presumably, this was partly meant to provide a life line to JOCV which was coming to the end of its run. This is perhaps inevitable in some respects, but shouldn't diplomats in the career and specialist streams themselves be trained in these abilities in the first place? It is worth reiterating here that, at least once a year, various drills involving the entire embassy should be held including exercises to look for Japanese nationals who have gone missing. On these occasions, third secretaries on loan from other government agencies should also be mobilized to carry out minor roles in these drills.<sup>167</sup>

#### *10. Transparency of policymaking process, etc.*

- 10.1. Freedom of information and accountability
- 10.2. Policy evaluation
- 10.3. Policy to take external opinions into account
- 10.4. Other items

Based on the spirit of laws governing information disclosure, in principle everything must be made available, while things not made available are the exceptions to the rule. However, as previously discussed, it has to be assumed that certain diplomatic matters must remain secret. This does not mean therefore that secret accords can be casually signed, however confidentiality must obviously be maintained during the course of negotiations. The issue in question is after what period of time such confidential matters may be disclosed.

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<sup>166</sup> The so-called convenience provision for Diet members at diplomatic missions applies when members themselves initiate trips overseas, but also applies in cases where they are invited abroad, for instance to visit China by the Chinese government. The invitation may come from the Chinese government, but as a rule the embassy ultimately must also provide them with assistance. For the most part trips to China consist of banquets and sight-seeing, nevertheless the diplomatic mission must still contribute a convenience provision, which adds to its already heavy burden.

<sup>167</sup> See Chapter 4.2 "Improvement of Educational Training Needed."

Policy evaluation is a difficult undertaking, but in order for the Foreign Ministry to become a competent diplomatic agency with a long-term vision, oral histories as described in 10.2 are probably an effective means to achieve this.<sup>168</sup> Generally speaking, retired diplomats will respond to questions about diplomatic matters in which they were personally involved, and the knowledge they gained is recorded and handed down to posterity. In addition, those appointed as ambassadors to represent Japan in the world's leading powers must be required to publish memoirs. When diplomats have only recently retired, there may indeed be confidential matters that shouldn't be disclosed; but even taking these sensitivities into account, these memoirs should be published officially so that future generations of diplomats, as well as the Japanese public, can benefit from this knowledge and see how they discharged their responsibilities in representing the nation.

By so doing, knowledge about our foreign policy towards each country will be accumulated, and the long-term outlook essential for Japanese diplomacy will be fine-tuned.

In 10.3, which is concerned with subjecting policy to external opinion, it is described how the system of "Advisers to the Foreign Ministry" will be scrapped.

There is a bitter tale in the postwar annals of Japan's Foreign Ministry regarding this system.

As mentioned previously in this book, on the eve of war between Japan and the United States in 1941, Katsuzo Okumura was the culprit to blame for going out and not typing up the "final notice" to the United States; as a result it was not delivered at the designated time and inadvertently turned the Japanese Navy's assault on Pearl Harbor into a "sneak attack." When the Occupation was lifted in 1952, Okumura was appointed to the position of vice foreign minister by Shigeru Yoshida, and in the end was awarded a Grand Cordon of the Order of the Sacred Treasure, a first class honor reserved for administrators and diplomats.<sup>169</sup> After resigning from his position as vice foreign minister on March 18, 1955, Okumura stayed on for some time as an adviser to the foreign minister. Looking back again at the Foreign Ministry's appalling post-war history, Okumura's appointment as a senior adviser

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<sup>168</sup> An oral history entails a person very familiar with certain historical events interviewing someone who was involved in shaping that history, and recording that individual's responses regarding their involvement in, and knowledge of, those events.

There is great significance in requiring those who served as ambassadors and envoys, and were involved to some extent in shaping history, to leave behind an oral record that can be handed down as an intellectual heritage for successive generations. In addition, the interviewer must also have a thorough understanding of those events, and therefore has to gather together substantial intellectual materials; cultivating the skills to be an interviewer of this nature is also of great importance for the training of diplomats.

<sup>169</sup> See Sugihara, *Chiune Sugihara and Japan's Foreign Ministry*, p. 123.

Although this reference portrays these particular advisors to the Foreign Ministry in a negative light, the inspection of diplomatic missions abroad is essential for the Ministry's future existence. According to Atsuhiko Yatabe, who was ambassador to a number of countries, expert and effective inspection requires setting up an advisory group of people who served within the Foreign Ministry as ambassadors, ministers or consuls. See Yatabe, *Shokugyo toshite no gaikokan*, pp. 216-17.

adds an extra dimension to this appallingness. This system of appointing advisers to the foreign minister needs to be scrapped. This goes without saying.

10.4 is concerned with other items, including developing the internal reporting system.

This reports recommends that a system be established for those who have suspicions that Ministry regulations are being violated.

No matter which government agency is involved, whenever misconduct occurs the first impulse within the organization is to try to hide it. For minor matters, covert efforts will be made to correct the situation and make it appear as though nothing untoward has happened; in cases of a more serious nature, an inconspicuous remedy will be applied, and the person who caused the incident will be discreetly disciplined somehow. However, if the situation is so serious that it can no longer be covered up, the situation will be handled publicly, and proper punishment will be meted out. Failure to do so would implicate the organization itself in the wrongdoing, and result in it committing unpatriotic actions.<sup>170</sup>

Unfortunately in the case of the Foreign Ministry, there are also cases the public never hears about; and an incident that would be handled as a serious scandal in other government agencies has come to be treated by the Foreign Ministry as a minor misdemeanor. This is why it wasn't possible to prevent the huge embezzlement fraud perpetrated by Katsutoshi Matsuo that was exposed in 2001. The lack of a fully-developed internal reporting system also played a strong role.

In fact, in the Foreign Ministry where personnel decisions have until now been driven by cronyism, it has not been unusual for members of staff who are "whistleblowers" to become mired in difficulties themselves instead.

Outstanding organizations have a proper internal reporting system as a matter of course. Excellent performance is rewarded while wrongdoing is punished, and the punishment meted out is fair and in proportion to the gravity of the offense. Proper handling of both good and bad behavior, and rewarding conduct on the basis of its merits, is indispensable in an outstanding organization.<sup>171</sup>

## *11. Developing crisis management systems*

### 11.1 Consular services

### 11.2 Crisis management

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<sup>170</sup> See fn. 152. Those within the Foreign Ministry who commit the unpatriotic act of destroying large amounts of incriminating evidence are perversely promoted for their "distinguished service," and in fact receive awards.

<sup>171</sup> Initially, organizations created by people function correctly and competently because they fairly and properly reward good behavior and punish wrongdoing. The reason the Foreign Ministry hasn't functioned properly until now is because it has not followed the correct application of rewards and punishments. See Chapter 3.1 "Problem of Sense of Responsibility" and Chapter 3.2 "No Awards for Hero of KAL 858 Bombing Incident."

11.1, regarding consular services, has been handled in Point 9. Crisis management is dealt with here again, but in the context of protecting Japanese nationals.

Nowadays with the dramatic increase in the number of Japanese travelling overseas, the Foreign Ministry's consular services are more important than ever. Therefore, this report suggests that the Foreign Affairs Training Institute be scrapped in favor of setting up a "Consular and Diplomatic Academy." This academy would have departments for consular and diplomatic studies, and courses in consular studies would specifically train students to become consuls. With the growing importance of consular services nowadays, this suggestion probably has merit. However, this does not alter the fundamental principle that all embassy staff should be familiar with consular duties to a certain extent. There is no need for all personnel at diplomatic missions abroad to be as familiar with these duties as professional consular officers themselves; however, at missions with concerns about incidents requiring a unified embassy response to protect Japanese residents for instance, there are times when all staff must work together to undertake crisis management operations.<sup>172</sup>

While establishing a new academy may be a good idea, viewed in this light shouldn't the existing Foreign Affairs Training Institute be retained to carry out short-term training courses? Indeed, officers seconded from other government agencies should also receive advance training in Japan. Moreover, the Foreign Affairs Training Institute might also be kept open to train, for example, teachers sent overseas by the Ministry of Education to teach at Japanese schools abroad. And some form of training courses should even be made available for those from NGOs.

An academy would not only be useful for vocational training and education, it could also function as a facility for advanced research related to diplomacy. Recommendations for the establishment of a diplomatic graduate school are made in Point 12 below, but this is probably for the purpose of improving research into diplomatic affairs.

11.2, regarding crisis management, proposes that the Foreign Ministry, like other government agencies, puts in place a department to deal with unforeseeable acts of international terrorism. It suggests that the Minister be presented with an investigation report, and findings and recommendations regarding all possible crisis management scenarios. Naturally this has already been done in other government agencies; but it is clear that such a report had not been prepared as of 1990, for instance, when the Iraqi military invaded Kuwait on August 2, and the Japanese Embassy in Kuwait was without an ambassador. It may probably be assumed that no formal record of findings or recommendations was retained. This is likely because approximately a year later, on August 19, 1991, President Gorbachev of the former Soviet Union was placed under house arrest, and again the Japanese ambassador was similarly absent from the Moscow Embassy.<sup>173</sup>

The report recommended boosting the numbers and placement of security officers and security guards. An obvious recommendation was that, "the officer in

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<sup>172</sup> See Chapter 4.2 "Improvement of Educational Training Needed."

<sup>173</sup> See fn. 152.

charge of security procedures stationed in the diplomatic mission's security office should be seconded from the Japan Defense Agency or the National Police Agency, etc.” This suggestion had merit, but there was an air peculiar to the Foreign Ministry of palming this responsibility off. The diplomatic mission abroad is like a Japanese enclave in the host nation, but the Ministry lacks the perspective that it should be able to cope with all the tasks found in any self-governing entity. Those working at diplomatic missions must carry out a wide range of duties, and while each individual has their own area of expertise, they must also be able to perform other tasks under the guidance of officials who have professional training in those tasks. With regards to crisis management, drilling for emergency situations can instill a sense of urgency. In times of danger all the mission's energies must be brought to bear; this is why regular training exercises are essential to integrate the entire staff to manage any crisis. Training exercises help develop a sense of urgency by going through procedures at least once, and this fosters the ability to cope during times of actual crisis.<sup>174</sup>

This sort of perspective is completely lacking in the report, and the report itself is overly sympathetic to the Foreign Ministry and gives it too much discretion over reform. Crisis management conventionally demands the systematic handling of emergencies, and as a part of that, training on a daily basis.

## *12. Strengthening policy conception*

The following items are listed.

- 12.1. Enhancing the authority and function of the Foreign Policy Bureau
- 12.2. Enhancing the function of the Intelligence and Analysis Bureau
- 12.3. Positive application of “Policy Evaluation”
- 12.4. Introduction of Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs
- 12.5. Strategic and active utilization of the Japan Institute of International Affairs
- 12.6. Trial introduction of U.S. State Department-style “Dissent Channel”
- 12.7. Strengthen cooperation between policymaking and public relations
- 12.8. Encourage self-development and maintain training programs for Foreign Ministry staff
- 12.9. Share policy information and know-how, etc.
- 12.10 Strengthen summit diplomacy system
- 12.11 Other items

The Foreign Ministry is in charge of Japan's diplomacy, so naturally it must be exceptionally competent in planning diplomatic policy. Therefore it must be accustomed to collecting and analyzing information on a regular basis, and be capable of having a long-term outlook. However, up until now diplomats in the Foreign Ministry have had little talent, even though they are supposed to be the front line in Japanese diplomacy, and have not developed the skills expected by the public.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> See Chapter 4.2 “Diplomatic Mission is a Piece of Japan Abroad.”

<sup>175</sup> Yoshihisa Komori, *Bokoku no Nihon taishikan*, pp. 278-83.



The capability of the Foreign Ministry as an organization lies in the individual talents of its employees at both the home office and diplomatic missions abroad, and is potentially vast; but at the same time, it is unable to overcome these sorts of problems because of systemic defects.<sup>176</sup>

12.1 includes a suggestion to “announce the merging of the principal chief clerks of regional and operational bureaus with the Foreign Policy Bureau.”

12.2 has a suggestion for “dual appointment of regional coordinators for regional bureaus and the Intelligence and Analysis Bureau.” Regional bureaus are offices that handle affairs by region, including Asian and Oceanian, North American, or Latin American and Caribbean Affairs. This was a suggestion to appoint personnel to positions of chief clerks and regional coordinators, namely two positions in the Foreign Policy Bureau and the Intelligence and Analysis Bureau respectively.

What this tells us, conversely, is that until then, information obtained by bureaus specific to each region had not been utilized in determining important policies. To the contrary, it also reveals that the following is likely. Namely, even though it is of course essential to determine important policy by involving all departments of the Foreign Ministry, there was no such horizontal policy-making mechanism, and therefore decisions concerning overall Ministry policy were sometimes based solely on the one-sided judgment of particular departments.<sup>177</sup>

In fact if you examine the Foreign Ministry’s long history, you won’t find the group-centered decision making process, or *ringisei*, used in other government agencies, nor apparently is there anything which resembles an overall ministerial meeting to decide Ministry policy.<sup>178</sup>

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According to Komori, Japan’s Washington Embassy even employs private American companies to translate speeches by the Japanese prime minister or foreign minister into English. Not only are embassy staff incompetent when it comes to performing routine administrative skills in a timely manner, career diplomats are also inept when it comes to drawing up a draft for the prime minister or foreign minister’s speech in English, which surely should be one of their basic skills. Naturally, no other developed nation orders this sort of work from private companies.

Because officials within the Foreign Ministry have the potential to excel and yet are unable to develop these skills, it can only be concluded there must be serious problems with the Ministry’s organization itself.

<sup>176</sup> Although Ministry personnel must pass difficult examinations and therefore are potentially very talented, the fact that they fail to become competent staff members in a competent organization surely points to problems with the way the Ministry is organized. In summary, this is probably caused by the lack of: (a) training systems which develop the ability to perform routine administrative skills in a timely manner, including the versatility to carry out a variety of duties; (b) advanced training systems which revolve around patriotism and the national interest; (c) a system which fairly rewards good behavior and punishes wrongdoing; and (d) a system which combines expertise and knowledge during the decision-making process.

<sup>177</sup> See fn. 176.

<sup>178</sup> Gaimusho gaikoshiryokan Nihon gaikoshi hensan iinkai [Foreign Ministry Diplomatic Archives Japanese diplomatic history compilation committee] ed., *Shinpan Nihon gaikoshi*

*Ringisei* is a decision-making mechanism unique to Japan that occurs in government agencies, whereby lower-level sections create drafts on various issues that are circulated to other sections to reach a consensus; these are then submitted to higher-level sections to obtain approval. Although it is a time-consuming way to make decisions, coordinating with other sections minimizes problems during actual operations.

In the case of the Foreign Ministry, the relevant section creates a draft and submits it directly to the section above for approval, and in principle policy decisions are made quickly. However, because there is no horizontal coordination with other sections, policy decisions are made without the benefit of superior knowledge gained by other sections. Problems might not occur if section supervisors are talented, and there is the added advantage of speed; but given the unremarkable abilities of supervisors found in the Ministry as a rule, there is a definite disadvantage to not reflecting the better practices of other sections.

When an organization convenes a meeting of all its lower-ranking sections, giving each an equal voice, they can often come up with better ideas than if each was left to work things out alone because, as the old adage goes, “two heads are better than one.” These “horizontal” forums, or meetings where relevant officials of various ranks are brought together, seldom happen in the Foreign Ministry. It is as though each individual works in their own section like the proverbial octopus trapped in a pot, and their only connection with the overall organization is through contact with their immediate supervisor. They have no idea what work their colleagues, similarly isolated, are doing, nor do they have any obligation to assist their coworkers no matter how busy they are.

In 1997, this author summarized the situation at Japan’s Washington embassy on the eve of war between Japan and the United States in a book entitled *Between Incompetence and Culpability: Assessing the Diplomacy of Japan’s Foreign Ministry from Pearl Harbor to Potsdam* (University Press of America). It is my impression that, if meetings of the relevant officials had been held regularly under the direction of Ambassador Nomura to share intelligence, a more meaningful outcome would have been reached. There is little evidence that meetings between Ambassador Nomura and those below him were ever held at the embassy. We are left with the impression that when Nomura did indeed meet with a subordinate, it was usually with this individual alone, and only to discuss the work this person was responsible for.

In the United States, by contrast, President Roosevelt and key government leaders met frequently; and in the State Department under Secretary Hull, there were apparently regular meetings of relevant officials from the various divisions involved in handling problems between the United States and Japan.

Ultimately, even if exceptionally capable officials and diplomats in the Foreign Ministry collect and analyze excellent sources of information, and accumulate outstanding intelligence, it is all too easy for these efforts to remain

unexploited. Furthermore, this state of affairs tends to discourage Ministry staff and diplomats from developing their potential.

Incidentally, what follows below might seem counterintuitive, but Foreign Ministry employees, including its diplomats, formally must not involve themselves in policy decisions regarding diplomacy; it seems however the opposite is true.

As public officials the primary duty of Foreign Ministry employees, including diplomats at missions abroad, is to maintain political neutrality and to offer fair-minded and unbiased advice to policy makers, and this is a role they must take to heart. They cannot be the ones making the decisions. The person making decisions for the nation regarding diplomacy is the foreign minister, and ultimately the prime minister. Low-ranking Ministry officials cannot make policy decisions; rather, Foreign Ministry policy is determined by their supervisors who in turn must answer to their supervisors. Those formulating policy must have good judgment, and be able to determine the best foreign policy; similarly, the duty of the Foreign Ministry employee and diplomat is to utilize outstanding intelligence and analysis, and employ a long-term perspective based on the accumulation of this knowledge to provide invaluable insights and advice.

For instance, in 1993 when Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono apologized to South Korea for the forced confinement of comfort women despite there being no such occurrences, it was the primary duty of Foreign Ministry personnel, based on their expertise and regardless of the risk, to prevent Kono making such apologetic remarks because they should have foreseen that, even though relations between Japan and South Korea might seem to quiet down temporarily, this apology would do great harm to bilateral relations in the long term.<sup>179</sup>

Although policy decisions were ultimately made by Chief Cabinet Secretary Kono and above him Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, on those occasions when they pursued mistaken policies it was the duty of Foreign Ministry personnel, as public servants, to use their broader knowledge to prevent this, and to persuade them to decide upon and implement correct policies.

However, the reverse is in fact true. When this issue regarding the forced confinement of comfort women arose, it was actually the Foreign Ministry that promoted the release of Kono's remarks. In 1982, the media misreported that the term "advance" had been substituted for "invasion" in high school textbooks by the Board of Education examination committee, and the Foreign Ministry in full knowledge that such had not been the case insisted that Chief Cabinet Secretary Miyazawa apologize to China and South Korea, and forced the Ministry of Education come up with the so-called "neighboring countries clause." Furthermore in 2000 Eijiro Noda, a former

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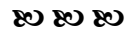
<sup>179</sup> See Chapter 3.2 "The 'Kono Statement' And 'Comfort Women'."

The so-called "Kono Statement" apologizes for something that is inconsistent with the facts; even if there were examples of cases that deserved an apology, this is no longer legally necessary according to the 1965 Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea. Indeed, an apology should not be given. But nevertheless, if an apology is to be given, one ought to consider what the consequences will be. As we look toward the future, what is required of Japan's diplomats, as professional agents of diplomacy, is to have the insight not to further aggravate Japan-Korea relations.

Foreign Ministry diplomat, schemed to bring about the failing of a junior high school history textbook edited by the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform, an organization that strived to produce a version of history Japan could be proud of.<sup>180</sup>

The Foreign Ministry has pursued a diplomacy directly opposed to the national interest, by committing the crime of selling out Japan's sovereign right to determine its own education policy. In other words, Foreign Ministry personnel have continued to press policy makers to make policy decisions that are totally contrary to the national interest.

Regarding the Ministry's part in determining a number of deplorable foreign policy decisions, the report produced by "The Forum to Change the Foreign Ministry" under the direction of Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi fails to even mention what role the Ministry played. Therefore it can be concluded that the report only addresses superficial problems in the Foreign Ministry.



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<sup>180</sup> See fns. 89, 120.

## Chapter 5

### Reforming the Foreign Ministry: Special Issues

#### 5.1 The Awful State of the Foreign Ministry

##### *Awful State of Foreign Ministry Due to Incompetence of its Officials*

This final chapter will summarize the points made in this book, and also allow an opportunity for the author to offer ideas on how to reform the Foreign Ministry.

The Foreign Ministry is the only government agency whose name remains unchanged since the start of the Meiji era. Even the present-day Ministry of Finance (*Zaimusho*), the most quintessential of Japan's government agencies, changed its name from its former designation Ministry of the Treasury (*Okurasho*). The only government agency dating from the beginning of the Meiji period that has not changed its name once is the Foreign Ministry. Endowed with this unbroken tradition, does the Foreign Ministry actually meet the expectations of the Japanese people? This book is a critique on how the Ministry is far from meeting those expectations, and has in fact done the exact opposite. In other words it is a call to transform this government agency, responsible for conducting the nation's foreign relations, into a genuine Ministry of Foreign Affairs that can indeed meet the people's expectations.

Some Ministry officials apparently believe that the Foreign Ministry can no longer continue on its present course, but have given up hope that it can be changed.<sup>181</sup> However, I urge these officials too to consider how and where the Foreign Ministry is flawed, and how and where it can be reformed.

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<sup>181</sup> To address reform of the Foreign Ministry following the discovery of huge internal scandals, a group was set up within the Ministry called "Kaeyo! Kawaro! Gaimusho" [Change it! Let's change! Foreign Ministry of Japan] which enlisted the voluntary participation of over 200 young Ministry staff ranked section chief or below. This group submitted a report in August, 2002.

Japan is an island nation set somewhat apart geopolitically from the Chinese mainland. For that reason, Japan never went to war with the various ethnic groups on the Asian mainland, apart from exceptional periods such as the Mongolian invasions. Consequently, until its defeat in the Second World War, Japan had never been forced to pursue any full-scale diplomatic efforts that were a matter of life or death.<sup>182</sup>

Historically at least, until this defeat Japan had never been conquered even once by external forces, and was able to develop a history where it could solve its problems domestically. The fact that the Yamato Court, the first unifiers of Japanese territory, survives today into the 21st century as the Imperial House of Japan attests to how relatively peacefully Japan's history has unfolded.

With periodic dynastic changes, wars have been waged endlessly on the Chinese mainland, and vast numbers of people have frequently been killed. While in close proximity to the Chinese cultural sphere and its constant violence, the Japanese learned many things from that civilization; nevertheless, in stark contrast, Japan

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Highlighted in the report was a lack of sufficient policy debate, and how work is carried out without a clear sense of purpose. It adeptly described the reality of how business is conducted in the Foreign Ministry at the present time, and conveyed a refreshing awareness of the problem.

According to the report: "In the Foreign Ministry, decision making is carried out for various matters that arise on a daily basis, however it is questionable whether the decisions over these various matters are made with adequate discussion and debate according to their importance." Unlike Point 10 made by the "Forum to Change the Foreign Ministry" that called for public transparency of the policymaking process, this more recent report called for greater transparency concerning policy decisions for staff within the Ministry itself. From the perspective of Ministry staff, current workloads involve doing their utmost to attend to visiting dignitaries while processing everyday routine matters, without any involvement in determining what direction policy should be taken. It is only natural that staff would demand more transparency in the policymaking process, and that this be done with more discussion. According to Atsuhiko Yatabe:

The majority of ambassadors stationed abroad are, to varying degrees, rather frustrated that the home office does not pay them enough attention, nor show them enough interest. It is not much different even among staff at the home office, of whom 90 percent have no idea about what goes on in the upper echelons.... As a result, those at the top are also unaware of what is happening below. Much has been observed recently about the lack of transparency in matters relating to corporate management, but the lack of transparency within the Foreign Ministry at present is almost equivalent to flying blind. The mood there is cold, and there is no human communication.

See Yatabe, Atsuhiko, *Shokugyo toshite no gaikokan* [Diplomacy as a profession] (Tokyo: Bungeishunju, 2002), p. 206.

<sup>182</sup> The diplomatic system was formally organized as a part of international law amidst the complex diplomatic arrangements found in Europe and the United States; Japan belonged to the Asian cultural sphere which had not developed such international accords, and did not have much diplomatic experience, so although it copied the outward form of this diplomatic system, it was unable to assimilate its essence.

constructed a unique culture and developed a distinctive history where killing was extremely rare. It would be fair to say that no other country has developed such a progressive society where wars were so infrequent, and murders so few.

There are very few societies like Japan's that have developed a culture where forgiveness is granted if a person apologizes for the wrong they have done. An apology in Europe or the United States leads immediately to the question of compensation; perhaps Japan was the only society that developed a culture where forgiveness was given if someone admitted to their wrongdoing, where their state of mind alone was the issue.<sup>183</sup>

This was the Japan that, during the late Edo period, opened up to the world without adequate national defenses, and was forced to start dealing with other countries and enter into diplomatic negotiations. Geopolitically, Japan at this time was located at the furthest reaches of the Far East, and was the last to face incursions by the Western powers; this made it easier for Japan to escape the fate of being occupied or colonized by other countries. Nonetheless, from the end of the Edo period to the early years of Meiji, Japanese diplomacy was not particularly lacking in any respects. Signing the unequal treaties was a serious error, but Japanese diplomacy thereafter, until the end of the Russo-Japanese War, revolved around abolishing those treaties and clearly demonstrated much wisdom.

Generally speaking, the poor state of the Foreign Ministry became noticeable after professional diplomats, who had passed the diplomatic examinations inaugurated in 1894, took sole charge of Japanese diplomacy. At the outset, the format of Japan's diplomatic examinations was modeled after foreign systems, and even the Foreign Ministry itself was established by following the example of foreign services in other countries; but as discussed above, Japan until then had little experience with foreign relations, so although the Foreign Ministry was a virtual copy of agencies in other countries, it was unable to recreate their essential character and ultimately remained an empty shell.<sup>184</sup>

The police and military forces were also modeled after those in various foreign countries, but Japan was able to create an excellent constabulary and armed military because of the samurai ethic dating from the Edo period, and its broad experience in governing the people.

In historical terms, Japan's two military services should rightly be blamed in perpetuity for leading the nation into a war that should never have been waged; however it can also be argued that, in the annals of human history, the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy deserve their place among the few militaries in the world that have been upstanding and have maintained a high level of morale.

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<sup>183</sup> When someone does something wrong, it is a special feature of Japanese culture that they can be forgiven if they apologize with due contrition. This pattern of behavior may be referred to as an "apology culture." One might think this "apology culture" is something that the whole world ought to share. However, in contemporary international relations, apologizing for the small part you may have played in a transgression is taken as an assumption of guilt for the entire incident. To the contrary, saying sorry is simply not done anymore in international relations. See fn. 179.

<sup>184</sup> See fns. 182, 183.

Foreign language experts are needed during diplomatic negotiations. This was particularly the case during the first half of the Meiji era when few Japanese could freely converse in English or other European languages, therefore a demand existed for people who had mastered Western tongues. In order to ensure there were enough diplomats who had mastered foreign languages, foreign service examinations were held and specialist training was introduced; however as discussed in Chapter 4, is it really possible to become a diplomat simply through deliberate training and education? Is it possible to train people in genuine negotiating skills merely in a classroom? The failing of the Foreign Ministry lies in the mistaken notion that, by implementing the diplomatic examinations, training and education would automatically produce the desired abilities. It takes experience to refine negotiating skills, and expertise can be developed over time, but in fact, innate personal qualities play a major role. And generally speaking, the conduct of negotiations is not an end in itself. It is a question of matching the “what” of those negotiations with their “why.” In which case, the notion that you can test for diplomats able to negotiate professionally, or train and teach them in a classroom to do so is, in hyperbolic terms, like trying to build castles in the air. The success of diplomatic systems in the West is, to a certain extent, due to historical legacies; from a young age people there are exposed to other languages, and this makes the burden of having to become proficient in foreign languages lighter than that of the Japanese diplomat.

Moreover the Japanese diplomatic system was launched in 1894 during the Meiji era, and tightly restricted staff intake; nowadays those who pass the foreign service examinations are no longer subjected to rigorous competition for the rest of their lives, and can expect to top off their careers by being promoted to ambassador in some country in the world. It’s ludicrous that, simply by passing a diplomatic examination once in their early 20’s, someone can receive automatic promotions through their entire lives.

The diplomatic examination system was the result of efforts by Jutaro Komura and Takashi Hara, but the diplomat system has clearly failed. Among the government agencies created by the Meiji government it is undoubtedly the Foreign Ministry, where diplomats play a central role, which has been the biggest failure. By deliberately cultivating individuals with inferior diplomatic skills as diplomats, and building a completely amateurish organizational structure, the Foreign Ministry is a government agency that cannot possibly perform the sort of diplomacy expected by the Japanese people. The Meiji government established various government agencies modeled after their Western counterparts, but because Japan had little experience in conducting relations with foreign countries it did not have the knowhow or understanding of how to create a foreign service; it was, and remains today, the Meiji government’s worst failed government agency, and continues to sow the seeds of disaster for Japan.

Of course compared to other ministries, it is also true that the Foreign Ministry, because it is responsible for Japan’s diplomacy, faces a variety of constraints. Diplomats are scattered around the world conducting Japan’s foreign relations, and perform their duties beyond the scrutiny of the Japanese public: as a result no-one is present to review their activities. Therefore, it is perhaps inevitable that they become indifferent about producing actual diplomatic results. However, the competition-stifling system that limits the number of successful diplomatic examination candidates; the rigid class system that divides staff into three distinct tiers; the fact



that merit is not rewarded and incompetence goes unpunished—all these arrangements deliberately put in place by the Foreign Ministry are probably what prevent it from functioning normally.<sup>185</sup>

Furthermore, while typical government agencies in Japan manifest an iron triangle composed of industry groups, bureaucrats, and politicians (or special-interest Diet members), without its own “industry” the Foreign Ministry has a rather simple structure compared to other large government agencies. This simplicity, perversely, retards the Ministry’s ability to hone its diplomatic skills, and it often finds itself lagging behind other government agencies when pursuing essential diplomatic matters.<sup>186</sup>

In addition, this simplicity also means it is quite susceptible to interference from politicians and Diet lawmakers. Because it has no “industry,” things are uncomplicated but conversely readily subject to meddling, and the Foreign Ministry is unable to carry out diplomatic tasks that need to be done. This fact must also not be disregarded when reflecting on the Foreign Ministry. It is certainly true too that interference by politicians has distorted Japanese diplomacy, and the sorry state of that diplomacy is not entirely the doing of the Foreign Ministry; in fact paradoxically, it could be said that the Ministry at times has actually been a victim of this interference.<sup>187</sup>

But there is a maxim in the study of politics that says: without the talents of its bureaucracy, no nation may rise to superior heights. In other words if a nation’s bureaucrats execute their duties in a principled manner, then sooner or later that nation will excel; ultimately no nation can become outstanding without the skills of its officials. In which case, the deplorable state of Japanese diplomacy is directly related to the inferior quality of its diplomats, the employees of the Foreign Ministry; and it can only be concluded that they are the ones who have brought about the Ministry’s lamentable situation. The diplomatic matters pursued by the Foreign Ministry are perhaps somewhat distorted by politicians and Diet members, but this is merely the reason why the Ministry habitually pursues those sorts of diplomatic matters. The deplorable state of Japanese diplomacy itself can be directly attributed to the Foreign Ministry’s own substandard quality, and its disappointing staff. Even if a talented diplomat or employee with a sense of mission emerges, the Ministry makes it

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<sup>185</sup> See fn. 176.

<sup>186</sup> Yakushiji, Katsuyuki, *Gaimusho – gaikoryoku kyoka e no michi* [The Foreign Ministry: How to Boost Its Diplomatic Prowess] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), p. 104; Hyodo, Nagao, “Gaimusho yo, shimeikan wo torimodose” [Hey Foreign Ministry - Get back your sense of purpose!], in *Chuokoron*, April 2002, p. 139.

<sup>187</sup> Hyodo, Nagao, “Gaimusho yo,” pp. 138-140. The Foreign Ministry has very little direct interaction with the Japanese public, so even personnel matters are largely beyond public scrutiny; as a result, the Ministry is easily subjected to interference by the foreign minister of the day or Diet members. Moreover, since there are few jobs that must be filled by staff with special expertise, this creates situations where Diet members can easily intervene in personnel decisions. As a result, the Ministry is susceptible to meddling by lawmakers and politicians, and sometimes finds itself getting into hot water.

impossible for that person to make a contribution. We can only sympathize with talented people like Naoya Nakano, who was discussed in Chapter 2.

Ultimately, it is the limited abilities of diplomats and employees of the Foreign Ministry that stymie reform of the Ministry.<sup>188</sup>

## **5.2 Clarify The Foreign Ministry's War Responsibility**

### *Foreign Ministry Clearly Has War Responsibility*

The deplorable state of the Foreign Ministry is not something that began only recently. As mentioned previously, the Ministry has suffered from chronic weaknesses dating back to when the diplomatic examination system was established during the early Meiji era.

However, this weak state has deteriorated drastically, especially during the postwar period. Why has there been such a drastic decline? What has caused this drastic decline? Let us consider for a moment the source of the problem.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the poor state of the Foreign Ministry dates back to before the Second World War. Following the signing of the Russo-Japanese Peace Treaty in 1905, Foreign Minister Jutaro Komura rejected an offer from American rail magnate E. H. Harriman to jointly manage the railway in Manchuria, and created a factor contributing to rising tensions between Japan and the United States.<sup>189</sup> In 1915, Japan aroused the unmitigated antagonism of the Chinese people through its Twenty-One Demands on China.<sup>190</sup> In 1938, disregarding strident opposition from the Japanese military, Prime Minister Konoe destroyed any opportunity for negotiations between Japan and China by saying he would “cease from henceforward to deal with [the Nationalist] Government,” and made reconciliation between the two nations impossible.<sup>191</sup> The ultimate example of its poor state was the Ministry's failure to avoid the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States because of its inability to discern the latent intent of the Roosevelt administration, despite the president's pledge in the fall of 1940 in his re-election campaign for a third term “not to send your sons to war.” In the end, it even brought about unambiguous disgrace to Japan by delaying the delivery of the “final notice” to the United States.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> This is not to say that the potential capabilities of Ministry staff from the outset are lacking. Foreign Ministry personnel must pass difficult examinations similar to those taken by other public officials, so initially they possess the same potential level of competence. But after joining the Foreign Ministry, with its burdensome history and stifling inertia, they begin to pick up this behavior and their abilities begin to diminish. And while there are also organizational problems, this environment kills even the desire to carry out reform, and Foreign Ministry personnel become less competent than their counterparts in other government agencies.

<sup>189</sup> See Chapter 1.1 “Deplorable Blunder by Jutaro Komura”.

<sup>190</sup> See Chapter 1.2.

<sup>191</sup> See Chapter 1.3.

<sup>192</sup> See Chapter 1.4.

The deplorable state of the Foreign Ministry has persisted uninterrupted in this way since the prewar period. But in 1982 after the war had long been over, simply because the media had incorrectly reported that the term “invasion” had been replaced with “[military] advance” during the screening of Japanese high school text books, the Foreign Ministry in complete knowledge that this had been misreported, coerced the chief cabinet secretary to make a statement to rectify this as the responsibility of the Japanese government, and forced the Ministry of Education to create the so-called “neighboring countries” clause, whereby inspection comments would not be appended to descriptions in textbooks pertaining to Japan’s neighbors. Sovereignty over the authorization of Japan’s school textbooks was handed over to foreign countries. In 1993, despite the lack of cases of enforced abduction of comfort women in Korea, they coerced Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono to issue a statement saying there had been, and to apologize to Korea.<sup>193</sup>

Is this really the diplomacy of an independent sovereign nation? In every respect, this sort of diplomacy is diametrically opposed to the national interest. As one might expect, one can find no examples in Japan’s prewar foreign relations of this sort of diplomacy that runs counter to the national interest. Japan’s regrettable prewar diplomacy led to the failure to prevent an avoidable war in the mid-Showa period and brought great harm to the Japanese people, but nevertheless there were no cases where diplomacy was carried out that sold out or opposed the national interest.

Let me define what I mean when I refer to diplomacy that runs counter to the national interest. Broadly speaking, diplomacy usually refers to a country’s interaction with other lands in pursuit of its own national interest; but what I am concerned with here is not this broad definition, but a narrower, stricter sense of the “national interest.”

When it comes to issues such as the TPP, or Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership, it is not easy to determine whether support would enhance or harm the national interest. The subject matter agreed upon in the TPP may vary significantly, however nothing will directly impinge on national sovereignty; it will merely be a case of choosing between various options. Any choice will likely have a positive impact upon Japan’s prosperity, although the precise nature of this cannot be known at the present time. At present, it is nothing more than a matter of Japan choosing between various options.

However, even though there was no factual basis for claims that the term “invasion” had been replaced by “[military] advance,” an apology was made taking national responsibility to correct this, and the “neighboring countries” clause was devised that did not allow examination opinions to be appended to descriptions in high school textbooks regarding Japan’s neighbors; this clearly gave away sovereignty over Japan’s textbooks. It should therefore be concluded that this act of “diplomacy” was criminal in nature. Also, even though there were no cases of comfort women being forcibly abducted, an apology was issued as if there had been; this too was a criminal act of “diplomacy” that caused unwarranted harm to the nation’s dignity.

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<sup>193</sup> See Chapter 2.4, and Chapter 3.1 “The ‘Kono Statement’ And ‘Comfort Women’ ”

Why has Japan's postwar diplomacy become like this? Without clarifying this matter and offering possible solutions for improvement, genuine reform of the Foreign Ministry that gets to the heart of the matter will not be possible. Without introducing this genuine reform, any such hopes of revitalizing Japan will be little more than wishful thinking.

Now why has the state of the Foreign Ministry become even more deplorable in the postwar era? Obviously those in the know are perfectly aware why this is so, but it's worth reiterating here that it is because the Ministry is mired in a so-called masochistic view of history. We need to clarify why the postwar Foreign Ministry became so attached to a masochistic view of history that denigrates our own country.

When Japan lost the war and began to reemerge during the postwar era, there were concerns that the Foreign Ministry, along with the military, would also be held responsible for the war and be dismantled by the Occupation Forces. The Foreign Ministry played a leading role in Japan's exit from the League of Nations in 1933, and as previously mentioned was the main impetus behind the 1938 Konoe Statement to "cease from henceforward to deal with [the Nationalist] Government," so the Ministry cannot avoid its share of the responsibility for the outbreak of war in 1941 between Japan and the United States either. During the war the United States was under the impression the delivery of Japan's "final notice" had been deliberately delayed; the Foreign Ministry's war responsibility was clear, so naturally the Occupation Forces contemplated dismantling it.<sup>194</sup>

However, the Foreign Ministry manipulated the situation with consummate skill. It pushed all responsibility for the war onto the dismantled Army and Navy, and became the point of contact for negotiations between the Japanese government and the Occupation Forces.<sup>195</sup>

The Foreign Ministry was a government agency that behaved like a complex organism, and had a life of its own. Naturally it fought to survive. This was inevitable. The Foreign Ministry also suffered setbacks: many of its diplomatic missions were closed; employees at diplomatic missions were withdrawn; and excess staff had to be laid off. Like other government agencies, the Foreign Ministry too tasted the bitterness of defeat.

Nevertheless, the Ministry wanted at least to escape being dismantled as an organ of government. To that end, it had no alternative but to do all it could for the time being to push responsibility for the war onto the dismantled military services. Temporarily at least, it was perhaps inevitable that the dismantled Army and Navy rather than other government agencies would be offered up like human sacrifices to take sole responsibility for the war.

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<sup>194</sup> The Japanese government was deprived of all its diplomatic rights, and forced to close every one of its diplomatic missions and embassies around the world. See Tadakatsu Suzuki, ed., *Nihon gaikoshi dai 26-kan: Shusen kara kowa made* [The Diplomacy of Japan, Vol. 26: From War's End until Peace] (Tokyo: Kajima kenkyujo shuppankai, 1973), pp. 59-68.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

However, this is not all the Foreign Ministry did. Even thereafter, the Ministry placed its war responsibility beyond the purview of the Japanese public. Thus it confined the people of Japan into a warped linguistic space, and resolutely committed acts of betrayal against the public.

To conceal its war responsibility from the Japanese people, and to ensure after the Occupation was lifted that the Foreign Ministry itself would never have to acknowledge its own war responsibility, the culprit directly to blame during the outbreak of war with the U. S. for delaying the “final notice” was promoted to the position of vice foreign minister, its highest administrative rank, and was also retained as a ministry adviser after he resigned as vice foreign minister. The Ministry clearly committed anti-patriotic acts. The Ministry undertook these sorts of acts of betrayal, even under circumstances where it could have unambiguously acknowledged that the delay in delivering the “final notice” was a major factor behind the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan.<sup>196</sup> Diplomats are usually kept away from the general public, and they took advantage of the public’s ignorance of these facts to elevate the very person responsible to the position of vice foreign minister, and entrenched the concealment of its war responsibility by covering up its blame on an institutional level. Because of this, conscientious diplomats and officials who later emerged within the Ministry were unable to discuss the Foreign Ministry’s war responsibility.

It can be argued with some certainty that, if the Foreign Ministry had pursued the diplomacy one might rightly expect from a foreign service, war between Japan and the United States would not have broken out. Some events which contributed directly to the war, such as the Manchurian Incident (1931) and the China Incident (1937), were exclusively the responsibility of the Japanese military; however, if the Foreign Ministry had the capability normally expected of a diplomatic service, and had gathered and analyzed intelligence and adopted a sensible longterm outlook, it would at the very least have been able to prevent war from breaking out between Japan and the United States.

In order to resurrect the postwar Foreign Ministry, the public must first be informed unambiguously of its war responsibility, and the Ministry itself must make an explicit admission regarding this.<sup>197</sup>

Also, the public must be made completely aware of the Foreign Ministry’s grave errors in promoting the culprit directly to blame for the delay in delivering the “final notice” to the United States to the most senior administrative position within

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<sup>196</sup> See Chapter 3.1 “Problem of Sense of Responsibility.”

<sup>197</sup> Even former diplomat Ryohei Murata—who stridently called for Japan to be liberated from this masochistic view of history, and for the need to have a legitimate diplomacy that protects the national interest—has never touched on the issue of the Foreign Ministry avoiding its war responsibility. Murata, Ryohei, *Naze Gaimusho wa dame ni natta ka—Yomigaere, Nihon gaiko* [Why has the Foreign Ministry Gone Wrong—Revive Japanese Diplomacy!] (Tokyo: Fusosha, 2002); *Doko e iku no ka, kono kuni wa—Moto chu-Bei taishi, wakamono e no yuigon* [Where Is This Country Heading? Former U.S. Ambassador’s Testament to the Youth Of Japan] (Tokyo: Minerva Shobo, 2010), etc.

the Ministry, bestowing upon him the highest honors available to public administrators, as well as retaining him for many years as a ministry consultant; and although roughly six decades have passed since these events, the Ministry itself must acknowledge these errors and formally apologize.

Even though Katsuzo Okumura, the person in question, has already passed away, there is no need to exhume his corpse and whip it three hundred times, as was done in China in ancient times. What is important here is not Okumura the individual, but rather that the Foreign Ministry as an organ of state must acknowledge it previously committed an act of betrayal of this nature against the public, and apologize as an organization and as an institution. Without this apology, regardless of whatever high-minded utterances the Ministry might make about conducting reforms or promising to mend its ways, such pledges cannot ring true. If the Ministry is to actually make a fresh start as an organ of state, and as an institution, it must acknowledge these acts of betrayal against the Japanese people, and formally apologize.<sup>198</sup>

No decent person who was even offered the position of vice foreign minister would consider accepting it if he or she clearly knew they were directly responsible for the delay in delivering the “final notice” to the United States at the time of the outbreak of war, and that this delay was a major factor behind the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan. It would be inconceivable to anyone except a completely irresponsible diplomat; it must be conceded though that Okumura neither took the initiative nor orchestrated his own promotion to vice foreign minister. Someone else committed this political crime as it were, someone with full knowledge of the facts, and did so precisely because he had full knowledge of the facts; he promoted the culprit responsible for the blunder to vice foreign minister in order to prevent the Japanese public from discerning the war responsibility of the Foreign Ministry, which had been involved in that blunder, and to prevent the Ministry itself acknowledging this of its own accord. Naturally, this person was Shigeru Yoshida, the prime minister at the time.<sup>199</sup>

It bears repeating that this single incident alone is enough to show what a foolish leader Yoshida was. How could the argument ever be made that he was a great leader with good judgment and a deep sense of responsibility? He gave no thought at all to how concealing the Foreign Ministry’s war responsibility as the nation entered the postwar era would distort Japan; how can Yoshida be called a great leader when all he considered was the reputation of the Foreign Ministry? Yoshida perpetrated a major political crime against the Japanese people.

I have expressly used the term “political crime” here. The term is not applied figuratively. Rather, I mean this to be a genuine crime. The term “crime” usually

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<sup>198</sup> The Foreign Ministry as an institution must apologize to the people, because it is continuing to bring harm by carrying on its duties without settling past problems for which it must admit its guilt. This is also only natural because Japan is an “apology culture.”

<sup>199</sup> See Chapter 3.1 “Problem of Sense of Responsibility.”

refers to an act that transgresses natural law. When alluding to a “political crime,” this refers to an act that transgresses natural law in a political sense.<sup>200</sup>

Hitler’s adoption of the slaughter of the Jews as government policy was obviously a crime. Furthermore, U.S. President Roosevelt’s use of questionable tactics to sacrifice the lives of many American troops at Pearl Harbor by not informing military commanders stationed there of known intelligence about the Japanese Navy because he wanted to bring the U.S. into the war, was also a criminal act. There would have been no question of any crime if Roosevelt had been completely unaware of intelligence about the Japanese Navy; but from this author’s perspective, if he at the very least knew with some certainty of Japan’s intention to launch a war, but did not immediately inform the U.S. Army and Navy authorities at Pearl Harbor of this explicitly, then it can be argued with conviction that his actions bordered on criminal. In wartime, troops are sometimes used as decoys. There are times too when the troops to be sacrificed are kept in the dark about it. There are also instances during the brutality of war when this might not even be considered a crime. But, to use troops as decoys without their knowledge during the outbreak of a war is definitely a political crime. Ignoring a vow to the American people to avoid hostilities, and yet to go to war regardless is, in itself, politically permissible and not a crime. But it is indefensible when the nation is still at peace to use troops as decoys on the eve of war without their knowledge, and this should be considered a political crime.

As for the war itself, rather than imposing disciplinary action for something deserving of the firing squad, Shigeru Yoshida promoted the culprit responsible for delaying the delivery of the “final notice” to the United States to the highest administrative rank within the Foreign Ministry, and awarded him the highest honors available to administrators; this act of denying the public a fair view of history clearly was an unforgivable political crime against natural law.

In any case, has anyone publicly pursued this undoubtedly heinous crime of betrayal perpetrated in the past by the Foreign Ministry, including Shigeru Yoshida, against the Japanese people and sought an apology? Can anyone make the Foreign Ministry itself acknowledge that its war responsibility, even in the prewar period, was no less serious than that of the military?

There is no shortage of Diet members who are sincerely devoted to Japan. It only needs one of them to take up this challenge. They must take the lead and press

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<sup>200</sup> Politics is the practice of guiding the nation with the hope of bringing happiness to the people. Those involved in politics are called upon to make decisions and take action, and have a broad range of choices available to them. From a certain perspective, it may seem as though there are no limitations and anything is possible. Nevertheless, upon further reflection, there are decisions and actions that should never be taken, and ought to be considered criminal. Even regarding actions that should never be taken in terms of political responsibility, there are countless instances when these are merely foolish decisions or actions and would not be considered criminal; indeed the vast majority of these cases could not be thought of as criminal. However, among those decisions and actions that are politically inadvisable, some are clearly crimes that should never be committed. In other words, “political crimes” really do exist. Although humanity has yet to completely define what a “political crime” is, it will surely become steadily clearer with the advance of human civilization.

the Foreign Ministry for answers. Otherwise, reform of the Foreign Ministry will be impossible. Consequently, reform of Japan will also be impossible.<sup>201</sup>

What would happen if the Foreign Ministry simply acknowledged its crime, and also admitted it had just as much war responsibility before the war as the military for hostilities? To the contrary, if the Foreign Ministry acknowledged its central role in the responsibility for the war, it might be possible to begin to talk about the inevitability of that war from Japan's perspective, and the valid elements of the noble cause Japan pursued for that war at the time.

By so doing, won't it be released from its obsession with this masochistic view of history? Won't it stop pushing all responsibility for the war onto the military, and no longer be able to regard that war solely as an aggressive war, as it has done so far? And won't it be able to openly discuss legitimate elements of that war from Japan's perspective, and be released from this masochistic view of history?

In order to free the Foreign Ministry from this masochistic view of history, it must first stop running away from its war responsibility; and the Ministry itself as well as the Japanese people must be made to recognize that the Foreign Ministry played a pivotal role in the reprehensible culpability for the war.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> As discussed in fn 186, even today the Foreign Ministry is susceptible to interference by Diet members and politicians. That is to say, the Foreign Ministry has not carried out a legitimate diplomacy in the postwar era and has continued to betray the hopes of the public, and successive ruling political parties must bear enormous responsibility for allowing this situation to persist. This state of affairs must be universally acknowledged. And if the Foreign Ministry can be so easily swayed in this manner, then reform should be relatively straightforward.

However, the ruling party has to deal with immediate diplomatic challenges and must exert itself to resolve them, so it is conceivable that it may not have adequate time to reform the Foreign Ministry.

If this is the case, the opposition parties should assume the role of guiding reform of the Foreign Ministry. Diplomatic affairs, so important to Japan, have been neglected by the Foreign Ministry; and although ruling parties have allowed this situation to persist, they are not the only ones responsible here. Much responsibility also lies with the opposition parties.

When reviewing the miserable state of the Foreign Ministry in the postwar era, for instance when the culprit to blame for turning the assault on Pearl Harbor into a "sneak attack" was appointed vice foreign minister by Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, this situation could have been avoided if the opposition had been keeping a sharp eye on matters and had exposed it. The Foreign Ministry was forced to adopt a masochistic view of history because this culprit was appointed vice foreign minister; but because the Socialist Party, the opposition party at the time, also held this masochistic view of history, it lost all desire to investigate the matter. Even among members of the public that supported the ruling party, there were very few who would have been aware of this inexcusable appointment, and there were probably few within the opposition party who would have noticed it; but because this appointment was so indefensible, the opposition must bear a lot of blame for not pursuing it.

<sup>202</sup> The belief endorsing the Tokyo Trial as the source for the masochistic view of history currently pervading Japan, is now gaining more credence among the Japanese public. Indeed, when the Occupation was lifted in 1952 and Japanese sovereignty was restored, the Japanese government was legally required to implement the judgment of the Tokyo Trial; at least



### 5.3 Basing Policy Decisions on the General Will

#### *What Is Diplomacy Based on the General Will?*

As previously discussed, the Foreign Ministry must free itself from its masochistic view of history if it is to truly benefit the Japanese people and be reborn and start anew. To do this, the Foreign Ministry must acknowledge its own war responsibility, and must be forced to admit that shortly after the war ended a political crime was committed which betrayed the Japanese people, namely that Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida appointed to vice foreign minister the culprit responsible for turning the assault on Pearl Harbor into a “sneak attack.” What follows now is based on the premise that matters like these have been resolved; I will set out some personal thoughts in the concluding section of this book on how Japanese diplomacy must be conducted, and some suggestions for reforming the Ministry.

While this may seem somewhat of a digression, I would like to present the case for that of the general will made by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his *Du contrat social ou Principes du droit politique* [Of The Social Contract, Or Principles of Political Right] (1762). According to Rousseau, in theory humans ultimately come together based on principles of freedom and equality, and abide by commitments agreed to by all to create a national political body. Although by nature human beings are not born with equal mental and physical capabilities, they form communal societies or nations based on a contract to provide equality in freedoms and rights. This is Rousseau’s theory on the social compact. In fact there are no concrete procedures for drawing up a contract which is conceived only theoretically; in a country once arrived at, the people are no longer separate individuals but collectively

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Japan’s sovereignty was undeniably returned, albeit somewhat constrained by the Trial’s verdict. No amount of complaining about how unjust the Tokyo Trial was can change that fact. At the present time there are no legal remedies to address this injustice; and it would simply be inconceivable to go to war in the 21st century to invalidate it.

Does this therefore mean the Tokyo Trial should exert a permanent restraint upon Japan? Viewed from the long-term perspective of human history, such a thing would be unthinkable. Even legally, there are strict statutes of limitation involved, and above all, people in every country around the world have the freedom of “historical recognition” (in other words, they have complete freedom from past restraints as a human right.) As a sovereign nation, and with this freedom of historical recognition, the people of Japan have the prerogative to use this freedom to liberate themselves from the constraints of the Tokyo Trial.

That is to say, although the Occupation Forces compelled Japan to implement the verdict of the Tokyo Trial even after the Occupation was lifted, there is no point blaming them for the fact that Japan is still bound by the Tokyo Trial and is unable to break away from its historical view. Japan’s present-day failure to free itself from the constraints of the Tokyo Trial and to break away from its historical view are solely due to insufficient efforts by the Japanese people themselves.

What is extremely regrettable is that the Foreign Ministry, an organ of the Japanese state, has concealed its own war responsibility. The author recommends that the reader reacquaint themselves with the case made in Chapter 2.1 “Shigeru Yoshida Promotes Culprit To Blame For “Sneak Attack” Vice Minister.”

become sovereign, and moreover they each become public citizens able to administer the nation, and become sovereign citizens (*shinmin*) of the state in abidance with the rule of the nation.<sup>203</sup>

It is here that he called the community's united will to administer the nation, namely this community, the general will. Of course, the general will is not the diverse opinions of every individual citizen, nor is it the collective will derived through the conglomeration of these diverse opinions. Rather, it is the will of the entire nation as indivisible sovereign.<sup>204</sup> However, the general will defined in this manner cannot necessarily be objectified nor identified precisely. Nevertheless, this definition does include the notion of the will belonging to the community that is the nation, and certainly includes the notion of the interests of the entire country, namely the national interest.

Diplomacy, the communication of this interest to foreign countries, must in theory be based on the general will. Or more to the point, it must correspond precisely to that general will. And it must not be contrary to the interests of national sovereignty after integrating the will of the entire populace, in other words, the national interest.

However, as with general will, there is not necessarily any unique definition for national interest. Even for issues where it is questionable whether diplomacy is pursued in the national interest—such as the 1982 affair over high school history textbooks, when there had been no factual basis for reports that the term “invasion” had been replaced with “[military] advance” and yet educational sovereignty was given away “to rectify this as the responsibility of the Japanese government”—there may be instances when the argument could be made that this was indeed in the national interest. For instance, if a temporary but necessary measure was taken to avoid a war and prevent the loss of millions of lives, it could well be argued this would preserve the national interest by saving the lives and property of the Japanese people. Therefore the case can be made that, strictly speaking, the national interest from the people's perspective is an imprecise concept.

However for the type of diplomacy that could only be described as being contrary to the interests of the nation under normal circumstances, if a Foreign Ministry official notwithstanding carries it out in the national interest, then this official has a duty to explain how it is indeed in the nation's interest. Otherwise, such diplomacy in the long run becomes something that is entirely for the benefit of Foreign Ministry employees, and has no connection with the general will. It becomes

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<sup>203</sup> It is worth noting that the term *shinmin* (sovereign citizen) is used in present-day Japan, and corresponds to *kokumin* (national citizen) as used in the pre-war Meiji Constitution in the expression: *Tenno ni chujitsu naru kokumin* (citizens loyal to the Emperor). This stigmatization explains the tendency to avoid the use of *shinmin* nowadays in Japan, but it is used here to denote the people of a country who are subject to the authority of the state amid the various relationships the people have with that state; it is a bona fide term used in political science.

<sup>204</sup> Hiraoka, Noboru, ed., *Sekai no meicho 30 Ruso: Ruso no shiso to sakuhin* [Classics of the World, Vol. 30, Rousseau: The Thoughts and Works of Rousseau] (Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1966), p. 32.

something that is determined by special interests to benefit employees of the Foreign Ministry. This is obviously something that harms the interests of the whole nation.

### *Difficulty Grasping General Will*

A wartime example can make it easier to understand what is meant by “difficulty grasping the general will.” For example, even if the majority of the population want war and it is clear the overall will of the people approves, it does not necessarily follow that war represents the general will. War is in reality the practice of deception, and those on the side of justice may not necessarily win. Furthermore, although certain victory in a war might be predicted based on preliminary calculations, the winner may wind up being the loser due to unforeseen events. To be involved in such a war, one cannot say exactly what is meant by the general will, and it is impossible for the people to know what it is in advance. Nevertheless, there are times when a nation must fight, and the general will must affirm the act of war. This is a certainty.

Thus a nation’s history is molded in this way, but diplomacy is the manifestation of the will of one country towards another, and must be based on the general will of the people; indeed, it can probably be asserted it must manifest the general will itself.

Let’s consider diplomacy from the perspective of the issue of maintaining security when the nation is involved in war.

An important objective of nation formation is to protect the lives and assets of the overall population which comprises each individual citizen as well as each association of individuals; therefore, it goes without saying that maintaining security by avoiding wars that could devastate many lives and assets is crucial for the nation. Also effective in maintaining security is cooperation with other countries to ensure collective security. But collective security through cooperation with another nation is not attained by simply selecting any country to cooperate with. This choice is based on geopolitical and historical constraints. Japan and the United States are linked through the terrible war they fought with each other; and Japan had no choice but to accept the collective security extended by the United States after it lost the war and submitted to the American occupation. After the war, if part of Hokkaido had been occupied by the Soviet Union, those under Soviet occupation would have had no choice but to accept the collective security provided by the Soviets; it must be stressed there would have been no freedom to choose otherwise. When considering national security, namely the general will involving issues to do with the people’s lives and assets, it is obvious that geopolitical and historical factors play important roles.

### *General Will For Postwar Japanese Diplomacy*

Thus we can see how the general will associated with diplomacy exists under geopolitical and historical constraints, so let us now consider the general will for postwar Japanese diplomacy, which commenced after a terrible war between Japan and the United States, and Japan’s defeat by the Americans.

For the facts about the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States, I refer readers to my other publication *Between Incompetence and Culpability: Assessing the Diplomacy of Japan’s Foreign Ministry from Pearl Harbor to Potsdam* (University Press of America, 1997) where I demonstrate how Japan clearly was

outmaneuvered by the United States into starting the war.<sup>205</sup> The war between Japan and the United States was one that broke out because Japan was duped by an American government that clearly revolved around President Roosevelt. But this is not to say that the United States was malicious. Roosevelt also misled the American people, and enticed Japan into starting the war; but having been deceived, Japan must also bear some responsibility. In the world of politics the trickster may be reprehensible, but the one succumbing to trickery is also to blame.

In any event, both Japan and the United States engaged in this vicious and bloody war. Japan was defeated, and then endured an occupation. And consequently, only the Japanese side was forced to shoulder responsibility for the war. With the passage of time and through the process of sorting out the facts of history, mistakes made by the United States became apparent; but such clarity could not be expected immediately after the war had ended, and secure in the belief that it had fought a just war, the United States placed all blame for the war on the Japanese side.

As a nation whose duty it was to protect the lives and assets of its people, for the time being Japan had no choice but to resign itself to accepting this unilateral shifting of blame. Under those temporary conditions, it was not a question of whether it was “right” or not. What was then “right” was the matter of Japan’s continued survival. Sometimes, indeed perhaps always, a nation must make a start from such horrendous beginnings.

If that is the case, what was the general will with regards to Japan’s postwar diplomacy, given the need for the nation to start again after the reality of a war with the United States? Wasn’t it to press for a peaceful reconciliation with the United States, and to restore Japan’s honor? The United States may have made mistakes with regards to the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States, but Japan also

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<sup>205</sup> It was actually the Japanese government that desperately tried to avoid the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States during the month or two before the start of hostilities on December 8, 1941 (Japan time). Conversely, it was clearly the US government that had hoped for war with Japan. According to U.S. Secretary of War Henry Stimson, on November 25 at a meeting of the War Council, President Roosevelt remarked that, “the Japs are notorious for making an attack without warning.” (Stimson, *Diaries*, Nov. 25, 1941.) And the U.S. government held a wealth of information relating to the Japanese government, compared to what its counterpart in Japan had about the American government. Had the U.S. government made full use of this information, it could easily have avoided war with Japan. Nevertheless, the fact that war broke out between Japan and the United States reveals just how much the U.S. government at the time had hoped for war. In other words, it is clear that the outbreak of war came about as a result of the U.S. government’s efforts to lead the Japanese government on.

However, the observation above does not mean therefore that Japan had no responsibility for the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States. Prior to that, Japan had carried out a great many flawed policies and measures; furthermore, even if the Japanese government had been duped into launching a war with the United States, in the realm of foreign relations the side that is duped must also share the blame.

And yet, regardless of how hostilities came about, this does not change the fact that Japan launched the war without notice during negotiations for peace through its attack on the American military base at Pearl Harbor.

committed serious errors. Shouldn't the two nations have acknowledged each other's mistakes, and used this to seek a closer relationship? In addition, Japan owes a debt of gratitude to the United States for sending large quantities of food and other materials when many Japanese risked starvation due to food shortages during the postwar occupation. Even if, for instance, the Occupation Forces also had the ulterior motive of merely pacifying the occupied population, it does not alter the fact that this action saved the lives of many Japanese. In which case, when circumstances no longer required Japan to temporarily and unilaterally bear sole responsibility for the war in order to promote peaceful reconciliation with the United States, didn't the role of restoring Japan's honor in fact belong to the Foreign Ministry who was in charge of foreign relations?

To some extent it was inevitable the Occupation Forces would rightly believe that all fault lay with Japan, since the United States's view immediately after the war was that Japan had deliberately launched a "sneak attack" at Pearl Harbor. This is why seven defendants at the Tokyo Trial (IMTFE), established by order of General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied powers, were given the death sentence and executed. But later, MacArthur stated that the Tokyo Trial had been a mistake, and after he had been relieved of his position as supreme commander, he testified before the U.S. Congress that Japan's war had been motivated by self-defense.<sup>206</sup>

This being the case, shouldn't the Foreign Ministry's true postwar mission and role have been precisely to overturn the historical perspective of the Tokyo Trial, namely the point of view which unilaterally placed all blame for the war on Japan? However, the Ministry itself portrays the war as a war of aggression and assigns all war responsibility to the former military; furthermore, in order to conceal its own war responsibility, it promoted the culprit to blame for the unprecedented blunder of delaying the delivery of the "final notice" at the time of the outbreak of war to vice foreign minister, the highest administrative position within the Ministry, and awarded him with the highest honors available to administrators. These actions were clearly a betrayal of the Japanese people, and in order to draw their attention away from this, it has pursued a diplomacy contrary to what should have been its true postwar mission.<sup>207</sup>

In other words, the Foreign Ministry played a pivotal role in pushing all blame for the war onto the former military, and promoted the very person responsible for a blunder that was a factor behind the dropping of the atomic bombs to vice foreign

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<sup>206</sup> United States Congress, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Inquiry into the military situation in the Far East and the facts surrounding the relief of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur from his assignment in that area (Washington, DC: Ward and Paul, 1951), p. 57.

<sup>207</sup> For further details, see: Chapter 2.1 "Shigeru Yoshida Promotes Culprit To Blame For 'Sneak Attack' Deputy Minister"; Chapter 2.2 "Shigeru Yoshida Concealed the Foreign Ministry's War Responsibility"; Chapter 2.3 "Avoiding War Responsibility During 50th Anniversary of Pearl Harbor" and "Declassifying Materials on the Pearl Harbor 'Sneak Attack' Issue"; Chapter 2.4 "Plot to reject textbook by 'Japan Society for History Textbook Reform'"; Chapter 3.1 "Problem of Masochistic View of History Deriving from Lack of Responsibility"; and Chapter 3.3 "ODA As War Reparations."

minister, while even awarding him the Grand Cordon of the highest honors available to administrators; doesn't this mean the Ministry has pursued a diplomacy which runs counter to the general will of the Japanese people? Perhaps more to the point: was the Foreign Ministry, which committed these sorts of objectionable acts under the Occupation, even capable of developing a foreign policy based on the general will? Therefore, on this particular issue too, the Foreign Ministry must once and for all take the plunge and squarely acknowledge its war responsibility.

### *Establish Ad Hoc Foreign Affairs Consultative Council*

Finally, we must ascertain how the general will manifests itself as it pertains to foreign relations based on a fair-minded diplomacy, and consider ways to bring it to light. As previously explained, the general will is not easily identified, but we are not totally without the means to shed some light on it.

During moments of crisis, matters relating to education—normally under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (previously, the Ministry of Education)—can be examined via consultative councils established by the ruling Cabinet to allow deliberation by the nation as a whole. Bringing together a broad cross-section of society to examine the issues, such councils were set up several times before the war; and during the postwar era too, the Japan Education Reform Council was established during the Occupation, and the Ad Hoc Council on Education was set up in 1984 by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. In 2000, Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi established the National People's Council on Education Reform, a small-scale, private advisory body to the prime minister. Furthermore, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe set up the Education Rebuilding Council in 2006 during his first cabinet, and reestablished this council in 2013 during his second cabinet to take action to revive the nation's education.

In other words, Japanese diplomacy should express the general will of the Japanese state; therefore, once a decade (or every other decade) a broad cross-section of society must be brought together to discuss this, by establishing for instance an ad hoc council on diplomacy. The matter of the state of diplomacy in Japan must be presented to the people for deliberation. Even though the Foreign Ministry is beset by many problems, no deliberative council of this nature has been established even once since the Meiji era. This is also why the Foreign Ministry has been unable to improve its competence, even though it has long been wracked by problems since Meiji.

If the Foreign Ministry had been required to explain the status of Japanese diplomacy before such a council, it probably wouldn't have committed the truly nonsensical diplomacy of apologizing to China and South Korea even though the media had incorrectly reported in 1982 that the term "invasion" had been replaced with "[military] advance" during the screening of Japanese high school text books. Furthermore, diplomatic moves in 1993 to apologize to South Korea despite the lack of cases of enforced abduction of comfort women also probably wouldn't have happened. And Shojun Sunagawa, a Ministry employee at Japan's Bahrain embassy who had made possible the arrest of North Koreans posing as Japanese citizens implicated in the 1987 bombing of a Korean Air Lines jet, would probably not have been dismissed from the Foreign Ministry without even receiving any recognition.

Moreover, in 1989 the Tiananmen Incident occurred in China and Jiang Zemin became general secretary of the Communist Party; in order to circumvent public criticism of Tiananmen, later in 1994 the "Outline for Implementing Patriotic

Education” (*Aiguo zhuyi jiaoyu shishi gangyao*) was promulgated in China. When an anti-Japan bias started to develop in Chinese education, a reasonable case could probably have been made regarding what the point was in continuing Official Development Assistance (ODA) to a country that promoted this sort of anti-Japan bias in education, and aid would likely have ended. This should have been an obvious conclusion, because ODA originally was intended as aid to strengthen friendly ties. When an aid recipient begins to skew education against Japan as a matter of government policy, what was the point in continuing such aid? If a request had been made at this time to terminate this anti-Japan bias as a condition for continuing ODA, perhaps the anti-Japan sentiment in Chinese education may not have been so virulent. China’s anti-Japanese education policy is not only troublesome for the people of Japan, but clearly presents an unfortunate impediment for the Chinese people also, because it gives rise to a widespread and counterproductive anti-Japanese sentiment.

Furthermore, if an ad hoc consultative council for diplomacy were to be convened to give expression to the views of the entire nation, then enlightened opinions would probably be voiced on ways to improve projects under the Foreign Ministry’s jurisdiction that don’t produce results, including problematic organizations like the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) which have had little success. Also, it would probably be easy to enlist the cooperation of the Ministry of Education regarding the promotion, etc., of higher education in partner countries to disseminate awareness of Japanese culture amongst their future leaders. All the wisdom of the nation pertaining to diplomacy could be fully mobilized.

The following notions are also conceivable. Hideaki Kase, a commentator on diplomatic affairs, chairs the “Society for the Dissemination of Historical Fact” [*Shijitsu wo sekai ni hasshin suru kai*]. The Society disseminates information to the rest of the world about exceptional historical events in Japan to restore the nation’s honor. Despite funding difficulties, it tries its utmost to produce and disseminate English translations of valuable works involving Japan’s reputation, and where necessary, translations in Chinese and Korean. However, on reflection, shouldn’t tasks like this actually be carried out directly by the Foreign Ministry itself? In situations where direct involvement is not possible, surely the Ministry should make formal budget provisions to support such work? And if even this is deemed impracticable, couldn’t it at least apply some of its vast secret discretionary funds?

With regards to disseminating information to restore Japan’s honor, it could be argued that the Foreign Ministry is doing the exact opposite. The National Archives of Japan has a special online database called “The US-Japan War Talks as seen in official documents.” The online site publicly lists and displays official documents regarding negotiations between Japan and the United States relevant to the war between the two nations.

I would ask the reader to access the “Bibliography” section of this database which lists a selection of other reference materials pertaining to the Japan-U.S. negotiations. Although many works are cited here, my own publication from 1997—*Nichi-Bei kaisen iko no Nihon gaiko no kenkyu* [Research on Japanese diplomacy since the outbreak of the Japan-U.S. war] (published by Aki Shobo)—is conspicuously absent. This book was the revision of a 1995 monograph from the same publisher—*Nichi-Bei kaisen to Potsudamu sengen no shinjitsu* [The Truth about the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States and the Potsdam Proclamation]—where I revealed for the first time that Japan was also able to some extent to decode and read

U.S. diplomatic cables. It was translated into English in 1997 as *Between Incompetence and Culpability* (UPA). There are also Chinese and Korean versions of the book.

Although perhaps somewhat immodest to profess here, my research explored in great detail the extent to which Japan was tricked by President Roosevelt, and has been cited in works published in the United States that have examined the war with Japan. However, as might be expected, my book harshly criticized the Japanese Foreign Ministry. No doubt, this is why it is absent from the Ministry's aforementioned database of reference materials pertaining to the Japan-U.S. negotiations. Such conduct is inexcusable in an official organ of state. Although this "Internet exhibition" was not directly produced by the Foreign Ministry and appears to have been created by a private organization, it is apparent that the Ministry still exerted some influence over the outcome. This is how anti-patriotic the present Foreign Ministry is, and how removed it is from the general will of the people. It bears elegant testimony to the fact that, once a decade (or every other decade), an ad hoc consultative council on diplomacy reporting directly to the Cabinet must be installed, to allow full public consultation on matters relating to the conduct of Japanese diplomacy.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> In the end, it is easy for the Foreign Ministry to become complacent because it has very little contact with the general public on a daily basis. At the same time, the Ministry is so immersed in Japan's "apology culture" and particular social conditions that it tries to solve any issue that arises by immediately apologizing. Although the Ministry, the organ of state specializing in foreign relations, should be well aware that apologies must not be given out so readily, it will manifest Japan's "apology culture" and effortlessly offer an apology to try to temporarily resolve things. Ironically, it should now apologize unreservedly for concealing its own war responsibility and forcing the nation to adopt a masochistic view of history.

However, what happens if an apology is offered when it really shouldn't be made in the first place? It harms the honor of the Japanese people. It damages their ethical principles. But the harm done is not restricted to the people of Japan. In a society where it is accepted that the appropriate response to an apology is forgiveness, such apologies are a function of that society's decency; but in a society where this is not the case, an apology can stir up feelings of loathing in the one receiving it, and prompt thoughts of retaliation. Ultimately, the morale of the person getting the apology will also be devastated.

Diplomacy must be pursued while giving due consideration to the nation's honor. This is true for every country in the world. Every government must maintain the country's honor on behalf of its people. Every country has an organ of state responsible for its diplomacy, which gives expression to the nation's honor. In Japan, this is the Foreign Ministry, which is riddled with an excess of problems. The Japanese people are not the only ones being harmed by these problems. Many other countries are also damaged by them. Therefore, reform of the Ministry is not solely a pressing issue for the Japanese people.

Even if we accept that reform of the Foreign Ministry is essential, an examination of its track record since the Meiji era shows we cannot expect the Ministry to undertake a thorough overhaul of itself. It is up to the people of Japan to place the Foreign Ministry squarely in their sights, and boldly carry out a program of reform. It therefore follows that something like a nationwide ad hoc consultative council on diplomacy is absolutely imperative. Moreover, the initiative for this must be taken by the parties in opposition.



## Afterword

(1) At the outset this book was not written as a formal piece of research, but rather as an expression of my own personal views. This is why the original Japanese version was not produced with footnotes. I wrote it as a position document based on materials I was already familiar with.

However when I sent this “position document” to Mr. Norman Hu, the translator of two of my previous books, he suggested that readers outside Japan may not have considered the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States or issues related to postwar Japan from this perspective, so I promptly decided to have this work translated into English and make it accessible to a non-Japanese readership. It was therefore decided to provide footnotes, but also supplementary notes to explain aspects of Japan that may not be widely known to readers outside Japan. They should therefore be able to deepen their understanding of these issues by perusing the notes individually while absorbing the main body of text.

There is something else I would like to bring up regarding the translation of this book. I am a patriot, in the sense that any one would feel loyal towards their own country. This being the case, the question arises as to why I would reveal the shameful behavior of Japan’s Foreign Ministry to people around the world. However, as I touched upon in Chapter 4.1 “The Problem with Japanese Diplomats,” it will become problematic for traditional bodies charged with foreign affairs to handle all aspects of diplomacy in the future, even for instance the State Department in the United States. In 1997, the Republic of South Africa recalled its diplomats stationed in Japan who specialized in traditional diplomacy, and replaced them with those specializing in economics. This means that the role of the traditional diplomat is being called into question around the world.

There is a serious lesson that must be learned here which can greatly benefit the whole world, namely that during the development of the modern state in Japan since the Meiji Restoration, the training of diplomats failed miserably; their lack of ability brought about war between Japan and the United States, a war that absolutely could have been avoided if Japan’s diplomats had been of a higher caliber. I want to point out here that this was one of my aims for having the book translated into English.

In addition, the “afterword” produced for the Japanese version deals with other matters that may be of less interest to readers outside Japan, so it has not been translated here.

(2) Incidentally, the footnotes included in this translation of my “position document” offer some explanation of Japan’s “apology culture,” but I ask for the reader’s indulgence to allow me to elaborate on this issue here.

When there is a scandal in Japan, those who are even marginally involved with causing that scandal are required, due to Japan’s “apology culture,” to first offer an apology. These people, no matter how marginal their involvement, then proceed to apologize. By so doing, the person offering the apology attains an honest state of mind, and cleanses themselves spiritually. This “apology culture” is also an ethos that abhors deceitfulness, so after the apology is made, the person receiving the apology will offer their forgiveness. In fact, they are obliged to offer their forgiveness. In this way, once there is an apology, the situation is resolved for the time being. In Japan’s civil courts, no matter how large the amount of compensation for damages is asked, apart from deciding how the compensation is to be determined, when there is an insistence on seeking an apology, it is a reflection of the significance of the “apology.” In such cases, forgiveness will naturally be granted.

This “apology culture” is essentially an admirable aspect of human culture. But the corresponding feature of this, namely the forgiveness that comes as a response to the apology, enriches its effectiveness. No matter how much anyone might believe that human civilization will one day progress to this stage of development, it will not be easy to achieve given the present state of international relations.

Nevertheless, something remarkable occurred recently with regards to this “apology culture.” It was widely reported around the world that on May 27 this year (2016), 71 years after the atomic bombings, the president of the United States visited Hiroshima, laid a floral wreath at the memorial cenotaph, and spoke with survivors who attended the ceremony. While speaking with them, he hugged one survivor in particular who had examined the cases of American prisoners of war who also died in the blast.

At this time, survivors did not ask for an apology from President Obama. Over the course of this 71-year period since the bombs were dropped, the United States has also had its reasons for being unable to apologize; and yet, survivors solemnly welcomed the fact that the president visited Hiroshima, laid a wreath at the monument for the victims, and prayed for the spirits of the dead.

With respect to the use of the atomic bombs, surely a crime against humanity, this has brought about reconciliation between the side that used the bomb and the side that was bombed, and it was a confirmation of efforts to ensure that atomic bombs would never be used on humanity for a third time. Arguably, this has enabled Japan and the United States to reach a new perspective over the dropping of the atomic bombs.

It is a pity then to raise the following matter after such moving sentiments, but South Korea before the whole world has fervently denounced the actions of the Japanese Army more than 71 years ago regarding the comfort women issue.

Although it’s clear there were indeed comfort women associated with the Japanese Army more than 71 years ago, there are no facts to support their forced abduction through violence by the Japanese authorities. Moreover, the comfort women issue was not a problem only for the Japanese army; the question of soldiers and sex has been a universal problem in armies everywhere since the dawn of history. This issue with the comfort women took place more than 71 years ago, and was not caused by Japanese people under the age of 71, who account for the majority of the

population, nor against Korean people under the age of 71, similarly the majority of their population. Despite this, why has the Japanese Army been singled out for perpetrating this issue with groundless claims about forced abductions, and been subjected to continual criticism even though more than 71 years have passed? Despite criticism domestically in both Japan and South Korea, an agreement was reached at a meeting between their foreign ministers on December 28, 2015; agreement was reached on the understanding that the comfort women issue was “resolved finally and irreversibly,” and it was confirmed that both would “refrain from accusing or criticizing each other regarding this issue in the international community.”<sup>209</sup> But it remains to be seen whether South Korea’s accusations against Japan will actually stop.

In fact, how odd is this sort of demand for an apology? This abnormal behavior is of course damaging to Japan, but at the same time it is also damaging and very harmful to South Korea.

What I would like the reader to consider here is how the issue of apologies can range from the sublime to the base and vulgar.

Incidentally, South Korea’s endless accusations regarding the comfort women issue stem from fabrications presented as the truth in Japan by Seiji Yoshida (now deceased) who claimed, in 1982 in the *Asahi Shimbun*, that Japanese authorities held comfort women hunts, committed acts of violence against Korean women, abducted them and forced them to become sex slaves. If these statements had been true, and forced abductions had indeed taken place, to a certain extent the anger of the Korean people would have been inevitable. But within a few years Yoshida’s statements were proven to be total fabrications. In spite of this, the *Asahi Shimbun* did not publish a retraction. As a consequence, accusations in South Korea about the comfort women began to escalate over time. The *Asahi Shimbun* finally published a retraction in August 2014, acknowledging that historical events in Yoshida’s statements had not in fact occurred. This was 32 years after Yoshida’s first statement in the *Asahi Shimbun*.

What must really be pointed out here is the issue of what Japan’s Foreign Ministry did about it. Even after it became clear to the Ministry that Yoshida’s statements were fabrications, and during the period when disgraceful things about Japan’s reputation with no factual basis were presented as the truth and spread around the world, it said and wrote absolutely nothing to correct this misunderstanding.

Ultimately, if the *Asahi Shimbun* is the main culprit for causing so much anger over these groundless accusations, then it must be said the Foreign Ministry was a coequal culprit by keeping quiet and ignoring the matter all this time. This matter damaged Japan’s national interest, and at the same time also undermined South Korea’s national interest.

It is a sad reality in postwar Japan that there are anti-patriotic Japanese who take pleasure in damaging Japan’s reputation and as a result cause trouble for other countries, and as a Japanese citizen myself, I can’t help feeling apologetic about this to the outside world; although it is an arduous task, I feel I must point out how the Foreign Ministry has thoroughly failed to fulfill its proper role, namely to protect

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<sup>209</sup> See [http://www.mofa.go.jp/a\\_o/na/kr/page4e\\_000364.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/kr/page4e_000364.html) for the joint Japan-ROK statement. (Retrieved on June 30, 2016.)

Japan's honor. Not only does this damage Japan's national interest, it also causes no end of trouble for all other nations around the world. I believe that publishing this manuscript of mine has become a matter of growing importance.

(3) Lastly, I would like to present here an essay I wrote in the May 17, 2016 edition of the newspaper *Sekai Nippo*, ten days before the aforementioned visit by President Obama to Hiroshima, entitled: 'President Obama's Hiroshima Visit: The Japanese Seek No Apology.' Although somewhat lengthy, this essay should also help the reader to understand some of the issues raised in this book.

### *President Obama's Hiroshima Visit: The Japanese Seek No Apology*

US President Barack Obama decided to visit Hiroshima on May 27, 2016.

The previous year, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the atomic bombings, I co-authored a book with American historian Harry Wray in which, for the first time, a Japanese and an American examined differences in perspective in Japan and the United States over the bombings. Published by Nisshin Hodo, *Nihonjin no genbakutokaron wa kono mama de yoi no ka* [Is it fine to keep up the Japanese theory of Atomic Bombings? - The first U.S.–Japan dialogue over atomic bombings] surprisingly may have played a role in President Obama's decision to visit Hiroshima.

Initially, this book focused on Wray's assertion regarding how it was troubling the Japanese people were convinced that, even though it was unnecessary to use the atomic bombs to keep the Soviet Union in check during the postwar period, the bombs were dropped anyway; they were completely unwilling to recognize how the use of the atomic bombs saved the lives of many, and prevented the tragedy of Japan becoming a partitioned nation through the intervention of the Soviet Union.

Indeed, if the nuclear test conducted on July 16, 1945 had failed, and atomic weapons had not been developed, neither Hiroshima nor Nagasaki would have been bombed. Instead, a decisive battle for the Japanese home islands would have been inevitable; this would have resulted in the death of innumerable Japanese and American troops, the Soviet Union would almost certainly have invaded, and the Japanese nation would have been partitioned.

However at the moment the atomic bomb was dropped on August 6 that year, U.S. government leaders, through decryptions of Japanese diplomatic cables, were well aware that Japan had resolved to surrender and had asked the Soviet Union to mediate. The Soviet Union itself had also informed President Truman of this request, so it was unmistakably clear. In other words, there are clear grounds for the Japanese side's rebuttal that the bombings were unnecessary, because the U.S. dropped the bombs even though it knew unequivocally about Japan's intention to surrender.

Why has each side rejected the other's interpretation, even though both sides are basically correct?

The ultimate answer lies with the unconditional surrender formula devised by President Roosevelt. At Yalta in February 1945, at the point when the Soviet Union's invasion of Japan had been agreed upon, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill

suggested to Roosevelt that, if it was made clear the Soviet Union was to join the war against Japan to bring about its surrender, wouldn't this make possible an early end to the war? But Roosevelt firmly rejected this.<sup>210</sup>

Roosevelt passed away suddenly on April 12. Truman became president, but had no choice other than to continue pursuing the unconditional surrender formula. This was because the American people strongly backed it.

Why did the American public have such strong support for the unconditional surrender formula? It was because of their anger over the "sneak attack" at Pearl Harbor by the Japanese Navy that started the war between Japan and the United States.

The "final notice" to the United States was supposed to be delivered thirty minutes before the attack on Pearl Harbor; but due to administrative blunders at Japan's Washington Embassy, it was handed over about an hour after the surprise raid had already started. Roosevelt was aware in substance that the delayed delivery had been due to office errors, but not a single member of the American public knew. This is why they were convinced that Japan had carried out a cowardly "sneak attack" as part of their military strategy.

Ultimately, this is the reason war continued until the atomic bombs were used. Shortly after the second bomb had been dropped on Nagasaki, Truman announced the following in a radio address: "We have used it against those who attacked us without warning at Pearl Harbor, against those who have starved and beaten and executed American prisoners of war, against those who have abandoned all pretense of obeying international laws of warfare."<sup>211</sup> The "sneak attack" at Pearl Harbor was clearly linked to the atomic bombings.

Nevertheless, if Roosevelt had not devised the unconditional surrender formula, war probably wouldn't have continued until the atomic bombs were dropped.

On the other hand, one problem remains unresolved in Japan. The culprits responsible for the delayed delivery of the "final notice" that led to the war developing as tragically as it did, were never called to account. To the contrary, after the war the two people who were directly responsible were promoted to administrative vice foreign ministers and awarded the highest honors, a situation that stands to this day.

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<sup>210</sup> U.S. State Department, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945* (Wash. D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945), pp. 285-86.

"The Prime Minister expressed the opinion that it would be of great value if Russia could be persuaded to join...in the issue of a four-power ultimatum calling upon Japan to surrender unconditionally.... Japan might ask...what mitigation...would be extended to her if she accepted the ultimatum...but there would be no doubt that some mitigation would be worth while if it led to the saving of a year or a year and a half of a war in which so much blood and treasure would be poured out...."

"The President...doubted whether the ultimatum would have much effect on the Japanese [who would be] unlikely to wake up to the true state of affairs until all of their islands had felt the full weight of air attack."

<sup>211</sup> Truman, Harry S., *Radio Report to the American People on the Potsdam Conference* (August 9, 1945). See Truman Library, Public Papers of the Presidents: Harry S. Truman <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/?pid=104>. (Retrieved on June 29, 2016.)

While the Japanese side was still dealing with this problem, President George H. W. Bush on the fiftieth anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1991 stated, “I do not think that an apology for the Pearl Harbor attack is necessary.”<sup>212</sup>

It may not be comparable with the Pearl Harbor issue, but it is unlikely our nation would have asked for an apology when President Obama visited Hiroshima. No apology has been asked for so far, nor is it likely it will be sought in the future. Moreover, the Japanese people know perfectly well that an apology coerced is not a true apology.

We merely ask that the President visits the memorial cenotaph for the atomic bomb victims, pray that such weapons never again be used against humanity, and from the perspective of a citizen of the world offer prayers to the victims who suffered the ultimate baptism by fire.

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<sup>212</sup> In an interview given to CNN. Reported by the *Sankei Shimbun*, December 9, 1991.

*Aiguo zhuyi jiaoyu shishi gangyao* 爱国主义教育实施纲要  
*Akashi Motojiro* 明石元次郎  
*Aoba Fumio* 青葉翰於  
*Aoki Morihisa* 青木盛久  
*Asakawa Akio* 浅川明男  
*Asakawa Kan'ichi* 朝河貫一  
*Atarashii rekishi kyokasho* 『新しい歴史教科書』  
*Beikoku ni tsukaishite* 『米国に使して』  
*Bushido* 『武士道』  
*Chiang Ching-kuo* 蔣経国  
*Chiang Kai-shek* 蒋介石  
*Chu* 楚  
*chuzai bukan* 駐在武官  
*damasareta* 騙された  
*danwa* 談話  
*Deng Xiaoping* 邓小平  
*Gaimusho kaikaku ni kansuru "kaeru kai"* 「外務省改革に関する『変える会』」  
*gen'eki bukan sei* 現役武官制  
*Hamada Kunimatsu* 浜田国松  
*Hara Kei* 原敬  
*hara-kiri mondo* 腹切り問答  
*Hatoyama Ichiro* 鳩山一郎  
*Hatoyama Iichiro* 鳩山威一郎  
*Hatoyama Yukio* 鳩山由紀夫  
*Hayashi Senjuro* 林銑十郎  
*Higashinakano Shudo* 東中野修道  
*Hirota Koki* 広田弘毅  
*Hirota Shizuko* 広田静子  
*Hoshu no shimei* 『保守の使命』  
*ianjo* 慰安所  
*Iguchi Sadao* 井口貞夫  
*imukan* 医務官  
*Inagaki Masumi* 稲垣真澄

Inose Naoki 猪瀬直樹  
Ishihara Shintaro 石原慎太郎  
Isoda Saburo 磯田三郎  
Isshiki Masaharu 一色正春  
Ito Hirobumi 伊藤博文  
Jiang Zemin 江沢民  
*Jidai no Ichimen* 『時代の一面』  
*jugun ianfu* 従軍慰安婦  
*jugun kangofu* 従軍看護婦  
Kan Naoto 菅直人  
Kan'in(nomiya) Kotohito 閑院宮載仁  
Kaneko Kentaro 金子堅太郎  
Kase Hideaki 加瀬英明  
Kato Takaaki 加藤高明  
Katsura Taro 桂太郎  
Kawaguchi Yoriko 川口順子  
*Kenkenroku* 『蹇々録』  
Kim Hyon-hui 金賢姫 김현희  
*kinrin shokoku joko* 近隣諸国条項  
Kobayashi Hiromu 小林裕  
Koga Mineichi 古賀峯一  
Koizumi Junichiro 小泉純一郎  
Kojima Noboru 小島襄  
Komura Jutarō 小村寿太郎  
Kono Yohei 河野洋平  
Konoe Fumimaro 近衛文麿  
Kurusu Saburo 来栖三郎  
Mao Sui 毛遂  
Mao Zedong 毛沢東  
Matsuo Katsutoshi 松尾克俊  
Matsuoka Yosuke 松岡洋右  
Mihara Asao 三原朝雄  
Miyashita Ken 宮下謙  
Miyazawa Kiichi 宮沢喜一  
Mizutani Makoto 水谷周  
Mutsu Munemitsu 陸奥宗光  
Nakano Naoya 中野直也  
*Nihon no Kaki* 『日本之禍機』  
Nitobe Inazo 新渡戸稲造  
Noda Ejirō 野田英二郎  
Nomura Kichisaburo 野村吉三郎  
Ohira Masayoshi 大平正芳  
Oikawa Koshiro 及川古志郎



Okazaki Hisahiko 岡崎久彦  
Okazaki Katsuo 岡崎勝男  
Okuma Shigenobu 大隈重信  
Okumura Katsuzo 奥村勝蔵  
Ping Yuanjun 平原君  
Qin 秦  
Rikken Seiyukai 立憲政友会  
*ringisei* 稟議制  
Saionji Kinmochi 西園寺公望  
Saito Kunihiko 斎藤邦彦  
Sakata Michita 坂田道太  
Sasaki Kozo 佐々木更三  
Sato Eisaku 佐藤栄作  
Sato Motoei 佐藤元英  
Sato Naotake 佐藤尚武  
Sengoku Yoshito 仙石由人  
Shigemitsu Mamoru 重光葵  
Shimada Shigetaro 嶋田繁太郎  
Shina jihen taisho yoko 「支那事变対処要綱」  
*Shinpen nihonshi* 『新編日本史』  
*shinryaku* 侵略  
*shinshutsu* 進出  
*Showa 16-Nen Natsu no Haisen* 『昭和 16 年夏の敗戦』  
Sonoda Sunao 園田直  
Sugihara Chiune 杉原千畝  
Sugihara Seishiro 杉原誠四郎  
Sugiyama Hajime 杉山元  
Sunagawa Shojun 砂川昌順  
Suzuki Muneco 鈴木宗男  
Tada Hayao 多田駿  
Taguchi Yaeko 田口八重子  
Tanaka Makiko 田中真紀子  
Tanigawa Kazuho 谷川和穂  
*Teikoku kokusaku suiko yoryo* 「帝国国策遂行要領」  
Tekigaiso 荻外荘  
Terauchi Toshiichi 寺内寿一  
Togo Heihachiro 東郷平八郎  
Togo Shigenori 東郷茂徳  
Tojo Hideki 東条英機  
Watanabe Michio 渡辺美智雄  
Yamamoto Gomba 山本権兵衛  
Yamamoto Isoroku 山本五十六  
Yamazaki Toshio 山崎敏夫

Yanagiya Kensuke 柳谷謙介

Yokoyama Ichiro 横山一郎

Yoshida Shigeru 吉田茂

Yuan Shikai 袁世凱

*Zaigai kokan fujin no kokoroe* 『在外公館夫人の心得』

*zaigai kokan keibi taisakukan* 在外公館警備対策官

Zhang Xueliang 張学良

Zhao 趙

Zhou Enlai 周恩来

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*BI&C*: Sugihara, *Between Incompetence and Culpability*

*JPPH*: Sugihara, *Japanese Perspectives on Pearl Harbor*

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