June was an exciting month for us with the publication of two much anticipated Japan Society supported books, “Japanese Envoys in Britain, 1862-1964: A Century of Diplomatic Exchange” and “Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Volume VI.” Both were launched at an enjoyable joint event held on Tuesday 19th June at the Daiwa Foundation’s Japan House in London. In this issue we are reviewing the Envoys book and our next issue will feature Biographical Portraits (for a preview see back-page). The main theme of this issue is new publications on recent Japanese history. You will find some stimulating reviews on this topic and a few others on more contemporary subjects. With the Upper House elections scheduled for the end of July, our next issue will focus on Japanese politics.

Have a good summer!

Sean Curtin

New reviews: www.japansociety.org.uk/reviews.html
Archive reviews: http://www.japansociety.org.uk/reviews_archive.html

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postwar Prime Minister Kijuro Shidehara and the Meiji renaissance man himself Yukichi Fukuzawa. The fact that so many significant historical figures served in the London mission during the initial century of bilateral relations makes the book a valuable reference resource. It is also worth noting that most of them, including Yoshida himself, were members of the Japan Society.

Many of the early envoys were extraordinary individuals with fascinating life-histories, a few could almost be described as adventurers. The career of Japan's first fully accredited ambassador, Tadasu Hayashi (1900-06), illustrates the incredible life-courses of Japan's early envoys. Hayashi had spent two years in prison for fighting on the losing side during the Boshin Civil War. Captured after the battle of Hakodate, he had expected execution, but instead after a few years detention was released thanks to his skill at English. He was allowed to join the nascent diplomatic service, rising to the post of ambassador and then foreign minister. Besides his diplomatic and political achievements, he was also an accomplished scholar, translator, writer and thinker. Contemporary British writers described him as "A sort of Japanese Arthur Balfour [British PM 1902-05] with a detached philosophic mind and delightful manners (page 100)."

With such a rich cast of fascinating characters and gripping life stories, this book is not only a superb reference work, but also an extremely good read. In total, twelve authors, over half of whom are Japanese scholars, have contributed to this volume, but a huge amount of credit must go to the compiler and editor Ian Nish. Nish, an Emeritus Professor of International History at the London School of Economics, writes ten of the book's twenty-four chapters as well as the preface. He has meticulously researched the topic and produces some great biographies packed with a plethora of difficult to discover facts such as the cordial relationship between the wives of Shigeru Yoshida and Neville Chamberlain (page 169). Andrew Cobbing, lecturer at Nottingham University, contributes three illuminating chapters. Dr. Ayako Hotta-Lister pens another two, with other authors each writing a single chapter.

At the core of the book are the nineteen biographies of the envoys from 1862-1964, and these are supplemented by essays on the history of the Japanese embassy buildings in London and various aspects of embassy life during the period. The appendixes contain a useful list of envoys and ambassadors up to the present as well as a helpful brief history of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The publication was launched at a well attended gathering held on the 19th June 2007 at the Daiwa Foundation's Japan House in London. Professor Nish gave an outline of the work and thanked all those who had made the project possible. The event was chaired by the current Japanese ambassador, Yoshiji Nogami, himself and a man with a distinguished career and an interesting background. Ambassador Nogami admitted that for him the book holds a special appeal because, as he told the audience, "The portraits of these early ambassadors stare down daily at me while I work." The ambassador also remarked that the lives of Japanese diplomats today are much easier than those of the early pioneers who lived in a much more "turbulent world."

The work was commissioned by the Japan Society to serve as the companion volume to an earlier Society publication "British Envoys in Japan, 1859-1972" (Global Oriental 2004). This volume completes the history of bilateral diplomatic relations up to the mid-1960s, and it represents a substantial contribution to our knowledge and understanding of how bilateral ties evolved. It is also an enjoyable book which provides some fascinating insights into a bygone age when ambassadors, as the Chinese proverb/curse goes, lived in interesting times.

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**Culture and Power in Germany and Japan: The Spirit of Renewal,**

by Nils-Johan Jorgensen,

*Global Oriental, November 2006, 318 pages, £58, ISBN 1-905246-07-6*

Review by Sir Hugh Cortazzi

The author of this interesting and thought-provoking study was a Norwegian diplomat who served in both Germany and Japan. He acquired a good knowledge of both countries and their languages. His analysis is based on careful study and not blurred by prejudice.

His theme is outlined in the introduction: "Two states, two powers, were defeated in the Second World War. Yet though crushed they arose from the ashes...and gradually regained respect, status and leadership. Germany and Japan have striking similarities in recent history through war and then economic and gradual political renewal, but at the same time display a very different cultural and historical experience."

Inevitably the author deals at some length with the differences between the two countries in their attitudes towards the Second World War and the horrific acts which took place in the years leading up to 1945. This means in the case of Germany focussing on the nature of Nazism and the holocaust and German feelings of guilt and remorse. But he also draws attention to the horrors which resulted from the saturation bombings of such German cities as Hamburg, Berlin and Dresden which left many Germans feeling that they had been made victims. He notes that in Japan the sense of guilt is absent despite the fact that thirty million people died in the Pacific War. Shame at Japan's defeat and regret for the suffering caused by the war is balanced by the belief that Japan was more a victim than an aggressor. The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the burning of Tokyo made many Japanese feel that any "war crimes" which may have been carried out by Japanese were outweighed by the crimes perpetrated by the Americans in their attacks on Japan. While only neo-Nazis attempt to justify Hitler's policies some Japanese still argue that the East Asian War was justified. The only Japanese mistake was that they were defeated. The above is, of course, an oversimplification of a key element in a book which makes many interesting comparisons.

One of the author's main concerns is the nature of German and Japanese culture. He asserts (page 214) that "The story of
Germany and Japan tells us that culture is destiny - without or with democracy.” This is not an easy sentence to understand. But one important element (page 131) was “the alliance between culture and power, art and politics in Germany and Japan as both countries moved towards nationalism and imperialism in the 1930s.” He points out (page 131) that “German and Japanese fascism hijacked symbols, myths, rituals and ceremonies and resettled them in the new communication of militant ideology in a deliberate strategy of aesthetics.” He notes (page 128) that “the art of the totalitarian mind is to capture essential symbols totally and to wage a total war.” He adds provocatively: “in that sense German and Japanese fascism is related to Al Qaeda and international terrorist ideology.”

An important element in Japanese culture to which he draws attention is “Japan’s ability (page 43) to borrow, adapt and improve ideas...[which] is a characteristic feature of Japan’s rebuilding after the war.” In both countries great emphasis was placed on “renewal.” In Germany the terms used most frequently both by Hitler and in the reconstruction of Germany incorporated the word wieder (again).

In a thought provoking chapter headed “The Troublesome Faustian identity” he draws attention to the continuing German angst (anxiety) and the difficulty for modern Germans to express pride in being German. (page 175) “The lingering German problem is the absence of national identity and patriotism...” Most Japanese with the belief inculcated in them via the Nihonjinron (the theory of Japanese uniqueness) do not have such difficulty.

The author underlines the different international stances of the two countries in the beginning of the twenty-first century. Both countries are possibly the most significant economic and political powers in Europe and Asia respectively. Both seek to become permanent members of the Security Council and both have an important relationship with the United States, but if only for geographical reasons their external policies differ. Germany after reunification is the most important power in central Europe. The European Union is key to Germany’s future but the concept is of a European Germany, not a German Europe. The entente with France is fundamental, while relations with Russia are vital. Germany opposed the American and British intervention in Iraq not least because German opinion was almost unanimously opposed to the intervention but it also represented an assertion of German independence after reunification. For Japan the American alliance remains paramount and despite the opposition of Japanese public opinion the Japanese government supported the American intervention in Iraq. Yet for Japan relations with China and Korea remain crucial. Japan will become a more normal country and will develop a more independent foreign policy. Both countries have difficult balancing acts to perform.

I must take issue with the author on one important point. He implies that Britain like the Soviet Union wanted Emperor Hirohito indicted as a war criminal. I have seen no documentary evidence to suggest that this was ever the official policy of the British government.

No review can do justice to a book which covers so many facets of the history, culture and policies of two such important countries. It deserves to be read widely but it is not light reading.

Kita Ikki (1883-1937) is difficult to pin down ideologically. He blended socialist and nationalist ideas, advocated a coup d'état at home and expansion abroad, and inspired the Young Officers to carry out their bloody rebellion of 26 February 1936. Yet, he also preached democracy, was attached to China, and had warm feelings toward the United States. He did not admire the European fascists and wrote his important works before Mussolini and Hitler. Whatever one may say about Kita Ikki, he was one of Japan’s most original political thinkers in the twentieth century. In 1947, Maruyama Masao branded him “the ideological father of Japanese fascism,” calling his writings the Mein Kampf of the right-wing terrorists (Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics, ed. Ivan Morris, Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 28). In 1969, George Wilson, in his book Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883-1937 (Harvard University Press, 1969), described Kita as a radical nationalist influenced by Confucian thinkers of the Tokugawa era as well as by Western ideologies of his own time. According to Wilson, Kita rebelled against the conservative and authoritarian Meiji regime, preching radical political and social changes.

In this book, Brij Tankha, reader in modern Japanese history at the University of Delhi, presents a somewhat different picture of Kita. He does not characterize Kita as a nationalist, for the simple reason that most other thinkers of his time, including Christians and Socialists, were also nationalists. Instead, Tankha depicts him as a reformist. Kita regarded the Meiji Restoration, Tankha shows, as a positive, democratic revolution that destroyed the power of the privileged classes and put an end to the old class system. But the Restoration was incomplete. It had to be continued by destroying the undemocratic powers of the financial magnates (zaibatsu) and the bureaucrats (kanbatsu). The people should be freed, Kita believed, from the yoke of these modern oligarchies and given back control over their welfare and destiny.

Kita’s vision was not limited to the Japanese islands. He was personally involved in the Republican Revolution in China, urged Japan to liberate India, and called for an end to Western domination of Australia and Eastern Siberia. He did not, however, advocate the liberation of Korea, which he thought should be integrated into Japan as the Seikaido (Western Maritime District). He argued that in the First World War Japan should have sided with Germany and Turkey in order to combat Russian and British imperialism (pp. 136, 289). He wished to set up a “revolutionary empire” under Japanese leadership to establish freedom and democracy in Asia. Despite his imperialist vision, Kita was not a racist. He
rejected the notion of a pure Yamato race, claiming that the Japanese were a mixture of Korean, Chinese, Southeast Asian, and aboriginal elements (p. 264). He did not regard Japanese culture as being superior to other cultures. His heroes were Napoleon and Lenin (p. 181), and the international language he envisaged for the liberated Asia was Esperanto (p. 193).

Although most nationalists of his day preached loyalty to the throne, Kita was more interested in the Japanese people than in their monarch. For Kita, the emperor was a symbol, similar to his present status. Kita ridiculed the idea of bansei ikkei (the eternal unbroken line of emperors), dismissed the claim that the imperial family was in any way unique (p. 23), and rejected the concept that Japan was a family state with the emperor as its father (pp. 39-40). In his view, the significance of the monarch was not his divine descent but his position as "the people’s emperor" and "the representative of the people" (p. 214). He scorned the old-style monarchy and called for the abolition of the nobility and for the nationalization of the emperor’s property, something that the Allied Occupation did a few decades later. No wonder some of his writings were banned and others were censored by the authorities.

Tankha’s book is not intended to be a biography. It provides basic biographical data, but does not mention such details as Kita’s fortune-telling wife or his adopted Chinese son. It does not try to solve the mysteries that still surround Kita, like his connections with Prince Chichibu and with the Mitsui concern. The book is about the thought rather than the life of Kita, and the arrangement of the chapters centers on his works. Tankha compares Kita’s writings with those of his contemporaries. He examines what the intellectuals, visionaries, reformers, and political activists of the early decades of the twentieth century wrote in such magazines as Chuo koron, Taïô, Toyo keizai, Nihon oyobi Nihonjin (Fundamental Principles for the Reorganization of Japan). This enables him to place Kita in the context of the intellectual discourse of his time.

Despite the fact that Kita was a self-taught man and did not graduate from university, he was versed in the writings of Confucian thinkers as well as in the political literature of the West of his time. Like others, he was attracted to socialism, because it combined moral ideals, like justice and freedom, with a scientific analysis of history. He befriended the socialist leaders Kotoku Shusui and Sakai Toshihiko, and for a time worked for the socialist newspaper Heimin shinbun. But Kita was not a blind follower of Western theories, and he advocated a Japanese brand of socialism that would fit traditional values. In 1906, at the age of twenty-three, he wrote his book Kokutaihon oyobi junsui shakaitshugi (The National Polity and Pure Socialism), in which he pointed out the common ground between Japan’s “national essence” and socialism.

Kita justified Japanese imperialism on socialist grounds: “Britain, astride the whole world, is like a very rich man, and Russia is landlord of half the northern world. Doesn’t Japan, which is like a propertyless person in international society, confined to these small islands, have the right to go to war to overthrow their domination in the name of justice?” (p. 282). As the first modern nation in Asia, Japan carried the responsibility to liberate other Asian nations as well as to ensure the livelihood of its own people. Kita called on Japan to seize Manchuria in order to protect China from Russian machinations, but also as a place to settle poor peasants from the home islands. For Kita, Japanese imperialism was both a destiny and a necessity.

The reforms Kita advocated were neither fully democratic nor pacifistic. He demanded universal suffrage, but only for men. Women, he argued, should concentrate on their natural calling to bear children and should not be dragged into politics. Workers should be protected and given a fair share of the profits, but strikes would not be permitted. The revolutionary empire would maintain a large army and navy and would engage in wars to fulfill its destiny. This nationalistic brand of socialism appealed to the radical rebels of the 1930s and dragged Kita into an involvement in the abortive coup of 1936, for which he was sentenced to death and executed.

Tankha does not deal with Kita’s attachment to Nichiren Buddhism, probably because he regards it as part of Kita’s biography rather than his philosophy. It is indeed difficult to explain how a rationalist thinker like Kita, scornful of religious myths, embraced the creed of Nichiren. Perhaps he saw himself, like Nichiren, as a persecuted prophet, warning his countrymen of an impending disaster and prescribing the way for salvation. In his writings, Kita alludes equally to Confucian, Buddhist, Christian, and Moslem concepts. Thus he writes: “The Japanese rising sun flag, after defeating England, reviving Turkey, making India independent, and China self-reliant, will shed the light of Heaven on all the people of the world. The coming again of Christ, prophesied all over the world, is actually the Japanese people’s scripture and sword in the shape of Mohammed” (p. 293).

Brij Tankha’s book draws attention to the research on Japan that is being done in India. It is attractively presented, but it is a pity that the publisher has allowed typographical errors and misprints to mar the text, but they do not detract from the book’s importance. The author should be congratulated for presenting us, in the second part of the book, with a full translation of Kita’s programmatic treatise of 1919, Nihon kaizô hōan taikô (Fundamental Principles for the Reorganization of Japan). This work, which was heavily censored and clandestinely circulated, had a great impact on many Japanese in the 1930s. Its translation sheds more light on that turbulent period.

A different version of this review first appeared in Monumenta Nipponica, winter 2004.
Hosomichi has been the subject of a number of English famous haiku poet of the seventeenth century whose in the Edo period were the travelogues of Matsuo Basho, the central feature. The most important examples of this genre concentrate on the journeys made by poets where poems form western studies of Tokugawa travel literature have tended to journeys. However the number of travellers grew and those with a literary bent and leisure kept diaries or records of their journeys.

As Plutschow points out in his informative introduction western studies of Tokugawa travel literature have tended to concentrate on the journeys made by poets where poems form the central feature. The most important examples of this genre in the Edo period were the travelogues of Matsuo Basho, the famous haiku poet of the seventeenth century whose *Oku no Hosomichi* has been the subject of a number of English translation. Plutschow notes that, with the exception of Donald Keene whose *Travellers of One Hundred Generations*, New York, 1989, which introduced a selection of Edo travellers, the bulk of Edo travel literature has been neglected by scholars partly because it was "not considered orthodox literature, especially 'the realistic accounts " which Plutschow has selected for this volume.

Plutschow found that many of the more interesting and realistic writers of the period were either physicians or botanists. He suggests that the new "realism" stemmed from "Chinese honzogaku pharmacology and medicine." It is interesting in this context to note that Kaempfer, Thunberg, and von Siebold who provided the main sources for information about Japan to the West in the Edo period were all doctors to the Dutch merchant colony on Dejima at Nagasaki and also experts in botany.

Plutschow has selected sixteen travellers. He introduces each with a note giving necessary background and then translates selected extracts from their writings. Some of these are well known for other reasons. Kaibara Ekken was a famous Confucianist; Nagakubo Sekisui was an outstanding geographer; Motoori Norinaga was the leading *kokugakusha* who emphasised the study of early Japanese texts; Ueda Akinari was a novelist famous for his *Ugetsu monogatari*, a collection of nine tales of the supernatural; Shiba Kokan was a painter who adopted western techniques of perspective; Takizawa Bakin wrote one of the most famous long novels of the period, the *Nanso Satomi Hakkenden*; Watanabe Kazan was a famous portrait painter about whom Donald Keene recently published a biography under the title *Frog in the Well*. Plutschow pays particular attention to the travel writings of Furukawa Koshoken (1726-1807) and Sugae Masumi (1754-1829) whose travels took him in 1785 to Ezo (Hokkaido). He considers Sugae "a superb observer" and quotes some of his interesting observations on Ainu whom he had encountered. Plutschow comments: "we find in his diaries the same kind of fascination for the extraordinary, the exotic and a respect for cultural diversity we find in our other travellers (page 180)."

These writings are, of course, revealing about the personalities of the narrators, but they also tell us a good deal about conditions of life in the Edo period. Japan in those days was much more diverse than it became as a result of the centralising policies of the Meiji government. Much of the country was underdeveloped and poor. Shiba Kokan was critical of his country's backwardness: "the people of my country, Japan, do not study physics. Calling it elegance, they do not write the truth but express the feelings of an unstable woman using ornate language." We learn a good deal about the difficulties of travel with the need for passports and the checks made at the various barriers (*sekisho*). Takizawa Bakin left various revealing pieces of advice to travellers including "Think of the road as enemy territory and always be on the look-out" and "Eat only one or two bowls of rice for lunch and each time you get hungry, eat little. With a full stomach the going is painful."

Many of the accounts remind the reader that although peace had led to increased prosperity the Japanese peasant population had a very hard life and when the harvests failed were left to starve. There are also many interesting comments on the Dutch who were the only Europeans in Japan during this period and whose life style clearly intrigued the Japanese.

The book contains an interesting black and white plate section, but the single Road Map of Edo Japan is insufficiently detailed for any reader who wants to follow the itineraries of the various travellers. Ideally each of the travels recorded should have been accompanied by a fairly detailed sketch map. This would no doubt have involved much additional work, but it would have been invaluable for the serious student.

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### Innovation and Business Partnering in Japan, Europe and the United States

*Innovation and Business Partnering in Japan, Europe and the United States* is an edited volume that shows how innovation and economic growth are becoming less determined by silos of research funded and managed by governments or large corporations, and more influenced by multiple actors of different types, interlinking to create "breeding ground[s] for cross-fertilisation and [the] generation of new business opportunities" (Taplin, Chapter 2: p. 20). Some of this interlinking, or partnering, can be seen in the form of localised clusters generating new knowledge that ultimately adds to the prosperity of geographic localities in which the clusters are situated. However, it is also seen in international networks of linked actors that are not necessarily a part of a recognised cluster. In the latter case, globalised innovation involves "proactively building an external network of innovation partners" (Davies, Chapter 3: p. 43) facilitated by business intermediaries that provide both capital and integration.

The book makes many interesting and insightful points, of which, for reasons of space, I focus on three. Firstly, company growth and economic success is directly attributed to environments where partnering is actively encouraged. Evidence from the US shows how SME growth is linked to "vibrant government / business / academic partnership[s]" (Young, Chapter 5: p. 71). Likewise in Japan, partnering has been central to the restructuring of industries and companies...
since the 1990s, although here, division-to-division partnering has played a key role (Kiso, Chapter 6). Secondly, institutions at territory and country level explicitly facilitate and stimulate business cultures in which profitable partnerships form and develop. Countries themselves deliberately develop technology strategies and competitive positions that, for example in the case of Poland, act as "mechanisms for collaboration, coupled with a culture of market sensitivity" (Nowak and Arogyaswamy, Chapter 4: p. 67). Meanwhile, universities are often central points in local innovative clusters. Thirdly, in addition to this partnering (or clustering) by design, there is also an evolutionary aspect because of the advancement of simultaneous globalising and localising forces emanating from the quest by nation states and multinational corporations to exploit new knowledge. Ultimately though, the enactment and manifestation of these forces can be seen in terms of dynamic knowledge creation at a local level:

"Urban and regional collectives are a popular approach to demonstrating such a capability, both to bring existing talent together as well as to attract competent individuals and organizations from outside the area...social capital, deemed critical to the successful operation of clusters, is conditioned upon cultures at various levels" (Arogyaswamy and Nowak, Chapter 8: p. 146).

These points have implications for entrepreneurship in the 21st Century. Firstly, encouraging partnering requires an emphasis on openness and a willingness to build business relationships amongst actors who historically did not engage in business. The embedment in global networks by universities, by divisions of companies that hitherto only acted internally, and by small firms that only used to operate locally, mean openness and motivation have become key ingredients for entrepreneurship in the new world order. Secondly, because countries develop technology strategies and competitive positions, the nation state will still continue to play a crucial role in determining the hubs of innovation within globalised innovation networks. Nation states are able to directly influence the adoption and diffusion of technologies that support distributed innovation (Trumbull, 2004). Thus the comparative pulling power of countries may determine the speed with which hubs develop, and may prevent some hubs forming in the first place. The advanced state of cluster development and partnering capability in the US, Europe and Japan, will act as an entry barrier to other zones of the world attempting to compete on the basis of partnership facilitation. Thirdly, partnering ventures generate what Nishizawa calls a "creative class' of highly talented people' (Chapter 7: p. 111); research universities are central to this generation process (which also includes mobility enabling via a job transfer network).

Taplin's book emphasises the importance to regional development of business partnering involving SMEs, and shows how economic regeneration in the current world economy requires various forms of Human Entrepreneurial Capital that co-evolve in both local (clustered) and global (dispersed) contexts through business partnering. Thus networked entrepreneurship should be central to the agenda of local and central policy makers as it provides a basis - arguably the most credible basis - for identifying, evaluating and exploiting global opportunities that will support wealth creation for localities. The creative class experiments and learns in both local and global contexts during networked entrepreneurship, and acts as a conduit for knowledge transfer between a multitude of team members all centred on entrepreneurial initiative as a focal point. Importantly, entrepreneurial universities (Etzkowitz et al., 2000) are central players in the propagation of initiatives, and have become increasingly influential in how the focal point of an initiative can form and develop over time. Thus the antecedents, developmental trajectories and consequences of this creative class of human beings, must be important to practitioners, planners and academics.

A considerably lengthier and more in-depth version of this article originally appeared in the Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics Vol 18 No 2 (2007).

References


Review by Sir Hugh Cortazzi

This book consists of a collection of 13 essays by a variety of British and Japanese scholars and is based on a conference in Cambridge during the Japan 2001 celebrations. It is not and does not claim to be a survey of the many facets of Anglo-Japanese relations in the twentieth century, but students and researchers will find much of interest in the wide-ranging contributions which cover political as well as economic aspects of our relations with Japan.

After a brief introduction by Sir John Boyd, who was Master of Churchill College, the two editors survey the field and draw attention to some of the main themes in the book. In a short review it is not possible to comment on all thirteen chapters individually, but it may be helpful to highlight a few particular issues which the contributors discuss.

Professor Janet Hunter in Chapter 2 on "Britain and the Japanese Economy during the First World War" points out that "the war caused a range of problems for the Japanese economy and exposed structural weaknesses." She suggests that the economic rivalries between Britain and Japan can be dated back to the war.

In the following chapter on the interwar period Fumitaka Kurosawa concludes that "Japan increased its orientation towards autarky and the imperialistic world view as the 1930s
progressed...For a time in the 1930s, a possibility still existed for Anglo-Japanese cooperation on the basis of imperialistic bilateralism, but this too had disappeared by the decade’s end.

John Weste’s essay on “Shipping and Shipbuilding” does not mention a British mission in the late 1960s which included British managers and union officials who went to Japan to study Japanese methods and were duly impressed by Japanese ability to build ships quickly and efficiently, but were apparently incapable of applying the lessons which they learnt. Japanese yards were soon surpassed by South Korean.

Hideya Taida’s essay on Anglo-Japanese economic relations since the 1970s concentrates on his personal experiences with Marubeni and the British Market Council in Japan. The “Opportunity Japan Campaign” of 1988 about which he writes had the aim of doubling British exports to Japan. This was just one in a series of export campaigns which began in the second half of the 1960s. At that time it was led by the British National Export Council’s Asia Committee. In the Embassy in Tokyo we did all we could to promote exports through trade missions and exhibitions including in 1969 a major “British Week in Tokyo.” This campaign was further stepped up following the visit to Japan in 1973 of Mr Heath, the first British Prime Minister to visit Japan while in office. Among other measures adopted a British marketing centre was established in Tokyo. Our difficulties included Japanese mercantilist attitudes, high tariffs on important British exports such as Scotch whisky and significant non-tariff barriers. Mr Taida rightly emphasises the importance of Japanese investment in the Britain, the efforts put into promoting it and its results in increased employment and improvements in quality and competitiveness.

Hugo Dobson’s essay on “Japan and the UK at the G8 summits” is a useful analysis. So is Reinhard Drifte’s on military and security cooperation between Britain and Japan in “Military and economic power: complementing each other’s national strength.”

The final essay by Nobuko Margaret Kosuge entitled “The pressure of the past on the Anglo-Japanese relationship” takes up the sad issue of the Japanese maltreatment of British prisoners of war in the Pacific War. The Japanese government through lack of political imagination and generosity missed a number of opportunities for defusing this issue. Now that most of those, who suffered have passed on, the danger is that memories of the past will be revived by insensitive comments by Japanese nationalists who try to justify the unjustifiable.

This book comprehensively charts the dynamics of Japanese foreign policy during the nineties as Tokyo struggled to cope with the end of the Cold War and the limitations of its war-renouncing constitution in the newly emerging global order. Exactly the same issues continue to fuel the current debate, making this work a highly relevant piece of analysis about the ongoing phase in foreign policy evolution. The nineties will soon be a decade behind us, but Japan is still battling to find a new place on the shifting global stage while it agonizes over amending its now almost sacred pacifist Constitution. The Koizumi administration’s dispatch of troops to aid in the reconstruction of Iraq has advanced the debate somewhat, yet the fundamental insights of the analysis presented in this book remain largely unchanged.

The study demonstrates that it is far easier for Japanese political leaders to declare their intention to change the nation’s foreign policy than it is for them to actually achieve anything concrete. This has been most recently demonstrated by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe who has clearly stated his strong desire to amend Article Nine, but just creating the required referendum legislation to even begin this task is a process which will take several years. It is unclear whether Abe or the necessary political momentum to implement the proposed amendments will survive over the period of time needed to complete the preliminary stage.

Cooney believes the final outcome of this historic debate will be crucial for Japan which “must now choose whether to let its role in the world dwindle or perish by its self imposed pacifism or take up the sword and risk the casualties and enemies it has avoided since the end of World War II (page 4).” The author’s research objective is to submit the changes in Japanese foreign policy during the nineties to empirical inquiry in order to see what the elites and general public actually believe their country’s global security role should be.

The research core of the book is a series of fifty-six field interviews amongst the foreign policy making elite conducted by the author. The subjects consist of lawmakers from all the major political parties in both the Lower and Upper Houses, foreign ministry bureaucrats, cabinet officials, defence officials and members of the press. The focus is on those individuals with particular foreign policy expertise. The author utilized his network of contacts to gain access to prominent figures. In chapter one he sets out his research objectives and methodology. The work examines Japanese foreign policy from three different levels of analysis: international system, individual and state level.

In the second chapter, “The story of Japan’s ‘abnormal’ foreign policy under Article Nine,” he gives an analysis of postwar foreign policy and its objectives. Cooney states, “Article Nine was written shortly before the onset of the Cold War and is fundamental to the understanding of Japanese post-war foreign policy (page 5).” The 1992 Law Concerning Cooperation in UN Peacekeeping (commonly known as the PKO Law) is seen as “the most significant change in Japan’s postwar foreign and security policies since the creation of the Self Defense Forces (SDF) in the 1950s (page 23).” This chapter is excellent and contains some superb reference material.

In chapter three, “Realism and Foreign Policy Restructuring in Japan,” the conceptual framework for the analysis is provided. This chapter looks at a host of theoretical approaches and is a valuable reference source for non-experts wanting to gain better insights in the field. The author...
believes, "The purpose of the original Yoshida Doctrine was to support Japan's economic rebuilding by permitting it to de-emphasize its defense by relying on the US-Japan Security Treaty. At the same time it permitted Japan to deal with the constitutional limitations imposed by Article Nine. Japan found this policy unworkable in the 'New World Order' that came about after the demise of the Iron Curtain."

The fourth chapter, "Japan's Security Options," looks at Tokyo's regional and international relations together with an assessment of possible strategic security alignments. The next chapter, "How Japan Views its place in the World and the 'myth' of Gaiatsu," examines the country's position in the current global order. In these two chapters the author's empirical research along with other surveys are used to enhance the analysis.

The final chapter, "Where is Japan Going?" neatly brings all the elements of the analysis together to try to predict the likely future direction of Japanese foreign policy. The author concludes, "Contrary to conventional wisdom among the ruling elites, Japan will never gain its full stature as a nation until it deals with its historical responsibilities in a forthright and honest way...Japan's quest for normalcy in East Asia will be obstructed until it adequately addresses this issue (page 177)."

While not everyone will agree with the conclusions, everything is clearly presented and backed up with a solid spectrum of supporting evidence. His empirical work is fascinating in itself and any follow-up research would also be extremely valuable. Some may be critical of the description of Karel van Wolferen's "The Enigma of Japanese Power" as "the most important recent work on the role of Japanese domestic political power." However, overall there are few areas where it is really possible to fault this well-researched book. It makes a welcome contribution to our understanding of the forces currently shaping Japanese foreign policy and the painful metamorphosis it is presently undergoing.