

THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES DISPUTE BETWEEN
JAPAN AND THE SOVIET UNION: FROM RIVALRY TO RAPPROCHEMENT

by

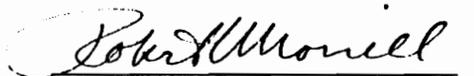
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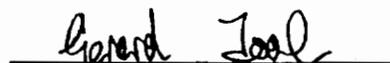
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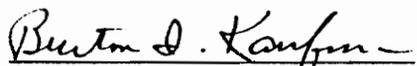
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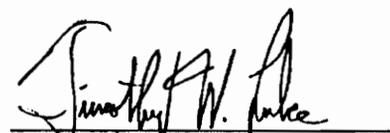
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(ABSTRACT)

A restrained relationship between the Soviet Union and Japan, great military and economic powers and geographically close neighbors in Northeast Asia, is an international anomaly of considerable magnitude. Resolution of this anomaly has been delayed for the last forty-five years by several factors, but none more so than that of what has commonly been referred to as the "Northern Territories" dispute.

The territorial dispute of the Northern Territories, otherwise known as the four islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and the Habomai group is discussed in relation to both the historical and contemporary policies of Japan and the USSR. According to the Soviet's perspective these islands belong to them on the basis of their military annexation in 1945. Japan fails to recognize this sovereignty, hence, leaving Japan and the USSR in a technical state of war, impeding normal Soviet-Japanese relations.

Presently, Gorbachev's policy of **Perestroika** has indicated the possibility of concessions and rapprochement over

the islands after forty-five years of consistent deadlock. This new Soviet policy is aimed at improving relations with Japan and moving toward more economic and political cooperation, allowing the Soviets to participate in the economic prosperity of the Pacific Basin. However, Japan refuses to comply with such concessions, and demands Soviet recognition of the territorial issue prior to negotiations. Furthermore, opposition toward such conciliation exists in the USSR since any concession might lead China and other nations to press their own territorial claims. Thus, the political, economic and strategic implications of the Northern Territories problem ensures that it will remain a critical contemporary geopolitical issue in Northeast Asia.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family and all my good friends in the Graduate Department of Geography at Virginia Tech. Without their love, friendship, support, patience and understanding I could not have made it through the trials and tribulations of graduate school nor completed this thesis. I would also like to dedicate this thesis to Dr. Robert W. Morrill. He is a fine teacher and an excellent department head, who taught me much more than geography.

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I would also like to give special thanks to several other people who made this thesis possible. Yoshiko Arima, an official from the Japanese Embassy in Washington D.C., spent the better part of an afternoon obtaining the latest official information on Soviet-Japanese relations over the Northern Territories dispute. Thanks must also go to some of my fellow graduate students. My appreciation must go to Alan Moore for his map design and construction. Barb

Hale spent one very long and tedious day typing in a plethora of bibliography entires and therefore also deserves acknowledgement. Thanks to Patricia Mahoney who helped me to organize a set of thesis revisions in order that I met a thesis committee deadline. I also want to express gratitude to Loretta Bush for all the computer and word processing assistance and patience she gave this computer illiterate. Without her expertise I would have been lucky just to successfully turn on the darn computer. I also owe a great deal to Ted Deakin and Joel Furr, two great guys form the Public Administration Department, who stayed up to the wee hours of the morning assisting me in the printing of the final copy of this thesis.

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Chapter I

HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES DISPUTE

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES PROBLEM

Few bilateral relationships in the world have a greater unrealized potential than that between Japan and the Soviet Union. The two nations are neighbors on the Asian-Pacific rim, an area being transformed by multilateral diplomatic adjustments, comparatively high rates of economic growth, and integrationist trends affecting the entire Pacific basin. Japan and the USSR have two of the largest economies in the world. Moreover, their economies complement one another, with Siberia's natural wealth and Japan's technological-industrial capabilities holding out the prospect of large-scale cooperation. Yet despite a respectable level of trade and investment and an absence of confrontation, Japanese-Soviet relations have developed neither to Tokyo's nor to Moscow's satisfaction. Symbolic of the psychological distance between the two nations is the anachronism that for well over forty years after World War II, the Soviet Union and Japan have yet to sign a peace treaty (Ellison 1987:135).

In the midst of all the ferment created by Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's Perestroika, the relations between Japan and the Soviet Union basically have remained unchanged. The characteristics of the relationship can

be traced back to the earliest encounters between the two nations. Since 1945, however, their relations have been influenced by additional factors such as the circumstances of the Soviet Union's entry into World War II against Japan; the American dominated occupation of Japan leading to subsequent close association with the United States; and the dispute over the Northern Territories (Mendl 1989:455).

In the sometimes turbulent course of postwar Japanese-Soviet relations no issue has been more central, none more difficult, and few more persistent than that of the disputed Northern Territories.

Before examining this problem further, it is necessary to define the actual area in dispute. The Japanese use the term Northern Territories (Hoppo Ryodo) in two different ways. In the broad sense, the term refers to all territories north and northeast of Japan under Japanese sovereignty prior to the Second World War, encompassing southern Sakhalin, south of 50°N latitude, the entire Kurile Island chain, Shikotan Island and the Habomai group just off Hokkaido (Map 1). In the narrow sense of the term, Northern Territories refers to the southern Kuriles comprising Etorofu and Kunashiri, Shikotan Island and the Habomai Islands (Kim 1974:17-18). The official claim of the Japanese government and the one that is most commonly recognized in both Japan and internationally has been confined to the Northern Territories in the second sense, i.e., the Habomai Islands,

Shikotan, Kunashiri and Etorofu (Map 2). Unless specified otherwise, the term "Northern Territories" as used hereafter will refer to these four territorial entities. The Soviets, for their side, do not have a similar term and commonly refer to the islands that make up the Japanese claim as the "southern Kurils." As such, the more internationally familiar Japanese term for this issue as well as place names for the Kurile islands will be used. For both Russian and Japanese place names of these islands refer to (Figure 1, Appendix A). For a Russian perspective on these islands refer to (Map 3). Thus, this study is concerned with the lingering territorial dispute involving essentially the four islands that make up the Northern Territories.

In recent years the Northern Territories dispute has remained a significant factor in Japanese-Soviet relations and in world politics. This dispute has prevented the signing of a permanent peace treaty officially ending Second World War hostilities between Japan and the Soviet Union. Successive Japanese premiers have stated that without a satisfactory outcome to the territorial problem there can be no treaty between Tokyo and Moscow (Rees 1980:13). Further, the intractable nature of the dispute can also be seen in the Soviet's reluctance to admit the existence of a territorial problem in its relations with Japan. Moreover, it is an issue that clearly transcends the narrow confines of Moscow-Tokyo negotiations and rhetoric. Indeed, the military,

political, psychological and economic ramifications of the territorial question go to the heart of vital Soviet and Japanese security concerns in this important and often troubled region of the world. What is more, the impasse reaches outside the two countries directly involved. The United States and China are actively interested parties. Other nations are keen observers, for the legitimacy of the USSR's frontiers throughout central Europe and Asia will be affected by the issue's ultimate disposition (Stephan 1974:197). Thus the dispute remains for both Japan and the Soviet Union a volatile issue with considerable geopolitical, economic, strategic, and international security implications.

1.2 GEOGRAPHY OF THE KURILES

The geography of the Kurile Islands merit special attention for their enduring role in Japanese-Soviet relations. The archipelago has acted as a meeting ground for the two nations for over two hundred years and as such has been an important aspect in their relationship. This is no less true today, for the role of geography continues to act as a significant component in the present Northern Territories dispute.

The Kurile Islands commonly have been regarded as the epitome of remoteness. Yet, Kurile remoteness proves to be more illusory than real if the islands are viewed from

another perspective. The Kuriles are actually a meeting point. Geologically, the archipelago lies along the juncture of the Asian continental shelf and the Pacific seabed. Prehistoric migrants used the Kuriles as stepping stones between Asia and America. For over two centuries, Russia and Japan have faced each other across a shifting Kurile frontier which has culminated in the present Northern Territories dispute.

The Kurile Islands stretch for 1200 kilometers along a northeast to southwest axis from the southern tip of Kamchatka to the eastern edge of Hokkaido. One of several volcanic areas which girdle the Pacific basin, they form the northernmost section of the insular outer coast of East Asia and divide the Sea of Okhotsk from the Pacific Ocean (Stephan 1974:1-2). Parallel to the southern portion of the Kurile archipelago clusters a group of islets (Habomai Islands and Shikotan), (Map 4).

There remains the question of what is and is not part of the Kurile Islands or more precisely, how Japan and the Soviet Union, respectively answer that question. The Japanese government distinguishes Kunashiri and Etorofu from the Kuriles and considers Shikotan and the Habomai group of islands as always having been geographically part of the Hokkaido. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, chooses to regard not only Kunashiri and Etorofu as Kuriles, but also Shikotan and the Habomai Islands as comprising the "little

or lesser" (malaya) Kuriles (Swearingen 1978:187-8). Today all the Northern Territories are governed as an integral territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of the USSR. However, the Japanese claim that all four islands are "part of Japan's inherent territory geographically and should naturally be under this country's sovereignty" (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1977:2).

Consisting of thirty-six islands and innumerable rocky protrusions, the Kuriles have a total area of 15,600 square kilometers. The total area of the four disputed islands is 4996 square kilometers, with Etorofu covering 3139 square kilometers and Kunashiri 1500 kilometers. The area of Shikotan is 255 square kilometers and that of the Habomai Islands 102 square kilometers.

For a more detailed geographic description of the Kurile Islands and the Northern Territories refer to (Appendix B).

1.3 DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

The significance of the discovery and exploration of the Kuriles transcends purely abstract inquiry. The debate surrounding the issue of who discovered the Kuriles is by no means simply academic. Soviet-Japanese rivalry over the arc has politicized the issue with nationalistic rhetoric and has confused it with fanciful interpolations. Consequently, there is a need to penetrate the polemical assumptions inherent in such contradictory claims in order to recon-

struct a pattern of events (Stephan 1974:30).

"Because of their remote location in a climatically inhospitable corner of the Pacific basin the Kuriles eluded discovery until comparatively recent times" (Stephan 1974:31). But after about 1640, small groups of Dutch, Russians, and Japanese converged on the Kuriles for differing reasons and from different directions. The Russians came from Kamchatka in search of furs, the Dutch came from Java in search of the "golden isles" that were believed to exist north of Japan, and the Japanese from Hokkaido sought to develop trading relations with the indigenous Kurile Ainu. Unaware of each other, Dutch, Russians and Japanese reached the Kuriles at astonishingly close intervals, so close that it is virtually impossible to identify a single discoverer (Stephan 1974:31-2).

It is hardly surprising that the first Europeans to behold the barren volcanic protrusions between Hokkaido and Kamchatka came with the expectation of finding mountains of gold. Misguided enthusiasm led anticlimactically to the discovery of the fog bounded volcanic chain. In 1642 the Dutch East India Company, undeterred by earlier failures, ordered Maerten Gerritsz de Vries to undertake a search for the golden isles and for a north-east passage from the Pacific to Atlantic Ocean. Vries accomplished neither but he stumbled upon the Kurile Islands. Uninformed about Japanese or Russian explorations, the Europeans continued to

seek out the fabled golden isles well into the 18th century. With the passage of time, however, informed opinion began to suspect the promise of Kurile gold and consequently many Europeans lost interest in the arc (Harrison 1953:145-55).

1.4 EARLY RUSSIAN DESCENTS FROM THE NORTH

The Russian discovery and exploration of the northern Kuriles stemmed from an eastward movement across Siberia from the Urals that began in the late 16th century. The incentive was the fur trade. A search for pelts of foxes and sables propelled groups of Cossacks along Siberian rivers and across taiga and tundra to the sea of Okhotsk. The pursuit of furs in turn generated ancillary needs and incentives. Eastern Siberia's lack of resources to provision isolated settlements impelled the Russians to probe southward (Rees 1985:6-7).

Just as Vries had reached the Kuriles in search of the golden isles, so the earliest Russians descending on the arc from Kamchatka were attracted by the lure of soft golden pelts. During the 18th century, however, the islands assumed a new significance in Russian eyes. They came to represent stepping stones to Japan, a bridge along which trade could start.

If archival records are strictly interpreted, it would appear the Russians first learned about the Kuriles some time during the 1690's. At this time, armed Russian bands

made periodic forays southwards to collect tribute from Ainu tribes on the northern Kuriles. Stirred by the prospects of fur trade and prospects for opening commercial relations with Japan, Peter the Great's interest in the Kuriles was stimulated. He issued a series of exploratory missions into the islands during the ensuing three decades. Each mission penetrated farther south than its predecessor and each brought back more valuable geographic, ethnographic, and economic data that clarified the arc's population, size, shape, and relationship to Japan. By the middle of the 18th century, the Kuriles had emerged as Russia's main gateway to Japan (Stephan 1974:39-41).

Actual exploration of the Kuriles began in 1711 with an effort carried out by two rebel Cossacks, Danilo Antsiferov and Ivan Kozyrevski. The two raided the three northernmost isles of the Kuriles and made a survey of them before leaving. Their expeditions in 1711 and 1713 produced noteworthy historical contributions in two areas (1) maps of the arc, and (2) the political and economic status of the arc's inhabitants. These revelations and expectations of trade with Japan encouraged Tsar Peter to continue exploration of the Kuriles with renewed vigor.

Peter the Great chose two highly trained marine geodesists (Ivan Evreinov and Fedor Luzhin) and instructed them to chart the Kuriles and find a route to Japan. In the summer of 1721 after reaching the sixth Kurile island a storm

damaged their ships and swept them 800 kilometers southwest to Kunashiri. Their odyssey marked the first time that Russians had penetrated the southern extremity of the Kurile Islands. For the next ninety years, their successors consolidated Russia's position in the arc by charting its environs, collecting tribute from the aboriginal Ainu, and settling some of the northern and central islands. However, Russian efforts to open trade with Japan continued to be fruitless.

Tsar Peter's death in 1725 did not reduce momentum of Russian expansion in the North Pacific. Responding to the urgings of entrepreneurs, Catherine I ordered Afansa Sheslavkov to explore the Kuriles and to subjugate their inhabitants in preparation for approaching Japan. During 1732-3, Shestakov advanced only as far as the fifth Kurile but in the eyes of some Soviet historians did enough to consecrate Russian acquisition of the northern part of the chain.

More significant than the Shestakov excursion were two well known expeditions led by a Dane in Russian service, Captain Vitus Bering. Bering's first expedition (1725-30) attempted in vain to determine the relation between Asia and America. The second expedition (1733-42) encompassed an imposing variety of objectives: the exploration of the Pacific coasts of Russia, Japan, and America and the scientific investigation of Kamchatka, Siberia, and the Kuriles.

In 1733 he dispatched Lieutenant-Commander Martin Span-

berg to proceed along the Kurile archipelago and make contact with Japan. Spanberg's expedition in 1739 achieved few noteworthy results, but his survey of the Kuriles corrected some cartographical misconceptions and accelerated Russian absorption of the arc. On the way back he became the first Russian to sight Shikotan and the Habomais Islands. Spanberg concluded that the Kuriles constituted a political vacuum between the possessions of Russia and Japan (Lensen 1954:47-57). However, when Spanberg found no Japanese on any of the Kuriles, he assumed that none of the islands belonged to Japan. This observation and enthusiastic reports about the abundance of furs precipitated a fur rush to the Kuriles during the remainder of the 18th century (Gibson 1969:17).

After Spanberg's surveys of 1738-39, the direction of Russian activities in the Kuriles shifted from exploration to settlement, subjugation of the aboriginal population, and commercial approaches to Japan. By the 1770's, Russians had trodden upon nearly every island of the Kurile chain, thereby accomplishing almost single-handedly the arc's preliminary exploration.

1.5 EARLY JAPANESE APPROACHES FROM THE SOUTH

Through Ainu intermediaries on Hokkaido, the Japanese had begun trading with the Kurile Ainu at least as early as the 16th century. Japanese goods circulated up the Kuriles and

to Kamchatka in exchange for furs. This trade was further rationalized in the early 17th century with the evolution of the basho (trading post) system.

Over the next century this trading connection developed into a feudal, tributary relationship between the southern Kurile Ainu who visited Hokkaido and the Japanese Lord of Matsumae. It is believed that a retainer of the Lord of Matsumae, Murakami Hironori, visited the southern Kuriles in 1635 to map these lands north of Hokkaido. Evidence that supports this assertion, however, is somewhat tenuous. Nevertheless, a map based on his report does depict a cluster of islands off Hokkaido which would appear to be the Kuriles (Rees 1985:8-9).

The Japanese made their first documented landing on the southern Kuriles in 1754, when a merchant named Hidaya Kyubu established a basho on the southern extremity of Kunashiri. Japanese explorers, however did not really probe the arc until Mogami Takuna, a surveyor attached to a shogunal mission, tried to ascertain the extent of Russian settlement along the country's northern frontier in 1785. Mogami visited Kunashiri, Etorofu and Uruppu, but weather precluded further exploration northward.

Increasing awareness of Russian activity in the southern Kuriles prompted several shogunal missions to Kunashiri during 1789-92 to develop the island's economic potential. Takuna returned to the southern Kuriles during this period,

and on a visit to Etorofu and Uruppu in 1792 he found there were no Russians present. With the emergence of a Russian colony on Uruppu in 1795, the Japanese could no longer avoid the implications of increasing Russian pressure on the Kuriles from the north and steps were taken to further develop the southern Kuriles and check the Russian advance (Rees 1985:8-9).

Comparisons of Russian and Japanese explorations and preliminary settlement suggests how futile it is to ascribe exclusive discovery and exploration of the Kuriles to either. The Japanese most likely set foot on the islands first, but their landings are undocumented and hence undatable; moreover their contacts were most likely limited to the southern Kuriles. Russians investigated the northern part of the chain and were exploring the remainder just as Japanese merchants began to exploit Kunashiri. European visitations to the Kuriles after Vries came only in the late 18th century and did little more than verify and refine discoveries already made by the Russians and Japanese. Ultimately therefore, the honor of discovering and exploring the Kurile Islands must be shared by several nations.

1.6 FORMATION OF A RUSSO-JAPANESE FRONTIER 1750-1875

The present Northern Territories dispute must be seen in the context of at least 200 years of Russo-Japanese contact and rivalry in and over the Kuriles. It is important to

point out that a Russo-Japanese frontier developed almost imperceptibly over a period of years during which national boundaries in the modern sense of the word did not exist. Until the mid 19th century neither Japan nor Russia had a clear conception of how far its sovereignty extended in the Kuriles and thus each country's status in the islands remained undefined. As continued Russian expansion eastward and Japanese expansion northward met on maritime Northeast Asia, conflict over this frontier area became inevitable (Stephan 1974:60-1).

By the middle of the 18th century the Kuriles were on the threshold of becoming a crucial arena of Russo-Japanese contacts. At first tentative and sporadic, these contacts gradually proliferated and raised political problems as both sides grew conscious of the other's presence but remained uncertain of the other's intentions. The formation of the Kurile frontier shaped the development of Russo-Japanese relations, and sowed the seeds of an issue that involves several great powers today.

As Japan came to be regarded as a potential market for furs and as a source of supplies for vulnerably isolated settlements along Siberia's Pacific fringe, Russian merchants and envoys made more determined bids to challenge Japan's seclusion. In 1772 a Russian merchant named Pavel Lebedev-Lastochkin was instructed to conclude a trade agreement with Japan, investigate the suitability of the south

Kuriles for agriculture and settlement, build a fortress on Uruppu, and bring south Kurile Ainu under Russian protection. His expeditions failed but they brought about more Russian interest in the southern Kurile Islands (Lensen 1959:84-95).

The Kuriles gradually lost their pre-eminence as an exclusive gateway to Japan, the economic potential attracted increasing attention. This attention gave birth to an abortive colonial experiment on Uruppu that galvanized Japan's leaders into an awareness of a frontier problem. However, Russia's 18th century probes into the southern Kuriles failed to achieve their objectives.

As Japanese authorities became conscious of an alien presence in the Kuriles, reactions to the unforeseen contiguity with Russian power evolved. In 1785 after Mogami Takuna's mission to survey the shogunate's northern frontier, a wide range of measures was taken including putting the islands under Hokkaido's control, road building, economic supervision, and the construction of guard stations on Kunashiri and Etorofu. Meanwhile, the Russians had abandoned their settlement on Uruppu in 1805. The Japanese could therefore claim that its northern frontier had been stabilized along the strait which divided Etorofu and Uruppu (Map 5), today's disputed frontier (Rees 1985:171). There was even the possibility that Japan might move into the central and northern Kuriles (Harrison 1953:chapter 2).

At this stage, a new development almost led to hostilities between Russia and Japan. During 1804-05 a Russian named Nikolas Rezanov attempted to negotiate a trading agreement with the Japanese. Rebuffed, Rezanov was so angry that throughout 1806-07 he and his men raided Japanese posts on Sakhalin and the southern Kuriles (Stephan 1971:46-7). There were Japanese casualties, alarm in Japan, and the shogunate on Hokkaido responded by sending military reinforcements to its garrisons on the Kuriles.

A few years later the Japanese on the southern Kuriles took revenge on a Russian survey officer named Vasilii Golovnin and his crew. They were captured as they landed on Kunashiri and then taken to Hokkaido. They were not released until 1813. However, during negotiations over Golovnin and his crew, the Russians tentatively suggested a partition of the Kuriles based on Japanese claims to Kunashiri and Etorofu. Attempts to bring about further Russo-Japanese contacts on this settlement failed. So, Russian and Japanese sovereignty in the Kuriles continued to be defined purely by their respective spheres of activity and the prospects for friction remained (Rees 1985:9-10).

The conclusion of the Golovnin incident presaged a prolonged lull in Russo-Japanese relations in and over the Kuriles. The Russian empire was preoccupied with its European relationships in the post Napoleonic world, while the Shogunate of Hokkaido relinquished direct rule over its

northern regions in 1821 on grounds of expenses. As both Russia and Japan thought the other had lost interest in further contacts, their relations in the Kuriles dwindled. Although the Kuriles temporarily slipped from the focus of Russo-Japanese relations they did not escape from the attention of other countries. The British and Americans approached the arc from the Pacific in search of whales, sea otters, and harbors for provisioning and trade. The increased European and American presence on the Kuriles began to concern both the Japanese and the Russians. The situation became more critical when the Crimean War spilled over into Northeast Asia in 1854. During that war an Anglo-French naval contingent briefly occupied Uruppu in the central Kuriles for about a month (Stephan 1974:84-6).

All of these pressures in addition to the opening of Japan by the United States, Great Britain and Russia during 1835-55 drew Japan into the international community of sovereign states and provided for the first demarcation of the Kuriles. A Russian expedition under Admiral Evfimii Putiatin in addition to opening commercial and diplomatic relations hoped to make an agreement on the Russo-Japanese frontier in the Kuriles and Sakhalin (Stephan 1974:52-4).

For several decades, Russia had been content to leave the frontier with Japan vaguely defined but the new internationalist environment made such an arrangement hazardous. During the boundary negotiations that began with Putiatin's

second expedition both countries at first claimed the entire Kurile archipelago and the island of Sakhalin. A settlement was finally reached in part because of the exigencies raised by the Crimean War (Lensen 1955:118-19). The compromise was reached through The Treaty of Shimoda, which was signed February 7, 1855. This was the first treaty specifically demarcating a frontier in the Kuriles between Russia and Japan (Appendix C). The line was drawn between Etorofu and Uruppu, in the middle of the Kuriles (Map 5). To the north the islands became Russian, to the south Japanese. Today's disputed islands became legal Japanese territory for the first time by international agreement and Sakhalin became a joint possession of the two countries Rees 1980:17).

By formalizing the division of the archipelago between Japan and Russia, The Treaty of Shimoda insured that each segment would evolve along a separate political, social and economic path. With this stabilization each section of the chain led an insulated existence. This condition was short lived as the collapse of the Japanese feudal system in 1868 and Japan's entry into the modern world meant that new pressures were brought to bear on this territorial settlement. The joint ownership of Sakhalin became the immediate catalyst for a new Russo-Japanese treaty since both sides were dissatisfied with this situation. After several years of frustrating stalemate in negotiations over Sakhalin a new agreement was finally reached. On May 7, 1875 The Treaty of

St. Petersburg was signed. Under this treaty Japan yielded its interests in Sakhalin in return for the rest of the Kuriles (Appendix C). Legally then, the entire archipelago became a Japanese possession (Map 5). The Treaty of St. Petersburg anesthetized Russo-Japanese irritations over the Kuriles and ushered in two decades of good relations between the two countries.

1.7 JAPANESE RULE 1875-1945

Soon after the acquisition of the central and northern Kuriles in 1875, Japan took steps to make the entire archipelago part of its homeland. In 1882 the Hokkaido Colonization Office which had acquired jurisdiction over the former Russian islands of the north and central Kuriles became part of the 1868 Japanese prefectural system of government. With a further rationalization of local government in 1886 the Hokkaido Office was set up and the Nemuro Branch Office was put in charge of the archipelago. Shikotan and the Habomai Islands also became part of the Nemuro Office at this time. Unlike the later administration of Formosa, south Sakhalin, and Korea, which were ruled essentially as colonies, the Kuriles were governed as Japanese home territory until 1945 (Rees 1985:21).

The cession of the northern and central Kuriles to Japan in 1875 in no way meant the end of Russian interest in the archipelago. Due to budgeting reasons the Japanese were

unable to prevent Russian encroachment. Continued Russian interest in the islands at this time was best demonstrated in the words of the Russian Admiral Stephan Makarov who quickly perceived "that the archipelago holds the key to communications between the Pacific and Russia's Far East." He saw that short of actual possession, detailed knowledge of the chain underlay Russian interest in the entire region (Stephan 1974:129-30).

Makarov's activities in the Kuriles were exemplified by the rivalry between Japan and Russia in the last decade of the 19th century. The tension increasingly took the form of continental rivalry over Korea and Manchuria. Until the mid 1880's however, the Russian position in the region, despite the acquisition of the maritime province of Manchuria in 1860 and Sakhalin in 1875, was weak strategically due to Russia's inability to project its ambitions in the area. This was remedied by the building of a trans-Siberian railway. With increased Russian and Japanese pressure into Korea and Manchuria, both countries were now presented with the options of accommodation or conflict in northeast Asia.

In 1904 the Russo-Japanese War broke out and by mid 1905 both the Russian army and navy in Far East Asia had all but been completely destroyed by the Japanese. By The Treaty of Portsmouth, New Hampshire on September 5, 1905, Japan acquired Port Arthur, the southern half of Sakhalin below the 50°N parallel (Map 5), and a free hand in Korea

(Stephan 1971:78-80). There were also fishing concessions off Kamchatka to Japan, concessions which helped the expansion of northern Kurile fishing and canning industry in subsequent years (Appendix C). These gains were a great triumph for Japan. The Japanese hold over the Kuriles was now unchallenged. The balance of power had swung unquestionably in favor of Japan (Storry 1976:138-42).

Japan's acquisition of the entire Kuriles in 1875 and unquestioned hold on the islands after their victory over the Russians in 1905 opened new opportunities. Eager to take advantage of potentially lucrative concessions, a number of Japanese entrepreneurs created joint stock companies to exploit Kurile and Kamchatka marine resources. As a result, they formed the basis for a remarkable growth in Japan's North Pacific fishing industry. Each summer thousands of Japanese seasonal workers flocked to the Kuriles and Kamchatka to live and work in the fishing industries. As such, in response to Russian upheaval after 1918, Japanese fishing entrepreneurs in the region enlisted the support of the Japanese navy to protect their interests. They also developed floating canneries.

Russia's revolution and ensuing civil war forced the Japanese settled in Kamchatka to make some adjustments, but they continued to function throughout the period of foreign intervention, in which Japan also played a role until diplomatic relations were established with the Soviet Union in

1925. By the 1930's north Kurile fisheries enjoyed a golden age attracting as many as 30,000 seasonal workers a year from Japan. Fisheries also played an important role in the south Kuriles with crabs and kelp products proving to be quite profitable. The north Kuriles, however, dominated the arc's fisheries and fisheries outdistanced all other economic sectors on these islands (Appendix A, Table 1).

Life in the Kuriles between 1900 and 1945 fell into sharply contrasting patterns. The northern islands pulsed with cannery workers in the summer, but were still during the rest of the year. The southern reaches of the chain underwent less dramatic demographic fluctuations and developed a stable village society similar to that of coastal settlements in Hokkaido. Of the 17,549 permanent inhabitants in 1945 about 80 per cent made their homes on the southern Kurile Islands of Kunashiri and Etorofu. Despite its modest scale, south Kurile society showed some degree of occupational diversity. To supplement income from marine products, many inhabitants farmed and raised livestock, forested and mined (Stephan 1974:121-5).

With the deterioration of Soviet-Japanese relations after 1931 over Manchuria, the increase of Soviet power in Siberia and the Far East during 1933-37, and Japanese expansionism in northeast Asia; the USSR began transforming Makorov's visions into reality. In April 1932 the Soviet Pacific Fleet was first established. As a result, Japanese fisher-

men and patrol boats were increasingly pushed out of Kamchatkan waters and Soviet maritime activities increased in the Kuriles. Immediately prior to World War II, Russo-Japanese rivalry in the Kuriles and Northeast Asia was intense. Both countries viewed each other as potential enemies in any general conflict. The fate of the Kuriles was dependent on the outcome of the coming war.

1.8 THE KURILES AT WAR 1941-45

Of all the far flung battlefields which comprised World War II, none is more ignored than the Kurile Islands. Surely, such neglect, is undeserved. The Kuriles acted as a staging ground for the Pearl Harbor and Aleutian operations. They were the first part of Japan's home islands to suffer American bombs after Doolittle's raid in April of 1942. They were one of the last battlegrounds of the war, with hostilities erupting three days after Emperor Hirohito broadcast his acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration.

Military and political objectives carried different weight on Japanese, American and Soviet calculations regarding the arc during the war. The Japanese regarded the islands primarily as strategic outposts, initially as a springboard to Hawaii and the Aleutians and latter as a first line of defense against an American juggernaut. Only in the war's waning months did Tokyo contemplate using the arc for political purposes. Similarly, the Americans saw

the Kuriles in strategic terms, as stepping stones along the shortest route to the enemy's heartland. But political as well as military considerations led the United States to choose a southern rather than a northern approach to Japan and to dispose of the Kuriles with cavalier ignorance at Yalta. The Soviet Union appreciated both the political and military stakes more thoroughly than either of its Pacific neighbors. They knew the arc's strategic value from experience. Moreover, they were conscious of a strong historical association and yearned to avenge past Japanese gains in these islands. The Soviets pushed one overriding goal, acquisition. It achieved acquisition first by gently deflecting the American's northern approach to Japan, then by securing American and British sanction to a territorial transfer, and finally by prosecuting a vigorous military campaign in the two weeks between Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration and the signing of the surrender document.

Soviet determination to possess the Kurile archipelago grew from bitter experience. During World War II, in Japanese hands the arc blocked Russian access to the Pacific and choked the flow of lend-lease aid. Moreover, the islands had abetted Japan's exploitation of Kamchatka and could serve as a springboard for striking Russia's Pacific seaboard. Moscow expressed irredentist claims in 1940. Significantly, their claims encompassed not only the northern and

central Kuriles ceded to Japan in 1875, but also Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan and the Habomai Islands where Russia's historical and legal claims were weak. On November 8, 1940 Soviet Foreign Affairs Commissioner Viachelav M. Molotov submitted a request for the entire arc as the price for a non-aggression pact. Japan could afford to decline the offer this time. Later Japan had no option (Lensen 1972:190).

The Pacific War gave the Soviet Union an opportunity to gain the support of third powers for its Kurile claims. Preparations for the postwar settlement in the Far East may be said to have begun with the Cairo Declaration, signed by Chiang Kai-shek, Churchill and Roosevelt in November 1943. It announced the Allies' intention to "restrain and punish the aggression of Japan," which was to be "stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of World War I" and "expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed," (Appendix C), (U.S. Dept. of State 1961:448-49).

The Soviet Union was not represented in Cairo but Stalin had hastened to press Soviet territorial claims as soon as the Soviet Union joined the Allies in Europe. Thus, when Stalin agreed at the Teheran Conference in December 1943 to enter the Pacific War, the Allies assumed he had a price. Preoccupied with winning the immediate struggle as quickly and cheaply as possible, the Allies were willing to lend its

blessing to limited Soviet objectives in northeast Asia. The price emerged in late 1944. The Soviets wanted south Sakhalin and all the Kurile Islands.

At Yalta, in February 1945, the United States accepted this price. President Roosevelt agreed that the southern half of Sakhalin and the Kuriles Islands would be handed over to the Soviet Union at the end of the war (U.S. Dept. of State 1955:984). The US State Department had in fact produced a memorandum for Roosevelt's use at Yalta. The memorandum was prepared by Professor George H. Blakeslee, a political scientist from Clarke University. The paper began with the observation that "the Kurile Islands have strategic importance for Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States," and dealt in some detail with the history, the geography, the material resources and economy of the islands. Blakeslee considered that Japan had "a strong claim" to the southern Kuriles on the basis of nationality, self-determination, geographic propinquity, economic need and historic possession. The Soviet Union, he argued had a "substantial claim" to the northern Kuriles. He suggested a transfer of the southern Kuriles (today's Northern Territories) would create a situation which Japan would find difficult to accept as a permanent solution (U.S. Dept. of State 1955:379-83).

Unfortunately, Roosevelt did not read this memorandum and he assumed the Soviets had a legitimate claim to all the

Kuriles and apparently misunderstood that the four islands of the southern Kuriles were part of it. The United States also agreed at Soviet insistence to keep this part of the Yalta Agreement secret (Zagoria 1982:126).

The Yalta Agreement was confirmed at Potsdam in July and August of the same year. Meeting there with Stalin and Britain's Clement Atlee, Harry Truman agreed that "Japan shall consist of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu and Shikoku, along with such minor islands as we shall determine" (Appendix C). Japan was to be reduced virtually to its home islands.

Japan knew nothing at the time about Yalta's implications for south Sakhalin and the southern Kuriles, but Tokyo was already considering territorial concessions to the Soviet Union as payment to ensure Soviet neutrality in a deteriorating war situation. As early as September 1944 the Japanese drafted a document which among other appeasements envisaged ceding the central and northern Kuriles (those islands that Japan had acquired in 1875), as well as Sakhalin (Lensen 1972:134-5).

In spring of 1945 with Germany defeated, the Soviets began a massive build-up of military forces in Far East Asia in preparation for a full-scale invasion of Manchuria, Korea, Sakhalin and the Kuriles. On April 5, 1945, the Soviet government gave formal notice to Japan of the termination of the renewal of the Neutrality Treaty of 1941 (Appendix C). However, the present pact was still valid

until April of 1946 and legally therefore the Soviets were bound to neutrality with the Japanese until that date (Appendix C).

However on August 8, 1945, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. On August 15, 1945 the Japanese accepted the Potsdam Declaration and surrendered. It was not until August 17th that the Soviets began their assault on the entire Kurile Island chain. The only hostilities that took place in the process of the Soviet occupation of the chain occurred in the northernmost island of Shimusu. Throughout August 18th to September 4th the Soviets carried out a lightning military occupation of the entire Kurile arc. All of the Kuriles as well as the Habomai Islands and Shikotan were now under the control of the Soviet Union. It is interesting to point out that when Soviet forces reached Uruppu they stopped there and temporarily retreated northwards assuming the Americans would receive the surrender of the Japanese forces to the south. This understanding was based on an agreement between the Soviets and American chiefs of staff over the boundary line between their two respective areas of operation. Eventually, however, the Soviets occupied all the remaining Kuriles (the Northern Territories) when no American troops appeared (Mendl 1989:458).

The Soviet forces acted efficiently on the southern Kuriles. They occupied government buildings, schools, hos-

pitals and canneries, and cut all communications leading to Hokkaido. Most of the Japanese troops in the northern Kuriles were sent to Siberia, Kamchatka and Sakhalin labor camp complexes. Of the approximately 17,000 Japanese civilians and about 10,000 military personnel in the southern Kuriles, many escaped to Hokkaido before the impending invasion of Soviet troops arrived (Rees 1985:76-82). The Russo-Japanese rivalry over the Kuriles, after two centuries, had been decisively resolved in favor of the Soviets.

1.9 SOVIET ANNEXATION AND TREATY MAKING 1945-51

After the military occupation of the Kuriles, absorption and annexation by the Soviet Union followed quickly. Soviet civilians and demobilized soldiers had begun to settle on the islands before the end of 1945. Early in 1946 border guards replaced Soviet army units. Local property was requisitioned to house these newcomers, precipitating a fresh flight of Japanese inhabitants to Hokkaido. Soviet currency replaced Japanese in March of 1946. In February 1946 the Soviet government declared that the Kurile Islands and south Sakhalin were Soviet territory and their resources property of the state. All property and business concerns were declared nationalized from that date. The Kuriles were also declared part of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (Map 5). Annexation was accompanied by Russification. Soviet geographers visited the islands during 1946,

replacing Japanese with Soviet place names. Soviet specialists were shipped in to assess the archipelago's resources and prospects for long-term development (Rees 1985:85).

During the winter of 1947-8 the last of the Japanese inhabitants of the southern Kuriles were forcibly expelled to Hokkaido. The Japanese were not remunerated in any way for the loss of their property or businesses. From the Soviet's perspective, these successive measures in the wake of military occupation meant that the Kuriles were now legally and administratively part of the Soviet Union (Rees 1985:85-6).

Awareness of the significance of the Soviet occupation of the Kuriles, however, soon developed into what was called from 1946 the Northern Territories problem. Initially, the phrase encompassed all of Japan's lost lands to the north of Hokkaido. Later, however, the term came to refer only to the two southern Kuriles, Shikotan and the Habomai Islands due to their geographical proximity to Hokkaido and because most of the former Japanese residents of the Kuriles had once lived on these four islands. As early as December 1945, despite the war-torn state of Japan, a petition was signed by 30,000 residents of Hokkaido asking for the return of the Kuriles to Japan and was submitted to the Japanese government. During 1946 the Hokkaido Prefectural Assembly passed the first of innumerable motions asking for the return of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and the Habo-

mai Islands. By mid 1947 concern over the lost islands reached national levels when the Japanese foreign minister supported the restoration of the Kuriles to Japan.

Meanwhile, the final disposition of the Kuriles, in the view of the United States and its allies, had to await a Japanese peace treaty. Such a treaty alone could legitimize the Soviet acquisition of the archipelago. Negotiations of the territorial issues involved in the Japanese peace treaty were especially complex. The American view was that the Potsdam Declaration was the only open, valid definition of peace terms which linked the Allied powers and Japan. Any earlier territorial agreement, such as the Yalta Agreement would have to be confirmed in the peace treaty. The USSR, on the other hand, in a formal note in 1950 insisted that the disposition of the Kuriles had already been decided at Cairo, at Yalta and at Potsdam (Dunn 1963:108-12). As negotiations proceeded, the United States held that only Soviet participation in the treaty process could give the USSR title to the Kuriles.

Despite great efforts on the Japanese part to substantiate their claims to everything south of Etorofu Island, their endeavors bore no fruit. The US negotiators did not award high priority to Japanese claims to the Northern Territories. Even formal protests from Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida of Japan fell on deaf American ears. So, Japan having surrendered unconditionally and very anxious to recover

from the war, did not press their claims any further at this time (Yoshida 1961:296-8).

The Soviet Union was not a party to the San Francisco Peace Treaty when it was signed in September of 1951 because it was highly critical of it. By this treaty Japan agreed to abandon and renounce all rights, title and claims to the Kuriles (Appendix C). However, the Soviet's were critical of the treaty because it did not specify in the final draft to whom Japan should relinquish its claims over the Kuriles. As a result, the Soviets refused to sign the peace treaty. The final draft of the Japanese peace treaty carefully stated in Article 25 that no rights would be granted to any state which had not signed and ratified the treaty (Appendix C).

Yoshida in his formal acceptance speech of the treaty made what in effect was an indirect claim to both the southern Kuriles, Shikotan and the Habomai Islands by referring to past treaties on the islands in a passage concerning the territorial issue. In this way, Yoshida formally renounced title to the Northern Territories with the San Francisco Peace Treaty but in effect claimed the Soviets were illegally occupying the Northern Territories. This ambiguous attitude was permitted to stand for years while the Yoshida government put its efforts towards regaining Japanese independence and developing stronger relations with the United States. Meanwhile, the American government in the following

years, because of the Cold War, repudiated the Yalta Agreements and stated that the Soviet Union by not signing the treaty lost irrevocably its opportunity to claim under the treaty any of the Kuriles or Sakhalin (Committee on Foreign Relations 1952:21-23 and 25).

1.10 THE 1955-56 PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

Following the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1952, Soviet-Japanese relations remained frozen for several years. Throughout Stalin's lifetime the Soviet Union remained rigid on the issue of the disputed islands. But with the thaw in East-West relations that developed after his death, the new Soviet leaders showed interest in normalizing relations with Japan and also showed some flexibility on the territorial issue to the extent that they sought to gain reconfirmation of the boundaries established at Yalta.

Toward this end the Soviets took diplomatic initiatives which led to the Soviet-Japanese negotiations of 1955-56 on restoration of diplomatic relations and settlement of the territorial issue with Japan. Apart from the Japanese claim to the Northern Territories there were several pressing issues which made the Japanese government anxious to normalize relations with the Soviet Union. They included Japan's desire to join the United Nations (which was dependent on Soviet acceptance), finding a solution to the problem of the northern fisheries with the Soviets which would include

access to these waters, and repatriating over 17,000 Japanese prisoners from World War II still held by the Soviets. As a result, Japan was drawn into negotiations with the Soviets. But negotiations vacillated throughout the 1955-56 talks, only to finish with an agreement that shelved the major issues for future negotiations. Diplomatic relations however, through a joint declaration were established (Zagoria 1982:129).

During the first session Japan made maximum opening demands on the questions of territorial issues asking for all the Kuriles, south Sakhalin, the Habomai Islands and Shikotan. However, the northern and central Kuriles and south Sakhalin were claimed for bargaining purposes only. In fact, the Japanese government was prepared to accept just the return of Shikotan and the Habomai Islands as satisfactory grounds for a treaty. The Soviets at this time offered Shikotan and the Habomai Islands to the Japanese together with acceptable solutions for other outstanding issues. Prospects for agreement seemed good and the Soviets dropped demands for the withdrawal of American forces from Japan and the complete neutralization of that country before signing a peace treaty. At this point, the Japanese government suddenly reversed course and extended their minimal territorial claim to now include the two southern Kurile Islands of Kunashiri and Etorofu as well as Shikotan and the Habomai Islands. The Soviets for their part angrily rejected the

new Japanese demand and the negotiations were suspended. Japan's claim to the southern Kuriles were to prove to be the pivot of the entire negotiations (Zagoria 1982:129-30).

When the second session of the Soviet-Japanese normalization talks opened in January of 1956, there was still an impasse over Japan's continuing demand for the South Kuriles. This round of talks was suspended when Japan refused to accept a "West German solution" to the Northern Territories Dispute with the Soviets which would restore diplomatic relations but postpone settlement of the territorial issues. However, agreements had been reached on other outstanding issues at this time.

In July of 1956 a third round of negotiations was opened as pressures mounted on the Japanese government to come to a settlement with the Soviets. Also, at this time, Japan was told it was unrealistic to ask for the two southern Kurile Islands because the USSR would never change its attitude. Once again, the Soviets offered back the Habomai Islands and Shikotan but the Japanese refused again, holding out for the two southern Kuriles as well. A deadlock prevailed again between the two nations over the Northern Territories issue.

However, when it became clear that the Soviets were going to remain immobile on the territorial issue, the majority of the Japanese government accepted the necessity for a normalization on the West German precedent with the Soviet Union, leaving the territorial issue for settlement in a formal

peace treaty. As a result, a fourth session was initiated and on October 19, 1956 a Joint Declaration between the USSR and Japan was finally signed. Apart from the territorial problem, the Joint Declaration resolved the outstanding issues between the two nations (Appendix C), (Rees 1985:112-14).

1.11 TERRITORIAL ISSUE REMAINS UNCHANGED IN THE 1960's

Following the normalization of relations the issue of the lost islands obstinately remained as a major factor in Soviet-Japanese relations, precluding an effective Soviet use of the "peaceful coexistence" strategy in relations between the two nations. Moreover, in early January 1960 the US-Japanese Security Treaty was revised on terms more favorable to Japan. Following the revision of the US-Japanese Security Treaty, Moscow hardened its position significantly on the territorial issue with Japan. So, later in that month Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko told the Japanese government that the revised US-Japanese Security Treaty was directed against the Soviet Union. Therefore, Shikotan and the Habomai Islands would only be returned to Japan following the withdrawal of all American bases and troops from Japan and the signing of a formal peace treaty between Japan and the Soviet Union. The Soviet action clearly linked the return of the two islands to the ending of Japan's security arrangements with the US. The Japanese government in Febru-

ary 1960 said it could not accept this and that the security treaty with the US should not in any way affect the arrangements contained in the Joint Declaration of 1956.

Throughout the next three years the Soviet position was further hardened and remained unchanged on the territorial issue with Japan over the Northern Territories. Hence, the Northern Territories remained in Soviet hands, protected by a rigorously enforced 12 nautical mile limit. As the Soviet position on the issue hardened in the early 1960's, Japan rationalized the official claim that had been put forward during the normalization negotiations of 1955-56. After 1961 the Japanese government adopted the position that the southern Kuriles were inherent Japanese territory. The Japanese government therefore officially defined the Northern Territories as encompassing the four islands of Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan and the Habomai Islands. A working consensus emerged in Japan among the government, the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, and some irredentist organizations; a consensus that the Northern Territories should be limited to the four islands noted above (Rees 1985:122). For the positions taken on the Northern Territories by some other major Japanese irredentist groups (Figure 2, Appendix C). Until the latter part of the decade the issue continued to remain in a deadlock, but both Japan and the Soviet Union focused their attention on other problems.

1.12 THE ISSUE BECOMES MORE COMPLICATED

As the Japanese-Soviet deadlock continued over the Northern Territories throughout the 1960's, Sino-Soviet relations rapidly deteriorated. Mutual perceptions of the Sino-Japanese relationship changed dramatically when in 1964 China's Mao Tse-tung supported Japan's claim to the Northern Territories and bitterly criticized the Soviet Union for its territorial ambitions. This of course was a political move to support China's own territorial disputes with the Soviet Union. However, Japan's grievance over the disputed islands now became internationalized with latent possibilities of exerting greater leverage against the Soviet Union. Unfortunately for Japan, meaningful Chinese support was rendered useless with the chaos of China's Cultural Revolution.

Japan meanwhile continued to hope for a comprehensive peace treaty with the USSR which would finally legitimize relations with Moscow, settle the territorial issue and provide for reaching economic cooperation to off-set Japan's disproportionate dependence on overseas energy and raw materials. Joint development of nearby Soviet Siberian resources would minimize this dependence (Hellman 1969:31-32). This in fact became a major incentive the Soviets would repeatedly use to coax the Japanese to reach an agreement. Nevertheless, the territory issue became even more complicated when Japan was able to negotiate an agreement with the US over the future of Okinawa Island. Follow-

ing the agreement on Okinawa there was renewed pressure in Japan for the return of the Northern Territories. In fact, the Japanese made appeals for the return of the islands to the United Nation's General Assembly in 1970 and 1972, and set up a Northern Policy Headquarters to advance the issue of Northern irredentism.

Continued Sino-Soviet hostility and the possibility of closer Sino-American relations more than likely pressured the Soviets in 1972 to attempt a compromise on the Northern Territories. In January of 1972 Gromyko offered Japan Shikotan and the Habomai Islands once again and suggested Japanese economic access to Siberia if Japan would pledge not to develop a closer friendship with China. Japan, however, insisted on a territorial settlement which included the southern Kuriles too. Thus, talks proved to be abortive. Once again there was a deadlock between the two nations over these small islands (Zagoria 1982:134).

1.13 SOVIET-JAPANESE IMPASSE

During the early 1960's the Soviet's relationship with Japan became secondary to those with the United States and Western Europe. There was little incentive for concessions by the Soviets as the strategic benefits of the southern Kuriles became more important to USSR security objectives in northeast Asia. On the other hand, though, the Soviets realized if the territorial issue with Japan could be reached

in a peace treaty, they could then legitimize their acquisition and presence in northeast Asia.

Accordingly, when the Japanese premier Kakuei Tanaka visited Moscow in 1973 for talks on a peace treaty with the Soviets, he found them not prepared to accommodate Japan on the return of the northern islands. However, a Japanese-Soviet Joint Communique was reached and both sides continued to negotiate for the conclusion of a peace treaty (Appendix C). This, however, marked the limit of any Soviet advance toward the Japanese position on the Northern Territories. Strategic considerations were now the primary interest for the Soviets. So, during 1974-75 there was no response to Japanese pleas to renew peace treaty talks. In fact, in January 1975 Gromyko told the Japanese foreign minister that the Japanese view concerning the territorial question "could not serve as a basis for a peace treaty" and asked for Japan to take a "realistic attitude." From 1975 onward, the Soviet Union claimed the Japanese call for the return of the northern islands as a "baseless and unwarranted demand made by a small segment of the people" and that it was "instigated directly from outside Japan" (Zagoria 1982:128-9).

Soviet-Japanese talks of a peace treaty in 1976 proved to be equally fruitless. However, some progress was made between the two countries over their northern fisheries problem in 1977 when a fishing accord was signed in May of that year which helped settle fishing zones for both coun-

tries. Nevertheless, the fisheries accord was secondary to Japan's concern over the territorial issue. But in 1978 the Soviet's position was stated in unequivocal terms when the Soviet premier Alexi Kosygin told the Japanese foreign minister "that the Soviet Union does not recognize the existence of a territorial problem in its relations with Japan" (Rees 1985:30). After twenty years of negotiations with the Soviet Union, Japan had been forced to recognize the impasse on the territorial issue with that nation. For strategic, regional and political relations with China and Eastern Europe, the Soviets could not contemplate seriously the retrocession of any of the Northern Territories.

1.14 MILITARY BUILD-UP OF NORTHERN TERRITORIES 1978-85

The military and strategic dimension of security as it related to the Soviet occupation of the Northern Territories had taken precedence over any political or economic calculations involving Japan by the late 1970's. A build up of Soviet forces on these islands started in the spring of 1978 when negotiations for the signature of a Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship were nearing their conclusion (Table 2, Appendix A). Thus, conveying a message to the Japanese that could never be adequately communicated by the diplomatic process alone (Mendl 1989:465).

The new strategic projection of Soviet power began with increased naval and military aircraft exercises that maneu-

vered around the Japanese home islands (Tables 3 and 4, Appendix A). The vulnerability of Japan's island economy, especially dependent on the overseas oil routes was clearly emphasized (Map 6). In addition, shortly after the signing of the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty and Friendship in August of 1978, officials in Tokyo stated that Soviet troop strength in the South Kuriles had doubled to about 3000. New military facilities, including communications centers, had been built there and there was increasing naval traffic between Soviet bases in Sakhalin and the South Kuriles.

During the following year, the Soviet troop build-up on Etorofu and Kunashiri continued. In February 1979, the Japanese government stated that there were now between 5000 and 6000 Soviet combat troops on the two islands. New airfields were built on Etorofu capable of handling all kinds of military aircraft and a new port was being built capable of handling up to 20,000 tons. Soviet artillery was deployed on Kunashiri which was well within range of Hokkaido. During April of 1979 the Soviet Union began to deploy all new mobile SS-20 intermediate-range missile in the region (Rees 1980:39-40).

More detailed information on the continuing Soviet deployment in the southern Kuriles was released in Tokyo during May 1980. A permanent military base had been built on Etorofu and the strength of Soviet ground forces reached approximately 13,000 men. A divisional headquarters had

been set up on Etorofu and Soviet equipment including tanks, aircraft, ground-to-air missiles, and an MI-24 assault headquarters were also sent to the south Kuriles. Military and surveillance facilities had also been built on Shikotan along with a base for assault helicopters (Tokyo Kyodo 1980). Thus, as a result of these events, the military balance of power in the region was becoming increasingly threatening to Japan and created a debate within that country over possible rearmament.

In the early to mid 1980's the role of the disputed islands had been as an indispensable asset in Soviet regional strategy. As such, it was a role that mortgaged political and economic objectives to strategic and security objectives. In short, the Soviet Union up until 1985 seemed most interested in defining and demonstrating its role as an Asian-Pacific power solely through projecting its military might in this area. The Soviet emphasis on the projection of its interests through military power in Northeast Asia brought about a unique conjunction of interests among the United States, China and Japan. This provided new opportunities for American policy in this region. The Soviet policy also increased the desire and likelihood for Japanese rearmament and decreased the possibility for more economic cooperation between the two nations. This was exactly the last thing the Soviets wanted to see happen. It would then seem that the Soviets sacrificed their political and eco-

conomic objectives in the Far East and in many ways created a self-fulfilling prophecy in the form of at least a tentative American-Japanese-Sino alignment. At the heart of this complex historical process was the tension generated by the Soviet-Japanese dispute over the Northern Territories.

This detailed discussion of the genesis of the dispute over the Northern Territories has been necessary not only to understand subsequent developments and the geopolitical significance of the dispute today, but also because the main issues in Soviet-Japanese relations have clustered around it. Most likely, the dispute will continue to play a central role in future relations between the two nations.

Chapter II

JAPANESE AND SOVIET PERSPECTIVES

In order to more fully comprehend the present dispute over the Northern Territories both Japanese and Soviet perspectives on the islands and the issue itself have to be addressed. Over the past 45 years, both countries claimed and counterclaimed these territories on the basis of geographical, historical, legal, economic, political and strategic grounds. As such, they have equally contributed to the essence and intractable nature of today's territorial dispute. At this point, let us now examine the factors involved in each sides refusal to resolve what continues to be the most volatile issue separating these two nations.

2.1 JAPAN'S GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORIC CLAIMS

The principal basis for Japan's claim to the Northern Territories is that these islands have always been Japanese territory and have never been under the jurisdiction of any other state up until the Soviet occupation of them in 1945. A Japanese foreign ministry booklet on the dispute certainly makes this point clear by stating that all four islands are "part of Japan's inherent territory geographically and historically, and should naturally be under this country's

sovereignty" (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1970:2). Of these four islands, Kunashiri and Etorofu, the two southern Kurile islands, although generally thought of as being outside Japan, nevertheless are considered by the Japanese as inalienable lands of Japan. This assertion is based on Japanese claims to prior discovery and settlement of these islands. Some Japanese even claim the two islands are not part of the Kurile Islands but instead make-up a separate group of islands which are connected with Hokkaido. This of course is widely contested. As for Shikotan and the Habomai Islands, the Japanese claim with much more accuracy that they too are geographically separate from the Kuriles. In addition, the Japanese argue that these two islands have always been administratively part of Hokkaido and not the Kuriles.

In support of these contentions, the Japanese cite the following historical facts. The Japanese have commonly claimed that the indigenous inhabitants of the Kuriles were Japanese Ainus. According to the Japanese, archaeological and ethnological research has provided information that claims that the Ainu used the southern Kuriles as a place of hunting and temporary settlement away from their homes in Hokkaido and eventually pushed north to the northern Kuriles and southern Kamchatka (Northern Territories Issue Association (NTIA) 1974:14).

In addition, for the Japanese it is clear that the first

group that had close connections with the Kuriles were the Matsumae Clan in Hokkaido. It is said that they had active contacts with the Ainus by the early 16th century. In fact, in 1633 the Lord of the Matsumae Clan who ruled Hokkaido and other northern Ainu territories, ordered one of his retainers to make a survey of these lands. As a result, a map of the northern islands including Kunashiri and Etorofu was drawn. In 1644 another map which showed all known Japanese territory at the time incorporated the entire Kurile chain as well as the Habomai Islands and Shikotan, nearly a century before the first Russians appeared.

By the early 18th century, according to Japanese historians, the Shogunate of Hokkaido ruled these islands and the Ainu on them and active trade was taking place between the Ainus of the southern Kuriles and Japanese merchants on Hokkaido. In fact, several permanent trading stations and offices were established on Etorofu and Kunashiri at this time. Further, according to many Japanese historians, the first Russians explorers did not arrive in the Kuriles until 1711 and later just sporadically appeared in the area never establishing a permanent settlement on either Kunashiri or Etorofu. Meanwhile, Kunashiri and Etorofu were being inhabited by Japanese settlers and the Ainu on these two islands were being culturally assimilated. From the Japanese perspective at least, the presence of these early settlers and their association with the southern Kuriles at

this time, checked the southern thrust of the Russians to the island of Uruppu (NTIA 1974:15-16). Therefore, according to the Japanese, the historical facts described above prove without the slightest doubt that Etorofu and the islands south of it were never permanently inhabited by Russians. Nor, were the islands ever under Russian administration. They were discovered first by the Japanese, inhabited first by Japanese, and from the beginning administered by the Japanese continuously until 1945.

2.2 JAPAN'S TREATY AND LEGAL CLAIMS

The Japanese feel that their claim to the disputed islands is further justified by treaty relationships with the Russian Empire. In 1821, Alexander I issued an edict proclaiming that Russian territory ended at the southern tip of Uruppu or at latitude 45°50' N. However, during Russo-Japanese negotiations over the Kuriles between 1853-55, both countries at first still claimed the entire archipelago. But The Treaty of Shimoda (February 7, 1855) was a compromise. Under Article II of the treaty with Russia provided that the border between Japan and Russia should be between the islands of Etorofu and Uruppu. The treaty stated Etorofu Island and all the Kuriles south of it as belonging wholly to Japan, and Uruppu Island and all the Kuriles to the north as wholly belonging to the Russians (Appendix C). Thus, the border between Japan and Russia in the Kuriles was

legally established lying between Etorofu and Uruppu (Map 5). As such, Japanese ownership of Etorofu and the islands south of it were confirmed (Rees 1980:17 and NTIA 1974:19-20).

This arrangement was short lived. Following the Meiji Restoration and with it Japan's entry into the modern world, new negotiations became necessary for the Kuriles. The joint status of Sakhalin was the immediate catalyst for a new Russo-Japanese treaty agreed upon at St. Petersburg on May 7, 1875. Under Article 2 of The St. Petersburg Treaty provided that Japan would cede the island of Sakhalin to the Russians and in exchange the Russians would cede the entire Kurile chain to the Japanese (Appendix C and Map 5), (NTIA 1974:21).

It should be noted at this point that like the 1855 treaty, the treaty of 1875 also regarded Etorofu and the islands south of it as being, as a matter of course, Japanese possessions. The provisions of the two treaties are clear evidence to the Japanese that today's Northern Territories have never belonged to any other nation and that they are legal and inherent Japanese territory. What is more, the status of the Kuriles was further fixed after the Japanese victory in the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese War. In the Portsmouth, New Hampshire Peace Treaty of 1905, not only did Japan retain sovereignty of the Kuriles but also gained back possession of the southern half of Sakhalin as well (Map 5),

(Kim 1974:19).

During World War II, the Allied Powers made a number of declarations and engagements stating their commitment to certain principles on which to build a better world after the war and laid down the basic rules and specific policies concerning post war disposition of territories. It is necessary to examine the Japanese perspective on these individual declarations as they relate to the Northern Territories problem.

The Allies clarified their basic principles for rebuilding a world after the war for the first time in the Atlantic Charter. The Charter was signed on August 14, 1941 by Roosevelt and Churchill as a declaration of common principles underlying the national policies of their countries for creating a peaceful postwar world. In the first two of its eight items the Atlantic Charter declared: "1 Their countries seek no aggrandizement territorial or other" and "2 They desired to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned" (Appendix C). When considering the issue of the Northern Territories, the Japanese believe that if these principles are to be followed in good faith, Japanese territories which had been an integral part of Japan cannot justly be taken away. For, since they had not been seized from any other nation, they cannot possibly be returned to any original owner. The Japanese believe that the Allied

support of the Soviet occupation of the Northern Territories in 1945 was nothing short of territorial aggrandizement, especially, when this was not carried out by the wishes of the people concerned (NTIA 1974:24-5).

In January 1942, the Allied Powers including Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union issued the Declaration by the United Nations. In this document they expressed their commitment to the common program of principles and purposes of the Atlantic Charter, territorial non-expansion and self-determination of peoples. These same principles were later embodied in both the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Proclamation. As such, for the Japanese, it is impossible to deny that the Soviet occupation of the Northern Territories runs counter to the pledges made by the Allies (NTIA 1974:25).

On November 27, 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-Shek met in Cairo to discuss their three countries' future military operations against Japan. The results of their discussions were made public in the form of a general statement called the Cairo Declaration. The Japanese believe that the following points from the Cairo Declaration further their claim to the Northern Territories: 1) the three countries covet no gain for themselves and have no thoughts of territorial expansion and, 2) Japan should be stripped of all territories it had stolen and taken by violence or greed (Appendix C).

Given the principles of territorial non-expansion laid down in the Cairo statement, the Allies, including the Soviet Union, could not deprive Japan of the islands of the Northern Territories. Even though the Soviet Union did not sign the declaration, it did sign the Declaration by the United Nations, which in turn subscribed to the terms of the Atlantic Charter and they also participated in the Potsdam Declaration, which in turn incorporated the Cairo Declaration. As such the Japanese believe the Soviets are bound to all the principles laid out in these documents.

In the second item of the Cairo Declaration, the Allies expressed for the first time what they would do with Japanese territories. Put briefly, this action was to be based on the idea that Japan should be stripped of all territories except possessions which were historically and integrally part of Japan. The Japanese contention on this is that although Russia at one time or another owned the central and northern Kuriles and Sakhalin, the history of transfer shows that Japan did not ever take the southern Kuriles by violence or greed. Moreover, the provision, no matter how far it is stretched, can never be made to apply to the islands of the Northern Territories because they had never been foreign territory. The Soviet occupation of these territories in 1945 therefore supposedly violates the principles of non-expansion proposed by the Allies (NTIA 1974:26-7).

The Japanese also have some problems with the Yalta

Agreement which was signed on February 11, 1945 among the three Allied leaders Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin to specify the rewards to be given to the Soviet Union in the event it joined the Allies in the war against Japan. In this agreement it was stated that both Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands should be handed over to the Soviet Union (Appendix C).

However, when this agreement was signed the Neutrality Treaty of 1941 between Japan and the Soviet Union was still valid until April 1946 and the Soviet Union was obligated therefore to remain neutral in the war against Japan and to respect the integrity and inviolability of its territory (Appendix C). From the moral point of view, it is argued the Soviet Union was guilty of bad faith vis-a-vis its partner in the neutrality arrangement.

Even apart from this consideration, there is Japanese doubt as to whether the Yalta Agreement was really valid as an international engagement, which normally requires performance of certain procedures both domestic and international. The Japanese think the Yalta Agreement is faulty in form and procedural requirements. For example, it does not say clearly whether the three leaders signed it on behalf of their respective countries or, whether they did so in their capacities as President, Prime Minister and Premier respectively, for the document simply bears their names without their titles. Moreover, the Yalta Agreement was kept com-

pletely secret until February 1946. Although it was a document concerning the disposal of a third countries' territories, the latter was kept completely ignorant of the existence of the agreement. In addition, since this personal engagement was not acknowledged as a peace treaty, the Japanese believe there is no reason why they should be bound to it in any way. Also, the Japanese believe that the Yalta Agreement per se has no effect of transferring territories, as it was merely a promise on the part of Great Britain and the United States to support certain territorial demands that might be presented by the Soviet Union when they held a peace conference with Japan. Japan further points out that the Yalta Agreement was not mentioned in the Potsdam Declaration, the terms of which Japan accepted at the time of surrender. The Japanese therefore believe that the Soviet Union cannot make claims on the basis of that agreement (Kim 1974:20).

The Potsdam Declaration was issued on July 26, 1945 and was signed by the leaders of the United States, China, Great Britain and later by the Soviet Union when on August 8, 1945 it joined the war against Japan. In the Potsdam Declaration, no reference is made to southern Sakhalin or to the Kurile Islands. Article 8 of the Proclamation states that the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty should be limited to the four main islands and "such minor islands as the signatories would

determine" (Appendix C). The Japanese accepted the Potsdam Proclamation, and in the Instrument of Surrender (September 2, 1945) pledged to "faithfully implement the terms of the Potsdam Proclamation." However, the Japanese interpret the proclamation as not intended to deprive Japan of the areas it had not forcefully taken by violence or greed. Therefore once again, from the Japanese perspective, the Soviet Union is violating the principles of territorial expansion through its continued occupation of the Northern Territories. The Japanese contention on the Potsdam Proclamation is that its territorial clauses should be interpreted in such a way as not to contravene the Cairo principles of territorial non-expansion (Kim 1974:20-1).

Finally, Japan holds that the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951 provides no legal basis for Soviet control over the Northern Territories. Article 2 of the treaty provides that "Japan renounces all rights, title and claim" to the Kuriles and southern Sakhalin (Appendix C). Japan concedes that it renounced all claim to the Kuriles and southern Sakhalin, insisting, however, that the treaty specified neither to whom these areas belong nor the geographic limits of the Kurile Islands. It is said the Japanese negotiators did not understand that Kunashiri and Etorofu as well as the Habomai Islands and Shikotan were considered to be part of the Kuriles by the Allies, and therefore when Japan renounced its claim to the Kuriles, did not realize these four islands

were also to be included. There is much doubt to the validity of this contention though (NTIA 1974:34-36).

The Soviet Union attended the San Francisco Peace Conference and its delegate proposed amendments to the article of the peace treaty with respect to the territories. The Soviet delegate demanded that the Soviet Union be given full sovereignty over Sakhalin and the Kuriles. His proposals were rejected and the Soviet Union chose not to sign the peace treaty because it did not expressly refer to southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles as Soviet possessions. However, the Japanese hold that by refusing to sign the peace treaty, the Soviet Union put itself in a decidedly unfavorable position for the action made the treaty inapplicable to them. Japan may have renounced its rights to the Northern Territories with respect to the 48 Allied signatories of the peace treaty, but not to the Soviet Union. Japan also cites Articles 25 and 26 of the peace treaty as containing provisions that further the applicability of the treaty to also support their claim to the disputed islands, (Appendix C), (NTIA 1974:36-37).

Japan consequently believes on the basis of past treaties and legal interpretations of other more recent documents that it is the legal and undisputed owner of the Northern Territories. As such, in their perspective, Soviet occupation of these islands is nothing short of illegal.

2.3 THE FISHERIES FACTOR

While secondary to the political and legal issues involved in the Northern Territories problem, Japan's loss of the economic resources of the disputed islands nevertheless plays a significant role in its desire for their return. Closely linked to the dispute are the rich marine resources in the waters around these islands. Japan and the Soviet Union are the worlds largest fishing nations, and over a third of their yearly overall catch comes from these north Pacific waters. Prior to 1945, Japanese fishermen were most prevalent in these areas and could fish in these waters without much risk of interference. Since 1945, however, with the changes of ownership of the Kuriles, over 1500 Japanese fishing vessels have been permanently seized and over 13,000 fishermen have been detained for various periods of time in these waters (Ress 1985:xvii).

Japan actually obtains over 45 per cent of its overall catch from the waters around the Kuriles. The Japanese greatly depend on the fish, crabs, kelp and other marine products it receives in this region as a means of employment, as a major source of food, and makes up a significant amount of this country's total yearly export. The dependence the Japanese have on the waters around the disputed Northern Territories is vital a component of their economy.

This situation became all the more critical when in 1976 the Soviets implemented a 200 mile economic zone. Inevit-

ably, fisheries and territory became entangled when the Japanese realized that the Soviet economic zone included the waters around the disputed islands (Robertson 1988:193). The Japanese believe they could not recognize this part of the Soviet zone without undermining their own irredentist claims to the islands. The Soviets were not about to make an exception in this area and as a result Japanese vessels within Soviet waters were recalled, forcing a suspension in operations which within a few weeks had caused an estimated billion dollars in losses to the Japanese economy (Stephan 1974:280).

The Japanese retaliated by declaring their own 200 mile economic zone which included the waters around these islands. Legislation was passed which specifically waived restrictions on Chinese and Korean vessels within the zone, leaving no doubt that the Soviet Union was being considered a foreign power required to obtain permits and pay fees to Japan in order fish around the southern Kuriles (Stephan 1974:280). However, it is the Soviets and not the Japanese which have the naval power in the Kuriles to strictly enforce this fishing zone. As such, to this day Japanese poachers are still being arrested and detained for various periods of time and their fishing vessels impounded. Clearly then, the Soviet hold on these islands enables them to maximize their economic leverage over Japan. Therefore, in the Japanese perspective, this fact perhaps more than

anything makes the stakes of the Northern Territories issue come into sharp relief.

2.4 SOVIET GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL CLAIMS

Fundamental to the Soviet view is the contention that the entire Kurile archipelago belongs to the USSR by right of prior discovery and settlement. Before the Russian revolution, Russian writers readily accorded Japan its due in the southern Kuriles while affirming their own country's preeminent role in the northern portion of the arc (Krasheninnikov 1972:61-2). However, postwar authors have gone to great pains to claim that it was Russians who first discovered and developed the Kurile Islands. For the following historical reasons they argue the Kuriles should belong to the Soviet Union, and the Japanese have no foundation to their claims when demanding some of them as being historically Japanese possessions.

According to the Soviet view Russian explorers landed on today's disputed Northern Territories and conquered them prior to the arrival of the Japanese. The Soviets argue that the Kurile Islands first came into Russian possession in the early 18th century when Ivan Kozyrevski and V.A. Shestakov entered the two islands of Etorofu and Kunashiri on their map. Soon after that, in 1739, a Russian navigator named Martin Spanberg visited the Habomai Islands and Shikotan in the Lesser Kuriles and mapped and described them in

detail. Soviet historians also claim that these early Russian explorers discovered absolutely no Japanese inhabitants on these islands at this time. These facts indicate that from the historical perspective of the Soviets, it was the Russians who undoubtedly had precedence in the discovery of today's disputed islands.

For the Soviets, the possibility of legitimate Japanese claims never arises, for all the Kuriles became Russian between 1711 and 1776 when the Kurile Ainu took Russian citizenship. In the southern Kuriles, Russian nationality was prevalent on Etorofu as early as 1766 and ten years later the Ainus on Kunashiri also became Russian nationals. Further, the Soviets state that the Japanese did not even appear on Kunashiri and Etorofu until the 1790's and by that time the entire chain was under Russian authority (NTIA 1974:12-13). Therefore, the Soviets feel that historically they have an unimpeachable position in the matter of the Northern Territories.

2.5 SOVIET TREATY AND LEGAL CLAIMS

According to the Soviet point of view the treaties that Russia made with Japan in 1855 and 1875, which awarded Japan the southern and northern parts of the chain respectively, are considered invalid. The Soviets reason that Japan initiated a war of aggression against Russia in 1904 and by doing so Japan violated these treaties, relinquishing the

right to invoke the provisions. Moreover, Japan invaded northern Sakhalin and Siberia in the 1920's and by this action violated the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905. Also, by reneging on its promise to liquidate north Sakhalin oil and coal concessions and by aiding Germany in an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, Japan forfeited all assurances contained in the 1941 Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact, (Appendix C), (Kim 1974:31-2).

The basic position of the Soviet Union is that the territorial question has already been resolved by a series of international agreements. In accordance with the principles enunciated in the Cairo Declaration, and faithfully fulfilling the objectives agreed upon at Yalta, the USSR attacked imperialist Japan and repossessed the Kuriles. The Soviets feel that Japan irrevocably acknowledged this territorial transfer by accepting the Potsdam Declaration and by signing the San Francisco Peace Treaty.

For the Soviets, the stipulation in the Yalta Agreement is unequivocal: it states explicitly that southern Sakhalin be returned and that the Kuriles be handed over to the Soviet Union (Appendix C). Similarly, according to the Soviet view, the Potsdam Proclamation stipulates that the provisions of the Cairo Declaration be carried out and that Paragraph 8 of the document is actually based on the Yalta Agreement. This central argument is that the Yalta Agreement and the Potsdam Declaration are indivisible. The Sovi-

ets reject the Japanese assertion that a determination of the "minor islands" mentioned in the proclamation includes the disputed islands. They believe the Potsdam Proclamation restricts Japanese sovereignty to the four main islands. By signing the Instrument of Surrender, Japan pledged faithful implementation of the provisions of the Potsdam Proclamation. In short, since the Kuriles are excluded from the territories left under Japanese sovereignty, Japan's present claim violates the above pledge in the eyes of the Soviets (Kim 1974:30).

According to the Soviet view, the Japanese contention that the Yalta Agreement is not binding because of non-participation is an absurdity, having no basis in international law. Although Japan was not a signatory, by having capitulated it accepted all provisions laid down in Yalta by the Allied powers who proceeded from the existing agreement between them, including the Yalta Agreement (Hayes 1972: 24). The Soviets assert that since the Yalta Agreement was concluded among powers fighting against the Japanese, Japan naturally was not, nor could have been a signatory.

Another major Soviet argument in the dispute is that the San Francisco Peace Treaty conclusively and irrevocably settled the territorial problem; that Japan renounced all rights, titles and claims to southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Even though the Soviets realize they are not a signatory, Japan's renunciation under Article 2 is legally

binding (Appendix C). Also, Japan's obligation under the peace treaty is based on previous wartime agreements among the Allied powers and the Instrument of Surrender, which the Soviets were a part of. For the Soviets, Japan's claim to these islands constitutes an attempt to revise the results of World War II and of the conditions of the peace treaty (Hayes 1972:30-1).

Finally, according to the Soviet view no distinction was ever made among the Kuriles at Yalta or in San Francisco. Both refer to the entire Kurile chain, which includes all of the disputed islands of the Northern Territories. No basis exists for the Japanese contention that Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and the Habomai Islands were not included despite numerous Japanese publications asserting these were not part of the Kuriles. The Soviets consider Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and the Habomai Islands to be an integral part of the Kuriles. The Soviets argue that if Japan's sovereignty extended to these islands, why did they sign the peace treaty, or why did they not at least enter a reservation (Hayes 1972:31)?

2.6 PERPETUATION OF THE STATUS QUO

Another ingredient in the Soviet perspective is an unshakable diplomatic principle that the frontiers established as a result of World War II shall not be altered. Since the new order which followed the war is already well

established, the Soviets believe that no part of any of their present national borders should be changed. In their opinion, any alterations would affect other parts and lead to chaos (NTIA 1974:58).

Having acquired 680,000 square kilometers from the Baltic to the Kuriles, Soviet leaders have no desire to open a Pandora's box by making even a minor concession on the extremity of Siberia. Some Eastern European countries or for that matter ethnic nationals within the Soviet Union itself might wonder why should Moscow indulge in such generosity to a capitalist rival and former wartime enemy without making a similar gesture to them. Also, the slightest sign of Soviet vacillation could encourage Chinese irredentist claims which involve thousands of square kilometers of land with disputed borders.

For the Soviets preserving the World War II frontiers is not merely a concern of officialdom. The Soviet masses made enormous sacrifices during the war, and their struggle remains fresh in their memories. Any indication that the government was about to soften its stance on the Kuriles might well incur disapproval from not only from the arc's 14,000 inhabitants but from sizable sections of the public. In addition, an apparent solution of outstanding territorial issues with the Federal Republic of Germany has strengthened the Soviet position on the immutability of postwar boundaries. Therefore, the Soviets have urged Japan to be real-

istic and accept the existing frontier for her own security.

2.7 JAPANESE REVANCHISM

Perhaps, the most frequently heard remark made by the Soviets about the Northern Territories problem is that Japan's claims are revanchist. This premise holds that Japan's Northern Territories pretensions have no economic rationale but derive from political and ideological motives which themselves are symptoms of deeper economic contradictions. Politically, revanchism reflects the military-industrial complex's desire to match military with economic strength. Ideologically, revanchism is a perverted expression of Japan's re-emergent nationalism. Above all revanchism is in the USSR's eyes anti-Soviet. The Soviets see reactionary elements within Japan's ruling class whipping up a hysterical hate campaign where no substantive issues exist. Covertly protected and financed by the government, the movement's organizers hire ultranationalist thugs to stage demonstrations. Some Soviets claim that the Japanese movement for the reversion of the Northern Territories is not a spontaneous development based on a popular desire but an artificial phenomenon created by the designs of the handful of reactionary elements. The Soviets are also quick to point out that there are many different irredentist groups within Japan that each have different interpretations of what the disputed territories include (NTIA 1974:60).

2.8 SOVIET ECONOMIC DIMENSION

Yet a further involution of the Northern Territories problem for the Soviets is the economic factor. Upon the acquisition of the Kuriles in 1945, the Soviets determined to make use of their economic potential. Rich marine resources, exploitable mineral deposits and modest oases of arable land constitute the arc's main productive assets. In addition, the Japanese left behind a fairly developed infrastructure on the southern Kuriles that the Soviets were immediately able to use.

Marine resources rank as the most important sector of the Kuriles economy. The Soviets get up to 40 per cent of their overall catch from the northern waters around the Kuriles. Therefore, the Soviets are almost as dependent on the fisheries of these waters as the Japanese. Kurile installations process almost one third of the Soviet's Pacific catch, a significant amount considering that the Pacific fisheries are one of the fastest growing of all the USSR's global operations. These facilities concentrate on the abundant amounts of herring, salmon, cod and crabs. In addition to exploiting the marine fauna, the Soviets have adopted Japanese practices of making maximum use of marine flora. They harvest tremendous amounts of kelp from these waters and then process the kelp into agar which is used as a nutrient

medium and emulsifiers in the food, textile, tanning paper and pharmaceutical industries. The agar produced from this region supplies the entire demand of the Soviet Union, thus freeing dependence on imports of this vital product (Stephan 1974:176).

Kurile minerals have attracted increasing attention in recent years as an available source of raw materials for use in Soviet industrial complexes. Bauxite, zirconium, gold, zinc, mercury, tin, tungsten, lead and copper exist in varying quantities, but limited accessibility has delayed their complete exploitation. Sulphur deposits on Kunashiri and Etorofu are mined and used in Soviet industry. Titanium-magnetite sands are being dredged from offshore Etorofu and feed the aircraft, shipbuilding and chemical industries in the Soviet Union (Stephan 1974:176).

Agriculture and animal husbandry have also developed on the islands but compared with the fishing industries are subsidiary enterprises. Common crops grown on the islands include cabbage, turnips, radishes, carrots, sugar beets, peas, beans and tobacco. The protected enclaves of Kunashiri and Etorofu make it possible for the Soviets to take advantage and cultivate crops such as pumpkins, tomatoes, grapes, watermelons and cucumbers which all rarely grow at such northern latitudes. Cows, pigs, horses and sheep are also raised on the islands. The Kuriles, however, do not produce large quantities of food stuff for exports. For-

estry and even tourism industries also play minor roles in the overall economic value of these islands (Stephan 1974: 173-76).

2.9 SOVIET STRATEGIC AND SECURITY CONCERNS

At the heart of the Soviet perspective on the Northern Territories issue lies a concern for security. In fact, the real justification for the Soviets holding on to these islands is their strategic value. Since 1945, and especially after 1978, Soviet strategic and security interests have taken primacy over attempts to reconcile the dispute.

Central to the strategic importance is the fact that the Kuriles control Soviet access to the Pacific, otherwise closely guarded by the Japanese home islands. The Soviets acquisition of southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles represented a major improvement in the USSR's position in the Pacific. The Soviets main naval base in this region, Vladivostok, is accessible only through the Sea of Japan which could be closed by hostile forces in control of the Tsushima Strait between Japan and Korea, the Tsugaru Strait between the Japanese islands of Hokkaido and Honshu, the Soya Strait between Hokkaido and Soviet Sakhalin, and the Tatar Strait between Sakhalin and the Soviet mainland. By taking possession of the entire Kurile chain with their multiple outlets to the Pacific Ocean, the Soviets have greatly reduced the threat of their naval forces being bottled-up or cut-off

from home ports in times of war in the Pacific (Garrity 1982:29). Possession of the Kuriles henceforth ensures Soviet access to the Pacific and at the same time protects its eastern flank. The Passages between the disputed islands of Etorofu and Kunashiri, are especially important since they are generally deeper, less treacherous to navigate and remain unfrozen longer during the year than the other exits through the Kurile arc. Japanese control of just these two islands alone could be enough to severely impair the present strategic advantage the Soviet navy has in these waters (Map 6).

What is more, the USSR is now in a position to close the Sea of Okhotsk to hostile maritime forces. The numerous rocks throughout the Kurile archipelago could serve as excellent anchorages for minefields creating an almost impenetrable defense barrier. In addition, Soviet occupation of the Kuriles and Sakhalin has enabled the Soviets to declare the Sea of Okhotsk as an inland Soviet sea and as such Soviet Strategic Ballistic Missile Nuclear Submarines (SSBNs) can operate in sanctuary from the American and Japanese navies (Garrity 1982:30). These submarines' missiles have the ability to reach multiple targets in Japan, China and even the United States.

Since the late 1970's and onward the Soviets have developed the disputed islands into a first class air and naval facility. The most obvious indication of the strategic

importance of the Kuriles is seen in the manner in which the Southern Kuriles and Shikotan have been built-up by the Soviets as an operational base for the air, sea and electronic surveillance of Japan. Japanese sources indicate that the superbly sited Broughton Bay on Shimushiri Island, in the central Kuriles, has been turned into an important base for Soviet antisubmarine operations in the North Pacific. The Japanese also reported in the early 1980's a continuing program of Soviet airfield construction on both Etorofu and Kunashiri and naval facilities (Map 7). As such, the Japanese became increasingly aware of the possibilities of its home islands being cut-off by the Soviet air force and navy in times of war. Soviet strangulation of vulnerable Japanese sea lanes would be devastating to that country's economy as well as survival. Japan is completely dependent on accessible sea lanes for supplies of energy and raw materials (Rees 1985:139-40).

The Northern Territories in addition are dotted with weather posts, radar stations and other surveillance facilities which constantly monitor Japan and American military activities in this region. Specialist forces and equipment necessary for the amphibious projection of limited Soviet military intervention on Hokkaido also have been recently added to the Soviet's Far Eastern armed forces. Some of these specialized forces have been added to the disputed islands' growing arsenal. Thus, the real possibility exists

for raids on port facilities and other key targets on Hokkaido by Soviet assault troops (Rees 1985:140).

As such, the Kuriles, especially the disputed islands, have and continue to prove to be a valuable resource towards the projection of Soviet military power in northeast Asia. The strategic role of the Soviets in this region is not defensive but offensive. The dramatic increase of military power in the southern Kuriles has shifted the regional balance of power towards the Soviet Union's favor. It is ironic that in the past the Soviets stressed that the value of the Kuriles was one of defense, first against the Japanese and then the Americans. Today, their value is as a possible offensive springboard against the weaker forces of the US-Japanese military alliance in northeast Asia. Thus, the Soviet's concern for strategy and security objectives in this region, at least as represented by the last few decades, has outweighed any political or economic gains that could be made with a concession over these disputed islands with Japan.

Chapter III

GORBACHEV'S PERESTROIKA IN THE ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION

It has been said in a number of places that Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika has had the least impact on Soviet foreign policy. To an extent this is true because the geopolitical interests of the USSR have remained the same despite the new economic and political theories being espoused. Nevertheless, the new way of thinking has seen some very special results in the Asian-Pacific Region (APR) such as: a wide cross section of policy proposals, mainly focusing on arms control; multiple initiatives towards arms limitations; movement towards improved bilateral relations with key actors in this region; and offers of mutual solutions to regional crises, among them the Northern Territories issue.

It seems that Gorbachev has realized that Moscow has too long neglected this crucial issue in its foreign policy with Japan. Having insufficiently responded to this significant issue, Gorbachev now appears to be reforming the approach taken by his predecessors towards the Northern Territories and relations with Japan.

This chapter reviews the basic elements of Gorbachev's perestroika policy in the APR so as to assess its current and future prospects. Important policy statements such as Gorbachev's July 1986 Vladivostok speech and his July 1987

interview with the Indonesian newspaper, Merdeka, are evaluated in relation to the APR. As such, the following chapters examine critically Gorbachev's APR policy.

Finally, this chapter and succeeding chapters examine the extent to which Gorbachev has chosen to reject, rather than modify the basic APR policy of his predecessors. Namely, have recent Soviet geopolitical initiatives in this region amounted to merely stylistic and tactical adjustments designed to facilitate a smoother, more sophisticated pursuit of familiar goals? Or has recent activity fundamentally challenged the actual substance of the past strategy and ultimate objectives of Soviet geopolitics. By examining the case of the Northern Territories dispute, some answers to these questions may develop.

3.1 GORBACHEV'S NEW TINKING IN FOREIGN POLICY

One central premise of Brezhnev's foreign policy was that the correlation of forces in the world were moving in favor of socialism (Holloway 1989:66). For the Soviet leaders this movement provided the basis of détente. Brezhnev and his colleagues clearly regarded the growth of Soviet military power in particular the attainment of strategic parity with the United States, as a crucial factor in the movement toward detente. By the 1970's, Soviet analyses of world politics relied heavily on the correlation of forces model of international relations. This model regarded equilibrium

as neither the goal of policy nor as an inherent characteristic of the international system. Rather, it assumed that the world was moving toward socialism, the aim of Soviet policy was therefore to help this transition or at least prevent the West from stopping it (Holloway 1989:66-68). This concept proved, however, to be a poor guide to international relations. The growth of Soviet power did not elicit accommodation from the Soviet Union's rivals. On the contrary it evoked an effort to counterbalance that power. Whether this failure resulted more from incompetence and bureaucratic sluggishness than from conceptual blinders remains unclear, but preconceptions about the nature of international relations may have played a role. By the early 1980's Soviet foreign policy was at an impasse.

The failure of Brezhnev's foreign policy presented Gorbachev with practical policy problems. The collapse of détente discredited the premises in which Brezhnev's policy had been based. The movement in the correlation of forces toward socialism had not ensured a reduction in tension, but on the contrary the world by 1985 seemed a much more dangerous place for the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Gorbachev has stated that:

we started perestroika in a situation of growing international tension. The détente of the 1970s was in effect, curtailed. Our calls for peace found no response in the ruling quarters of the West. Soviet foreign policy was skidding. The arms race was spiraling (Gorbachev 1988:121).

His response to this problem has been to point to the overriding importance of peace in his foreign policy initiatives. For Gorbachev:

peaceful coexistence is a political course which the USSR intends to go on following unswervingly, ensuring the continuity of its foreign policy strategy. The CPSU will pursue a vigorous international policy stemming from the realities of the world we live in (Gorbachev 1987:161).

As such, for example, Gorbachev has made offers to help solve the problems of disarmament in their totality (Gorbachev 1987:162).

Closely linked to Gorbachev's thesis, is his argument that the world is increasingly interdependent. For Gorbachev, capitalism and socialism can no longer develop in isolation from each other because they are part of one and the same civilization and as such must both work together for peace (Gorbachev 1987:400-02). This argument provides the basis for Soviet proposals in maintaining peace and dealing with global problems. His new foreign policy outlook calls for the recognition of one simple axiom: security is indivisible. It is either equal security for all or none at all. He asserts that the security of each nation should be coupled with the security for all members of the world community (Gorbachev 1988:125-30).

Gorbachev has significantly altered the premises held by his predecessors, for he not only rejected the unilateral territorial approach to security but also the notion that

Soviet security depends on the insecurity of others. Gorbachev's new thinking however does not indicate that the Soviet Union wishes to abandon its role as a world power, but instead provides a different picture of the world and redefines the Soviet role in it. His perspective assigns a less important role to conflict in international relations and calls for the Soviet Union to base its world role not on military power and the search for unilateral advantage, but on a more cooperative involvement in the international system. For example, Gorbachev has said:

Each nation, each country has the right to be its own master of its own destiny and resources to determine social development autonomously, uphold its own security, and participate in the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security (Gorbachev 1987:401-402).

A central tenet of Gorbachev's perestroika in foreign policy has been the reformation of Soviet military doctrine so it is entirely in line "with the letter and spirit of the initiatives" which he and his supporters have put forth (Gorbachev 1987:162). This suggests that Gorbachev is attempting to ensure that military doctrine contribute to Soviet political purposes. Prior to Gorbachev conceptual ambiguities in military doctrine contributed to the USSR's political problems, especially in the Brezhnev years. Although Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders made it clear that they wished to avoid nuclear war, the Soviet military stressed the importance of preparing to fight and win such a

war. And although Soviet leaders asserted that Soviet military doctrine was profoundly defensive, the military emphasized that the offensive was the primary form of military operation (Holloway 1989:72).

Gorbachev has introduced the principles of defensive or reasonable sufficiency and defensive or nonoffensive defense in order to bring the political effects and the economic costs of the defense policy under control. The military has now been instructed to make the prevention of war, not victory in war as the overriding goal. This implies that the Soviet Union under Gorbachev is not trying to build forces to win a major war but instead is aiming for defensive sufficiency. For Gorbachev and his followers, sufficiency has been defined as the ability to retaliate under any and all circumstances.

Many of the Western governments, such as Japan, have been skeptical of Gorbachev's new thinking about the principles of defensive sufficiency and defensive defense because they saw no sign of a major redeployment or restructuring of conventional forces, nor did they see a major reduction in military expenditures or weapons procurement (Holloway 1989:75). However, Gorbachev's decision to cut the Soviet armed forces by 500,000 men in 1988 over the next two years indicates that there is some substance to the new thinking. What is more, new thinking has provided the basis for a much more flexible and dynamic arms control policy. He has

advanced numerous proposals for arms control ever since his January 1986 call for nuclear disarmament by the year 2000. The most notable achievement so far has been the INF treaty which is significant not only because it eliminates a whole class of nuclear weapons systems and provides for unprecedented on-site inspection to verify compliance with its provisions. In addition, Gorbachev's new thinking offers some hope that progress may be made in conventional arms control too as can be surmised from his unilateral reduction of Soviet forces in Eastern Europe and Asia.

The foreign policy crisis Gorbachev faced in March 1985 was only part of a broader economic and social crisis affecting the country. The buildup of Soviet military power had been accompanied by the erosion of the economic and technological basis of that power and by a general demoralization of society. These economic and social problems were signs of crisis in the Soviet system.

Resolving this crisis has been Gorbachev's first priority. He is trying to replace the old system with a more open model of socialism. Gorbachev has shown his determination to deal with this crisis by instituting far reaching military, political, economic and humanitarian reforms and this has helped to shape his response to foreign policy (Figure 3, Appendix A). Gorbachev has tried to create a more stable and predictable international environment for his domestic reforms. Gorbachev's foreign minister

Eduard Shevardnadze has said that the main requirement in foreign policy is that the Soviet Union not bear additional costs in connection with the necessity of supporting its defense capability and the defense of its legitimate foreign policy interests (US Department of Defense 1989:17). As such, Gorbachev has sought paths to the limitation and reduction of military rivalry, to the removal of confrontational relations with other states, and the damping down of conflicts and crises.

A number of Gorbachev's domestic reforms are linked closely to the success or failure of his foreign policy. Foreign trade is a sphere in which the success of his programs on joint ventures and on many other domestic economic innovations depend. The degree to which glasnost and democratization become part of Soviet domestic practice will help shape contacts with foreign governments and enterprises. Western firms and officials will most likely remain reluctant to deal with the USSR in many matters as long as human rights issues impede their relations. Western business operations need to know how independently their Soviet counterparts really can act (Blacker 1988:310). So far, the improvement in human rights policies and the relaxation of censorship as a result of glasnost has raised Soviet prestige abroad and helped to convince Westerners that Gorbachev is serious in his efforts to reform the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev's determination to reform the Soviet system

springs in part from recognition that unless something is done to improve the economic and technological performance, the Soviet Union will lose its status as a great power. Gorbachev himself has called perestroika "an urgent necessity arising from the profound processes of development in our socialist society" (Gorbachev 1988:3).

Gorbachev's new thinking proclaims the need for a different balance between political and military instruments in foreign policy. He has had considerable success in this partly because he has taken practical steps such as the signing of the INF treaty, withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, working for the settlement of regional conflicts, and announcing unilateral troop cuts. He has sought with great success to reduce suspicion of the Soviet Union and by doing so has improved relations with China and most of the Western powers. Soviet-Japanese relations, however, continue to remain cool and distant, primarily as a result of the Northern Territories dispute.

Thus, Gorbachev's new thinking has helped to extricate the Soviet Union from its foreign policy crisis of the early 1980's. Gorbachev has presented new thinking as a long term approach that not only meets Soviet interests, but also responds to the changes in international relations. There is, however, opposition to new thinking in the Soviet Union. Additionally, if present trends continue, it will be many years before perestroika produces significant economic

results. What is more, new thinking provides a general framework for policy rather than a detailed plan of action. Hence there is much that is still unclear about perestroika and its implications for Soviet policy.

With all of this in mind, it is appropriate to examine Gorbachev's new thinking in foreign policy as it relates to the APR. This examination requires a review of the effects of perestroika in this region on the whole, and later specifically on Soviet-Japanese relations over the Northern Territories dispute.

3.2 REASSESSMENT OF PRE-GORBACHEV POLICIES IN THE APR

An analysis of Gorbachev's new initiatives in the APR requires reassessment of some of the policies of his predecessors. Reasons for Gorbachev's departure from the former approach in policy towards the APR will be clarified.

Mikhail Gorbachev has been in office since March 1985 and he has demonstrated that establishing Soviet influence in Asia is one of his highest foreign policy priorities (Stuart 1987:4). For example, Gorbachev has called for a reduction of the Soviet military presence in the APR, particularly naval deployments. Gorbachev has also attempted to ease the tensions around the Korean peninsula, improve relations with China, increase the Soviet Union's engagement in Asian regional economic activities, and establish confidence-building measures with Japan.

These policy modifications suggest that Gorbachev has brought to the offices of General Secretary and President a recognition that prior Soviet policies toward the APR needed to be reformed. In particular, it would seem that Gorbachev is attempting to alter his predecessors commitment to steady military buildup and primary emphasis on socialist allies in the region (Young 1988:317). Therefore, it would also seem that Gorbachev has an underlying sense that Moscow had too long neglected this crucial area in its foreign policy, and as a result his country had insufficiently monitored and responded to significant economic and political trends in the APR (Kreisberg 1989:153).

Although the Soviet Union is one of the most powerful states in Asia, it has never been considered a full-fledged Asian nation by its Asian neighbors. For many Asians the extension of Russian and later Soviet power to the APR has been seen as imperialistic encroachment. Therefore consideration of Soviet policy in the APR must start with this essential predicament: it is a major power in the APR, but it is not an Asian-Pacific regional power.

As a power in the APR the Soviet Union could have been expected to begin with the basic advantages of geographical proximity. Moscow, however, was never really able to develop a tight web of economic and political links with neighboring states. This failure was primarily a result of errors of Soviet foreign policy in this region.

In political and ideological terms, Asia and the Pacific had played both a less important and more complex role than Europe for Soviet policy makers during the pre-Gorbachev era. In Europe, at this time, the Soviet Union was flanked by communist states of mixed reliability who provided both political support and economic justification for Soviet superpower claims. Alternatively, in Asia, Moscow has only had Mongolian loyalty and the unstable support of North Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to support its superpower assertions in this region. Further, in Europe, the antagonists of Soviet policy objectives were easily identifiable: they were the advanced and fairly stable capitalist states of Western Europe, supported by close and tangible cooperation with the US. However, in Asia, the picture was far more unstable and defied simple ideological categories. An independent but weak and often erratic China became Moscow's major concern. Just offshore was the economic giant of Japan. Although Japan exerted limited political influence it nevertheless captured Soviet attention. Farther offshore but never far from Soviet concerns was US power and influence. Lastly, there were the scattered states of varying political influence, including South Korea, Taiwan and the Southeast Asian regimes which were all united in fear that the Soviets might choke their economic influence (Leifer 1986:44-5).

It can also be suggested that the Soviet Union has also had other serious dilemmas regarding its geopolitical affairs in the APR. First and foremost, Moscow sought to secure its borders including those territories occupied from Japan several decades earlier, and those portions historically disputed by China but in Soviet possession. Second, the USSR sought to contain China's power and influence and its ties to the West. Third, it was anxious to thwart the creation of any anti-Soviet coalition in the Far East, especially one that included China, Japan and the US. Finally, the Soviets were intent upon building up Siberia and its Far East provinces as a comprehensive power center while trying to extend its own influence over events throughout Asia (Bok 1986:16).

Despite the advantage of having considerable forces in East Asia, the Soviet Union had little confidence that it had anything but a minimum defense force. The reasons for this sense of weakness were both practical and theoretical. In practical terms the Soviet Union lacked a defensive alliance in Asia similar to the Warsaw Pact in Europe. Soviet troops faced directly superior numbers of Chinese troops on land and the technologically advanced naval forces of Japan and the US at sea. What is more, the Soviet frontier in East Asia is its longest and is reinforced by vulnerable logistic lines. Soviet East Asia is also relatively under-populated yet faces China which has no shortage of

military personnel. The Soviet Union despite its development of important military facilities in Southeast Asia continued to have special problems reinforcing its Pacific fleet and remained vulnerable to being bottled up in the Pacific because of naval choke points. To make matters worse for the Soviets, their tendency to rely on numbers rather than technology for defense has encouraged a perception of weakness by the West. Also, the Soviet concept of alliance was not one that accepted others as equals, and therefore tended to view anything that was not strict obedience as hostility (Leifer 1986:46). Finally, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan resulted in a negative impact on its plans in East Asia for it encouraged greater hostility from China and reinforced the view of other Asian states that the USSR was a predatory power.

Up until Gorbachev, the Soviet Union did not really share the notion of a Pacific century in that it failed to realize the future importance for development of the Soviet Far East and the need to integrate its economy into this region. Only 15 or 20 years ago, Moscow expected some foreign, especially Japanese cooperation in expanding the development of the Soviet Far East and Siberia by tapping their mineral resources. However, dreams of this economic bonanza were not fulfilled. The reasons were many, but in the forefront must be the hard facts of economic cost effectiveness. While undoubtedly important resources existed in these

regions of the Soviet Union, they were simply too expensive to be exploited given the contemporary market prices. In addition, political considerations, especially in the Japanese and Chinese cases, made them less likely to take the economic risks. Therefore, Soviet economic relations in the APR remained relatively frozen (Leifer 1986:42-8).

Thus, until Gorbachev's reforms, in overall terms Soviet policies toward the APR can be interpreted as ineffective. India and Indochina excepted, the USSR earned the hostility and enmity of many of its Asian neighbors. It failed to contain China or weaken the American alliance system in the APR. Instead, China moved closer in alignment with the US and Japan. Continuing Soviet efforts to gain acceptance as an indigenous Asian political force were repeatedly rejected. Finally, the USSR failed to further integrate itself in the economic growth and development of this area. As an economic partner that primarily supplied natural resources and not high technology and consumer products, the Soviets were seen more as a competitor rather than a cooperative trading associate.

It would seem then that Soviet concerns for maintaining geopolitical parity with the United States took precedence over economic interests in this region. Their quest for this dubious status was achieved almost solely by military might (West and von Geusau 1987:61-2). Prior to Gorbachev, it remained for the Soviets to have their military status

effectively acknowledged both formally and politically. The USSR sought to have the Asian-Pacific states accept their supposed inherent right to interfere with the system of international relations in this region and strove for their patronage to be accepted. Yet, by following such a foreign policy path, the Soviets subordinated possible political and economic gains that could have been created with a more cooperative, flexible and dynamic policy in this region.

3.3 GORBACHEV'S NEW INITIATIVES IN THE APR

The sucession of Mikhail Gorbachev to the leadership of the Soviet Union has prompted significant new initiatives in Soviet foreign policy, with the APR as a particular focus of this activism. Virtually every state in the APR has been the object of Soviet initiatives for improved relations. These overtures reflect not only new attention and a fresh approach to developments in this area of the world; they are also part of a concentrated, ambitious effort to overcome Moscow's political isolation and economic marginality in this vital and dynamic region, to regain the diplomatic initiative, and to win breathing space for domestic revitalization. (Figure 4, Appendix A) for the key elements of Gorbachev's perestroika in the APR.

Gorbachev's foreign policy strategy in this region is direct outgrowth of his domestic priorities. In fact, the two are more closely intertwined at this juncture than at

any previous time in postwar Soviet history. Economic reform is not only key to domestic revitalization in Gorbachev's view, it is essential to sustain the Soviet Union's international role. To gain the time necessary to consolidate his power and to carry out his programs of economic modernization, Gorbachev urgently needs a respite from external pressures. In the APR the key challenge he confronts is to win the time and political support needed to carry out the necessary retrenchment without jeopardizing the political and strategic gains of the 1970's, as few as they may have been (Lapidus 1987:1).

With this objective in mind, Gorbachev has sought to revise the atrophied instruments of Soviet diplomacy to convey an image of moderation, good neighborliness, and a willingness to seek political settlements to outstanding conflicts. In doing this, however, he does not want to make major concessions that would significantly threaten Soviet geostrategic interests.

The basis of a more dynamic and flexible Soviet approach to the APR beginning in 1985 were created by a series of organizational and personnel changes that significantly altered the Soviet foreign policy making process itself. A major change in foreign policy began shortly after Gorbachev became General Secretary. The removal of long-time Minister of Foreign Affairs, Andrei Gromyko, in July 1985 was symbolic of changes that saw replacements of the top staff in

the Foreign Ministry and in the Central Committee departments most concerned with foreign policy. Eduard Shevardnadze, who had no experience in foreign affairs replaced Gromyko (Black 1988:310). Further, the Foreign Ministry was restructured for South Asian, Pacific Ocean and international economic affairs, and the shake-up in Foreign Ministry personnel included the appointment of new ambassadors to both China and Japan (Lapidus 1987:1).

Equally significant in laying the foundation for a reorientation of his APR policy was the shift of responsibility for policy planning from the Foreign Ministry to the International Department of the Central Committee and the replacement of veteran diplomats with those who were more specifically knowledgeable and experienced in this region. Changes in the leadership of key publications and foreign policy research institutions, including the Academy of Science's Institute of the Far East, as well as the assignment of large-scale research tasks to the Institute of Oriental Studies, further signaled Gorbachev's interest in a fresh approach to this region (Black 1988:310).

The following oral discourses by Gorbachev emphasize his new way of thinking concerning the APR.

3.4 THE GANDHI BANQUET SPEECH OF MAY 1985

Since May 1985, one of the centerpieces of Gorbachev's overall plan for a policy revolution in the APR has been the

call for an Asian Security Conference. He first unveiled this proposal at a Moscow Banquet in honor of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Gorbachev and his advisors have frequently elaborated on it since then. Initially the proposal reminded many of Brezhnev's abortive call for a comprehensive approach to Asian security. However, in the following months it became clear that Moscow sought endorsement and support by the broadest possible coalition of Asian and Pacific states and included the following five principal objectives: 1) to maintain and strengthen close relations with friend and allies; 2) to accelerate the process of political rapprochement with China; 3) to pursue broader ties with non-socialist nations in the region, leading with steps in the economic sphere; 4) to down play the Soviet military factor and; 5) to continue challenging American preeminence in this region (Young 1988:336).

3.5 THE JULY 1986 VLADIVOSTOK SPEECH

Gorbachev's Vladivostok Speech which he delivered in Vladivostok on July 28, 1986 showed more than any one other thing that he wanted a new policy in the APR (Asian Security 1989:14). Gorbachev's Vladivostok initiatives basically called for a new era of Soviet cooperation in the region and raised new questions about the aspirations and activities of the Soviet Union in the Pacific Basin (Kim and Conroy 1987:xi-xiv). The key features of his emerging strategy can

be summarized from this major speech.

First and foremost, Gorbachev sought to portray the Soviet Union as a major and legitimate actor in the APR which had important political and security interests in this area that demanded recognition. Just as he had earlier portrayed Europe as "our common home," he said that he thought of the APR as a common home to the Soviet Union as well. In addition, Gorbachev's proposal for an all Asian collective approach to regional security with the Helsinki process as a model demonstrated a clear indication of his desire to assert the centrality of the Soviet Union to the resolution of regional conflicts.

At Vladivostok, Gorbachev also called for peaceful, good neighborly, equitable relations, and naturally beneficial cooperation which would offer considerable opportunities in the APR. In short, he emphasized that the Soviet Union now stood for integrating the APR into the general process of establishing a comprehensive system for regional security that would include: 1) the settlement of regional issues, 2) breaking the proliferation and buildup of nuclear weapons in the area, 3) to start talks on the reduction of naval forces in the Pacific, 4) reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Asia and, 5) the use of practical discussions on confidence building measures and the nonuse of force in the region (Gorbachev 1987:352-56).

A second major element of this speech was the desire to

participate more actively in the region's economic dynamism to gain the benefits of growing trade and access to advanced technology, foreign investment, and to use expanded international economic ties to stimulate innovation in the sluggish Soviet economy. He also called for the rapid and comprehensive economic development of Siberia and the Soviet Far East and its closer integration into the APR. Gorbachev even suggested that Vladivostok itself might become "a major international center... a seat of trade and culture... an open window to the East" (Gorbachev 1987:352). This suggestion was coupled with a request for Soviet planning agencies to facilitate increased economic cooperation with nations in this region including joint ventures with Japan, the US and the ASEAN nations. Therefore, this indicates that Gorbachev is attempting to have the Soviet Union participate in a greater role in the East Asian economic miracle (Holbrooke 1988:42).

Given the current emphasis on efficiency in Soviet industry and agriculture, the development of the Soviet Far East is one of great importance. This was certainly stressed at Vladivostok. Gorbachev pointed out that this area had become less efficient in terms of output over the past 20 years than other areas of his country such as the Baltic Republics. He also said that this area was rich in minerals, oil, natural gas, coal and had much agricultural potential and as such should be expected in the future to not

only become self-sufficient but to export these products at much greater levels to other Asian-Pacific nations. As Gorbachev remarked in this speech, "the possibilities for the development of the Soviet Far East economy should be utilized in full measure" (McIntosh 1987:97).

A third feature of Gorbachev's APR strategy as outlined in Vladivostok was an effort to improve and invigorate bilateral relations with key actors in the region such as with China and Japan. This is to be achieved through an effort at "positive engagement" which is a policy that seeks to address some of the major concerns of these actors, while at the same time emphasizing convergent views and playing down controversial issues they have with the USSR (Gorbachev 1987:51). In dealing specifically with Japan, Gorbachev at Vladivostok said:

Here too the signs of change for the better are being noted. It would be good if this turn takes place. The objective position of our two countries in the world is such that it requires extensive cooperation on a healthy, realistic basis and in an atmosphere of tranquility unburdened by problems. A start was made this year, there was an exchange of visits by ministers for foreign affairs. On the agenda is an exchange of visits at the highest level (Gorbachev 1987:351).

Continuing on at Vladivostok, Gorbachev also called for economic cooperation with Japan:

Economic cooperation is of mutual interest. The main issue here is our coastal regions which already have business contacts with Japanese firms. It is possible to discuss the question of establishing joint ventures in adjacent and nearby

regions of the USSR and Japan. Why not establish long-term cooperation in the investigation and comprehensive use of ocean resources, why not correlate programs of the peaceful study and use of outer space. The Japanese it seems have a method of making relations more dynamic which is called "economic diplomacy." This time let it serve Soviet-Japanese cooperation (Gorbachev 1987:351-352).

Finally, Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech revealed yet another component of his emerging APR strategy. Here at Vladivostok Gorbachev sought to capitalize on the growing anti-nuclear sentiment in the APR in an attempt to constrain American strategic nuclear weapons in the region, particularly in naval deployments. Prior to Vladivostok, this rhetoric had been underlaid by a broad anti-nuclear offensive pursued both at the diplomatic level and through communist parties in the region which portrayed American forces as the major threat, Soviet systems as purely defensive, and sought to promote the creation of nuclear free zones in regions of American predominance (Holloway 1988:3).

As such, in Vladivostok, Gorbachev stated that the Soviet Union would not do anything over and above the level that corresponded to the minimal requirements for the defense of the Soviet Union and its allies. In the speech he also called for the elimination of medium range missiles altogether, asserting that such a move would clearly promote the best interests of the nations in the APR. He also remarked that the Soviet Union was now dedicated to advocating the disbanding of military alliances, the removal of military

bases and the withdrawal of troops from territories of other countries in the APR (Gorbachev 1987:353).

More than anything else, Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech symbolized his serious intention to break from the past and to start anew. In this effort he has sought to reckon with realities. Fully cognizant of Japan's growing economic power, Gorbachev has proposed to improve relations with the entire Pacific region centered around Japan. His primary emphasis appeared to be more on geo-economics than on ideology and military matters. No other Soviet leader has ever attempted such comprehensive and reconciliatory overtures (Kim 1988:16-17).

3.6 THE NOVEMBER 1986 NEW DELHI ADDRESS

Mikhail Gorbachev's November 27, 1986 "Stability and Security in Asia Address" to the Indian Parliament and his signing of the "New Delhi Declaration of Principles for a Nuclear-Free and Non-Violent World" further fleshed out the actual specifics of his conception of security in this region. Here he made it clear that peace in the APR now bore equal significance to peace in Europe for the Soviet Union (Maxwell 1986:79). He went on to comment that the USSR wanted the potential of initiatives such as the United Nations and other non-aligned organizations to be used more effectively than in the past to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons in the APR. In addition, Gorbachev set forth that

his country now wished to work for the full application of all the methods for peaceful settlement of disputes between states in the region through negotiations, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement (Maxwell 1986:80).

In this address, Gorbachev also called for enhanced military and political stability in the Indian and Pacific Oceans and areas adjacent to them. He went on to assert that the USSR was now prepared to begin negotiations with the US and Asian nations concerned with confidence building measures in military issues relating to the APR. Accordingly, Gorbachev envisioned such negotiations as leading to multi-lateral agreements which would substantively reduce the size and activity of military forces in the region and would provide for the safety of air and sea lanes for all nations involved (Maxwell 1986:81-2).

3.7 ECONOMIC PERESTROIKA

In both the July and November 1986 statements by Gorbachev, attention had been primarily focused on security and political relations in the APR. However, it is also important to note that a major part of Gorbachev's new thinking in this area is devoted to what can be referred to as 'economic perestroika'. The Soviet Union had traditionally approached the Soviet Far East and Siberia as territorial outposts (Nossov 1989:267). But by the 1980's such an

approach could no longer be sufficient. Gorbachev understands that these Soviet areas must be turned into highly developed national economic complexes. He correctly saw that the overall development of this region as creating the prerequisites for the Soviet economy's eventual complete integration into the structure of the rapidly developing APR. He has clearly realized that this is the direction in which the center of the world economy and possibly international politics is moving.

Gorbachev has taken a special interest in the Soviet Far East and Siberia and has recognized that the success of reforms in this region are vital to his foreign policy objectives. As such, the central task of Soviet investment in the area will be to modernize and increase the processing of mineral, oil and fish resources to make them more attractive to foreign investors. He also hopes that the region can become more self-sufficient in food and energy resources and that the economy here can produce more capital and consumer goods for its Asian neighbors (Segal 1988:8).

There clearly are important linkages in these plans between domestic and foreign perestroika. To some extent the linkages are evident in relations with China where joint ventures and closer cross-border collaboration is underway. North Korea, Mongolia, and Vietnam have also been partners in other joint projects. Soviet Far Eastern and Siberian development has evolved with a emphasis on export potential.

However, the Soviets must face the problems of maintaining socialist principles while opening up to the outside world.

This delicate balance between socialism and development is being pursued by the Soviet Union IN overtures to socialist as well as non-socialist states in the APR. At the start of Gorbachev economic reforms most of the development was carried out with the socialist states. But recently, the newest targets for joint ventures and foreign investment seem to be with the developed and rapidly developing economies of the Pacific rim. It is the non-socialist states of the Pacific rim that hold the most attraction for the Soviet Union as sources of high technology and investment. It even appears as though the Soviet Union is ready and willing to serve as a source of raw materials for the development of its Pacific neighbors. This model worked successfully with Western Europe and suggests that similar arrangements in the APR are possible, especially as a result of geographic proximity to these resources. Japan is seen as the most likely partner in such ventures (Segal 1988:8-9).

As such, the Soviet Union has started developing stable, mutually advantageous trade and economic relations with many countries in the APR region. Growth in regional industrial and agricultural sectors; completion of the Baikal Amur Main Line; and the development of petroleum, gas, coal, and raw timber resources have started to create a more active participation of the USSR in the process of the international

division of labor and trade and economic cooperation that is occurring in the APR. The Soviets have also suggested and implemented in some cases cooperative measures in the training of personnel, economic and financial cooperation with consideration for the interests of the regions developing countries, and the exchange of scientific and technical information with states in the APR (Current Digest of the Soviet Press 1986:6-7). If nothing else these initiatives at least fostered a more cooperative image of the Soviet Union among its Asian-Pacific neighbors.

3.8 THE JULY 1987 MERDEKA INTERVIEW

On July 21, 1987, Gorbachev was interviewed by the publisher and editor of the Indonesian newspaper Merdeka. This interview has become yet another important statement of Gorbachev's new initiatives in the APR. In the interview Gorbachev once again called for cooperation and security with the other countries in the region, however, he made new concrete proposals to substantiate his rhetoric. Gorbachev said in an effort to accommodate the Asian countries and to take into account their security concerns, that the Soviet Union was prepared to agree to eliminate all of its medium-range missiles in the Asian part of its country (Soviet Life 1987:5-6). In addition, Gorbachev also proposed several other possible measures directly related to this region. First, the USSR is prepared to assume an obligation not to

increase the number of its nuclear capable aircraft in Asia. Second, he reiterated the readiness to reduce Soviet naval activities in the Pacific by limiting the scale of naval exercises and maneuvers. And finally, he pushed for an effort to ban nuclear testing in the Pacific, for establishing a nuclear free zone in the South Pacific, and once again called for a Helsinki like conference on security and cooperation in the APR.

Gorbachev also addressed the subject of regional conflicts and stressed that USSR involvement was to search and work for peaceful resolutions in Afghanistan, Korea and Kampuchea. He also specifically commented on the development of Soviet-Japanese relations:

The state of these relations is not quite certain as of now. In recent years efforts have been made to impart an impetus to them to establish a new climate in those relations. For in our view both sides have incentives, and not just of the economic nature. The Soviet Union and Japan could develop a serious and solid partnership, which I am convinced would become a significant factor of stability for the overall situation in Asia and the Pacific (Soviet Life 1987:viii).

Gorbachev, however, also remarked concerning Soviet-Japanese relations that:

not so long ago, a gleam of hope appeared in our relations. However, certain forces in Japan again managed to bring down clouds which obscured the horizon (Soviet Life 1987:viii).

The interview gave one more insight into Gorbachev's deemphasis of Soviet military power in the APR and was

accompanied by his sophisticated, if often disingenuous attempts to play upon anti-nuclear sentiments in this region. Gorbachev has suggested proposals for a nuclear free-zone in the South Pacific and a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, encouraged the Japanese anti-nuclear movement, and backed proposals with the ASEAN states for a Southeast Asian nuclear free-zone. These moves coupled with the new push for broader economic ties may well reflect Gorbachev's sober analysis of the problems he inherited in Soviet Asian-Pacific policy. And while many in the West remain deeply skeptical of Moscow's new initiatives, they must acknowledge a new sophistication in Soviet style that has led gradually to some substantive changes. At minimum, it must be realized that under Gorbachev the Soviet Union can no longer be counted on as its own worst enemy through the pursuit of poorly conceived and clumsily executed policies that rely primarily on military buildup and coercion.

3.9 THE SEPTEMBER 1988 KRASNOYARSK SPEECH

To maintain the momentum of his Asian-Pacific proposals, Gorbachev on September 16, 1988 outlined seven specific proposals, not all of them new, in a speech in Krasnoyarsk. As of yet, this has been his most important statement on the Soviet Union's new approach to enhancing security and stability, accelerating economic development, and improving both bilateral and multilateral relations in this region

(Trofimenko 1989:249-50). On the subject of security, Gorbachev stressed in his speech that while the Soviet Union was concerned about the security of its Asian borders, it was not seeking to make them secure by military means but by political and economic means and by creating a climate that removed hostility, suspicion and mistrust. Continuing, Gorbachev asserted that the USSR had made great progress in forming contacts and improving relations with various nations in the region.

In regard to Soviet-Japanese relations, Gorbachev at Krasnoyarsk remarked:

To be sure, Soviet-Japanese relations have great significance. My meetings with a number of prominent Japanese politicians, as well as exchanges of letters and messages with Japanese public organizations and cultural figures have made it possible to get a better view of the problems and possibilities on the path of overcoming economic stagnation (The Current Digest of the Soviet Press 1988:5).

He also expressed hope for the continuation of positive relations in forthcoming political contacts that would allow these relations to be directed toward a more normal development. However, he also commented on the existing problems between the two nations over the fisheries issue and Japan's increased military budget. Yet, no direct mention was made of their territories problem (Gorbachev 1988:4-5).

As usual, Gorbachev insisted that the key to improving the overall situation of this region was through the lessen-

ing of tensions, military cut backs and a corresponding change in political policies. As such, in striving to advance the cause of an all-Asian security, Gorbachev set forth some new and reiterated some old proposals in this speech.

The first of these proposals was a Soviet pledge not to increase the number of any kind of nuclear weapons in this region and called for the US to follow suit. Second, it was proposed that the principal naval powers in the region be invited to hold consultations to discuss the possibility of decreasing their naval forces in the area. Third, the idea was advanced for discussions, on a multilateral basis, on the question of decreasing the chances of military confrontation in the region where the coasts of the USSR, China, Japan and the Koreas converge. The goal of the discussions would be to freeze and reduce the levels of naval and air forces and restrict their activities. Fourth, Gorbachev offered to eliminate their Cam Ranh Bay military base in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam if the US would agree to eliminate its military bases in the Philippines. Fifth, the suggestion for the joint elaboration of measures to prevent incidents in the open seas and the airspace above was made. Sixth, the proposal was put forth that an international conference be held on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. Lastly, a proposition was submitted for discussion at any level and with any makeup of participants, the ques-

tion of setting up a negotiating mechanism for considering Soviet proposals and any other's proposals relating to the security of the APR (Gorbachev 1988:5-6).

Proposals were also set forth by Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk that included measures toward the reform and restructuring of the Soviet economic system in the APR. With a view of making foreign economic ties more dynamic and taking into account the specific features of this region, Gorbachev called for the following preferential conditions. The first of these included giving enterprises and production cooperatives located in Soviet Asia the right to direct entry into the foreign market. Second, the right to use part of the foreign currency receipts for the social development needs of collectives. Third, giving enterprises participating in coastal and border trade the opportunity to use all their savings from the export of raw and other materials for investment. Forth, allowing enterprises to enter into direct trade ties outside the country. Fifth, exempting joint enterprises set up on a contractual condition from the tax of profits for a longer period than in other regions of the country. Sixth, allowing management and trade unions in joint enterprises to set wages. Finally, the idea was proposed for setting up special joint enterprise zones in the Soviet Far East where preferential conditions for foreign businesses and investment could exist. The island of Sakhalin or the islands of the Northern Territories could be

natural candidates for such zones (Nossov 1988:2660).

With favorable taxation, free remittance of profits and a clear-cut juridical structure, such zones could attract foreign companies as partners in Soviet organizations which could produce diversified export products from consumer goods to sophisticated technical items which could use Soviet Far Eastern and Siberian resources. These zones could become an important form of developing Soviet export potential and a natural force for the intensification of their commercial and economic relations in the APR. The opportunities for economic cooperation between the USSR and the nations of the APR are outstanding. If the Soviets can take advantage of their geographic proximity, natural resources and advanced technologies in aerospace and telecommunications, and use more flexible and cooperative economic reforms, then they may be able to build credibility and faith with their Asian-Pacific neighbors (Woo-chang 1989:643). If this is to be the case, the Soviets may then achieve their objectives for the overall improvement and development of its economic relations in this area of the world.

3.10 CONCLUSIONS ON GORBACHEV'S APR POLICY

Gorbachev has certainly caught the attention of many with his activated APR policy. His new more sophisticated style has achieved some certain success along with some certain

setbacks. But while these changes may suggest a tacit rebuke of his predecessors policies, Gorbachev has carefully refrained from direct criticism of past Soviet performance in the APR. More significantly, despite some tactical maneuvering he still has not squarely addressed the objections of key Asian-Pacific states to the traditional substance of Soviet APR policy, and in fact has basically continued to pursue some of the same policies of the past (Young 1988:338). A case in point is the Northern Territories issue with Japan, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Yet, on the other hand, Gorbachev also has made some real substantive changes from the policies of his predecessors. One example that can be clearly cited is his acceptance of the Chinese border claims on the Amur and Ussuri rivers.

This then raises a debate about Gorbachev's new political thinking in the APR which focuses on two issues: first just how new is this new thinking; and second is it essentially a public relations offensive, devoid of any concrete Soviet actions, aimed at identifying the USSR with the forces of peace and progress and the United States and its allies with a dangerous, unstable and wasteful status quo founded on the acquisition and expansion of arms (Medveden 1986:225-230)?

The debate over the newness of the new thinking is not particularly meaningful. Any body of thought, and new thinking is no exception, has ancestry and intellectual

roots. For example, Gorbachev's insistence that the superpowers must find the means to coexist has by his own admission roots in Lenin's ideas of the 1920's on peaceful coexistence. Other components of new thinking such as the banning of nuclear tests and creating favorable conditions for domestic economic goals through cutting expenditures on armaments evoke memories of Nikita Khrushchev.

However, the second point of debate, whether new thinking is rhetoric aimed at putting the US and its allies on the defensive, or a set of serious proposals that will guide Soviet behavior in this region, is a much more important question. As with most good questions, it admits no categorical answer.

Under Gorbachev, Soviet initiatives, such as the support for North Korea's calls for an end to US-South Korean military exercises and the withdrawal of US conventional and nuclear forces from the Korean peninsula, and the reunification of the Korean peninsula demonstrate that the USSR remains committed to maintaining its position in Northeast Asia. The Soviets understand full well the strategic significance attached by the US to its military deployments in South Korea. Similar motivation could be ascribed to Gorbachev's proposal in the September 1988 Krasnoyarsk speech for coupling a US withdrawal from its bases in the Philippines with a Soviet disengagement from naval facilities at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam. In making this offer Gorbachev

undoubtedly was aware that it would be rejected given the centrality of the Philippine installations to the US Navy's ability to operate in the western Pacific (Menon 1989:1-2).

At the same time, it would be a mistake on the basis of these and other examples to label new thinking as pure propaganda. For new thinking has entailed some major and in some areas unprecedented changes in actual Soviet behavior. For example, Gorbachev declared a unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons testing from August 1985 to February 1987. Moscow has also allowed on site verification provisions that are far more intrusive than what the US was prepared to allow. Gorbachev also agreed to unilaterally dismantle and eliminate intermediate missiles from Asia. Under the name of new thinking, the Soviets have taken other steps that respond to security concerns of Asian-Pacific states. These efforts include reduction of troops along the Sino-Soviet frontier and the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan (Menon 1989:3-4).

These concrete initiatives show that Gorbachev's pronouncements in his new thinking in the APR are not merely rhetoric. These broad proposals as well as the improvement in various bilateral relationships such as with China, reflect a Soviet attempt to redefine the way Asian-Pacific states view the USSR. Moscow now wishes to be seen as a constructive partner rather than a hegemon. Gorbachev has wisely shifted emphasis from military pressure to a more

political and economic approach to reach his policy objectives in the APR.

It is certain that the pressures for change in Soviet foreign policy in the APR that culminated in new thinking were the result in part of a crisis in the Communist system and in part by the overall failure of past Soviet policies in this area of the world; and not simply the personal preferences of Gorbachev. The pressures for military reductions in the Soviet Union reflects in part the economic impossibility of meeting the economic goals of perestroika under conditions of an arms race, and this fact has certainly spurred Gorbachev's proposals in the APR (Estaing, Nakasone, Kissinger 1989:8).

It is also just as certain that the balance of power in the APR will be based on economic and not military factors in the future. These economic factors will make themselves felt in the form of scientific and technological potentials of nations. They will be able to be utilized as instruments of regional and later global influence in the ever increasing interdependent international economic system. Gorbachev has realized this and has adjusted Soviet policy accordingly (Trofimenko 1989:244).

As such, Gorbachev has correctly understood that a new approach in the APR was absolutely necessary if his country is to remain a viable power in this area of the world. What is more, is the fact that he has realized how vital this

area is not only to the success of his own economic and political reforms but to the very future of the USSR.

However, so far he has demonstrated a basically risk-averse approach to change in the APR, pushing forward with easy stylistic changes while hesitating at more dangerous and substantial ones like a settlement with Japan over the Northern Territories. This is not to say that substantive changes have been absent in Gorbachev's policies in this region. Rather, it is to say that Soviet policy in this region will continue to be characterized by pursuit of incremental substantive changes in Soviet relations with non allies like Japan. Gorbachev may eschew more dramatic moves that would carry with them greater risks to Moscow and more importantly to his own position of power.

Gorbachev's APR policy for the most part is likely to proceed forward incrementally for two principle reasons. First, major substantive changes would likely impinge directly on long standing Soviet conceptions of the USSR's own security and/or would challenge Moscow's relationships with key regional allies. Second, from Moscow's perspective there is no certainty that concessions on key points would elicit a sufficient response from the other side; in fact concessions could even be taken as a sign of weakness to be exploited for further gains (Young 1988:338-39). At least two things remain certain: Gorbachev's interest in the APR is unprecedented, and his dramatic style of leadership makes

future surprises there a near certainty.

Chapter IV

SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS AND THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES DISPUTE IN THE GORBACHEV ERA

4.1 SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS PRIOR TO 1985

In the face of domestic economic stagnation, widespread social apathy, and a widening technological gap vis-a-vis the West, Mikhail Gorbachev has initiated a new Soviet diplomacy. Shown in statements and actions since his coming to power, the Gorbachev leadership appears to be seeking to integrate domestic and foreign policy in a mutually reinforcing combination, stressing particularly that Soviet international relations should be subordinated to the prime task of economic modernization at home, in full recognition of the multipolar and interdependent character of contemporary international relations. For this reason, strained Soviet relations with Japan are no longer tolerable for Gorbachev. He has reconsidered Japan and Soviet-Japanese relations. Japan is the world's most competitive economic power and largest creditor nation and is likely to continue as such. Clearly therefore, Gorbachev has much to gain, particularly in economic relations, with Japan. For this reason Gorbachev has sought to improve relations with Japan.

In the late 1970's and early 1980's as Sino-Japanese relations improved, the Soviets dramatically increased and

modernized their naval forces in the area and significantly enlarged their ground forces on the disputed islands of the Northern Territories. Although the increase in Soviet forces seemed to pose a formidable threat to Japan, in reality it was unlikely that these forces could have been used effectively in any plausible offensive combat scenario. Instead, they seemed designed primarily as political displays of Soviet military power and resolve in the area.

The Japanese with US encouragement, in turn began to express concern about the threat of Soviet interdiction of their commercial sea-lanes. The threat seemed sufficiently plausible to persuade the Japanese government to authorize significant expansion of its military. Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone even warned the Soviets that he would turn his country into an "unsinkable aircraft carrier," a statement none of his predecessors would have dared to utter (West and von Geusau 1987:54). The Soviet's increased military presence of the late 1970's and early 1980's served to aggravate Soviet-Japanese tensions. Soviet commitment to an imperial concept of retaining all territories acquired by Russia before the Revolution and by the Soviet Union during World War II, i.e. the disputed Northern Territories, only served to further frustrate relations with Japan (Segal 1983:12). As such, the Soviets could not translate increasing military power into political or economic gains with Japan.

The state of Soviet-Japanese bilateral relations directly

preceding the Gorbachev era deteriorated to an all time low in the early 1980's. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Soviet intervention in Poland in 1981, the SS-20 missile issue and the Soviet downing of a Korean Airliner in 1983, all hindered Soviet-Japanese relations.

Total trade between the two nations decreased to \$ 4.3 billion in 1983, the level of 1976, amounted to only \$ 3.9 billion in 1984, and reached an all time low of \$ 3 billion by 1985. (Tables 6, 7 and 8 in Appendix A), for further illustration of Soviet-Japanese trade relations in this period. This low level of trade was negatively influenced by two other factors. First, the Japanese were forced to receive payments for their goods to the Soviet Union in the form of raw materials because of the Soviet's lack of hard currency. Second, American pressure on Japan to invoke trade sanctions on the Soviet Union at this time, prevented closer trading links (McIntosh 1987:103). Also, Soviet-Japanese joint exploitation of Siberia, which had raised great expectations in 1966 when this economic cooperation had first been discussed, had almost come to a standstill by the mid 1980's (Stuart 1987:24).

A mere seven joint projects were taken up in this period. The mainstay of this limited Soviet-Japanese cooperation was in the forestry, fishing, coal, oil and natural gas sectors. Even in these sectors, especially the petroleum sector, it is fair to say that there was more talk than action. Of the

four projects discussed in this period (1966-87) the Yakutian natural gas project, the Sakhalin continental shelf project, the Tyumen oil development project, and the Sakhalin natural gas project, only one, the Sakhalin continental shelf project came to fruition (Swearingen 1987:122). Stiff economic terms, growing Soviet foreign debt and continued political tension over the territories dispute, all helped to make Japanese investment and involvement in Siberia less attractive (Stuart 1987:17).

Although the political and economic problems just discussed played a major role in the poor state of bilateral relations between these two nations, the heightened tensions in Soviet-Japanese relations can be better understood as resulting from three Soviet policies. First, increased Soviet restrictions on Japanese fishing rights and quotas in the seas between Japan and the Soviet Union, as well as the brutal treatment of Japanese fishermen caught violating these regulations. Since 1945, over 1500 Japanese fishing vessels have been seized in Soviet claimed territorial waters and over 13,000 Japanese fishermen have been detained for varying periods (Rees 1985:xvii). Second, heavy-handed pressure on Japan in the late 1970's as it negotiated a peace treaty with China. Third, and above all, Moscow's continued insistence on retaining the four Kurile Islands occupied at the end of the Second World War despite strong Japanese sentiment for their return (Stuart 1987:17). These

policies so hampered relations with Japan that it became difficult for Japanese politicians, businessmen, banks and enterprises to move forward in any type of political or economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. What remains most clear however, is that any movement towards full normalization and rapprochement between Japan and the Soviet Union will be fully dependent on some solution to the question of the Northern Territories.

4.2 SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS IN THE GORBACHEV ERA

Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika has offered new opportunities to improve Soviet-Japanese relations and to move towards some kind of rapprochement concerning the Northern Territories. Yet, Japan has received less Soviet attention than China or Southeast Asia since the initiation of Gorbachev's new initiatives in the APR. Further, as a result of a series of Japanese miscalculations and blunders, Japanese relations with the USSR have remained somewhat strained. These gaffs included the disclosure of the Toshiba Machine Company's violations of international agreements on the sales of militarily significant technology to Communist countries and the revelations of a series of Soviet spy scandals (Johnson 1987:1145). Further, the Soviets' continued insensitivity to Japanese security concerns and the Northern Territories issue have also acted to slow the improvement of bilateral relations under Gorbachev.

Nevertheless, there has been a modernization of the Soviet view of Japan under Gorbachev. Just the fact that he has offered to discuss the Northern Territories problem clearly demonstrates a new flexibility in the Soviet's approach to Japan. Also, many more high level meetings have taken place between these two nations in the previous five years than (Figure 5, Appendix A). It also seems that Gorbachev's attitude towards Japan, compared to that of his predecessors, now indicates a respect for, and recognition, of Japan's economic and political success. Japan's wealth and prestige especially in the international business community, and the capacity of its people for hard work and discipline have also captured his attention. The Soviet Union is clearly interested in the lessons and opportunities of Japan's success. Moscow is now more positive about Japan's international stature and independence (Segal 1988:2).

For the Soviet Union the door to Asia-Pacific cooperation is through Japan. The positive attraction of dealing with Japanese economic power must be enormous for Gorbachev in his attempts to revitalize underdeveloped Soviet Siberia and Far East and incorporate his stagnating economy into the prosperity of the Pacific Basin (Leifer 1986:53). A logical course for Gorbachev to follow in his attempts to encourage economic perestroika would be one which encourages increased investment, trade, capital and technology from Japan. Gorbachev must appreciate, however, that the key to opening

Japan's Asia-Pacific door lies in the Northern Territories problem. Even symbolic Soviet gestures on this issue could do much to improve Soviet-Japanese relations (Segal 1988:2).

The remaining part of this chapter will first attempt to identify the different perceptions and national goals that the Soviet and Japanese policy makers have of each other's countries, particularly in the case of the Northern Territories issue. This will provide a framework for understanding Soviet-Japanese political interactions pertaining to this issue in the Gorbachev era. By reviewing the level and the substance of political dialogue concerning the problem in this period an accurate picture should emerge concerning how Gorbachev's new thinking about the APR has influenced the intractable nature of this territorial impasse.

4.3 DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS AND NATIONAL GOALS

The Soviets who are in possession of the disputed territories, tend to emphasize the strategic significance of these islands and the power politics of the international situation that surrounds them. The Soviets, of course, back up their claims with references to history, geography, international agreements, and international law. The Japanese, on the other hand, tend to stress the historical, moral, and international law arguments, paying less attention to the military-strategic consequences of their territorial demands.

In the analysis of the national goals of these two nations and the way they intertwine with the territorial dispute, it is useful to distinguish among immediate, middle-range and long range political, economic, cultural-scientific and security goals.

In the political area, the immediate Soviet goals seem to focus on confidence building measures with the states of the APR with particular interest to scaling down conventional forces in Japan and providing for the security of sea-lanes around that country. The specific interest in the security of sea-lanes is clearly designed to provide Japan with an alternative to the 1000 mile sea-lane defense responsibility which has been urged by the United States. In the middle range, the following Soviet goals apply: to support the Soviet Asian collective security proposal, to conclude a treaty of good neighborliness and cooperation in the region, and to begin an exchange of opinions on a treaty of non-use of nuclear weapons. Long-range Soviet goals are to eventually conclude a peace and friendship treaty with Japan, without compromising on the Northern Territories (that is to have Japan abandon its claims to these territories), and unlikely though it may seem, to break up the US-Japanese security alliance.

Moving to the economic realm, the most immediate Soviet goals are for Japan to repeal all economic barriers against the Soviet Union followed by Japan's consent to conclude a

long-term economic cooperation agreement (under a favorite Japanese policy of separating economics from politics), and securing Japanese participation in the development of Siberia and the Soviet Far East on Soviet terms (Berton 1986:1262-63).

In the cultural scientific category the goals are to increase cultural exchange, conclude a comprehensive cultural agreement, conclude agreements on scientific-technological exchange, and promote the transfer of Japanese high technology to the Soviet Union.

In the security area, immediate Soviet goals are to ensure that Japan adheres to its own Three Nuclear Principles: not to manufacture, not to acquire and not allow the stationing of nuclear weapons on its soil. The Soviets also wish to promote an anti-nuclear and arms control climate in Japan and to break up the US-Japan security treaty which would lead to the removal of US bases from Japan. But besides the things the Soviets would like Japan to do, there are of course negative and passive Soviet objectives as with the prevention of a anti-Soviet economic understanding among Japan, the United States and China and the prevention of an anti-Soviet military encirclement comprised of these same nations (Berton 1986:1263).

On the Japanese side, economic concerns with the Soviets make-up their most immediate and long-range goals. These goals would include negotiation of favorable fishing agree-

ments, at a reasonable cost, and with limited Soviet access to Japanese ports; to increase the volume of Soviet-Japanese trade without making long-term commitments; to obtain oil and natural gas from the Sakhalin projects; and to participate in Soviet Siberian and Far East joint development projects preferably along with the US, without incurring Chinese retaliation and without prejudicing Japan's security (Berton 1986:1263-64).

In the cultural scientific area, Japan goals are to encourage exchanges of cultural events, without giving the Soviet Union an opportunity to increase its propaganda activities in Japan, and to conclude agreements that would benefit Japanese science and technology without increasing the ability of the Soviets to catch up with Japan and the Western world in high technology.

In security matters, immediate Japanese goals are to negotiate the removal of Soviet garrisons from the disputed islands and prevent the Soviets from interfering in Japanese-American security arrangements. The most important long-range goal is to conclude a peace treaty with the Soviet Union on the basis of the return of all the disputed islands. However, it is questionable as to whether public opinion in Japan would accept only a partial return of the islands along the lines of the 1956 Soviet proposals to return only Shikotan and the Habomai Islands.

On the question of how to handle the Northern Territories

problem, there are two basic approaches in Japan. The first is called "the entrance theory," which envisages the return of the Northern Territories as a precondition for improved relations with the Soviet Union. The second approach is called "the exit theory," which calls for improved relations with the Soviet Union first in the hope that this will lead to the solution of the Northern Territories problem.

4.4 THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES DISPUTE AND GORBACHEV

Although the main outlines of Soviet policy in the APR in 1985 remained the same, under the new Soviet leader, Gorbachev, there were some shifts in tone and emphasis. Gorbachev had clearly made a high priority of improving relations with Japan. Though there were few signs that the Soviets would make any concessions on the territorial issue with Japan, the scheduling of foreign minister level talks with Japan gave the first signs that a new flexibility was emerging (Zagoria 1986:15).

As soon as Gorbachev came to power in March of 1985 there was a marked increase in the frequency of diplomatic messages between Tokyo and Moscow. A Moscow radio broadcast described the increased frequency of diplomatic messages as being:

explained among foreign circles here as the possibility for improving relations between the two adjacent countries (FBIS USSR 10/16/85:C-1).

By the fall of 1985 much clearer signals of a thaw in Soviet-Japanese relations could be seen. In September of 1985 a high level member of the Soviet Politburo met with the then Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone while on an official visit to Japan and gave him a personal message from Gorbachev. The message stressed:

the importance of moving forward in developing Soviet-Japanese relations in the political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other areas and notes the necessity for expanding bilateral political dialogue (The Current Digest of the Soviet Press 10/9/85:14).

The message also asked the Japanese government to give attention to Gorbachev's recent proposals for the development of a compromise approach to the problems of security in Asia (The Current Digest of the Soviet Press 10/9/85:14). Gorbachev went on to emphasize in the communique:

the Soviet Union favors the development of good relations with Japan and favors giving those relations specific substance that would benefit our peoples. This policy - and special emphasis should be placed on this - is not temporary. We are prepared to take practical steps to set up new, mutually advantageous ties and expand already existing ones (The Current Digest of the Soviet Press 10/9/85:14).

Thus, hinting that a new era of dialogue and approach towards the Northern Territories problem might be forthcoming.

However, the most positive sign in 1985 that there was in improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations came in November,

when the Japanese government announced that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze would pay an official visit to Japan from January 15-19, 1986. The Shevardnadze trip would be the first by a Soviet foreign minister to Japan in ten years and it would mark the resumption of regular bilateral consultations at the foreign minister level. The Japanese hailed the move as an indication that Gorbachev was attaching great importance to Japan and Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone called it a "fruitful beginning in new relations with the Soviet Union" (Burgess 1/16/86:A-1).

The Soviets were also optimistic about the prospects for improving relations with Japan. They noted that since Gorbachev had come to power, political contacts had been restored, exchanges of parliamentary delegations had begun, trade and economic exchanges had been partially activated, the long suspended ninth joint session of the USSR-Japan Economic Commission had been held in Tokyo, and preparations were underway to sign a treaty on cultural cooperation with Japan (Zagoria 1986:18). The Soviets were further encouraged by the signing of a long-term agreement by Japan to buy wood products from Siberia, a Japanese agreement to provide automobile plant equipment and other capital goods to the Soviet Union, and Japan's easing of many of its former Soviet trade sanctions (Burgess 1/6/86:A-19).

There remained, however, a number of obstacles in the way of any substantial improvement in Soviet-Japanese relations.

Beneath the surface of congeniality there were only small hints that the Soviets were prepared to acknowledge Japan's territorial grievances over the Soviet occupation of the Northern Territories. Continuing Soviet intransigence on the territorial issue at this time was reflected in a statement that Anatoli Gromyko, the son of Andrei, made to the Japan National Press Club in September of 1985 which said: "Inside Soviet territory there is only Soviet territory, there is no other kind of territory" (Zagoria 1986:18). Moreover, strengthened security cooperation with the US and the continuing low level of bilateral trade, caused by the steady fall in Japanese imports of Soviet oil and natural gas, also continued to restrain the movement in bilateral relations.

The official visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister to Japan in January 1986 attracted much attention. It was preceded by a good deal of Soviet commentary, some of it designed to put pressure on the Japanese. For instance, in a radio broadcast from Moscow on December 31, 1985, a Soviet commentator said that rumors of Japan refusing to develop economic cooperation between the two nations unless the Soviets made a concession on the so called Northern Territories was a weak threat since "the Soviet Union is capable of resolving all complicated economic and technological problems without neglecting its sovereign rights" (FBIS USSR 1/2/86:C-1).

The Soviets also attempted to entice the Japanese with lucrative economic and trade incentives in Siberia and the Soviet Far East. But to get the full benefits, Japan was being told it had better follow the example of a number of West European countries and conclude long-term agreements of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union (Zagoria 1986:19).

Shevardnadze's visit to Tokyo took place from January 15 to 19, 1986 and largely involved long meetings with his Japanese counterpart Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe. The discussions between Shevardnadze and Abe were expected to result in minor confidence-building measures, covering such areas as trade taxation, cultural exchanges, and perhaps an agreement for Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone and Gorbachev to meet (Burgess 1/6/86:A-1). The whole idea of the meeting was to create a positive atmosphere for future substantive discussions. It was not clear before the meeting as to what Moscow's stance on the Northern Territories would now be. In the past the Soviet position had alternated between suggesting that it would give back the smallest and least strategic of the islands to refusing to acknowledge that there was any dispute over territory with Japan. Press reports just before the meeting hinted that Soviet officials had suggested privately to the Japanese that the return of some of the islands might be negotiable (Burgess 1/6/86:A-1).

The actual meeting supposedly took place "in a business-

like atmosphere," although the final communique also noted that there was "a frank exchange of opinions on key questions of the present international situation," one of those questions undoubtedly concerned the Northern Territories (Berton 1986:1275). At the press conference after the meeting, Shevardnadze said he and Abe had "had a heated debate" on the subject of the rival territory claims, yet the meeting for the most part had "passed in a friendly atmosphere" (Berton 1986:1275).

Although the Soviet Union's position on the disputed islands remained basically unchanged, both the Soviets and the Japanese declared that after an eight year absence they would resume negotiations toward a peace treaty that formally would terminate the enmity of World War II. This in itself was hailed by both sides as a step forward in the détente that was developing since Gorbachev came to power. A joint communique released at the end of the meeting said that treaty discussions would be based on the 1973 joint statement by Tanaka and Brezhnev. This 1973 statement said that "unresolved questions remaining from World War II would be resolved as part of a peace treaty" (Burgess 1/20/86:A-12). This statement was hailed by the Japanese because it suggested that the Soviets were not only willing to admit that a territory problem existed but also were interested in a settlement.

The meeting resulted in the signing of agreements on cul-

tural exchanges, security and technological cooperation, the tenth renewal of the 1957 trade pact, and to other minor agreements on taxation and trade payments (Facts on File 1/24/86:55). The two ministers also upgraded Soviet-Japanese working level consultations to the level of deputy foreign minister, and exchanged invitations for future visits on their own level. As such, it was agreed that Abe would visit Moscow sometime in 1986. Additionally, invitations were exchanged for a Soviet-Japanese joint summit. Shevardnadze brought a message from Gorbachev inviting Nakasone to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. In response, Nakasone invited Gorbachev to visit Japan. The Soviets also agreed to examine the question of grave-site visits by Japanese in the Soviet occupied territories.

Yet, for all the many gestures of good will, Japan's hope for a major policy change on the issue of the Northern Territories were dashed when Shevardnadze said that "any rapprochement of Soviet-Japanese relations has to come on the basis of existing reality" (Horvat 1/19/86:10-11). In other words Shevardnadze was saying that Japan must recognize the status quo of Soviet possession of the Northern Territories if they wished to pursue improved relations with the USSR.

Thus, the Soviet's basic approach to the territory question remained basically unchanged. The Soviets appeared to favor building relations with the Japanese on the basis of good neighborliness and reciprocal cooperation, but not by a

concession on the Northern Territories. In the first round of dialogue the Japanese seemed to indicate that in addition to the "entrance" and "exit" approaches discussed earlier, a third approach was being tried by the Nakasone administration. This third approach fell somewhere in between the other two approaches and gave the impression that the Japanese wanted to test out the Soviets with a few low-level political and economic gifts in the hope that there might be some reward on the territorial issue.

In spite of the fact that two foreign ministerial visits were projected for the next two years (1986 and 1987), Japanese Foreign Minister Abe made it to Moscow within four months. Abe's visit was rather short, from May 29 to 31, only half as long as Shevardnadze's Tokyo trip, but it included an audience with Gorbachev. A wide range of problems concerning the current international situation and bilateral relations were discussed. The meeting was "held in a spirit of frankness and goodwill" (Berton 1986:1276).

In Shevardnadze's discussions with Japanese Foreign Minister Abe, Shevardnadze told Abe:

that the Soviet leadership was open to compromise solutions, but never will make unilateral concessions. No political, economic or military pressure will affect us; any agreements can only be the result of constructive negotiations. Future meetings could be productive if the approach to them are free of illusions regarding the motives for Soviet interests in having these meetings (The Current Digest of the Soviet Press 7/2/86:12).

He continued by saying that the Soviets have made "a principal political decision to explore all possibilities for developing and improving relations with Japan in all areas" (12). Finally he said that:

these relations can be established successfully only on a basis of reciprocity, with the understanding that no one will tamper with the results of the Second World War or the inviolability of borders (The Current Digest of The Soviet Press 7/2/86:12).

In other words, Gorbachev was indirectly telling Abe that the Soviets still were not ready to make concessions on the Northern Territories.

At the meeting Gorbachev promised to give due attention to Japan's concerns about commercial fishing rights in Northeast Asian waters and to consider these fishing grounds not just from the economic point of view. He also declared his readiness:

in a spirit of humanity and respect for national customs to take steps to meet requests by Japanese citizens to visit places where their relatives are buried in Soviet territory (FBIS USSR 10/20/86:CC-4).

Nevertheless, Foreign Minister Abe, for his part continued to link the further development of Soviet-Japanese relations with the resolution of the territorial question (CC-4).

The final communique repeated practically verbatim the January 1986 communique and the 1973 Soviet-Japanese joint

declaration on the conclusion of a peace treaty. In other words, there was no mention of the territorial problem directly. However, from the Japanese perspective, a more apparent tolerance on the disputed territories question was demonstrated by the language of this joint statement. Though Soviet officials continued to insist publicly on their well known position, that the territorial question has been resolved in a series of agreements ending the Second World War, their willingness to continue to return the Brezhnev-Tanaka agreement of 1973 fueled Japanese expectations that Moscow might be willing to turn over the islands in return for Japanese involvement in Soviet Siberia and Far East economic development (Young 1988:328).

So what was the tally sheet for the two Soviet-Japanese foreign ministerial meeting in 1986? Who stood to gain or lose the most from the resumption of Soviet-Japanese foreign ministerial political dialogue?

By the end of the second meeting in Moscow, the Japanese agreed to an intergovernmental cultural agreement and the resumption of technical-scientific talks. Although Japan was likely to gain something from these agreements, this was clearly one of the Soviet goals and now a greater possibility existed that there may be some leakage of Japanese high technology to the Soviets. Also, the Japanese were now in no position to oppose Soviet calls for international conferences on APR security, which were of no particular advantage

to either Japan or the US. The Japanese did gain access to ancestral graves on the Soviet occupied Northern Territories. In August of 1986, a group of Japanese pilgrims was allowed to visit these graves for the first time since 1976, but only on Shikotan and some of the Habomai Islands and not on the two Southern Kurile Islands (Haberman 8/23/86:5).

An important question for assessing the outcome of the Soviet-Japanese territorial dispute in 1986 and beyond involves which side will benefit from the passage of time. Generally speaking, many tend to think that there will be more and more realities (i.e., military bases, fishing enterprises, settlements) built by the Soviets on these territories. As Gorbachev strives to improve this entire region the return of these islands may become less likely.

Some Japanese scholars, on the other hand, have shown an unusual confidence in the ability of Japan to settle the territorial issue to its satisfaction given Gorbachev's objectives in the APR. Here the argument is that the Soviet Union is woefully deficient in high technology and capital and that the gap between the USSR and the Western industrial powers including Japan is likely to grow. This gives Japan a very powerful advantage to use in bargaining with the Soviets, especially in light of Gorbachev's economic objectives, as long as the US does not engage in policies designed to build up the high technology and capital of its main strategic competitor. More importantly are the facts

that not only will Japan be the world's largest creditor nation in the near future, but the sheer size of Japan's investment in world financial markets will certainly give Japan much greater political clout than in 1986 when dealing with the Soviets.

As the Gorbachev initiative continued to gather pace in 1987 it was a case of two steps forward and one step back. The largest leaps forward were in relations with China and Southeast Asia, while the step back was in relations with Japan. Soviet-Japanese relations suffered in 1987. Japan's announcement in September 1986 that it would participate in Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) research and Gorbachev's failure to directly mention the Northern Territories during his important July 1986 Vladivostok speech had so strained relations between the two nations that by late fall talk of a January 1987 Gorbachev trip to Tokyo ceased. Public attacks against the resurgence of Japanese militarism and continued insistence on unlawful claims to the Northern Territories began to occur more frequently in the Soviet press. For example, during one Moscow television broadcast it was said by a Soviet commentator that:

the territorial question which Tokyo has inflated does not actually exist. And if the leaders of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party intend to continue to regard the territorial claim as being of paramount importance in Japanese-Soviet relations, then they are making a great mistake (FBIS USSR 1/23/87:C-2).

By mid 1987, despite continuing working level contacts on the subject, prospects for a Gorbachev-Nakasone summit had become increasingly remote. The chill in US-Soviet relations following their Reykjavik summit increased Japanese reluctance to compromise with Moscow on the territorial question, and Soviet analysts in turn began to view Nakasone as a hard-liner with whom it was impossible to deal. A new complication arose in mid 1987 over Japan's exposure of a Soviet espionage ring in the Tokyo based Toshiba Corporation. The Soviets responded by characterizing the Toshiba scandal as an officially instigated wave of anti Soviet "spymania." Relations had so regressed that in Gorbachev's interview with Merdeka he faulted Tokyo for the return of "clouds" on the horizon of Soviet-Japanese relations (Soviet Life 1987:viii). Although some contacts continued between the two in such matters as the fisheries, the exchanges of visits by foreign ministers, which looked liked they were becoming regular events, had been cancelled.

When Prime Minister Naburu Takeshita succeeded Nakasone in the fall of 1987, Moscow sent modest signals of interest in mending relations. After months of chilled relations, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev at a foreign ministry meeting in Tokyo during mid November of 1987 told Japanese Foreign Minister Uno, "Moscow would like to try to find common ground in establishing better relations. He also commented that he felt that Soviet-Japanese relations

"could warm-up again" (Sneider 11/18/87:9). But as 1988 began, warmer relations had yet to begin.

There were two reasons why Gorbachev failed to break Soviet-Japanese relations out of their earlier unproductive pattern. The first was Japan's continued insistence that Moscow return the Northern Territories as a prerequisite to fundamental improvement in their relationship and Gorbachev's refusal to consider this step. The second was Moscow's slow recognition that major growth of Japanese trade and investment in the Soviet economy remained hampered by official Japanese policy and by skepticism within Japanese business circles over opportunities there.

Underlying these issues was the fact that Gorbachev and his advisers had not really and truly overcome their predecessors tendency to underestimate Japan's regional and global importance. Additionally, Moscow, still may have harbored unjustifiably positive perceptions concerning the atmosphere of Japanese business opportunities, in the Soviet Far East and Siberia. The Japanese economy had undergone a steady evolution since these ideas were first broached twenty years earlier, and as such, the Japanese were not as enticed by economic opportunities in this region of the Soviet Union as they once were. In any event, despite some early promise, Japan did not represent a foreign policy success for Gorbachev in 1987.

1987 was not a good year for Soviet-Japanese relations.

The Toshiba trading scandal case, Japanese involvement in American SDI projects and a Soviet preoccupation with improving Chinese relations all acted to strain Soviet-Japanese relations. 1988, however, saw some Soviet new thinking on Japan and a growing sense of realism and respect for their neighbor across the Sea of Japan. A number of Soviet delegations made trips to Japan to stress that the Japanese could benefit from improved relations with the Soviet Union. In addition, Japanese public opinion polls showed a rise in a favorable view of the Soviet Union, and trade delegations explored with renewed vigor the possibilities for Soviet trade (Segal 1989:8).

Even on the vexing issue of the Northern territories, some Soviet officials dropped hints of just how flexible Moscow might be. There were discussions on joint ventures on the territories and reportedly even talk of a "lease back" deal for some of the islands (Segal 1989:8).

Although it still seemed clear that the Soviet Union had not yet evolved a clear policy on the islands, what was clear at this point was that Soviet new thinking now included the territorial issue.

Also, the improved superpower relationship also helped to ease the Japanese attitude concerning Gorbachev. Agreements became possible when American officials suddenly spoke with optimism about their "friends in the Soviet Union." What is more, the Mitsubishi Corporation lead a Japanese consortium

in negotiating a multi-billion dollar investment scheme in Siberia. Also, Gorbachev and his advisors increasingly praised Japan's economic strength and the lessons its experience could provide for a Soviet Union in search of the secret of economic modernization (Segal 1989:107-9).

In 1988, Moscow's official stance on the Northern Territories did not change. A spokesman from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs best summed up the Soviet position on the territorial issue when he commented on rumors in the Japanese press concerning the possibility of transferring to the Japanese government:

the principle position of the Soviet Union regarding Japan's claims to a part of the Soviet Union's territory remains unchanged as set forth in official Soviet statements (The Current Digest of the Soviet Press 10/19/88:19).

However, in 1988, the Soviets seemed more attracted by Japan's economic dynamism and more concerned over increasing Japanese military expenditures which were then around 2 per cent of the total budget. This may explain why in 1988 Moscow was proposing various ideas and initiatives on how to settle the Northern Territories problem.

During 1988, Soviet economists, academics, and foreign policy makers openly acknowledged in the Soviet press the existence of a territorial dispute. Thus contradicting a long standing official stance which had insisted on just the opposite. Further, Japanese claims to the islands were even

getting unprecedented attention in the Soviet Union. For example, Soviet participants at the sixth private level Soviet-Japanese round table conference acknowledged that a "territory dispute exists between the two countries" (FBIS USSR 10/19/88:19). Also, there was a greater amount of unofficial Soviet discussion on such proposals ranging from co-ownership to lease back the disputed islands to Japan. Consequently, rumors of settlement abounded in Japan at this time (Oka 1988:10-11). Additionally, 1988 witnessed several Soviet-Japanese conferences that addressed the Northern Territories issue. Though the conferences amounted to little, they did suggest the emergence of a new Soviet outlook relating to the territorial question.

Although a Japanese foreign ministry visit to Moscow in June of 1988 produced little if any movement on the territorial issue, The Economist suggested that it did succeed in at least returning Soviet-Japanese relations back to where they were in 1986 (The Economist 6/25/88:42). The Gorbachev-Nakasone meeting in July of 1988 also showed that the Soviets were stepping solicitously towards Japan. By far, the most significant event of the meeting was Gorbachev's breaking of the traditional silence on the disputed islands. He reportedly told Nakasone "we have to think up something somehow to resolve the problem," referring to the Northern Territories impasse (Perkovich 1988:15). Supposedly Gorbachev even indirectly made an offer to return the two

southernmost islands of Shikotan and the Habomai group, but the offer was rebuffed by the Japanese. Yet, The Christian Science Monitor reported that Japanese officials allegedly said privately that if the Soviets were to build on the proposal and negotiate a timetable for transferring the two remaining islands, rapprochement between the two nations could follow (Perkovich 1988:15).

Another positive step in Soviet-Japanese relations occurred in mid September when Gorbachev went to Krasnoyarsk and launched a new initiative to develop the economy of the Soviet Far East and to negotiate security confidence building measures in the region with Japan. While none of the proposals set forth at Krasnoyarsk specifically addressed a settlement of the disputed islands, Tokyo welcomed the speech as further evidence of a new Soviet flexibility in the APR. Gorbachev did hint at Krasnoyarsk that a deal could be made to give the Japanese fishing vessels more lucrative access to the rich Soviet fishing waters off the disputed islands, and offered to make Japanese grave visits to the Northern Territories easier.

On December 19-21, 1988, after a hiatus of more than two years, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze returned to Tokyo to meet with his Japanese counterpart, Sosuke Uno to hold talks aimed at improving relations between the two countries (Facts on File 12/23/88:947). The Japanese had high hopes going into the negotiations that there would be

some real movement toward resolving the Northern Territories. They also hoped the meeting would yield an announcement that Gorbachev would make good his hint to visit Tokyo. The Soviets hoped that a peace treaty could be drawn up to finally end the 1945 war, and that Japan could cooperate with them to exploit Siberia's economic resources. The Soviets also expressed hope for a long sought breakthrough to close the largest remaining gap in Moscow's rapidly improving relations with the capitalist powers.

Throughout the almost three months preparation for the meeting, Japanese Foreign Ministry officials steadily insisted that as one put it, "the absolute minimum we expect is that the final communique jointly acknowledge the existence of the issue and the need for discussion of it" (Woodruff 1988:26). The Soviet priority at this meeting was to prompt an inflow of Japanese technology and investment to help revitalize the Soviet economy.

After years of stagnation and even decline, Soviet-Japanese trade in 1988 reached \$5.7 billion a level slightly higher than the 1982 peak and significantly higher than the \$4.9 billion level of 1987 (Tables 9 and 10, Appendix A), which more clearly demonstrate this improvement in Soviet-Japanese trade. Also, Japanese business leaders showed increased interest in Soviet proposals for more liberal terms for Japanese investment and for special economic zones where their firms could operate with less restraint.

Despite these favorable trends, however, Japanese business remained skeptical about the prospects for increased trade with the Soviets. The Northern Territories issue, the lack of Soviet foreign currency to purchase Japanese goods, Soviet dependence on shrinking returns from oil and natural gas exports, and the declining need of the Japanese economy to consume raw materials which make up the bulk of Soviet exports all acted as Japanese obstacles towards greater economic cooperation with the Soviets. Many Japanese business leaders were also hesitant to invest in the Soviet economy citing poor business conditions such as low levels of productivity, poor infrastructure, and poor management. Of the 130 joint ventures set up in Soviet Siberia and the Far East at this time only 6 were with Japanese firms, and half of them simply processing marine products. A correspondent from the The Christian Science Monitor reported that one Japanese official said:

even if the northern islands are returned to Japan, whether or not Japan will invest or establish more joint ventures depends on their profitability (Sneider 1988:8-9).

Upon arriving a day before the meeting, Shevardnadze suggested in a brief speech that future delays in diplomatic progress were no longer desirable. At the start of the talks, Shevardnadze told Uno that his visit would open a "new chapter" in Soviet-Japanese relations. Shevardnadze proposed a bilateral investment projection agreement to pro-

mote joint ventures in keeping with the Soviet objective of drawing Japanese technology and capital into Siberian development (Schoenberger 12/20/88:11). Another key matter discussed in the first day's agenda was Japan's proposal that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev visit Japan sometime next year becoming the first Soviet leader to do so. However the Los Angeles Times reported that "after more than six hours of talks on the first day, the two sides had no progress to report on the question of Soviet occupation of the Northern Territories" (Schoenberger 12/20/88:11). A Japanese Foreign Ministry official was quoted as saying "the Soviets have shown no basic change in their position," in reference to the disputed islands (Facts on File 12/23/88:948).

Despite continued optimism, the final two days of the meeting ended with no fundamental progress on the territorial dispute. A reporter covering the meeting for The Washington Post reported that "both sides engaged in a heated and frank discussion on the issue and continued to cling to previous stances" (Shapiro 1988:A-21). However, there were some positive signs that came out of the talk. First and most important, Shevardnadze finally admitted that a territorial problem existed between Japan and the Soviet Union by making it clear that the Soviets were willing to deal with "all problems of concern to either side that have blocked the signing of a peace treaty," an apparent reference to the Northern Territories dispute (Shapiro

1988:A-21). Second, they agreed to pursue working level talks on a peace treaty that would deal with the territorial question among other pending bilateral issues. Third, Uno and Shevardnadze agreed to meet again in January of 1990 when both were scheduled to attend a multinational conference in Paris on chemical weapons and then again in Moscow in the spring of that year. Fourth, both sides also confirmed an agreement to conduct regular consultative meetings between the foreign ministers of the two countries at least once a year alternatively in Moscow and Tokyo (The Current Digest of the Soviet Press 1/18/1989:11). Finally, a reporter for The New York Times also reported that they also agreed to set up a permanent working group for the first time to continue discussions on the difficulties in their nation's relations (Chira 1988:A-9).

The Los Angeles Times reported that both Japanese and the Soviet officials left disappointed from this round of talks; the Japanese because they did not get any closer to a favorable settlement on the Northern Territories, and the Soviets because they did not get the increased economic cooperation they sought (Schoenberger 12/21/88:8). Nevertheless, The Los Angeles Times went on to report that there were some tangible results such as the Soviets continued recognition of a territorial problem and the promise for a continuation of talks on this problem (Schoenberger 12/21/88:8). Though the gains at these talks relating to a resolution of the

Northern Territories were small, they at least exemplified a slow but steady movement towards rapprochement.

1989 is likely to be remembered as the year the Cold War ended. In Asia, however, the pace of change remained almost glacial. Relations between and among the Asian states during 1989 were accompanied by little of the drama characteristic of events in Europe. Obscured to a degree by the measured and relatively well ordered diplomacy of Moscow, and Tokyo, far reaching developments were set in motion that had the potential to transform the contemporary Soviet-Japanese political-economic environment.

According to the Soviet paper Pravda Soviet-Japanese talks got a rough start in January 1989 with Uno's attempt to enlist support on the Northern Territories among the Western European nations attending meetings in Paris (FBIS USSR 1/23/89:32). However, the major concession to Japanese sensibilities that Shevardnadze made when he agreed to discuss the territorial question during his December 1988 consultations with Uno proved enough to keep Soviet-Japanese relations in 1989 on a positive track. While this 1988 discussion had failed to provide a meeting of the minds, it did result in the establishment of a permanent bilateral working group to be co-chaired by Soviet and Japanese deputy foreign ministers to explore the conclusion of a peace treaty. Given the central importance of the territorial issue to the normalization of Soviet-Japanese relations, it was incon-

ceivable that in the course of these negotiations the settlement of the disputed Kuriles would not assume a prominent place (Blacker 1990:7).

The Soviet paper Izvestia press reports accompanying the first meeting of the peace treaty working group held in Tokyo in March of 1989 suggested as much, with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev affirming once more the legitimacy of Moscow's claims to the disputed territories, while at the same time insisting that the controversy should not be allowed to stand in the way of normalized relations. His Japanese counterpart, Kakakazu Kuriyama, reiterated the familiar Japanese position: "good relations with Moscow must await resolution of the territorial question" (The Current Digest of the Soviet Press 4/26/89:21-2). Izvestia, however, did report that Rogachev commented that:

It is obvious that the treaty should have a geographical aspect, by which we refer primarily to the need to fix the postwar boundaries between our countries, which have yet to be demarcated. We are aware of the fact that the positions of the USSR and Japan differ on this issue. It is therefore important to discuss these differences in a calm atmosphere without stirring up emotions and to make the need to eliminate these differences (FBIS USSR 3/21/89:12).

Also, in a press conference held after the meeting, both sides described this first round of regular Soviet-Japanese consultations as "held in a generally businesslike and constructive atmosphere" (FBIS USSR 3/21/89:12).

A similar approach characterized talks in mid April

between Gorbachev and Japanese Foreign Minister Uno when the latter journeyed to Moscow for the second high level review of Soviet-Japanese relations in the past six months. The Economist reported that the Soviets did not once hint that they were willing to end their occupation of the disputed islands (The Economist 4/1/89:30). But the Soviets did prove willing to explain their claim. According to The Economist this was progress for in the past, Soviets leaders simply refused to discuss the matter (The Economist 4/1/89:30).

Notwithstanding the ostensible rigidity of the Soviet position, a subtle change in the Soviet's line began to emerge. During Uno's Moscow visit, for example, it was reported that Shevardnadze had raised the possibility of some kind of accommodation, as yet, undefined, regarding the Habomai Islands and Shikotan. Once again, the Japanese answer was supposedly "no" and a settlement failed to be reached. With that, an allegedly frustrated Gorbachev told Uno that their countries should just simply shelve the territorial issue and sign a peace treaty formally ending their state of war. Gorbachev further pointed out that Japan had made such a deal with China despite their long simmering dispute over the ownership of the Senkaku islands. The Japanese of course refused and the meeting ended with both sides agreeing that their relations had taken a slight step backwards. The Economist reported a further set back occurred when Gorbachev, in light of the latest round of

talks with the Japanese, announced that his rumored visit to Tokyo in the autumn of that year would not take place and he would think about rescheduling it next year (The Economist 5/13/89:43).

However, more surprises were in the offering. In July, Colonel-General Moiseyev, chief of the Soviet General Staff, struck an uncharacteristically relaxed tone concerning the renewed US-Japanese security treaty, which the Soviets in the past had always denounced as a major obstacle to the normalization of relations between Moscow and Tokyo, when he noted that "the conclusion of such agreements are a sovereign right of all countries" (Blacker 1990:8). This was a strong signal that the Soviets were no longer going to allow US-Japanese security arrangements to hamper its relations with Japan. What is more, in September the Soviets opened parts of the islands to foreign visitors, including a group of Tokyo based Western reporters. This was a big step for the Soviets. The only foreigners who visited the islands before this were Japanese fishermen who dropped in, but only because they had been caught poaching in Soviet waters by the coast guard, and those Japanese that had been allowed the special privilege of visiting ancestral graves (Gumbel 1989:A-14).

A correspondent for The Christian Science Monitor, however, reported that the Japanese government was determined not to let its citizens walk through the newly opened

Soviet door, arguing such contacts would be tantamount to recognizing Soviet sovereignty over the islands. The Japanese government continued only to approve the visits of former Japanese residents to the graves of their relatives which since 1988, the Soviets permitted to take place without visas or passports (Sneider 9/12/89:5).

In November, Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev, one of Gorbachev's principal foreign policy advisors, traveled to Tokyo for a round of discussions with senior Japanese leaders. In a startling departure, Yakovlev spoke of a "third way" in reference to the dispute over the Northern Territories and argued that the problem could and should be resolved in concert with other issues on the Soviet-Japanese agenda. Yakovlev's statement signaled an important shift in Soviet policy, the precise implications of which have yet to be explored, which may well provide a mechanism for the two sides to dispense with the issue in a mutually acceptable manner. Yakovlev also announced Gorbachev's upcoming visit to Japan, scheduled for some time in 1991 and described it as an "event of potentially far-reaching significance." How significant will likely turn on the success of the two countries in surmounting at least some of their differences in the months separating his visit and that of Gorbachev's.

Judging from the months that have now followed Yakovlev's statements, with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev's mid December 1989 Tokyo visit with his Japa-

nese counterpart Kakakazu Kuriyama, and former foreign minister Shintaro Abe's visit and meeting in Moscow in January of 1990 with Gorbachev, the feasibility of success in overcoming their difficulties remains positive (Kambara 12/27/89:6). According to The Economist, Abe's statements on that occasion suggested that there may be some easing in the inflexibility of the traditional Japanese policy of linking economic and political dimensions of relations with the Soviet Union. What this means in practice is that Japan might be prepared to go deeper into business cooperation with Moscow without preconditions relating to the territorial dispute. At the same time, "a rumor was circulating that Gorbachev may have offered to return the islands to Japan on a demilitarized basis" (The Economist Intelligence Unit 1990:13). The Economist Intelligence Unit also reported that Soviet government official, Boris Yeltsin, during his January visit to Japan suggested that the disputed four islands could be turned into a "free economic zone" (The Economist Intelligence Unit 1990:13).

Once again, both sides would have to await the next session of talks for any official breaking of their long standing deadlock over the Northern Territories. Shevardnadze was scheduled to meet with his Japanese counterpart in Tokyo for the next round of foreign ministry talks between the two countries starting on March 23, 1990. Unfortunately, however, the Japanese government was informed by the Soviet

Foreign Ministry on March 15 that this meeting would have to be rescheduled indefinitely due to Shevardnadze's preparations for an upcoming meeting with United States Secretary of State James Baker (Arima 1990). This latest Soviet move can be interpreted as a set back in Soviet-Japanese relations because it suggests that the state of bilateral relations with the US still takes far greater precedence than those with the Japanese in terms of Soviet policy objectives. As of the end of March 1990 this is how the Northern Territories issue stood.

Assuming progress on the territorial question in the future, the Soviets may well press the Japanese to reciprocate in some fashion to the ongoing reductions in Soviet military forces deployed in the APR by imposing constraints on military spending or by curtailing their participation in US sponsored military exercises and to consider seriously the Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk proposals for the initiation of multilateral discussions on the reduction of military tensions and the enactment of confidence and security building measures in this region (Blacker 1989:9). Moscow would also for obvious reasons look with favor on the expansion of bilateral economic ties particularly in the form of joint ventures in which Japanese capital would be developed to underwrite the development of the Soviet Far East. Whether Tokyo would respond favorably to any of Moscow's initiatives is difficult to determine. Any change in Japan's

defense policies could have important consequences for relations with Washington, which the Japanese government may wish to avoid given the intense friction over Japanese trade and direct investment in the US. Moscow hopes for a dramatic intensification of Soviet-Japanese economic relations are probably misplaced, in any event, as business in Japan can realize much greater return on its money by investing in other regions such as South Korea, China and the ASEAN nations (Blacker 1989:4).

Despite these barriers, relations between the Soviet Union and Japan seem to have entered a qualitatively new phase. The prospects for continued improvement appear substantially better than at any time since the aborted *détente* of the mid 1950's. As with the rapid development of Sino-Soviet relations in 1988-89, much of the credit for the warming in relations between Moscow and Tokyo must go to Soviet leaders and to Gorbachev personally. They have repeatedly demonstrated their willingness to break with long-standing policies in a effort to transform the very nature of the Soviet Union's relationship with its Asian-Pacific neighbors.

Chapter V

THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES DISPUTE: A CASE OF RAPPROCHEMENT

The sum total of developments since 1985 in Soviet-Japanese bilateral relations add up to several minor agreements, an intensified dialogue at different levels and on different subjects, expressions of goodwill and good intentions and most important of all, a Soviet readiness to listen if not respond to Japanese territorial claims. However, these developments only trace the periphery of the Soviet-Japanese relationship, though they were necessary in the preparation of ground for more substantial progress which will have to include measures that deal with the central issue of the Northern Territories dispute.

Presently, the two countries remain in a deadlock over the Northern Territories. As the status quo power, the Soviet Union hopes that, for Japan, the attraction of Soviet Siberian and Far Eastern development and fear of being pushed out by other western rivals will push the territorial question into the background. It will be impossible for Japan to abandon its claims altogether, but the dispute could become a formal rather than a real issue, just as Chinese claims to large tracts of Soviet East Asia and the Japanese controlled Senkaku Islands or the Japanese claim to the South Korean Takeshima Islands have been formal issues without impairing the development of bilateral relationships.

Japan on the other hand, insists that the Soviet Union should pay the price for friendly relations and economic cooperation by accepting the legitimacy of its demands and negotiating seriously over the territorial issue (Mendl 1989:471).

Each party has overestimated the strength of its position and underestimated the determination of the other. With the choice of alternative partners from Western Europe, South Korea, and possibly the United States, many suggest that it is doubtful whether the Soviet Union would be prepared to exchange the strategically important Northern Territories for Japanese capital and technology. Further, Japan's relatively weak economic interest in the Soviet Union and doubts about the motives and success of Gorbachev's new thinking policies, make it unlikely that it will allow the territorial issue to subside or that it will accept a separation of economics from politics (Mendl 1989:471). What is more, given the track record of Soviet-Japanese interactions in the Gorbachev era over the Northern Territories, many analysts maintain that little can be expected to change.

However, while this may be a plausible thesis for predicting the future outcome of this issue, such a position neglects a number of factors that suggest a rather different scenario than the mere perpetuation of rivalry and deadlock over the Northern Territories. Perhaps, some kind of rapprochement with respect to the Northern Territories issue is

a possible outcome for the future. As implausible as this may seem at the present time, there can be some arguments put forth in support of the contention for rapprochement.

5.1 THE GORBACHEV FACTOR

Since Gorbachev came to power in March of 1985 it has become apparent that the Soviet approach to the APR has changed. Over the last five years he has made a number of promising gestures including a relaxation of tension with China; increased interest in/and steps taken toward economic cooperation in the region; various positive overtures toward the Association of South East Asian Nations; and definite signs of a Soviet willingness for a compromise on the territorial dispute with Japan over the Northern Territories.

Nevertheless, many of the Western governments, none more so than Japan, have questioned the supposed new thinking in Soviet geopolitics in this region. The question that arises for governments of the West is whether Soviet initiatives are deceptive gestures designed to disguise the old expansionistic objectives by new and more sophisticated means, or do they indicate a new and truly pacific Soviet attitude? In other words, do they reflect genuine new thinking or do they hide the old thinking under a smiley new Soviet mask (Krasnov 1989:164).

What the Japanese, and for that matter the other Western governments must realize, however is that it has to be a

mixture of both. That is, the new Soviet initiatives must be seen as a mixture of some new thinking and some disguise of the old objectives. They may develop in a positive direction and have a truly pacifying effect on the region in the next decade or they could pressure and even increase the region's present instability and tensions. Although this is an ambivalent answer, it has to do with what has been happening in the USSR since Gorbachev came to power. Since then everything has been put in a state of flux, including Soviet foreign policy in the APR. The state of flux means that things could turn in one of several directions. It also means that outside powers, such as Japan, have not only a greater opportunity, but also a greater responsibility to influence Soviet decisions.

So the ultimate answer to the question about the Soviet role in the APR during the next decade depends both on what might happen inside the USSR and on how the outside powers will react to those changes. But under any circumstances one can expect not only an increased role of the Soviet Union in the APR but also increasing opportunities for all countries of the APR to shape the global future. Hence, at least at some level there is presently and certainly for the future as well, a new dynamism occurring in Soviet policy in this area. As such, there exists unrealized potential in the APR for the easing of tensions and the resolution of conflicts (Legvold 1989:91-6).

Therefore, in regard to the Northern Territories dispute, an historic opportunity now presents itself for the Japanese that suggests anything but a continuation in the territorial stalemate. For the Japanese neither timidity nor old ways of framing the issue are the appropriate response. If one takes a deep enough look through the superficial level of Soviet-Japanese bilateral relations over the past five years, it is not difficult to observe that underlying it all there has been some genuine substantive Soviet movement towards a compromise with Japan on the Northern Territories problem. The evidence for such an assertion is provided by the level and number of joint meetings, which at least in part dealt with the territories problem, that have occurred in the Gorbachev era as compared to previous years; Soviet acquiescence that a dispute does indeed exist after years of denying that there was a problem; and Soviet willingness to openly discuss, work towards and even unofficially hint that a resolution more favorable to the Japanese may be possible.

The Japanese will make a costly mistake if they underestimate or worse dismiss Gorbachev's new emphasis and flexibility on the Northern Territories. Both Moscow and Tokyo have strong incentives to compromise. For the Soviets, easing relations with Japan is essential to gaining entrance to the Asian Development Bank and the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) and to achieving access to Japanese technology, capital and investment; objectives which rank

very high on Gorbachev's agenda. For its part, Japan, will not want to be left out of what may be a worldwide rapprochement with the Soviet Union. Moreover, if Europe and American businessmen and banks encourage trade with the Soviets, the Japanese private sector will want to do the same (Zagoria 1989:126).

Therefore, it can be argued that Soviet-Japanese rapprochement and resolution of the Northern Territories conflict have never been better. In the immediate future, things look just as bright. If Gorbachev manages to hold to his proposed visit to Japan in 1991, it is difficult to believe that this unprecedented and major move will not be accompanied by some rather significant step towards resolving the territories conflict. In fact, it would not be out of the question to see a formal Soviet proposal to hand back at least Shikotan and the Habomai Islands and an agreement to discuss the future of the remaining two islands in return for a Japanese promise for a large economic concession and the signing of a peace treaty. If this seems farfetched, keep in mind the dramatic shift in Gorbachev's policy with the Chinese over their territorial grievances. Hence, if the Japanese can act with some imagination, creativity, courage and, flexibility toward Gorbachev, they may well be surprised at his response. It is important to remember, Gorbachev and his new thinking initiatives have surprised more than a few over the past five years.

5.2 THE JAPAN FACTOR

A quite different course of events might draw the Japanese not only into a closer relationship with the Soviets but also into a more cooperative frame of mind over a resolution towards the territories problem. Although the territory dispute has become the main bone of contention for the Japanese and one on which they have refused to compromise with the Soviets over the years, this does not necessarily guarantee that the issue will remain so in the future (Segal 1987:54). There are several possible variables that could dramatically alter the Japanese position. In Moscow during May of 1989, Japanese Foreign Minister Uno remarked to Gorbachev before departing that "as long as the Liberal Democrats remain in power, Moscow can count on Japan's foreign policies staying the same" (The Economist 5/13/89:43). Now however, politically Japan is somewhat unstable. The system that worked so well in the decades of Japan's rise falters as the global post-Communist power vacuum looms ahead. A government as weakened as Japan by numerous sex scandals, the Recruit affair, and by the deep unpopularity of its new consumption tax is capable of changing course pretty quickly (Croizer 1989:20).

What makes the present Japanese political situation all the more volatile is the dramatic rise of the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP) and its leader Ms. Takako Doi.

Although her party does not at this point have the support to solely oust the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) from power, it does not change the fact that it is and will remain a powerful influence in Japanese politics.

Consequently, it is a force that must be at least considered in the future of Soviet-Japanese relations. Even if one takes Uno's assessment for the LDP's continuity on the territorial issue seriously, who is to say that the JSP will continue to begrudgingly follow this line and not press their own proposals for the settlement of the Northern Territories issue in the weakened state of the LDP.

For that matter, other powerful political influences in Japan may now and in the future be able to take advantage of the deteriorating position of the LDP and exert their own interests, some of which would be in conflict with the current LDP's position on the disputed islands. For example, various business interests especially those involved in the manufacturing of consumer goods and the production of high technology might have much to gain with increased economic ties with the Soviets, even more so if favorable trading concessions were offered as well, so much so they might begin to put economic interests above those of politics. The powerful fishing industry, which is more concerned with access and higher allowable quotas of fish catches in Soviet waters than the return of the islands, might also be persuaded by lucrative Soviet fishing concessions to press the

Japanese government to abandon claims to the islands. Finally, politically the return of even two of the islands would satisfy a considerable body of the Japanese public, enough so that such an official Soviet proposal might be enough to cause the Japanese public to pressure their government for a settlement (Cloughley 1988:28). In any of these scenarios, a weakened LDP might be forced to compromise its present hard-line position on the Northern Territories.

What is more, what would happen to the current Japanese position on the territories if US-Japanese relations significantly deteriorated as a result of increased trade rivalry? Would the Japanese feel as secure in maintaining their present territorial demands without the traditional support and safety of the US alliance? More than likely not. In addition, if East-West relations continue to improve, it is doubtful that the Japanese would choose to continue on taking such a rigid position against the Soviets. Such a policy would be both politically and economically counter productive for Japan in light of a worldwide rapprochement with the Soviets.

Finally, it is important to consider how the Japanese government's position on the Northern Territories will alter in the future as more and more of those who were directly affected by the 1945 transfer of control pass away. Historically it has been the former Japanese residents of

these islands who have done much to organize the Northern Territories movement in Japan and who have pressured the government to respond to their demands. It is uncertain who, if anyone, will continue the struggle as the older generation slowly deceases and the issue becomes less directly related to the Japanese populace as a whole. Although elements of the Japanese government have taken measures to keep the issue alive, such as instituting the teaching of the issue to public grade school children and continually funding and promoting Northern Territories awareness organizations, what guarantees are there that this will be sufficient to sustain the movement into the future? Perhaps then, it may be in Japan's best interest to settle this issue as soon as possible while the Japanese public is still conscious of the territorial issue and interested in resolving it.

Consequently, several factors in Japan suggest conciliation rather than conflict as a future course concerning the Northern Territories dispute with the Soviet Union.

5.3 ECONOMIC FACTORS

The economic dimension can be seen as having a major bearing on the future of Soviet-Japanese relations over the Northern Territories. Considering the large role that Japan plays in the economic ties of some other nations in Northeast Asia, the very limited relationship with the Soviet

Union and its two allies in the region, North Korea and Mongolia, is very striking. Trade with the Soviet Union has languished as Japan continued to rise as an advanced industrial exporter of sophisticated products to the rest of the world (Lincoln 1987:55). Before Gorbachev, many Soviet leaders seemed to foster difficulty in accepting Japan as a major world economic power.

In the years prior to Gorbachev some Soviet authorities often saw Japan as a "cockroach" nation which lived off the technological crumbs dropped by the advanced nations, achieving a certain amount of economic success through the application of these technologies but hardly deserving of respect as an advanced nation. Also affecting former attitudes towards Japan's economy was the Soviet view that described Japan as a nation fully subservient to the wishes of the United States. In the Soviets' opinion, the problems in their economic relationship were all on the Japanese side. As such, the Japanese obviously did not see their trade with the Soviet Union as vital; they were willing to sacrifice it to support the US in the sanctions imposed on the Soviets after Afghanistan (Lincoln 1987:57).

Another part of the explanation for the poor state of economic relations prior to Gorbachev lies in the structure of Soviet-Japanese trade, which is more like that between a developed and a developing economy than that between two highly developed societies. Japan's principal exports by

category have been capital equipment and manufactured goods. The main Soviet exports have been sources of energy and other raw materials. Of course, the relative importance of various items has changed over time. For example, it is presently more cost effective for the Japanese to import its oil from the Middle East than from Soviet Siberian or Sakhalin sources. A remarkable fact when one considers only the geographic proximity of Soviet sources of oil as compared to those of the Middle East.

However, this point leads to yet another problem which has influenced Japan's low level trade and investment in the Soviet Far East and Siberia. The potential of those regions is not in dispute, but its attraction is heavily outweighed by adverse conditions. The enormous geographic and technical difficulties of extracting resources out of Siberia and the Soviet Far East and of developing a solid industrial infrastructure require massive investments with uncertain futures. What is more, the Soviet Union is short of hard currency as a result of the decline in the prices of oil and natural gas which has accounted for some 80 per cent of its foreign earnings. It cannot therefore afford to buy the necessary equipment and technology to improve its economic condition. Also it will take several years to compensate for the shortage of capital by developing export-oriented manufacturing industries and then that will require the help of foreign investment. Similarly, to develop the poten-

tially large domestic market for consumer goods in collaboration with foreign enterprises would require a convertible rouble and fewer trade barriers. This remains a long-term prospect and may not be achieved until the turn of the century (Mendl 1989:468-69).

However, this all seems to be changing as Mikhail Gorbachev's revolution in Soviet foreign and economic policies continues to progress. Slowly at first and then with an ever increasing sense of urgency, Gorbachev has sought by redefining the very nature of Moscow's relationship with Japan to fashion a new set of policies to guide Soviet diplomacy in the 1990's and beyond. The fundamental reason is that the cost of an empire, especially those created and maintained by force of arms, are expensive. In a bid to save the revolution at home by freeing up resources heretofore earmarked for the defense of Soviet interests abroad, Gorbachev has made the difficult decision to trim military spending by curtailing foreign assistance programs, abandoning many of the so called postwar "gains of socialism" attained at great cost by his predecessors, and most of all by reforming the ailing Soviet economy.

The material costs of perestroika seem to have taken Soviet leaders, including Gorbachev, by surprise. What began as an orderly ambitious program to reinvigorate an ailing Soviet economy has come to assume the features of a race against time. Halfway measures such as the granting of

greater autonomy to state-run enterprises and eliminating inefficient industrial facilities have failed to halt the economy's long downward slide.

In fact, The Pittsburgh Press recently reported that "the Soviet Union's economic crisis is deepening so rapidly" that senior economists in Moscow are now expressing "alarm about the country's ability to recover" (The Pittsburgh Press 4/30/90:A-1). The Pittsburgh Press, by assessing the decline in industrial production, the drop in the gross national product, an increase in inflation, and the spread of strikes said: "the Soviet economy is running virtually out of control as it deteriorates daily" (The Pittsburgh Press 4/30/90:A-1). According to The Pittsburgh Press, official Soviet economic statistics published on the first quarter of 1990, said that the Soviet Union's gross national product had declined by 1 percent with the same period a year ago, national income declined 2 percent, and industrial production was down 1.2 percent. In addition, enterprise profits declined 7.4 percent and Western goods were being imported 50 percent faster than hard currency could be earned to pay for them (The Pittsburgh Press 4/30/90:A-3).

If the reform process is to produce tangible results in the form of manifest economic renewal, the Soviet leadership must find new ways to invigorate its economy into a more cooperative role in the prosperous APR (Blacker 1990:2). The Soviets must increase interest in foreign investment,

encourage joint ventures with foreign nations, and obtain foreign capital and high technology as well as create an economic atmosphere which is more conducive for this economic activity in Siberia and the Soviet Far East. Certainly then, the Soviet's legalization and encouragement of joint production with capitalist firms and of foreign investment inside the Soviet Union is a step in this direction (Hough 1988:66).

For Gorbachev, Japan is logically the key towards Soviet economic prosperity in the region. The Soviets desperately need greater amounts of Japanese investment, trade and technology in order to improve their economic success in East Asia. The benefits that the economic superpower Japan could bestow on the Soviets are great. However, as it stands now at least economically speaking, Japan has a lot more to offer than they do to gain from the Soviets. The fact of the matter is that the Soviets need the Japanese in the economic realm more than vice-a-versa.

Probably the best alternative the Soviets have before them towards obtaining Japanese economic help is a political concession over the Northern Territories. If Gorbachev and his advisors have a genuine desire to improve the USSR's economic situation in the APR and to forge trust and soften a hostile image, there could be no better way than the return of the Northern Territories to Japan. In return for the islands, which the Japanese greatly desire, the Soviets

could more realistically expect to gain some significant subsidy and at the same time improve its relations with Japan which could then set the mood for further economically advantageous agreements (Brzezinski 1990:29).

No doubt the Soviets will continue trying to improve relations and exploring ways of appealing to Japanese interests without conceding what the Japanese really want, the return of the four disputed islands. The Soviets may also hope that in the future, political trends in Japan might produce a more favorable attitude among the Japanese towards Soviet aims and this may promote a better relationship (Segal 1983:13). However, if present trends continue in the Soviet economy, it will be only a matter of time before some concession over the Northern Territories becomes more of a necessity than an alternative. Gorbachev will have to gain economic access to the APR and Japan in particular if he wishes to succeed with economic perestroika. (Oksenberg 1989:31). While the Soviets may be able to partially compensate for the lack of Japanese investment trade, investment and technology with that from South Korea, West Europe and even the US, there no longer will be any way around dealing with the economic superpower of Japan.

Perhaps, then, it is not so radical to suggest a Soviet move towards rapprochement with Japan over the Northern Territories in the future. It is important to point out that such a move would not be unprecedented. In 1956 the Soviets

had formally offered to hand back Shikotan and the Habomai group in return for the signing of a peace treaty with Japan. Also one must remember the recent Sino-Soviet detente which involved territorial questions. Finally, we must also be aware of the frequency and level of dialogue in recent years that has occurred between the two nations over the disputed islands. It is not difficult to see that the Soviets have already subtly taken steps towards resolving the issue. As such, it would be a fair assessment to suggest that Soviet economic interests and needs may necessitate that those of strategy and politics no longer take precedence in its future relations with Japan over the territorial question.

5.4 GEOPOLITICAL FACTORS

In practice, there are some formidable obstacles in the way of any progress towards Soviet-Japanese rapprochement over the Northern Territories. The Soviets seem to have a "territorial domino complex." They fear that any concessions to Japan over the Kuriles may stimulate similar demands for the return of lost territories by other countries from whom the Soviet Union took territory during World War II such as Poland, Finland and especially the Baltic republics where there has been a recent upsurge of national sentiments (Weinstein 1982:82). Furthermore, the Soviets fear the international political consequences which might accompany

any Soviet change of attitude on the Japanese territorial question. According to the present views of some Soviet analysts, territorial concessions to Tokyo would not satisfy Japanese irredentists, but rather encourage them to seek other territorial demands such as the central and northern Kuriles and southern Sakhalin Island.

There are also domestic constraints on Soviet diplomatic flexibility regarding the territorial question. For over four decades Soviet propaganda and educational materials have asserted that the Kuriles are Russian territory liberated from Japan in 1945 by the sacrifices of the Red Army and Soviet Pacific Fleet. These efforts to motivate a historical consciousness about the Kurile Islands have been successful. With this being the case it is logical to assume that any Soviet leader associated with the surrender of "Russian territory" to a capitalist state for the sake of a political and economic quid pro quo would be vulnerable to serious accusations from domestic rivals. Consequently, interests of self-preservation would likely warn any Soviet veteran of bureaucratic politics to think carefully before taking any bold initiative on such a delicate subject as changing the boundary of the Soviet Union. (Ellison 1987:152-3).

There is yet another obstacle. Over 14,000 Soviet citizens live on the disputed islands. These Soviets have lived and made their livelihoods on these islands for several gen-

erations now and for many of them it is the only home they have ever known. The islanders would react angrily to the idea that anyone, including Moscow, might trade their home for Japanese money. In the period of Perestroika, the Soviet government must consider the opinions of these people when a decision is made on these territories (Sneider 9/12/89:5).

The prolongation of the territorial problem has in the past indirectly served Chinese and American interests insofar as it has helped to increase the political distance between Moscow and Tokyo. Both China and the US, at one time each endorsed Soviet claims to the Kurile Islands, but have switched sides and now officially support Japan's irredentist aspirations. In the event that Tokyo and Moscow find a common ground on the territorial issue, Chinese and American leaders would be quick to notice that the seemingly chronic estrangement of northeast Asia's "distant neighbors" could no longer be taken for granted (Ellison 1987:153).

Finally, the strategic advantages the Soviets lose if they forfeited these islands are great. A glance at a map indicates why (Map 8). Strategically the Okhotsk and Japan seas are important to the Soviet Union. Vladivostok, its large military base, is a major port for the deployment of surface ships and nuclear armed submarines. Yet it is only a 30-minute flight from American and Japanese air bases. There are only two practical exits for these vessels from

both seas: through the Korea Strait between South Korea and Kyushu and through the Kurile island chain separating the Okhotsk Sea from the Pacific Ocean. And there are only two exits from the Sea of Japan where Vladivostok is, to the Sea of Okhotsk: through the Soya Strait between Hokkaido and Sakhalin and in the north between Sakhalin and the Soviet mainland. The Korea Strait route is under continuous surveillance by the US, Japanese and South Korean navies and would be mined in the event of a conflict. The gaps through the Kuriles, on the other hand are difficult to keep under continuous surveillance and would also be difficult to interdict. Were the Soviets to give back the Kuriles to Japan, it would find access to the Pacific through the island chain extremely difficult.

The Economist has reported that one quarter to one third of the Soviet military is now stationed in The Soviet Far East, many of which are along the Sakhalin coast, the Kamchatka peninsula and the southern Kurile Islands. Further, the region has also about 30 per cent of the Soviet Union's strategic missiles, some 390,000 soldiers, around 100 warships, 140 submarines and 2400 combat aircraft. This makes the Soviet's military presence in the region around Japan look anything but pacific or temporary (The Economist 2/24/90:32). In such an ascendant position, many analysts seem to feel that it is unlikely the Soviet Union will do anything to compromise it, especially the return of four

very strategic and militarily built up islands.

The islands give the Soviets the ability to mount an intensive tactical air and naval operations and to closely monitor US and Japanese military communications and activities. However, the main advantage for the USSR and the primary threat to the Japanese is that the islands could be used as a springboard for the amphibious capability to land troops at sensitive points on the Japanese islands in order to secure exits for its fleets. Its need to do so would become even more marked if Japan controlled these islands immediately to the north of Hokkaido. The islands also give the Soviet navy the advantage of cutting off vulnerable Japanese sea lanes in times of war (Cloughley 1988:28). Given these facts alone, Soviet-Japanese rapprochement over these islands might seem improbable.

Nevertheless, it is possible to envisage future progress towards resolving the Northern Territories dispute. Gorbachev may still be unprepared to return to Japan all four of the Northern Territory islands the USSR occupied at the end of World War II. But an offer to continue to hold open the issue for future discussion to return two and jointly govern the other two; to share sovereignty and administration of the islands with Japan, as with the French and British condominium over the New Hebrides; or to cede sovereignty of all the islands to Japan but with the explicit provision for complete demilitarization and equal access for

a wide variety of economic purposes, as with Norwegian control of Spitsbergen; all offer possible and viable alternatives that could finally end this Soviet-Japanese impasse. Even just serious discussion of any one or all of these proposals could do much to improve the climate of Soviet-Japanese relations and the overall Northeast Asian security environment (Kreisberg 1989:1581).

Even without the Soviets actually returning any of the disputed territories, progress in Soviet-Japanese relations is possible. Much depends on the flexibility of the Soviet approach to Japan and on the possibility of the Soviets rejecting the now entrenched stereotypes of their former foreign policy thinking. A well thought out and timely set of friendly gestures toward Tokyo could open up new opportunities for not only improving relations between the two countries but also for rapprochement.

Perhaps the Soviets could offer the Japanese, within the framework of their confidence building steps in the APR, a number of agreements that could be solved unilaterally or even better, on the basis of compromise. For instance, even symbolic gestures in limiting the military activity in the areas bordering on Japan could create an appropriate climate for discussing rapprochement. For example, demilitarization of the Northern Territory islands in exchange for Japanese guarantees of renunciation of mining the straits in the Sea of Japan. Agreements on notification of military maneuvers

and the invitation of observers to watch these maneuvers could be another step taken. Also, Soviet support of Japan as a permanent member of the UN Security Council in exchange for its positive response to some of Gorbachev's peace initiatives in the APR could be yet another step. Finally, by encouraging the level and volume of economic cooperation including large-scale participation of Japan in the development programs of the Soviet Far East with special incentives, could do much in achieving a better understanding between the two nations (Nossov 1989:260).

However, with respect to the Northern Territories issue, it is practical to suggest that rapprochement is possible in the future. In spite of the geopolitical obstacles on both sides, recent strong hints from Soviet leaders that they are prepared to take the territorial question seriously and Japan's recent expressed willingness to work for improvement in bilateral relations point toward the possibility of compromise. Until recently, there had been no real prospect of a breakthrough because of Soviet preoccupations elsewhere. However, it now seems Gorbachev is ready to devote greater attention to Japan and the territorial question.

In theory, it is possible to foresee some kind of progress on resolving this dispute along the lines of Article 9 of the Joint Declaration of October 1956 (Appendix C). This approach would include the immediate and unconditional return of Shikotan and the Habomai Islands and some formula

to safeguard the Japanese position on Etorofu and Kunashiri, without the immediate evacuation by the Soviet Union. The territorial arrangement might be buttressed by a number of agreements over fishing rights, commerce, economic cooperation and other related issues (Mendl 1989:472).

Further variations have been suggested such as lease-back proposals by anonymous Soviet officials, an idea which may owe something to similar proposals that have been made from time to time about the Falkland Islands. Another variation that holds some particular promise is one that was proposed in December of 1944 by Professor George H. Blakeslee, a political scientist from Clarke University. Blakeslee produced a comprehensive memorandum on the Kuriles entitled "Japan Territorial Problems: The Kurile Islands," for the US State Department's Division of Territorial Studies. In this paper Blakeslee had correctly predicted future Soviet-Japanese friction over today's disputed islands if the Soviets were to gain possession of them after the end of World War II. He understood how valuable the islands were to Japan and said such a transfer would "create a situation which a future Japan would find difficult to accept as permanent." As such, Blakeslee's memorandum concluded with the following recommendations: 1) the southern Kuriles should be retained by Japan subject to the disarmament of the area, 2) the northern and central Kuriles should be administered by the USSR under international trusteeship and, 3) Japan

should be given retention of fishing rights in the waters around these islands (Rees 1985:59-61).

Perhaps, Blakeslee's approach might be somewhat impalpable given the current Soviet position, however, with some alterations it might be more feasible. If instead, the southern Kuriles were to be administered by Japan under international trusteeship of the UN; Japan agreed to forever cede any claims or interests to Sakhalin and the northern and central Kuriles, thus leaving the Soviets in undisputed control of those islands; and both the Soviet Union and Japan could agree on terms for equitable access to the fishing waters off these islands than both Japan and the Soviet Union might be more inclined to finally settle the Northern Territories problem.

Just the fact that these proposals are receiving attention and consideration suggests in itself that rapprochement is not all that unrealistic an expectation. Further, recent changes in the international environment demonstrates that compromise on the Northern Territories is more likely than ever.

It is clear that Gorbachev has had no difficulty in abandoning or revising former Soviet geopolitical policies. It should be possible for him to do the same with the Soviet's legacy over the Northern Territories. The argument that the Soviet Union would never surrender territory is dubious. The 1984 border treaty with North Korea and the 1989 agree-

ments with China over the disputed river borders, both included territorial concessions (Mendl 1989:473-74). What is more, recent changes in Eastern Europe make it harder to insist on the inviolability of the postwar status quo.

We also must keep in mind Gorbachev's perestroika initiatives and their effect on the geopolitical issue of the Northern Territories. As mentioned previously, Gorbachev has recognized that the militarization of Soviet foreign policy during the 1970's and the early 1980's, that is Moscow's heavy emphasis on intimidation and coercion as instruments of policy had been a mistake, resulting in a sharp deterioration in the country's international geopolitical position. Far from easing the Soviet Union's security dilemma, it only made matters worse. Further, Gorbachev has realized that significant reductions in military expenditures need to occur if he is to free up resources to aid his attempts to make his economic reforms work.

To realize significant reductions in military expenditure, Gorbachev has demilitarized Soviet policy. This he has attempted to do in two mutually reinforcing ways. First, he has sought to revise radically both the content and the expression of Soviet foreign policy. In countless statements since his election as General Secretary and later as President, he has denounced the pursuit of unilateral advantage, calling instead for the development and implementation of multinational and mutually beneficial initiatives

in the areas of national and international security. He has proposed greater use of various international organizations, including the UN, to resolve regional conflicts and has urged strict adherence to international legal norms. He has promised to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighboring states and made a point of his commitment to and support for national self-determination. He has also shown a propensity to match words with deeds, as the Soviet posture toward the revolutionary changes in Eastern Europe suggests. Secondly, Gorbachev in a series of gestures such as in the 1988 pledge before the UN to implement a 500,000 man reduction in the Soviet armed forces shows that he has initiated a remarkable willingness to scale back unilaterally his country's military expenditures and thus change the geopolitical nature of the Soviet Union in the APR (Blacker 1989:2-3).

Consequently, in keeping with this strategy it would be logical for Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership to ease the Northern Territories problem with Japan. By demilitarizing the islands and/or returning them to the Japanese, the Soviets could do a great deal towards normalizing relations and reaching a rapprochement with one of the Soviets most powerful antagonists. Japanese normalization, in turn, is a prerequisite for Soviet political, security, and economic expectations in the APR. A compromise on the Northern Territories could be indispensable to further reducing the

Soviet economic burden of defense by eliminating one more costly expenditure in this region. Thus, Gorbachev could earmark more money for his domestic reforms. Also, such a move would go a long way in promoting a much more positive image of the Soviet Union with not only Japan but with other Asian-Pacific neighbors, and would have the beneficial effect of creating a much more secure geopolitical situation in Northeast Asia. It is inconceivable that Gorbachev has not considered the advantages of such a rapprochement with Japan, especially as he becomes ever more pressed to produce significant results in his perestroika programs.

Finally, other changes in the international environment also provide the expectation for compromise. The internationalization of the world economy certainly indicates that economic strength and not military might will mark the power and prestige of nations. This trend can be clearly exemplified in Soviet attempts to be included in the economic growth of the APR. This orientation conveys the conclusion that strategic advantages may no longer take precedence over economic aspirations. Hence, we may in the future bear witness to a Soviet sacrifice of the Northern Territories in return for the reward of substantial Japanese economic assistance.

The recent Soviet rapprochement with China, the US and Western Europe now implies that these nations may no longer as strongly support the Japanese position on these islands

nor be as inclined to indirectly promote the Soviet-Japanese territorial impasse. In the past, Soviet-Japanese tension over the Northern Territories circuitously worked to China's advantage in its relations with Japan by creating a situation that not only bolstered their own territorial grievances with the Soviet Union but fostered some common ground for which Sino-Japanese relations could improve. For the West, especially the US, the dispute and the perceived Soviet threat to Japan which accompanied it advanced the continuity and viability of the US-Japanese security alliance as well as acting as yet another means of American containment of the USSR in Northeast Asia. However, in the context of the current international environment these factors are no longer as pressing nor advantageous for China and the West. We may therefore now see a future situation where the Japanese and Soviets can more favorably work out a settlement of the Northern Territories issue with less concern for and interference from the other traditional geopolitical players involved in this problem.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS FOR THE FUTURE

As to the future state of Soviet-Japanese relations over the Northern Territories the potential is favorable for rapprochement, but whether that potential will be realized is uncertain. One has to admit frankly that the key to the positive development of these relations has and will con-

tinue to be in Soviet hands. Much will depend on the future of Gorbachev and his perestroika reforms. If he should lose favor from both within and/or outside the Soviet Union, or his new thinking fails to significantly fulfill the promises of domestic reform, economic prosperity, and a more favorable and safer international environment, the current prospects for rapprochement on the Northern Territories would likely become grim. Generally speaking, the evolution of Japanese policies in the foreseeable future is one of the most difficult aspects of this situation to predict and as such acts as an ambiguous factor for accurately forecasting the likelihood of reconciliation (Trofimenko 1989:248).

The Soviet Union may continue to perceive that their post World War II relations with Japan have not been so different from those of other Western countries with the USSR, where there are no territorial problems. Such relations having fluctuated under the influence and tension and detente between the superpowers and according to changing economic interests. They might further argue that the Northern Territories issue has been more forcefully stressed in times of general tension and used as a Japanese excuse for rather than a cause of friction. As such, up until recently, bearing in mind the way in which other territorial disputes in the region have been put in cold storage, the Soviets sought to bypass the issue by proposing the signature of a treaty of cooperation and good neighborliness or some other for-

mula, thus avoiding the seemingly intractable problems of a formal peace treaty and settling the territories issue with Japan (Mendl 1989:472).

However, to make comparisons with other bilateral arrangements in Northeast Asia is misleading. China and the Soviet Union had not been at war with each other and had been allies. Japan did sign a Treaty of Peace and Friendship with China in 1978, which made no mention of the disputed Senkaku Islands. Japan and the Republic of Korea signed a treaty on Basic Relations in 1965 and agreed to leave the dispute over the Takeshima Islands to be negotiated separately in the future (Mendl 1989:472). The Soviets would be wrong though to think that a settlement on the lines of the Sino-Japanese treaty or the Korean-Japanese treaty would be the ideal solution or a useful model.

Neither of these situations would satisfy Japan's present position. The territorial question was not the central or most important issue in Japan's relations with China or South Korea. In the case of China, it was the claimant that decided to shelve the issue in favor of more important objectives with Japan. In the case of South Korea, Japan was the claimant, but was under strong pressure from the business community and the US not to allow this obstacle to stand in the way of making a new start in relations with its former colony (Mendl 1989:472-73).

There are also obstacles on the Japanese side to consider

too. The formal position of the Japanese government presently has hardened into a demand for the return of all four territories. As discussed previously, this position is susceptible to change, but for at least now, we must consider that any prime minister who accepted anything less could be in trouble on two fronts. Rivals in his party as well as the opposition would seek to exploit the "sell out" for their own political advantage. All political parties in Japan accept the justice of the territorial demand, although except for the four islands of Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan and the Habomai Islands, there are considerable variations among them about the extent of territory to be claimed back, (Figure 2, Appendix A), and the method by which it might be achieved, a step by step approach or in all embracing settlement. In addition, those who out of ideological or other motives, want to revive private and nationalist feelings in a civilian mass-consumer society have an interest in blocking any accommodation and in emphasizing the threat from the north.

Nevertheless, there is a real impulse on both sides to move towards rapprochement over the Northern Territories problem. If and only if the favorable trend in the international environment towards the Soviet Union remains in place, Soviet-Japanese accommodation over these disputed islands will be highly desirable. Also, if a wide range of arms control in Northeast Asia could be initiated, and there

is such a possibility, they would have the effect of reducing the strategic importance of the Northern Territories. Thus, a successful Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) agreement might reduce the importance of the Sea of Okhotsk as a base for Soviet ballistic nuclear submarines (SSBN's). With technology space becomes less important. Reductions on Soviet and American naval and air forces would be another step in that direction. The demilitarization of all the Kurile Islands, Sakhalin and Hokkaido would also change the strategic environment even more dramatically. Gorbachev's overall policies point in this direction. The cooperation of the US and the entry of China into the process of detente are also helping to create an environment in which it would be easier to make progress over the Northern Territories. The climate for a rapprochement of this issue in Northeast Asia is sure to be further improved if the evolution of a mutual security system reinforced by an economic integration of the regional players, including the Soviet Union, China Japan and the Koreas could be implemented. This certainly is a likely possibility given Gorbachev's current economic needs and security concerns and Japan's interest in this region.

In the future, the willingness of both sides to negotiate patiently and persistently, the continued existence of a favorable climate of international relations, and the survival of Gorbachev and his new thinking initiatives in this

region will all be indispensable in the quest for a resolution over the Northern Territories. Even if all these factors continue to remain conducive to resolving this issue, Gorbachev may find that if he has any serious ideas of relinquishing even parts of the Northern Territories that he will meet with staunch opposition within the Soviet Union over such an unorthodox approach. This factor alone could indefinitely hamper any movement towards rapprochement.

The issues of territorial rights and sovereignty will remain central to this dispute and historical experience tells us that this particular territorial issue can linger for centuries. Yet, in the accelerating movement towards global economic integration, in which Japan is the leader and the Soviet Union a would be participant, this question of sovereignty and territorial control may eventually seem less important; and the prospect for rapprochement more plausible.

Regardless of the final outcome, the political, economic, and strategic implications of the Soviet-Japanese Northern Territories dispute will remain substantial. The Northern Territories dilemma and its unfinished sequel will continue not only to be an important issue in contemporary international politics but one that surely will play a critical role in the future geopolitical situation of Northeast Asia. Only the future, however, will yield the undisputed answer to the question as to whether the Soviet-Japanese Northern

Territories issue will continue to act as a source of rivalry or instead become an inception for rapprochement between these two nations.

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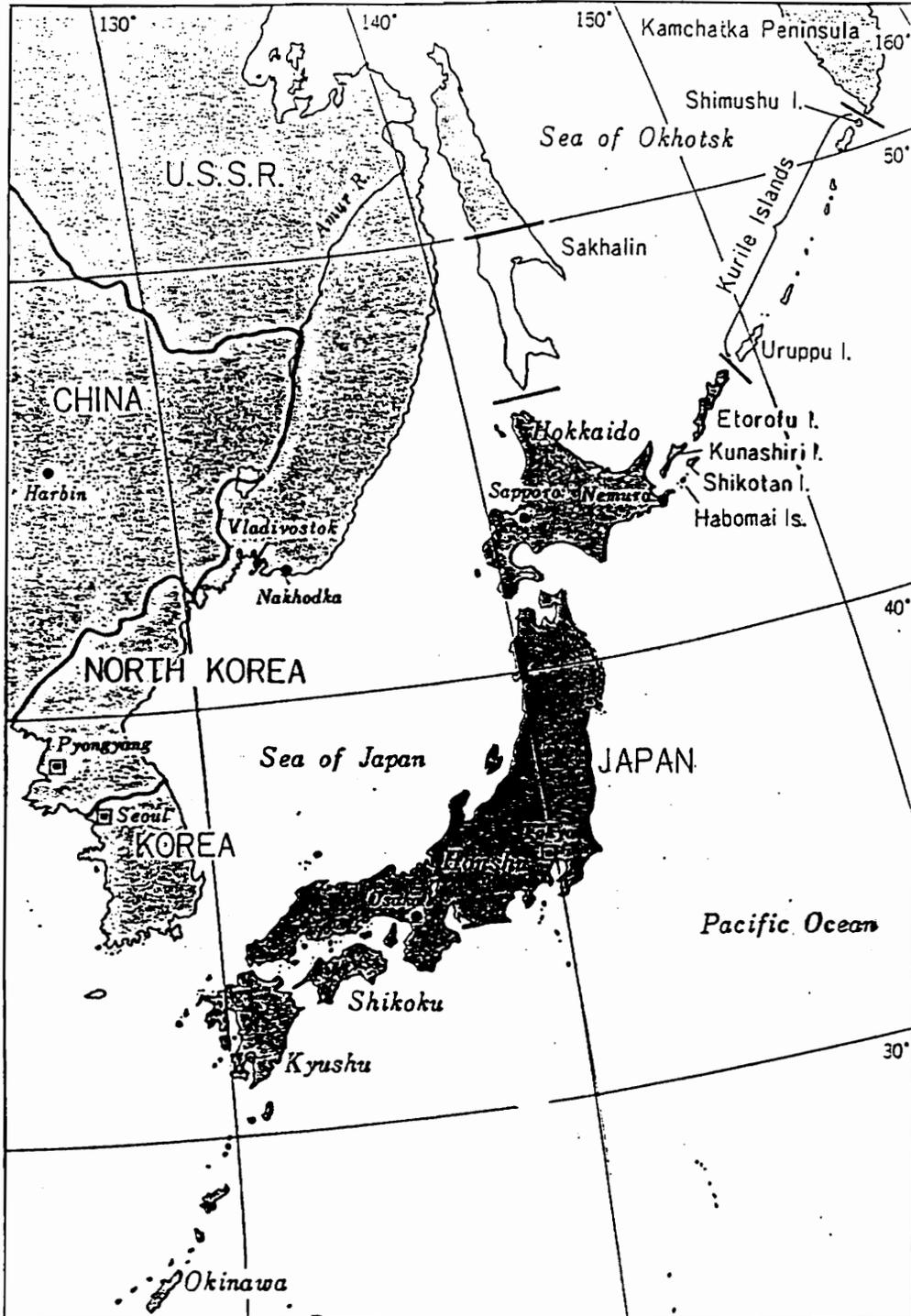
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Maps and Appendices

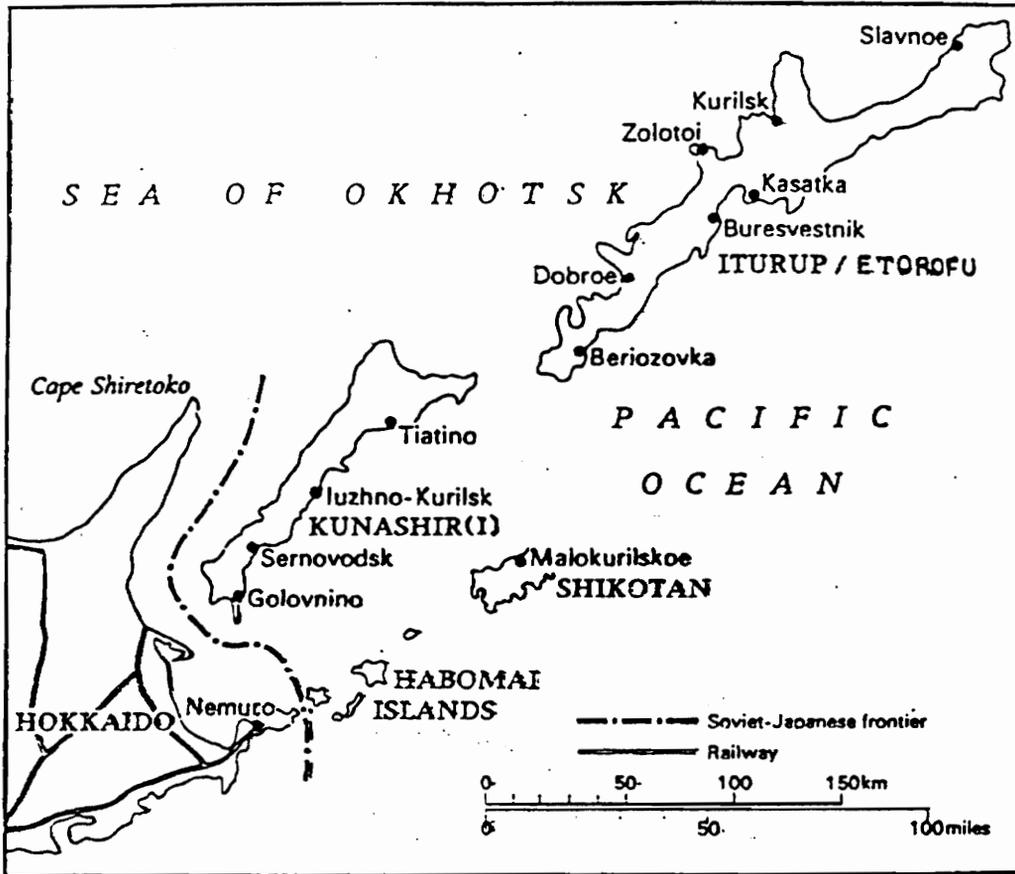
MAPS

Map 1
Japanese View of Northeast Asia



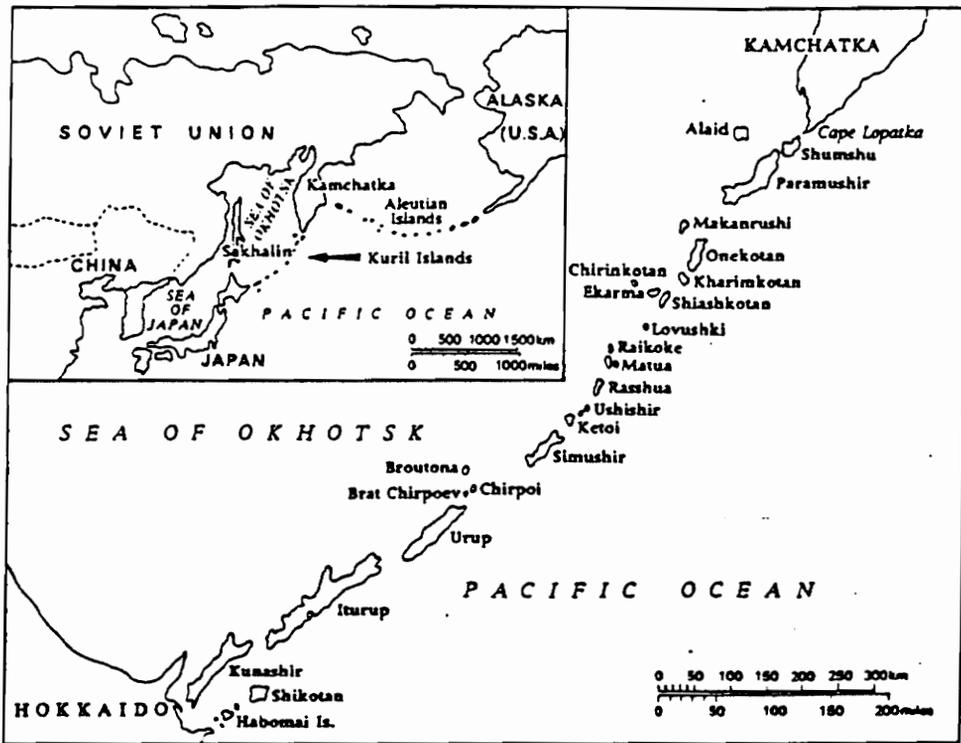
Source: Rees 1980:16

Map 2
The Northern Territories Claimed by Japan



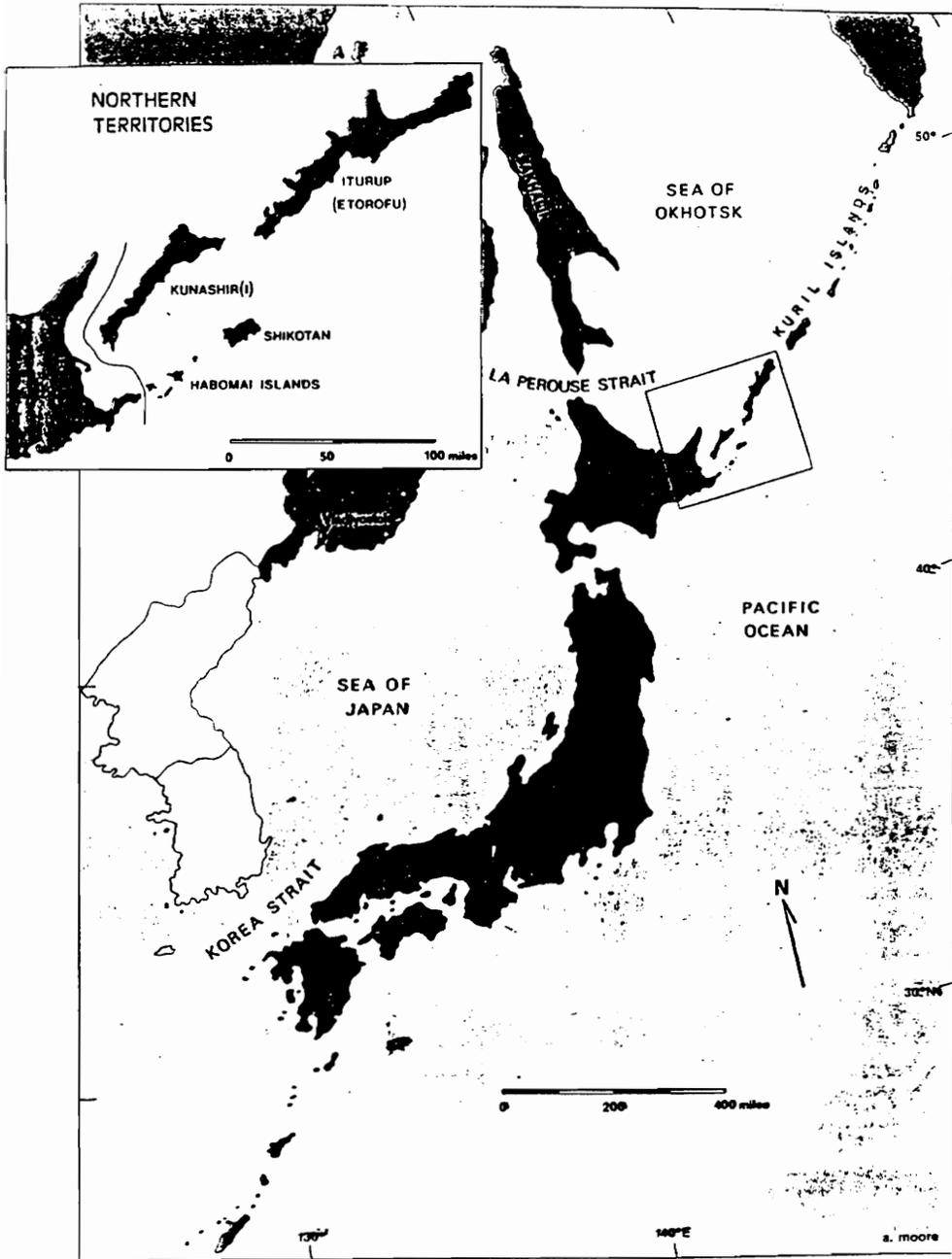
Source: Stephan 1974:196

Map 3
Soviet View of the Kuril Islands



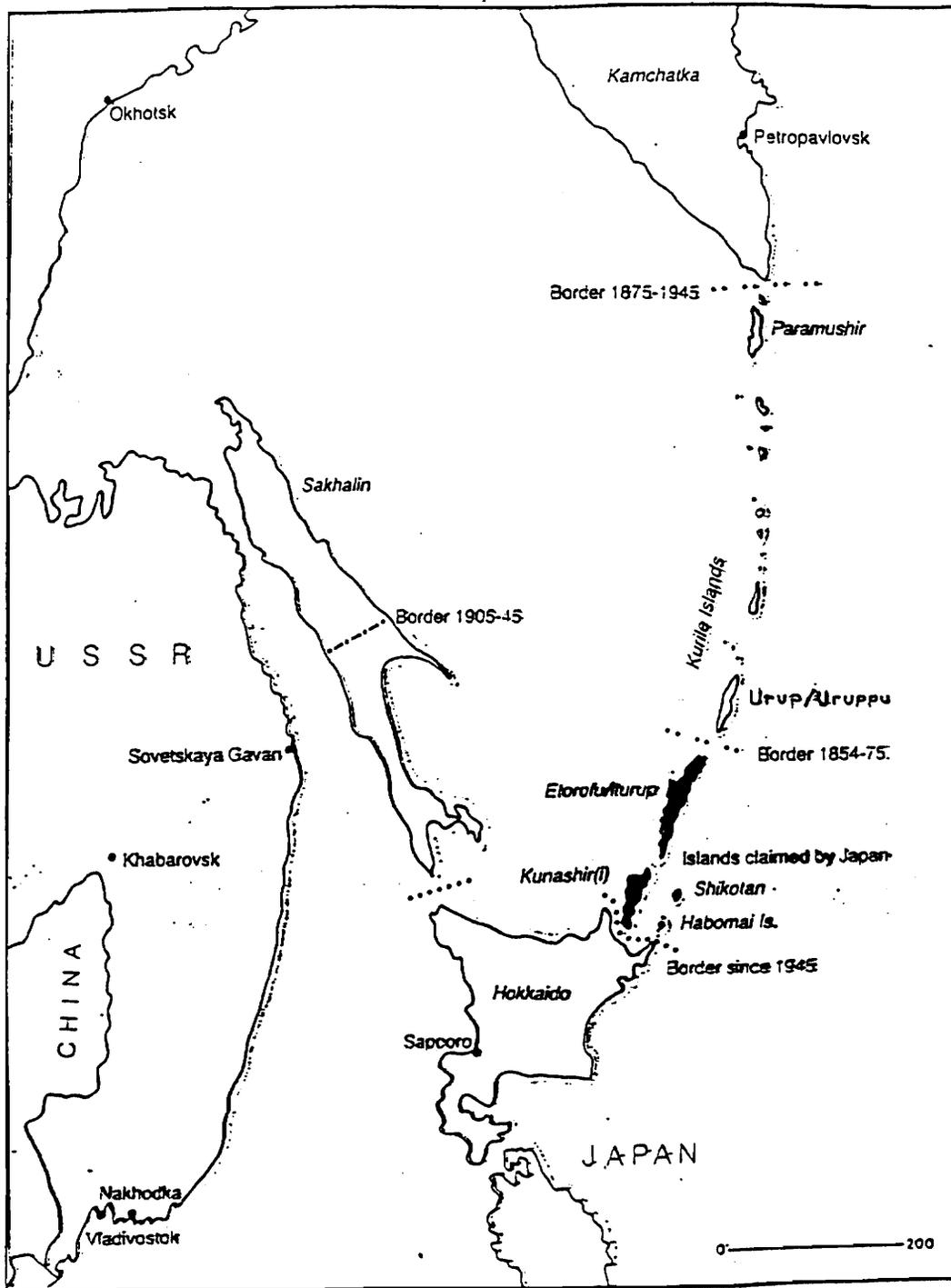
Source: Stephan 1974:10

Map 4
The Northern Territories: Isles of Negotiation



Source: Cartography by Alan Moore

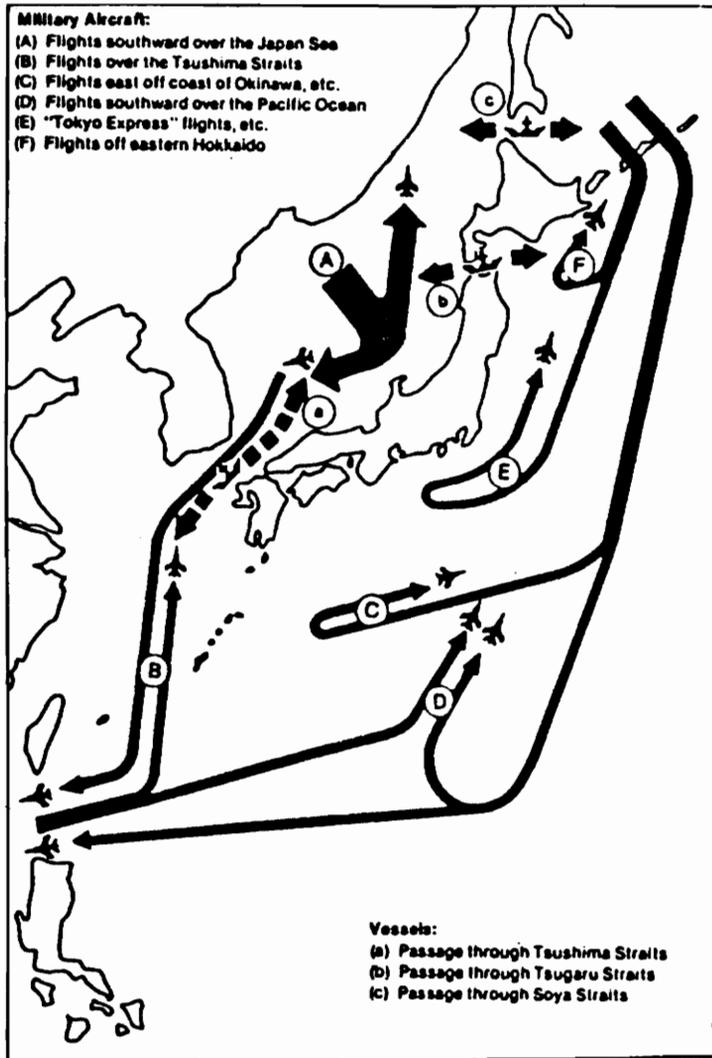
Map 5
Russo-Japanese Frontier 1875-1945



Source: Downing 1980:21

Map 6

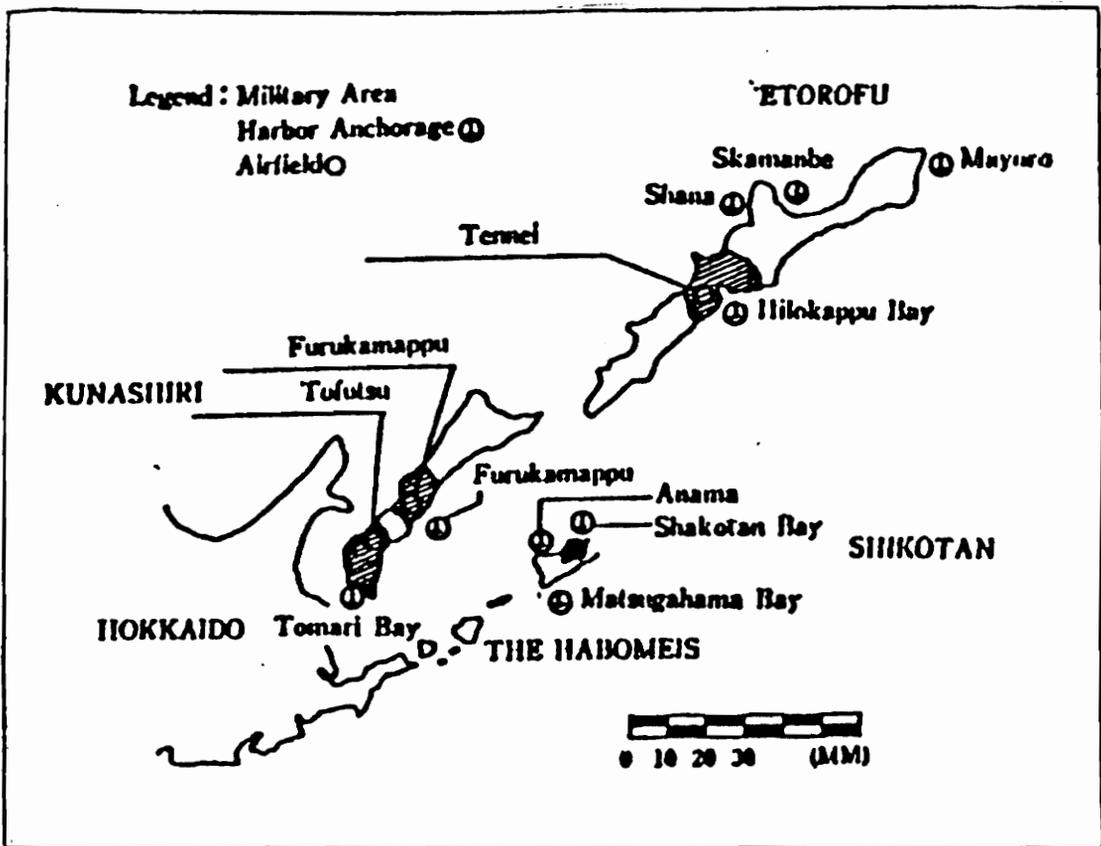
Soviet Naval Activities and Military Aircraft Movements Around Japan



Source: Bok 1986:77

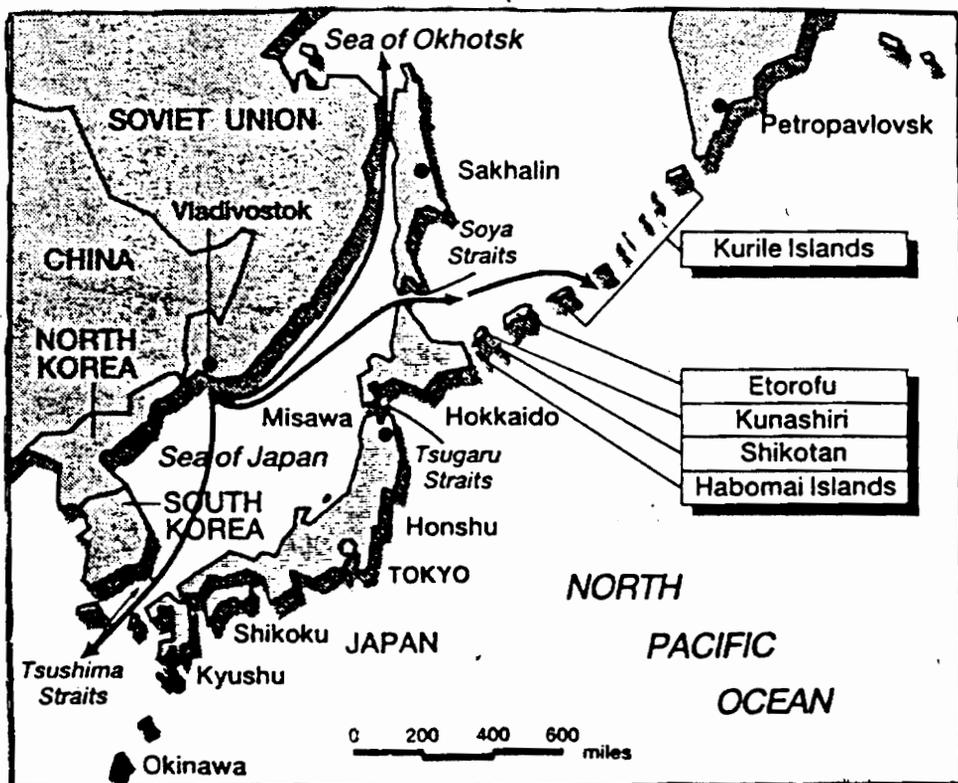
Map 7

Soviet Forces and Facilities in the Northern Territories



Source: Bok 1986:79

Map 8
Soviet Naval Outlets in Northeast Asia



Source: Cloughley 1988:28

Appendix A
FIGURES AND TABLES

RUSSIAN AND JAPANESE PLACE-NAMES
IN THE KURIL ISLANDS

INTIMATE historical associations with the Ainu, Russia, and Japan have given the Kuril Islands a complex geographical nomenclature. Russians and Japanese have perpetuated Ainu place-names with often confusing orthographic variations. Moreover, while Soviet authorities have russified many names since 1945, Japanese (and some European, American, and Chinese) atlases retain pre-war appellations. In order to facilitate reference, this appendix gives both Russian-Japanese and Japanese-Russian conversion tables. For more extensive listings, see, U.S. Army, Headquarters, Far East, 8th U.S. Army, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Intelligence A.P.O. 343, *Gazetteer of Russian Place Names in Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands* (3rd ed., n.p., 1955).

RUSSIAN	JAPANESE
<i>Islands</i>	
Antsiferova	Shirinki
Anuchina	Akiyuri
Atlasova (Alaid)	Araitō
Avos	Abosu
Brat Chirpoev	Minami-jima
Broutona	Buroton
Chiornye Bratia	Chirihoi
Chirinkotan	Chirinkotan
Chirpoi	Kita-jima
Ekarma	Ekaruma
Iturup	Etorofu
Iurii	Yuri
Ketoi	Ketoi
Kharimkotan	Harimukotan
Kunashir	Kunashiri
Kurilskie ostrova	Chishima rettō
Lovushki	Mushiru retsugan
Makanrushi	Makanru
Malaia Kurilaskaia griada	Habomai shotō & Shikotan
Matua	Matsuwa
Onekotan	Onnekotan
Paramushir	Paramushiro
Polonskogo	Taraku
Raikoke	Raikoke
Rasshua	Rasuwa (or Rashowa)
Shiashkotan	Shasukotan
Shikotan	Shikotan
Shumshu	Shimushu
Simushir	Shimushiru
Tanfileva	Suishō-tō
Urup	Uruppu
Ushishir	Ushishiru (or Ushichi)
Zelionyi	Shibotsu

Source: Stephan 1974:248-49

Figure 1: Russian and Japanese Place Names in the Kuril Islands

Major Japanese Irredentist Groups and Claims
to the Northern Territories

<u>Japanese Irredentist Groups</u>	<u>Definition of Northern Territories Claim</u>
Most Ultranationalist Groups: Japanese Conservative Party	All of the Kurile Islands, Sakhalin, and Kamchatka peninsula
Japanese Socialist and Communist Parties: (JSP)	All of the Kuriles
Japanese Liberal Democrat Party (LDP) and most other national irredentist groups: Northern Territories Issue Association	Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan, and the Habomai Islands

Source: Stephan 1974:192

Figure 2: Major Japanese Irredentist Groups and Claims
to the Northern Territories

1. *In the military sphere:*
 - renunciation by the nuclear powers of war—both nuclear and conventional—against each other or against third countries;
 - prevention of an arms race in outer space, cessation of all nuclear weapons tests and the total destruction of such weapons, a ban on and the destruction of chemical weapons, and renunciation of the development of other means of mass annihilation;
 - a strictly controlled lowering of the levels of military capabilities of countries to limits of reasonable adequacy;
 - disbandment of military alliances, and as a stage toward this—renunciation of their enlargement and of the formation of new ones;
 - balanced and proportionate reduction of military budgets.
2. *In the political sphere:*
 - strict respect in international practice for the right of each people to choose the ways and forms of its development independently;
 - a just political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts;
 - elaboration of a set of measures aimed at building confidence between states and the creation of effective guarantees against attack from without and of the inviolability of their frontiers;
 - elaboration of effective methods of preventing international terrorism, including those ensuring the safety of international land, air, and sea communications.
3. *In the economic sphere:*
 - exclusion of all forms of discrimination from international practice; renunciation of the policy of economic blockades and sanctions if this is not directly envisaged in the recommendations of the world community;
 - joint quest for ways for a just settlement of the problem of debts;
 - establishment of a new world economic order guaranteeing equal economic security to all countries;
 - elaboration of principles for utilizing parts of the funds released as a result of a reduction of military budgets for the good of the world community, of developing nations in the first place;
 - the pooling of efforts in exploring and making peaceful use of outer space and in resolving global problems on which the destinies of civilization depend.
4. *In the humanitarian sphere:*
 - cooperation in the dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament, and international security; greater flow of general objective information and broader contact between peoples for the purpose of learning about one another; reinforcement of the spirit of mutual understanding and concord in relations between them;
 - extirpation of genocide, apartheid, advocacy of fascism and every other form of racial, national, or religious exclusiveness, and also of discrimination against people on this basis;
 - extension—while respecting the laws of each country—of international cooperation in the implementation of the political, social, and personal rights of people;
 - deciding in a humane and positive spirit of questions related to the reuniting of families, marriage, and the promotion of contacts between people and between organizations;
 - strengthening of and quests for new forms of cooperation in culture, art, science, education, and medicine.

Source: Gorbachev 1987: 172-73

Figure 3: Gorbachev's Fundamental Principles

KEY ELEMENTS OF GORBACHEV'S PERESTROIKA
IN THE
ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION

- 1) To portray the Soviet Union as a major and legitimate actor in the Asian-Pacific area. Important political and security interests.
- 2) A desire to participate more actively in the region's economic dynamism. Rapid and comprehensive economic development of the Soviet Far East.
- 3) An effort to improve bilateral relations with key nations in the area through "positive engagement." Main efforts with China and Japan.
- 4) Seeks to capitalize on growing anti-nuclear sentiment and constrain American strategic influence and power in the region.

Figure 4: Key Elements of Gorbachev's Perestroika
in the Asian-Pacific Region

SIGNIFICANT SOVIET-JAPANESE MEETINGS
1985-1990

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Participants</u>
September 15, 1985	Tokyo, Japan	Soviet Minister of Culture P. N. Demichev meets with Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone
January 15-19, 1986	Tokyo, Japan	Soviet Foreign Minister Sevardnadze meets with Japanese Foreign Minister Abe
May 29-31, 1986	Moscow, USSR	Japanese Foreign Minister Abe meets with General Secretary Gorbachev and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze
November 15, 1987	Tokyo, Japan	Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev meets with Japanese Foreign Minister Uno
June 20, 1988	Moscow, USSR	Japanese Foreign Minister Uno meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze
December 19-21, 1988	Tokyo, Japan	Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze meets with Japanese Foreign Minister Uno
March 27, 1989	Tokyo, Japan	Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Rogachev meets with Deputy Japanese Foreign Minister Kakakazv Kuriyama, first meeting of peace treaty working group
May 1-6, 1989	Moscow, USSR	Japanese Foreign Minister Uno meets with Gorbachev and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze
November 15, 1989	Tokyo, Japan	Soviet high level Politburo member, Alexander Yakovlev, meets with high level Japanese government officials
December 1989	Tokyo, Japan	Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev meets with Japanese counterpart Kakakazv
January 1990	Moscow, USSR	Former Japanese Foreign Minister Abe meets with Gorbachev

Figure 5: Significant Soviet-Japanese Meetings 1985-1990

TABLE 1

Japanese Economic Sectors and Employment on the Kurile Islands in the Late 1930's

BRANCH OF ECONOMY	VALUED PRODUCTION IN YEN	PER CENT OF TOTAL ARC ECONOMY	MAIN SOURCE
Fisheries	59,370,000	78	75 per cent in north Kurils
Canning	15,250,000	20	90 per cent in north Kurils
Forestry	1,090,000	1.4	Kunashir, Iturup
Mining (mainly sulphur)	220,000	0.3	Iturup
Livestock (horses, foxes)	140,000	0.2	Kunashir, Iturup, Urup
Agricultural	90,000	0.1	Kunashir, Iturup

Source: Stephan 1974:124

TABLE 2

Soviet Forces Deployed in the Northern Territories

	GROUND FORCES			Mi-24	AIR DEFENSE
	ETOROFU	KUNASHIRI	SHIKOTAN	HEL. GUNSHIP	AIRCRAFT
1945-60*	1 HQ, 1 DIV.		1 REG.		40
1966					20 MiG-17s
1976	REGULAR UNITS				
1979	APCs SAMs 130mm FIELD GUNS	APCs SAMs	2,000	10	
1980-81	1 MRD			12	10 MiG-21s
1982					12 MiG-21s
1983					10 MiG-23s
1984					40 MiG-23s

* total, 1 army corps

Source: Bok 1986:78

TABLE 3

Soviet Military Aircraft Movements Around Japan 1975-84

(average figures)

Flights	1975	1975-79	1976-80	1977-81	1978-82	1979-83	1980-84
southward over the Japan Sea	160	145	157	174	192	230	245
over the Tsushima Straits	4	5	7	8	7	6	10
east off the Coasts of Okinawa	2	4	3	4	3	4	5
southward over the Pacific Ocean	30	10	10	12	17	22	28
"Tokyo Express"	5	11	11	12	9	11	14
TOTAL/YEAR:	200	180	195	220	240	285	315

Source: Bok 1986:76

TABLE 4
Soviet Naval Activities Around Japan 1975-84

(average figures)

Passage through	1975-79	1976-80	1977-81	1978-82	1979-83	1980-84
Tsushima Straits	140	150	170	165	165	165
Tsugaru Straits	50	55	60	60	60	60
Soya Straits	130	155	175	205	230	270
TOTAL/YEAR:	320	360	450	430	455	495

Source: Bok 1986:76

TABLE 5

Soviet Amphibious Lift Capability in the Far East

Class type	Combat personnel	Vehicles	Cargo	Number
Ivan Rogov/LPD	Naval inf. btn.	20 tanks	13,000t.(l)	1
Ropucha/LST	250	35 tanks	2,000t.(c)	(8)
Alligator/LST	125-250	25-30 tanks	1,700t.(c)	(7)
Polnochny/LSM	Vehicle crews	6 tanks	350t.(c)	10
Kiev/CV	Airlift of c. 20 helicopters. (Ka-25:12 man capacity)			2

Source: Robertson 1988:125

TABLE 6

Soviet Trade with Japan as a Percentage of Total Trade

(millions of roubles)

Year	Total trade	Japanese trade	% of total
1971	23,657.5	733.6	3.09
1972	26,037.4	815.6	3.13
1973	39,572.2	1,683.2	4.25
1976	56,755.0	2,120.5	3.73
1977	63,353.3	2,297.8	3.63
1978	70,224.1	2,319.8	3.30
1979	80,290.3	2,597.9	3.23
1980	94,010.0	2,722.8	2.89
1981	109,739.2	3,029.5	2.76
1982	119,576.1	3,682.4	2.66
1983	127,476.0	3,004.0	2.35
1984	139,759.0	2,894.3	2.07
1985	141,566.0	3,215.0	2.77

Source: Robertson 1988:59

TABLE 7

Soviet Trade with Japan as a Percentage of Trade
with Capitalist Bloc

Year	Total trade %	Exports %	Imports %
1971	14.43	14.76	13.70
1972	13.88	15.64	12.61
1973	11.92	16.58	8.11
1974	13.57	14.47	12.66
1975	-	-	-
1976	11.36	9.56	12.67
1977	12.25	9.68	14.56
1978	11.79	8.46	14.43
1979	10.09	7.55	12.48
1980	8.62	5.99	11.27
1981	8.56	4.73	12.21
1982	9.75	4.01	15.48
1983	7.82	-	-
1984	6.95	3.93	10.49
1985	8.49	4.99	11.87

Source: Robertson 1988:60

TABLE 8

Comparisons of Soviet Trade with the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland and Japan

(values in millions of roubles)

Year	Country	Total trade	Exports	Imports
1971	Federal Republic of Germany	666.6	254.7	411.9
	Finland	569.1	322.8	246.3
	Japan	733.6	377.4	356.2
1972	Federal Republic of Germany	827.3	255.9	571.4
	Finland	601.7	297.6	304.1
	Japan	815.6	381.7	433.9
1973	Federal Republic of Germany	1,210.2	453.8	756.4
	Finland	777.4	415.1	362.3
	Japan	994.4	622.0	372.4
1974	Federal Republic of Germany	2,208.7	834.5	1,374.2
	Finland	1,539.7	937.6	602.1
	Japan	1,683.2	905.7	777.5
1975	Federal Republic of Germany	3,008.8	1,069.2	1,939.6
	Finland	1,979.1	990.3	988.8
	Japan	2,120.5	748.4	1,372.1
1977	Federal Republic of Germany	2,967.3	1,222.7	1,744.6
	Finland	2,173.5	1,050.2	1,123.3
	Japan	2,297.8	853.4	1,444.4
1978	Federal Republic of Germany	3,304.2	1,362.6	1,941.6
	Finland	2,868.2	1,003.8	1,864.4
	Japan	2,319.8	736.1	1,583.7
1979	Federal Republic of Germany	4,246.6	2,005.9	2,240.7
	Finland	2,606.5	1,468.7	1,137.8
	Japan	2,597.9	944.4	1,653.5
1980	Federal Republic of Germany	5,780.0	2,859.4	2,920.6
	Finland	3,888.5	2,023.4	1,865.1
	Japan	2,722.8	950.2	1,772.6
1981	Federal Republic of Germany	6,009.3	3,387.9	2,621.4
	Finland	4,189.3	2,524.4	1,664.9
	Japan	3,029.5	816.8	2,212.7
1982	Federal Republic of Germany	6,629.7	3,796.6	2,833.1
	Finland	5,193.5	2,395.7	2,797.8
	Japan	3,682.4	756.6	2,925.8
1983	Federal Republic of Germany	7,022.0	3,772.8	3,249.2
	Finland	5,173.3	2,483.3	2,690.0
	Japan	3,004.0	828.5	2,175.5
1984	Federal Republic of Germany	6,826.7	3,649.2	3,177.5
	Finland	4,679.9	2,118.5	2,561.4
	Japan	2,894.3	840.0	2,054.3
1985	Federal Republic of Germany	7,086.0	3,992.0	3,094.0
	Finland	4,986.0	2,299.0	2,687.0
	Japan	3,215.0	928.0	2,287.0

Source: Robertson 1988:58

TABLE 9
Direction of USSR Foreign Trade

	Exports, fob				Imports, fob			
	1985	1986	1987	1988	1985	1986	1987	1988
	mn roubles ^a							
Total all countries	72,663.7	68,284.6	68,142.2	67,115.4	69,429.0	62,586.4	60,741.2	65,040.1
Soviet Bloc								
Bulgaria	6,455.5	6,752.3	6,276.3	6,093.7	6,056.0	6,191.3	6,551.7	6,873.1
Czechoslovakia	6,829.9	6,947.0	6,776.7	6,384.6	6,632.1	6,556.4	6,907.4	6,817.3
East Germany	7,669.9	7,884.2	7,635.9	7,193.2	7,591.7	7,128.1	7,093.2	7,024.4
Hungary	4,576.7	4,678.2	4,600.0	4,484.3	4,891.9	4,873.4	5,080.3	4,943.2
Poland	6,531.5	6,813.8	6,542.2	6,298.0	5,600.1	6,127.2	6,329.3	7,109.3
Romania	1,956.5	2,823.3	2,539.2	2,344.1	2,302.6	2,415.2	2,347.2	2,431.2
China	780.4	910.3	724.3	1,005.2	834.5	911.7	750.6	844.9
North Korea	654.8	757.2	800.2	1,062.2	404.4	450.7	431.9	539.5
Mongolia	1,150.3	1,137.5	1,139.9	1,130.8	386.7	409.9	400.7	406.2
Western Europe								
Austria	804.6	540.3	431.0	454.9	864.6	852.2	599.7	711.7
Belgium	858.2	627.8	738.4	771.3	581.8	422.1	366.2	376.0
Finland	2,299.3	1,594.6	1,706.8	1,528.7	2,690.4	2,377.5	2,035.9	2,188.3
France	2,174.7	1,540.9	1,518.0	1,578.9	1,604.0	1,129.6	1,090.2	1,189.9
West Germany	3,991.5	2,720.1	2,327.3	2,397.2	3,103.1	2,857.8	2,629.8	3,231.3
Italy	2,468.3	1,574.6	1,804.3	1,691.2	1,328.4	1,473.8	1,686.4	1,343.1
Netherlands	986.6	555.2	781.3	656.8	313.7	245.3	231.5	277.9
Spain	235.0	124.1	497.7	627.2	353.5	172.8	158.8	154.0
Switzerland	383.8	287.1	344.2	404.9	567.1	455.5	539.7	772.6
UK	1,217.9	1,274.0	1,586.2	1,794.1	685.1	514.6	524.3	623.1
Yugoslavia	2,722.7	1,738.5	1,901.0	1,693.8	3,366.5	2,675.4	2,073.3	2,147.4
Rest of World								
USA	326.1	312.5	279.0	331.5	2,377.0	1,146.0	919.5	1,772.6
Cuba	3,877.4	3,802.4	3,731.3	3,724.7	4,140.1	3,800.2	3,827.3	3,836.8
India	1,574.9	957.6	1,105.4	1,128.7	1,509.5	1,233.6	1,073.1	1,123.3
Iraq	267.5	293.0	324.3	309.1	556.7	345.6	788.3	961.4
Japan	928.9	979.9	972.5	1,184.2	2,287.1	2,205.4	1,628.2	1,950.9
Vietnam	1,176.1	1,318.4	1,454.5	1,393.6	282.8	294.3	318.9	388.6
Australia	13.7	8.2	12.4	13.9	532.1	509.1	348.2	350.0

a Non-commercial rate: end 1985 0.770 roubles = \$1.00; end 1986 0.684 roubles = \$1.00; end 1987 0.602 roubles = \$1.00; end 1988 0.612 roubles = \$1.00.

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit, USSR Report No.1 1990

TABLE 10

Value of Certain Countries' Trade with the USSR

monthly averages

\$ mn

	Exporting countries						Importing countries					
	Jan-Dec		Jan-Sep				Jan-Dec		Jan-Sep			
	1985	1986	1987	1988	1988	1989	1985	1986	1987	1988	1988	1989
West Germany	300.2	360.0	364.9	447.2	433.2	485.4	385.8	350.3	333.2	326.1	311.6	349.0
Italy	127.3	134.9	183.1	175.9	172.9	190.4	248.4	193.6	236.4	263.3	250.8	288.6
France	158.0	127.7	146.0	162.4	140.6	136.0	204.4	220.6	211.6	234.1	233.8	223.0
UK	58.0	65.9	68.9	75.8	73.2	80.4	78.3	84.9	119.2	108.5	110.2	117.1
Belgium/Luxembourg	52.7	41.3	41.0	43.8	46.5	43.7 ^c	104.6	87.3	107.2	104.1	109.8	98.5 ^c
Netherlands	28.5	27.8	34.2	39.7	39.1	51.4	194.0	87.1	113.7	94.2	100.6	111.0
Spain	36.8	19.8	24.6	22.3	20.0	27.6	31.9	25.0	73.6	92.6	97.2	112.7
Denmark	11.2	15.4	10.1	13.5	12.9	18.0	23.9	17.1	17.6	14.8	14.0	18.6
Greece	11.8	6.5	6.3	7.4	5.0	9.4 ^d	44.4	23.7	27.1	21.5	16.2	14.2 ^d
Portugal	5.8	4.3	4.8	5.5	4.2	6.6	4.6	4.3	4.1	3.6	3.6	3.9
Irish Republic	3.0	5.1	2.7	2.0	2.3	4.0	4.2	3.5	4.0	4.3	4.1	5.0
Finland	243.3	277.1	249.6	279.9	251.1	274.4	230.1	196.4	226.2	221.2	216.1	219.8
Yugoslavia	194.6	260.2	185.2	196.2	196.2	253.1	113.2	156.2	160.5	145.7	185.3	230.8
Austria	54.4	57.2	56.1	74.4	67.6	69.8	77.6	68.2	56.0	58.3	57.7	52.3
Switzerland	21.6	24.8	39.7	46.2	45.3	42.4	40.6	33.5	22.9	17.1	16.7	20.9
Sweden	25.9	24.9	24.1	24.1	24.4	29.1	54.5	41.4	64.4	61.5	58.7	67.5
Turkey	15.8	11.7	14.1	22.6	21.1	37.0 ^c	18.4	30.6	25.3	36.9	33.7	45.7 ^c
Norway	8.1	7.6	7.7	11.5	10.5	15.0	14.1	9.0	12.1	14.3	11.9	20.9
Iceland	4.6	3.9	4.2	4.3	4.9	4.8	6.1	5.3	5.5	4.6	4.6	4.5
USA	201.9	104.0	123.3	230.6	223.2	391.1 ^c	34.0 ^b	46.5 ^b	35.4 ^b	48.2 ^b	42.3 ^b	62.8 ^{bc}
Canada	98.4	73.4	50.5	78.6	70.1	43.9	1.7 ^b	1.5 ^b	2.2 ^b	10.7 ^b	5.6 ^b	9.2 ^b
Japan	232.8	264.9	215.5	260.9	270.9	258.4	119.5	165.6	197.3	231.0	232.4	243.6
Australia	49.5	56.2	40.6	46.8	37.1	87.9 ^d	0.7 ^b	0.6 ^b	1.0 ^b	2.4 ^b	2.1 ^b	4.1 ^{bd}
Total of above	1,942.2	1,977.1	1,934.1	2,271.6	2,174.3	2,589.8	2,035.0	1,852.1	2,090.0	2,119.0	2,090.0	2,323.7

a Exports, fob; imports, cif. b Imports, fob. c January-August. d January-June.

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit, USSR Report No.1 1990

Appendix B

GEOGRAPHY OF THE KURILE ISLANDS

Appendix B

GEOGRAPHY OF THE KURILE ISLANDS

GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY

Geographic Position. The Kurile Islands, known to the Japanese as Chishima (Thousand Islands), lie between 44° 45' and 50° 56' N. lat., and between 145° 25' and 156° 32' E. long. These islands are the most northern of the Japanese Archipelago and are close to the great circle route between the west coast of the United States and Japan. They stretch about 690 miles northeast to southwest between Hokkaido and the Kamchatka Peninsula.

Table of Distances. Shimushu, the most northern of the Kuriles, is seven miles from Kamchatka and is only 640 miles from Attu, the westernmost of the Aleutians. Sea distances on the great circle route in nautical miles from Dutch Harbor to the principal Kurile Islands are given below. Seattle is 1,706 nautical miles and San Francisco 2,053 nautical miles from Dutch Harbor.

Shimushu	1351	Ketoi	1585
Paramushiro	1369	Shimushiru	1600
Onnekotan	1439	Uruppu	1686
Harumukotan	1463	Etorofu	1770
Shasukotan	1481	Shikotan	1896
Matsuwa	1537	Kunashiri	1895

Geological Structure. The Kurile Islands are all of volcanic formation. Although the Kuriles are probably the youngest of the Japanese volcanic arches, some of the islands, for example, Kunashiri and Etorofu, are probably very old; they have volcanoes that show much vegetation, deep valleys, and little activity. The rocks found in these islands are of the calc-alkali type; ancesites, basalt, and olivine basalt predominate. In addition there are various pyroclastic rocks, such as agglomerate and tuff. Quartz is absent or rare, although dacite and granite are found as pebbles in the coastal deposits.

Topography. There are two distinct types of islands, the round islands such as Alaid, Ketoi, and Rasheda, crowned by a volcanic summit, and elongated islands, such as Kunashiri, Etorofu, Uruppu, Shimushiru, and Shasukotan, running in a northeasterly direction. The elongated islands appear to be agglomerations of round islands, joined together by deposits from volcanic eruptions.

In general, the Kurile Islands are high and rugged. Only the most northern of the group, Shimushu, is low, its elevations not exceeding 618 feet. Kunashiri, Etorofu, Paramushiro, and Shimushu have rounded surfaces, but the other islands have sharp peaks. There are steep slopes which fall to the water line in a high bluff. In the southern islands, cliff coasts are less frequent and the valleys are longer than in the islands to the north. The Pacific side of the islands is bluff and less indented than the Okhotsk coast. Level stretches are found only on the longitudinal islands. Kunashiri, Etorofu, and Shikotan, for example, have extensive stretches of level ground. The round islands, on the other hand, are invariably precipitous and difficult of access.

NORTHERN KURILES

Shimushu

Kurile Strait. Shimushu Island is separated from the long, low Lopatka Peninsula of Kamchatka by the Kurile Strait, seven miles in width. The channel, which is three miles wide and from 50 to 100 feet deep, is narrowed by a dangerous reef which extends from Cape Lopatka in a northeasterly direction. Two short reefs jut into the channel from the northeast points of Shimushu. Tidal currents are strong (five to six miles per hour), and there are occasional rocks and shoals to be avoided.

Topography. Shimushu Island is 14 miles long, 12 miles wide, and nearly 100 square miles in area. It differs from the other islands in the Kurile group in that its surface is low and rolling. The highest elevation of the island is in the southern part, where Mitsuka Yama (Three Hills Mountain) rises 623 feet in height.

Drainage. The low hills are separated by swampy valleys, and many small lakes and ponds are found in the low basins. Small streams flow between the hills to the coast. The water supply should be adequate for relatively large numbers of troops.

Most of the lakes are of the drainage type and are connected with the surface drainage of the district, but some are of the seepage type, possessing neither inlet nor outlet, the movement of water through the basins taking place entirely underground. On the Okhotsk coast of the island the development of sand dunes is prominent, and many lakes lie inside them. Of these lakes the Bettobu-numa group are the most important. Bettobu-numa, the largest lake of the group, has an area of 0.47 square miles. The lake is tidal, although it is barriered by sand dunes about 1½ miles wide and is elevated about 7 feet above sea level. In the winter season the outlet, Bettobu-gawa, becomes completely barriered by the sand at its mouth, and in the spring the vast marsh which surrounds the lake is flooded to form a large sheet of water, including Kitabetobu-numa and Minambettobu-numa. The lake receives three large rivers that originate in the interior of the island and one that comes along the inside of the dunes. Minambettobu-numa is only a detached arm of Bettobu-numa, separated from it by a marsh. Both of these lakes are very shallow.

There are also a number of small lakes near Mitsuka-yama, the largest of which is Kaihyo-ike, with a length of about half a mile.

Flora and Fauna. Scrub pine, alder, grass, and mosses cover the island with a low growth.

Foxes are plentiful, and there were formerly a few bears. Small rodents and weasels are reported. Shore birds and sea fowl are numerous. Fish may be caught almost anywhere off the coast during the summer. The yearly codfish catch is about 50,000 fish.

Coast. The coast consists of cliffs (240 feet high on the east and 120 feet on the west), steep, rocky points, and sandy beaches backed by sloping grassy cliffs at the heads of inlets. For the most part the cliffs are bare of vegetation. Water depths are 12 to 30 feet for considerable distances offshore, and make the eastern and northern coasts very difficult to approach.

Harbors and Anchorages. Bettobu anchorage is located on the northwest coast. This roadstead is six miles across and has depths of 60 to 90 feet over a sandy bottom. There is a sandy beach with low sand hills behind it. A few hundred yards off shore the water is between 30 to 48 feet deep.

Kataoka Bay, in Little Kurile Strait, is the site of several large fishing stations which are provided with oil tanks. A river flows into the bay, and near its mouth is a pier. Kataoka Bay is reported to be an excellent harbor.

Nakagawa, on the southeast coast, is an unimproved anchorage off a fishing village and cannery.

Paramushiro

Paramushiro Strait. This strait separates Paramushiro Island from Shimushu Island. It is about five miles long and one mile wide at its narrowest part. From the Pacific there are three entrances to Paramushiro Strait: the first, between Cape Levasheff and Bird Rocks, is about 2 miles wide and has a depth of 12 to 17 fathoms; the second, between Bird Rocks and Kokskar Rock, is six miles wide and 14 to 20 fathoms deep; the third, between Kokskar Rock and Pinnacles Point, the southeast cape of Shimushu, is about five miles wide. About two miles to the north, three-quarters east of the Kokskar rock, is a patch of rocks just awash. Currents are strong. There are several bays with sandy beaches on the Paramushiro side of the strait. Spring tides are 5.2 to 6.7 feet.

Topography. Paramushiro Island is about 60 miles long and nearly 12 miles wide, and has an area of approximately 600 square miles. It is among the most completely mountainous of the larger islands of the Kurile chain. Nearly the entire surface is covered with volcanoes, which have been formed in four ranges in echelon. The ranges are separated by valleys, which cut through the island from east to west. Shiriyajiri Mountain erupted in 1854-59. All the volcanoes are now dormant, but steam issues from a few of them. A number of fumeroles are to be found at Hakuzanzan in the Tijura range, and at Iosan in the Io range.

The northernmost ranges reach heights of 4,700 feet and occupy the entire northern part of the island. Another mountain chain lies west of the lowlands to the south, and provides a backbone for a north to south arm of land. In this range elevations reach nearly 6,000 feet. To the west of these mountains the Moyoro River Valley separates the peninsula occupied by Shiriyajiri Mountain (6,894 ft.) from the rest of the island.

Coast. In general the sea cliffs on the eastern coast are higher than those on the western side, while the submarine shelf off the eastern coast is shallower than that on the west. The Okhotsk coast has cliffs and boulder beaches, but very few outlying rocks. The Pacific coast, on the other hand, has a greater number of low beaches, but has many rocks offshore. Depths along the Pacific coast of Paramushiro are 10 to 20 feet at 200 yards offshore, whereas along the Sea of Okhotsk coast depths are between 36 and 60 feet at the same distance. There are several ledges 60 to 90 feet above the sea, and still others at elevations of 120 to 240 feet. Elevated sand dunes less than 60 feet in height are found at the northern and southern extremities of the island.

Harbors and Anchorages. The best harbor on Paramushiro is Kakumabetsu, located in the center of the northwest coast. The harbor has been improved as the site of a permanent fishing base. In 1933 an appropriation of 10 million yen was made for improving the harbor and constructing a coal depot, water supply station, piers, cold storage bins, and warehouses. It was estimated that the improvements would be completed in five years. In 1938 there was reported to be a jetty, 200 feet in length, alongside of which there was a depth of eight feet at high water. Kakumabetsu Bay has depths of 54 to 60 feet.

South of Kakumabetsu, on the northwest side of the island, is Kujira-wan, with minimum depths of 48 feet. Murakami-wan, on the strait between Paramushiro and Shimushu, has a fishing station and a canning factory with a small pier, where landing may be made even at low water. Suribachi, on the southeast coast, also has a landing pier, which serves the canning factory and fishing station located there. Other known harbors are Ruisan on the southeast coast and Kashiwabara on the strait between Paramushiro and Shimushu. All the above were ports of call for vessels of the Fujiyama Kaisen K.K. and the Nippon Yusen Kaisha.

Apart from these anchorages, there are a number of other bays and anchorages where fishing villages are located. The most important of these are Moyoro, Musashi, and Otomae Bay, all at the southern end of the island. At each of them there is a small village. Musashi Bay is reported to have a small pier at the village of Raisha.

Population and Settlements. No recent figures on the population of Paramushiro are available. In 1930 the number of permanent inhabitants was reported to be 20. These were caretakers at the fishing stations along the coast.

No permanent settlements of any consequence are reported for Paramushiro. Fishing stations and canning factories have been located at the harbors enumerated above.

Araido

Topography. Araido Island lies 12 miles northeast of Paramushiro Island, is 26 miles in circumference, and has an area of about 50 square miles. Its central volcanic peak, the highest in the entire Kurile chain, has an elevation of 7,654 feet. Throughout the island slopes are steep and terminate in low sea cliffs. No marine terraces have been observed. The volcano is no longer active; the last eruption occurred in 1894. Other known eruptions were in 1770, 1789, 1793, 1828-29, 1839, 1848, and 1854. An earthquake shook the island on November 13, 1933. The crater of the central cone and the atrio of the somma are permanently covered with snow.

CENTRAL KURILES

Shimushiru

Shimushiru Strait. The strait between Shimushiru and Ketoi Islands is eleven miles wide and very deep. It is free from danger, but the tidal currents are very strong, especially near the shores.

Topography. Shimushiru Island is 31 miles long and nearly five miles at its greatest width, with an area of about 126 square miles. It has two prominent elevations, Shimushiru Fuji in the north (4,460 feet), and Shimushiru Mountain in the south (5,004 feet). The island has three distinct areas: the southwestern portion, which is dominated by the volcanic mountains, represented by Shimushiru Mountain; the central area, characterized by a flat upland plateau, bounded on the north by Shimushiru Fuji; and the northeastern portion, with several smaller mountains.

Yakeyama, in the southern mountain range, is still active; it last erupted in 1914.

Drainage. The streams on Shimushiru Island are small and few. To the northeast of the southern mountains there is a lake, Midoriko, which has no drainage. It lies in the middle of a ridge of hills, about 65 feet above sea level. There are a number of small ponds in the lowlands, set in small swampy areas.

Flora and Fauna. The forest growth of Shimushiru is very similar to that of Uruppu. The woods are mostly of the shrubby type. Scrub pine, alder, and birch trees form dense thickets. On the northeastern part of the island, from Shimushiru Fuji northward, there are impenetrable tangles of scrub pine. Alder thickets clothe the ranges form the bottoms of the gullies to the ridges of the mountains in the central part of the island. Grass lands are well developed, especially in the vicinity of Broughton Bay.

The fox is the only land animal. Land birds are few in number, but sea fowl are fairly plentiful. Fish are scarce both in inland waters and along the coast.

Coast. There are many rocky cliffs along the coast. The southwestern coast is steep and bold with a few rocks close inshore. The southeast coast is comparatively free from rocks, but the northwest coast is rocky with many kelp patches.

Harbors and Anchorages. Broughton Bay on the north-east coast is a large, circular body of water two and one-half miles in breadth, with an area of 6 square miles. This bay is listed in the Japanese register of lakes as the twenty-sixth in size in the Empire. It is an old crater and would be circular in form were it not for a volcano which projects into its eastern side. Surrounding the bay is a ridge of rocky hills. Connecting the bay with the sea is a breach through the narrowest part of the ridge. This entrance has a water depth of less than six feet. The eastern point of the bay is a bluff. The western point is a short, low shingle beach. The water inside is always calm. A large bed of kelp lies both outside and inside the passage, and tidal currents run with considerable velocity. If the entrance has been improved, Broughton Bay is now a magnificent harbor.

On the southwestern side of the island, where a low strip of land connects Shimushiru Mountain to the rest of the island, there is Shimushiru (Milne) Bay. Here water 54 to 60 feet deep is available over sand, but anchorage is safe only with southeast winds.

Uruppu

Minami Uruppu Strait. The strait between the Chirihoi Islands and Uruppu Island is free from danger, but strong tidal currents hamper navigation. Fogs are frequent.

Topography. Uruppu is fourth largest of the Kurile Islands. It extends for a distance of 63 miles, its maximum width is about 11 miles, and its area is 298 square miles.

Coast. Since the mountain masses lie on or near the northwestern coast of the island, the Okhotsk coastline is bold and steep, much of it terminating in almost perpendicular cliffs with no beaches at their base. There are, however, bayhead beaches facing most of the anchorages. The Pacific coast of Uruppu is less steep but it is rocky throughout. The southeastern coast is formed by high cliffs, at the base of which are rock-strewn beaches. A number of submerged rocks lie off this coast. Waters are uniformly deep, a 60-foot depth line lying from half a mile to two miles offshore throughout.

Harbors and Anchorages. Anchorage is possible in any of the bays on the northwest side of the island. Tsurigane Bay is sheltered from all directions except the northwest. Waters are too deep for anchoring beyond 1,500 yards offshore. There are no dangers. Takotan Bay, south of Tsurigane Bay, is open to all but southerly winds and has a depth of 60 feet about 1,200 yards off the small village. Here there is a good beach landing. On the Pacific side, behind Ana Point, there is an anchorage with 24 to 30 feet of water suitable for small vessels. East winds bring heavy squalls into this bay. Port Tovano (Kobune Harbor) about halfway up the southeast coast, affords shelter for small vessels. The entrance is about 120 yards wide, between bluffs. The depth of the water is from 8 to 10 fathoms. In 1929 this harbor was reported to be the calling place of summer cruise ships.

SOUTHERN KURILES

Etorofu

Etorofu Strait. Etorofu Strait is 24 miles wide, and free from danger on the Etorofu side. Off Cape Nobunots, on Uruppu, a reef extends nearly a mile into the strait; it is covered with kelp. Off the point and over the reef, heavy tide rips are formed. The strait is sometimes blocked with ice in the winter.

Topography. Etorofu is the largest of the Kurile Islands. It is 110 miles long and varies in width from 2½ to 20 miles. Its area is about 930 square miles. This island has eight groups of mountains connected by comparatively low and flat stretches of land. At the southwest end of the island are the Beritaribi Mountains, with elevations of 4,000 feet. A sulphur deposit here was worked in the early days, but has long since been abandoned. To the northeast of the Beritaribi Mountains lie the Roko Mountains, attaining a maximum height of 3,000 feet. On the north side of Naibo Bay lies Atosa Mountain (4,050 feet), and there is another peak to the eastward of Atosa. The Hitokappu Mountains, lying on the west side of the bay are the Hotoko Mountains, with peaks from 2,600 feet to 5,000 feet in elevation. The Chirippu Mountains lie on the peninsula to the north of Shana and Bettobu, rising to a maximum height of 5,040 feet. Mountain groups are also found to the south and to the north of Bear Bay. Lowlands stretch across the width of the island between the various mountain groups.

Drainage. Etorofu has a number of large streams, many lakes, and six large swamp areas. There are hot springs in many parts of the island. The most important stream is the Shibetorogawa, which waters the greater part of the northern flank of the island. The Shibetorogawa is about 25 miles in length and empties into the Okhotsk Sea.

Most of the lakes of Etorofu lie between uplifted plateaus at altitudes of 10 to 30 feet above sea level. Three of them, Shibetoro, Kimonma, and Urumobetsu, are volcanic lakes. The first is formed by a lava dam; the other two are both crater lakes. The other lakes on the island are in origin sea-drowned valleys which have lost their connection with the sea through the formation of sand dunes, and have turned into fresh water lakes. Usually they lie at the foot of two volcanoes, dammed by a sand knoll, their longitudinal axes being at right angles to the sea coast.

The water temperature of the lakes is low, being nearly homothermal. During July and August the water temperature is somewhat less than 15°C. This has been explained by the low air temperature in summer and the very strong wind to which the lakes are constantly exposed. The lakes receive little sunshine; fog and clouds are exceedingly frequent. During the long winter the lakes are ice-covered.

Flora and Fauna. The interior of Etorofu is heavily wooded, and it is difficult to travel overland except by following the watercourses along which a few roads have been cut. The lower hills and plains support a heavy growth of birch, pine, and alder. Nettles and other coarse vegetation grow thickly on all the lowlands. Bamboo grass grows to a height of nine feet on many parts of the island.

Bears were very numerous in former years. Wolves and foxes are said still to frequent the wooded sections. There is some livestock, and Shana is reported to be a horse-raising center. Bird life is similar to that of Kunashiri and eastern Hokkaido. Insects include flies, sandflies, and mosquitoes. In the lakes and rivers, Pacific salmon spawn in great numbers. Fish other than salmon, however, are rare.

Coast. The northwest coast has a much longer shoreline than the southeastern side of the island. Except along the lowlands, the entire coast of Etorofu is steep. There are no offlying dangers to within a half mile of the shore.

Harbors and Anchorages. Etorofu Island has many indentations which permit anchorage. The northwest coast of Etorofu is studded with fishing villages and bays, and is connected by frequent and regular shipping service to Hokkaido. The only regular stopping place on the southeast coast is Toshimoe, which is served by ships direct from Nemuro and Hakodate.

In the middle of the southeastern coast is Hitokappu Bay. The western point of the bay is low and forms a part of the plain at the base of the Hitokappu Mountains. About two miles inside this point is the mouth of the Onebetsu River. The eastern point has a margin of high steep bluffs with a narrow margin of bouldery beach. The bay is six miles wide and extends about the same distance inland. At the northern extreme of the bay is the mouth of a river flowing from the large Toshimoe Lake. The slope from the beach is steep except in stream valleys and between the bay and Lake Toshimoe.

Kunashiri

Kunashiri Channel. Kunashiri Channel is 12 miles wide and has deep water throughout its course. There are no known dangers except for a reef off the western side of Atoiya Point. Tide rips and heavy winds are frequent in the channel, and tidal currents reach a velocity of 4½ knots. From February to May the channel is often blocked with ice.

Topography. Kunashiri Island is about 66 miles long and varies in width from four to sixteen miles, with an area of 440 square miles. Chachadake, 6,051 feet high, and Ruruidake, 4,940 feet high, are found at the northern end of the island. Chachadake is a truncated cone, with a second peak rising out of the crater of the lower one. Chachadake and Ruruidake are connected by a rugged ridge which blocks the entire northern end of the island. To the southeast of these mountains an extensive plain stretches to the Rausudake Mountains. One of the northern peaks of this group, Shimanobori, is about 3,000 feet high. Still farther to the south is the Tomariyama group of mountains. The extreme southern part of the island is composed of lower hills and marshy valleys.

Drainage. Kunashiri has several lakes and extensive marshes. To the north of the Bomariyama group is a large lake, the Tofutsuko, which is nine miles in circumference and 2.7 square miles in area. There is a smaller lake farther to the south. To the north of the Rausudake Mountains lie two lakes in a marshy plain. The Onnebetsugawa, a river of considerable size, waters the region to the south of Ruruidake and to the southwest of Chachadake, flowing thence to the Pacific Ocean. There are several hot springs on Kunashiri Island.

Flora and Fauna. Kunashiri is fairly well timbered, with firs predominating. The Rausudake Mountains have a thick forest growth, and there are large saw mills in this region on the east coast. The lower lands are covered with grasses and ferns; bamboo grass grows thickly in the valleys. Pasture lands are found on the lower slopes of the hills.

Bears, wolves, foxes, martens, land otters, and squirrels were formerly plentiful on Kunashiri Island. The straits and bays are favorite feeding grounds for whales and porpoises. At certain seasons salmon and salmon trout are plentiful. Immense shoals of herring pass by the coasts. There is some livestock raising, confined for the most part to horses.

Coast. The western side of Kunashiri Island is almost entirely steep and without good harbors, while the eastern side has several low sand beaches separated by cliffs. On the east, each of the mountain masses terminates in a cliffed headland, and each of the intermontane lowlands is open to the sea. The coast is generally rocky on both sides. Waters offshore are deep except in the south, where shallow water separates the island from the Nemuro Peninsula of Hokkaido.

Harbors and Anchorages. There are no well sheltered harbors on Kunashiri Island, but there are several open anchorages which may be used during offshore winds. No improved port facilities have been reported.

Shiranuka Bay, open to the south, is five miles in width and extends two and one-half miles inland. A reef lies in the middle of this bay about one mile offshore. The best anchorage, with depths of from 36 to 60 feet, is available on the northeast side.

Chinomiji Anchorage is situated off the mouth of the Onnebetsu River. The inshore waters are poor, but 42 to 60 feet of water are available one mile offshore.

Furukamappu Bay is four miles wide and extends inland for nearly two miles. It is open to the south, and its inshore waters are shallow. Depths of 24 feet are available just behind O Saki. There is a pier of a crab-canning factory in the bay.

Nikishoro Bay is the only anchorage on the northwestern shore of the island. It is a shallow roadstead, the shores of which are fringed with many rocks. It is open from the north, southwest, and northwest, and also on the east since the land on that side is low. Water depths are shallow inshore, but 60-foot depths are obtainable a mile and one-half offshore. Elsewhere on the west coast there are many small rocky inlets, affording inadequate anchorage.

Appendix C
TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

Appendix C

TREATIES AND DOCUMENT EXCERPTS

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

This Appendix contains extracts of treaties and agreements that concern the Kuril Islands. For complete texts, consult the sources cited below each extract.

Treaty of Shimoda (7 February 1855)

ARTICLE II

Henceforth the boundaries between Russia and Japan will pass between the islands Etorofu and Uruppu. The whole island of Etorofu belongs to Japan and the whole island of Uruppu and the other Kuril Islands to the north constitute possessions of Russia. As regards the island Karafuto (Sakhalin), it remains unpartitioned between Russia and Japan, as has been the case up to this time.

Japan, Foreign Office. *Treaties and Conventions between the Empire of Japan and other Powers together with Universal Conventions, Regulations and Communications since March 1854* (rev. ed. Tokyo, 1884), p. 585.

Treaty of St. Petersburg (7 May 1875)

ARTICLE II

In exchange for the cession to Russia of the rights on the island of Sakhalin, stipulated in the first article, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, for Himself and His descendants, cedes to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan the group of the Kuril islands which he possesses at present, together with all the rights of sovereignty appertaining to this possession, so that henceforth the said group of Kuril islands shall belong to the Empire of Japan. This group comprises the following eighteen islands: (1) Shimushu, (2) Araidō, (3) Paramushiru, (4) Mankushiri, (5) Onkotan, (6) Harumukotan, (7) Ekaruma, (8) Shasukotan, (9) Mushiru, (10) Raikoke, (11) Matsuwa, (12) Rasheduwa, (13) Suride and Ushishiru, (14) Ketoi, (15) Shimushiru, (16) Buroton, (17) Cherupoi and Buratto Cherupofu [Chirihoi or Chornye Bratia], (18) Uruppu, so that the boundary between the Empires of Russia and Japan in these areas shall pass through the Strait between Cape Lopatka of the peninsula of Kamchatka and the island of Shimushu.

ARTICLE V

The residents of the territories ceded from one and the other, the Russian and Japanese subjects, may retain their nationality and return to their respective countries; but if they prefer to remain in the ceded territories, they shall be allowed to stay and shall receive protection in the full exercise of their industry, their right of property and religion, on the same footing as the nationals, provided that they submit to the laws and jurisdiction of the country to which the possession of the respective territories passes.

Source: Rees 1985:151-154 and
NTIA 1974:73-96

*Supplementary Article to the Sakhalin-Kuril Islands Exchange:
the Treaty of Tokyo (22 Aug. 1875)*

- a. The inhabitants of the territories ceded from one and the other, the Russian and Japanese subjects, who desire to remain domiciled in the localities which they occupy at present, shall be maintained in the full exercise of their industries. They shall retain the right of fishery and hunting within the limits belonging to them and shall be exempted from any tax on their respective industries for the rest of their life.
- b. The Japanese subjects who will remain on the island of Sakhalin and the Russian subjects who will remain on the Kuril Islands shall be maintained and protected in the full exercise of their present right of property. Certificates shall be given to them, confirming their right of usufruct and ownership of the immovable properties in their possession.
- c. A full and perfect freedom of religion is accorded to the Japanese subjects residing on the island of Sakhalin, as well as to the Russian subjects residing on the Kuril Islands. The Churches, temples and cemeteries shall be respected.
- d. The aborigines of Sakhalin as well as of the Kurils shall not enjoy the right to remain domiciled in the localities which they now occupy and at the same time to keep their present subjection. If they desire to remain subject to their present Government, they must leave their domicile and go to the territory belonging to their Sovereign; if they wish to remain domiciled in the localities which they occupy at present, they must change their subjection. They shall be given, however, a period of three years from the date of their notification of this supplementary treaty for making a decision on this matter. During these three years, they shall maintain the right of fishery, hunting and any other industry which they have been engaged in until this day, on the same conditions as regards privileges and obligations which have existed for them until now on the island of Sakhalin and on the Kuril islands, but during all this time they shall be subject to local laws and regulations. At the expiration of this term, the aborigines who are domiciled in the territories reciprocally ceded, shall become the subjects of the Government, to which the ownership of the territory will pass.
- e. A full and perfect freedom of religion is accorded to all the aborigines of the island of Sakhalin and of the Kuril Islands. The temples and the cemeteries shall be respected.

Treaty of Peace of Portsmouth (Excerpt)

Signed at Portsmouth on September 5, 1905

Article 9.

The Imperial Russian Government cede to the Imperial Government of Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty, the southern portion of the Island of Saghalien and all islands adjacent thereto, and all public works and properties thereon. The fiftieth degree of north latitude is adopted as the northern boundary of the ceded territory. The exact alignment of such territory shall be determined in accordance with the provisions of additional Article 2 annexed to this Treaty.

Japan and Russia mutually agree not to construct in their respective possessions on the Island of Saghalien or the adjacent islands, any fortifications or other similar military works. They also respectively engage not to take any military measures which may impede the free navigation of the Straits of La Pérouse and Tartary.

Treaty of Neutrality between Japan and the Soviet Union
Signed Moscow on April 13, 1941

His Majesty The Emperor of Japan and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, prompted by their desire to strengthen the peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries, have decided to conclude a pact of neutrality and for this purpose have appointed the under-mentioned plenipotentiaries, namely:—

[Here follow the names]

who, having communicated to one another their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:—

Art. 1. The two High Contracting Parties agree to maintain peaceful and friendly relations between their countries and to respect each other's territorial integrity and inviolability.

Art. 2. In case one of the High Contracting Parties becomes the object of military action by one or more third Powers, the other High Contracting Party shall observe neutrality throughout the entire period of such a conflict.

Art. 3. The present Pact shall be enforced from the day of the completion of the ratification thereof by both High Contracting Parties and shall be valid for a period of five years. Should neither of the High Contracting Parties give notice of its abrogation a year before the expiration of the said period, the Pact shall be regarded as having been automatically prolonged for the next five years.

Art. 4. The present Pact shall be ratified as soon as possible. The exchange of ratification shall take place in Tokyo as soon as possible.

In faith whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed two copies of this Treaty in the Japanese and Russian languages and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Moscow on the 13th day of the 4th month of the 16th year of Showa, corresponding to the 13th day of April, 1941.

(L.S.) Yosuke Matsuoka.
(L.S.) Yoshitsugu Tatekawa.
(L.S.) V. Molotoff.

**Anglo-American Joint Declaration (the Atlantic Charter)
Announced on August 14, 1941**

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom; being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

3. They respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

4. They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

6. After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries and which will afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

7. Such peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

8. They believe that all nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten or may threaten aggression outside their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Declaration by United Nations

Joint Declaration by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

Done at Washington on January 1, 1942.

The Governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common programme of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, dated August 14th, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter,

Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

1) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such Government is at war.

2) Each Government pledges itself to co-operate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Cairo Declaration

Signed at Cairo on November 27, 1943.

President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and the

Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, together with their respective military and diplomatic advisers, have completed a conference in North Africa. The following general statement has been issued:—

“The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan.

“The three great allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land, and air. This pressure is already rising.

“The three great allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion.

“It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first world war in 1914, and that all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.

“Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.

“The aforesaid three Great Powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

“With these objectives in view the three allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan.”

Yalta Agreement

The leaders of the three Great Powers – the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain – have agreed that in two or three months after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe has terminated the Soviet Union shall enter into the war against Japan on the side of the Allies on condition that:

1. The status quo in Outer-Mongolia (The Mongolian People's Republic) shall be preserved;
2. The former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored, viz:
 - (a) the southern part of Sakhalin as well as all the islands adjacent to it shall be returned to the Soviet Union,
 - (b) the commercial port of Dairen shall be internationalized, the preeminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port being safeguarded and the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base of the USSR restored,
 - (c) the Chinese-Eastern Railroad and the South-Manchurian Railroad which provides an outlet to Dairen shall be jointly operated by the establishment of a joint Soviet-Chinese Company it being understood that the preeminent interests of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain full sovereignty in Manchuria;
3. The Kurile islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union.

It is understood, that the agreement concerning Outer-Mongolia and the ports and railroads referred to above will require concurrence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The President will take measures in order to obtain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin.

The Heads of the three Great Powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated.

For its part the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance between the USSR and China in order to render assistance to China with its armed forces for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke.

February 11, 1945

J. Stalin
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Winston S. Churchill

Notice of Abrogation by the Soviet Union of the Treaty of Neutrality between Japan and the Soviet Union Moscow, April 5, 1945

The Treaty of Neutrality between the Soviet Union and Japan was concluded on April 13, 1941, that is, before the German attack on the U.S.S.R. and before the outbreak of war between Japan on the one hand, and England and the United States of America, on the other.

The situation has since changed fundamentally. Germany has attacked the U.S.S.R., and Japan, an ally of Germany, is aiding the latter in its war against the U.S.S.R.. Moreover, Japan is fighting the U.S.A. and England which are allies of the Soviet Union.

Given such circumstances, the Treaty of Neutrality between Japan and the U.S.S.R. has lost its meaning and the extension of the Treaty has become impossible.

In view of the above and in accordance with Article 3 of the said Treaty, providing for the right of abrogation one year before the expiration of the five-year period of validity of the Treaty, the Soviet Government hereby declares to the Japanese Government its desire to abrogate the Treaty of April 13, 1941.

Potsdam Proclamation
Potsdam, July 26, 1945

1. We — the President of the United States, the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, representing the hundreds of millions of our countrymen, have conferred and agreed that Japan shall be given an opportunity to end this war.

2. The prodigious land, sea and air forces of the United States, the British Empire and of China, many times reinforced by their armies and air fleets from the west, are poised to strike the final blows upon Japan. This military power is sustained and inspired by the determination of all the Allied Nations to prosecute the war against Japan until she ceases to resist.

3. The result of the futile and senseless German resistance to the might of the aroused free peoples of the world stands forth in awful clarity as an example to the people of Japan. The might that now converges on Japan is immeasurably greater than that which, when applied to the resisting Nazis, necessarily laid waste to the lands, the industry and the method of life of the whole German people. The full application of our military power, backed by our resolve, will mean the inevitable and complete destruction of the Japanese armed forces and just as inevitably the utter devastation of the Japanese homeland.

4. The time has come for Japan to decide whether she will continue to be controlled by those self-willed militaristic advisers whose unintelligent calculations have brought the Empire of Japan to the threshold of annihilation, or whether she will follow the path of reason.

5. The following are our terms:

We will not deviate from them. There are no alternatives. We shall brook no delay.

6. There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

7. Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is destroyed, points in Japanese territory to be designated by the Allies shall be occupied to secure the achievement of the basic objectives we are here setting forth.

8. The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

9. The Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives.

10. We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights, shall be established.

11. Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to re-arm for war. To this end, access to, as distinguished from control of, raw materials shall be permitted. Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations shall be permitted.

12. The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government.

13. We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces, and to provide proper and adequate assurances of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction.

Instrument of Surrender

We, acting by command of and in behalf of the Emperor of Japan, the Japanese Government and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters, hereby accept the provisions set forth in the declaration issued by the heads of the Governments of the United States, China and Great Britain on 26 July 1945, at Potsdam, and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which four powers are hereafter referred to as the Allied Powers.

We hereby proclaim the unconditional surrender to the Allied Powers of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters and of all Japanese armed forces and all armed forces under Japanese control wherever situated.

We hereby command all Japanese forces wherever situated and the Japanese people to cease hostilities forthwith, to preserve and save from damage all ships, aircraft, and military and civil property and to comply with all requirements which may be imposed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers or by agencies of the Japanese Government at his direction.

We hereby command the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters to issue at once orders to the Commanders of all Japanese forces and all forces under Japanese control wherever situated to surrender unconditionally themselves and all forces under their control.

We hereby command all civil, military and naval officials to obey and enforce all proclamations, orders and directives deemed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers to be proper to effectuate this surrender and issued by him or under his authority and we direct all such officials to remain at their posts and to continue to perform their non-combatant duties unless specifically relieved by him or under his authority.

We hereby undertake for the Emperor, the Japanese Government and their successors to carry out the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration in good faith, and to issue whatever orders and take whatever action may be required by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers or by any other designated representative of the Allied Powers for the purpose of giving effect to that Declaration.

We hereby command the Japanese Imperial Government and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters at once to liberate all allied prisoners of war and civilian internees now under Japanese control and to provide for their protection, care, maintenance and immediate transportation to places as directed.

The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the state shall be subject to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers who will take such steps as he deems proper to effectuate these terms of surrender.

Signed at Tokyo Bay, Japan at 0904 on the Second day of September, 1945.

Treaty of Peace with Japan (Excerpt)
Signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951

Article 2

(a) Japan, recognizing the independence of Korea, renounces all right, title and claim to Korea, including the islands of Quelpart, Port Hamilton and Dagelet.

(b) Japan renounces all right, title and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores.

(c) Japan renounces all right, title and claim to the Kurile Islands, and to that portion of Sakhalin and the islands adjacent to it over which Japan acquired sovereignty as a consequence of the Treaty of Portsmouth of September 5, 1905.

(d) Japan renounces all right, title and claim in connection with the League of Nations Mandate System, and accepts the action of the United Nations Security Council of April 2, 1947, extending the trusteeship system to the Pacific Islands formerly under mandate to Japan.

(e) Japan renounces all claim to any right or title or interest in connection with any part of the Antarctic area, whether deriving from the activities of Japanese nationals or otherwise.

(f) Japan renounces all right, title and claim to the Spratly Islands and to the Parcel Islands.

Article 3

Japan will concur in any proposal of the United States to the United Nations to place under its trusteeship system, with the United States as the sole administering authority, Nansei Shoto south of 29° north latitude (including the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands), Nanpo Shoto south of Sofu Gan (including the Bonin Islands, Rosario Island and the Volcano Islands) and Parece Vela and Marcus Island. Pending the making of such a proposal and affirmative action thereon, the United States will have the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands, including their territorial waters.

Article 22

If in the opinion of any Party to the present Treaty there has arisen a dispute concerning the interpretation or execution of the Treaty, which is not settled by reference to a special claims tribunal or by other agreed means, the dispute shall, at the request of any party thereto, be referred for decision to the International Court of Justice. Japan and those Allied Powers which are not already parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice will deposit with the Registrar of the Court, at the time of their respective ratifications of the present Treaty, and in conformity with the resolution of the United Nations Security Council, dated October 15, 1946, a general declaration accepting the jurisdiction, without special agreement, of the Court generally in respect to all disputes of the character referred to in this Article.

Article 25

For the purposes of the present Treaty the Allied Powers shall be the States at war with Japan, or any State which previously formed a part of the territory of a State named in Article 23, provided that in each case the State concerned has signed and ratified the Treaty. Subject to the provisions of Article 21, the present Treaty shall not confer any rights, titles or benefits on any State which is not an Allied Power as herein defined; nor shall any right, title or interest of Japan be deemed to be diminished or prejudiced by any provision of the Treaty in favor of a State which is not an Allied Power as so defined.

Article 26

Japan will be prepared to conclude with any State which signed or adhered to the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942, and which is at war with Japan, or with any State which previously formed a part of the territory of a State named in article 23, which is not a signatory of the present Treaty, a bilateral Treaty of Peace on the same or substantially the same terms as are provided for in the present Treaty, but this obligation on the part of Japan will expire three years after the first coming into force of the present Treaty. Should Japan make a peace settlement or war claims settlement with any State granting that State greater advantages than those provided by the present Treaty, those same advantages shall be extended to the parties to the present Treaty.

Joint Declaration by Japan and the Soviet Union, 1956

From 13 to 19 October, 1956, negotiations were held at Moscow between the Delegations of Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The following representatives of Japan took part in the negotiations:

Prime Minister, Ichiro Hatoyama,
Ichiro Kono, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, and
Shunichi Matsumoto, Member of the House of Representatives.

The following representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics took part in the negotiations:

N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR,

N. S. Khrushchev, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,

A. I. Mikoyan, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR,

A. A. Gromyko, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and

51 of the United Nations Charter, each of the two States has the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence.

Japan and the USSR reciprocally undertake not to intervene directly or indirectly in each other's domestic affairs for any economic, political or ideological reasons.

4. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will support Japan's application for membership in the United Nations.

5. On the entry into force of this Joint Declaration, all Japanese citizens convicted in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be released and repatriated to Japan.

With regard to those Japanese whose fate is unknown, the USSR, at the request of Japan, will continue its efforts to discover what has happened to them.

6. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics renounces all reparations claims against Japan.

Japan and the USSR agree to renounce all claims by either State, its institutions or citizens, against the other State, its institutions or citizens, which have arisen as a result of the war since 9 August 1945.

7. Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agree that they will enter into negotiations as soon as may be possible for the conclusion of treaties or agreements with a view to putting their trade, navigation and other commercial relations on a firm and friendly basis.

8. The Convention on deep-sea fishing in the north-western sector of the Pacific Ocean between Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Agreement between Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on co-operation in the rescue of persons in distress at sea, both signed at Moscow on 14 May 1956, shall come into effect simultaneously with this Joint Declaration.

Having regard to the interest of both Japan and the USSR in the conservation and rational use of the natural fishery resources and other biological resources of the sea, Japan and the USSR shall, in a spirit of co-operation, take measures to conserve and develop fishery resources, and to regulate and restrict deep-sea fishing.

9. Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agree to continue, after the restoration of normal diplomatic relations between Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, negotiations for the conclusion of a Peace Treaty.

In this connexion, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, desiring to meet the wishes of Japan and taking into consideration the interests of the Japanese State, agrees to transfer to Japan the Habomai Islands and the island of Shikotan, the actual transfer of these islands to Japan to take place after the conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

10. This Joint Declaration is subject to ratification. It shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification. The exchange of the instruments of ratification shall take place at Tokyo as soon as may be possible.

In witness whereof the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed this Joint Declaration.

Done in two copies, each in the Japanese and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

Moscow, 19 October 1956.

Soviet-Japanese Joint Communique, 11 October 1973

The two sides recognized that to conclude a peace treaty by resolving the yet unresolved problems remaining since World War II would contribute to the establishment of truly good-neighbourly relations between the two countries and conducted negotiations on matters concerning the content of such a peace treaty. The two sides agreed to continue negotiations for the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two countries at an appropriate time during 1974.

Appendix D

VITA

John P. Clements was born March 9, 1966 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. John was the first of four children born to John and Jacqueline Clements. He attended public schools in Mt. Lebanon, PA and graduated from Mt. Lebanon Senior High School in 1984 with honors. Mr. Clements then went on to attend the University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown (UPJ) in Johnstown, PA from 1984 to 1988. He graduated from UPJ in April of 1988 with a B.A. in Broad Social Sciences with a concentration in Geography. While at UPJ, in addition to graduating with honors, he was inducted into Who's Who Among Students in American Universities & Colleges. Mr. Clements was also conferred the National Council for Geographic Education "Award for Excellence of Scholarship" and was selected as a Social Sciences Division Scholar.

Mr. Clements entered the graduate program in geography at VPI & SU in September of 1988. He completed his Master of Science degree in May of 1990. While at VPI & SU he was inducted into the Gamma Theta Upsilon International Geographic Honor Society Eta Zeta Chapter. He also had the opportunity to present professional papers at various academic conferences and meetings including a paper entitled "Malaysian Development and the Radical Dependency Model" and a paper entitled "Japan and the Soviet Union: the Northern

Territories Dispute."

Mr. Clements intends to further his interests in geography by pursuing a career in the intelligence community as a geographic analyst. He would also like to eventually go on to obtain a Ph.D. in Geography.

John P. Clements