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The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1600-2000, Volume
II: The Political-Diplomatic Dimension, 1931-2000 (review)

Thomas W. Burkman

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Women's Fund was very carefully structured to be funded by and administered by private groups and individuals with the government making an annual "contribution" of ¥300 million. The money collected including private donations since 1995 only amounts to just over four and a half million dollars. These funds were to be made available as "atonement" to the surviving *ianfu*. In fact, in seven years only 266 individuals in South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, and the Netherlands have taken money from the fund. The great majority of the surviving foreign *ianfu* and their respective governments have maintained that they must have direct payment from the Japanese government together with official apologies (*International Herald Tribune*, November 22, 2002).

In May 2003, the Asian Women's Fund announced that it would cease "atonement" payments and would devote the remaining money to current issues facing women, such as domestic violence. Further, what has never been publicly revealed is that money from the Asian Women's Fund has been used to support graduate students of a number of Japanese academics whose names appear as supporters of the Fund. Most of these same academics view Yoshimi and Tanaka with contempt and malign them as leftist traitors for their "scandalous" writing.

It is, I believe, a given that sexual slavery was a heinous practice and that women were thoroughly victimized by it. "Drugstore paperbacks" can and readily do describe the specific horrors of Japanese military prostitution. Nor, I believe, is the immorality of the system at issue. What is needed, therefore, is a comprehensive, insightful, contextual history of female sexual slavery in Japan with appropriate interpretation and analysis. Unfortunately, neither of these books fulfills that requirement. Rather, what both authors have written is history as polemics. There is a tremendous amount of heat in both books but not a great deal of light. Serious historians will have to wait for a dispassionate, scholarly treatment of the *ianfu mondai*.

The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1600–2000, Volume II: The Political-Diplomatic Dimension, 1931–2000. Edited by Ian Nish and Yōichi Kibata. Palgrave, New York, 2001. xi, 317 pages. \$69.95.

Reviewed by
THOMAS W. BURKMAN
University at Buffalo

A century ago, Japan and Great Britain concluded the momentous Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the first alliance between a Western and a non-Western nation on an equal footing. This alliance served as the backbone of Japanese

diplomacy for more than two decades and endowed the Anglo-Japanese relationship with a sense of importance that endures today despite the intervention of some dark years. In commemoration of this alliance, leading scholars of the British-Japanese relationship met at three workshops in 1996–98 and contributed to five volumes of a series, *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1600–2000*. The volumes in Japanese are published by the University of Tokyo Press. The volume herein reviewed is the second in the series and the first to appear in English. Volume I, also edited by Nish and Kibata, treats Anglo-Japanese relations up to 1931; the other three address military, economic, and cultural relations.

Ian Nish had a lengthy career at the University of London and is without peer the dean of historical scholarship on the dealings of the two empires. His two books on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance are classics, and he has edited and coedited other collections of essays on the Japanese-American relationship. Kibata Yōichi is a professor at the University of Tokyo and also well published in the Anglo-Japanese field. The chapters of the book they edit are roughly paired treatments of six similar themes and time frames by Japanese and British academics.

The first set of chapters deals with the years between Mukden and Pearl Harbor. Kibata Yōichi, following earlier arguments by Hosoya Chihiro, posits genuine alternatives to the steady alienation and drift toward war, and lays out several significant forks in the road between 1934 and 1937. These include a Neville Chamberlain proposal for a nonaggression pact, British economic missions which sought to protect British business interests in China, and Japanese initiatives by Yoshida Shigeru and Satō Naotake in 1936–37. Anthony Best downplays these forays by emphasizing rather the significance of the economic and ideological factors that drove Japan and Britain apart. The authors agree that after Japan began all-out war in China in 1937, Britain would have incurred much higher risks had it ventured rapprochement with Japan. Japan's ties with Germany and anti-Japanese attitudes in Washington left no room for Britain to maneuver.

In the next pair of essays, Ishii Osamu and John Sharkey address the economic factors that influenced the prewar relationship. Japan, because of industrial efficiency and lower labor costs compared to its manufacturing competitors, expanded its imports of raw cotton and exports of finished textiles in the 1930s. Japan obtained much of its raw cotton from the British Empire and likewise sold much of its product to British colonies. While cotton manufacturers in Britain clamored successfully for discriminatory tariffs and quotas on Japanese goods, Japan in retaliation threatened boycotts of raw cotton from British-controlled areas. Ishii details the ongoing Anglo-Japanese disputes over the cotton trade which heightened the political tension between the two countries. Sharkey adds much detail on the maneuverings of the Lancashire interests, Indian trade issues, and the oil trade, but

concludes that economic questions were subordinate to political and military issues in the Anglo-Japanese estrangement of that decade.

A chapter by Ikeda Kiyoshi and another by Peter Lowe and Ian Nish deal with relations between the two empires during the Pacific War. Japan's Imperial Headquarters envisioned the defeat of Britain through Japanese conquest of British Southeast Asian colonies, a Japanese-German encirclement of India, and a German invasion of the British Isles. But Germany's reverses in its invasion of the Soviet Union and America's attacks on Japanese supply routes rendered these ambitions pipe dreams. Ikeda's contribution is basically a review of Japanese battle and political strategy for Burma and India—all of which failed except for the symbolic achievement of marking the retreat of the British Empire from Asia. Lowe and Nish, acknowledging indebtedness to the scholarship of the late Christopher Throne, deal mostly with British-American diplomacy regarding the conduct of the war. Though the British wartime role was muted by American predominance and the British legacy of colonialism, Britain undertook major tasks after Japanese surrender to remove the Japanese military and reconstruct Southeast Asia. A chapter by Sybilla Jane Flower provides heretofore unpublished information on the treatment of 67,000 British prisoners of war. The POW issue recurs throughout the remainder of the book, as bitter British memories of the hardships of captured soldiers and civilians would color attitudes toward Japan to the end of the twentieth century.

In the postwar years to 1960, both Japan and Great Britain were recovering from war destruction and adjusting to the loss of empire. An essay by Peter Lowe focuses on the Allied Occupation and the British fear of revived trade competition, particularly in Southeast Asia. In the occupation, the British were best able to assert influence in the process of drafting the peace treaty, even though treaty-making was fraught with frustration over American insistence that Japan recognize the Republic of China on Taiwan as the legitimate government of China. A chapter by Tanaka Takahiko focuses on Japan's effort through the 1950s to reassert itself as an international political force. Admission to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1955 and efforts by Prime Ministers Hatoyama Ichirō and Kishi Nobusuke to establish Japanese autonomy in relations with the People's Republic of China evoked anxieties in London and required careful discussions with Britain. The cold war and dependence on the United States on the part of both Japan and Britain set the international context of this era. Elevated Japanese stature was indicated in 1958 when Japan was appointed a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council, but Tanaka argues that Japan's achievement of political autonomy never reached expectations, and the nation shifted its focus in the 1960s to becoming an economic powerhouse.

The last two chapters of the book—by Kuroiwa Tōru and Christopher Braddick—treat the 1960s to the present, a time in which Japan has tried to

emerge from its postwar era. Symbolic were a new Anglo-Japanese commercial treaty in 1962—the first since before the war—Emperor Showa's visit to Britain in 1971, and the queen's coming to Japan in 1975. The emperor's remarks in London avoided reference to the war, but the press and POW groups did not allow the public to forget it. As in the 1930s, Japan was increasing its exports, and charges of dumping increased tensions in the mid-1970s. Japan imposed restraints on its exporters in an effort to curb trade surpluses.

All the essays are well researched and written, and fit comfortably into the style of conventional diplomatic history. The organizational structure gives some variant perspectives on the treated eras. While it is hoped that the volume on cultural relations will address the role of the arts, popular culture, and values in Anglo-Japanese relations, there is no evidence in the present volume of cross-fertilization with cultural history. The work would benefit from a concluding, comprehensive essay and fuller information about the contributors.

Overarching themes include trade friction, British anxiety over Japanese relations with China, and the hegemonic shadow of the United States. Frequently, spokespersons on both sides have appealed to a presumed legacy of affinity between the two countries; but as Braddick writes, the emotional bond is felt mostly on the Japanese side. The two nations have seen their vital political and economic interests alternately mesh and clash over the past 70 years. The Nish/Kibata volume goes a long way to clarify the vicissitudes of that interaction.

From Imperial Myth to Democracy: Japan's Two Constitutions, 1889–2002. By Lawrence W. Beer and John M. Maki. University Press of Colorado, Boulder, 2002. xiv, 234 pages. \$45.00, cloth; \$17.95, paper.

Reviewed by
YASUO HASEBE
University of Tokyo

With the help of American “collaboration,” Japan adopted a new constitution immediately after World War II¹ and subsequently transformed itself from an expansionist empire into an affluent, peace-loving democracy. Ja-

1. Beer and Maki use the term “collaboration” to characterize the American role in the drafting and adoption of the Constitution of Japan, but it can be argued that the American role extended beyond that implied by this polite term. See, for example, my essay “The August Revolution Thesis and the Making of the Constitution of Japan,” in Werner Krawietz, Enrico Pattaro, and Alice Erh-Soon Tay, eds., *Rule of Law: Political and Legal Systems in Transition*, eds. *Rechtstheorie*, Beiheft 17 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1997), pp. 335–42.