



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Hopporyodo kosho hiroku : ushinawareta gotabino kikai. The inside story of the negotiations on the northern territories

Togo, K.

Citation

Togo, K. (2009, May 26). *Hopporyodo kosho hiroku : ushinawareta gotabino kikai. The inside story of the negotiations on the northern territories*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/13810>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/13810>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Stellingen

Behorende bij het proefschrift *Hopporyodo Kosho Hiroku: Ushinawareta Gotabino Kikai*

The Inside Story of the Negotiations on the Northern Territory: Five Lost Windows of Opportunity

Kazuhiko Togo

1. The first missed opportunity was under Gorbachev in 1986-88, while the rigidity of the Cold War still deeply affected the relationship between Japan and the Soviet Union. In this window, relations could have been manipulated by Russian political forces.
2. The second missed opportunity under Gorbachev was in 1989: some structural rigidity on the side of Japanese policy makers might have hampered the faster development of the relationship. The author learned lessons from this delay.
3. Concerning the third missed opportunity, under Yeltsin in 1992, the author questions seriously whether there was a failure in policy choices on the Japanese side, having learned insufficiently from past experiences.
4. The fourth missed opportunity was under Yeltsin in 1997-98: the Japanese side learned lessons from past negotiations and did not hesitate to bring forward a courageous proposal to break the impasse. President Yeltsin was impressed by his proposal, but the Russian side as a whole did not accept it.
5. When the negotiations took place in 2000-01 between Prime Minister Mori and President Putin, the author proposed another flexible approach, taking into account what was realistically achievable with Russia. The negotiations proceeded unexpectedly quickly and effectively but then collapsed due to Japan's domestic situation.
6. From the standpoint of some theories of International Relations, the essence of the territorial issue emerges from a nation's concept of honour and its search for identity. To the extent that identity is a critical factor which governs international relations under constructivism, the analysis of this thesis has a constructivist orientation.
7. Furthermore the author puts particular importance on the role of individuals, leaders and their supporting groups in the formulation of state-to-state relationships. The importance given to the perceptions of leaders fits well with constructivism's model of the world.
8. Insights from the theoretical perspectives of Realism and Liberalism also inform this thesis. The author takes into account structural factors, which played a certain role in the demise of the Soviet Union/Russian Federation. But, more than these structural factors, the perceptions of leaders and the role of individuals are highlighted as an analytical framework.
9. The eclectic approach to International Relations theory (as described above) has some common ground with the field of Foreign Policy Analysis, which focuses on decision-making processes, particularly under a crisis situation.
10. The four articles in the Annex deal with the issue of historical memory, focussing attention on the role of Japan as perpetrator during WWII. Since the territorial issue is perceived by some as an issue of victimhood, the historical memory issue can be considered as the opposite side of the same coin of the psychological impact of WWII.