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EISAKU SATŌ, JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER, 1964–72

OKINAWA, FOREIGN RELATIONS, DOMESTIC
POLITICS AND THE NOBEL PRIZE

Ryuji Hattori

Translated by Graham B. Leonard



Eisaku Satō, Japanese Prime Minister, 1964–72

This book is a biography of Eisaku Satō (1901–75), who served as prime minister of Japan from 1964 to 1972, before Prime Minister Abe, the longest uninterrupted premiership in Japanese history. The book focuses on Satō's management of Japan's relations with the United States and Japan's neighbors in East Asia, where Satō worked to normalize relations with South Korea and China. It also covers domestic Japanese politics, particularly factional politics within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), where Satō, as the founder of what would become the largest LDP faction, was at the center of LDP politics for decades. The book highlights Satō's greatest achievement – the return of Okinawa from United States occupation – for which, together with the establishment of the non-nuclear principles, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the only Japanese to receive the prize.

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Foreword

Satō Eisaku was a politician who could take pride in having served as prime minister for 2,797 days, the longest uninterrupted administration in Japanese history. The Satō government stayed in office for an uninterrupted seven years, eight months from 1964 to 1972. This period, stretching from the middle of Japan's period high-speed economic growth to its end can be regarded as a single era.

His greatest accomplishment, something he poured his heart and soul into, was the reversion of Okinawa to Japanese administration. His government also saw the normalization of relations between Japan and South Korea and the establishment of the three non-nuclear principles, efforts which led to Satō becoming the only Japanese to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Japan's shinkansen and road networks were expanded, and Expo '70, the country's first international exposition, was held in Osaka, attracting sixty-four million visitors. There were also negative aspects to high-speed economic growth, and strains such as pollution and regional disparities became apparent. This period saw the peak of student protests at universities and the rise of "reformist local governments" (*kakushin jichitai*) that opposed Satō's party, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).

Satō's predecessor, Ikeda Hayato, had pushed forward with his "income-doubling plan." Satō instead ran for the LDP presidency, calling for "social development" (*shakai kaihatsu*), equitable development in areas like urban planning and transportation to correct the strains caused by high-speed economic growth. This strategy had been developed by "S-Operation" (Satō's brain trust) as a way to compete with Ikeda. At the center of S-Operation was Kusuda Minoru, a former reporter at the *Sankei Shimbun*, who would become Satō's chief secretary when he was prime minister. While "social development" lacked the flashiness of Ikeda's income-doubling plan, it matched Satō's character. Satō wanted to protect others, and this policy was intended to alleviate the negative aspects of high-speed economic growth.

While it is difficult to grasp a true picture of the man, Satō was warm-hearted and the leader of a large faction within the LDP. This difficulty is reflected in the large number of nicknames he received. Rarely is a politician as multifaceted as Satō was. Some of the major nicknames he received were "Satō the human resources expert" (*jinji no Satō*), "sharp-eared Eisaku" (*hayamimi Eisaku*), and

“one-on-one Satō” (*sashi no Satō*). And his political approach was characterized as “the politics of waiting” (*machi no seiji*).

His unwillingness to reveal his true intentions drove reporters mad and led to him having a reputation as a schemer. Hence his nickname of “the old tanuki of Awashima” and why it was whispered that “there are no scoops to be had in Awashima.” (Awashima refers to the area of Setagaya where Satō lived in Tokyo.) There were also those like Nakasone Yasuhiro who criticized Satō’s government for being a “one-sided conservative cabinet” (*uyoku katahai naikaku*). Satō had never lacked for nicknames; during his time at the Ministry of Railways, he was first known for being “slow-footed” (*donsoku*) but later came to be called “triple-jump Eisaku” (*sandan-tobi no Eisaku*).

So why should we discuss Satō today?

First, he can be regarded as an indispensable figure when considering the origins of the LDP, the party at the center of Japanese politics for almost all of the postwar period. Satō belonged to the conservative mainstream (*hoshu honryū*) faction associated with Yoshida Shigeru from the beginning of the Liberal Party era. As the younger brother of Kishi Nobusuke, he was also the great-uncle of Abe Shinzō. While a distant relative of Yoshida, it was his uncle Matsuoka Yōsuke who Satō greatly admired in the prewar period. Matsuoka was a diplomat and member of the House of Representatives who would go on to serve as foreign minister under Konoe Fumimaro.

Second, Satō’s “brain trust politics” (as exemplified by his use of S-Operation and the Council on Okinawan and Other Problems) can be considered a predecessor of the Kantei-oriented politics that draw attention today. Satō’s Kantei-led policymaking not only led to him having the longest uninterrupted administration in Japanese history, but it is also what made him seem like a “true prime minister.” When we hear those words, we envision a politician who is almost aggravatingly tough and audacious, whose mere presence is intimidating. Satō was truly that kind of man.

Third, his greatest accomplishment in office was achieving the reversion of Okinawa to Japanese administration, a feat that serves as a cornerstone of US-Japan relations. It is known that Wakaizumi Kei, a professor at Kyoto Sangyō University, acted as a secret emissary for Satō during the negotiations over this. The creation of a secret agreement over nuclear weapons between Satō and Nixon, something that became a major issue, can be entirely attributed to Satō’s decision to use Wakaizumi in this way. Satō’s nature was to be cautious in all things, and he liked to be secretive, aspects of his personality that were likely factors behind this decision.

Starting with the Introduction, I want to trace Satō’s life to look for the underlying causes for the means used in the reversion of Okinawa, beginning with the formation of his personality in his early life. Prior to entering politics, Satō served as a bureaucrat in the Ministry of Railways. He was director of the General Railway Bureau during the Occupation (a position equivalent to president of the later Japan National Railways) and ultimately rose to be administrative vice-minister of transportation.

I would like to closely analyze Satō's "social development" policy and the reversion of Okinawa using sources such as the Kusuda Minoru Files that were made public in 2016. These are a voluminous set of documents from Satō's Kantei that are viewable online. In reviewing the reversion of Okinawa, I make use of many foreign ministry and American resources as I examine the negotiations between the US and Japan and how these were related to Wakaizumi.

To learn more about Satō's personality, I will look at the views of Satō held by the media and his fellow politicians such as Yoshida Shigeru and his older brother Kishi Nobusuke. But I will also take into account those of his wife, Hiroko. The two were betrothed at a young age, and she was intimately familiar with both Satō and Kishi from childhood.

Tracing Satō's footsteps means capturing the image of one of the prime ministers of the LDP's golden age and returning to the beginning of modern US-Japan relations such as the reversion of Okinawa.

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Map of Japan



Source: Adapted from Maximilian Dörrbecker/CC-BY-SA-3.0

Factional Alignments of Notable LDP Politicians, 1955–1972

Aichi Kiichi	Yoshida faction → Satō faction leader
Fujiyama Aiichirō	Kishi faction → Faction leader
Fukuda Takeo	Kishi faction → Faction leader
Hashimoto Tomisaburō	Yoshida faction → Satō faction leader
Hatoyama Ichirō	Faction leader
Hirokawa Kōzen	Faction leader
Hori Shigeru	Yoshida faction → Satō faction leader
Ikeda Hayato	Yoshida faction → Faction leader
Ishibashi Tanzan	Hatoyama faction → Faction leader
Ishida Hirohide	Hatoyama faction → Ishibashi faction → Faction leader
Ishii Mitsujirō	Yoshida faction → Faction leader
Kawashima Shōjirō	Faction leader
Kishi Nobusuke	Faction leader
Kōno Ichirō	Hatoyama faction → Faction leader
Maeo Shigesaburō	Yoshida faction → Ikeda faction → Faction leader
Masutani Shūji	Yoshida faction → Ikeda faction
Matsumura Kenzō	Faction leader
Matsuno Raizō	Yoshida faction → Satō faction leader
Miki Bukichi	Hatoyama faction
Miki Takeo	Shigemitsu faction → Faction leader
Miyazawa Kiichi	Yoshida faction → Ikeda faction
Mizuta Mikio	Ōno faction → Funada faction → Faction leader
Nakasone Yasuhiro	Kōno faction → Faction leader
Nishimura Eiichi	Yoshida faction → Satō faction leader
Ogata Taketora	Yoshida faction → Faction leader
Ōhira Masayoshi	Ikeda faction → Maeo faction → Faction leader
Ōno Banboku	Faction leader
Shigemitsu Mamoru	Faction leader
Tanaka Kakuei	Yoshida faction → Satō faction leader → Faction leader



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Introduction – a brilliant clan

Matsuoka Yōsuke and the three Satō brothers: Ichirō, Nobusuke, and Eisaku

The third son of a Sake Brewer

Satō Eisaku was born on March 27, 1901, in Tabuse, Yamaguchi. He was the third son of Satō Hidesuke and his wife Moyo and their seventh child overall; in addition to his two older brothers, he also had four older sisters. He would eventually be followed by three more girls, making ten children in all: three boys and seven girls.

The Satō family originally lived in the city of Hagi where they served as vassals of the Mōri, the local daimyō family. They moved to Tabuse during the time of Eisaku's great-grandfather Nobuhiro. His parents told Eisaku that Nobuhiro had been "a pupil of Yoshida Shōin," one of Japan's most famous reformist intellectuals of the late Edo period. But given that Nobuhiro was fifteen years Shōin's senior, this claim seems likely to have been a mistake on their part.

Following the Meiji Restoration, Nobuhiro worked for the governor of Shimane prefecture from 1876 to 1877. He passed away a year before Eisaku was born.

Nobuhiko, Eisaku's grandfather, was Nobuhiro's eldest son and a scholar of the Chinese classics. He served as a member of the Yamaguchi prefectural assembly and predeceased his father by two years.

Eisaku's mother, Moyo, was Nobuhiko's eldest daughter. She established a new branch of the Satō family after marrying and was granted the rights to a sake brewery held by the family. Eisaku was thus born the third son of a minor sake brewer.

His father Hidesuke was the third son of Kishi Yōzō (another resident of Tabuse) and was adopted into the Satō family when he married Moyo. The Kishi had also previously been a samurai family in Hagi, albeit a higher ranked one than the Satō.

Hidesuke had a very serious disposition and, perhaps realizing that he was not well-suited to being a brewer, he went to work as a civil servant for the Yamaguchi prefectural government. Hidesuke and Moyo's first two sons Ichirō and Nobusuke were born after the family had relocated from Tabuse to Yamaguchi for his work.

By the time of Eisaku's birth, however, Hidesuke had resigned from the prefectural government due to circumstances and returned to Tabuse to take over

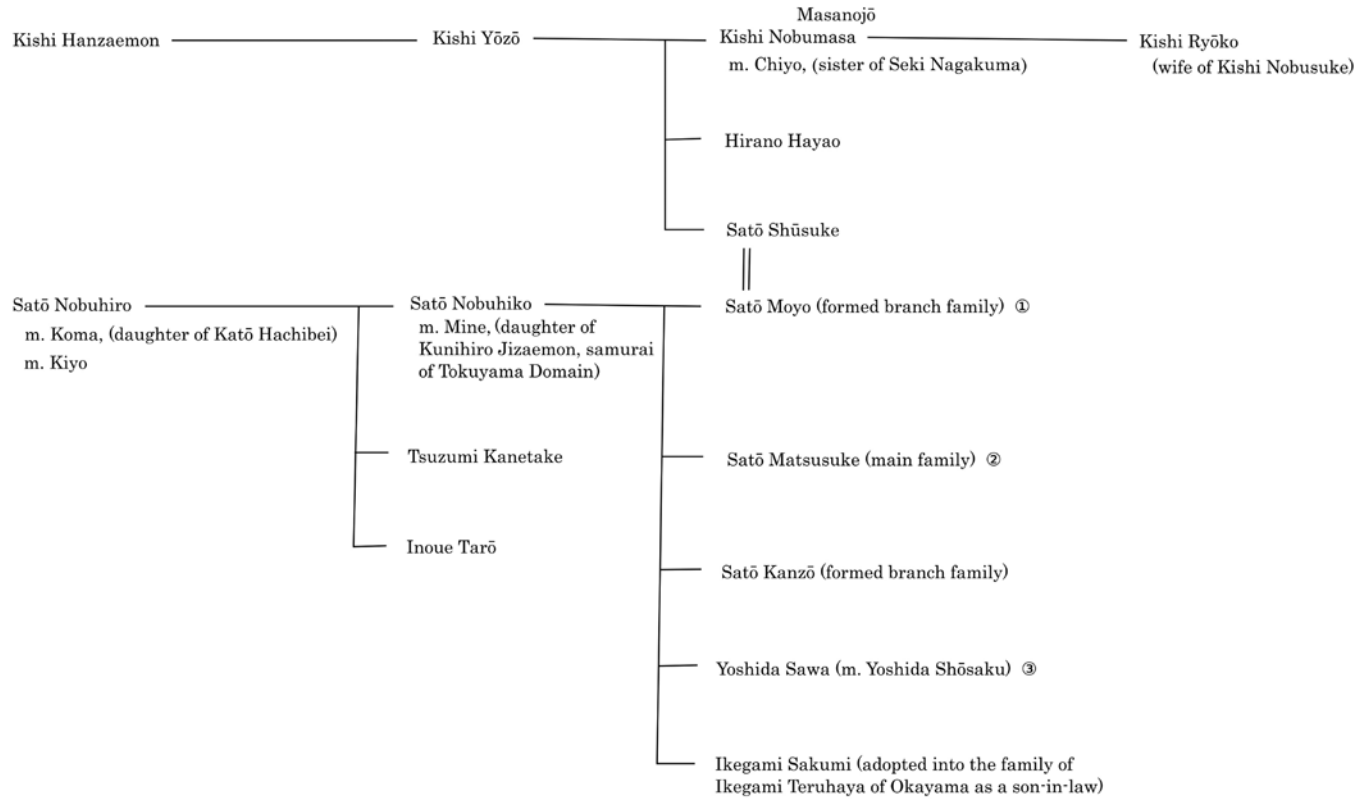


Figure 0.1 Satō Family Tree

Source: Yamaguchi Society for Local History, *Satō Kansaku Tebikae* [Notes on Satō Kansaku], (privately published by Satō Eisaku, 1975), 176–179

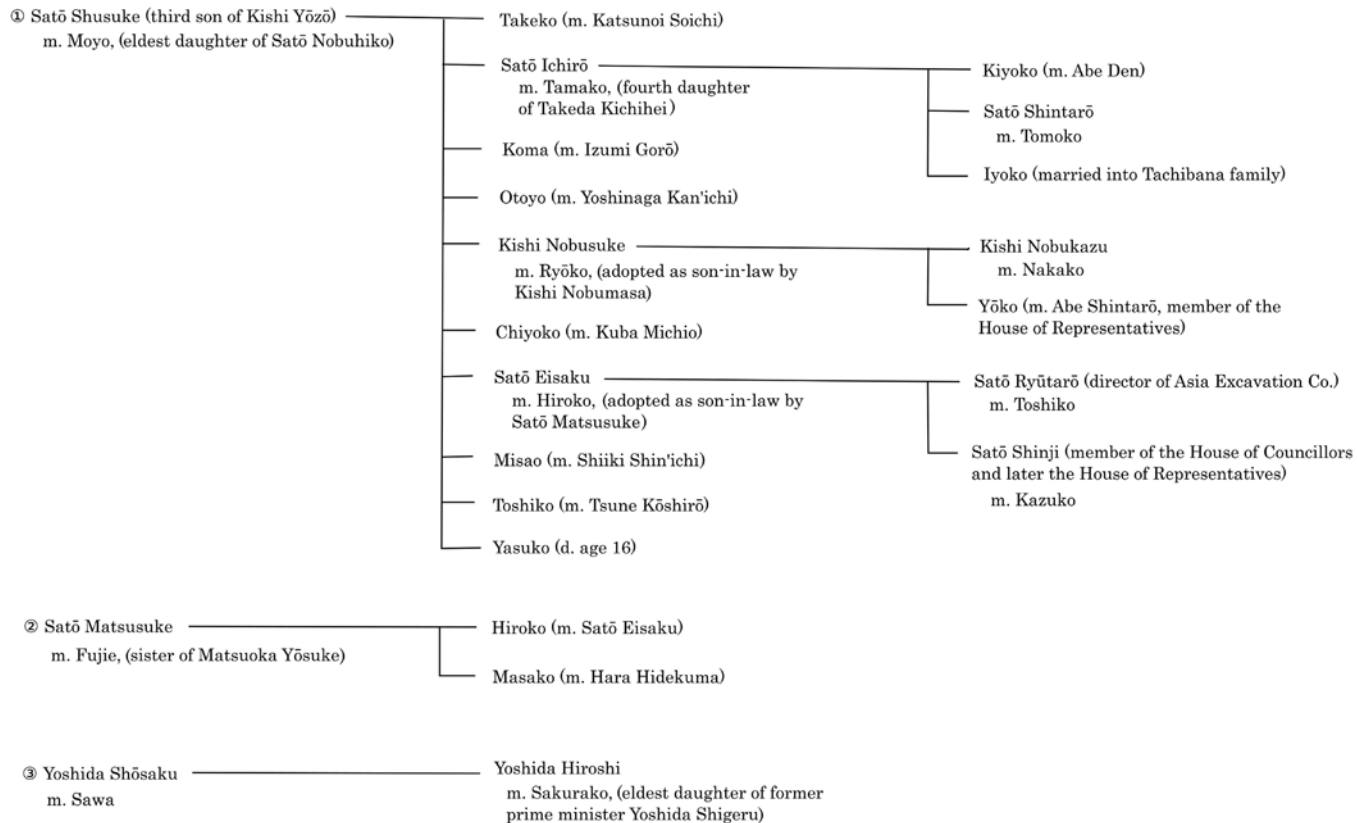


Figure 0.1 (Continued)

4 *Introduction – a brilliant clan*

the brewery. According to Eisaku, his father was “a man of few words who truly loved studying. I suspect that the reason that I so rarely speak is because I share his nature.”

But Eisaku’s most vivid memories of his childhood were not of the taciturn Hidesuke but rather of Moyo and her passion for education. He wrote that

my mother married at a young age and formed her own branch of the family. She took charge of not only her children’s educations but also those of her younger brothers and sisters. I still admire that she was so strict when it came to learning despite our being in a quite rural area and the fact that she hadn’t received all that much education herself.

Moyo was an extremely strict disciplinarian, and she applied that to her teaching. Eisaku was given to pranks as a child, and she frequently locked him in the cellar of the brewery storeroom as a punishment. Perhaps this is why, despite being the son of a brewer, he never really developed a taste for alcohol himself.

Two excellent older brothers – Ichirō and Nobusuke

Eisaku had two older brothers, Ichirō and Nobusuke. Ichirō was twelve years older, an entire cycle of the Chinese zodiac. By the time that Eisaku was old enough to be aware of his surroundings, Ichirō was already attending the Imperial Japanese Naval Academy in Etajima, Hiroshima. He graduated at the top of his class (a feat he would go on to repeat at the Naval War College) and eventually reached the rank of vice admiral. While Ichirō never made it to full admiral, it still seems fair to say that he was among the pinnacle of the navy elite.

Ichirō graduated as part of the Naval War College’s eighteenth class in November 1920. Only a select few attended the school, and there only twenty-nine students in his class (most of whom went on to become admirals). Nomura Naokuni, who came in second in the class behind Ichiro, would become a full admiral and serve as Tōjō Hideki’s naval minister.

Busy with his naval duties, Ichirō returned home only rarely. He was a man unwilling to accept misconduct by others and unafraid to speak frankly to his superiors, personality traits that he passed on to Eisaku to an extent.

Ichirō was an important figure for the young Eisaku, and his naval career sometimes made Eisaku think of joining the army. Chōshū (Yamaguchi), the area of Japan in which he had been born, had a strong army tradition, producing such notable army officers as Yamagata Aritomo, Katsura Tarō, and Terauchi Masatake (all of whom also served as prime minister). But while Eisaku may have appeared to be in robust health at first glance, he frequently suffered from tonsillitis. He would abandon his dreams of joining the army while he was in middle school.

Eisaku’s other older brother, Nobusuke, was five years older and would later be adopted into the Kishi family. Eisaku was often told by his mother to “follow your older brother’s example” and would strive to match his accomplishments.

Nobusuke was intelligent, a skillful writer, and a gifted artist. He frequently helped Eisaku with his homework; when he did Eisaku's calligraphy work for him, he would do so using his left hand. It would come out too well if he used his right, but he found that it came out just right with his left.

Eisaku would later write that "I was raised in a strict home. Looking back, I was frequently told to imitate my talented older brothers. That it can be a curse to have talented older brothers is something that I personally experienced."

While he was proud of his supremely talented brothers, he also developed an inferiority complex toward them that would, over time, affect the development of his personality. His personality especially differed greatly from that of Nobusuke, who would also go on to become a bureaucrat and politician. While Nobusuke was cheerful and talkative, Eisaku was quiet and rarely allowed his true feelings to show.

"He had a better disposition"

How did Nobusuke view Eisaku? Years later, he sat for an interview with the *Tokyo Shimbun*:

When my younger brother was a kid, he'd head out to fish with a bunch of other kids in tow, all his age or a little younger. He'd always divide things fairly, especially for the younger kids. He was meticulous about taking care of them.

In terms of personality, I was the impatient one, unable to restrain myself once I got something into my head. But he was always careful about things, waiting until the time was ripe. In that sense, I think he had a better disposition as a politician than I did . . .

His nature to be cautious and to look after others stuck with him to the end.

What were relations like between the three brothers? Nobusuke added:

My older brother was the smartest of us by far. The people in the navy started talking about how brilliant he was as soon as he entered the naval academy. I was the next smartest. And my younger brother wasn't particularly brilliant <laughs>.

But when it came to politics, things were the other way around. My older brother was like an academic; he was on the command track (*gunrei*) in the navy and wasn't involved in military administration (*gunsei*). As a politician, my younger brother was the best of us. That's why when I jokingly brag that "I'm the most balanced of us, with strengths to compensate for my weaknesses." But when I'm being humble, I say that "I'm the worst of us, unwilling to pick a side." As a politician, I couldn't compare to my younger brother.

This interview was given in June 1975, shortly after Eisaku's death. He was speaking from the heart when he said that "judging from my own experiences

[as prime minister], it must have been tough for [Eisaku] to do it for almost eight years. That he managed it shows how hard he worked and how incredible his aptitude for politics was.”

Adoptive marriage – Hiroko and Eisaku

As mentioned earlier, Nobusuke and Eisaku’s father, Hidesuke, was originally from the Kishi family. As is well known, Nobusuke was adopted into that family in his third year of middle school because there were no male children to take over the family, and he thereby became Kishi Nobusuke.

But what’s less well known is that Eisaku was also adopted. This is likely because Eisaku was adopted by the main branch of the Satō family and therefore did not have to change his last name, making the adoption less apparent.

The heir to the main branch had been Matsusuke, Eisaku’s uncle. Matsusuke was a graduate of Tokyo Imperial University’s medical school and went on to become a professor of obstetrics and gynecology at Okayama Medical University (what is now Okayama University’s medical school). He was inseparable friends with Matsuoka Yōsuke, a diplomat who shared the same hometown. When Matsuoka asked Matsusuke to marry Fujie, his younger sister, Matsusuke agreed.

Recognizing his nephew Nobusuke’s talent, Matsusuke asked him to live in his home. This led Nobusuke to attend Okayama Middle School.

Matsusuke’s younger sister Sawa married Yoshida Shōsaku, a history teacher at Yamaguchi Middle School. Their son Hiroshi would go on to become a diplomat and married Sakurako, the eldest daughter of another diplomat, Yoshida Shigeru. As Hiroshi’s cousin, Eisaku was therefore a distant relative by marriage of Yoshida Shigeru.

Matsusuke and Fujie had two daughters, Hiroko and Masako, before he died of acute pneumonia at the age of thirty-three. Nobusuke was taken in by Shōsaku, transferring to Yamaguchi Middle School in his third year and then continuing on to the First Higher School. Fujie was now a widow at the young age of twenty-five; Hiroko was three and Masako less than a year old.

Mourning the death of her younger brother, Moyo welcomed Fujie, Hiroko, and Masako into her home. The Satō family had swelled in size, and it was Moyo who maintained control over this complicated family, earning her the nickname of the “Empress Dowager.” Eisaku, six years Hiroko’s senior, thus lived with her and the others from the age of ten.

As Hiroko’s uncle, the diplomat Matsuoka was a regular guest at the boisterous Satō household and would drink Old Parr and expound at length about the state of the world. The adults and children would make excuses and leave quickly once he got started, leaving Hiroko behind. If she made the mistake of making appropriate responses as he spoke, it would put him in a good mood and cause him to speak more and more flamboyantly.

Because Hiroko had no brothers and her father had died prematurely, the main branch of the Satō family now needed an adopted son. Thus, when Eisaku was in

his fifth year at Yamaguchi Middle School, it was decided by Moyo, Matsuoka, and Fujie that he would become Hiroko's fiancé and inherit the main branch.

While the betrothal was something that their parents had decided, Eisaku was not as dissatisfied with this arrangement as one might imagine as he had secretly developed feelings for Hiroko. His relatives laughed and told each other that "Eisaku was a lucky man. I mean, he liked Hiroko anyway and then everything just fell into place."

Because Hiroko's mother Fujie was Matsuoka's younger sister, he took care of the couple, including covering Eisaku's school costs. He told Hiroko that "Eisaku's no good with money. If you ever have any money problems, come tell me."

But it was Nobusuke that Hiroko had had her eyes on, not Eisaku. Nobusuke, a student at the First Higher School, was quite popular among his female relatives at the time. According to Hiroko,

when [Nobusuke] came home, wearing that cap with oak leaf badge of the First Higher School, all the girls came running. Not only was he handsome with a light complexion, he was proactive. In the words of today, he was "cool."

Eisaku liked to head off into the fields and mountains by himself; none of the girls paid any attention to him at the time. Again, according to Hiroko, his "behavior was a world apart from the dreams cherished by young girls. He was especially good at catching eels and would often bring back large ones, which he would then clean and cook himself."

Eisaku's inferiority complex toward Nobusuke and Hiroko's feelings toward him were so obvious that they were common knowledge among his secretaries when Eisaku later became prime minister.

Matsuoka Yōsuke's "Bugle"

The three Satō brothers were a constant source of bragging for the talkative Matsuoka. Ichirō, the future vice admiral, was proficient in English and French, and Matsuoka took pride as a diplomat in the active part that Ichirō took in international conferences. He also praised Nobusuke after he became an official with the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce by saying that "with other people, you have to explain things for two hours before they finally get it. With this guy, you only need twenty minutes."

He similarly complimented Eisaku's character, telling others after he entered the Ministry of Railways that "he's wasted on railways. He would've been a wonderful diplomat. I mean, he's got nerves of steel." When Eisaku formally became engaged to Hiroko after his entrance to the ministry, Matsuoka even went so far as to tell him that "you'll be prime minister before long," despite the fact that Eisaku was just an insignificant railways official at the time.

The extremely talkative Matsuoka's tendency to spout a nonstop mixture of truth and lies gained him the nicknames of "the bugle" and "the windbag." And this tendency would be pushed to the limit when he was talking about the Satō

family. Knowledge of the three was so widespread among his peers that it was apparently even said that “if Matsuoka starts bragging about the Satō brothers, the sashimi will go bad before he’s finished.”

Ichirō was in the navy, Nobusuke in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, Eisaku in the Ministry of Railways, and Matsuoka in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Looking at the combination, they were truly a brilliant clan. And while Matsuoka would not live long enough to see it, the fact that two of the three would go on to become prime minister shows that his “bugle” was not entirely without basis.

An inarticulate leader of Brats – Eisaku at Kuniki Ordinary Elementary School

Eisaku entered Kuniki Ordinary Elementary School in April 1907. It was a small school, reminiscent of the temple schools (*terakoya*) of the Edo period. Each grade had only seventeen or so students, and because there were just three teachers (including the principal), each was in charge of multiple grades. For some subjects, multiple grades were taught together in the same class.

Furthermore, the teacher in charge of the first two grades was only a substitute teacher (*daiyō kyōin*; someone who had not received their formal teaching license). She had just graduated from a girls’ school and was only about ten years older than Eisaku.

Moyo was uneasy about the level of education the school could provide and was constantly on Eisaku to study more. But once he got home from school, he would throw his books aside and go out to play. He was a child of nature who loved to catch fish and chase birds.

His specialty was catching eels. There was a small river behind his family’s brewery called Nakanishigawa that was a favorite play spot of his. In the summer he would play at the river until he became tanned, using thin pieces of bamboo to catch eels. Come fall, he would be out in the mountains picking matsutake mushrooms.

The dark color of his skin earned him the nickname “burdock.” Later, when he was in high school, the large number of students with the last name Satō would lead to them being given nicknames based on kinds of sugar (the Japanese word for sugar also being pronounced *satō*). When this happened, Eisaku was dubbed “brown sugar.”

Unlike the social Nobusuke, Eisaku was not a gifted speaker. When he got into arguments with his friends, he would always end up giving up because he could not articulate his views. He was a mischievous child, seriously hurting one of his friends after he shoved him off a road as a joke when he was in the fifth year of elementary school.

Despite not being particularly strong, he was also the leader of a group of kids, something that speaks to his fame as one of the well-known Satō brothers. According to Eisaku,

I was able to become the leader without being strong because being the young master (*bocchan*) of the Satō family meant that everyone else would back

off. . . . Even if they became angry, they'd put up with it because I was one of the Satō brothers. And because they couldn't get mad at me, I kept pushing things farther and farther.

When he entered his sixth year of school, Moyo hired a home tutor to prepare him for the middle school entrance exams. And this was not just anybody but the vice principal of the neighboring town. Eisaku was especially good at arithmetic.

There were six prefectural middle schools in Yamaguchi; these were located in Yamaguchi, Iwakuni, Tokuyama, Hagi, Hofu, and Mitajiri. Nobusuke was studying at Yamaguchi Middle School, the most difficult of the six, and not wanting to be outdone, Eisaku also took the entrance exam for that school.

Despite being nervous about the results, he was accepted. Unlike his older brother, he did not have distinguished grades and was ranked 127 out of the 130 accepted. Looking back, he noted that he had “only barely managed to slide safely into school.” An uneasy Eisaku headed to Yamaguchi to join his brother Nobusuke.

Abandoning his dreams of the military – Yamaguchi Middle School

Yamaguchi was a small city boxed in by mountains. But even so, compared to Tabuse, it seemed like a great metropolis to Eisaku and was filled with things novel to him like “moving pictures.” Eisaku would spend five years in the city from 1913 to 1918.

Students at Yamaguchi Middle School wore a uniform with a stiff collar and hat. While Eisaku had been one of the larger kids in Tabuse, he was now the third smallest in his class (partly because he was also one of the youngest, having been born on March 27, just before the beginning of the school year). His uncle Yoshida Shōsaku was a history teacher at the school, and his brother Nobusuke, now in his fifth year, was lodging in the Yoshida home. They now took in Eisaku as well.

As touched upon earlier, Nobusuke had originally been a student at Okayama Middle School. But following the sudden death of his uncle Satō Matsusuke, he had turned to Yoshida and transferred to Yamaguchi in his third year. Because he was also adopted into the Kishi family that same year, he will be referred to as Kishi from here on, and Eisaku will be referred to as Satō.

Kishi was at the top of his class throughout middle school and also served as president of the debate club. And yet he always gave off the sense that this was easy for him; he was not a student who studied constantly. He would frequently go out at night and walk about the city. This was something that was, in theory, prohibited by the school. But Kishi would go out anyway, escaping his uncle's gaze to see movies or hang out with friends. Before heading out, he would place kendo armor inside his futon to make it seem that someone was inside and prevent his uncle from catching him. Unlike the shrewd Kishi, Satō always quietly stayed at home.

Kishi graduated at the top of his class on March 25, 1914, and went on to the First Higher School. A silver pocket watch was given out to the top graduate each year but, as a transfer student, Kishi was ineligible, and this was given to another student instead. He received a certificate of academic excellence from the principal in its place.

With this certificate, Kishi appeared glorious to Satō. He would also go on to excel at the First Higher School and Tokyo Imperial University.

Satō changed after Kishi's departure. He gradually began to go out at night and tried smoking. But even when he snuck out, he did not get up to anything more adventurous than eating novel foods like tonkatsu (fried pork cutlet).

According to his friends from school, Satō was a handsome but quiet young man who did not particularly stand out. While his grades were never at the top of the class, he was driven by an innate desire to not lose, and he managed to pull himself up to eighteenth place. Given that he had been 127th out of 130 upon entering the school, this was quite the accomplishment. It apparently set a record at the time for the most improvement in a single semester.

A friend recalled that “he was giving. If someone asked him for help with a question, he would always show them how to do it no matter how busy everyone was with exams.” While Satō was not as good a student as Kishi, he was warm-hearted and looked after others. As Kishi himself would recognize later on, this disposition made him well-suited for politics.

Satō's talents in this area would also be discovered by Yoshida Shigeru, Satō's later mentor. He gave the following assessment of Satō shortly after he stepped down as prime minister:

Kishi's smart himself, but Satō's not just quick-witted; he makes an impact. I think this is why he's so often disliked. But he's also kind-hearted in a way that belies his appearance. A politician's got to have some humanity, otherwise he's just cold-hearted and people won't follow him.

While Satō was good at math, he had trouble with gym class. Being short and lacking strength, he was unable to lift himself up onto the horizontal bar. And when his classmates, unable to just stand by, helped him up, he found himself unable to get back down. Fishing remained his favorite hobby.

Satō's time in middle school overlapped with the First World War. Yamaguchi Middle School placed importance on the cultivation of army officers, and many of its graduates went on to the Imperial Japanese Army Academy. There were also those who, like his brother Ichiro, set their sights on the naval academy. But while Satō had grown taller during his fourth and fifth years at the school, he had been unable to do anything about his delicate constitution.

Satō had no choice but to abandon his dream of becoming a counterpart for Ichirō and joining the army. He later wrote that

I wasn't well-suited for the military because I wasn't very good at physical activities. Even now there are those who see my large size and darker skin and assume that I served. But I had nothing to do with military service.

Satō would go on to become director of the Osaka Railway Bureau during the final phase of the Second World War, however, and lose many of his subordinates in air raids. This will be discussed toward the end of Chapter 1.

Having given up on a military career, Satō decided to follow Kishi's path and enter high school before studying law at a university. But unlike Kishi, he failed to gain entrance to the First Higher School and ended up attending the Fifth High School in Kumamoto instead. Five other students from his middle school accompanied him.

High school entrance exams – meeting Ikeda Hayato

Following his graduation from Yamaguchi Middle School in March 1918, Satō headed to Tokyo to devote himself to studying for the high school entrance examinations. Kishi was also in Tokyo, a student at Tokyo Imperial University. Satō stayed in the same boarding house and attended a preparatory school in Kanda.

Kishi's excellent grades meant that Satō was overwhelmed by him. He wrote that

Kishi's grades had always been outstanding and had taken him from the First Higher School to the University of Tokyo. When he chewed me out, I couldn't say a word back. Looking back on it now, I think the only reason I studied so hard was because I didn't want to lose to him.

While Satō was confident in his math skills, he was poor at English and Japanese.

I had thought that I would go to the First Higher School, since Kishi had gotten in. It was presumptuous of me. After all, despite all my effort I had only been able to make it to about tenth in my class in middle school.

At the time, there were eight high schools in Japan, and these were numbered numerically. The most challenging were the First Higher School in Tokyo and the Third Higher School in Kyoto. Satō chose the First Higher School as his first choice and the Fifth High School as his second. As all of these schools shared the same entrance examination, so it was possible to apply to two schools at the same time.

Satō took the exam in Nagoya in July while on his way home to Yamaguchi from Tokyo. It was held at the Eighth Higher School and lasted about a week. There was one other student from Yamaguchi Middle School staying in the same lodgings as Satō, as well as three students from Tadanoumi Middle School in Hiroshima. One of these was Ikeda Hayato, a future prime minister whose career would be closely tied to Satō's.

After returning home from the exam each afternoon, they would discuss how they thought they had done. Ikeda had made the same school choices as Satō.

When the exam was finally over, Ikeda invited Satō and the others to join him at a cafe. "It must have been some kind of fate that caused us to all take this exam

together. Who knows if we'll get into high school and we'll probably never have another opportunity to all get together.”

Unlike those of today, cafes of the period served alcohol and customers were served by attractive female waitresses. Ikeda was eighteen, a year older than Satō, and seemed used to going to cafes. He was also already unusually good at holding his liquor. He had Satō drink beer and liquor with him, and they passed the night having great fun.

Even though it was of course only a small gathering, it is interesting to note that it was Ikeda who assumed leadership of the group rather than Satō. Unlike the proactive Ikeda, Satō was cautious.

Satō was back in Tabuse, awaiting the exam results, when he received a telegram from Matsuoka saying, “Congratulations on getting into the Fifth High School” (Matsuoka was in Tokyo and had checked the results as soon as they were announced). This meant that he had experienced his first setback: he had failed to enter the First Higher School. But he was not surprised at the result and felt relieved that he would be able to go to the Fifth High School.

Ikeda also failed to get into the First Higher School and would end up joining Satō in Kumamoto. The two did not socialize there, however. Satō later wrote on this that “while I had socialized with Ikeda during the exam, I didn't really have anything to do with him after that. We were placed in different classes at the school and he became sick shortly after he arrived.” And it is true that Satō was in Class 1-C (German law), while Ikeda was in Class 1-B (literature). But it is inaccurate to say that Ikeda “became sick shortly after he arrived.” This is because Ikeda took a one-year absence from the school after completing the entrance procedures. He returned to Tokyo and entered the Seisoku English School to prepare for retaking the entrance exam for the First Higher School.

Ikeda would again fail to enter the First Higher School and thus enter the Fifth High School a year behind Satō. It seems likely that Satō was aware of Ikeda's second attempt and that his failure to mention it was deliberate. Satō would later enter Tokyo Imperial University and then join the Ministry of Railways. Ikeda would fail to be accepted by Tokyo Imperial University, however, and entered Kyoto Imperial University instead, joining the Ministry of Finance after graduation.

Indomitable will and simple honesty – “Bankara” Kumamoto Fifth High School

Satō shared a dorm room with five other students at the Fifth High School. The school had a *bankara* spirit of “indomitable will and simple honesty” (*gōki boku-totsu*). The term “*bankara*” (“barbarian collar”) was slang playing off of “*hai-kara*” (“high collar”; a contemporary term for Western-influenced stylishness).

The epitome of *bankara* behavior at schools was the “storm.” During a storm, those living in a dormitory would sing, dance, and make as much noise as possible. Storms were like a rite of passage in prewar Japanese high schools. They were prohibited at Satō's dormitory, but he and his friends would repeatedly

engage in them anyways. The dormitory supervisor, a teacher named Hori, would be furious at the students when they held a storm, but this did not deter Satō at all.

Far from repenting his actions, Satō found an opportunity to sneak into Hori's room while he was away. Searching through his room, Satō found the teacher's grade book. Looking through it, Satō learned that he had come in twenty-second of the forty students who had passed the entrance examination to the school. Satō would later look back on this and note that "I was right in the middle" and that such mediocrity was typical of him.

Each student's grades would be posted in the hallway at the end of each semester. Satō did well at *kanbun* (Classical Chinese as interpreted through Japanese), but his German was often full of mistakes. Satō's classmate Ōta Benjirō reminisced that

Satō was never the talkative sort, even back when we were at the Fifth High School. He usually came in about tenth out of fifty in his grades. Even back then he was imposing and had a unique atmosphere about him.

Memories of extracurricular activities that stuck with Satō included going boating with friends in the Ariake Sea and holding a debate club meeting on the summit of Mt. Tatsuta in Kumamoto.

After a year in the dormitory, Satō spent his remaining two years as a lodger. His landlady dubbed the large, dark-skinned boy "black sugar" (playing off his name) and "eyeball Eisaku."

Satō would return home during his school breaks. Once, while back in Tabuse, he took Hiroko for a walk along the riverbank (although this might be an exaggeration as it was the small stream in which he used to catch eels). While their engagement had been brought about by familiar circumstances, Satō had never been able to bring it up with her. But he did like her.

Always a man of few words, his heart began to race. He suddenly stopped walking and, mustering up his courage, muttered that "apparently I'm to marry you." It was the best confession of love of which the naive and taciturn young man was capable. But Hiroko's face turned red due to the suddenness, and she found herself unable to say anything.

Hiroko was a young girl who loved to read and was very different from Satō. She yearned for the world of the delicate and elegant, people like poets and actors. While she thus found the uncultured Satō all the more "lacking," she "felt that this was the path that had been chosen for me."

A secret plan for the higher civil service examination – Tokyo Imperial University

Satō entered the faculty of law at Tokyo Imperial University after graduating from the Fifth High School in 1921. At the time, the only imperial universities with law departments were in Tokyo and Kyoto. Kishi had entered the Ministry

of Agriculture and Commerce the year before, and Satō stayed at his home in Nakano in western Tokyo.

Satō majored in German law despite his lack of proficiency in the language. This is another place where Kishi's influence over him is evident.

The only reason that I majored in German law is because my older brother Kishi had done so at the First Higher School and the University of Tokyo and I wanted to mimic him. . . . [He] was the primary person advising me and often told me what to do.

There was an ideological group active at the university at the time called the Shinjikai. Founded by Akamatsu Katsumaro (later a Diet member and leftist activist) and other students of Yoshino Sakuzō, the group originally promoted democracy but later shifted toward socialism.

Satō, already a conservative by this point, recalled that he ignored the Shinjikai and similar groups completely:

At the time, an organization called the Shinjikai had appeared at the university, the precursor of today's Zengakuren (All-Japan Federation of Students' Self-Governing Associations). It was led by people like Dr. Yoshino Sakuzō. I was already pretty much a conservative from my time as a student onward, so I of course pretty much ignored that kind of thing. I shed tears of joy when I heard Dr. Uesugi's constitutional theory.

“Dr. Uesugi” refers to Uesugi Shinkichi and his constitutional theory that sovereignty lay with the Emperor. Satō found Uesugi's arguments more compelling than those of Minobe Tatsukichi and his “emperor organ theory” (the idea that the Emperor was an organ of the state rather than a power above and beyond it). Uesugi had earlier noticed Kishi's talents and sought to make Kishi his successor, but Kishi had refused. Minobe had laid out his emperor organ theory in his 1912 book *Kenpō Kōwa* (Lectures on the Constitution), bringing him into conflict with Uesugi and his theory.

In July 1923, Satō left for Mt. Togakushi in the cooler climate of Nagano to begin studying in preparation for the higher civil service examination. This test was the gateway for success as a high government official. He spent the days studying and the nights debating with friends, including Yoshida Hiroshi.

As mentioned earlier, Yoshida Hiroshi was Satō's cousin and the son of Yoshida Shōsaku (with whom Satō had stayed while he was attending Yamaguchi Middle School). He would go on to enter the foreign ministry and marry Yoshida Shigeru's eldest daughter Sakurako.

After he completed the written portion of the exam in August, Satō headed for Manuko Hot Springs in Ueda to prepare for the oral exam. He had just left when the Great Kanto Earthquake struck Tokyo at noon on September 1. Not knowing the extent of the damage, he returned to Nakano where he was thankfully welcomed by an uninjured Kishi. Heading into the city center, all Satō saw were burned-out ruins.

He finally received word in mid-October that he had passed the written portion of the exam and could take the oral exam, which he did on a late November night amid falling sleet. Despite having no confidence in his speaking ability, he somehow made it through.

There was a secret behind Satō's success on the civil service exam. Kishi had compiled excellent notes when he had taken the exam himself, and he still had those notes. By memorizing these, Satō was able to save himself the effort of making his own.

Kishi's notes proved extremely effective on the exam, and Satō would later admit that "I don't know that I would have been able to pass without those notes."

The Ministry of Railways – Matsuoka's Push

But while he had passed the civil service exam, Satō was still unconvinced that he should enter the bureaucracy, thinking that he might be better suited to business. According to him, "I didn't feel a drive to become a government official or anything. I just took the exam because that's what my friends were doing."

Kishi frequently pushed him to become an official, telling him to "join me at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry." The Ministry of Commerce and Industry was created in 1925 when the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce was divided in two (the other half becoming the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry). It thus did not actually exist in 1923 when Satō passed the exam.

But Satō did not do as Kishi wanted and instead avoided the ministry with conflicted feelings: "I wouldn't compare favorably if I worked alongside my excellent brother. It wouldn't pay off for me."

When Satō consulted Matsuoka for advice, he recommended that Satō join Nippon Yūsen, the country's largest marine shipping company and one with strong ties to the government. Matsuoka had resigned from the foreign ministry in 1921 and became a director of the South Manchuria Railway.

Matsuoka interceded on his behalf with Itō Yonejirō, the company's president. "President Itō doesn't get involved in hiring decisions often. With his support behind you, you won't need to apply anywhere else." While Satō did apply to government ministries and some private companies, the forceful Matsuoka had convinced him to work for Nippon Yūsen.

But just as Satō was to enter the company, two of his younger sisters died of illness in January 1924. And then, to make matters worse, Nippon Yūsen announced that it was canceling the decision to hire him. The shipping business was in a slump, partially due to the effects of the earthquake, and they said that they could no longer take on new employees. Satō applied to a few more companies and received an offer of employment from Nomura Cement.

But with the earthquake making employment with private businesses less stable, Satō changed his mind and decided that becoming a bureaucrat would not be so bad after all. While the hiring period for government ministries was drawing to a close, he still had time to take the interview and exam for the Ministry of Railways as they were held unusually late. The earthquake meant that Satō's

interview, conducted by Nakayama Ryūkichi, head of the ministry's Legal Section, took place in a hastily erected shack.

Because the railway was a service industry that involved interacting with customers, the Ministry of Railways preferred officials of a docile nature. The interview thus emphasized the applicant's personality. Despite knowing this, Satō was oddly argumentative for some reason. Asked about his general views on food policy, Satō answered that “that's a simple problem. With the population increasing faster than the food supply, the only thing we can do is restrict births, right?”

Satō's answer betrayed an arrogant, heartless attitude and Nakayama was appalled:

We don't want people who think like you in the railway. If a customer comes up to you, you just have to be quiet and sell them a ticket. If they have bags, you just have to put them in the car. There's no arguing allowed here. Why don't you become a lawyer or something?

Not only did Satō not back down, he replied, “Thank you very much for your opinion, but I'll choose my own occupation.”

While Satō assumed that he would not be hired following the exchange, he passed the interview. That year rumors spread within the ministry about the “kind of strange guys” who had been hired this time around, of whom Satō was assuredly one. He owed his good fortune to another intercession by Matsuoka, this time with Komatsu Kojirō, minister of railways in the Kiyoura government.

Had the Great Kanto Earthquake never struck and hurt Nippon Yūsen's business, they would not have rescinded their offer of employment to Satō. He never would have become a bureaucrat or a politician. Kishi had always wanted to become a politician and had been strongly driven to join the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. But Satō never showed any such inclination.

No doubt, becoming unable to join Nippon Yūsen was not what Satō had wanted. But the end result was a fortunate one. Many of Nippon Yūsen's ships would be sunk during the Second World War, so Satō very well may have ended up being swallowed by the sea had he joined the company.

Like Nippon Yūsen, the Ministry of Railways was involved in shipping. Its bureaucrats had stable employment, however, and did not have to go off to the front during the war. Despite these benefits, Satō's rise within the Ministry of Railways would be much slower than the career paths followed by his two brothers. But being slow is not always a bad thing. While Satō may have been tormented by an inferiority complex toward his excellent brother, the torrents of the Second World War and Japan's defeat would soon propel him past them. These developments will be discussed in depth in Chapter 1.

1 From being the “Slowpoke” of the Ministry of Railways to “Triple-Jump Eisaku”

Director Yoshida Hiroshi’s “Railroad Familism” – learning in Moji

Satō graduated from university on April 30, 1924. His graduation was later in the year than normal due to the Great Kanto Earthquake, and his entrance into the Ministry of Railways was similarly postponed until May 1. Of the 206 people who passed the higher civil service examination, 26 joined the Ministry of Railways. While the ministry was not as difficult to enter as the home or finance ministries, Satō had still made it through a very select process.

Satō was joined in his class by Ono Akira, the future president of the Kashima Rinkai Railway, and Nishio Toshio, a future managing director of the Japan Travel Bureau. There was also Kashiwara Hyōtarō, who had managed to graduate from Tokyo Imperial University while working part-time as a night watchman. This is likely from where the rumors about the “kind of strange guys” hired came.

Nishimura Eiichi, who would go on to become a leader of the Satō faction, also entered the ministry at this time. He was a graduate at Tohoku Imperial University and had majored in electrical engineering. Unlike Satō, who was in administration, he was an engineer. Nishimura would first win election to the House of Representatives in 1949, the same year as Satō.

A member of Satō’s incoming class at the ministry gave his first impression of him as follows: “He looked ordinary at first glance, but with his impressive features – thick eyebrows like Danjūrō [a kabuki actor] and sparkling eyes – I could perceive that he was not.” Appearance aside, however, there was nothing remarkable about Satō’s initial performance at the ministry.

After undergoing a brief training period at the home ministry in Tokyo, Satō and the other incoming officials were sent to railway bureaus across the country. When Personnel Section Chief Niwa Taketomo asked them where they wished to be placed, they almost all said Tokyo. Given that they needed to be distributed nationwide, this was not particularly helpful, and Niwa decided to instead have people work near their hometowns.

For Satō, this meant being placed at the Moji Railway Bureau in Fukuoka (in what is today part of Kitakyushu). His hometown of Tabuse fell within the bureau’s jurisdiction, which stretched along the San’yō Line as far as Itozaki in

eastern Hiroshima prefecture (as the Hiroshima Railway Bureau had yet to be established).

Satō was appointed a registrar for the General Affairs Section of the Moji Railway Bureau on June 3, 1924, and was dispatched to Moji Station as an assistant station master. While this position was nominally intended to assist the station master, in practice it acted as an apprenticeship for Satō as he had no experience with railways. As an apprentice, he experienced every aspect of work at the station, from serving as a ticket puncher and conductor to changing signals in signal boxes. He also worked as a fireman, feeding coal into locomotive fireboxes.

Oita Torao, director of the Moji Railway Bureau, was Satō's first boss, but he was replaced by Yoshida Hiroshi shortly after Satō's arrival. Oita taught Satō how to play auction bridge, and Satō began to regularly play cards with the other station employees. Yoshida, in contrast, liked to encourage exercise and invited Satō to play baseball.

The teams were split between those in administration (most of whom had studied law) and those in engineering (who had naturally mostly studied engineering). The administration team was dubbed the "Ahō Club" and the engineering team the "Rikō Club." Yoshida served as captain of the Ahō Club and would take Satō and the others back to his home for dinner after the game. This was something that Satō and the other young officials really looked forward to.

Satō respected Yoshida and was strongly influenced by him.

Chief Yoshida's view on life was that those who became leaders needed to have normal home lives. He considered being married one of the bare minimum qualifications for being a station master, and felt one should have children as well, if possible.

As is well-known, Satō would go on to become a disciple of Yoshida Shigeru after becoming a politician. Satō would comment to his family that he had "had two teachers named Yoshida." Yoshida Hiroshi was the less well-known of these. He was grateful until the end of his life that "the chief had pointed out my mistakes and thereby enabled me to become both a railway man and a better member of society."

And it has to be acknowledged that Satō had still not distinguished himself at this point in his life. By contrast, his eldest brother Ichirō was serving as a commander in the navy, and Kishi had already begun to stand out at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (which had been split off from the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce).

Satō did not compare favorably with his two excellent brothers' accomplishments, and rumors about him had begun to circulate in his hometown: "I'd heard that there were a lot of problems with the third Satō boy . . . he may have gone to Tokyo Imperial University but now he's a ticket puncher at Moji Station!"

This does not mean that Satō was ill-treated at his job, however. His monthly salary of seventy-five yen compared extremely favorably to that of a general railway worker; those helping to transport cargo only received about one yen a day in comparison.

Satō also received free passes for the use of second-class cars. These were the contemporary equivalent to today’s premium Green Car seating and were used only by noteworthy people. Most people rode in third-class cars. The best class of car was of course first class, but they were very limited in number.

Satō would board a nearly empty second-class car on the weekend and leisurely return to Tabuse. He would not be able to see Hiroko when he did so, however, as she was attending Aoyama Girls’ School in Tokyo. He would sometimes send her letters, but at this point, betrothed or not, she was still hesitant to visit him in Moji.

Marriage – Stationmaster at the age of twenty-five

On February 23, 1926, shortly after Hiroko graduated from Aoyama Girls’ School, she and Satō were married in Tabuse. With the marriage, Satō inherited the main branch of the Satō family. The wedding ceremony was a simple, private affair without even a commemorative photograph being taken of the event. The couple then departed for Moji, where they lived in a small row house with only two rooms.

As touched upon earlier, Matsuoka (now a director of the South Manchuria Railway) had been one of those who had arranged the marriage. During the time that Satō was getting settled in Moji, Matsuoka frequently traveled between Manchuria and Japan. As he traveled by boat from Shimonseki to Korea when returning to Manchuria, he once visited the newlywed’s new home in Moji.

Entering the house, he was surprised at how cramped it was, commenting to Hiroko: “Hmm . . . so this is your new home? Well, at least it won’t get any worse for you two. Anyway, cheer up and hang in there.”

He also gave Hiroko twenty or thirty yen for pocket money, a sum equivalent to about a third of Satō’s monthly salary. “You don’t need to tell Eisaku about this. Just use it as you wish

When Satō found out about the money, he took it, saying, “Hey, let me see it. I just want to see it.” And then it was gone.

What did he squander it on? Even after his marriage, Satō often attended parties and used much of his salary on socializing. Those at the Moji Railway Bureau who had majored in law in university formed a group called the Jakuhōkai (lit. “the young law group”). This group would hold parties where they discussed the state of the world and were entertained by geisha. The women would flatter Satō by calling him “brown sugar from the railway” (*tetsudō no kurozato*).

But while Satō enjoyed attending these parties, he was careful to not overindulge with alcohol. This was not because he could not hold his liquor but rather because he felt it was more important to exchange opinions with other attendees and gather information. He would also frequently take younger officials out drinking. It was from about this time that Satō began to take on the qualities of a leader.

As a politician, Satō would become known as “sharp-eared Eisaku.” He gathered much of the information that earned him this nickname by frequently attending all sorts of gatherings. A glimpse of his future self can be seen in his behavior as a young railway official. Of course, this likely appeared to be mere carousing to Hiroko. And as the participants of these gatherings were only local railway

officials living far from Tokyo, their conversations were likely local in focus and rarely involved debating Japan’s future.

In November 1926, at the age of twenty-five, Satō was made the station master of Futsukaichi Station in Fukuoka. The local newspaper reported at the time that he was “the first station master on the Kagoshima Main Line to have graduated from the University of Tokyo.” Working as a stationmaster for the first time, Satō was taught how to do the job by his assistants. It was a small station with only twenty-eight workers, but it was near Dazaifu and Musashi Hot Springs and Satō liked it.

The biggest event during Satō’s time at the station was the annual Kyushu Army Maneuvers in nearby Saga prefecture. These were held in mid-November, immediately after Satō’s appointment. He assisted in the necessary railway transport, and the maneuvers ended without there being any serious errors.

It was at around this time that Satō developed a passion for playing cards. He also developed the hobby of telling his fortune with playing cards, something that would continue up to and including his time as prime minister. He frequently gathered off-duty workers from his station at his home where they would amuse themselves playing games like two-ten-jack and bridge. According to Hiroko, “My husband went crazy for playing cards around this time. He’d call the young employees to the house almost every night and they’d play things like two-ten-jack.”

An “Irritatingly Slow-Footed” career – ten years working away from Tokyo

Satō was made business supervisor of the Shimonoseki Transportation Office in late March 1927. This was the second highest position at the office; other supervisory positions included the general affairs supervisor, operational supervisor, and accounting supervisor. In addition to the San’yō rail line, the office was also responsible for the ferries running to Busan that operated out of Shimonoseki. Satō felt that his time there was “fulfilling work.”

Satō spent a year in Shimonoseki and worked as business supervisor at the Moji Transportation Office and head of the documents subsection at the Moji Railway Bureau before becoming head of the Tosu Transportation Office on April 13, 1931. He was then appointed head of the general transportation affairs subsection at the Moji Railway Bureau on August 5, 1933.

In the wake of the Great Depression, the Hamaguchi and second Wakatsuki governments adopted a policy of reducing government salaries. There was strong opposition to pay cuts within the Ministry of Railways, and Satō joined with his subordinates in resisting these. It was his first experience with labor disputes. Fortunately, the ministry and government reached a compromise on the issue, and Satō caused no damage to his career. He was quite defiant and uncompromising during this period.

His two sons Ryūtarō and Shinji were born around this time. Shinji would go on to become a member of the House of Councillors and then a member of the House of Representatives. Satō also began playing golf while living in Tosu.

Satō was made an overseas research fellow on June 22, 1934, bringing his time in regional offices to an end. Most of those who had joined the ministry alongside him had already returned to the home ministry in Tokyo, but he had spent an entire decade working outside the capital. Hiroko and his relatives were confused by his "slow-footedness," but Satō himself showed no sign of being impatient for promotion. He even took the time to learn mahjong. He would gather his coworkers at his home and play the game with them deep into the night.

Mahjong is a game that can reveal an individual's character. Satō was a conservative player and rarely called *riichi* (a move in which a player can increase their winnings by declaring to the table that they've almost completed their hand). He rarely lost, but he also rarely won big. His approach was to tenaciously wait for luck to turn his way and rarely stole other player's tiles. In Japanese mahjong, stealing tiles can make it easier to complete a hand and therefore win, but it also reveals information about your strategy to the other players and limits your future options. Satō's approach was one fitting for a man whose take on politics would later be dubbed the "politics of waiting." "I wait steadily for luck to turn my way. I rush forward when it looks like it has but otherwise, I hold back."

But while Satō may have been content with his career, Matusoka had run out of patience. He had become a Diet member for the Rikken Seiyūkai party after serving as vice president of the South Manchuria Railway. It had been Matsuoka who, as chief delegate, had announced Japan's resignation from the League of Nations in Geneva in February 1933, an act that led to him being lionized as a hero across the nation.

Compared to these brilliant accomplishments by Matsuoka, Satō's achievements over the same period fell well short. Matsuoka was indignant: "Eisaku is so disappointing. What is he thinking, spending ten years out in the middle of nowhere!? Something needs to be done."

The impatient Matsuoka began contacting the ministry leadership and asking that Satō be returned to Tokyo soon. When Satō heard about this from Hiroko, he became incandescent with rage: "Did you ask your uncle to do this!? I hate it when people pull strings like this to benefit themselves."

Unable to contain his anger, Satō picked up the telephone and called Matsuoka. When he answered, Satō told him that "I'm outside the capital by my own choice. So, with all due respect, I want you to stop."

His advancement may have been slow, but Satō was the kind of man who wanted things to go through the proper channels. He would become known within the ministry as a man with a "strong sense of justice."

While his lengthy stint outside of Tokyo caused his relatives to worry about his career, Satō himself did not seem to be that bothered by it. While he likely felt some impatience, this is something that he did not reveal to anyone, even Hiroko. She wrote that "he was irritatingly slow-footed. But that's something that may have ultimately brought him luck." The "slow-footed" Satō would eventually become an administrative vice-minister for the ministry, but that was still a long way off.

Meanwhile, Satō's brothers Ichirō and Kishi steadily advanced up the ranks in their careers. Ichirō served on the Japanese delegations to the naval limitation

conferences in Geneva and London in 1927 and 1930 and as a naval representative to the League of Nations. He spent a long time stationed in Europe in places like Paris. And Kishi had become director of the Industrial Policy Section of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry's Industrial Affairs Bureau at the young age of thirty-five.

And yet it would be hasty to state outright that Satō was clearly inferior to Kishi. Kishi's high estimation of his brother was shown in the previous chapter; Ichirō also held him in similar esteem. Following the war, Ichirō compared his two brothers:

Now, some of this is just how Eisaku has always been. But I think working his way up in the railways ministry has naturally given him boss-like qualities. He's always had blue-collar workers working under him and his first job there was working as an assistant ticket puncher. But Nobusuke had always been in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. And he's just too smart which makes it tough to work under him.

Sometimes it can be easier for the people below you when there are some things you're not really good at, though.

When I was in the navy, we'd say "that guy doesn't have a blind spot." . . . And when you don't have a blind spot it can be unbearable for those under you. Eisaku had a bigger blind spot than Nobusuke.

Ichirō felt that Satō was the more "boss-like" of the two and that he also had the advantage of having a "blind spot."

There's no question that Kishi was a superlative individual. But being gifted is not necessarily enough to make people follow you. Satō, having worked his way up from being a "mere ticket puncher," was able to skillfully manage organizations and factions.

Matsuoka and Yoshida's argument – Japan's international isolation

Japan turned onto a path of isolation following its invasion of Manchuria in 1931. This change is symbolized by the speech given by Satō's uncle Matsuoka at the League of Nations in Geneva in February 1933 in which he declared Japan's withdrawal from the League.

Yoshida Shigeru, the man who Satō would later look up to as his mentor, felt disgust toward Matsuoka's actions. Yoshida came from a famous family; his father-in-law Makino Nobuaki was Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and a former foreign minister. Makino was also the second son of Ōkubo Toshimichi, one of the leaders of the Meiji Restoration. Matsuoka, however, had followed a much more unusual career, working himself through night classes at the University of Oregon in the United States. After taking early retirement from the foreign ministry, he had gone on to serve as vice president of the South Manchuria Railway before becoming a member of the House of Representatives.

Yoshida had the refined tastes of the nobility; in contrast, Matsuoka could be considered a "barbarian." They also differed greatly in temperament. Having ended his time as ambassador to Italy and returned home to Japan, Yoshida met with Matsuoka in Tokyo in September 1932 prior to his trip to Geneva for the League of Nations meeting.

During the meeting, Yoshida recommended that Matsuoka "take an old man with you" to the League of Nations; that is, that he wanted Matsuoka to be accompanied by a senior diplomat. Yoshida had Akizuki Satsuo, the former ambassador to Austria, in mind when he made his recommendation. He hoped that even the easily provoked Matsuoka would be a little more cool-headed with an "old man" nearby.

Matsuoka became furious at the suggestion and rejected it. An unusually proud man, he had worked at the South Manchuria Railway for years and considered himself one of the foremost authorities on the Manchurian issue.

Yoshida did not yield a single step to the raging Matsuoka, however, and told him bluntly that "You should check yourself into an asylum and douse yourself in water before going. You need to cool off a little first."

Matsuoka had entered the foreign ministry two years before Yoshida. While a seemingly small difference, the bureaucratic world placed extreme importance on seniority and the hierarchy between the two was clear. Matsuoka may have left the ministry for politics, but even so, it seems unlikely that anyone other than Yoshida would have been willing to speak to a senior in such a manner.

Now, Matsuoka did not approach the Geneva meeting with a clear intention of withdrawing Japan from the League. But he was not confident that the meeting was going to go his way, either. In a visit with Home Minister Makino (Yoshida's father-in-law), Matsuoka told him that the League "meeting is extremely important; I believe I should not decline [the request to become the ambassador], though I am not confident."

It is unlikely that Satō was very familiar with this exchange between Yoshida and Matsuoka. He had no overseas experience and was not yet capable of arguing policy on a level comparable to either man. But as will be discussed, he thought of Matsuoka often as he traveled in the West, staying at Matsuoka's favorite hotels in Chicago and Geneva when he visited them, for example.

Accordingly, there can be little doubt that Satō's views on policy were more closely aligned with Matsuoka than Yoshida at this time. The decision to withdraw from the League of Nations, an act that Matsuoka symbolized, resonated with many Japanese, including Satō. And while Satō was aware of Yoshida as a distant relative, he was not yet personally acquainted with him.

"Friendly" Americans – Satō as an overseas research fellow

Satō spent time overseas for the first time from August 1934 to April 1936, traveling to countries such as America, Britain, Germany, Italy, and France as an overseas research fellow of the Ministry of Railways.

There were fourteen such fellows involved in the trip (including Satō). Four of these were elite bureaucrats with legal backgrounds like Satō; the remainder

were technicians involved in areas like civil engineering, train operations, and electrical engineering. Satō and the other nontechnical members of the trip were not assigned particular themes to study. Instead, they were being sent abroad to observe local conditions in various foreign countries and expand their horizons prior to becoming part of the ministry leadership.

Satō and the others departed from Yokohama aboard the *Chichibu Maru* on August 15. Hiroko saw him off.

As the ship entered the Pacific and the Bōsō Peninsula faded out of sight, Satō struck up a conversation with Suzuki Tadashi, one of the technicians. He spoke excitedly about Matsuoka, and his manner of speaking made a lasting impression on Suzuki:

Satō spoke in detail about Matsuoka Yōsuke's time as ambassador [actually, embassy secretary] to the Soviet Union and the withdrawal from the League of Nations situation. I gathered from the conversation that Matsuoka was his uncle and had taught him since he was a boy. Satō deeply respected him. . . .

The young overseas research fellows on the trip believed in the validity of the creation of Manchukuo [the Japanese puppet state in Manchuria] and we were bursting with a desire for the people of the West to understand our position, since it was the position of Japan and a matter of life or death for us.

So, we were all in excellent spirits, overflowing with energy at the thought of what we would accomplish in the West. We embarked on our ambitious undertaking with pride. Even so, Satō and Mitsuo Kimisuke stood out from the rest of us in terms of this bravado.

Satō viewed Matsuoka as an uncle who he could speak of with pride. He also seems to have been proud of the withdrawal from the League of Nations that Matsuoka engineered. He made no mention of Yoshida.

Satō shared his cabin on the ship with Satō Takeshi, a civil engineer. This led the other members of the group to say that "well, since you're both named Satō . . . we'll just call you brown and white sugar so we can distinguish between you." Eisaku had once again received the nickname "brown sugar."

The trip's stops included Honolulu, San Francisco, Glacier National Park in western Canada, and Los Angeles. They split up there, with Satō heading for Vancouver and Seattle.

He rejoined his comrades at the railways ministry's office in New York in early October. While he continued learning about local railways, he also took the time to enjoy golfing. In December, he visited Washington, DC, New Orleans, and San Antonio. He passed the New Year at the home of a relative in San Antonio who ran a company.

He traveled to Mexico in February and was moved by the glorious sight of the Grand Canyon in March. He then arrived in Chicago, having passed through

Denver and Omaha on the way. He had wanted to stay at the Drake Hotel while in Chicago as it was a great favorite of Matsuoka's, but ultimately decided to stay at Palmer House instead as the Drake was too far from the station.

From Chicago he spent two days in snowy Minneapolis before heading to Detroit, where he toured the Ford factory and was surprised by the efficiency of its assembly line. He went sightseeing in Niagara Falls before finally returning to New York on April 8.

He stayed in Boston for two nights in early May, sending Hiroko a postcard in which he wrote that "this is the location of the famous Harvard University. It's an elegant college town with a friendly atmosphere." He then returned to New York but moved on to Washington in early June. He conducted research into local railways and social conditions there until August 3.

How did America appear to Satō as he toured the country? He described it in a letter dated July 28 that he sent to Miyoshi Hiroshi, a former subordinate at the Otsu Transportation Office:

America's railways have various problems but I don't have time to get into detail, so I won't touch upon them today. The best scenery was at Niagara Falls and the Rocky Mountains. My favorite cities have been Boston and Washington. I didn't like Chicago. The melons and other fruit here are delicious, but that's probably true the world over. I haven't been able to find any good meat dishes, perhaps because it's so cheap.

The good things about Americans are that they don't get hung up on bothersome manners and have an easy friendliness about them. As soon as you meet one, they'll talk to you about anything. But they don't make you feel vulgar or base about it. I like their straightforward honesty. They're not like the standoffish second-class passengers we have in Japan; you can feel their goodness right away.

What I don't like about them is their arrogance, that they think they're the best in the world. It feels like they look down on people from other countries. But that isn't something I've really experienced personally. It's what I get from the tone of their newspapers and magazines.

Satō does not seem to have been impressed by the American railways, as he noted that there were "various problems" with them. But while he felt that American media "looked down on people from other countries," he found the overall American disposition to be a "friendly" one.

His letter to Miyoshi also mentioned how impressed he was by the large numbers of art museums, libraries, zoos, and the like. He felt envious that "private life is fairly pleasurable with adequate attention also paid to 'public services' (such as hospitals, old age homes, the aforementioned educational facilities, etc.)." Generally speaking, his impression of America was not unfavorable. It seems important given that he later became a political leader that his time traveling through America and experiencing it firsthand did not lead him to become anti-American.

Satō also touched upon American women in his correspondence. He wrote that "women who are old enough to know better wear heavy makeup with bright red lipstick. They dress casually, wearing gaudy colors and paying it no mind. It seems shameless and I question their ideas of beauty."

This reveals a conservative view of women, although Satō also wrote that "the liveliness of the young girls reminds me of young *ayu* [a type of fish]." It was just like Satō, an avid fisherman, to make this kind of comparison.

Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy

Satō departed Washington on August 3 for New York, where he boarded first-class accommodations on the ocean liner *Europa* accompanied by three other fellows. The rest of the group had already departed aboard the *Bremen* on July 26. The *Europa*, a German steamship, crossed the Atlantic to Britain, where Satō disembarked at Southampton. The others continued on to Germany.

The third Baldwin government had taken office in Britain in June. Baldwin was leader of the Conservatives, but he was now in charge of a coalition government of national unity. Satō observed Britain under the Baldwin government while in London. A high level of unemployment weighed heavily upon the country, and it had adopted a policy of appeasement toward a rapidly rearming Nazi Germany under Hitler.

After leaving London on October 4, Satō visited the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and France over the course of about two weeks. He found Hitler's Germany to be bursting with energy, with the Berlin Olympics planned for the following year.

In an October 11 postcard to his two sons, Satō wrote that Germany "is becoming a strong nation again like it used to be":

It was said that [Germany] would be unable to recover its national strength after the World War, but it's completely different from the Netherlands. It feels like an industrial and truly modern country. Everyone's working as hard as they can. It's becoming a strong nation again like it used to be. The Germany of today is a nation of exercise and hard work.

There's no sign in any of the many postcards he sent Hiroko and his sons of any criticism of the Nazis.

After arriving in Geneva, Satō visited the hall of the League of Nations and the hotel in which Matsuoka had stayed, which made him think of his uncle. He described this in a postcard to Hiroko:

I couldn't stop thinking of Uncle while at the hotel and the offices of the League of Nations. I also visited the conference hall [where Matsuoka had spoken in his final appearance] and drank a glass of water that had been provided on a table. I couldn't give a speech, however, as the room was empty. I also visited the shore of Lake Geneva, where Uncle used to go for walks.

In other words, Satō stood where Matsuoka had spoken two years earlier and drank some water while thinking of him. He also retraced his uncle's steps along Lake Geneva. He felt a strong emotional attachment to Matsuoka. It is unlikely that he would have behaved in this manner if he had been critical of the creation of Manchukuo or of the decision to withdraw from the League of Nations.

Satō returned to London on October 20 and visited Scotland in early November, savoring the opportunity to play on what was said to be the world's oldest golf course.

Satō headed to France, Monaco, Italy, and Switzerland at the end of the year. Mussolini's Italy had invaded Ethiopia on October 3, and the League of Nations, led by Britain, had decided to place sanctions on the country on October 11. The critical resource of oil was unaffected by these sanctions, however.

Satō wrote the following about the war to Hiroko's mother Fujie:

I was a little worried about the Anglo-Italian confrontation over the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, but it looks like things are going to be alright. I'll be able to return by ship as scheduled. And I'll be able to go sightseeing around Italy, of course.

Despite the "confrontation" between Britain and Italy, he was sure that Britain would not do anything to seriously interfere with the Italian invasion.

What did Satō think of Mussolini? He wrote to Hiroko from Milan on January 6, 1936:

I made my long-awaited visit to Milan, where I saw La Scala. I was just in time for opera season and it was one of the things that most surprised me in Italy. It is certainly the best opera house in Europe; it's big enough to fix six thousand people and the performers there were the best in the world.

The orchestra had more than a hundred people. I thought I was used to large stages from my time in America, but this was even bigger. I didn't have any idea what they were doing, however.

This city was the birthplace of Mussolini's Fascists. It's the second largest city in Italy and the center of its industry.

I plan to leave for Switzerland tomorrow.

Milan is where the predecessor to Mussolini's Fascist party was formed. As with his visit to Nazi Germany, there are no critical comments about Mussolini's Italy in Satō's writings.

Returning to London before leaving Europe for Japan, Satō learned of the February 26 Incident (an attempted coup against the Japanese government by elements of the army). He departed London on March 5 and arrived in Kobe on April 17, stopping in Marseilles, Cairo, Ceylon, and Singapore along the way.

Satō's twenty months of overseas research produced no particular results. Considering just the many languages that would have been involved, it seems unlikely that Satō would have had a deep understanding of the complicated European

political situation. And he had not been given any particular research assignment; the purpose of the trip was for him to become widely informed on a range of topics, not just railroads.

Viewed with the sensibilities of today, his trip was a combination of a school field trip and traveling for pleasure. He was given preferential treatment throughout, following a leisurely schedule and staying in first-class rooms at hotels and first-class cabins on ocean liners.

If any result of the trip can be given, perhaps it would be that Satō developed a sense of affinity with the American character. It was his formative experience with the country, and he did not succumb to the anti-Americanism common in Japan at the time.

The joint private station usage proposal – Business Section of the Supervisory Bureau

Back in Japan, Satō was appointed to the Business Section of the ministry’s Supervisory Bureau on July 15, 1936. This was another administrative position; he just could not seem to get a promotion to section chief, the first important leadership position in the bureaucracy. His new appointment required a fair amount of legal knowledge as it was the job of the Business Section to provide guidance to railway-related private companies. But while Satō had majored in German law in university, he was not well-versed in Japanese law.

Providing guidance to private railways was an especially important task for the section. At the time, the Musashino Railway (the predecessor of today’s Seibu Railway) in western Tokyo had fallen into financial difficulties and been placed under bank management. Satō thought that having the company establish stations together with other private railways would be one way to improve the railway’s management. While sharing stations is something that is now commonplace, it was a revolutionary idea for the time. Satō called in the presidents of Musashino and another railway to propose the construction of a joint station.

But because the Musashino Railway was still under bank management, the company’s management had no authority to make this kind of decision. A retired railway ministry official working as a manager of the Musashino Railway visited Administrative Vice-Minister Kiyasu Kenjirō and complained angrily about Satō’s actions. Kiyasu eventually assuaged the man and convinced him to leave.

These difficulties show Satō’s lack of knowledge both regarding Japanese law and the unwritten rules of the bureaucratic world (such as the need to consult with his former seniors now working in the private sector before making proposals that impacted them). Even taking into account that this was Satō’s first experience working at the home ministry, he seems to have been a little obtuse.

This incident did not necessarily damage his reputation within the ministry, however. Kiyasu, who would spend a lengthy six years as vice-minister (from August 1934 to August 1940), remarked to another official that “we’ve got a new administrator named Satō in the Supervisory Bureau. The guy doesn’t know anything about the law, but his actions are pretty interesting.”

Although Satō's concept for the joint use of stations by companies did not come to fruition, it was considered to have been an idea with merit.

The Second Sino-Japanese War – chief of the Railways Section

Satō was appointed a land transport supervisor for the Supervisory Bureau on June 19, 1937. This position normally supervised small shipping companies within Japan. But with the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War on July 7 following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the bureau's operations expanded to include the Chinese mainland.

Satō was thus sent to China from May 9 to June 23, 1938, to conduct fact-finding surveys on small transport companies located near rail lines in Japanese-occupied cities like Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Nanjing. As this work was being undertaken at the request of the military, his relationship with the army was smooth.

Satō was promoted to chief of the Supervisory Bureau's Railways Section on August 3 after returning to Japan. This section (previously known as the Management Section) supervised regional railroads. Satō had been in charge of the regulatory reform of the section (including its name change) which meant that he was the first section chief of a section that he himself had created.

No one was more surprised than Satō when he was made a section chief. This is because traditionally one served as a department chief at a regional railway bureau before becoming a section chief at the home ministry, something that he had not done. He had been working as an administrative officer at the home office when he was promoted. This deviation from the norm shows the high esteem that Kiyasu and Supervisory Bureau Director Suzuki Seishū had of his work. It also showed that the ten years that Satō had spent working outside of Tokyo were being taken into account by his superiors.

Satō's time of being "slow-footed" had come to an end. He received a flood of congratulatory telegrams from private railroads after his promotion but had not even had time to organize them before Personnel Section Chief Tsubouchi Naofumi approached him, asking that he again go to China.

Satō was being asked to establish railway companies in the areas under Japanese occupation (Shanghai, Nanjing, and Hangzhou). And because this task would require a lengthy stay in China, it also meant that he was being asked to resign as Railways Section chief. With the Second Sino-Japanese War dragging on, the personnel affairs of the ministry were being thrown into chaos.

Satō pushed back. "I've been Railways Section chief for less than a week and you're already telling me to go to Shanghai? I can't accept that." He even went so far as to tell him that "I'd rather resign if this office isn't going to keep its promises." The reaction was in line with Satō's personality. He had tolerated his slow advancement but detested anything he found unreasonable. Tsubouchi was surprised by the intensity of Satō's response and gave his approval for Satō remaining Railways Section chief during his time in China.

It had been the length of the trip that had caused problems with Satō’s position. While he was being told to establish new railway companies in China, no one had any idea how much time this would take. Satō thus demanded that his trip be limited to six months.

Tsubouchi was at a loss. “We don’t know if creating these companies will take six months or ten. It’s kind of impossible for me to accept a deadline of six months from the start.”

Satō replied that “I don’t mind a small extension if, after six months, it looks like the work will be done in another month or two. But if it’s still unclear when things will be finished at that time, I’m coming back.” He then departed for Shanghai.

Despite Satō’s intentions, his trip to China was not over in six months; it lasted from September 4, 1938 to June 10, 1939. He was attached to the East Asian Development Board’s Central China Liaison Department in Shanghai where he worked under Col. Shiozawa Kiyonobu and then-Col. Hong Sa-ik.

The East Asian Development Board (*Kōain*) was an administrative body for Japanese-occupied China, and one of its duties was overseeing “national policy companies” (*kokusaku kaisha*) established in areas under Japanese control. It was an external organ of the cabinet and had liaison departments in Beiping (Beijing), Shanghai, Zhangjiakou, and Xiamen. Future prime minister Ōhira Masayoshi was another prominent postwar politician who spent time working for the board. He was dispatched by the finance ministry to the Zhangjiakou Liaison Department from 1939 to 1942.

The Central China Railway and North China Transportation Company were created in April 1939, with Satō overseeing the former. Satō repeatedly traveled between Shanghai and Tokyo, negotiated with the government of Wang Jingwei (head of state of the Japanese puppet government in Nanjing), and traveled as far as northern China and Manchukuo. He met Kishi, who was serving as deputy minister of industrial development in Manchukuo, in its capital of Xinjing during this time.

Satō recalled enjoying his time in Shanghai:

As for my life in Shanghai, the city was under occupation and I had money, so I had a lot of influence. . . .

I remember the duck tongues and bear paws being particularly delicious. Bear paws were hard to come by, but we had duck from Nanjing and carp from Beijing. There was sake from Matsue and beautiful women from Yangzhou. Things related to the imperialist invasion may have been difficult, but it was an extremely good time for Japanese who were indifferent to what was going on.

Locally Satō had a reputation for being well-informed. According to one of his colleagues,

I personally thought that he was probably so well-informed because he was the younger brother of Satō Ichirō of the navy and Kishi Nobusuke of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and related to Matusoka Yōsuke of the foreign ministry.

The liaison department in Shanghai was a gathering place for all sorts of people. It had to maintain contact with those dispatched by the military or foreign ministry and keep track of what was going on in each area under its jurisdiction. Satō kept well-informed of what was going on there. Gatherings at restaurants were another source of information for him. Despite enjoying himself, he must have also been under heavy stress at this time as well, due to the need to maintain good relations with the army, for example.

Conflict over the subway – General Affairs Section chief

After returning to Japan on June 10, 1939, Railways Section Chief Satō went to work dealing with a conflict that had arisen between the Tokyo Underground Railway and the Tokyo High Speed Railway over the Tokyo subways. The Tokyo High Speed Railway was attempting to take over the Tokyo Underground Railway and make it a subsidiary.

The leadership of Tokyo Underground Railway was President Nezuka Ichirō and Senior Managing Director Hayakawa Tokuji (known as the “father of the subway”). Kadono Jukurō was president of the Tokyo High Speed Railway (a newer company), but real power in the company was held by Gōtō Keita, the managing director of the Tokyo Yokohama Electric Railway.

The Tokyo Underground Railway operated between Asakusa and Shimbashi, while the Tokyo High Speed Railway ran between Shimbashi and Shibuya. Gōtō was buying up Tokyo Underground Railway stock in an attempt to control the entire subway line from Asakusa to Shibuya. The Tokyo Underground Railway was in the midst of pushing back against this takeover attempt when Nezuka suddenly passed away in January 1940, making Hayakawa company president.

When Gōtō went to see Satō to secure ministry authorization for the takeover, Satō opposed gaining control of another company by buying up stock. Gōtō argued that this was “a natural right under commercial law,” but Satō pushed back:

Subways are not normal businesses allowed to operate freely. They are public enterprises and receive an additional level of supervision when setting their fares. The responsibilities of their management under commercial law are considered differently from those of other companies, which is why the ministry provides administrative guidance. Approving this kind of takeover would rock the management of private railways throughout the country, including here in Tokyo.

After consulting with Vice-Minister Kiyasu, Satō appointed three arbitrators to handle the issue. But these arbitrators made no attempt to create a new proposal for dealing with the dispute. Faced with no other choice, Satō personally intervened between the companies and drafted a compromise plan, showing them the consent decree on July 17.

Satō’s plan recognized the Tokyo High Speed Railway’s management rights over the Tokyo Underground Railway under commercial law but “established a path for the treatment of Hayakawa Tokuji.” With the acceptance of the decree by

both companies on August 13, Hayakawa was allowed to remain on at the Tokyo Underground Railway as an advisor.

But this meant that he had to first resign as company president. Once Hayakawa agreed to resign, Satō took out an ink stone case and set it before him. The implication was "I want you to write your resignation here and now." Had Hayakawa been allowed to return to his company without first signing his resignation, it could have potentially led to problems later. Satō was personally sympathetic to Hayakawa, but he knew that things had to be clearly settled.

It was around this time that the Second World War broke out following the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939.

Satō was appointed head of the Supervisory Bureau's General Affairs Section on June 22, 1940. As General Affairs Section chief, Satō pushed forward with integration of the railways in the Tokyo area to facilitate the coordination of traffic. It was as he was working on this that he came to know Matsuno Tsuruhei, minister of railways during the Yonai government.

According to Satō,

[Matsuno] left dealing with [the conflict between the subways] entirely to me as first section chief . . . ever since that opportunity, I've been honored with [his] guidance throughout my life. It was at his recommendation that I entered the world of politics.

And Matsuno did indeed have a high opinion of Satō's abilities. This is why when, not long after these events, Matsuno became a leader of the Liberal Party during the Occupation, he recommended Satō as minister of transportation to Yoshida Shigeru.

It was only after the war that Satō would become known as an "honor student of the Yoshida school." At this point, Satō had never even met Yoshida. As already discussed, the only connection between the two men was that one of Satō's cousins, the diplomat Yoshida Hiroshi, was married to Sakurako, Yoshida Shigeru's eldest daughter.

Hiroshi died on December 1, 1940, at the young age of thirty-nine. As Yoshida Shigeru had finished his service as ambassador to Britain and retired by this time, he was in attendance at the funeral.

According to Satō,

this funeral was the first time I saw Yoshida Shigeru. Since our first meeting was at my cousin's funeral, it was a very unfortunate time. . . . There's no question that the existence of Yoshida Hiroshi was an important element linking Yoshida Shigeru and myself together."

"A politician of conviction" – the lessons of Matsuoka diplomacy

Meanwhile, Satō's eldest brother Ichirō had become a vice admiral in the navy. After serving in positions such as commander of the Ryojun Guard District in

Manchuria, he was placed on the reserve list in April 1940 during the Yonai government.

According to Satō, Ichirō “advanced all the way to vice admiral at a steady clip, but he was apparently disliked by his superiors due to his sharp wit. He was also a liberal thinker and part of the so-called ‘treaty faction’” of the navy (those who supported the naval limitation treaties signed by the great powers in the interwar period).

Following the fall of the Yonai government on July 22, Konoe Fumimaro became prime minister for a second time and chose Matsuoka as his foreign minister. Matsuoka concluded the Tripartite Pact allying Japan with Germany and Italy, and then personally visited Moscow, where he met with Stalin and signed the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact. It was extremely rare at the time for a Japanese foreign minister to travel overseas. At this time Matsuoka’s activities – which spanned the Eurasian continent – drew the attention of the world.

Matsuoka was aware of the latent strength of America, having worked his way through the University of Oregon. This is why his intention was to use the newly signed treaties to his advantage and push forward with negotiations with US President Roosevelt. Matsuoka told Satō that “the ‘balance of power’ is important in diplomacy.”

Matsuoka’s flashy diplomacy had been a dangerous gamble, however, one that could – and did – backfire, turning America into an enemy. Not only was he disliked by the Roosevelt administration, but Prime Minister Konoe also distanced himself from Matsuoka’s efforts. When the third Konoe government was established on July 18, 1941, Konoe pushed Matsuoka out of the cabinet, replacing him with Toyoda Teijirō, a reserve naval officer. Matsuoka’s diplomacy had failed.

Satō would later recall Matsuoka as “a politician of conviction,” one whose diplomacy had had “results that were not what he had hoped for.”:

I believe that my uncle, Matsuoka Yōsuke, was a politician of conviction of the kind that is rarely seen in Japan; he aspired to advance the diplomacy of Japan through his worldwide experience. . . .

His results were not what he had hoped for, and this led to disunity within the cabinet and criticism from the public. The liberalism that he had learned as a young man studying diligently in America and his deep respect for the Japanese spirit had caused him to believe that his utter sincerity would eventually sway people. I have not even a shred of doubt that he was someone who truly held firm to his convictions.

Reading between the lines of Satō’s statements, it seems likely that he had learned lessons from Matsuoka’s failure. As prime minister he approached diplomacy with the US in a manner completely different from that of the grandstanding that Matsuoka loved, choosing to instead shroud it in secrecy.

The Tōjō Hideki government that followed Konoe plunged Japan into the Second World War on December 7. As minister of commerce and industry under Tōjō, Kishi’s signature appears on the imperial rescript that began the war. This would later cause Kishi to come under suspicion of war crimes.

“Triple-Jump Eisaku” – director of the Supervisory Bureau

Shortly after the beginning of hostilities with America, Satō was appointed director of the Supervisory Bureau. This was another deviation from normal practice. Satō had been working as the bureau’s General Affairs Section chief and would normally only have been appointed a bureau chief after first serving in a regional post. This was especially true for the Supervisory Bureau as it was the second most important body within the ministry, behind only the Transportation Bureau. Horiki Kenzō, who had entered the ministry two years before Satō, was Transportation Bureau chief. Horiki was both Satō’s senior in the ministry and a rival who had followed a different career path.

It was the backing of Suzuki Seishū, Kiyasu’s successor as administrative vice-minister, that had caused Satō to become a bureau director in the home ministry despite not holding the normal requisite position. It had also been Suzuki who had recommended him as Railways Section chief. There was a social group within the ministry called the Ganryūkai, led by Suzuki and other ministry leaders. Satō attended every meeting.

It was likely out of consideration for Satō’s long stay in China that he was able to advance to the level of bureau director without first being sent outside of Tokyo. It was an exceptional promotion even so. “Slow-footed” Satō was gone; this leap forward was enough to give him a new nickname: “triple-jump Eisaku.”

But while his appointment as bureau director was a fortunate development, he was assuming the position at a difficult time. The ongoing war made increasing transportation capacity an urgent task for the bureau. Satō worked to improve the capabilities of small private transportation companies, creating partnerships between local railroad, trucking, and horse cart companies. With gasoline and animal feed supplies being frequently delayed, however, there was a limit to how much transportation could be improved.

Satō had previously tended to be biased toward the state-owned national railway but working as Supervisory Bureau director expanded his view, something that would later serve him as a politician. Satō would say later that “the Supervisory Bureau’s remit extended beyond the national railways; it was a post with an extremely wide-ranging scope of activities. It was truly there that I received the knowledge that I would later need as a politician.”

Knowing how to work with those below him was also important knowledge to have for a politician, and a bureau director of the Ministry of Railways had many subordinates. When one of his subordinates was sent to the front to fight, Satō brought a precious bottle of Old Parr Scotch whisky to his farewell party. Satō normally did not drink much, but he did so at this occasion, alternating between Old Parr and sake.

Satō ended up passed out on his back on the hill in front of his home. Fortunately, the unconscious Satō was helped by his neighbors and Hiroko. This was the only time in Satō’s life that he became so drunk. It is one of the few stories of failures for Satō. While Satō normally appeared strait-laced and unyielding, he could also be quite warm-hearted.

The Supervisory Bureau was renamed the Regulatory Bureau on November 1, 1942. A year later, the Ministry of Railways was merged with the Ministry of Communication to become the Ministry of Communication and Transport on November 1, 1943. Satō was named Automotive Bureau director following the merger.

While the name of his position had changed, his primary task remained increasing transportation capacity with organizing truck transportation being seen as particularly important. In Satō’s view, Nippon Transport (the later Nippon Express), a semipublic national policy company with a close relationship with the military, was the backbone of Japan’s truck transportation.

The Ministry of War increasingly interfered with transportation administration, however, bringing Satō into conflict with it. While he would sometimes negotiate with Major General Yoshizumi Masao, head of the Ministry of War’s Development Bureau, he did not adopt a pro-military posture when he did so.

It was Satō’s style to always do what he felt was right. This would be the underlying cause of Satō’s demotion and transfer to Osaka.

Table 1.1 Ministry of Railways Personnel

Vice-Minister of Railways	Nagasaki Sōnosuke (Transportation Bureau Director)
Supervisor of Railways	Tsubouchi Naofumi (Railways Research Section Chief)
Supervisory Bureau Director	Satō Eisaku (Supervisory Bureau General Affairs Section Chief)
Transportation Bureau Director	Horiki Kenzō (Supply Bureau Director)
Construction Bureau Director	Kobayashi Shirō (Construction Bureau Planning Section Chief)
Maintenance Bureau Director	Miura Yoshio (Maintenance Bureau Planning Section Chief)
Engineering Bureau Director	Mukasa Kingō (Engineering Bureau First Rolling Stock Section Chief)
Supply Bureau Director	Saitō Gihachi (Moji Railway Bureau Director)
International Tourism Bureau Director	Takada Hiroshi (Tokyo Railway Bureau Director)
Railways Research Section Chief	Kondō Junji (Transport Bureau Freight Section Chief)
Ministry of Railways Land Transport Regulator	Kawai Kentarō (Supervisory Bureau First Land Transport Section Chief)
Supervisory Bureau Regulatory Section Chief	
Tokyo Railway Bureau Director	Yoshimatsu Takashi (Sapporo Railway Bureau Director)
Moji Railway Bureau Director	Ono Tetsu (Ministerial Secretariat Personnel Section Chief)

Source: (*Asahi Shimbun*, December 24, 1941, evening edition).

Former positions are in parentheses.

Demotion – Osaka Railway Bureau director

On April 22, 1944, Satō was appointed Osaka Railway Bureau director. It was a sudden change, and Satō was angry: “For a bureau chief at the home ministry to become a regional railway bureau director was clearly a demotion, even if it was Osaka.”

If so, then what caused the demotion? The Ministry of Communications and Transport had been unable to withstand the military’s demands for consolidation of the trucking industry and Vice-Minister Nagasaki Sōnosuke and General Railway Bureau Business Bureau Director Horiki Kenzō had decided to use Satō as a scapegoat. To add insult to injury, Horiki was promoted to General Railway Bureau director on the same day as Satō’s demotion. This was the second highest post in the ministry, equivalent to the later position of president of Japan National Railways. As it was the position that Nagasaki had served in prior to becoming vice-minister, Horiki can thus be considered to have been on track to becoming vice-minister himself.

Horiki, who would go on to serve as a member of the House of Councillors for the Reform Party and LDP, later looked back on Satō’s demotion: “As Automotive Bureau director, Satō was engaged with the administration of land transportation unrelated to the national railways. He cannot be said to have been part of the national railways mainstream.” And while Horiki admitted that he and Nagasaki had transferred Satō to Osaka, he wrote that “looked at objectively, becoming chief of the Osaka Railway Bureau can hardly be called a demotion.”

Horiki also argued that Satō “had only briefly worked in Moji when he was young; he had worked at the home ministry ever since then. Having to work outside of Tokyo seems to have been a bitter shock to him.” It’s clearly inaccurate to say that Satō had “only briefly worked in Moji” when he had spent a decade working at regional bureaus. As it is very unlikely that Horiki was unfamiliar with Satō’s career path, it seems undeniable that this was an intentional error by Horiki.

Horiki then went further and claimed that Satō had complained about the unfairness of the transfer while drunk, declaring, “forget about Osaka, if this is the end then I should just quit now” and that Horiki had scolded him for this. Satō’s poor relationship with Horiki was not his only problem at the ministry at this time. Gōtō Keita was serving as minister of communications and transport, and it is easy to imagine that he had not received a good impression from Satō during the dispute over the subway merger.

Satō seriously considered resigning. “Triple-jump Eisaku” had suddenly been demoted and removed from the path of advancement; there was little hope that he would ever become vice-minister. It may have thus seemed to Satō that there was little difference between serving in Osaka before retiring and just resigning before taking up the post. But at the same time, he was too angry to quit.

The only person Satō could rely upon at times like this was his brother Kishi. When the distressed Satō consulted with him, he was admonished by Kishi: “Hey, you can’t go crying about something like that. I mean, you became a bureau

director at the home ministry without having ever worked as the director of a regional railway bureau. Go and learn.”

Kishi’s advice to Satō (“go to Osaka”) was logical. Satō was forty-three at the time and had been a bureau director in the home office; it seems likely that Kishi was the only who could speak frankly to him. At the time Kishi was serving as both a minister of state in the Tōjō cabinet and as administrative vice-minister of munitions.

With the war situation having turned against Japan, it was not the time to be complaining about one’s position. And even if it was a demotion, chief of the Osaka Railway Bureau was still the highest position outside of Tokyo. Was this not the very time to serve Japan? Having thus rethought things, Satō decided to go to Osaka and take up a leadership position on the front lines of transport. Kishi’s keen insight had roused the depressed Satō.

Life or death crisis – learning of Japan’s defeat from a hospital bed

Satō left for Osaka in April 1944, leaving his family behind in Tokyo. During the final stage of the Second World War, railway personnel wore rank insignia on their collars similar to that of military personnel. Satō’s collar insignia were thick and gold, and referred to as “solid gold” (*betakin*). This “solid gold” insignia was, in military terms, equivalent to that of a lieutenant general or vice admiral. Additionally, Satō was a tall and heavily built man with thick eyebrows and bulging eyes. There’s no doubt that Satō cut quite the imposing figure with his “solid gold” insignia.

Railway staff and lines were being driven very hard throughout Japan at the time as materials and personnel were mobilized for military demand. This was not a situation limited to Osaka, but as it was the largest rail hub outside of Tokyo, things were especially bad there. Satō wrote that exhaustion “gradually reached a peak.” Deprived of resources, repairs could not be carried out. Satō attempted to make use of the private sector, starting up construction companies in accordance with instructions he had received from the home ministry. But while these were created, it was done hastily in the final stage of the war, and transport capacity did not improve.

Aerial bombardment of the Japanese home islands had begun at this point, and three hundred B-29s bombed Tokyo on March 10, 1945. On May 19, the Communications Council was split off from the Ministry of Communications and Transport, reforming the ministry into the Ministry of Transport. However, this ministerial reorganization did not affect Satō. Anxious about his family’s safety in Tokyo, he had them move to Kishi’s residence. But as Kishi’s home was completely destroyed in a large air raid on May 24, Hiroko and the rest of Satō’s family came to Osaka.

Satō moved his family into ministry housing in Tennoji, but they were not safe in Osaka, either. Osaka was bombed on June 10, with numerous railway workers either injured or killed on the job. A hole was dug in a corner of the Osaka Station

grounds; when someone died, they were cremated there. Satō attended many such cremations.

Satō was stouthearted, but Hiroko was terrified and on the verge of a nervous breakdown after a second air raid hit the city. Satō thus evacuated his family to Sasayama in Hyogo prefecture in late July. Before they left, Satō and Hiroko exchanged a drink of water from a sake cup. This was a parting ritual (*mizusakazuki*) that acknowledged that they might never meet again.

On August 1, the Railways Volunteer Fighting Corps (Tetsudō Yūgi Sentōtai) was formed in preparation for the final defense of Japan. In Tokyo, Horiki reviewed the volunteers in the plaza in front of the Imperial Palace. Satō did the same at the plaza in front of Osaka Station, carrying out the ceremony for the corps' formation.

As Satō read the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors aloud, air raid sirens went off and American Grumman fighters appeared in the skies above. The major general dispatched to the Osaka Railway Bureau told Satō to stop because it was too dangerous. Shaking off the warning, Satō said that "we're between buildings and tracks so we'll be fine" and continued to read through the rest of the rescript.

Even in an emergency, the meticulous and stubborn Satō wanted to see things through. As the fighters did not open fire, he fortunately escaped uninjured.

On August 2, the mentally exhausted Satō suddenly broke out into a fever. Despite it being the middle of summer, he started shaking and saying he was cold. He received care at a railway hospital but was then moved to where his family had been evacuated because of the danger that the hospital would be bombed.

When his subordinates sent him out of Osaka, he had a fever of over forty degrees and was not fully conscious. Satō spent the 15th of August, the day of Japan's surrender, in a hospital bed on the verge of death. Concerned about his health, Hiroko did not let him listen to the Emperor's broadcast announcing Japan's surrender. But even so, Satō realized from his surroundings that the war had been lost.

While his condition had temporarily improved, he was still in critical condition with a high fever of forty-one or two degrees. Ikuno Shun'ya, secretary of the Osaka Railway Bureau, consulted with Hiroko about contacting Satō's family so they could see him before he died. Hiroko herself had half given up on him recovering. Satō's condition went back and forth, but despite the fever, he was fully aware. His relatives were surprised by his spiritual strength and tenacity.

"Changing How I Live" – the fate of the three brothers

On October 2, Satō read the *Mainichi Shimbun* newspaper in his hospital room, his condition having improved somewhat. The issue included Pearl Buck's essay "Advice to Japan." Buck, known for her novel *The Good Earth*, was an American author who had been awarded the Nobel Prize in literature. Having lived in both China and Japan for extended periods, she was knowledgeable about Japan.

The essay had been submitted to the *Mainichi Shimbun* in response to a request from the newspaper. According to Satō, the essay explained that, while American

society was diverse, "no matter the situation, the path that the people follow naturally becomes a great highway. No matter what happens, the path walked by the sensible public is certain. That is the merit of democracy."

In other words, Pearl Buck was discussing the positive aspects of freedom and democracy rather than condemning Japan. It would have been only natural given the historical circumstances for a writer belonging to the victors to have displayed an attitude of condescension toward the defeated Japanese. But Pearl Buck, who had spent time in Nagasaki, was warm toward the country. The tone adopted by the former Allies toward Japan was overwhelmingly concerned with establishing Japan's responsibility for the war. Pearl Buck's essay was an exception.

The essay concluded by saying,

Good people of Japan, you cannot be idle and lay down to sleep. You cannot take even an hour of rest. This is because good people everywhere need your strength, your careful attention, and your determination to be added to theirs.

Sitting in his sickbed, Satō was struck by Buck's words. Ruminating on this essay, Satō felt doubts about Japan's military and bureaucrat-led politics.

As I experienced the misery of defeat, I began to believe, deeply, that our education or those who have been in charge of administration until this point must have been very wrong. The term "the ignorant masses" (*shūgu*) had been frequently thrown about, but that was wrong. The people are the most wise. . . .

I needed to reflect upon so many things about the way that the bureaucracy that had had Japan under its control had acted. . . . From here on, I needed to change how I thought about things. And that meant changing how I lived. There is a limit to elite politics. In order to break through that limit and overcome the defeat, I needed to change the very way I lived.

Hovering between life and death, Satō was inspired and seized hold of the reason to live that he had nearly lost. Perhaps because of these unyielding thoughts, Satō began to recover from his illness.

There's a high probability that, if not for the war, Satō would have retired in Osaka and then gone to work for a private railway in the Kansai area or something similar. Instead, the defeat dramatically changed the fates of the three Satō brothers.

Ichirō, a naval officer on the reserve list, had been an author during the Second World War, publishing pieces like his essay "The Declining Fortune of the Royal Navy" and the book *A Fifty-Year History of the Imperial Japanese Navy*. He now had difficulty making a living after the end of the war. Kishi was arrested on suspicion of being a Class A war criminal. But Satō, far from Tokyo, escaped any suspicion of war crimes and was not purged from the civil service.

The events of the new postwar age pushed Satō back to the imperial capital, now reduced to ruins. Satō, who by all rights should have ended his career in

Osaka, was summoned to Tokyo by Kohiyama Naoto, minister of transportation in the new government of Prince Higashikuni. While Horiki, his rival in the ministry, had had no choice but to resign, Satō was spared that fate. Instead he would reach the pinnacle of the ministry, serving first as director of the General Railway Bureau and then as administrative vice-minister of transportation.

That Satō had been demoted and spent the end of the war in Osaka was ultimately a fortunate thing for him. By following Kishi's good advice and accepting the transfer to Osaka, he had been blessed with the rare good fortune of being far from the home ministry when the war ended. Satō had never been able to surpass his two brothers, but that situation had suddenly turned on its head. The inept "slowpoke" of the Ministry of Railways returned to the scorched earth of Tokyo, ready to make the most of the mettle he had hidden inside.

2 “An Honor Student of the Yoshida School”

Satō’s turn to politics

“Now there’s only Eisaku” – Kishi’s arrest

The tenth item of the Potsdam Declaration – which Japan had accepted when it surrendered – clearly stipulated that Japanese war criminals would be punished. For Satō, the Allied occupation of Japan began with the ordeal of Kishi and Matsuoka’s arrests.

General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, departed the USS *Bataan* and landed at Atsugi Air Field outside Tokyo on August 30. On September 11, GHQ (General Headquarters, the organization through which the Allied occupation was administrated) issued arrest warrants for thirty-nine suspected Class A war criminals. Kishi’s name appeared on this list alongside the like of former prime minister Tōjō Hideki.

Kishi had served as minister of commerce and industry during the Tōjō government and had earlier served as deputy minister of industrial development in Manchukuo, a position from which he had promoted Manchukuo’s five-year plan for industrial development. He was arrested in Yamaguchi and taken to Yokohama Prison under guard, passing through Osaka Station along the way.

Satō was still on his sickbed at the time, and Hiroko chose to hide news of the arrest from him. She found out which train Kishi would be traveling on and spent the night making rice balls and cakes to give to him at the station. When Satō saw that she was leaving, he asked where she was going. Hiroko misled him, saying that “It seems your brother is heading to Tokyo. I’m going to see him at Osaka Station and let him know how you’re doing.”

When the train pulled into the station, Hiroko ran to the platform and frantically searched for the car that Kishi, who she had adored ever since she had been a young girl, was in. Upon finally finding him, she peered into the car’s window with her heart bursting. Inside, he was sitting with his eyes closed and collar open, a towel wrapped around his neck. He was surrounded by American soldiers.

Hiroko placed her hand on the half-opened window and earnestly cried out to him, “Brother.”

Upon noticing her, Kishi quietly smiled and approached the window, tears in his eyes. Being under guard, he could not exit to the platform. And in any case, the train would only be stopping at the station for a few minutes. Hiroko handed

him her package and quickly told him of Satō’s condition. Inside, she could not help but worry about Kishi, however. Should he be convicted of war crimes, it was possible that he’d be executed. Hiroko’s voice was choked. This could be the last time they’d meet in this life.

Just before the train departed, Kishi firmly grasped Hiroko’s hands and said, “Now there’s only Eisaku.”

Hiroko cried all the way home. When Satō noticed her face and asked, “Hey, what’s wrong? Your eyes are bright red,” Hiroko had difficulty answering, finally saying only that she had gotten “something in my eye.”

“I plead not guilty” – Matsuoka’s arrest

Satō regained his health and returned to Osaka in early November 1945. The task of transporting the members of the now disbanded military awaited him at his old position. The Railways Volunteer Fighting Corps that Satō had assembled just a few months earlier was gone, with labor unions appearing as if in its place. Although not much time had passed, the status quo of the Osaka Railway Bureau had changed utterly.

A second batch of arrest warrants were issued on November 19, this time for eleven suspected Class A war criminals. Matsuoka was on this list. Matsuoka had been moving around as he recuperated from tuberculosis, staying at his country home in Gotemba, Shizuoka, as well as Izu. He was in Nagano when his arrest was ordered.

When Satō and Hiroko visited to see how he was doing, they found a man looking back over his life: “When a man enters his fifties, he feels confident in both his social status and his physical strength. But should he then attempt to make use of all that strength to try to get things done, his body weakens like this.”

Satō could only listen on quietly to these words from a man who he had much admired, his uncle.

When the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal convened on May 3, 1945, Matsuoka was arraigned as a Class A war criminal. The defendants entered their pleas three days later. He was the only one to do so in English, saying, “I plead not guilty.” Kishi did not appear before the tribunal as he had not been indicted.

Matsuoka’s health had already been poor at the time of his arrest; it now grew much worse. Several days after entering his plea, he was admitted to a US Army hospital several days before being transferred to the University of Tokyo Hospital. He would never speak in court again.

How did Satō view Japan’s war responsibility at the time of the trials? When asked about the topic years later, he argued that responsibility lay with Konoe, not Matsuoka:

There are those who say that Matsuoka Yōsuke (the former foreign minister and a relative of mine) was to blame for the war. And that might perhaps be true. But I believe that responsibility for the collapse of US-Japan relations lies with Konoe Fumimaro (the former prime minister). Konoe was a

splendid, popular man. But he was also a prime minister who did not make the decisions he should have. . . . If he had sued for peace in the Second Sino-Japanese War once we had secured northern China, I believe that things would not have become so serious.

Satō considered Konoe (who had committed suicide after an arrest warrant was issued for him) to bear the greatest responsibility for the war.

The “Great Familism of the Railways” – director of the Railway Bureau

Unlike Kishi and Matsuoka, Satō was not under suspicion of war crimes. He was also spared from the Allied Occupation’s postwar purge of civil officials (a fortunate result of his demotion and transfer to Osaka). The gears of fate had begun to turn in a new direction for him. He was appointed director of the Railway Bureau on February 1, 1946, a position equivalent to the later presidency of Japan National Railways. He was now the second most important person in the ministry, second only to Administrative Vice-Minister of Transport Hirayama Takashi.

Prior to this appointment, Satō’s career had fallen off of the mainstream course of advancement at the ministry. Director of the Osaka Railway Bureau was a terminal position; those in the position typically retired afterward and assumed a position at a private railway in the Kansai area or the like. If not for the war, Satō would likely have met that fate himself.

As he himself acknowledged, Satō’s promotion was the result of the purge of the civil service:

I was fortunate. I was spared from the purge and able to survive because I was serving as director in Osaka when the war ended. . . . There was no one left after the purge. I think that’s why I was made director of the Railway Bureau.

Arriving in Tokyo to assume his post, Satō found he faced a resurgent labor movement. Railways in the capital were struck by a slowdown on February 25 and 26, causing chaos as station platforms overflowed with passengers. The slowdown, part of the labor movement’s demands for higher wages, was nominally caused by “operating trains in a way that promoted safety and saved energy.”

Satō and the other railway officials resolved the slowdown on March 2 by finding points of compromise with labor on wages and benefits. The question of the punishment of those who had organized the slowdown remained an unresolved issue, however. Three union leaders were suspended, and Tokyo Railway Bureau Director Taki Kiyohiko was forced to take responsibility and resign.

The union appealed to the Central Labour Relations Commission (a public organ for mediating labor disputes) in response, asking for the suspensions of the three leaders to be withdrawn. While Satō asserted that the punishment had been justified, communist leaders like Tokuda Kyūichi had influence over the members of the commission, and his argument was not accepted.

According to Satō, “appearing before the commission as a representative for management was like being in an entirely different world, one where the communist party ruled.”

Unable to gain traction with the committee, Satō changed tactics and decided to approach Matsuoka Komakichi and Nishio Suehiro, members of the Socialist Party’s Labor Committee. He visited the headquarters of the soon-to-be launched General Confederation of Japanese Labor Unions (Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Sōdōmei; commonly known as Sōdōmei) and asked to meet with the two men.

You are considered founders of the labor movement. But do you feel that the current state of that movement, one where unions proliferate across the country, is acceptable? I don’t think this state of affairs should be permitted, even for the labor movement.

But Matsuoka and Nishio were curt toward the passionate Satō and said that they had no intention of getting involved in the issue of the slowdown: “We’re standing by and watching.”

Satō was undeterred, however, and visited the Matsuoka home in Ōi, taking his only bottle of sake with him. He was not a heavy drinker but believed that drinking with Matsuoka could help him gain his cooperation. Surprisingly, this worked. Matsuoka’s attitude grew more favorable and he said, “Okay, I understand. In that case, we’ll help you.” With their backing, Satō found a more favorable atmosphere at the commission. The union request that their leaders’ suspensions be withdrawn was rejected.

This only led to the union launching a movement to have the three reinstated, however. Satō entered into negotiations with the union but was worn down after two or three months and approved their reinstatement. He was still a believer in the “great familism of the railways,” the idea that railway employees were like a family and that this bond transcended labor-management relations. He touched on this later:

On reflection, I had a long career as a government official. Twenty-four years, beginning with my appointment to the Moji Railway Bureau in 1924. And I spent nearly half of my career within that bureau’s jurisdiction. I did other things as well – moved around, studied overseas, and served in the home ministry and in Osaka. But throughout it all, I never went without the support provided by the great familism of the railways that existed at the time.

The resolution of Matsuoka and Yoshida

The politician Matsuno Tsuruhei often visited Satō at the General Railway Bureau, the two being old acquaintances from Matsuno’s time as minister of railways. Matsuno had formed the Liberal Party with Hatoyama Ichirō on November 9, 1945, but was purged shortly afterward in January.

Satō said that he “couldn’t get the question of how [Japan was going] to make it through this chaotic situation out of my head” whenever he spoke with Matsuno. That question would shortly stir on Satō’s decision to enter politics himself.

At the time, Shidehara Kijūrō was serving as prime minister with Yoshida Shigeru as his foreign minister. But when the Liberal Party won the general election held on April 10, 1946, Hatoyama, the party’s president, was purged by GHQ, leading Foreign Minister Yoshida to become prime minister in his stead. Yoshida formed his first government on May 22 and named Hiratsuka Tsunejirō as transport minister (Satō’s superior).

As these events were occurring, the condition of Matusoka Yōsuke – still on trial for Class A war crimes – continued to worsen, and he remained in the University of Tokyo Hospital. As their uncle and the man responsible for bringing them together, Satō and Hiroko were frequent visitors to his hospital room. His condition was terminal, however, and the couple saw him for the last time on June 24. When they called out to him, a weakened Matsuoka scanned the room with his eyes, looking for Satō. Finding him, Matsuoka drew his head slightly back. Satō drew close and took his hand. “What . . . will become . . . of Japan?” He maintained his grip on Satō’s hand and moved his mouth with intensity, trying to say more. But nothing came.

Matsuoka passed away at 2:40 a.m. on June 27. He was sixty-six. “What . . . will become . . . of Japan?” were his final words to Satō. The body was moved to Matsuoka’s home in Setagaya, where Satō and Hiroko silently welcomed him.

Prime Minister Yoshida arrived shortly afterward, wearing the traditional Japanese clothing of a haori and hakama with white tabi. Running up to the deceased Matsuoka, he grabbed hold of the white cloth covering Matsuoka’s face and stood there, tears running down his face.

The refined Yoshida and the uncouth Matsuoka were men of greatly different dispositions. Yoshida had hurled abuse at Matsuoka many times, but there was no question that both men were patriots. Yoshida was overcome with emotion as he looked at Matsuoka, who had died while still under suspicion of Class A war crimes, and thought of his regrets.

Yoshida was two years older than Matsuoka. The outcome between them had been resolved before either man had reached the age of seventy.

It was Satō who witnessed this final resolution between the two men. It is unclear how long it had been since he had last met Yoshida. While Satō and Hiroko were related to Yoshida, it is unlikely that they had been in touch with him since the death of Yoshida Hiroshi (Satō’s cousin and the husband of Yoshida’s eldest daughter Sakurako) several years earlier.

The two men would find themselves in increasingly close proximity from here on, however. Prime Minister Yoshida succeeded Hatoyama as president of the Liberal Party on August 18.

“I worked to win the war” – the September 15 conflict

Labor disputes in the national railways grew increasingly intense in the latter half of 1946. The number of railway employees had swelled to almost 600,000 as

veterans and those who had been assigned to overseas railways returned home to Japan. Personnel Bureau Director Kagayama Yukio approached the union about laying off 75,000 workers.

The union opposed the proposal and asserted that, unless it was withdrawn, it would go on strike. This is known as the September 15 Conflict as that is the date that the strike was scheduled to begin. As director of the General Railway Bureau, Satō participated in the mass bargaining session held at the home ministry.

The union adopted a bargaining position that far exceeded their earlier demands. They paid no heed to the fact that Japan had been in the midst of a lengthy war only a year earlier and that their tone could potentially cause a revolution. The atmosphere of the negotiations was tense.

During the negotiations, the union asked Satō if he “had believed that Japan should lose the war?”

Many of those within the unions of the immediate postwar period had done a rapid about-face from their wartime stances following the end of the war. They now preached pacifism and acted as if they had always had great foresight about the war. Asking Satō if he “had believed that Japan should lose the war” was an ideological test and one that would have rattled the average member of management.

An unwavering Satō immediately stated, “I worked to win the war,” however, curtly throwing off the union’s attempt to constrain him.

Satō had survived the wartime destruction of Osaka and spent several days on the verge of death after falling ill. This kind of attempt at intimidation was not enough to make him skittish. If he had not been trying to win the war, then what had the deaths of so many of his subordinates been for? His blunt statement that he had “worked to win the war” was also a biting criticism of the way that so many in the union had changed their tune.

His brutally frank answer touched the inner thoughts of the union members. Railway workers were proud that they had kept the trains running, even in wartime, and this was a pride shared by labor and management alike. No one in the union was able to respond to the bold Satō.

The stern Satō did also have a sentimental side, however. He looked grave as the union described the difficult conditions that workers on the ground were facing, and there were times when he was moved to tears as he heard what they had to go through.

On September 14, the day before the strike was scheduled to begin, Satō attended the final round of negotiations with the union. Transport Minister Hiratsuka, Administrative Vice-Minister Hirayama, and Personnel Bureau Director Kagayama were also in attendance. The strike was avoided at the last minute when Hiratsuka signed an agreement in which he promised not to lay off any workers. In Satō’s opinion, Hiratsuka had capitulated at the last minute and lost face.

Despite these reservations, however, Satō was deeply touched that an agreement had been reached with the union. As he shook hands with the union representatives, there were tears in his eyes. But while he may have been warm-hearted, he was not so weak as to allow emotion to impair his judgment.

The February 1 strike and an illusory cabinet appointment

Going into 1947, Satō was forced to deal with the February 1 Strike, a nation-wide general strike demanding higher wages that was planned for that date. The strike was ultimately canceled by order of GHQ the day before it was to begin. In the run-up to the strike, union members surrounded Satō's house. Satō consulted with GHQ Labor Division Chief Theodore Cohen and Major General Robert Eichelberger, commander of the US Eighth Army, as he negotiated with the union.

While trying to manage the strike, Satō was also sounding out the possibility of entering the Yoshida government as transport minister. He had never served as a vice-minister and had not yet entered politics. Becoming a minister despite these factors would be a feat worthy of the old "triple-jump Eisaku."

It had been Matsuno who had proposed that Satō be made transport minister, putting the idea in Yoshida's head that "there's a guy named Satō. He's a railroad man with backbone."

Yoshida planned to reshuffle his cabinet, and Matsuno approached Satō about potentially becoming a minister. Although Satō showed due consideration for his superior Vice-Minister Hirayama by telling Matsuno that "it is far too early for me to become a minister," he was not entirely opposed to the idea.

He even gathered all of the ministry's bureau directors and asked them, "Would you be willing to work with me if I became minister?" While the reaction he received was mixed, Satō decided that he would take the job. Calling Matsuno, he was told to get his morning dress ready for the appointment. Now he only had to wait for the official order to come.

But when Matsuno finally called, he told Satō that "I know I said I'd make you minister, but things didn't go well because you're related to Kishi." GHQ policy did not allow the relatives of suspected war criminals to become government ministers. While Kishi had escaped indictment thus far, he was still being held in Sugamo Prison on suspicion of Class A war crimes.

A despondent Satō then received a call from Prime Minister Yoshida, telling him to come to the Kantei (the prime minister's office). When he arrived, Yoshida spoke frankly.

"You should give up on the idea. Chalk it up to having a bad brother."

"I hadn't actually expected to become minister. I mean, I'm a government official so I'd rather be vice-minister, in any case."

"Oh, I can make you vice-minister."

Hearing that he could be vice-minister, a happy Satō moved to leave when Yoshida began to speak again.

"Who do you think would be a good choice for minister? If you have anyone in mind, please tell me."

Satō was not even a member of the Liberal Party, yet Yoshida was now asking him to recommend a candidate for transport minister. While thinking to himself that Yoshida was "a guy who says really strange things," Satō answered:

You're the one who chooses ministers. And while this will sound arrogant, as long as I'm vice-minister, I'll do all I can to ensure that no matter who

becomes railway [transport] minister, they’ll do a fine job. I, of course, have no one in mind for the position.

While Satō had not been able to become transport minister, his relationship with Yoshida would lead him to decide to enter politics.

An affinity with Yoshida – Administrative Vice-Minister of Transport

Masuda Kaneshichi replaced Hiratsuka as transport minister in the January 31, 1947, reshuffling of the cabinet. The next day, Satō became administrative vice-minister of transportation as had been promised by Yoshida. It was at this point that the general public would begin to hear mention of Satō.

Masuda, the new minister, was the former director general of the Hokkaido Agency. He had resolved a coal strike in Hokkaido, and Yoshida had high hopes for his ability to deal with the labor movement. A graduate of Kyoto Imperial University, he had first entered the Home Ministry. He later served as governor of Fukushima prior to being appointed director general of the Hokkaido Agency.

But while Masuda was thoroughly familiar with local government, he was an amateur when it came to railways. He thus had no choice but to leave much of the work to his vice-minister, Satō. Looking back on this time, Satō recalled that “since my entire career had been spent working with railways and I handled everything myself, I think it must have been extremely hard for Masuda.”

Yoshida summoned Satō about a week after the cabinet reshuffle and asked him an unexpected question:

“I think I made a mistake in the recent reshuffle. Right now, I’m serving as minister of agriculture and forestry. But I think that it perhaps would have been better had I named Masuda to that position and served as railways [transport] minister myself instead. I’m thinking of doing that now, since not too much time has passed, but what do you think of the idea?”

Satō came back with a rash answer:

The cabinet reshuffle doesn’t seem to have been well received by the public. Wouldn’t changing things now, just a week later, make things even worse? I’ll work my hardest. If there’s anything that Minister Masuda has difficulty with, I’ll explain them to him. Things will work out, one way or another.

Hearing Satō’s answer, Yoshida began to speak about his time as administrative vice-minister of foreign affairs:

I served as vice-minister in the Tanaka [Giichi] government while he was doubling as foreign minister. Prime Minister Tanaka essentially just handed me the foreign minister’s seal and left everything to me. I would draw on that

old precedent and have you handle everything related to the railways [transport] ministry. That would be easier for you too, right?

Satō said that the exchange made him think that “Yoshida is quite a kind man.” Feeling an affinity with him, Satō would gradually come to want to enter politics himself.

Satō’s greatest achievement as administrative vice-minister was concluding a collective bargaining agreement with the National Railways Workers’ Union (NRU) in connection with the enactment of the Trade Union Law. The NRU was the largest union for employees of the national government, and communists wielded a lot of influence in it. The NRU would always inundate bargaining sessions with delegations of a hundred people or so.

Masuda initially bore the full brunt of the negotiations but lacked detailed knowledge of the issues being discussed. He eventually handed the negotiations over to Satō, saying, “Please handle this because you’re so knowledgeable about railways.”

The agreement that was signed on February 21 established an eight-hour work limit, improved conditions for female employees, and the promotion of full employment.

Satō’s “Motivation for Going into Politics” – contact with the Katayama Government

On February 6, 1947, shortly after Satō became vice-minister, MacArthur sent a letter to Yoshida announcing the dissolution of the Diet and calling for new elections. While this was nominally “so that a new legislative body may initiate and synchronize with the introduction and effectuation of the new Constitution,” it was actually an attempt to regain control of the chaotic domestic situation that reigned in the wake of the February 1 Strike. MacArthur’s trust in Yoshida had faded.

Yoshida had no choice but to accept MacArthur’s instructions despite having only just reorganized his cabinet. He dissolved the House of Representatives on March 31, and a general election was held on April 25.

Deciding to enter politics, Transport Minister Masuda stood for election in Nagano and was elected to the House of Representatives for the first time. Satō supported him during the campaign, giving speeches for him. Until 1994, the House of Representatives consisted of multi-member districts in which voters cast a single vote; the candidates (usually three to five) who received the highest number of votes were elected. Home Minister Uehara Etsujirō was another candidate in the district in which Masuda was running. A long-time politician, Uehara had served as deputy speaker of the House of Representatives prior to the war and returned to the Diet in the 1946 general election.

When Masuda went to pay his respects to Uehara (as both men were staying in the same lodgings), Uehara brushed him off with a face that said, “How dare this man think he can run in my district.” Uehara then went a step further. Asserting

that Satō’s speeches in support of Masuda violated electoral rules, he applied pressure on Saitō Noboru, the administrative vice-minister of home affairs, to punish him. Although Satō narrowly managed to escape unscathed, it was a wake-up call for him as to how cutthroat electoral politics could be.

Katayama Tetsu’s Socialists came in first in the elections, with Yoshida’s Liberals falling to third (behind the Democrats).

The Katayama government – a coalition between the Socialists, Democrats, and the National Cooperative Party – was formed on May 24. Satō was approached by Chief Cabinet Secretary Nishio Suehiro and asked to “Please become deputy chief cabinet secretary and assist me in my work.” He turned Nishio down.

Satō wrote that he had declined because “I still felt something like an obligation towards Yoshida.” But despite refusing the position, he still regularly joined Nishio for breakfast prior to cabinet meetings and gave him personal advice on matters.

Satō was also in touch with Agricultural Minister Hirano Rikizō. Although Hirano and Nishio were both members of the same party, the two men disliked one another. In Nishio’s eyes, Hirano was an “extremely emotional man” and too close to the Liberal Party. For his part, Hirano was upset that Nishio would not support his policy on rice prices.

While Satō was close to Yoshida’s Liberals, he was influenced by the character of these two men as well. He said that it was “this kind of contact with politicians [that] would motivate me to go into politics and which served as a source of mental nourishment after I had done so.”

The position of transport minister in the Katayama government was held by Tomabechi Gizō of the Democrats, a man Satō apprised as being “of bland appearance and business ambitions.” Tomabechi would resign on December 4 after it was discovered that he had received black market rice from some of his local supporters in Aomori prefecture. He was replaced by Kitamura Tokutarō (another Democrat).

As vice-minister, Satō entered into negotiations with the finance ministry over the ministry’s special account budget (the largest of all special accounts) at the end of the year. Future prime minister and ally of Satō Fukuda Takeo was director of the finance ministry’s Budget Bureau at the time.

Fukuda wrote that “when there was difficulty in determining the budget for the railways [transport] ministry, it would have to be worked out on the evening of New Year’s Eve or in the early hours of New Year’s Day. I distinctly remember having several extremely heated negotiations with Satō at these times.”

“A Heaven-sent Opportunity” – resigning

The Katayama cabinet resigned *en masse* on February 10, 1948, over disagreements between the Socialist Party’s left and right factions. The immediate cause of the resignations was the House of Representatives’ Budget Committee forcing the government’s supplementary budget proposal to be withdrawn. Suzuki

Mosaburō, the committee chair and a member of the Socialists’ left faction, opposed increasing railway fares and postal rates to fund an increase in pay for public officials.

As Suzuki and Katayama were both members of the same party, the committee’s rejection of the government’s budget was an extremely irregular event. Satō felt distaste toward the Socialist Party’s governance and saw an opportunity for entering politics. He noted that, having decided to become a politician, the fall of the Katayama government was “a heaven-sent opportunity” for him.

Satō submitted his resignation to Transport Minister Kitamura. “As you will also be leaving soon, I will leave this with you. I would like you to take it up as the first matter of business during the succession.” Satō’s rationale for submitting his resignation during the transition period was that he would not be able to leave for a while once the next government’s amateur minister arrived.

Another coalition government consisting of the Socialists, Democrats, and the National Cooperative Party was formed on March 10 under Ashida Hitoshi. Okada Seiichi of the National Cooperative Party was the new transport minister. In less than a year, four men had served in the position: Masuda, Tomabechi, Kitamura, and now Okada.

Okada was president of Okada-gumi, a marine salvage company, and while knowledgeable about maritime transport, was unfamiliar with railways. As Satō had foreseen, the new minister tried to get him to stay: “I know you’ve submitted your letter of resignation, but I’d like you to stay on now that I’m here.”

Satō was unmoved. “I submitted my resignation to the previous minister because I’d like to retire from the civil service. Please honor my request.”

Okada persevered, adopting a new approach.

“That would make things difficult for me. When I was approached about this position, I asked who was serving as vice-minister. I was told that it was Satō Eisaku. I thought to myself, ‘Oh, if he’s the vice-minister, I’ll take the job.’ You’re the reason that I became minister. My appointment was partially conditional on you being here.”

Satō replied with an argument typical of him:

“This is very rude of me, but I wasn’t consulted on your appointment as minister and I can’t be bound by a decision that you made. I want you to allow me to follow through on my decision.”

In accordance with his request, Satō was dismissed as administrative vice-minister of transportation on March 20, bringing his twenty-four years working in railways to an end. He had begun his career by speaking bluntly and logically at his entrance interview for the ministry, and now he had employed the same approach as he resigned.

“The Yoshida School” – head of the Yamaguchi chapter of the Democratic Liberal Party

On March 15, 1948, just before Satō’s retirement, the Liberal Party merged with the Dōshi Club (the former Shidehara faction of the Democratic Party) and

became the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP). While still in the opposition while Ashida was prime minister, the DLP was now the largest party in the Diet and chose Yoshida as its president. The new party recruited much of its fresh talent from the civil service (Satō was an example of this). In March 1950 it would absorb the Democratic Party's "coalition" (*renritsu*) faction in March 1950 and become the Liberal Party.

Satō joined the DLP in April 1948, a month after his resignation from the transport ministry. Administrative Vice-Minister of Finance Ikeda Hayato and Administrative Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Okazaki Katsuo also resigned and joined the DLP at about the same time. They were joined by other senior officials from the finance ministry like Maeo Shigesaburō and Hashimoto Ryōgo. All of these men would be elected to the House of Representatives for the first time in the January 1949 general election. But before examining that, let us take a look at the relationship between Satō and Ikeda at this point.

Prior to his resignation, Satō had met with Ikeda and Okazaki twice a week at vice-ministerial meetings. Satō paid special attention to Ikeda as the two men had seemed to be bound together by fate ever since taking the high school entrance examination together. For example, when Satō found out that he had received 50,000 yen less in severance pay than Ikeda had, he summoned Personnel Section Chief Karasawa Isao and sent him to fix it. "We both had the same job. Why should I be worth 50,000 yen less? Go over there right now and get the rest of it."

Karasawa went to the finance ministry but was unable to have Satō's severance increased as the ministry had used a special reserve fund for Ikeda. While it was just a minor difference in the grand scheme of things, it was the kind of thing on which Satō fixated.

The retired Satō became head of the Yamaguchi chapter of the DLP and began preparing to stand for election in his hometown. His new position was partially due to Kishi's continued stay in Sugamo Prison. People in Yamaguchi sympathized with Kishi, and it was considered obvious that his brother would run for office.

Satō frequently traveled between Yamaguchi and Tokyo to advance his political prospects. During the summer of 1948, the DLP met in Tokyo to refine its policies with the goal of regaining power in the next election. As these were policies that would be put forward by a major party, Satō had assumed that they would be based on a thorough study.

But while there was some consultation with academics, the DLP ultimately drew up its new policy for reviving the economy in just three days. Satō's impression of the affair was that "making party policy is dead easy." The party was still in its infancy and was lacking in both policies and human resources.

This is why Yoshida had such high hopes for the former bureaucrats that he had recruited like Satō, Ikeda, and Maeo. These would be the members of what would become known as the "Yoshida School," although none of them had been elected to office at this point.

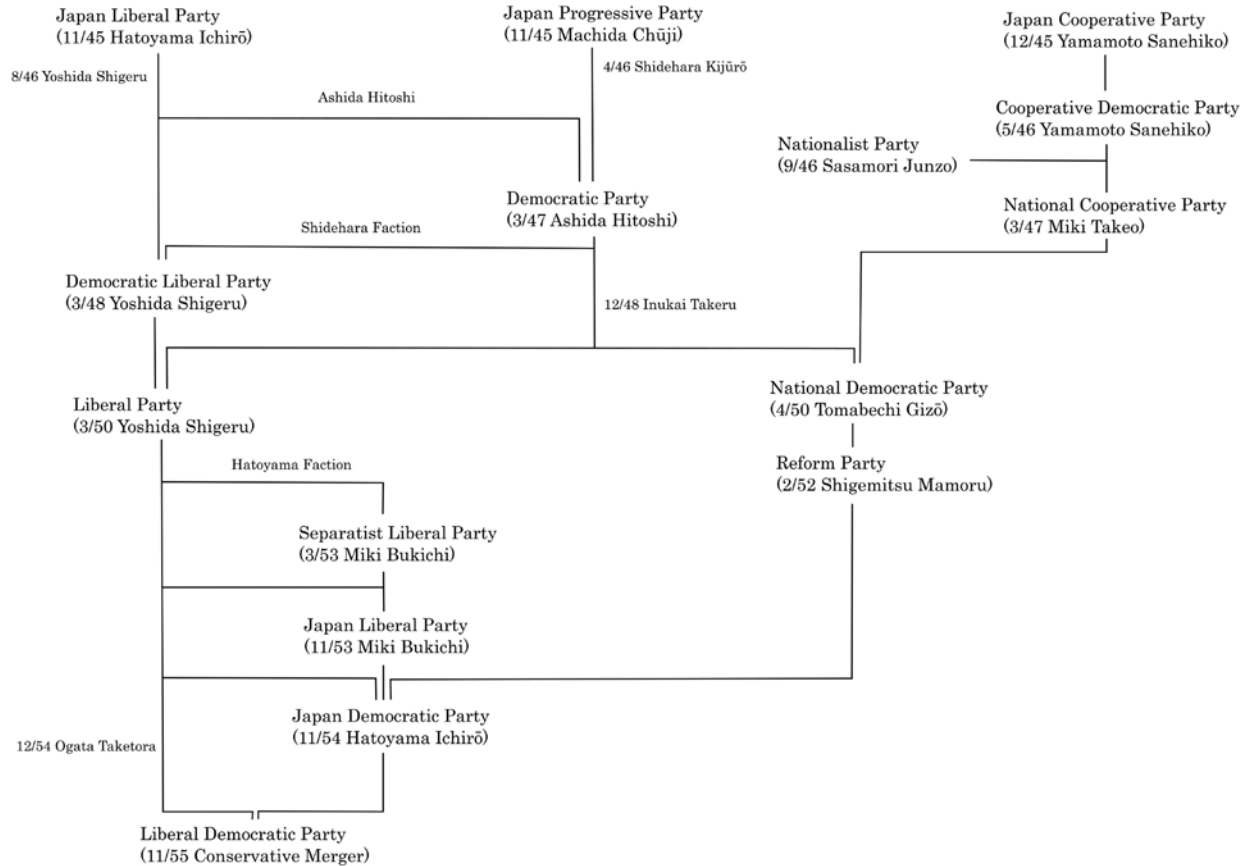


Figure 2.1 The Lineages of the Postwar Conservative Political Parties

Source: Kōchikai, *Nijūichi Seiki e no Michishirube* (Guide Towards the 21st Century), Tokyo: Kōchikai 25th Anniversary Committee, 1983, 14–15

The second Yoshida government – chief cabinet secretary

Satō returned to Yamaguchi after the summer study session ended. He received a telegram from Yoshida in October 1948 saying to come to Tokyo quickly. Arriving in the capital, he found the Ashida government in dire straits. It had been hit with a massive loan scandal involving Shōwa Denkō, a leading chemical company. Nishio Suehiro, who until recently had been deputy prime minister, was arrested on October 6, and the Ashida cabinet resigned *en masse* on the following day. The second Yoshida government was formed on October 15.

At this time, Yoshida was living in Ogikubo in western Tokyo. While working out his new cabinet, he made the surprising choice of Satō as chief cabinet secretary. Satō still had yet to run for office; his only title was that of head of one of the DLP’s prefectural chapters.

Satō wrote that

I had had absolutely no idea that I would be chosen for chief cabinet secretary. Considering it later, I think it was connected to my having been recommended as transport minister during the cabinet reshuffle at the end of his first government. I think he felt somewhat responsibility for not being able to make that happen.

Satō does not seem to have hesitated at all before taking the position. While chief cabinet secretary was not as important a post at the time as it has since become, Hiroko was taken aback by his boldness in accepting.

Satō was formally appointed on October 17, though he had already been involved in selecting ministers for several days by that point. Notably, Yoshida asked him what impression he had gotten of Izumiyama Sanroku during the study sessions. Izumiyama was a freshman Diet member who had previously worked for Mitsui Bank and Teikoku Bank. After meeting with Izumiyama, Yoshida decided to make him his new finance minister.

According to Satō, Izumiyama had spoken spiritedly during the sessions and worn sophisticated traditional Japanese clothes despite it being in the middle of summer. “I think that his choice of clothes matching Yoshida’s tastes may have helped him become finance minister.” Izumiyama would ultimately be removed as finance minister after only two months, and he resigned from the Diet following an incident in which he became drunk and attempted to kiss the female Diet member Yamashita Harue on the floor of the Diet. Satō pushed for his dismissal following the incident.

A major point of contention during the formation of Yoshida’s cabinet was the question of what to do with Satake Haruki. Satake was secretary-general of the Socialist Reformist Party, a small party with about twenty Diet members. As the DLP was a minority government, Yoshida wanted Satake in his cabinet. Newspapers also predicted that Satake would likely join the government.

Once Satake made it known that he wanted the position of welfare minister, however, Yoshida’s attitude changed completely, and he refused to allow Satake to join his government. The self-indulgent Yoshida was not the type of politician to allow those potentially entering the cabinet to choose their own posts.

Satō and DLP Secretary-General Hirokawa Kōzen mediated between the two and secured a commitment from Satake not to ask for any particular post. Yoshida refused to budge, however, saying that “I refused his demand. That’s absolutely unacceptable, even if he now claims to not have any conditions.”

Satō replied that “since he’s gone so far as to say that he doesn’t have any conditions, why not include him? Just think of him as a bumpkin (*inakamono*) who didn’t know any better.”

Yoshida immediately refused. “I don’t need any bumpkins in my cabinet.” Satō was left utterly helpless. Yoshida and his stubbornness when it came to personnel matters made a strong impression on Satō, who thought to himself, “Ah, so this is the kind of man who becomes the leader of a country.” Later, as prime minister, Satō would take the same stance as Yoshida. Yoshida’s actions at this time were an underlying cause of Satō later becoming known as a “human resources expert.”

Yoshida’s second government was formed as a minority government with Yoshida intending to dissolve the Diet early on and call new elections.

“There are no scoops in Awashima” – the “Unarmed” chief cabinet secretary

Satō arrived at the Kantei to serve as chief cabinet secretary. His relations with Yoshida were good, but party politicians like DLP Advisor Ōno Banboku and DLP Secretary-General Hirokawa were openly antagonistic toward him as “that kid from the bureaucracy.” Satō vented his frustrations to a reporter: “I’m constantly called a bureaucrat by those in the party, but I’ve been the head of the Yamaguchi DLP for more than six months. I don’t really want them to keep referring to me as a bureaucrat.”

A notable undertaking by the Yoshida government at this time was the revision of the National Public Service Law to deny government officials the right to engage in mass bargaining and strikes. The law was also amended to establish the National Personnel Agency to manage the personnel affairs of the national civil service; pay would be based on this agency’s recommendations. GHQ had been pushing for the rapid adoption of both measures since the time of the Ashida government, with MacArthur sending letters to that effect.

Satō criticized the Socialist Party’s opposition to the changes at a press conference by saying he could “only imagine that they are acting based on partisan interest.” When he was called before the House of Representatives’ Steering Committee, even the committee members from the DLP were cold toward him because he was serving as chief cabinet secretary despite not being a member of the Diet. This lack of a Diet member’s badge led to him being referred to as the “unarmed (*marugoshi*) chief cabinet secretary” by other politicians and the press.

Always a poor public speaker, Satō also had difficulty in his press conferences. He commented on this once by noting that

I’ve always thought of myself as ‘a man of action, not words,’ partly because I’m not a particularly gifted speaker. In an era of democracy, however, the people prefer the type of politician who is “as good as his word.”

While the reliability that came from his lengthy time in the bureaucracy was considered a redeeming quality, Satō had a poor reputation among the press. He looked back on this time with self-deprecation, describing himself as “a splendid failure as a chief cabinet secretary. I didn’t know anything about politics and stumbled over everything, causing myself nothing but trouble.”

There’s no question that he was not well-suited to being a spokesman, and it is fair to say that Yoshida made a misstep when he chose Satō as his chief cabinet secretary. Secretary-General Hirokawa once strongly admonished Satō for his behavior in the position:

You and Ikeda may have both entered politics from the bureaucracy, but you need to completely lose your bureaucratic image. You can’t leave the door to your home locked during the day. Your home needs to be wide open so that anyone can come or go as they please.

Satō took Hirokawa’s advice to heart; he made it easier for reporters to come and go from his home, and they began to frequent it. Another issue, however, was that Satō had always been a tight-lipped man by nature. This caused difficulty for the reporters assigned to cover him over the course of his career and led to it being whispered among the press corps that “there are no scoops to be had in Awashima” (Awashima being a nickname for the area of Tokyo in which Satō lived).

In Satō’s eyes, he did provide a certain amount of information to these reporters, indirectly hinting at personnel matters and information about elections. But he rarely stated things outright, instead forcing the reporters to try to interpret his vague expressions and tells.

For example, when Satō was saying something that he did not really mean, he tended to slowly shake his head and look down. It was easy to understand when he was in a bad mood, however, as he would not hesitate to strike tables with the flat of his hand. He told Hiroko that “I do actually tell [the press] various things.” From his perspective, the reporting on him was inaccurate, but as far as the reporters were concerned, Satō was just too hard to read.

The “Conspiracy Dissolution” and Satō’s first election

The second Yoshida government in which Satō was serving was a so-called caretaker government. It was a single-party minority government, and an early general election was almost unavoidable if Yoshida wanted to achieve a more favorable situation.

Constitutionally, dissolution of the House of Representatives can be achieved in two ways.

The first is dissolution by the cabinet. Article 7 of the constitution reads “The Emperor, with the advice and approval of the Cabinet, shall perform the following acts in matters of state on behalf of the people,” with the fourth listed item being the “Proclamation of general election of members of the Diet.” While the term “general election” was used here, this was likely meant to just be “election.”

This is because the term “general election” refers only to elections for the House of Representatives, suggesting that elections for the House of Councillors are not covered by this article.

The second way is the passage of a motion of no confidence against the cabinet. Article 69 reads “If the House of Representatives passes a non-confidence resolution, or rejects a confidence resolution, the Cabinet shall resign en masse, unless the House of Representatives is dissolved within ten (10) days.”

The Socialists and other opposition parties did not believe the cabinet had the authority to unilaterally dissolve the house (i.e., that it could invoke Article 7 in the absence of the passage of a non-confidence resolution as stipulated in Article 69). The government and opposition parties thus arranged for the opposition to submit a motion of no confidence so that the Diet could be dissolved in accordance with Article 69. This course of events led to it being referred to as the “conspiracy dissolution” (*nareai kaisan*).

The opposition’s motion of no confidence passed the House of Representatives on December 23, 1948, and Yoshida immediately dissolved the body. On the same day, seven convicted Class A war criminals including Tōjō Hideki were hanged. GHQ announced the release of nineteen people who had been suspected of Class A war crimes – including Kishi – the following day.

It was likely because Hoshino Naoki had been found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment that Kishi was never indicted. Hoshino was a finance ministry official whose career had followed a trajectory similar to Kishi’s but at a more senior level. He served as vice-minister of financial affairs and director general of general affairs in Manchukuo before entering the Tōjō cabinet as chief cabinet secretary (*naikaku shoki chōkan*; the predecessor of the position with the same name in English). Meanwhile, Kishi had served as deputy minister of industrial development and deputy minister of business in Manchukuo before becoming Tōjō’s minister of commerce and industry.

While it is widely believed that Kishi was a Class A war criminal, he was only suspected of war crimes and never prosecuted. That he avoided such prosecution showed that Kishi could at times have luck that rivaled that of his brother.

Kishi appeared at the chief cabinet secretary’s residence after his release to see Satō. His head was shaven, and he was wearing dirty blue clothes. The guards stationed outside found him suspicious, and while he repeatedly told them that “I’m Kishi. Kishi!” they would not let him pass.

Fortunately for Kishi, Satō returned at that point, and the two had an emotional reunion. Satō brought Kishi back to his private residence in Kichijōji, where Hiroko clung to him, crying “Older brother, you’re okay.”

When Satō handed him around ten or twenty thousand yen for his initial living expenses, Kishi was taken aback. “Why are you giving me so much money?” During the time that he had been held in Sugamo prison, a new yen with a much lower value had been issued as a counter-inflationary measure. Kishi returned to his wife and family in Yamaguchi a few days later. He may have been released, but he was still subject to the purge and unable to run as a candidate for the Diet.

Satō soon returned to Yamaguchi as well and campaigned there. Despite still being a poor public speaker, he came in first in his district in the general election held on January 22, 1949. As it was the district that had originally served as Kishi’s electoral base, Satō was fortunate that Kishi was still prohibited from running for office himself. According to Satō,

I was a younger brother running in his older brother’s district, so it was easy. That’s why I was able to get elected to the Diet right away. I got through it without ever having to really experience the hardships of running for office.

Numerous other DLP candidates with bureaucratic backgrounds were also elected for the first time in this election in addition to Satō, Ikeda, Okazaki, Maeo, and Hashimoto.

The DLP won 264 seats in the election, a majority. Yoshida had solidified his position in the party and came to exercise an autocratic style of leadership that led to him being called “One Man Yoshida.” Symbolic of this was his selection of Ikeda, a freshman Diet member, as his finance minister.

Satō provided his explanation for the DLP’s rapid rise in the magazine *Senken Keizai*:

First, the public is well aware that the normal course of constitutional government is for those who have failed to govern to step away and they support that idea. Second, they expect politicians in leadership positions to have firm convictions and want a stable force in government. Third, they demand administrative reform and the relaxation of bureaucratic control.

Yoshida formed a conservative coalition government with the Democratic Party despite having an absolute majority with the DLP alone. The third Yoshida government would be formed on February 16 and continue until October 1952. It was the zenith of Yoshida’s 2,616 days as prime minister.

The National Railway as a Public Corporation and the Junkeikai – DLP Policy Research Council Chair

Having finally gained a seat in the Diet, Satō was released as chief cabinet secretary when the third Yoshida government was formed. In his mere four months holding the position, he had been blunt and almost unprecedentedly unpopular. Satō himself acknowledged that he had not been an effective spokesman for the cabinet, describing himself as “a splendid failure as a chief cabinet secretary . . . causing myself nothing but trouble.”

When Yoshida summoned Satō to dismiss him, he put it to him plainly and asked for his understanding. He was kind, not mentioning Satō’s “failure” in the position and just telling him to “go back to the party and learn.” Satō had no choice but to say, “Yes, I’ll do that” and leave.

Yoshida called in Satō again sometime later and asked him to serve as chairman of the Diet Affairs Committee.

This was a position that engaged in behind-the-scenes consensus-building with the opposition. But while Satō did indeed have a fair number of contacts within the Socialist Party, it is hard to imagine that he was an appropriate choice for the role, given his tendency to be inflexible. First chief cabinet secretary and now Diet Affairs Committee chairman. For some reason, Yoshida seemed to only be offering Satō posts for which he was entirely unsuited.

As could be expected, Satō turned it down. “That would be impossible. I couldn’t do it.”

When Yoshida then asked, “Okay, so what could you do?” Satō answered that he “could be Policy Research Council chairman.” The Policy Research Council formulated and deliberated on party policy, and its chairman was one of the three highest party executives (*tōsanyaku*) alongside the secretary-general and the chairman of the General Council (positions held by Hirokawa and Hoshijima Nirō respectively at this time). It was an impudent request for a freshman Diet member to make, but Yoshida had a high opinion of Satō and gave him the job. Satō was now handling party business for the first time, supported by his deputy chairmen Tsukada Jūichirō and Nemoto Ryūtarō.

The Associations Control Ordinance (Dantaitō Kisei Rei), a law formulated on the basis of instructions from GHQ, was promulgated in April 1949. This law was intended to crack down on extremist political associations and was the predecessor of the Subversive Activities Prevention Act (Hakai Katsudō Bōshi Hō) that would go into force in July 1952.

While the Policy Research Council was meant to draw up and deliberate on policy, the DLP was still a young party, and many of its Diet members were freshmen. Even though many of them had bureaucratic backgrounds, it is still questionable as to what extent they were able to be effectively involved in the formulation of important bills such as the Associations Control Ordinance. It seems likely that GHQ and the government took the lead on most of these.

Satō was heavily involved in the creation of Japan National Railways (JNR) during his time as Policy Research Council chairman. According to him, “We had lost the war and entered an era where there was strong support for the privatization of government enterprises. That also matched Yoshida’s thinking and he frequently bothered me about it.” Satō, however, maintained that “railways aren’t suitable for privatization.”

JNR was established as a national corporation on June 1. It was split off of and made independent from the Ministry of Transport. All of its funding was provided by the government. Satō later recalled, “We consulted with the Occupation forces and created JNR as a public corporation.” This was thus a policy stipulated by GHQ and originally a concept originating there. When it came to this policy, Satō’s views were closer to GHQ’s than Yoshida’s.

There was a rivalry within the DLP between the pro-Yoshida Hirokawa faction and the pro-Hatoyama Ōno faction. Satō maintained his distance from the

factional conflict but became a central figure in the Junkeikai, a group formed by first- and second-term Diet members in the party.

The group’s name was derived from Tsutsui Junkei, a famous warrior of the Sengoku period, and its members included those from non-bureaucratic backgrounds like Fukunaga Kenji (the former deputy governor of Saitama) and Ishida Hirohide (former deputy chief of the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*’s politics department). While his rival Ikeda was basking in the limelight of the public face of politics at this time, Satō was taking the lead in securing his position within the party.

The Junkeikai was a diverse group, however, and its attitude toward Yoshida varied from issue to issue. This would cause relations to worsen between the pro-Yoshida Satō and others like Ishida.

The peace dispute and the “Self-Righteous Judgment of Scholars” – Liberal Party secretary-general

After consulting with Hirokawa, Hoshijima, and Satō, Yoshida decided to welcome the twenty-eight Diet members (from both the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors) of the Democratic Party’s coalition faction into the DLP. Following the merger, the party changed its name to the Liberal Party. The new party was large, with 268 seats in the House of Representatives and 61 seats in the House of Councillors.

Hori Shigeru, Tsubokawa Shinzō, and Kuno Chūji – three of the Diet members who joined from the coalition faction at this time – would go on to become members of Satō’s faction. Hori had been secretary-general of the coalition faction and would be an important supporter of Satō’s government.

The Ōno faction opposed the merger, and Inukai Takeru, the president of the coalition faction, did not join the Liberal Party, choosing instead to become an independent for the time being. The members of the Democratic Party’s remaining “opposition” (*yatō*) faction (these included figures such as Ashida, Kitamura and future prime minister Nakasone Yasuhiro) would go on to merge with the National Cooperative Party and the New Politics Council to form the National Democratic Party shortly afterward.

The entry of the coalition faction worsened relations between Yoshida and Hatoyama Ichirō, the former president of the Liberal Party who had yielded his position to Yoshida in 1946. Hatoyama was close to Ōno and had still not been released from the purge; he wrote in his memoirs that “there’s no question that the Yoshida government prevented my release from the purge and worked to have it postponed.”

Yoshida appointed Satō secretary-general on April 13. For the freshman Satō to be chosen as Hirokawa’s successor shows just how much Yoshida trusted him. He likely wanted to consolidate his power in the party, which meant choosing someone loyal to him like Satō rather than a faction leader like Hirokawa.

Masutani Shūji, the new General Council chairman, was in his sixth term in the Diet; Nemoto Ryūtarō, Satō’s replacement as Policy Research Council chairman, was in his second. Satō later said that “Masutani . . . often provided me with guidance during my first time as secretary-general.”

The Yoshida government made the conclusion of a peace treaty its greatest political priority. Yoshida’s approach was to pursue a partial peace. Japan would first make peace with members of the Western Bloc like the US and Britain and regain its independence. While concluding a comprehensive peace treaty with all of Japan’s former enemies would be ideal, the realities of the Cold War would likely make that difficult.

Nanbara Shigeru, president of University of Tokyo, was one of the leading advocates outside of the government for a comprehensive peace, and he spoke in favor of such a peace at the university’s commencement that year. Yoshida responded by telling the Liberal Party’s Diet members at a general meeting held on May 3 that “for President Nanbara to enter the realm of politicians makes him nothing more than a scholar who perverts learning to curry popular favor (*kyokugaku aseï no to*).”

When Nanbara hit back, saying at a press conference that Yoshida’s words amounted to “the authoritarian coercion of a scholar,” it was Satō who spoke in his defense:

While it’s fine for President Nanbara to come to his own free judgment on the peace issue, it’s also only natural for politicians to add their own commentary in response as it’s an actual political issue. The party is taking up the peace issue as an actual task for governing and this is not something that someone like Mr. Nanbara should interfere in.

While we have always respected academic freedom, as this is an issue that is currently being handled politically, it is actually harmful to Japan for Mr. Nanbara to make political statements from his ivory tower. And to immediately say that Prime Minister Yoshida’s views, as voiced at a private meeting of Diet members, amount to the authoritarian coercion of a scholar or a blasphemy against scholarship can only be considered a scholar’s self-righteous judgment.

It must be said that it is itself anti-democratic to issue this kind of rebuttal of a political issue from an academic standpoint. This is a scholar in a position of complete protection abusing that freedom and I believe that the public will not lend their ears to his opinions.

In other words, Satō asserted that commenting on political issues from an ivory tower was “harmful.”

Now, Nanbara’s argument for a comprehensive peace was certainly unrealistic, especially following the intensification of the Cold War with the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25. But Satō’s defense of Yoshida fails to explain how such a statement by a scholar would be “harmful.”

As Yoshida’s spokesman, Satō’s job was essentially to provide an argument for why Japan should prioritize a partial peace and convince the public that a comprehensive peace was unrealistic. But he instead argued that it was inherently negative for a “scholar” to comment on political issues. And to go so far as to label it “undemocratic” can only be regarded as a leap of logic.

Satō was attempting to act as an advocate for Yoshida, but he lacked a persuasive diplomatic argument. While his being a poor spokesman was nothing

new, this went beyond merely being a lackluster public speaker. Satō had still not developed a complete vision for himself.

When Satō visited Okinawa as prime minister years later, he brought along Ōhama Nobumoto, the president of Waseda University and an Okinawan, telling him that "I would like you to accompany me as someone who knows more than me about your home." He personally brought the president of Waseda University into politics despite having previously described a political comment by the president of the University of Tokyo as "harmful." This act can only be regarded as contradictory or as showing that he had changed his mind. Satō's involvement of Ōhama was not atypical; as prime minister, he made frequent use of academics.

The House of Councillors election and the Red Purge

Satō's attention at this time was focused on the House of Councillors election scheduled for June 4, 1950. The contemporary balance of power in the house prior to the election was Liberals, sixty-one seats; National Cooperative Party, forty-two seats; and Socialists, forty-two seats. Half of these seats would be up for reelection.

As secretary-general, it was Satō who determined who would run the party's official candidates and who was responsible for achieving a victory in the electoral contest. Running under the slogan "move gradually from a partial peace to a comprehensive one," the Liberals won a commanding victory, winning fifty-two of the 132 seats up for reelection compared to thirty-six for the Socialists and nine for the National Cooperative Party. Izumiyama, who had resigned from the House of Representatives following the drunken incident discussed earlier, was elected as a member of the House of Councillors.

In the extraordinary Diet session called on July 12, the Liberals held seventy-seven seats, surpassing the Socialists' sixty-two and the National Cooperative Party's thirty. The Communists had won only two seats in the election, giving them a total of four.

But while it had few members, the question of how the Communist Party should be handled had made relations between the government and the opposition difficult. In a June 6 letter to Yoshida, MacArthur ordered the purge of the twenty-four members of the Communist Party's central committee (including its chairman, Tokuda Kyūichi) on the basis of their "contempt for the processes of law and order." The Yoshida government duly complied. Tokuda, a member of the House of Representatives, would die of illness in exile in Beijing. When MacArthur then ordered that *Akahata* (the Communist Party newspaper) cease its operations within thirty days in a June 26 letter to Yoshida, the government seized its presses.

MacArthur also insinuated that the Communist Party itself should be made illegal. Yoshida thus held discussions on the matter with Satō and Hirokawa (who was now serving as agricultural minister) at the foreigner minister's residence (as he was also holding that position while serving as prime minister). The government decided to agree with GHQ's policy, and all members of the Communist Party and its sympathizers were purged from public office on September 1. This "Red Purge" was not limited to government offices; it also extended to private companies and dealt a serious blow to labor unions.

As this was going on, Satō was tasked with the question of whether or not to allow Inukai (the former leader of the Democratic Party’s coalition faction, now an independent) to join the party. After a cooling off period, Satō allowed him to join on February 7, 1951. As will be discussed later, it would be thanks to Inukai’s intervention as justice minister that Satō would ultimately escape arrest during a future scandal.

The contemporary Socialist Party consisted of a right faction (which thought that it would be too difficult to conclude a comprehensive peace that included the communist bloc while the Korean War was going on) and a left faction (that demanded a comprehensive peace). These factions would split the party in the fall of 1951 over the issue of ratifying the San Francisco Peace Treaty in the Diet.

Satō’s three accomplishments as Minister of Posts and Minister of Telecommunications

When Yoshida reshuffled his cabinet on July 4, 1951, he appointed Satō as minister of posts and minister of telecommunications. As Ikeda remained in the cabinet as finance minister, this would be the first time that the two men who would become known as the “honor students of the Yoshida school” served in the cabinet together. Yoshida told Satō, “I was finally able to make you a minister.”

This was a gratifying occasion for Satō, his first time to serve in the cabinet (excluding his time as chief cabinet secretary when he had not yet been elected to the Diet). He was unlikely to have been completely pleased with his appointment, however, as these positions were not the level of post that a party secretary-general could normally expect to receive. Relative to Ikeda’s lofty position as finance minister, it was a clear demotion for Satō. This difference in treatment reflected the relative distance at this time between Yoshida and Ikeda on the one hand and Yoshida and Satō on the other.

Satō had incurred Yoshida’s wrath by making contact with Ishibashi Tanzan without permission. A future prime minister, Ishibashi had served as finance minister in Yoshida’s first cabinet. He had been purged in 1947, however, after clashing with GHQ and was now connected to members of the party’s anti-Yoshida faction like Ishida Hirohide and Kuraishi Tadao. Yoshida was thus not kindly disposed toward him. This contact with Ishibashi was the reason why Yoshida replaced Satō as secretary-general on May 31, shortly before he reshuffled his cabinet. Personality was another factor in Yoshida’s relationship with the two men; the expressionless Satō was uptight and lacked warmth, leading Yoshida to prefer the cheerful Ikeda.

Ikeda was also the one who Yoshida chose to accompany him when he departed for San Francisco in September for the peace conference. Satō was completely excluded from the policy process for the peace negotiations with America, and he later recalled “not having any lasting impressions of the thing as it was Ikeda who was chosen to accompany Yoshida.”

Still, entering the cabinet as minister of posts and minister of telecommunications was a chance for Satō to grow as a politician. The reason why he was serving in two posts simultaneously was because the former Ministry of Communications

had been divided into the Ministry of Posts and the Ministry of Telecommunications on June 1, 1949, in accordance with GHQ instructions.

Satō made the most of this opportunity to show his competence. He had three major accomplishments as minister: the creation of Nippon Telegraph and Telephone (NTT), the establishment of the Radiowave Control Bureau, and the restoration of the right to manage the reserve fund for post office life insurance and postal pensions to the Ministry of Posts.

According to Satō, “The first task I put my hand to was turning the telegraph and telephone services – which had been under government management until this point – into a public corporation like JNR and Japan Tobacco.” His motive for doing so was to loosen restrictions on their operations. “As [the Ministry of Telecommunications] was a government entity, there were limitations placed on its business operations that were difficult to overcome.”

At the time, the ministry was unable to rapidly expand its infrastructure to meet the massive demand for new telephone lines, largely due to a lack of funds. This situation was a factor in the proposed change. Again, according to Satō at the time, “If we make the change to a public corporation, it will become possible to introduce private capital such as corporate bonds and loans. I am prepared to make further efforts to secure funds as we move into the future.”

These quotes are from an article titled “Public Support for Securing Capital!!!” that Satō published in the magazine *Diamond Bekkan*. Under Satō’s watch, the Ministry of Telecommunications was disbanded on August 1, 1952, and replaced by NTT, a new public corporation, on the same day.

Who was to serve as the first president of NTT was a problem, however. While Yoshida recommended Ōhashi Hachirō (a former vice-minister of communications), Satō was of a different opinion and wanted to give the position to the former director of the Ministry of Communications’ Engineering Bureau, Kajii Takeshi. Satō had approved the plan to make Kajii president after consulting with Administrative Vice-Minister of Telecommunications Utsubo Tsutomu.

Had Satō yielded to Yoshida’s opinion and rescinded the internal ministry decision here, he would have set a poor example for his subordinates as minister. When Satō and Yoshida clashed over the choice, Chief Cabinet Secretary Hori mediated between the two and backed Satō as the minister with jurisdiction. That Satō did not yield to Yoshida in the matter shows his growth as a politician. It seems likely that this situation made Satō truly feel the weight of a ministerial post. In exchange for Yoshida’s acceptance, it was agreed that his choice of Ōhashi would serve as the second president of NTT (this would happen in 1958).

On August 1, 1952, Satō implemented a major structural reform to coincide with the creation of NTT. He had the Ministry of Posts absorb the Radiowave Control Committee (part of the Prime Minister’s Office) and created the Radiowave Control Bureau to handle broadcasting. Contemporaneous to this reform was the launch of many new radio stations such as Radio Kyushu and Radio Tokyo. Nippon Television’s network had also been issued a provisional license to operate.

Satō was personally wary about the establishment of a private television station, however. “I didn’t approve of private broadcasters popping up unchecked.

I was in favor of control, so I held firm to the British model. I believe that even now Britain is unified under the BBC as we are with NHK.” Yoshida, however, believed that the government should not restrict the creation of new television stations and pressed Satō to “go with the American model.” But Satō was hesitant.

Satō only issued a provision to Nippon Television after being overwhelmed by the efforts of Shōriki Matsutarō, former president of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* and the first president of Nippon Television. According to Satō, “That postwar Japanese broadcasting has followed the American model and private broadcasters have achieved such great development is a great accomplishment that belongs to Shōriki.”

Satō’s third accomplishment as minister was regaining the right to manage the reserve fund for post office life insurance and postal pensions from the finance ministry. Management of the fund had originally been under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Communications, the predecessor of the Ministry of Posts. State capital had been centralized during the war, however, with authority being transferred to the finance ministry.

Satō argued that because the reserve fund consisted of money that the postal ministry had persuaded people from across the country to contribute, it should have control over it. He stated at a meeting of the House of Representatives’ Standing Committee on Postal Administration that “it is obvious that should the postal insurance see increased results that those dividends will be paid to those who have insurance.” The postal ministry had a firmer grasp on local conditions. Depositors also felt closer to the postal ministry as it had counters located throughout the country.

Satō was thus able to convince Finance Minister Ikeda to return management of the fund to the postal ministry. It was likely due to the strong ties between the two men that Satō was able to regain control of the fund.

Table 2.1 Postal Administration Under Satō as Minister

1951.7.4	Satō Eisaku appointed as minister of posts and minister of telecommunications (until 1952.10.30)
1951.10.24	Airmail service resumed
1951.11.1	Postal rates raised (letters ten yen, postcards five yen)
1952.2.1	NHK resumes international broadcasts
1952.2.19	75th anniversary of entry into the Universal Postal Union (UPU)
1952.4.1	Amendment of the Postal Savings Law (Limit raised to 100,000 yen, normal account interest to 0.0396, accounts divided into normal, installment, and fixed-amount savings)
1952.5.14	13th UPU Congress in Brussels
1952.6.1	Maximum on postal life insurance raised to 80,000 yen
1952.7.31	Provisional license granted to Nippon Television
1952.8.1	Radiowave Control Committee abolished. Radio Research Lab and management of radio waves placed under jurisdiction of Ministry of Posts. NTT established.
1952.10.1	Ten-year endowment policies introduced as a type of postal life insurance

Source: Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, *Yūsei Hyakunenshi* (100 Years of Postal Administration), Tokyo: Teishin Kyōkai, 1971, p. 20 of chronology

The "Snap Dissolution" and the fragmented election

Around the summer of 1951, a number of those subjected to the purge, including Ishibashi, Miki Bukichi, Kōno Ichirō, and Hatoyama, were allowed to return to public life. The San Francisco Peace Treaty then went into effect on April 28, 1952. As the purge was abolished when the treaty went into effect, this meant that Kishi was also now allowed to run for office.

The members of the Liberal Party's anti-Yoshida faction had intended to form a new party. While they chose to instead remain after their key member, Hatoyama, suffered a stroke, their criticism of Yoshida increased. Hatoyama and the others released from the purge still lacked seats in the Diet, however.

Yoshida responded to this criticism by suddenly dissolving the House of Representatives on August 28. He did so invoking Article 7 of the constitution; no motion of no confidence had been passed. This "snap dissolution" (*nukiuchi kaisan*) came as a total surprise not only to the opposition but to most of the Liberal Party's Diet members as well. This was the first time a prime minister had exercised their power under Article 7 to dissolve the Diet.

Yoshida's goal was to damage the Hatoyama faction by dissolving the Diet before they had had time to prepare. This "snap dissolution" was the brainchild of Matsuno Tsuruhei, who had previously been known as the "god of elections" (*senkyo no kamisama*). Matsuno (who also had the nickname "sneaky Hei") was one of those who had been released from the purge but not yet been elected.

The only people who Yoshida had secretly consulted with on the plan were his confidantes Ikeda, Satō, Hirokawa, and Hori. He had not even given any prior warning to Speaker Ōno, Secretary-General Hayashi Jōji, or General Council Chairman Masutani. These three were powerful leaders of the party, two of whom, Hayashi and Masutani, were members of Yoshida's faction (the other, Ōno, was close to Hatoyama and hostile toward Hirokawa and Satō).

For their part, Ikeda, Satō, Hirokawa, and Hori were collectively referred to as the "League of Four" (*yonsha renmei*). While a member of Yoshida's faction, Masutani had poor relations with Hirokawa and Hori, and his position among Yoshida's confidantes had fallen. According to him, the League of Four had "a strategy for isolating me" through Hirokawa.

According to *Yomiuri Shimbun* reporter Miyazaki Yoshimasa, news of the "snap dissolution" had actually been leaked on the night of August 27. But when he caught up with Satō and asked him if the news was true, he flatly denied it. Reassured, Miyazaki then went to bed.

Ōno had become speaker on August 26 and therefore only held the position for three days (including the day the house was dissolved). He was thus humiliated and dubbed the "three-day speaker." When the Hatoyama faction held a meeting, he was incensed and criticized the Yoshida faction, saying that "one cannot co-exist with Yoshida." Despite this, he would eventually reconcile with Yoshida and Ikeda as time passed and alignments shifted.

He never reconciled with Satō, however. While Ikeda was a cheerful and friendly man, Satō seemed awkward and suspicious to others. Ōno considered

Ikeda “an interesting fellow” but never forgave Satō for the rest of his life, dubbing him “a treacherous man.”

The “snap dissolution” meant that the Liberal Party’s electoral activities were divided, with the Yoshida and Hatoyama factions operating separately. Miki Bukichi was incensed at “the Yoshida faction’s *coup d’état*” and set up the Hatoyama faction’s liaison office at the Tokyo Station Hotel with Ōno and other members of the faction. Ōno and Ishibashi were especially vitriolic in their criticism of Yoshida, even for members of the Hatoyama faction. This led to Yoshida expelling them for “anti-party” activities. As all this was going on, Satō strengthened his position within the Yoshida faction.

The Liberal Party won 240 seats in the October 1 general election. While this was a majority, it was also a decline of forty-five seats. Hatoyama naturally won a seat, and Satō was reelected, coming in second in his district.

Both the Yoshida and Hatoyama factions hastened their attempts to entice neutral factions within the party to join with them. Kōno announced at Tokyo Station Hotel on October 2 that the Hatoyama faction had reached 119 members. The pro-Yoshida Hirokawa countered by asserting that seventy-one of these were actually either neutral or members of the Yoshida faction. According to an investigation by the *Asahi Shimbun*, the Yoshida faction had 105 members and the Hatoyama faction sixty-nine. Sixty-five Diet members were neutral, and one’s alignment was unknown.

Ōno was convinced by Matsuno to support Yoshida, and Yoshida stayed on as party president following discussions with Hatoyama. Ōno became speaker of the House of Representatives once again on October 24. Meanwhile, the Hatoyama faction founded the “Liberal Party Democratization Alliance” (Mindō), a group which would go on to intensify the faction’s conflict with Yoshida.

Fukuda Takeo, a former finance ministry official and future prime minister, was one of those elected for the first time in the October 1 general election. He paid his respects to Finance Minister Ikeda (his senior at the ministry) after his victory, but the two men did not get along with one another. Fukuda initially chose to remain an independent. He would only join the Liberal Party in 1953 after being invited by Kishi (who, while belonging to the Liberals, was also refining plans for a new party).

From minister of construction to a second term as secretary-general

The fourth Yoshida government was launched on October 30, 1952. The distinguishing characteristics of the new government were the entry of Ogata Taketora into the cabinet as deputy chief cabinet secretary and his emergence as Yoshida’s successor. A former vice president of the *Asahi Shimbun*, Ogata had just been elected to the Diet (having previously been subject to the purge).

Despite being a freshman in the Diet, he would also serve as deputy prime minister from November 28. This angered Hirokawa as he was seeking to succeed Yoshida. Ogata would remain in this position in the next Yoshida government as well and eventually succeed Yoshida as president of the Liberal Party.

Satō was appointed minister of construction and director-general of the Hokkaido Development Agency. Yoshida had thus promoted Satō within the cabinet from his previous low position of postal minister. In his New Year’s address as minister, Satō argued for more housing and for the development of national land. Barely half of the areas destroyed during the war had been rebuilt as of this time, and housing problems continued to be a major social issue.

The government had enacted the Comprehensive National Land Development Law two years earlier, having quickly recognized the importance of national land development for building a self-sustaining economy. It had drawn up and worked to implement comprehensive plans on resource development, the prevention of natural disasters, the rational placement of cities and agricultural villages, and suitable locations for industry. Satō believed that it was now time to further accelerate these efforts and greatly push forward with national land development.

The construction minister determined the distribution of public works projects. Administering construction meant wielding a massive budget and having powerful authority in the form of budget allotments for local construction projects (*kashozuke*). Satō headed the ministry but had difficulty using this to make hostile moves as he was forced to recognize that the “non-mainstream” factions in the party had the upper hand.

In Japanese, those factions who participate in the government are referred to as “mainstream” (*shuryū*) factions, while those on the outside are referred to as “non-mainstream” (*hishuryū*) factions.

While Satō told those around him that his job was “just to set the budget; I otherwise just make speeches and cut ribbons,” he actually had extensive jurisdiction that stretched from roads and rivers to housing.

Road administration was an especially important area under the ministry’s control. Satō wrote about the importance of expanding Japan’s road network in the magazine *Jitsugyō no Sekai* and explained how this would be funded: “a gasoline tax will be levied in addition to the current transit tax. Even America has a system of toll roads.”

Satō worked out the law for the gasoline tax with House of Representatives Construction Committee Chairman Shinoda Kōsaku and Construction Committee Director Tanaka Kakuei. Formally the “Act on Temporary Measures for Funding Sources for Road Expansion, etc.,” it was a targeted tax on gasoline that would be used to pave and repair roads.

As no opposition was expected from the other parties, the bill was submitted as a private member’s bill by Tanaka, Nishimura Eiichi, and others. (Tanaka and Nishimura would go on to become important members of the Satō faction.) The gasoline tax went into effect on July 23, 1953, when Satō was no longer construction minister.

Satō’s rival Ikeda had been appointed minister of international trade and industry (MITI minister) and director-general of the Economic Council Agency when the fourth Yoshida government began. But he had been removed from the cabinet on November 28, 1952, after a motion of no confidence had passed against him in the House of Representatives.

According to Miyazawa Taneo, the member who submitted the motion,

In the plenary session of this house held on the twenty-seventh, [Ikeda] repeated the irresponsible remarks that he had previously made as finance minister, again making the inhumane statement that “it couldn’t be helped if three or five smaller businessmen committed suicide in desperation.”

The motion passed with a margin of seven votes because twenty-five members of the Hatoyama faction, the Liberal Party’s “internal opposition,” were absent for the vote.

Unlike the taciturn Satō, Ikeda had a tendency to speak his mind openly, a trait that sometimes led him to make gaffes. The passage of the motion against Ikeda was seemingly symbolic of the Yoshida government’s falling off course. Yoshida had Minister of Agriculture Ogasawara Sankurō add Ikeda’s two positions to his portfolio.

This was just a temporary arrangement, and Yoshida made Hirokawa agricultural minister on December 5. Ogasawara remained in Ikeda’s previous positions. Hirokawa had served as agricultural minister in Yoshida’s previous cabinet, and his reappointment was because Yoshida was wary of him; he had been in contact with Miki Bukichi of the Hatoyama faction, and Yoshida wanted to prevent his turning.

Yoshida also returned Satō to the position of Liberal Party secretary-general on January 30, 1953. This was despite having appointed him as construction minister just three months earlier. Yoshida’s management of personnel had become increasingly heavy-handed.

Satō’s return to the position was entirely due to Yoshida having reassessed his qualities as a close associate. Satō may have been bland, but he had strong defenses. He was steady and kept his mouth shut. With the incessant barrage of attacks from the Hatoyama faction, Yoshida needed someone like Satō in the job. From Satō’s perspective, however, the position of secretary-general would have appeared to be an unenviable one. This is because his appointment coincided with that of the Hatoyama faction’s Miki Bukichi as General Council chairman.

The Hirokawa faction had wanted the position of secretary-general to go to Hirokawa instead. This had been supported by the Hatoyama faction, who hoped that they could drive a wedge into the League of Four (Ikeda, Satō, Hirokawa, and Hori) by backing Hirokawa. Yoshida’s decision to appoint Satō rather than Hirokawa and to give important positions to Satō and Ogata had the effect of pushing the Hirokawa faction closer to the Hatoyama faction.

The “Baka Yarō Dissolution” – the “Debureaucratization” of Secretary-General Satō

The conflict between the Yoshida and Hatoyama factions greatly affected Satō’s position as secretary-general. General Council meetings were held every Tuesday

and Friday, and he clashed with General Council Chairman Miki Bukichi at these over every element of party administration. The conflict between Satō and Miki served as a proxy war for Yoshida and Hatoyama. Satō was supported in his efforts by Hori, Shinoda, and Tanaka.

Yoshida's autocratic "one-man" management of the party (which had led him to reappoint Satō as secretary-general) reached its peak with the so-called *baka yarō* dissolution. At a February 28, 1953, meeting of the House of Representatives' Budget Committee, Yoshida referred to Nishimura Eiichi of the Right Socialist Party as a "baka yarō" (damned fool). The remark came during the conclusion of budget deliberations, as Nishimura interrogated an irritated Yoshida on the contemporary international situation and pressed him for answers:

"You shouldn't get yourself all worked up, Mr. Prime Minister. There's no need for that, right?"

"Don't be rude."

"What was rude?"

"You're being rude."

"What's rude about asking a question? You're being rude to me. What's rude about telling you, as the prime minister of Japan, to give your outlook on the international situation without quoting Churchill or something translated from another language? What, can't you do that?"

"Damned fool (*baka yarō*)."

"Damned fool?"

"My words were inappropriate. I withdraw them."

Just to be clear, Yoshida did not shout at Nishimura that he was a "damned fool" during this exchange (which was taken from the Diet record). He said it more softly, almost as if he were muttering to himself.

Satō consulted with Ogata and Suto Hideo of the Diet Affairs Committee, but the opposition refused to attend meetings of the Budget Committee. This was followed by the submission of a motion to censure Yoshida during the Diet's March 2 plenary session. The motion passed, the first time in Diet history that a prime minister was censured. This was because the Hatoyama and Hirokawa factions had absented themselves from the voting. Hirokawa's position as agricultural minister meant that he would have been expected to have backed Yoshida.

Yoshida was furious at the Hirokawa faction's actions and immediately dismissed him as agricultural minister. While it was only natural that he was angry, by dismissing a minister that he himself had appointed, he highlighted his own lack of judgment.

Satō had been informed ahead of time by Kōno and Ishida of the Hatoyama faction that the anti-Yoshida factions would not be attending the vote. The opposition parties seized on this disunity within the Liberal Party and moved to submit a motion of no confidence in the government. When Satō spoke to Yoshida to find out how he wanted to handle this, Yoshida said that he planned to dissolve the Diet if it looked like such a motion would pass.

When a motion of no confidence was passed on March 14 during a plenary session of the House of Representatives, Yoshida dissolved the body as planned. The Hatoyama and Hirokawa factions split off from the party, forming the Separatist Liberal Party (Buntō-ha Jiyūtō) with Hatoyama as president.

The general election was scheduled for April 19. Unable to contain his anger, Yoshida consulted with Satō and then dispatched Yasui Taikichi to run as a candidate in Hirokawa’s district (Tokyo 3rd). The choice of Yasui is said to have been made on Ōno’s recommendation. Satō made many speeches in support of Yasui and also volunteered to serve as head of the Liberal Party’s Setagaya branch (a position previously held by Horikawa).

Satō’s commitment to bringing down Hirokawa went beyond his loyalty to Yoshida; they were the actions of a party politician. The *Asahi Shimbun* reported that

while it is not strange in that Mr. Satō is a resident of Setagaya, even those at party headquarters have been surprised that he has personally become head of the party there and has been working to “bring Hirokawa down” at all costs.

As Satō had hoped, the “assassin” Yasui won election, and Hirokawa did not. The Liberal Party’s seats fell from 222 to 199 in the election, a number that, while not enough for a majority, still made it the largest party in the House of Representatives. The Reform Party came in second with seventy-two seats, followed by the Left Socialists and Right Socialists. Hatoyama and Miki Bukichi’s Separatist Liberal Party, which had held twenty-two seats at the time of the Diet’s dissolution, became the fifth-largest party with thirty-five seats.

At a roundtable discussion held by representatives of the five largest parties after the election, Satō blocked moves by the opposition, arguing that “it is the normal course in democratic governance for the largest party to be named leader and be put in charge of the political situation.” The fifth Yoshida government began on May 21 as a one-party minority government.

Satō remained secretary-general. While Ikeda was appointed chairman of the Policy Research Council, it was with Ogata and Satō that Yoshida worked out the members of his new cabinet; Satō had overtaken Ikeda’s position as one of Yoshida’s closest confidantes.

While Satō had less experience than Ikeda in serving in major cabinet positions, as a two-time secretary-general he was deeply involved in personnel choices. He had managed to complete his “debureaucratization” before him. Drawing closer to Yoshida – who would not leave power quietly – carried with it the danger that Satō might end up going down alongside him, however.

Satō’s maneuvers and Kishi’s return

Kishi ran as a Liberal Party candidate in the April 1953 general election that followed the “baka yarō dissolution.” He ran in the Yamaguchi second district alongside Satō; Satō came in first and Kishi in third.

Satō had personally carried out the procedures for admitting Kishi into the Liberal Party. His maneuvers are the reason that Kishi – a critic of Yoshida – became a member of the party. He took this action because, after being released from the purge, Kishi had formed a political organization called the League to Rebuild Japan (Nihon Saiken Renmei) with others including Shigemitsu Mamoru and Miyoshi Hideyuki.

Shigemitsu was the first president of the Reform Party, a political party formed in February 1952. This was a successor to the National Democratic Party and included a number of politicians released from the purge. As shown in the diagram, it would merge with Hatoyama’s Democratic Party in November 1954. Miyoshi was an independent who was elected to the House of Councillors in April 1953.

The shrewd Kishi would later be called “both shores” while prime minister (a play on the fact that the word “kishi” means shore). Since being released from the purge, he had primarily been critical of Yoshida. No one was more familiar with Kishi’s abilities than Satō. He knew that if Kishi were to gain election as a member of a different party, he would not hesitate to verbally challenge the Yoshida government.

As Kishi happened to have been touring West Germany at the time of the dissolution of the Diet, Satō conferred with Miyoshi and then carried out the paperwork to have Kishi join the Liberal Party without securing his permission first. According to Kishi,

I hadn’t yet decided whether or not to run as a Liberal if I ran for office. But when I arrived home, I found that Satō and Miyoshi had already registered me as a member of the Liberal Party. So, I didn’t have any other choice.

That Kishi had been forced into the Liberal Party by Satō was not necessarily a bad thing for him. Kishi likely would not have attracted many votes if he had run as a candidate for the weak League to Rebuild Japan. Shigemitsu’s Reform Party ran Komura Sakahiko as its candidate in the Yamaguchi second district, but he failed to win election. The unspoken understanding between Satō and Kishi led to Kishi becoming a member of the Liberal Party that he had long criticized. Kishi was realistic and quick to adapt.

Satō was the better of the two brothers at elections. It was his third time running, and he had solidified his votes through his support organization (*kōenkai*). And as secretary-general, Satō was the second-highest figure in the government party and in a position where he received requests from across the country. Satō and Kishi would compete against each other in a total of eight elections, the last being in 1972. The only time that Kishi won more votes than Satō was in 1958, when he was serving as prime minister.

The two men may have been brothers, but they still needed to compete against one another for votes under the multimember district system in place at the time. Their support organizations would fight against each other ruthlessly, but they themselves enjoyed a good relationship. As visiting the district tended to reduce

Table 2.2 Satō and Kishi’s Vote Totals in Yamaguchi Second District

<i>Date</i>	<i>Satō</i>	<i>Kishi</i>
April 1953	68,386 (1st)	39,263 (3rd)
February 1955	63,229 (1st)	60,611 (2nd)
May 1958	72,545 (2nd)	95,904 (1st)
November 1960	74,830 (1st)	61,397 (3rd)
November 1963	94,785 (1st)	49,877 (5th)
January 1967	88,859 (1st)	75,505 (3rd)
December 1969	96,979 (1st)	65,469 (2nd)
December 1972	66,282 (2nd)	64,394 (3rd)

Source: (Compiled by author)

the number of votes that Kishi received, Satō would even go so far as to limit his local campaigning.

Kishi believed that there should be a conservative merger so that Japan had two major political parties, one conservative and one reformist. This meant that his point of view was different from that of Satō and Yoshida, who were hostile to the Hatoyama faction. Kishi would go on to become the first secretary-general of the Liberal Democratic Party following its founding on November 15, 1955. Satō, however, disagreed with the conservative merger and would briefly keep his distance from Kishi.

Hatoyama’s return to the Liberal Party and the shipbuilding scandal

Yoshida met with Hatoyama on November 17, 1953, to request that he return to the Liberal Party. This effort was successful, with Hatoyama dissolving the Separatist Liberal Party later that month and rejoining alongside about twenty others. Eight members of Hatoyama’s party, including Miki Bukichi, refused to do so, choosing to instead form the Japan Liberal Party. This group was called the “eight samurai” by the press.

The business and political worlds were rocked by the Shipbuilding Scandal in 1954. This incident centered on bribery related to the funding of shipbuilding companies by the Development Bank of Japan. Beginning in January, the Tokyo Public Prosecutor’s Office arrested seventy-one people including Yokota Aisaburō (president of Yamashita Steamships), Tsuboi Gengo (chief secretary for the minister of transportation), and Arida Jirō (deputy secretary-general of the Liberal Party); thirty-four of these would be indicted and ultimately sixteen found guilty.

Although Policy Research Council Chairman Ikeda’s name appeared in the newspapers in relation to the scandal, the focus soon centered on Secretary-General Satō. Satō was suspected of having received ten million yen each from Mitsui Shipbuilding and the Shipbuilders’ Association of Japan via the Liberal Party’s executive bureau in October 1953. Those responsible for giving the bribes and the person in charge of the Liberal Party’s accounts were arrested.

As mentioned earlier, the Hatoyama faction had returned to the Liberal Party in late November. It is believed that the money taken as bribes from the shipbuilding companies was used to arrange this. Hatoyama had been in need of money; he had mortgaged his magnificent home in Otowa, Bunkyo Ward, and taken on multiple loans. Satō was also believed to have personally taken two million yen from four companies including Iino Lines.

Satō voluntarily submitted himself to police questioning about five times. Yet he did not appear as agitated, laughingly telling reporters that “I’m like a fish on a chopping block.” When Diet members close to Satō visited his home, they found him surprisingly calm.

Prosecutors made the decision on April 20, 1954, to have Satō arrested. According to Itō Shigeki, a prosecutor in special investigations, they had also determined that Satō’s personal bank account contained funds he had received from businesses.

Satō escaped arrest, however, when Justice Minister Inukai Takeru exercised his right of command over the investigation on April 21. The right of command is an authority of the Minister of Justice established in Article 14 of the Public Prosecutor’s Office Act. It allows the minister to exercise authority over the prosecutor general in the investigation and treatment of incidents and to intervene in investigations. Inukai intervened with Prosecutor General Satō Tōsuke, stating that, in order to facilitate the Diet’s consideration of legislation, he could not permit the arrest of the secretary-general of the government party while the Diet was in session.

This utterly unprecedented use of the right of command was done in accordance with the wishes of Yoshida and Ogata. It must have been reassuring to Satō that Yoshida did not abandon him (even if the funds originally had been received with the intention of furthering Yoshida’s maneuvers to return the Hatoyama faction to the party). While Yoshida had caused a number of problems for Satō in the past due to his indiscreet remarks and tendency to appoint Satō to positions for which he was ill-suited, Satō must surely have felt he owed him a life-long debt after this. Nakasone and other members of the Reform Party blasted the Yoshida government for its intervention into the case, and Inukai took responsibility and resigned on April 22.

After Satō escaped arrest, Yoshida made him smile by joking that “just hearing that you might go to prison made you mature quite a bit. You probably would have changed even more if you’d actually gone.” Yoshida was likely the only person who was able to engage in this kind of black humor with Satō.

With the prosecution unable to arrest Satō, many of those who had paid bribes were released on bail. It was difficult to obtain indictments in this kind of case without simultaneously holding and obtaining testimony from both those suspected of giving bribes and those suspected of taking them.

Although Satō had not been arrested, the Shipbuilding Scandal was still a major blow for the Yoshida government. Even so, Yoshida had been moved by Satō’s devotion to him. When Satō’s Uncle Satō Kanzō was worried about him and wrote to Yoshida on his behalf, Yoshida replied that “Eisaku has consistently aided me and I feel sincerely and deeply grateful to him for that.” Had Yoshida not

protected Satō during this incident, it is likely that Satō’s political career would have come to an end here.

A “Destined” amnesty – from indictment to dismissal

But while the prosecutors had had to give up on arresting Satō for taking bribes, they still indicted him for violating the Political Funds Control Act on June 16, 1954, after the Diet session had ended. He was suspected of having failed to declare all of the political contributions he had received as a leader of a political party. Satō resigned as secretary-general on July 26, and the position passed to Ikeda.

Even though Satō’s trial was scheduled for November, he still accompanied Yoshida on his foreign tour that began in late September. Given that the trial might mean the end of his political career, one might have expected Satō to have devoted himself to preparing his case. But in what was perhaps an act of exceptional bravery, Satō prioritized accompanying Yoshida instead.

Yoshida departed on his tour of seven countries in Europe and North America on September 26. Satō followed on September 29. He had planned to accompany Yoshida from the beginning of his trip but had been delayed by the progress being made by Kishi’s New Party Formation Promotion Council toward the creation of a new anti-Yoshida conservative party.

Yoshida’s tour took him only to countries in the West. For this reason, Satō visited countries in Asia such as Thailand, India, and Pakistan as Yoshida’s representative. To give an example of one of these visits, while in Pakistan Satō met with Deputy Foreign Minister Raheen and Justice Minister Brohi and conveyed a message from Yoshida to Prime Minister Mohammad Ali. He also learned about the constitutional revision process taking place in the country at the time. While the contents of the message to Ali are unknown, they were likely merely formalities.

Satō joined up with Yoshida in Paris on October 7. They then went on together to West Germany, Italy, Britain, and America. Satō returned to Japan on November 14, three days earlier than Yoshida.

Awaiting Satō back in Japan was his trial for violating the Political Funds Control Act. This began on November 30 at Tokyo District Court’s Criminal Courtroom No. 21.

When he arrived at court, he was mobbed by reporters who asked, “How do you feel about the right of command being exercised on your behalf?”

Satō merely replied that “That’s been discussed to death. I’m not going to say anything more about it,” turned the other way, and entered the courtroom. While the courtroom had been packed during the earlier Shōwa Denkō incident, there was no audience on this day, perhaps because the Diet was in session.

Asked by the judge to give his occupation, Satō placed his hands before him and answered, “At the moment I’m a member of the House of Representatives.” As the head of the district public prosecutor’s office’s trials department began to read the indictment, Satō adjusted his glasses and followed along with a strained expression.

The trial stretched on but ultimately came to an unexpected conclusion. Satō was acquitted on December 28, 1956. This acquittal was the result of an amnesty

that had been issued to coincide with Japan’s admission into the United Nations. Satō had first managed to escape arrest through the exercise of the justice minister’s right of command; now he was saved by a timely pardon.

There are several types of pardon in the Japanese legal system, including amnesties (*taisha*), special pardons (*tokusha*), and commutations. Special pardons nullify the consequences of a guilty verdict. As Satō’s case was still ongoing and no verdict had been rendered, this would not have helped him. And he could not have his sentence commuted for the same reason. Accordingly, the only type of pardon applicable to Satō’s situation would be an amnesty. And that’s what he received.

The trial ended in just five minutes, and Satō was soon surrounded by acquaintances who wished to congratulate him. When some reporters were unable to accept these developments and persisted in asking questions, Satō sneered and said, “In the end I guess I have nothing to say.” He then left the courtroom.

Why were the charges against Satō dismissed? As explained earlier, an amnesty was required to terminate the prosecution’s right to indict him, and this was not something that was easily obtained. According to Yamada Eizō of the *Asahi Shimbun*, Satō owed his amnesty largely to Tanaka Kakuei.

This is because the types of pardon to be issued were at the discretion of the cabinet, and by this time, power had already passed from the Yoshida government to the Hatoyama government. Justice Minister Makino Ryōzō and Agricultural Minister Kōno were not sympathetic to Satō (who of course belonged to the Yoshida faction) and were opposed to any amnesty.

Tanaka visited the home of Chief Cabinet Secretary Nemoto Ryūtarō on a daily basis, however, and eventually won him over, having argued that Satō’s legal difficulties were the result of his scraping together the funds needed to have Hatoyama return to the Liberal Party. Tanaka and Nemoto had both entered the Diet in the same class, and the two had also been among those who had broken away from the Democratic Party to form the Dōshi Club in 1947.

Satō owed Tanaka greatly for this intercession on his behalf. At the same time, he must have found it difficult to forgive Hatoyama, who had not actively pushed for him to be subject to the amnesty. Despite these feelings, he still visited Hatoyama and paid his respects to him on the day that his case was dismissed.

Satō would later advise younger politicians that “while it goes without saying that a politician needs to clearly distinguish between their official and personal affairs, politicians today must also be able to divulge their private lives to the public.”

The amnesty was quite a fortunate turn of affairs for Satō. While he had been blessed with good luck many times in his career thus far, this dismissal was a miracle (even given Tanaka’s efforts). Years later, Satō would describe it as “destiny.”

Thinking back on it now, I can only describe myself as having gotten lucky. If those charges hadn’t been dismissed, my career would have been damaged. It’s unlikely that I would have ever become prime minister.

All things considered, a person’s destiny is something that we can’t understand. I joined the railway ministry after graduating from university because I wasn’t able to enter the shipping company that I had wanted to. Being

demoted to director of the Osaka Railway Bureau meant that I was spared from the purge. And I was able to achieve my political dreams because the case against me for violating the law on political contributions was dismissed. I now belatedly feel the deep significance of the word “destiny.”

Having escaped his greatest crisis, Satō would leave the dirty work of raising money to Tanaka in the future. This meant that Satō himself would be kept clean. But it also boosted Tanaka’s status and would be tied to his ultimate usurpation of the Satō faction.

From the “Ogata” concept to the resignation *en masse* of the Yoshida Cabinet

Despite being in the midst of the turmoil of the Shipbuilding Scandal in 1954, Satō also spent the year engaged in important work aimed at a potential merger of the Liberal and Reform parties. These efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, however. Let’s follow Satō’s steps through this year with a focus on this doomed conservative merger.

As secretary-general of the Liberal Party, Satō met with Reform Party Secretary-General Matsumura Kenzō several times between February and June. Satō’s meetings with Matsumura involved government business such as passage of the education bill and ratification of the US-Japan Mutual Defense Agreement, but his eyes were also trained on a conservative merger as the ultimate goal.

This idea of a conservative merger was referred to as the “Ogata Concept” as it was he, rather than Yoshida or Satō, who was most passionate about the idea. The gist of his concept was that both parties would disband and form a new one, the leader of which would be determined by a popular vote. The implication was that Yoshida would be the head of the new party.

Satō held a press conference on March 29 regarding the merger and said that

there have been two lines of thoughts regarding how to regain control of the political situation: one is a conservative merger [such as the ‘Ogata Concept’] and the other is a conservative realignment achieved through the defeat of Yoshida. The second of these is unacceptable to Deputy Prime Minister Ogata and me. Yoshida believes that Ogata’s method is more in keeping with public opinion.

Satō formally proposed a merger to Matsumura on April 13. Matsumura insisted that it would have to be agreed in advance that the Yoshida cabinet would resign *en masse* prior to the formation of the new party, however. The discussion made no progress because Satō refused to accept this condition. And once the Shipbuilding Scandal enveloped Satō, the Reform Party’s stance hardened.

In Satō’s eyes, it was more important to strengthen the Yoshida government than to achieve a conservative merger. Yoshida was obsessed with maintaining his hold on the government, and Satō likely thought it unlikely that he would accept

any resignation en masse, even if it meant a conservative merger. Discussions with Matsumura finally collapsed on June 24. Released from the negotiations, Satō leaked to a reporter that the breakdown was “like the end of the rainy season.” Internally, Satō was happy that the negotiations had failed.

Yoshida, Ogata, and Satō were not the only ones within the Liberal Party trying to achieve a conservative merger. Kishi, Ishibashi, and Hatoyama were also making plans for a new conservative party, and not one based on the “Ogata Concept.” Kishi established the New Party Formation Promotion Council on April 19 and reached out to Matsumura and former prime minister, Ashida Hitoshi of the Reform Party. They all agreed that a new conservative party should be formed. Ashida was also in touch with Ishibashi.

Kishi and the others were working in a direction counter to that of the “Ogata Concept.” This was, in actuality, a movement to bring down the Yoshida government. According to Kishi, “Satō and Ikeda would never move beyond the realm of multi-factional schemes centered on Yoshida. They were working on a different level from me.”

Ogata and Satō advised Kishi to be more cautious in his actions, but he was already looking toward a time when Yoshida was no longer prime minister. Kishi wrote that “[like Ogata], Secretary-General Satō spoke to me [about being more cautious] but I was unconcerned.”

An extraordinary session of the party’s General Council was held on November 8, and Kishi and Ishibashi were expelled from the party. It was Ikeda, Satō’s successor as secretary-general, who strongly pushed for their expulsion. Fukuda, a close associate of Kishi’s, left the party with fourteen others. Fukuda would remain critical of Ikeda in the years to come, even after Ikeda became a powerful figure.

Besides Kishi, the other focal point of the movement to establish a new conservative party was Hatoyama. He left the Liberal Party on November 24 and founded the Democratic Party with the Reform Party and Japan Liberal Party. The leadership of the new party consisted of President Hatoyama, Vice President Shigemitsu, Secretary-General Kishi, General Council Chairman Miki Bukichi, and Policy Research Chairman Matsumura.

Satō had gathered funds to have Hatoyama rejoin the Liberal Party. For him, Hatoyama’s departure was a betrayal. And to make matters worse, his brother had joined with Hatoyama in opposition to Yoshida. But he did not have any moves left to him as Shigemitsu’s Reform Party had chosen to merge with the Hatoyama faction.

On December 7, Hatoyama’s Democratic Party joined with the left and right Socialists to introduce a motion of no confidence in the government. The Yoshida government resigned en masse. While Satō and Ikeda had initially approved of a proposal made by Yoshida on the 6th to dissolve the Diet and call new elections, they had changed their minds by the 7th. When Ikeda recommended that the cabinet resign, Satō endorsed this.

Ikeda and Satō saw resignation as inevitable because they could see that, should a general election be held, the Liberal Party would suffer a great defeat and collapse.

Ikeda told Yoshida, “Mr. Prime Minister, with the way things have gone, a resignation *en masse* is no longer avoidable.” Satō was overcome with emotion and unable to say much. His large eyes were filled with tears. Forced by his confidantes to face reality, Yoshida agreed to resign.

The Liberal Party became part of the opposition, and Ogata succeeded Yoshida as party president. The era of Yoshida – the man who had brought Satō into politics – had come to an end. Now Hatoyama and Kishi were attempting to be the primary actors of the political world. Hatoyama became the new prime minister.

The “Honor Student” and “Transfer Student” of the Yoshida school

The term “honor student of the Yoshida school” has been applied to both Satō and Ikeda multiple times in this book. But when was it that this label became firmly affixed to them? Looking through major newspapers, the term’s first appearance is surprisingly late. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* first employed it on January 6, 1958, and the *Asahi Shimbun* on June 10, 1962 (evening edition).

In January 1958, Kishi was prime minister, and Satō was LDP General Council chairman. Asked about dissolving the Diet, Satō told a reporter that “I graduated as an honor student of the Yoshida school; I can’t answer hypotheticals.” He thus used the term himself. The *Yomiuri* reporter said the impression he received was that Satō was “tight-lipped” and “answered questions just as Yoshida would have.”

When Satō joined the Kishi cabinet as finance minister on June 12 of that year, the *Yomiuri* ran the following appraisal of him under the headline “Surpasses his Brother in Political Power – Finance Minister Satō – An Honor Student of the Yoshida School”:

Deeply trusted by former prime minister Yoshida, [Satō] himself boasts that he is “an honor student of the Yoshida school.” He was elevated to the position of chief cabinet secretary from vice-minister of transportation despite not holding a seat in the Diet. During just a short period, he was minister of posts, minister of telecommunications, and minister of construction. He also served as Liberal Party secretary-general twice and as Policy Research Council chairman. All this was enough to earn him the nickname “the triple-jumper of politics.”

Ikeda also entered the cabinet as a minister without a portfolio at this time, but the term was not used in reference to him.

It was only with the June 10, 1962, evening edition of the *Asahi Shimbun* that Prime Minister Ikeda began to be included among the “honor students of the Yoshida school.”

Recently MITI Minister Satō has become interested in trade with communist China. . . .

Because it is well known that the MITI minister, an “honor student of the Yoshida school” like Prime Minister Ikeda, hates the [Chinese] Communist Party, there has been speculation among the LDP factions and the business community about this change.

Here, Prime Minister Ikeda and MITI Minister Satō were finally grouped together as “honor students of the Yoshida school.”

According to Ikeda’s secretary Itō Masaya, it had been Satō who had introduced Ikeda, the former administrative vice-minister of finance, to Yoshida. He also said that “looking at how things played out, Ikeda was a late transfer to the Yoshida school.” In other words, while Satō openly referred to himself as an “honor student of the Yoshida school,” Ikeda was a “transfer student.” That is, someone who was later added to the school.

Of course, as with many factions, the “Yoshida school” was not some eternally fixed entity. It would split into the Satō and Ikeda factions as the “honor student” Satō and “transfer student” Ikeda each went their separate ways following the formation of the LDP. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

3 “The Politics of Waiting”

From Finance Minister in the Kishi government to MITI Minister under Ikeda

Abandoned – the “Hatoyama Boom” election

The Hatoyama government was born on December 10, 1954. Democratic Party Vice President Shigemitsu served as both foreign minister and deputy prime minister in the new government. Hatoyama had been purged by Occupation authorities in 1946 immediately before he would have become prime minister. He was thus widely viewed as a man who had suffered from misfortune. This and his welcoming personality (which was a marked contrast from that of Yoshida), made him popular with the public.

In Satō’s eyes, however, Hatoyama was a man without principle, someone who had repeatedly joined and left the Liberal Party before his final departure. Satō was likely scornful of the media and public for praising such a man.

Hatoyama’s Democratic Party had 123 seats in the House of Representatives, making it the second-largest party. He dissolved the body on January 24, 1955, and called a new general election for February 27. Satō faced a difficult electoral fight as his trial for the Shipbuilding Scandal was still ongoing. Kishi, as ever in the same electoral district as Satō, was now secretary-general of the Democratic Party. The campaign became an internecine fight as even those within the Kishi camp attacked Satō for being “corrupt.”

The Kishi camp employed crafty tactics, however. Rather than outright condemn Satō, his campaign staff instead went around apologizing for “dispatching a corrupt man from our hometown to the Diet.” This was of course intended as an indirect rebuke of Satō rather than a genuine apology.

When Satō and Kishi themselves met with each other, they were carefree and sociable. But the members of their support organizations feuded everywhere, including in inns and barber shops.

It would have been hard for any member of the Liberal Party to stand for election amidst the “Hatoyama Boom” that followed his rise to power, but Satō was at a particular disadvantage due to his close association with Yoshida. For Satō, this election seemed to be one where he stood all alone.

But then Yoshida visited Yanai, Yamaguchi, a week before the election to give a speech on Satō’s behalf. Before an overflowing crowd, the seventy-six-year-old Yoshida appealed to the crowd to vote for Satō:

Satō committed absolutely no crimes [during the Shipbuilding Scandal]. He has suffered for the sake of the party. That’s why I’ve come here today [to

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support him]. There are those who call me the man who raised him, but I did not raise him. He raised himself. He is an innocent man. And there is a splendor in the fact that he offers no defense of himself.

Yoshida gave speeches in support of Satō across the district, all of which received highly positive responses. This is likely the point in Satō’s life when Yoshida’s presence seemed to loom largest for him. Unexpectedly, Satō won the most votes in his district, with Kishi coming in second. He had managed to overtake the secretary-general of the government party despite being on trial.

The Democratic Party managed to surge to 158 seats in the election, securing just over forty percent of the House of Representatives. The Liberal Party, which had had 180 seats when the Diet was dissolved, fell to 112. The Left Socialists were the third-largest party in the Diet with the Right Socialists coming in fourth.

Hatoyama began his second government on March 19, another minority government consisting of only the Democratic Party. Before Hatoyama was named prime minister, the election for speaker was held in the House of Representatives. The Democratic Party’s candidate for the position was Miki Bukichi, but it was Masutani Shūji of the Liberal Party who won, with Sugiyama Motojirō of the Right Socialists being chosen as deputy speaker. By coordinating with the Left Socialists, the Liberals and Right Socialists had managed to gain control of the speaker and deputy speaker positions.

Masutani recalled that “thanks to the hard efforts of Ōno [Banboku], Satō [Eisaku], Mizuta [Mikio], and others, we were able to talk with the Socialist Party and defeat Miki through an opposition alliance.” It was a small bit of retaliation for Satō.

Satō became chairman of the Liberal Party’s Diet Affairs Committee. This was a position that he had previously turned down when Yoshida had offered it to him. But he accepted this time, perhaps because of the party’s highly confrontational relationship with the Democratic Party. The *Asahi Shimbun* commented on Satō’s appointment that “the Liberal Party is seen as putting forward an aggressive lineup against the Hatoyama government.”

Enduring the birth of the Liberal Democratic Party

But the Shipbuilding Scandal and the Hatoyama Boom election were not the only hardships that Satō experienced at this time. Ogata’s Liberal Party and Hatoyama’s Democratic Party merged on November 15, 1955, giving birth to the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). The new LDP held 300 seats in the House of Representatives, nearly double the 154 held by the Socialist Party (which had also reunited on October 13).

Kishi served as the LDP’s first secretary-general. Ishii Mitsujirō became General Council chairman and Mizuta Mikio Policy Research Council chairman. The most important party position, that of party president, was left vacant; Hatoyama, Ogata, Miki Bukichi, and Ōno formed a committee that acted in its stead. Miki and Ōno were powerful Diet members who, as the General Council chairmen for the Democrats and Liberals, had held the talks on the merger.

Why was the conservative merger a hardship for Satō? Because with the Liberal Party weakened by the February general election and the Hatoyama government in power, it cannot be denied that the birth of the LDP seemed less like a merger between two parties and more like the Liberal Party had been swallowed whole by the Hatoyama regime. Symbolic of this is that Yoshida was refused membership in the new party. Satō joined Yoshida in becoming an independent and refused to join the LDP while the Hatoyama government was in place.

But Satō’s relationship with Yoshida was not the only reason why he did not join the Hatoyama LDP. He had fought fiercely with Kishi’s Democratic Party supporters during the general election and been severely criticized for his role in the Shipbuilding Scandal. It seemed absurd to Satō to now, less than a year later, join with the Democratic Party. He was stubborn when it came to things like this.

He received a flood of encouraging telegrams from his district in Yamaguchi. The majority of them were along the lines of “Do what you think is right, even if it means being on your own. We’ll follow you.” His supporters felt that “it was none other than the Democratic Party who had abused and tried to bury” Satō during the election.

Unlike Satō, who would refuse to bend when he thought he was right, Kishi was shrewd and quick to adapt. Secretary-general of the LDP, he became the most influential candidate to become the next prime minister when Ogata suddenly died on January 28, 1956. Satō and Kishi had once again switched positions.

Ogata had been only sixty-seven, and his unexpected death meant that Satō and the Yoshida faction had lost their candidate for party president. Satō had visited Ogata just three days before his death. He wrote down in his journal that “even given the uncertainties of life, it seems like in my life I never know what’s going to happen tomorrow.”

Hatoyama won an overwhelming majority of votes at the party convention held on April 5, 1956, and became the first president of the LDP. Shortly after witnessing Hatoyama’s achievement, Miki Bukichi died on July 4.

The split of the “Yoshida Thirteen” – twelve against one

Let’s trace the course of the conservative merger from the perspective of the Satō and Yoshida faction. The Liberal Party contained both those like President Ogata and General Council Chairman Ōno who supported a merge and those like Satō and Ikeda of the Yoshida faction who opposed such a merger.

On November 12, 1955 – three days before the ceremony celebrating the formation of the LDP – the Yoshida faction’s Diet members converged upon Satō’s home in Awashima. There were several dozens of them.

The majority of the Liberal Party’s members were participating in the merger, and the Diet members close to Satō tried to persuade him to do so as well. But he maintained his stance of refusing to join the new party. “All of your opinions and concerns have made a deep impression on me. But I’ll decide by myself what I’m going to do.”

The Heishinkai (a group made up of the Yoshida faction’s most important Diet members such as Satō and Ikeda) gathered at the home of Hayashi Jōji

in Shinjuku on November 13. Hayashi was a former speaker of the House of Representatives.

As he departed for the meeting, Satō revealed to Hiroko that “everyone really seems to be worried. In the end, I think it might just be me and Ikeda.” Satō thus predicted that Ikeda would be the only other person to join him in refusing to join the LDP and stand by Yoshida.

Gathered at the Hayashi home were Hayashi, Satō, Ikeda, Masutani Shūji, Hori Shigeru, Kosaka Zentarō, Sutō Hideo, Hashimoto Gorō, Kogane Yoshiteru, Tanaka Kakuei, Aichi Kiichi, Ōhashi Takeo, and Fukunaga Kenji. Together, these men were known as the “Yoshida Thirteen.”

Surprisingly, even Ikeda expressed an inclination to join the LDP. Participating in the conservative merger could perhaps be said to have been the natural decision. The era of Yoshida had come to an end, and their group was going to dwindle away if nothing changed.

Of the Yoshida Thirteen, Satō was the only one to argue for becoming independents. This meant that the group had split, twelve to one, which made it less a “split” and more just Satō left behind. Yet Satō did not waver in his decision. He was prepared to follow Yoshida alone. And although he remained outside of the new conservative party, Satō was still nominally considered part of the same group as the other twelve.

Satō told reporters that

Everyone seemed to be surprised by my stubbornness (which comes from having taken Yoshida’s teaching to heart). But I guess it’s okay for there to be one or two stubborn people in a group. In any case, while it may not be very smart of me, my political beliefs tell me that, come what may, I just can’t participate in the new party.

Satō visited Yoshida at his home in Ōiso, Kanagawa, later that day to report on the proceedings. The *Asahi Shimbun* attributed Satō’s refusal to join the new party to “a strong anti-Hatoyama sentiment caused by the troubles Satō experienced as secretary-general due to Hatoyama’s repeatedly joining and leaving the Liberal Party.” It reported that the Yoshida faction would likely “solidify around Ikeda.”

While his loyalty to Yoshida was a factor, Satō also seems to have been bothered by the lack of principles shown by Hatoyama’s rapid joining and exiting of the Liberal Party. Policies were a factor as well, as Satō criticized “Hatoyama’s amateurish foreign policy” toward the Soviets in his journal.

First sprouts of the Satō faction – the Mokuyōkai

On November 13, 1955, a lonely-looking Satō – back from meeting Yoshida in Ōiso – told Hiroko that “in the end, I was the only one.” But that night he received a visit at his home from a dozen or so Diet members close to him.

They approached him and said, “If you really won’t join the new party no matter what, we’ll remain independents alongside you.” Satō protested that “joining

the new party is unavoidable, that’s just how things are politically. And Hayashi and Masutani went to a lot of effort to bring it all together. I absolutely want you to participate in the new party.”

When they held firm, Satō barked at them that “one giant idiot is enough!” Hashimoto Tomisaburō then took control of the situation in Satō’s place.

So, say that five or ten of you don’t join the new party. What happens then? It’s really hard to win elections as an independent. I fully understand your feelings. I’ll remain an independent alongside him and serve as your representative. So feel at ease and join the new party.

Hashimoto was considered Satō’s leading follower among the group. And just as Satō had sacrificed himself for Yoshida, now Hashimoto sacrificed himself for Satō.

Thus, the only Diet members to become independents and not move from the Liberal Party to the LDP were Yoshida, Satō, and Hashimoto. Satō was not a typical independent Diet member, however. From the end of 1955, he regularly met with the members of the former Yoshida faction who were close to him. These meetings were held every Thursday, causing the group to be called the Moku-yōkai (Thursday Association).

We can see from these actions that Satō always intended to join the LDP once the Hatoyama government fell. And we can also see the first signs of the Satō faction.

A “Season of Learning” – absenting himself from the diet for the Soviet-Japanese joint declaration

As an independent, Satō’s seat in the House of Representatives was located next to the Communists. This location, far removed from the LDP, almost symbolizes Satō’s isolation at this time. Satō had sacrificed himself for Yoshida, but as Yoshida disliked the Diet, he was rarely in attendance.

Satō thus began to frequent Yoshida’s home in Ōiso. The two men had once held the lofty positions of prime minister and cabinet minister but now held no positions at all. Their meetings may have seemed like a waste of time to others, but that was far from the case. For Satō, this was a golden opportunity to learn the art of ruling from Yoshida in a “Yoshida school” where he was the only student.

Hiroko wrote that “I believe that this time served as a valuable ‘season of learning’ for my husband during which he learned political philosophy and received spiritual sustenance from Yoshida.”

Satō’s brother Kishi was now part of the LDP leadership. It had been Satō who, as Liberal Party secretary-general, had created the opportunity for Kishi to win his first election after returning to politics. There was no way that Kishi had forgotten this. As such, Satō focused on the future and patiently waited for his opportunity to come. In this we can glimpse the mentality that came to be known as the “politics of waiting.”

While Hatoyama was moving forward with his efforts to restore relations between Japan and the Soviet Union, Satō knew that just as Yoshida’s time had

come to an end, so would Hatoyama’s, and that it likely would not be long in coming. And Kishi, who sought to become party president, would need Satō sooner or later. He just needed to wait for that point to come and learn from Yoshida and gather his strength in the meantime.

This is not to say that Satō kept himself idle. He participated in political, business, and media meetings as much as he could, including those of the Mokuyōkai. Satō devoted himself to gathering information. The traits that caused him to be known as “sharp-eared Eisaku” were also a part of the “politics of waiting.”

On October 19, 1956, Hatoyama signed the Soviet-Japanese Joint Declaration in Moscow. It was written in Article 9 of this declaration that

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 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan.

Habomai and Shikotan were islands off the northern coast of Japan that had been occupied by the Soviet Union in the final days of the Second World War. Together with the islands of Etorofu and Kunashiri, these islands were known as the “Northern Territories,” and their control was disputed by the two nations.

This joint declaration was ratified in a plenary session of the House of Representatives on November 27. Both Satō and Yoshida were absent from the session. Dissatisfied with the lack of any explicit statement that negotiations would continue over the status of Etorofu and Kunashiri, Satō had originally intended to join Ikeda, Masutani Shūji, and others in voting against ratification. Satō and Masutani changed their minds and decided not to join them after being warned by Hayashi Jōji, the elder statesman of the Yoshida faction, that “to cast a blue [negative] ballot without leaving the party is a departure from the proper course of party politics,” however.

As Satō was not a member of the LDP, casting a blue ballot would not have caused a problem. But he decided to obey Hayashi’s wishes on the matter. Ikeda remained determined to cast a blue ballot, however, and was unwilling to accept merely absenting himself from the session.

This led Yoshida to meet with Ikeda and Satō. He admonished them that “it’s not good for the Yoshida faction to be divided [in how they act here]. Keeping an eye on the future, the faction should act in unison on this matter.” Ikeda was convinced and decided not to attend the Diet session. This would be the last time the Yoshida faction acted in unison.

As far as Hatoyama was concerned, while some LDP members had been absent from the vote, the joint declaration had still been ratified unanimously (at least nominally). The Socialists and Communists had also voted in favor of the joint declaration, with the Socialists in particular praising Hatoyama’s accomplishment. He was deeply touched by this, and tears rolled down his cheeks as he gave his thanks to Suzuki Mosaburō, the chairman of the Socialist Party.

While Satō did have concerns that the declaration was overall too much in the Soviets' favor and did not adequately address the territorial issue, it seems likely that his resentment of Hatoyama also played a role in his absence from the vote.

The actions of the Yoshida faction (not just those of Satō) carried the implication that Hatoyama was being pushed to retire, with the conclusion of the Soviet-Japanese negotiations serving as a last hurrah. But this could have split the only recently formed LDP. It is questionable whether this was an appropriate course of action for responsible conservative politicians to have followed.

Although it is true that Satō respected Yoshida, it absolutely was not the case that he merely did whatever Yoshida told him to do. He would decide to go against Yoshida's wishes and support Kishi – who Yoshida had earlier expelled from the Liberal Party – in the LDP presidential election that resulted in the Ishibashi government. This will be looked at next.

LDP presidential election – a staff officer in the Kishi Camp

Hatoyama announced his resignation, making the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union his final achievement. The political world now focused its attention on the question of who would become the next LDP president. The election was held at a party convention on December 14, 1956, with Kishi, Ishibashi Tanzan, and Ishii Mitsujirō running as candidates.

While Kishi and Ishibashi were former members of the Democratic Party, Ishii was a former Liberal with roots in the former Ogata faction. Kishi was of course supported by the members of his own faction (which included figures like Shiina Etsusaburō and Fukuda Takeo) and was also backed by the Kōno and Satō factions (most members of the Hatoyama faction now affiliated themselves with Kōno). Ishibashi's backers included Ishida Hirohide, Miki Takeo, and Matsumura Kenzō; Ishii was supported by the Ishii and Ikeda factions.

As Kishi was the frontrunner, Ishibashi and Ishida formed a “2–3 Coalition.” Under this arrangement, it was agreed that the candidate who came in third in the first round of voting would back the candidate who came in second.

Yoshida told Satō that he should support Ishibashi for the position. That he did this despite having twice expelled Ishibashi from the Liberal Party shows that his hostility toward Kishi (the likely winner) was such that it was able to overcome his feelings about Ishibashi. Satō was still not a member of the LDP at this point, but he had followers like Hashimoto Ryōgo and Tanaka Kakuei who were.

Satō surprised everyone around him when, instead of supporting Ishibashi as Yoshida had wanted, he threw his support behind the anti-Yoshida Kishi. Kōno, Kishi's other major backer, was close to Hatoyama and had been another opponent of Yoshida's. He and Satō could not stand each other. But even so, Satō sided with Kishi. As Ikeda had already voiced his support of Ishii, Satō's actions made the splitting of the Yoshida faction definite.

Satō gathered the politicians close to him at his home. He told them that “we're followers of Yoshida and so should probably support Tanzan. But I can't do that. Kishi's my brother. I want you to sympathize with the situation I find myself in.”

The politicians had all assumed that Satō would support Ishibashi in accordance with Yoshida’s wishes. Even Hiroko and his two sons had done so. Given Satō’s teacher-student relationship with Yoshida, it was unfathomable that he would support the anti-Yoshida Kishi. And yet, Satō had decided to act as a member of Kishi’s electoral staff.

As Satō left the drawing room where the meeting had taken place, he was peppered with questions from his sons Ryūtarō and Shinji.

“Why did you do that? We don’t really understand your feelings, Dad.”

Satō’s tone became unusually emphatic.

Think about it, you two. This is the decisive struggle of my only older brother’s life. At a time like this . . . it doesn’t matter what Yoshida says. I have to support my brother. That’s what being brothers means.

In other words, Satō considered his blood ties to Kishi to be more important than his relationship with Yoshida. Incidentally, his use of “only” in reference to Kishi was likely an intentional exaggeration on Satō’s part as his brother Ichirō was still alive. Ichirō would pass away on April 12, 1958.

According to the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, twenty-one Diet members affiliated with Satō expressed support for Kishi. This was a *de facto* Satō faction, meaning that the Yoshida faction had now split into Satō and Ikeda factions. There was no question that Satō would join the LDP if Kishi became president.

Satō stayed in the Grand Hotel near the Kantei for several days and worked on Kishi’s electoral strategy. He became eager to break the 2–3 coalition between Ishibashi and Ishii. And by working as part of Kishi’s electoral staff, he hoped to separate him from Kōno.

According to the *Asahi Shimbun*’s Yamada Eizō, Satō distributed 200,000 yen to Diet members who promised to vote for Kishi – the equivalent of two and a half months salary for a Diet member. He was no longer merely serving as an “honor student of the Yoshida school”; he was now actively engaged in factional conflict.

Kishi came in first in the first round of voting on December 14, 1956. But he was defeated in the final round when the second-place Ishibashi was backed by the third-place Ishii. The final difference was a mere seven votes. Not being a party member, Satō had of course been unable to vote.

Satō’s eyes were sunk and his face haggard as he returned home from the hotel after the election. Sinking exhaustedly into a sofa, he muttered to Hiroko that “I wanted to vote for my brother. It’s unfortunate that I couldn’t do that . . . it was tough having to just wait at the hotel to hear the results.”

The “Triumphant General” joins the LDP – from Ishibashi to Kishi

The Ishibashi government was formed on December 23, 1956, with the defeated Kishi joining as foreign minister. Kishi held a grudge against Ishibashi and had initially not wanted to enter the cabinet. Satō and Tanaka managed to convince

him that joining the government at this stage was a good strategic move for his future, however. Satō continued to serve as an advisor to Kishi even after the electoral campaign had ended.

It would immediately become apparent that Satō’s advice to Kishi had been on the mark. Ishibashi became stricken with pneumonia on January 24, 1957, and Kishi became acting prime minister. Ishibashi had begun campaigning across the country after becoming prime minister with the intention of calling for early elections. On January 23, shortly after returning to Tokyo, he had given a speech at Waseda University’s Ōkuma Auditorium and attended a banquet in Ōkuma Garden. It is likely that his pneumonia was the result of a combination of exhaustion built up from campaigning and the cold of the banquet.

When Ishibashi announced his resignation, there were no objections within the LDP to Kishi becoming the next party president. And once it became certain that Kishi would be appointed prime minister, Satō joined the LDP on February 1. When he submitted his membership application to Secretary-General Miki Takeo, it was immediately approved by the party.

Satō’s entrance into the party boosted Kishi’s support. According to Matsuno Raizō (a member of the House of Representatives and the Satō faction), “Satō’s return [entrance into the LDP] was like that of a triumphant general.” Satō’s time as an independent had come to an end after fourteen and a half months. Yoshida and Hashimoto Tomisaburō also joined the LDP at this time.

The Kishi government was launched on February 25. While this appeared on the surface to have been a smooth transfer of power, it was due to Satō’s effective assistance before and after the presidential election that the premiership had effectively fallen into Kishi’s lap. Had Satō done as Yoshida had asked and supported Ishibashi during the election, it is very likely that Ishibashi would have won an overwhelming victory. It was only due to Satō’s fraternal love that Kishi had come within seven votes of winning. And Satō’s support for Kishi had come at the cost of the unity of the Yoshida faction.

Satō’s recommendation to Kishi to take the position of foreign minister in the Ishibashi cabinet was also important. Kishi had once convinced Satō to accept being transferred to Osaka; now Satō had convinced him to join the Ishibashi government, a decision that would lead to the birth of the Kishi government. Satō once stated that “had Kishi had his own way and never become foreign minister, there would have been no Prime Minister Kishi.” There’s no doubt that Kishi was grateful to Satō for this. The two brothers’ personalities were polar opposites, but each needed the other.

Entering the party mainstream – General Council chairman

The Kishi government was formed on February 25, 1957. Of his cabinet appointments, he notably had Ishii join as a cabinet without portfolio. He otherwise kept all of the ministers of the former Ishibashi government in place such as Finance Minister Ikeda and MITI Minister Mizuta Mikio. He passed the New Year’s budget on March 31. Ishii became deputy prime minister on May 20.

Kishi continued to hold the position of foreign minister and displayed his individuality on the diplomatic front. He first visited Southeast Asia from May 20 to June 4 and then headed to America from June 16 to July 1. There he met with President Eisenhower and reached an agreement on the creation of a US-Japan joint committee to work toward the revision of the US-Japan security treaty.

Kishi's actions showed a return to an America-centered Japanese foreign policy after the Hatoyama and Ishibashi governments' focus on the Soviet Union and China. It is likely that Satō welcomed this, although the details of his views are unclear as his journal from this period is missing. This would be seen when he later supported Kishi's revised security treaty as finance minister.

Around this time, Satō changed the name of his faction from the Mokuyōkai to the Shūzankai. Meanwhile, Ikeda formed the Kōchikai as his factional organization. As the inheritors of Yoshida, these two factions are often considered to have represented the "conservative mainstream" (*hoshu honryū*; the usage of this term will be discussed in detail later).

It was with his July 10 reshuffle of the cabinet that Kishi turned his hand to personnel matters. He appointed Fujiyama Ichirō (a businessman who did not hold a seat in the Diet) as foreign minister and replaced Ikeda as finance minister with Ichimada Hisato.

Kōno became director general of the Economic Planning Agency, and future prime minister Tanaka Kakuei entered the cabinet for the first time as postal minister. Deputy Prime Minister Ishii not only remained in that position but was now also made director general of the Administrative Management Agency and the Hokkaido Development Agency. Vice President Ōno, Secretary-General Kawashima Shōjirō, General Council Chairman Sunada Shigemasa, and Policy Research Council Chairman Miki Takeo held the major party positions. Kawashima was the second-highest figure in the Kishi faction.

From Kishi's perspective, having kept all of Ishibashi's cabinet officers in place when he became prime minister meant that it was only with this cabinet reshuffle that a true Kishi cabinet had been formed. While the Ishibashi, Miki/Matsumura, and Ikeda factions had been the major factions represented in the Ishibashi cabinet, the new Kishi cabinet featured the Kishi, Kōno, Ōno, and Satō factions.

Factional conflict is an unavoidable part of assembling a cabinet, and Kishi had sought Satō's advice as he did so. Satō had been elected to the postwar Diet earlier than Kishi, and his status as a former member of the Yoshida faction meant that he had numerous contacts.

Even though they were both part of the party mainstream, Satō did not get along with Kōno. But he went along with Kishi's desires and participated in the efforts to have Kōno join the cabinet anyway. According to the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Satō met with Kōno on the morning of July 10

and seems to have pursued the deceptive strategy of first intentionally angering Kōno by offering him the position of director general of the Hokkaido Development Agency, the lowest post in the cabinet, in the hopes of then compromising on another. He was ultimately unable to subdue Mr. Kōno, however.

Indignant at having been approached for the position of director general of the Hokkaido Development Agency, Kōno went to Kishi and received the post of director general of the Economic Planning Agency instead.

The Satō faction had two members in the cabinet. In addition to Tanaka as postal minister, Aichi Kiichi, the new chief cabinet secretary, was also close to Satō (although he would only later formally join his faction).

Kishi had originally sounded out Satō for the position rather than Aichi. As he went to see Kishi at the Kantei, Satō likely remembered all his failures while serving in the position under Yoshida. But he reluctantly accepted as it was Kishi who had asked.

When Tanaka and Nikaidō heard of the appointment, they rushed to the Kantei where the two men were meeting. They were dead set against it and demanded to know if Kishi was “trying to kill Satō.”

Their argument was sound: Satō had not been a member of the LDP for long, and it would certainly cause a popular backlash if Kishi gave the position of chief cabinet secretary – the prime minister’s right-hand man – to his younger brother despite his low status in the party. He would be seen as abusing national politics for his own personal benefit. And if that happened, Satō’s fate would be tied to the Kishi government: once it ended, so would his career. It could lead to the collapse of the Satō faction.

Tanaka was still only thirty-nine years old, seventeen years younger than Satō. But he had first been elected at the age of twenty-eight. He had pulled himself up from a farming village and succeeded without either a high school or university degree. He knew how to read public opinion. Meanwhile, Kishi and Satō were members of the elite, people from fine families who had risen through the bureaucracy. They had no innate sense for how members of the general public would perceive something.

Satō came to his senses and chose not to enter the cabinet, recommending that Kishi make Aichi his chief cabinet secretary instead. From Satō’s perspective, things had turned out poorly. He had been unable to join the government solely because his brother was prime minister. But he decided not to take the dangerous risk and waited with great patience. And considering how Kishi’s popularity would plummet beginning with the controversy over the amendment of the Police Duties Execution Act, this could be considered a second time that Tanaka saved Satō’s career (the first being Tanaka’s maneuvers in December 1956 to have the charges against Satō dismissed).

Satō may have been unable to enter the government, but he had still made a place for himself within the party mainstream within just five months of joining the LDP. Satō’s relationship with Kishi meant that even within the mainstream, he was special when compared to other powerful figures like Economic Planning Agency (EPA) Director General Kōno and Secretary-General Kawashima. And with Sunada’s sudden death on December 27, 1957, Satō was able to become General Council chairman.

A proposed revision of the Special Rules for Public Education Personnel and Staff Act can be raised as a bill symbolic of Satō’s time as chairman. This bill,

which was intended to prohibit elementary and junior high school principals from joining the Japan Teacher’s Union, was promoted by Satō and Kawashima. Satō in particular believed that all local public officials at the level of section chief or above should be prevented from joining unions.

It was the kind of idea to be expected of Satō, who placed importance on maintaining discipline. Education Minister Matsunaga Tō and Policy Research Council Chairman Miki were opposed to any actions being taken against unionization, however, because a general election was expected for 1958. This meant that submission of the bill was postponed.

The theory for “Stable Growth” put forward by the “Amateur Finance Minister”

Satō began 1958 as General Council chairman. It looked increasingly certain from the beginning of the year that the Diet would be dissolved and a general election called. This was because three years had passed since the Hatoyama Boom election, with new parties being formed on both the left and the right. There was a need to ask the public who they wanted to entrust governing the country to.

Kishi summoned Satō to the Kantei on January 7 to have lunch after the first cabinet meeting of the year. According to Satō’s comments to reporters, their discussion focused on the compilation of the budget “because we both know each other’s thoughts” on dissolving the Diet. The implication was that there had been no need for them to discuss it; if an opportune time came, it would be done.

Satō said at a press conference on April 7 that “the public is calling for a rapid dissolution of the Diet, and the government and LDP intend to answer that call.” Both the LDP and the Socialists wanted an early election, and the April 25 dissolution was dubbed the “negotiated dissolution” because it was the result of discussions between the leaders of the parties.

The LDP won 287 seats in the May 22 general election. This was a net loss of three seats but still far better than the Socialists who won only 166 seats. But while the Socialists had been able to gain only eight seats in the election, they had still done well enough to secure the one-third of seats needed to block any proposed amendments to the constitution.

Kishi came in first in Yamaguchi second district with an overwhelming 100,000 votes. Satō came in a distant second, trailing Kishi by more than 23,000 votes. This would be the only election in which Kishi managed to outperform Satō. Satō had also wanted Kishi – the prime minister – to come in first in the district, however. He had held back on his own campaigning because of his conviction that the prime minister needed to come in first in his district.

Takeshita Noboru, Kanemaru Shin, and Hosoda Yoshiyasu were elected to the Diet for the first time in this election and joined the Satō faction. Takeshita wrote that “Satō joined the government as finance minister in the post-election reorganization of the cabinet. In the eyes of freshman Diet members like us, he loomed very large.”

As Takeshita wrote, Kishi had gained enough confidence from the election results to choose Satō as his new finance minister when he assembled his new

cabinet on June 12. There was little criticism of the “brothers’ cabinet”; the general election and Satō’s time as General Council chairman had provided enough of a cushion for the move. There were still those in the Ministry of Finance who viewed Satō’s appointment with doubts, however, as he was an amateur when it came to financial affairs.

The position of finance minister had previously been monopolized by financial experts like Ikeda (a former administrative vice-minister of finance) and Ichimada (a former president of the Bank of Japan). Satō had served as administrative vice-minister of transportation but was an outsider to financial affairs. While there would be other non-experts in the position in the coming years (such as Tanaka during the Ikeda government), it was still a novelty at the time. Satō was himself well-aware that he was an “amateur finance minister.” This drove him to study hard, and he invited the ministry’s bureau directors to his country home in Karuizawa to teach him the basics.

Kishi’s focus was on revising the US-Japan security treaty, but he was aware that there would likely be criticism of his appointing an “amateur finance minister” and of the “brothers’ cabinet.” According to Kishi,

the appointment of Finance Minister Satō was one of the key moves I made at this time. I had already taken into account that by giving my younger brother the important position of finance minister, I would be opening myself up to the criticism that I had created a “brothers cabinet.” But as with my decision to leave Foreign Minister Fujiyama in place, I thought it desirable for foreign and domestic affairs to be handled in a manner closely integrated with the prime minister. That’s also why I didn’t appoint a deputy prime minister.”

Satō’s time as finance minister coincided with a turning point for the economy. The Japanese economy escaped the lingering recession (*nabesoko*) of the previous year and was about to embark on a boom that would last for forty-two months. It was still unclear at the time whether the economy had truly recovered, however. EPA Director General Miki Takeo advocated for a fiscal stimulus plan.

Satō began the work of putting together a budget in November 1958. He was critical of Miki, telling reporters that “it’s not a good idea to make use of public funds for economic recovery.” The budget that Satō presented at a December 23 cabinet meeting emphasized the “stable growth” of the Japanese economy.

He gave a speech before a full session of the Diet on January 27, 1959, once all the budget negotiations with the other ministers had been completed. In it, Satō emphasized that “the stable growth and qualitative improvement of the economy should serve as the basis for our country’s economic policies” and that he would “stand firm on fiscal soundness.” The 1.4 trillion-yen budget was passed as a draft on March 31.

But while Satō emphasized the importance of sound finances, this budget was a 98-billion-yen increase over that of the previous year. It was thanks to Japan’s high-speed economic growth (which essentially began toward the end of the Kishi

government) that he was able to simultaneously preach balanced finances and expand spending. It was thanks to both his fervent studying and fortunate timing that Satō was able to fulfill the responsibilities of his position.

While serving as finance minister, Satō attended the annual meetings of the IMF and the World Bank in New Delhi in early October 1958. He gave a speech at the IMF meeting in which he advocated increasing the size of the fund. He also met with Indian Minister of Finance Desai.

But what is most significant about this trip is that he stopped in Okinawa on October 14 while on his way back to Japan. While he was there for only an hour, he held a press conference in the lobby of Naha Airport and visited with Tōma Jūgō, the chief executive of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands. They headed by car along Kokusai Dōri for a hotel in the port, where Satō heard about the need for a new government building for Nanren among other topics. “Nanren” was the nickname for the Japanese government’s Southern Liaison Office (Nanpō Renraku Jimusho). He received documents related to Okinawa and then returned to the airport just in time for his flight.

The Second Taiwan Strait Crisis was in its final stage as Satō set foot on Okinawa. China had stopped shelling Kinmen at this point, and the US was withdrawing the Seventh Fleet from the Taiwan Strait. While this is merely speculation as Satō’s journals are brief on this, he surely had much to think over as he visited Okinawa, especially as it was so close to a Taiwan on the brink of war.

The five commissioners and direct vassals of the Satō Faction – Satō and Tanaka

In late 1958, Satō had Tanaka, who he trusted, attend his negotiations with the other ministers. Tanaka’s specialty was construction administration. While Tanaka was nothing more than a member of the party’s Party Ethics Committee at the time, he would be appointed deputy secretary-general on June 18, 1959.

Tanaka provided financial assistance to the Satō faction. He, Aichi Kiichi, Hori Shigeru, Matsuno Raizō, and Hashimoto Tomisaburō came to be known as the “five commissioners of the Satō faction” (*sato-ha gobugyō*; a reference to a historical group of officials). The wealthy Tanaka also began independently distributing money. How did Satō feel about this? According to Takeshita:

These five commissioners divided up various tasks between themselves. Satō would give me money during the summer and at the end of the year. This was “political funding.” But he would never do it himself, an approach that I would also later adopt myself. If you personally gave someone money, they’d be reluctant to take it. And you can’t impose any stress on the other person. So Hashimoto, one of the five commissioners, would give them the money instead, or Ōtsu [Satō’s secretary] would do it, or somebody else.

But Tanaka Kaku, he would hand out envelopes with his name written on them. Satō felt that he shouldn’t be doing that. That’s why, even now, I don’t personally go up to people and say “hey, here you go” or anything like that.

In other words, while Satō trusted Tanaka, he felt a great uneasiness about how he handled money. And this uneasiness would ultimately become an underlying cause of the breach between the two men. Takeshita chose to model himself on Satō, not Tanaka.

As prime minister, Satō would be wary of Tanaka’s use of money and instead choose the “clean” Nishimura Eiichi to be director of the LDP’s Treasury Bureau (the person in charge of the LDP’s money). Nishimura was both a prominent member of the Satō faction and someone who had entered the Ministry of Railways in the same class as Satō. According to Matsuno, Nishimura and Hosoda Kichizō – both former transport ministry officials – acted as “direct vassals” (*jikisan*) to Satō. Hosoda had served as director of the ministry’s Environmental Bureau and as deputy vice-minister before being elected to the House of Representatives.

The bureaucratic faction triangle – Ikeda Joins Kishi and Satō in the party mainstream

Kishi was reelected as LDP president on January 24, 1959, easily defeating a challenge by Matsumura Kenzō. Kishi’s term as president was supposed to last until March, with the election scheduled for the party convention to be held that month. Vice President Ōno and General Council Chairman Kōno (both part of the mainstream) had proposed moving up the election to January on December 16 of the previous year, however, and Kishi and Satō had agreed. The rationale given for changing the election’s date was that holding the election in March would cause difficulties for the convention’s deliberations. In actuality, the change was made to undercut the efforts of the anti-mainstream factions.

Moving up the election meant that the Ikeda and Miki/Matsumura factions (the anti-mainstream factions) did not have time to coordinate on a presidential candidate. Outraged, Ikeda, EPA Director General Miki, and Education Minister Nadao Hirokichi (a member of the Ishii faction) resigned from the cabinet in late December.

Kishi, Satō, Ōno, and Kōno met on January 16, 1959, and signed a document that said that the four “would cooperate to achieve the revision of the security treaty and support Vice President Ōno as Kishi’s successor as president.” It was a written pledge meant to secure Ōno’s support for Kishi.

According to Satō, “I had just sat down when I was given this paper and told to sign it. Reading it, I found that it said that Ban would be Kishi’s successor. I figured that if I could help Kishi with just a signature, I’d be happy to do so.”

According to Kishi, the pledge was conditional. The signatories would give Kishi their total support and “they understood that if they broke their promise, the written pledge would immediately become null and void.”

Because Kōno would later leave the mainstream and criticize Kishi’s revision of the security treaty, Kishi threw out the pledge. (Kōno’s actions will be discussed later.) He wrote that he had had “no intention of deceiving Ōno” but that the “pledge was ultimately only good for less than six months. It amounted to nothing more than a behind-the-scenes political farce.”

Having been reelected as president, Kishi led the party to victory in the June 2, 1959, House of Councillors election, securing a majority in the house. Satō remained finance minister following a second cabinet reshuffle on the 18th. The most notable change of this reshuffle was Ikeda joining the government at MITI minister. Kishi had also wanted Kōno to enter the cabinet, but Kōno refused because he was opposed to Satō remaining finance minister. The relationship between Satō and Kōno was, as ever, bad.

Satō had approached Ikeda shortly before the House of Councillors elections at the request of Kishi. The two men met at Yoshida’s home in Ōiso on May 4. Satō attempted to persuade him to join the government by saying that “You’re looking to be the next prime minister. It’ll be difficult to have a smooth conservative succession as long as you remain outside of the mainstream.”

Satō had tickled Ikeda’s desire to be prime minister, but they reached no agreement. They had become rivals and, even though they were meeting in front of the eighty-year old Yoshida, they were no longer on the same wavelength as they had been during his government. Ikeda was wary; he had thrust a letter of resignation at Kishi just a few months earlier, and he suspected that Kishi considered Kōno’s entrance to the cabinet to be a higher priority.

Despite these concerns, Ikeda joined the new cabinet on June 18, his focus on post-Kishi developments. A day earlier, Satō had told Ikeda through Tanaka that Kishi was beginning to view Ikeda as more important than Kōno.

From Kishi’s perspective, having Ikeda within the mainstream was an important preparation for moving revision of the US-Japan security treaty forward. He considered that revision the most important task facing him.

A round-table discussion held at the *Asahi Shimbun* shows that reporters interpreted the cabinet reorganization as having been part of a strategy between Kishi and Satō. Here are their comments:

The highlight of the most recent cabinet reorganization drama was Kishi’s acting ability. In accordance with each man’s character, he showed Kōno tears but shook Ikeda’s hand. His true intention was always to keep Satō on as finance minister, [not to have Kōno enter the cabinet]. Because Ōno had told him that “it would be unfair to keep Satō on without having either Ikeda or Kōno join the cabinet,” he only needed one of the two to join . . .

And since Kōno was always going to refuse [as long as Satō was staying], it looks like Kishi and Satō came up with a strategy that could be used to haul in Ikeda . . .

With Satō writing the script behind the scenes, things seem to have more or less gone their way.

That is, their view was that Satō planned out the scenario from behind the scenes, and Kishi then used his “acting ability” when dealing with Kōno and Ikeda. Kishi was the public face and Satō was acting in the shadows.

And Satō was indeed working behind the scenes on plans to have Ikeda join the cabinet (while still being able to remain finance minister). There were few

traces remaining of Satō the former bureaucrat as he schemed to get the better of Kōno the party politician. In fact, his unwillingness to reveal his true intentions to reporters had gained him a reputation among the press for being a schemer.

During this period, Satō kept a poker face when dealing with anyone other than Kishi. There were very few people with whom he would speak frankly. One was Kishi, and Tanaka would perhaps be another. Tanaka was a member of the Satō faction, but he was also close to Ikeda and was dear friends with the Ikeda faction’s Ōhira Masayoshi. This made Tanaka an effective pipeline for Satō’s strategies toward Ikeda.

Ikeda joining the mainstream alongside Kishi and Satō was a development that helped lead to the LDP’s golden age in the 1960s, one that would begin following the revision of the US-Japan security treaty. They were all former bureaucrats, and their factions would continue to be central to Japanese politics even after Kishi left office.

Another notable development in this cabinet reorganization was the entry of Nakasone of the Kōno faction as director general of the Science and Technology Agency. A former member of the Democratic Party, Nakasone came from a different political lineage than either Satō or Ikeda and held distinctive views on the security treaty and revision of the constitution.

“Brother, let’s die together” – revising the US-Japan security treaty

The price of forming the aforementioned alliance of the bureaucratic factions was that Kōno joined the anti-mainstream. Partially due to advice from Satō, Kishi began moving away from the Kōno faction – a long-time ally – and started building a relationship with the Ikeda faction. No doubt this caused Kōno’s dislike of Satō to intensify even further.

As expected, the Kōno faction began criticizing Kishi’s planned revision of the security treaty. Kōno argued that “it would be shameful for us to be locked into a treaty for a full ten years as we are [under the current treaty]” and that the new treaty should have a term of “three years or so.” The Miki/Matsumura faction was, as always, critical of Kishi as well.

Kishi signed the new security treaty in Washington on January 19, 1960, with Secretary of State Herter despite these objections. America’s obligation to defend Japan was made explicit under the new treaty, and the prior consultation system was included in the notes exchanged between Kishi and Herter. Under this system, the US was to consult with Japan prior to making important changes to the deployment of its forces in Japan or their equipment (such as bringing in nuclear weapons) and before using its bases in Japan for combat operations.

The Kishi government submitted the new treaty to the Diet on February 5. Diet deliberations became ensnared over how prior consultations were to be handled and what the exact scope of the term “Far East” was in Article 6 of the treaty.

Over the course of the evening of May 19 and into the early hours of the following morning, the Kishi government extended the Diet by fifty days and forced

the treaty’s ratification through a session of the House of Representatives. Even though Kōno, Matsumura, Miki, and Ishibashi all absented themselves from the session, it became a certainty that the treaty would naturally be ratified on June 19. This is because, according to Article 61 of the constitution, if thirty days passed without the House of Councillors taking action on a treaty, the approval of the House of Representatives would be taken as the approval of the Diet as a whole.

With the treaty’s passage, the focus of political fighting shifted to whether or not President Eisenhower’s planned visit to Japan on June 19 could proceed. On June 10, US Press Secretary Hagerty’s car was surrounded by protestors at Haneda Airport, and he had to be rescued by a US Marine Corps helicopter. Hagerty was visiting Japan to make preparations for Eisenhower’s trip.

At an emergency cabinet meeting held late on the night of June 10, opinions were divided over whether to postpone Eisenhower’s visit. According to Nakasone’s journal,

there were many arguments made that the [Hargerty incident] was a violent plot by international communism and should be responded to with coercive policies. MITI Minister Ikeda, Finance Minister Satō, Construction Minister Murakami [Isamu], Welfare Minister Watanabe [Yoshio], and Defense Agency Director General Akagi [Munenori] argued that it should be treated as a riot and the Subversive Activities Prevention Act brought into effect.

In accordance with Kishi’s wishes, Ikeda and Satō argued that Eisenhower’s visit should proceed as planned. Given Satō’s personality, he likely believed that postponing the visit would be tantamount to giving in to violence and was wrong. But Nakasone, Transport Minister Narahashi Wataru, and EPA Director General Kannō Watarō wanted a delay because of the possibility of an unexpected incident.

On June 15, students affiliated with the leftist student group Zengakuren burst onto the grounds of the Diet, and one person was killed. Kishi held an emergency cabinet meeting shortly after midnight in response. Kishi and Satō held firm to their hardline position and argued that “we should mobilize all of our police power to bring this situation under control and issue a firm statement to that effect.” Ikeda agreed, saying that “we should resolve to have perfect security, regardless of the cost.”

But by the time of another emergency meeting held at a little past four in the afternoon, Kishi had changed his mind. He announced that the visit had been postponed. Satō and Ikeda’s reaction to the announcement was that “it’s unfortunate but unavoidable.”

Kishi had explored the possibility of mobilizing the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) as a last resort with Defense Agency Director General Akagi, but he had been refused. Satō and Ikeda had also tried to persuade Akagi at a ministerial colloquium on public safety, asking him, “Isn’t there some way we can mobilize the SDF?” but Akagi held firm.

With the decision made to postpone Eisenhower’s visit, they now had only to wait for the treaty to be automatically ratified on June 19. Amidst the abnormal situation of a Kantei surrounded by protestors, Satō provided support to Kishi,

the person to whom he felt closest. They stayed at the Kantei from the evening of June 18, waiting for the moment of automatic ratification together.

Ogura Ken, superintendent general of the Metropolitan Police, had recommended that Kishi evacuate, but he refused, saying that “if I am to die in the Kantei, I will rest in peace.” Satō stayed with him, saying that he could not “leave my older brother all by himself.”

Although he did not normally drink, Satō brought out two glasses and a bottle of brandy and offered them to his brother. The two spent the late night at the Kantei drinking together. Outside the building, it looked like a revolution was about to occur, with Zengakuren protestors sitting, occupying the grounds. Satō is supposed to have gone so far as to say, “Brother, let’s die together.” Dying together with his brother at the Kantei was something he would have been happy to do. The new treaty was automatically ratified at midnight on June 19.

It is well known that Kishi said that he had been “supported by the voiceless voices” during the riots against the treaty. Of the many postcards he received, those in opposition were printed and appeared to have been mass produced while those supporting him varied in the ways they told him to “hold strong.”

Kishi amended his view years later, however, saying that “democracy can’t really be about the voiceless voices. It has to be about the true voices, the ‘voiced voices.’” That is, the basis of democracy has to be bringing the voices of the “voiceless voices” into being.

The birth of the Ikeda government and expansion of the Satō faction

Once Foreign Minister Fujiyama exchanged the documents of ratification for the new security treaty with Ambassador MacArthur on June 23, 1960, Kishi announced his resignation. The five candidates running to replace him in the presidential election were Fujiyama, MITI Minister Ikeda, Vice President Ōno, General Council Chairman Ishii, and Matsumura. While there were those in the Satō faction who wanted Satō to run, Yoshida believed that Ikeda should be prime minister first.

Why did Yoshida think that Ikeda should precede Satō? He answered this question in an interview with the *Tokyo Shimbun*:

Ikeda is the only choice as the next prime minister. Both Ikeda and Satō could succeed Kishi, but Ikeda’s better given the current circumstances. Ikeda cooperated with the Kishi government and it was partially thanks to that cooperation that the government was able to last as long as it did. So Satō has a political obligation to support Ikeda.

When I told Kishi that he needed to choose his successor if he was going to resign, he clearly told me that he was thinking of Ikeda as the next prime minister.

To expand upon Yoshida’s comments, Kishi had become very unpopular. Had his younger brother Satō succeeded him as prime minister, the new government

would inevitably have been criticized by both the general public and those within the party as merely an inferior continuation of the Kishi government. It would have been difficult for Satō to receive the support of any factions other than Kishi's and his own. Ikeda, on the other hand, was an economic specialist who would be able to direct the transition.

Satō seems to have shared Yoshida's thought on this issue. Of those in the Satō faction, Tanaka, Kuno, and Minami Yoshio supported Ikeda. Hori, Aichi, and Hashimoto Ryōgo opposed him.

Satō held a general meeting of his faction's Diet members at the offices of the Shūzankai (his factional organization) in Akasaka on July 10. About sixty members from both houses were in attendance, and it was unanimously decided that the faction would support Ikeda. Once the meeting had ended, Satō visited Ikeda at his campaign office in the Akasaka Prince Hotel and gave him his encouragement.

Satō had his eyes set on being prime minister after Ikeda and wanted Ikeda to owe him. He did not just work to persuade his own faction; he also convinced Kishi to support Ikeda. While Kishi had previously signed a written pledge to support Ōno as his successor, he decided to vote for Ikeda. As far as he was concerned, the pledge had become null and void when Kōno, another signatory, had joined the anti-mainstream. Kōno had not only criticized the revised security treaty, but he also had not attended the Diet session in which it was forced through.

Satō also met with Fujiyama and secured an agreement that he would coordinate his votes with the Satō faction in the final round of voting if he did not finish within the top two in the first round. This would mean voting for Ikeda in the final round.

Meanwhile, Kōno entered negotiations with the Ōno and Miki/Matsumura factions. These were all party politicians who opposed Ikeda. He convinced them to unify behind Ishii, and Ōno and Matsumura withdrew as candidates. Thus, the presidential election came down to Ikeda and Ishii.

This was, at the root, a confrontation between Satō and Kōno. Satō considered himself irreconcilable with Kōno, a descendant of the Hatoyama political lineage, and the hostility between the two had steadily increased toward the end of the Kishi government.

In the first round of voting at the July 14 LDP convention, Ikeda received 246 votes, Ishii 196, and Fujiyama 49. Ikeda received 302 votes in the final round to Ishii's 194, making him president.

The Ikeda government was formed on July 19 with the Ikeda, Satō, Kishi, Ishii, and Ōno factions serving as its mainstream factions. The anti-mainstream factions were the Kōno and Miki/Matsumura factions. Hashimoto Tomisaburō and Minami Yoshio were the Satō faction members to enter the cabinet, as construction and transport minister respectively. When Satō recommended Hori as secretary-general, Ikeda appointed him General Council chairman. Masutani became secretary-general and Shiina Policy Research Council chairman. Satō held no position himself.

Satō had decided not to run for president, and he of course had no proof that he would be able to succeed Ikeda. There was a fair chance that one of the party politician factions like Kōno would be able to snatch it away from him. With two former bureaucrats (Kishi and Ikeda) having served as prime minister, it was possible that popular opinion would favor a party politician in the role.

It was thus important for Satō to expand the size of his faction if he wanted to be the next prime minister. The Satō faction increased its number of seats in the November 20 general election and became large enough to rival the Ikeda and Kishi factions.

The *Mainichi Shimbun* appraisal of the Satō faction’s performance in the general election was that “the steady Shūzankai made the most rapid progress and gained a foothold for itself for the next presidential election.” Satō came out on top in Yamaguchi second district, with former prime minister Kishi settling for third.

Justice Minister Ueki Koshirō and Defense Agency Director General Nishimura Naomi were the Satō faction’s representatives in the second Ikeda cabinet formed on December 8. Horii remained in the position of General Council chairman.

What were Satō’s thoughts on foreign policy around this time? He met with US Ambassador Reischauer on June 1, 1961, and explained Japan’s foreign policy.

I gave my thoughts related to: coordinating with the US on policies towards Communist China and South Korea; our desire for support for Japanese admission to the OECD; the issues of WHO and support for “developing countries” like India and Brazil; measures to make small progress towards the return of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands or to realize our residual sovereignty over them; the UN; and major discussions in the Diet.

It was bold of Satō to make proposals for the return of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands; these statements were well ahead of Ikeda’s positions. Reischauer told Secretary of State Rusk that “Satō argued forcibly on various foreign policy issues.”

Why was Satō discussing the return of Okinawa and the Ogasawaras at this time? It’s likely that his visit to Okinawa as finance minister several years earlier remained fixed in a corner of his mind.

Were there more recent events that may have brought the subject to mind? Reviewing Satō’s journal, he met with Yoshida and Kitazawa Naokichi at a restaurant in Tsukiji on May 19 and they had “had a major discussion of the state of the world.” It seems likely that Satō’s proposal for their return was set off by Yoshida’s arguments at this meeting.

The May 31 entry of the journal also says that he invited Asakai Kōichirō (the Japanese ambassador to the US who was in Japan at the time) to “ask him about the current situation in the US.” Okinawa and the Ogasawaras may have come up as topics of conversation at this meeting, although it is difficult to imagine that Asakai would have gone ahead of Prime Minister Ikeda and told Satō that he thought they should be returned.

Table 3.1 LDP Factional Strength in the House of Representatives, 1960

	<i>Old</i>	<i>Former</i>	<i>New</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Pre-Election</i>
Ikeda	40	4	8	52	48
Satō	36	5	8	49	39
Kishi	38	9	3	50	45
Fujiyama	24	4	0	28	27
Ōno	21	5	2	28	30
Kōno	25	2	5	32	32
Miki	19	10	2	31	28
Ishii	15	1	1	17	18
Other	15	1	1	17	18
Total	226	41	29	296	278

Source: (*Mainichi Shimbun*, November 22, 1960)

“Healthy” growth – MITI minister

Satō made his return as a minister following the second reorganization of the Ikeda cabinet on July 18, 1961, in which he was appointed MITI minister.

Also joining the cabinet were Agricultural Minister Kōno, EPA Director General Fujiyama, Science and Technology Director General Miki, Administrative Management Agency and Hokkaido and Development Agency Director General Kawashima. Of these, the presence of Kōno is noteworthy. After briefly planning to form a new party, Kōno had rapidly improved his relationship with Ikeda. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* dubbed this a “cabinet of the powerful” as Ikeda had chosen to place powerful figures in his cabinet rather than in party posts. Tanaka was also appointed Policy Research Council chairman.

Ikeda’s signature economic policy was his “income-doubling plan” to double the average per capita income in Japan within ten years. This plan made better progress than had been expected, leading to an import surplus. Increasing exports and improving international earnings thus became pressing tasks for trade policy, and Ikeda entrusted this work to Satō.

While Ikeda continued to promote his income-doubling plan, Satō saw balanced development of the economy as a priority. When he suggested that they slow down the plan, Ikeda yelled at him: “Don’t restrict growth!” But Satō did not accept Ikeda’s approach.

Hints of this can be seen in Satō’s emphasis on “healthy” growth at his first press conference after joining the cabinet.

It appears that the economy’s growth rate will exceed that projected by the income-doubling plan. But unfettered expansion of the economy isn’t desirable. It’s important to always maintain a healthy character as we go. I want to examine whether excessive capital investment, rising consumer costs, and falling foreign currency reserves are only temporary phenomenon.

Satō focused on rising costs, disparities between companies, and reduced international earnings as negative aspects of the income-doubling plan.

He thus undertook actions such as managing business activity by restricting capital investment, implementing policies aimed at small and mid-sized companies, promoting exports through flexible application of the Export and Import Trading Act, and increasing the import deposit rate.

The import deposit rate was a system requiring importers to make a deposit when applying to import goods. The Ikeda government raised the rate to its all-time high level of 35 percent. This measure restricted imports and was something that Ikeda had convinced Satō to do. Satō was personally opposed to this action and he would later as prime minister have the rate reduced to zero in May 1970.

Satō was in favor of liberalizing imports; he had believed in liberalization ever since attending an IMF general meeting as finance minister. Article VIII of the IMF’s Articles of Agreement states that members will make no restrictions “on the making of payments and transfers for current international transactions” and have no “discriminatory currency arrangements.” For this reason, countries unable to restrict imports on the basis of international trade deficits or a lack of dollars are referred to as “Article VIII countries.” Most developed nations held this status, and the IMF was seeking to apply it to Japan as well.

While there were those who viewed liberalizing imports with uneasiness, Satō saw it as in line with contemporary trends. He told a reporter that “I drove to Karuizawa the other day in a 1900 cc Japanese car. There was a foreign car on the road in front of me, but I had no trouble overtaking it. We can’t be so afraid of liberalization.”

His comment was based on his confidence in the Japanese economy: “Our current international trade deficit isn’t structural . . . accordingly, it is only temporary.” The Ikeda government decided at a July 18, 1961, cabinet meeting to raise the liberalization rate to ninety percent by the end of September 1962. It had previously been in the sixties. And as Satō had foreseen, Japan’s balance of trade became favorable in June 1962.

Escaping “Island Nation Economics” – the Joint US-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs

It seems fair to say that America was the most important country for Japan’s foreign relations at this time. It was a partner for Japan not just in national security but also in economics. Satō attended the first meeting of the Joint US-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs at Hakone from November 2–4, 1961. This meeting assembled economy-related cabinet officials from both nations who discussed expanding trade and economic cooperation between the two nations.

In addition to MITI Minister Satō, the Japanese delegation also included Foreign Minister Kosaka Zentarō, Finance Minister Mizuta Mikio, Labor Minister Fukunaga, EPA Director General Fujiyama, and Chief Cabinet Secretary Ōhira. Satō’s counterpart was Commerce Secretary Hodges.

Seeing as how Japan was greatly reliant upon the US as a source for its exports, Hodges “wanted Japan to undertake the liberalization of its industrial products in the spirit of ‘give and take.’”

Satō responded by pushing for the loosening of American import restrictions, noting that

a large part of our country’s international trade deficit comes from our trade deficit with the US. We have to greatly expand our exports to the US in order to improve our balance of trade. We want to increase our exports to the US to reach 80% of our imports.

While the joint committee had not been undertaken with the expectation that it would immediately achieve any results, it was an unprecedented event. This is not just due to the topics covered but also because economic officials of both nations gathered together in one location (Hakone) and held five sets of discussions over the course of three days.

Satō gave a speech at the America-Japan Society on December 6 that was attended by Ambassador Reischauer. There, he said that “The level of cooperation and exchange between Japan and the United States has increased and we have now entered a ‘new era of cooperation.’” Having been founded in 1917, The America-Japan Society is an organization with a long history of promoting civilian exchange between the two countries.

Satō’s broad perspective was also shown by his April 23, 1962, speech at the Research Institute of Japan titled “How to Manage Liberalization.” In this speech Satō argued for expanding trade with members of the communist bloc like the Soviet Union and China, fostering an environment for foreign investment, expanding social capital such as roads, and improved regional governance.

Satō asserted that while it was necessary to “avoid any situation that would wipe out small and mid-sized companies,” he wanted “the isolationist mindset [of companies and managers] to be gradually set aside . . . We must break out of ‘island nation economics.’”

It was a way of thinking that said Japan should break out of “island nation economics” via economic relations with foreign countries – including the communist bloc.

The reelection of Ikeda – from Satō’s Nara remarks to his departure from the cabinet

Having successfully fulfilled his responsibilities as MITI minister, Satō was seen as the prospective favorite for the next LDP presidential election. Symbolic of this was the decision to designate him acting prime minister when Ikeda visited Southeast Asia in November 1961. It came as a shock to Vice President Ōno, Agricultural Minister Kōno, and Administrative Management Agency Director General Kawashima when they learned that Satō had been chosen for the role.

Even so, Ikeda’s choice was likely meant to be a reward for the support that Satō had given him in the previous presidential election. Ikeda’s term was coming to an end in July 1962, but there was no question that he would be reelected. And he could always choose to serve a third term. Ikeda had not yet decided that Satō would follow him once he stepped down.

The Kōno, Fujiyama, and Ōno factions were wary of Satō and had begun forming an “anti-Satō alliance.” And with the party politician factions like that of Kōno having drawn close to Ikeda, Ikeda’s hold on his position was impregnable.

Noting the situation, Satō gave a press conference on December 17 in Nara in which he said that “so long as Prime Minister Ikeda is president, I have no intention of putting my name forward as a candidate for the LDP presidential election.”

Satō attributed his remarks in Nara to a desire to “avoid a political fight and concentrate on rebuilding the Japanese economy.” But this was merely the explanation provided for public consumption. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* interpreted his statement as “an attempt to check anti-Satō sentiment” in the government. The *Mainichi Shimbun* placed the statement in an internal LDP context by assessing it as

likely aimed at appealing to the major forces within the party – most notably the Ikeda faction – by laying out a policy of cooperation with President Ikeda. His goal seems to be a peaceful transfer of the position of party president to him.

With Ikeda’s reelection certain, the logical choice was not to run. While this decision could be considered part of Satō’s “politics of waiting,” his announcement had been made well in advance of the election. Because of Satō’s decision not to run, Ikeda was the only candidate in the LDP presidential election held on July 14, 1962. The election served as a vote of confidence in Ikeda. Even though he did not run, Satō still received the second-highest number of votes, 17 to Ikeda’s 391.

Ikeda reorganized his cabinet on July 18 and appointed Kōno as construction minister. Kōno’s relations with Ikeda had improved, as was reflected in his promotion from agricultural minister. In Satō’s eyes, Kōno would have seemed a likely rival for the next presidential election. Kōno made the most of his new position, putting his efforts into road administration.

Ikeda sought to have Satō remain in the cabinet as well, but he refused. The common view is that Satō had tried to push Kōno out of the cabinet and then left in protest when Ikeda would not accept this due to the need to maintain party unity. Tanaka joined the cabinet as finance minister in Satō’s place.

But while Satō was certainly critical of Kōno, that was not the only reason that he did not join the cabinet. He also harbored doubts about Ikeda’s policies. He wrote in an article (“Thoughts on the New Political Situation”) in the July 19 issue of the *Mainichi Shimbun* that

I tried to correct the prime minister’s beliefs on pending important political issues such as constitutional revision, electoral law reform, and the

Japan-Korea issue. With Japan currently facing many difficulties both foreign and domestic, I also made proposals intended to promote strong governance.

The Kishi faction had given its members permission to vote freely during the presidential election. Those critical of Ikeda – such as Fukuda and Kuraishi Tadao – had come into conflict with those who supported Ikeda’s reelection like Kawashima. Fukuda and the others formed the “Council to Revitalize the Party” immediately before the election, a group that pushed for modernization of the party, the elimination of factions, and the introduction of single-member districts. The result was that the Kishi faction split into the Fukuda and Kawashima factions in November, with the majority joining Fukuda.

Satō’s annoyance toward Ikeda – “Relations between Japan and South Korea are our Top Priority”

What was it about Ikeda that made Satō feel uneasy as he watched from outside of the cabinet? What were Satō’s policy goals? He had strong views on the introduction of single-member districts and communicated these to Ikeda. But while this was one issue between them, the primary cause of Satō’s dissatisfaction with Ikeda was his belief that Ikeda was not adequately addressing the negotiations with South Korea over the normalization of relations.

There are many comments in Satō’s journal along the following lines: “Discussed the political situation (negotiations with South Korea) with Kishi in the parlor. We were in agreement that Prime Minister Ikeda’s true intentions on the matter were unclear.” “I asked the prime minister about his intentions on the Japan-Korea issue, but – with the Diet still in session – he was extremely cautious, and I couldn’t come to a firm conclusion on his thoughts.”

Even though the Park Chung-hee administration in South Korea was receptive to the negotiations, Ikeda focused his energies on economic policy and avoided any issues that could cause trouble with the opposition parties in the Diet. Satō ran out of patience and made contact with South Korean diplomatic officials in Tokyo himself, going so far as to say that “if acceptable to Seoul, I can push to have Kishi visit Korea, even if it means having him go empty-handed.”

Ikeda was more passionate about Japan’s relations with China. Satō was more anti-communist than Ikeda.

Satō told a reporter that

Japan belongs to the Western bloc. We can’t adopt a stance of being ‘neither pro-American nor anti-communist’ [(a reference to an article by Construction Minister Kōno that had appeared in a monthly magazine)]. If we don’t do away with the dregs of that sort of neutralism, we could lose the confidence of both those within Japan and overseas. And as for the Japan-South Korea issue, if we really intend to do it then we should do it.

This statement was simultaneously critical of both Ikeda and Kōno. The article referenced in the statement is Kōno’s “Appealing to the Public on the Negotiations

between Japan and South Korea” which appeared in the July 1962 issue of *Chūō Kōron*. It should be mentioned for Kōno’s sake that after saying that Japan should be “neither pro-American nor anti-communist,” he went on to say that “it naturally shouldn’t be pro-Soviet or anti-American, either.” He also described himself as a “liberal democrat” in the article.

As such, Satō’s comments were lacking a bit in fairness. But it is likely that from his perspective, this acceptance of communism also reflected upon Ikeda as he had appointed Kōno to important positions in his government. Satō was not completely at odds with Ikeda, however, having appointed Tanaka to the cabinet to serve as his substitute as finance minister. Upon entering the cabinet, Tanaka began working with Foreign Minister Ōhira on a way to restore relations with South Korea that focused on economic cooperation.

The issue of compensation dating from the time of colonial control was a major point of contention for the normalization of relations with South Korea. The judgment of the finance minister and his ability to sway the finance ministry would be key. While it is well known that Tanaka and Ōhira would go on to normalize relations with China as prime minister and foreign minister, cooperation between the two men also played an important role in the normalization of relations with South Korea.

And it was Satō who was pushing Finance Minister Tanaka on this issue. Ōhira met with Korean CIA Director Kim Jong-pil on October 20 and November 12 and reached an agreement for \$300 million in compensation, \$200 million in long-term, low-interest loans and \$100 million in private credit. The agreement they reached is known as the Ōhira-Kim Memo. Satō and Tanaka’s support were behind these successful negotiations.

What was Satō’s vision for Japan’s foreign policy toward Asia? In an interview with the *Weekly Economist*, he stated that “relations between Japan and South Korea have to be our top priority.”

First, relations between Japan and South Korea have to be our top priority, right? If you compare trading with the communist bloc with trading with the free world, there’s no question that your focus should be on trading with the free world. And when it comes to developing countries, we’re of course going to focus on Southeast Asia. As far as trade with the communist bloc goes, trade with the Soviet Union is relatively on track so maintaining that model seems good. And the private trade approach that’s been taken on trade with China seems fine? We’ve had very little trade with North Korea and North Vietnam, but I think that’s okay.

Satō thus named Southeast Asia as another priority for Japan, after South Korea.

De Gaulle, Kennedy, and Chiang Kai-shek – Satō’s tour of Europe and America

Satō visited Europe and America from September 18 to November 1, 1962. This trip was intended to expand his knowledge and allow him to establish connections

with foreign leaders. Among those who accompanied him on the trip were Hashimoto Tomisaburō, Kimura Takeo, and Matsuno Raizō.

Foreign leaders who met with Satō included West German Chancellor Adenauer, French President de Gaulle, and President Kennedy. Satō was able to meet with Adenauer and de Gaulle not only because he was considered a likely candidate to be the next Japanese prime minister but also because Yoshida had provided introductions for him.

The leaders who made the greatest impression on Satō were de Gaulle and Kennedy. He said that he felt an “extraordinary strength” from them.

All those who become national leaders have their own extraordinary strength. It might not be immediately apparent, but it’s hiding there somewhere. In the case of de Gaulle, his grand ideal is to recover his people’s glory and their former dreams. For Kennedy, it was his positivity and his advocacy for the spirit of the New Frontier.

Kennedy made a great impression on Satō, but because his visit coincided with the Cuban Missile Crisis, their meeting only lasted for fifteen minutes. Kennedy told him that “I want Japan to play a more proactive role in developing Southeast Asia” and asked that Japan “please conclude its negotiations with South Korea quickly [so that Japan and South Korea] become countries that are able to work together.”

Meanwhile, the thirty minutes planned for Satō’s meeting with de Gaulle was extended into about an hour. De Gaulle’s liberalism and anti-communism had an especially big impact on Satō. He had observed Berlin prior to visiting France and asked de Gaulle “How will you attempt to maintain peace in Europe given the ongoing unforgiving confrontation?”

De Gaulle answered that “the only way is by showing them concrete facts, by improving our livelihoods and having stable governance based in liberty.”

As de Gaulle went on to criticize communism, the tenor of his words became stronger.

Nothing like freedom lies at the root of communism. In fact, it is because freedom is at the root of democracy that there will never be an end to the flood of people fleeing from East Germany to West Germany and from East Berlin to West Berlin. That’s why they are building their wall, an act that human history can never forgive. They seek to sever that flow of people. This is a great humanitarian problem. And yet this is how far the Soviet Union is willing to go. Judging from just this one incident, the Soviets cannot claim to be a political success.

Satō was greatly impressed by de Gaulle’s “patriotic fervor” and empathized with his anti-communist beliefs. And he believed that de Gaulle shared his wariness about China.

And yet, de Gaulle’s France would recognize China in January 1964. Satō said later that he “never would have dreamed that de Gaulle would be the one to recognize Communist China.”

He gave the following as his interpretation of de Gaulle’s motives for recognizing China:

First, it was a useful move in preparing against the Soviet Union. By recognizing China, he added another force to stand against the Soviets. Second, he was likely guaranteeing the former French colonies in Southeast Asia like Vietnam and Laos against a Chinese invasion.

But Satō remained critical of China and publicly stated that “I am a man who absolutely hates communism.” Part of this was the obligation he felt toward Taiwanese President Chiang Kai-shek and the generosity he had shown toward Japan. In his book *Today is the Day before Tomorrow* (published in June 1964), Satō advocated for having a “feeling of warmth” when dealing with Chiang:

Japan has special treaty obligations with the Chiang government. And we have received blessings from that government. We cannot forget this, which is why I believe that we must have a feeling of warmth when dealing with it.

Satō was not the only one to feel that Japan had an obligation to Chiang; this was a deep-seated belief among other right-wing members of the LDP as well such as Kaya Okinori (who had served as justice minister during the Ikeda government). Chiang had relinquished all claims to war reparations, after all. And it was believed by these politicians that it was thanks to Chiang that Japan had not been divided during the Allied Occupation, that the emperor system had been left in place, and that the Japanese soldiers remaining on the Asian mainland at the end of the war had been able to return to Japan.

Satō was thus opposed to having Japan recognize China. But he also took the position that private trade between Japan and China should be promoted. Politics and economics were distinguished from one another in his mind. In an interview with the *Weekly Economist*, he said that “the current government’s approach of maintaining the one China policy and interacting with the Beijing government in a way that separates politics and economics is fine.”

Rejoining the cabinet and Satō’s dissatisfaction with Ikeda

With the July 18, 1963, reorganization of the Ikeda cabinet, Satō rejoined the government. He was appointed to the positions of director general of the Science and Technology Agency, director general of the Hokkaido Development Agency, and minister in charge of the Olympics (the Tokyo Olympics were scheduled for October 1964). Satō had previously maintained his distance from Ikeda and refused to enter the cabinet. So why did he become a minister now?

First, he did it out of consideration of the factional balance of power within the party.

It is evident from Satō’s journal entries during this period that he was wary that Ōno, Kawashima, Kōno, and Fujiyama were banding together to oppose him. (These were the leaders of the four party politician factions.) Attempts by Satō to get closer to Ikeda in an attempt to counter this can be seen, such as his “discussion with Prime Minister Ikeda on the designation of new industrial cities and the construction of a second international airport” on July 4, 1963.

Yoshida can be given as a second reason.

Satō wrote in his journal on July 9 that he had “talked with Prime Minister Ikeda and Yoshida Shigeru for over five hours in Ōiso. My rejoining the cabinet was brought up as a topic of conversation.” And after it was decided at the regular meeting of the Shūzankai on the 11th to “leave the ‘July personnel matters’ entirely to Satō,” he spoke positively about joining the cabinet at a press conference, saying that “if Prime Minister Ikeda wishes to discuss [joining the cabinet] with me, I’m willing to respond at any time.”

Yoshida met with Ōno in Ōiso on the 13th in accordance with Satō’s wishes and “entreated him to reconcile with Satō.” That same day Yoshida also had a relaxed conversation with Masutani of the Ikeda faction in which he spoke in favor of “party unity.” After Masutani informally requested that Satō join the cabinet on the 16th, Satō met with Ikeda the following day and then headed to the headquarters for the formation of the cabinet.

Having entered the cabinet as director general of the Science and Technology Agency, Satō naturally focused on technological development. And as the minister in charge of the Olympics, he appealed to the public to improve its manners (such as smoking etiquette) before foreign visitors arrived in Japan. He remained in the cabinet after the third Ikeda government was formed on December 9 following the November 21 general election. Satō’s close advisor Horii failed to be elected in this election, and Yoshida did not run, choosing to retire from political life.

As 1964 began, Satō was becoming increasingly dissatisfied with Ikeda. This is because Ikeda’s views on important issues such as restoring relations with South Korea and the reformation of electoral districts were as ever unclear.

Satō met with Ikeda in the House of Representatives on March 12 and suggested that “we work to quickly conclude an agreement” in the negotiations with South Korea. Ikeda answered that “We’re working hard. If possible, I would like an agreement to be signed during the current Diet session.” (This would not actually happen until 1965, during the Satō government.)

What about the reformation of electoral districts? Satō proposed that “in accordance with the principles of the multimember district system, the government proposal should also partition six-member districts” as a way of correcting the number of members in each district. Ikeda did not offer any particular opinion on this proposal, however. Because the makeup of electoral districts was something that directly affected the interests of Diet members, Ikeda likely wanted to approach it cautiously.

The party’s General Council had adopted a stance similar to Satō’s, arguing that

the Ministry of Home Affairs’ proposal to partition only the newly-established eight-member district (Tokyo 6th) and none of the newly-established six-member districts (Tokyo 1st, Tokyo 5th, Aichi 1st, Osaka 1st) contradicts the multimember district system (of three to five members per district) and will lead to confusion in the future. The six-member districts should absolutely also be partitioned.

Satō felt that Ikeda was being indecisive. And the July LDP presidential election was approaching.

Having lost his patience, Satō called Ikeda on May 18. “Would you please cede the position to me over the phone? I plan to run this time.” This was in reference to the July election. Even for the “simply honest” Satō, this was a blunt request. Ikeda immediately refused to cede his power to him, saying that he “couldn’t make the government a matter of my personal opinion.”

And just as it became time for the “politics of waiting” to come to an end, an event fortuitous to Satō occurred. Vice President Ōno – who had become hostile toward Satō – died of a heart attack on May 29. Ōno had been the consensus builder for the party politician factions and a cornerstone of the Ikeda regime. As mentioned earlier, the “party politician factions” were the Ōno, Kōno, Kawashima, and Fujiyama factions. Now the Ōno faction would soon split. Ōno’s death was a major blow to Ikeda, one he described thusly: “I feel as if my arms have been pulled off.”

“Social Development” and the reversion of Okinawa – heading toward a confrontation with Ikeda

There was no question that the death of Vice President Ōno would have an effect on the July 1964 presidential election. Satō decided to run. He met with Ikeda on June 27 and resigned from his cabinet posts.

He held a press conference immediately after his resignation in which he heralded “politics with a new perspective” and criticized the social distortions caused by the income-doubling plan:

The government offers up explanations: Rising prices are a natural part of an expanding economy. Irresponsible management is responsible for the bankruptcies of small and mid-sized companies. These are absurd. . . .

The government speaks of providing “after care” for the income-doubling plan, but these problems aren’t so easily solved. They are fundamental problems. I can only describe the economic development plan as flawed. . . .

The opposition parties are pleased by the low profile maintained by the Ikeda government but there is great discontent within the government party. People wonder what has become of the party’s proposals. There are even those who go so far as to say that at some point, the current government became a coalition between the LDP and the Socialists.

Satō criticized Ikeda's income-doubling plan and the government's "low profile" catchphrase. He asserted that "what Japan needs now is a social development plan. The income-doubling plan has grown the economy, but it has also given rise to 'distortions' everywhere such as excessive urbanization, traffic wars, and employment difficulties for the elderly."

Satō's announcement of his candidacy had been polished by Aichi Kiichi and Hashimoto Tomisaburō. His catchphrase of "social development" was derived by the UN Economic and Social Council's use of the term "social planning." The phrase's ability to serve as a counterpart for "economic development" was considered important.

Use of the term "social development" in Japan began with the proposals of the Council on Population Problems (Jinkō Mondai Shingikai) and the book *Social Planning* by Ibe Hideo. Ibe was a former head of the welfare ministry's National Health Insurance Section who had served as a councilor to the minister. He had also attended the UN Committee of Experts on Social Development Planning and the UN Committee on Asian Populations.

According to Ibe's book, "social development" and "social development planning" referred to

the new duties of the state that were derived from the novel postwar national ideal of the welfare state. Planned, deliberate efforts by the state to affect not only economics but also more the difficult to control social aspects of a country. They are rooted in the optimistic conviction that when these government efforts are linked with the independent efforts of the public, an appropriate result will be achieved: progress and development.

Satō made use of "social development" as a new methodology toward the welfare state. His electoral strategy was refined with the help of a brain trust known as "S-Operation." This was short for "Satō Operation." The central figures of the organization were the *Sankei Shimbun* reporters Kusuda Minoru, Sasagawa Takeo, and Senda Hisashi as well as the *Kyodo News* reporter Fumoto Kuniaki. The brain trust sought to improve the welfare of the public and do away with problems like pollution, excessive urbanization, and housing shortages.

This way of thinking was different from traditional liberalism and was part of the group's "right hook, left punch" strategy. The idea was that because Satō tended to be seen as a right-leaning politician, he should adopt some "left of center" positions such as emphasizing welfare. S-Operation and "social development" would become key to Satō's approach to politics, and they will be discussed more shortly.

"Social development" was certainly a concept that could be effective as a counter to Ikeda and his heavy emphasis on the economy. But it was difficult to see what exactly the term involved and what its effectiveness was. The *Yomiuri Shimbun's* appraisal was that "while there are many pretty words in Satō's policies, they are lacking realness."

It would actually be in the field of foreign policy that Satō voiced specific policies. He held a press conference on July 4 at his offices in Akasaka Tameike and emphasized that

I will proactively seek the return of the Southern Kuriles from the Soviet Union and of Okinawa from the United States. Until our territorial issues are resolved, we can't talk about having entered a 'postwar' era, establishing a US-Japan partnership, or furthering peaceful relations with the Soviet Union.

The Northern Territories (Southern Kuriles) had been a longstanding issue for the country, but it was bold of him to explicitly call for the return of Okinawa at a time when even the Ogasawara Islands (largely unpopulated islands located a thousand kilometers south of Tokyo) were still in American hands. Satō's mention of “a US-Japan partnership” was a reference to the Ikeda-Kennedy talks, and his statements were an implicit criticism of Ikeda's failure to work for the return of Okinawa.

As is well-known, Satō would later visit Okinawa as prime minister and announce that “I am well aware that so long as Okinawa has not returned to its homeland, the 'postwar' will not have ended for our nation.” The origins of that statement can be found in his campaign for LDP president at this time.

So why had Satō set his sights on the return of Okinawa? As mentioned earlier, he had mentioned Okinawa and the Ogasawaras during his meeting with Ambassador Reischauer in June 1961 but had not seemed in a hurry at the time. It seems likely that prods from Yoshida were responsible

According to Satō's younger son Shinji, “Yoshida keenly wanted Dad to achieve the return of Okinawa, something Ikeda had not been able to do.” Kusuda Minoru, a former *Sankei Shimbun* reporter and Satō's chief secretary during his time as prime minister, also noted that “Yoshida Shigeru's advice was a major factor.”

Satō had been unable to attend the San Francisco Peace Conference. But there is no question that he had heard from Yoshida about how he had had no choice but to accept the American administration of Okinawa at the time. Securing the return of Okinawa would mean fulfilling Yoshida's peace diplomacy.

The Satō-Fujiyama alliance and Ikeda's third term

This was another reason that Satō intended to emerge victorious in the LDP presidential election. There were three candidates running (Ikeda, Satō, and Fujiyama), and it was predicted that Ikeda would come in first in the first round of voting. The only way for Satō to win would be to form a 2–3 coalition with Fujiyama and then defeat Ikeda in the final round.

And so Satō made efforts to approach Fujiyama through Ishii Mitsujirō (a member of neither faction). According to Ishii's journal, Satō visited him on July 4 and asked him to mediate between himself and Fujiyama, saying that he wanted to “join forces with Fujiyama but that he was being stubborn.” Fujiyama told Ishii

that “I don’t like Satō but if you ask me to join forces with him this time, I’ll do so.” Ishii brought Fujiyama and Satō together on July 8.

Satō was pleased that he had been able to coordinate with Fujiyama, writing in his journal that day that “I met with Fujiyama at Ishii’s invitation and we formed an alliance. I finally have a clear chance of winning.” Satō and Fujiyama agreed to form a 2–3 coalition. Satō was sure that he would come in second in the first round of voting and that he would win if he made it to the final round.

Fujiyama was not close to Satō, preferring the more cheerful Ikeda. That underlines how indispensable Ishii’s intercession was in securing the alliance between the two men. There were others who worked to lay the groundwork for the alliance as well, including the Satō faction’s Hashimoto Tomisaburō, Nanjō Tokuo and Ayabe Kentarō of the Fujiyama faction, and Fukuda (who had inherited Kishi’s faction). Nanjō was a strong advocate for the alliance, telling Fujiyama that “even if it’s impossible for you to become prime minister, you can still try to become deputy prime minister.” Yoshida also opposed Ikeda’s running for a third term and wanted him to yield the position to Satō.

But at the July 10 convention, Ikeda secured a majority in the first round of voting, receiving 242 votes to Satō’s 160 and Fujiyama’s 72. Kōno and Miki refrained from running and voted for Ikeda. The party politician factions that had initially opposed the Ikeda government had now moved to support him. Kōno in particular voiced his support for Ikeda’s third term early on, widening the rift between him and Satō. The Kishi and Ishii factions voted for Satō, however.

Satō shook Ikeda’s hand on stage and told him to “do a good job.” But back at his faction’s Mokuyō Club, he noted that “it’ll be quite difficult for him to govern the party with those critical of him nearly holding a majority.” Satō’s faction organization the Shūzankai had nominally been dissolved on January 13 but had continued to exist, changing its name first to the Tameike Club and then to the Mokuyō Club.

Satō wrote in his journal that “I was certain that I had a chance at winning but contrary to my expectations, I was defeated in the first round with Ikeda receiving 242 votes, myself 160, and Fujiyama 72 (238 votes were needed for a majority). It’s extremely regrettable. I feel like I just missed it.”

S-Operation – “A Far Eastern Approach to the Kennedy Machine”

While Satō had been defeated in the election, his decision to run had not been meaningless. It contributed to the establishment of a Satō government in three ways.

First, he had come in second behind Ikeda despite it being his first experience running for party president. This fact would weigh heavily upon Ikeda when he fell ill shortly after the election and had to choose who to pass the prime ministership on to. It’s plausible to think that Kōno (who had not run this time, choosing to support Ikeda instead) was another potential successor, although choosing him might contradict the rationale for his earlier refusal to cede power to Satō (when Ikeda said that he “couldn’t make the government a matter of my personal opinion”). Even bearing in mind that Kōno was more popular than Satō, it might

appear to the public that Ikeda was merely going by his personal preferences if he ceded his government to someone who had not run in the election.

Second, Fukuda – Kishi's successor – had put all his energy into helping Satō become party president. According to Fukuda, "those of us in the Council to Revitalize the Party [the party modernization movement] gradually came to share the same way of thinking as Satō, who was an oppositional force during the Ikeda government." Fukuda opposed Ikeda; Satō and Ikeda were not linked together in his mind as part of the "conservative mainstream."

Third, Satō had, through S-Operation, done the mental work of establishing the concepts such as "social development" that he would take up during his later administration. These would soon be mobilized during the Satō government's efforts to correct the social distortions caused by high-speed economic growth.

The most important of these were S-Operation – which would become the lynchpin of Satō's approach to governing – and the concept of "social development." This can be seen by analyzing the Kusuda Minoru Files that were made public in 2016.

Aichi was the head of this brain trust that refined the concept of what Satō's government was to be like. As previously mentioned, the *Sankei Shimbun* reporters Kusuda, Sasakawa, and Senda were also members, as was the *Kyodo News* reporter Fumoto. S-Operation was launched in Room 413 of the Grand Hotel on January 15, 1964.

The origins of Operations S can be found in "On the 'S-Operation' Concept," a proposal written by Kusuda on November 24, 1963. He had been a reporter assigned to cover Satō. The "Kennedy Machine" created during President Kennedy's presidential campaign served as the model for Kusuda's conception of the brain trust. He wrote that "what I propose is a Far Eastern approach to the Kennedy Machine" and argued that the brain trust should operate separately from the Satō faction's Shūzankai. While S-Operation's goal at the time of its creation was the establishment of a Satō government, it also worked on the question of what should be done once that was accomplished.

Kusuda worked to sell Satō's positive attributes to the public and trained speech writers. After the formation of the Satō government, he advised that "elite bureaucrats and academics should be introduced [into the group], with the goal of elevating it into something like an 'inner cabinet' in the future." He also said that S-Operation "must be developed in secrecy."

Satō implemented Kusuda's ideas about the formation of a brain trust, putting Aichi in charge. He also had Yamashita Eimei (his secretary during his time at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry and a later administrative vice-minister for the ministry) participate. He also expressed interest in creating a think tank along the lines of the American RAND Corporation. An organization of that size was undesirable, however.

Satō frequently told Aichi that "Modern politics have already begun to be exposed to the public. The time when we only needed to think of things in terms of internal party factions is over. I want to develop one single organization to act as a policy brain trust."

While Satō regarded S-Operation's May 12, 1964, proposal on "dealing with the Okinawa issue" as "extremely good," he did not incorporate it into "Fight for

Tomorrow: Answering a Call from the Future,” a document that he released ahead of the July presidential election. This was because he wanted to avoid making Okinawa a pawn of political fighting.

And, as touched on earlier, Satō had already clearly mentioned demanding America return Okinawa during the press conference in which he announced his presidential candidacy. He had decided that arguing for the return of Okinawa during the press conference would give it a greater impact.

But this does not mean that Satō and S-Operation were necessarily well-versed on the Okinawa issue. In fact, the opposite was true. Kusuda would later reflect on the experience and comment that “it was pretty impractical for us to just come out with ‘return Okinawa!’ even though the issue was one on which neither the foreign ministry nor international forces were acting on.” “It was only because we were amateurs on the issue that we were able to say it.”

At the time, the US had adopted its “Blue Sky” position on Okinawa. This said that America would consider returning Okinawa once the Vietnam War had ended *and* threats such as China and the Soviet Union had disappeared. Because the foreign ministry was aware of the American position, it was not actively seeking its return.

S-Operation was divided on the controversial topic of constitutional revision. Aichi was also chairman of the LDP’s Constitutional Investigation Committee and wanted to embark on constitutional revision. But all of the members of the group from the media such as Kusuda were opposed. They saw that if Satō advocated for constitutional revision, the Socialists and other opposition parties would condemn him for having a “constitutional revision government.” Aichi ultimately conceded the issue, and it was not included in the ideas for the Satō government.

As mentioned earlier, S-Operation believed that because Satō was perceived as leaning to the right, he should expand his popular support by pursuing “left of center” positions and adopt the slogan “social development.” The members of the group called this balanced strategy “right hook, left punch.”

S-Operation continued its activities even after Ikeda successfully won his third presidential term. Because Aichi entered the Ikeda government as education minister, Satō replaced him as the head of S-Operation with Nishimura Eiichi. Kusuda would go on to become chief secretary to the prime minister on July 3, 1967, two and a half years into the Satō government.

The “Tanaka-Ōhira Group” – toward the next presidential election

We know now that Satō succeeded Ikeda as prime minister, but it was unclear what was going to happen at the time. In fact, many contemporary reporters believed that Satō’s chances would disappear if Ikeda continued to serve for another two years.

Fortune favored Satō, however, as the recently reelected Ikeda developed cancer of the larynx. Ikeda made the Tokyo Olympics (held from October 10–24, 1964) his final hurrah and retired shortly afterward.

Ikeda was hospitalized and had to recommend who was to succeed him as the party’s next president. The candidates had been reduced to Satō, Kōno, and

Fujiyama. Given that Kōno had provided Ikeda with support during the recent election, there was a good chance that Ikeda would name him as his successor.

The discord between Satō and Kōno was well-known, however, and it was also possible that Ikeda would choose to name Fujiyama in the interest of maintaining party unity. According to Fujiyama, “the three or four days before the ‘Ikeda Decision’ were the closest I ever came to forming a government.” Maeo put forward the idea that “the Kōno and Fujiyama factions would form an alliance and unify behind Fujiyama,” but this was rejected by members of the Kōno faction such as Mori Kiyoshi.

Satō received frequent reports on Ikeda’s condition from Finance Minister Tanaka. On October 21, he told Tanaka to “work to have him make the decision to resign and get him to designate me his successor. Use your close ties with Maeo and Ōhira.”

In other words, Satō’s strategy was to have Tanaka approach Ōhira and Maeo – two of Ikeda’s confidantes – and obtain Ikeda’s nod that way. Ōhira was an especially close ally of Tanaka, and Satō referred to their relationship as the “Tanaka-Ōhira group” in his journal. According to Maeo, “Satō’s only wish after being defeated [by Ikeda in the election] had been for Tanaka to remain in the government as finance minister.” Satō made good use of the close relationships between Tanaka, Ikeda, and Ōhira.

It was only on November 9, when Ikeda designated Satō the next party president, that it became certain that he would be prime minister. Satō received 283 votes in the House of Representatives, defeating the Socialists’ Kawakami Jōtarō and the Democratic Socialists’ Nishio Suehiro. While it was normal for those belonging to opposition factions within the government to submit blank ballots, all Diet members voted for Satō in this election.

Satō wrote in his journal that “It was unprecedented. There were no blank votes, nor any votes cast for anyone else. I was quite pleased.” It was likely the happiest day of his life thus far. Having been designated prime minister by the Diet, Satō moved into the Kantei and met with Kawashima, Miki, and Kōno.

It was at this time that Satō resolved to quit smoking. Having learned of Ikeda’s cancer of the larynx, he felt that “I have an obligation to the public. It would be unforgivable of me to ruin my health through carelessness or selfishness.” This was a major step for him to take, as he had been a chain smoker.

The conservative mainstream – the “Original” and “New” mainstreams

And thus, the position of prime minister had passed from the “exchange student” of the Yoshida school to its “honor student.” The term “the conservative mainstream” – used to designate the line running from Yoshida to Ikeda and Satō – is also related to the Yoshida school. While this is a slight deviation from the time period we have been covering, let us go over the different uses of the term now.

The term “the conservative mainstream” came into use in the mid-1960s; it did not exist while Yoshida was in power. It has two meanings.

Under the first meaning, it denotes the lineage of the former Yoshida faction. It includes Ikeda and Satō – the students of the Yoshida school – and their successors.

The Ikeda factional organization (the Kōchikai) was inherited by Maeno Shigesaburō, Ōhira Masayoshi, Suzuki Zenkō, and Miyazawa Kiichi following his death. Meanwhile, while the Satō faction had originally been known as the Shūzankai and then the Mokuyō Club, it rebranded as the Thursday Research Group on March 22, 1968. While most of the Satō faction would become the Tanaka faction shortly afterward, some members like Hori Shigeru and Matsuno Raizō would join the Fukuda faction.

Under the second meaning, the conservative mainstream consists of those who maintain the basic policies that make up the framework of postwar conservative politics such as the new constitution and the US-Japan security order.

For example, Hori argued that

the framework of the Japanese state rests upon the three pillars of the new constitution, the peace treaty and independence, and the US-Japan security treaty. While it will of course be necessary to make adjustments to these in accordance with the changing times, if a “conservative mainstream” exists, it will be by firmly maintaining these pillars and having a solid framework that it will be able to adjust and grow.

The first definition focuses on factions while the second emphasizes policy. If strengthening US-Japan relations is considered the most important of the policies falling under the second definition, then even Kishi and Nakasone could potentially be considered part of the conservative mainstream. However, the first definition is more common and also the one used in this book.

So, how did politicians and the media come to talk about a “conservative mainstream?”

When Ikeda was elected to a third term as president, Yoshida made a request of Finance Minister Tanaka: “I would like you to do all you can to unify the party and prevent any ill will that might result from Prime Minister Ikeda and Satō’s fight over the presidency.” Tanaka also belonged to the Yoshida lineage of politicians. While Yoshida did not use the term “conservative mainstream” himself, the content of his words certainly shows an awareness of something like it.

When Ikeda handed the presidency to Satō on November 9, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* argued that

while there were those who saw a case for Mr. Kōno becoming president, as expected, the perceived strengths of Mr. Satō – who has belonged to the mainstream of the conservative party – inevitably led to a “decision” that transcended factional relationships.

This was saying that the perception that Satō was part of the “mainstream of the conservative party” affected many party members (including Ikeda) during the creation of the Satō presidency.

Soon after, the Kōchikai was passed from Ikeda to Maeo. According to the August 10, 1968, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, although Maeo “seemed to have tried to entrust [the continuation of Ikeda’s policies] to the Satō government, he seems to feel a certain ‘irritation’ that the current state of politics is not in alignment with the will of the conservative mainstream.” Maeo would lose heavily on November 27 when he challenged Satō in an attempt to prevent him from winning a third term as president.

The concept of the conservative mainstream was a beneficial one for the Maeo faction when they attempted to succeed the Satō government. The faction’s Kurogane Yasumi openly made this argument. According to him, only graduates of the Yoshida school belonged to the conservative mainstream and “the only successors to that lineage are Maeo and Tanaka (Kakuei). Fukuda cannot become part of the mainstream.” Maeo and Tanaka were close friends who would play music together, Tanaka singing while Maeo played the shamisen.

In other words, the conservative mainstream concept was linked to the idea that the group should monopolize the position of prime minister: “Satō (part of the mainstream) should naturally be followed by Maeo (who is also part of the mainstream).” Maeo emphasized the bonds between those in the mainstream to reporters, saying that “while I have frequently fought with Satō since the time of the Ikeda government, that’s just how it is between brothers.” This could also be regarded as an argument for excluding Fukuda from the conservative mainstream.

But it was Fukuda – not Maeo or Tanaka – who Satō chose as his successor. Thus Satō – the self-proclaimed “honor student of the Yoshida school” – changed the rationale for the conservative mainstream. According to the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, this was a “new theory” (Satō – Fukuda – Tanaka) of the conservative mainstream that opposed the “original theory” (Ikeda – Satō – Maeo).

In other words, the new theory saw Satō as a new progenitor taking Yoshida’s place. Fukuda and Tanaka – two men who had supported the Satō regime – would be the central figures inheriting the position of prime minister, with Satō reigning behind the scenes as an elder statesman. Satō envisioned Fukuda as his successor. No doubt the best scenario for him would be for Fukuda to become prime minister and then leave the power structure of the Satō system in place.

As will be argued from Chapter 4 on, everything went well for Satō’s new theory of the conservative mainstream at first. He led Maeo around by the nose, and Ōhira then snatched control of the Kōchikai from him. But then Tanaka and Fukuda – who Satō had envisioned as the central figures of his theory – clashed in the president election, resulting in a Tanaka victory. Not only did his new theory not come to pass, but the bitter confrontation between Fukuda and Tanaka would become a lasting focal point of post-Satō politics. That Satō’s personnel choices were one factor behind Fukuda’s failure to succeed him will be discussed in Chapter 6.

And with the formation of the Tanaka government, the Satō faction would scatter. It first split into Tanaka and Fukuda factions. The Tanaka faction would later split into the Takeshita faction and the Nikaidō Group and then divide further into

the Hata faction as well. By comparison, the Kōchikai and its wealthy funding network would be passed on unbroken as the Ikeda, Maeo, Ōhira, Suzuki, and then Miyazawa factions. This is why, by the late 1980s, it had come to be seen as the “mainstream of the conservative mainstream.”

So, what was it that the Satō government – supported by Tanaka and Fukuda – set as its goals and what did it accomplish? Let’s first turn to Satō’s first policy speech.

4 “Social Development” and “Independent Foreign Policy”

The first Satō government

“Government that values humanity” – Satō’s policy speech

The Satō government was launched on November 9, 1964. Because only a few months had passed since Ikeda had reorganized the cabinet on July 18, Satō kept most cabinet officers in place, including Finance Minister Tanaka, Minister in Charge of the Olympics Kōno, Foreign Minister Shiina Etsusaburō, and MITI Minister Sakurachi Yoshio, although Kōno now became a minister without a portfolio as the Olympics had ended. Those appointed to the four major party positions – Vice President Kawashima, Secretary-General Miki, General Council Chairman Nakamura Umekichi, and Policy Research Chairman Satō Hideo – also remained.

The only exception was that the position of chief cabinet secretary went from Suzuki Zenkō to Hashimoto Tomisaburō. Satō had asked Suzuki to continue, but he had resigned out of loyalty to the ill Ikeda. Suzuki would later join the cabinet as welfare minister and accompany Satō on his visit to Okinawa, however. Suzuki appraised Satō as follows: “unlike Yoshida Shigeru and Ikeda Hayato, Satō was a ‘great bureaucrat.’ He was very impressive. While he wasn’t the kind of man to get into details, he was at his core a bureaucrat.”

Satō laid out his policies before the Diet on November 21. Regarding foreign policy, he notably said that Japan would “contribute to the improvement of global welfare by protecting freedom in a thoroughly peaceful way and developing an independent foreign policy.” He also expressed indignation at Chinese nuclear testing and voiced his hopes that relations with South Korea would be quickly reestablished. He was especially resolved to follow through on this last point.

And while he said that he would “develop an independent foreign policy,” he did not mean that he would try to distance Japan from the United States. He said that “by maintaining the US-Japan security treaty as a solid foundation, we will both ensure our nation’s security and further promote the economic cooperation clearly laid out in the treaty.”

He stated that the basis for his domestic policy would be “promoting social development in order to realize a government that values humanity” and that “quickly placing economic growth on a stable course is the fundamental solution [for rising consumer prices.]”

Table 4.1 Liberal Democratic Party Leadership (1964–1972)

<i>Date</i>	<i>President</i>	<i>Vice President</i>	<i>Secretary-General</i>	<i>General Council Chairman</i>	<i>Policy Research Council Chairman</i>
July 1964	Ikeda Hayato	Kawashima Shōjirō	Miki Takeo	Nakamura Umekichi	Sutō Hideo
December 1964	Satō Eisaku	Kawashima Shōjirō	Miki Takeo	Nakamura Umekichi	Sutō Hideo
June 1965	Satō Eisaku	Kawashima Shōjirō	Tanaka Kakuei	Maeo Shigesaburō	Akagi Munenori
July 1966	Satō Eisaku	Kawashima Shōjirō	Tanaka Kakuei	Fukunaga Kenji	Mizuta Mikio
December 1966	Satō Eisaku	Vacant	Fukuda Takeo	Shiina Etsusaburō	Nishimura Naomi
November 1967	Satō Eisaku	Kawashima Shōjirō (from December)	Fukuda Takeo	Hashimoto Tomisaburō	Ōhira Masayoshi
December 1968	Satō Eisaku	Kawashima Shōjirō	Tanaka Kakuei	Suzuki Zenkō	Nemoto Ryūtarō
January 1970	Satō Eisaku	Kawashima Shōjirō	Tanaka Kakuei	Suzuki Zenkō	Mizuta Mikio
October 1970	Satō Eisaku	Kawashima Shōjirō (vacant from November)	Tanaka Kakuei	Suzuki Zenkō	Mizuta Mikio
July 1971	Satō Eisaku	Vacant	Hori Shigeru	Nakasone Yasuhiro	Kosaka Zentarō
July 1972	Tanaka Kakuei	Shiina Etsusaburō (from August)	Hashimoto Tomisaburō	Suzuki Zenkō	Sakurauchi Yoshio

Source: Liberal Democratic Party, *Jiyū Minshutō 20-nen no Ayumi* (20 Year History of the Liberal Democratic Party), Tokyo: Liberal Democratic Party, 1975, 776–780

Satō argued that “social development” meant “striving to progressively improve our livelihoods as people”:

The economy and technology are making great strides in our modern society, but there is a tendency to lose sight of people. Social development means striving to progressively improve our livelihoods as people.

It is possible to create a truly stable, harmonious society by linking the growth of the economy to the welfare of the public through social development.

Based on long-term projections, I foresee us achieving an advanced welfare state by implementing policies to expand social capital such as housing and community facilities, promoting regional development, expanding social security, and encouraging education.

Satō emphasized that while Ikeda’s high-speed economic growth policy had brought about great accomplishments, he would focus on correcting the social distortions that had accompanied that growth. He clearly spoke of the “achievement of a welfare state” and said that housing policy would take the lead in “social development.”

He contrasted the Ikeda government’s slogan of “tolerance and forbearance” (*kan’yō to nintai*) with his own basic approach of “tolerance and coordination” (*kan’yō to chōsei*). And stable economic growth and “social development” were the tasks that his government now faced as part of that “coordination.” While this was not as flashy as Ikeda’s income-doubling plan, it could be said that Satō’s focus on overcoming the negative aspects of that plan was typical of his character and his strong desire to protect others.

Despite this, however, the beginning of the Satō government was met with little enthusiasm from the public. He was yet another prime minister with a background in the bureaucracy, and he had made no major changes in the makeup of his cabinet. When Hashimoto, Satō’s new chief cabinet secretary, stated that they aspired to “remain in office until the US-Japan security treaty automatically renews in June 1970,” the press corps sniggered. Satō was unpopular with the public and had many rivals and critics in the LDP. They did not expect his government to last for long.

The road to a long-lived government

According to public opinion polls conducted by *Jiji News*, the Ikeda government had a high support level of 43.4 percent when it left office. But the Satō government began with less than forty percent support after being formed in March. So why did this government manage to last so long, overcoming the expectations of the media? Six points can be raised to answer this.

First, in addition to having a powerful brain trust like S-Operation at his disposal, Satō had a wide range of acquaintances in the worlds of business, academia, and the media. He was able to make use of these contacts to improve his ability to formulate policy and to broaden his support base.

Second, Satō was able to use clever personnel management to build a strong framework for governing. This was largely based on the combined support provided by Fukuda and Tanaka. He was also aided by the deaths of many of his rivals.

Third, he implemented the proactive fiscal policy of issuing the first debt-covering government bonds of the postwar period and used this to overcome a recession. He then benefited from the period of high growth known as the “Izanagi boom.”

Fourth, he anticipated the opposition parties by introducing social policies in areas such as welfare and pollution.

Fifth, the number of opposition parties increased, and two of these, the moderate Democratic Socialists and Komeitō (Clean Government Party), rapidly gained strength. Satō was able to pass his resolution on removing nuclear weapons from Okinawa and reducing the size of the American military bases there through the Diet with the support of these two parties. The LDP also joined with these parties in regional elections in opposition to the Socialists and Communists.

Sixth, Satō held the grand foreign policy goal of securing the return of Okinawa and continually produced results at the major US-Japan summits held in 1965, 1967, 1969, and 1972. Notably, the Satō-Nixon joint statement of November 1969 made the return of Okinawa certain, aiding the LDP in winning a great victory of 300 seats in the general election held a month later.

The other points will be examined in due course, but the first – Satō’s brain trust – will be the subject of the next section.

Satō’s brain trust – the second phase of S-Operation

As discussed in Chapter 3, S-Operation (which had begun its activities in January 1964) continued to operate even after Ikeda had won his third term as president in July. If the period leading up to Ikeda’s reelection can be regarded as the first phase of S-Operation, then the second phase could be said to have begun with the formation of the Satō government.

Chief Cabinet Secretary Hashimoto Tomisaburō, Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary Takeshita, and Prime Minister’s Secretary Ōtsu Tadashi joined S-Operation at this time. Because Sasagawa had been appointed the *Sankei Shimbun’s* Washington correspondent, Okazawa Teruo (Seoul correspondent for the same newspaper) took his place. Satō’s other secretaries – Motonori Moriyuki from the foreign ministry, Tanaka Takashi from the finance ministry, and Katsuda Toshio from the National Police Agency – would also come to participate in S-Operation meetings.

Satō directed Takeshita to memorize the years that each government official had entered the bureaucracy. Because officials considered this important, it was necessary that this hierarchy be taken into account when trying to carry out government administration. Takeshita said, “that was the first thing the prime minister tried to teach me; just what would be expected of someone known as ‘Satō the human resources expert.’”

He had Takeshita not only remember how many times each politician had been elected to the Diet and what positions they had held but their birthdates as well. When Satō was deciding on whom to name as a parliamentary vice-minister, he would call in Takeshita. Takeshita would then immediately tell Satō how many times the candidates for the position had been elected, what committees they had served on, and what their relative ages were. This was very useful for “Satō the human resources expert.”

For their part, Kusuda and the others in S-Operation would gather experts on foreign policy and “social development.” They also assigned topics to the leading members of each party faction with the goal of creating a kind of “prime minister’s bodyguard.” Miyazawa Kiichi of the Kōchikai was one of those targeted. After Miyazawa agreed to join S-Operation in August 1966, he provided information on Maeo and Ōhira’s actions to Satō through Kusuda to aid in Satō’s reelection as president. Satō’s goal was to split the Kōchikai.

But just because Satō was armed with research organizations, most notably S-Operation, does not mean that he was clearly superior to Ikeda in his ability to formulate policy. Both men had different styles, making their relative effectiveness difficult to compare. Ikeda’s brain trust included figures like Development Bank of Japan Director Shimomura Osamu, and his faction contained many capable individuals who had come up through the bureaucracy, like Maeo, Ōhira, Kurogane, and Miyazawa. These all functioned as a team during the Ikeda government.

According to Hiroko, Satō was frequently jealous of Ikeda’s followers, commenting that “Ikeda must be a happy man. He has such marvelous brains at his side like Ōhira and Miyazawa.” How did the politicians of the Satō faction compare at this point?

Motono (who was close to Satō as one of his secretaries) argued that

as you likely know, the Satō faction was a ragtag group. Ikeda recruited talented people and borrowed their wisdom. That’s why he had the triumvirate of Ōhira, Miyazawa, and Kurogane on his staff. The Ikeda faction contained all kinds of talented people and he solicited their opinions.

In other words, “the Satō faction was largely a collection of average people.”

Now, the Satō faction did also include policy experts like Aichi Kiichi. But setting aside the question of whether or not it’s fair to call it a “ragtag group,” it’s certainly true that Satō would ultimately be unable to find a successor from within his own faction.

“Sharp-Eared Eisaku” – attending twenty-nine unofficial groups

Satō also attended the meetings of twenty-nine private organizations in addition to S-Operation. Among these were the Chōeikai, Akebonokai, Tsukiichikai, Ichinichikai, Itsukakai, Jūichinichikai, Hatsukakai, Nijūninichikai, and the

Nijūkyūnichikai. Most of these meetings were places where he could exchange views and information with business leaders, politicians, commentators, and reporters. They were held at night in restaurants in Akasaka, Tsukiji, and Shibashi in Tokyo. The information gained at these gatherings is likely why he was known as “sharp-eared Eisaku.”

According to Motono, much of the cost of these restaurants was paid by the cabinet (which siphoned off money from the foreign ministry’s remuneration fund). As such, “a quite large portion [of the foreign ministry’s fund] was actually used domestically rather than for the overseas operations it was meant for.”

Of these groups, the Chōeikai was a support group (kōenkai) composed of fifty-six major business leaders. Sixteen high-ranked members of the Satō faction such as Tanaka and Horii would also attend its meetings. The Chōeikai was the largest of the business groups that assembled around the prime minister. Satō was good at listening at these meetings but rarely offered his own opinions.

The meetings of the Nimokukai and Chōshokukai were held in the morning. The Nimokukai was an economic brain trust that met on the second Thursday of each month.

The Chōshokukai divided its meetings by gender so that conversations could be held without any need for restraint. The members of the group included figures such as professors, bank executives, and diplomats.

When considering Satō’s relationship with the media, special note should be made of his frequent use of television for interviews and speaking to the public. While Prime Minister Ikeda had also appeared on television, Satō’s repeated appearance on a program titled “Speaking with the Prime Minister” was noteworthy. Production of this program alternated between NHK and commercial broadcasters every month. The conversations on the program featured a wide arrangement of guests such as Matsushita Kōnosuke (president of Matsushita Electric Industrial [Panasonic]), Aida Yūji (professor at Tokyo University), Tohata Seiichi (professor emeritus at Tokyo University), and Etō Jun (literary critic).

Satō and Kusuda recognized the importance of television, noting that with “television having become as widespread as it is today, Diet debates and images of student demonstrations fly into the living rooms of the public unaltered.” Satō’s counterparts for the final episode of “Speaking with the Prime Minister” (filmed on January 18, 1972) were Kōsaka and the commentator Kusayanagi Taizō.

Satō’s frequent attendance at gatherings was not something that began after he became prime minister; it can be traced back to his time as a young railway bureaucrat. And given that he attended so many gatherings and television shows, he likely had little time to read. For that reason, unlike Maeo and Ōhira – who were known for their well-stocked libraries – Satō’s words and actions give little sense of ideological depth.

He did enjoy reading Shiba Ryōtarō’s books of historical fiction like *Moeyo Ken* and *Hokuto no Hito*, however. He also read Umesao Tadao’s *An Ecological View of History: Japanese Civilization in the World Context* at Kusuda’s suggestion and then began meeting with Umesao.

He continued his hobby of golfing as prime minister. His only usual partners were his secretaries and his sons Ryūtarō and Shinji. According to Kusuda,

the prime minister’s position is not an easy one. If he were to play golf with one person, it would then be unfair for him not to play with others. And playing with everyone wasn’t an option. The fairest thing to do was to just not play with anyone. That was impartial.

Golf was inherently a game that lent itself to social interaction. That Satō golfed alone showed his isolation as prime minister and his self-discipline.

Thinking of Okinawa – the first Satō-Johnson summit

Satō’s first trip abroad as prime minister was to America. He visited the US on January 10, 1965, accompanied by Foreign Minister Shiina and LDP Secretary-General Miki. He met with President Johnson on the 12th and 13th.

According to the joint statement released on the 13th, Satō asked that “as soon as feasible, the administrative control over [Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands] will be restored to Japan,” and Johnson stated that he appreciated “the desire of the Government and people of Japan for the restoration of administration [over these territories] to Japan.” But the conditions and date for this restoration was left as a task to be settled later.

Differences between the two countries were thrown into sharp relief when relations with China were discussed. While Johnson was concerned that “Communist China’s militant policies and expansionist pressures against its neighbors endanger the peace of Asia,” Satō told him that it was

the fundamental policy of the Japanese Government . . . to promote private contact which is being maintained with the Chinese mainland in such matters as trade on the basis of the principle of separation of political matters from economic matters.

These are the words that appear in the joint statement. According to records from the summit, Satō asserted that he “wanted it understood that the return of administrative control was the strongly held desire not only of the inhabitants of Okinawa but of all the Japanese people.” He also addressed the Vietnam issue.

When Johnson sought Satō’s opinion on the Vietnam issue, he said that he “appreciate[d] the United States’ hard work and [thought] it should patiently persevere. In the meantime, it is necessary to work hard to stabilize the public welfare while concurrently engaging in military actions. Japan should cooperate on this aspect.”

Johnson thanked Satō, saying that “Japan’s \$1.5 million in aid and dispatch of medical teams have been helpful and I’m grateful for it.”

Satō further argued that “South Vietnam, Taiwan, and the 38th parallel in Korea should be defended to the bitter end for the security of the Far East.” Johnson clearly stated in response that “America will defend that line to the end.”

Having visited America, Satō intended to visit Okinawa next. But Motono Moriyuki, his secretary from the foreign ministry, and Edamura Sumio, senior administrative official in the ministry’s North American Section, felt uneasy about this idea. Motono recalled that “the foreign ministry wasn’t really enthusiastic about [Satō’s proposed visit to Okinawa] because they felt it would be like waking a sleeping baby. Their lack of enthusiasm was such that I guess you could say they opposed it.”

Satō setting foot on Okinawa would stimulate expectations for its return, which could lead to him finding himself caught between the US and Okinawa. Was it a good idea to expose the prime minister to that possible danger? That was the cause of Motono’s uneasiness. To make things worse, America had begun bombing North Vietnam on February 7, increasing the strategic value of Okinawa to the US military.

On April 2, Foreign Minister Shiina and Ambassador Reischauer exchanged notes on “expanding the functions of the US-Japan Consultative Committee on Okinawa.” This “expansion of functions” was a reference to becoming able to freely discuss various topics related to the livelihood of the Okinawans rather than just economic aid to the territory. But American policy was to not use this committee as a forum for negotiations on Okinawa’s return.

Satō told American Bureau Director Yasukawa Takeshi that, while he recognized that “America has the administrative rights,” it was “only natural for the Japanese government to express opinions on how to improve the welfare of the residents of Okinawa (Japanese citizens) and that the American government should pay heed to those opinions.”

Satō would visit Okinawa on August 19. But since relations between Japan and South Korea were normalized prior to that visit, let us look at Satō’s South Korean policy next.

The treaty on basic relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea

The Satō government’s first accomplishment was normalizing relations with South Korea. Satō described his meeting with Prime Minister Chung Il-kwon at the Kantei on February 6, 1965, in his journal:

As I had imagined, he was a stylish man. I didn’t feel any of the cunning typical of Koreans. We were in agreement over reaching a rapid resolution. It looks like things will settle on the Syngman Rhee Line remaining in place but with a new line for joint and exclusive fishing zones. . . . There seems to be extremely little room for movement on the Takeshima issue.

The Syngman Rhee Line was the result of a unilateral 1952 South Korean delineation of its maritime sovereignty around the Korean Peninsula. This line placed Takeshima, a small group of islets located in the Sea of Japan that are claimed by both countries, within the area under Korean control.

Satō sent Foreign Minister Shiina to South Korea on February 17. Shiina initiated the basic treaty in Seoul with Foreign Minister Yi Dong-won. Satō met with Yi in Tokyo on March 11 and 24 and suggested that “even if we don’t make any decisions on Takeshima now, shouldn’t we at least make clear what course we’ll take going forward?”

Shiina and Yi formally signed the treaty in Tokyo on June 22, and it went into effect on December 18 with the exchange of the instruments of ratification. Japan and South Korea also exchanged notes on settling disputes and agreements on fishing and claims and economic cooperation. Satō determined the broad strokes of these agreements in meetings with Shiina, Finance Minister Tanaka, and Agricultural Minister Akagi.

The agreement on claims and economic cooperation increased the \$200 million in private credit agreed to in the Ōhira-Kim Memo to \$300 million and “confirm[ed] that [the compensation issue had] been settled completely and finally.” This was achieved when Satō managed to obtain the finance ministry’s agreement through Tanaka.

As for Takeshima, the notes exchanged on settling disputes incorporated the provision that

where not covered by a separate agreement, both governments will resolve disputes between the two countries through diplomatic means. When they cannot be resolved thusly, they will aim to resolve them through mediation in accordance with procedures agreed upon by both governments.

It was not written in these notes that Takeshima was a “dispute between the two countries,” however. Satō considered it obvious that Takeshima was included, but there was no explicit mention of it. And the phrase “aim to resolve [disputes] through mediation” was abstract.

The Japanese foreign ministry prepared two plans at this time, which were to be used depending on whether the disposition of Takeshima was to be explicitly mentioned or not. It also argued that Japan should seek a judgment from the International Court of Justice. Satō’s decision was to compromise by not explicitly mentioning these things because the South Korean attitude on the issue was firm.

Satō wrote in his journal that “the Takeshima issue remained difficult to the end. I frankly expressed the feelings of the Japanese people towards our national territory. It was of no benefit.” What exactly he meant by “it was of no benefit” is not discussed in the journal. It seems likely that Satō decided to shelve the issue of Takeshima as negotiations over territory enflame nationalist sentiment, making it difficult to compromise. If so, it could be said that he had not pushed as hard on the Takeshima issue as he could have, given South Korea’s need for economic cooperation.

Be that as it may, there was great significance in concluding the negotiations between Japan and South Korea that had dragged on for more than fourteen years. Even so, there were those in Japan such as the Socialist Party who opposed the basic treaty, arguing that it entrenched the division of the Korean peninsula. The

extraordinary session of the Diet that was called from October 5 is known as the “Japan-South Korea Diet.”

Satō emphasized in a speech to the Diet that

we have no right to speak of world peace if we cannot at least achieve peace with South Korea, our closest neighbor. . . . With the exchange of notes on resolving disputes, a path has been opened for the peaceful resolution of the Takeshima issue.

The treaty passed the House of Representatives on November 12. Satō met with Speaker Funada Naka and Secretary-General Tanaka and arranged to have the house reconvene and ratify the treaty after midnight. This was done to force the treaty through and check the Socialist Party’s delaying tactics. Tanaka had assumed the post of secretary-general on June 2.

The treaty passed the House of Councillors on December 11 with both the Socialists and the Komeito absenting themselves. The normalization of relations with South Korea can be regarded as Satō’s second-greatest accomplishment after the return of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands.

The reality lying behind the Social Development Colloquium

Meanwhile, Satō established the “Social Development Colloquium” to discuss “social development,” his foremost domestic policy. The colloquium was a private advisory body and held its first meeting at the Kantei on February 13, 1965.

It had sixty-three members, including Matsushita Kōnosuke (president of Matsushita Electric [Panasonic]), Tange Kenzō (Tokyo University professor), Totsuya Ayako (writer), and Yorozu Naoji (president of the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*). Welfare Minister Kanda Hiroshi, Finance Minister Tanaka Kakuei, Agricultural Minister Akagi Munenori, MITI Minister Sakurauchi Yoshio, and Transport Minister Matsuura Shūtarō were in attendance to represent the government (in addition to Satō).

Satō said at the first meeting that his ideal for government was the building of an advanced civilized society that had “respect for humanity” as its ideology and that he wanted “social development” – the linking of the fruits of economic growth to social welfare – to serve as its foundation. Satō’s intention was to use the colloquium to gain a handle on the issues facing him and then apply its findings to the creation of a budget.

But he expressed his uneasiness about the project’s prospects in his journal for the day, writing that “while there were quite animated opinions expressed, it of course all had to do with problems on which no specifics were decided.”

It could be said that it should have been obvious that the colloquium would not “decide any specifics” on these issues. Not only was the range of issues facing the group broad, but sixty-three participants were far too many. To make matters worse, they also came from diverse backgrounds: the business world, academia, and the media. He should have foreseen from the start that it would be difficult to integrate their opinions.

The colloquium divided into three groups for its discussions: fostering a healthy spirit; education; and improving the public welfare and the environment. In its July 23 midterm report, the colloquium sought proactive government spending on “social development” and said that “until this point [welfare] has been treated as something reactive and used as a means of saving those who have fallen behind.” It should, the colloquium held, instead be regarded as “having proactive significance.” Satō responded to the report by explaining that “stabilizing and improving the livelihoods of the public is our priority” and that “this will be quickly implemented as it is something we can do.”

The report also acknowledged that it “cannot be said to have had adequate time to deliberate on the wide-ranging serious issues involved in social development and has not yet coordinated systematic measures in conformance with the various opinions provided.”

This midterm report was followed by a final report compiled by the fifteen-member Committee for the Promotion of Social Development. This committee made increased public housing, improved living environments via additional roads and parks, the healthy cultivation of young people, anti-pollution measures, and the improved distribution of fresh foods its policy priorities. The final report was submitted to Satō on December 9 after being approved by the colloquium. Satō greeted the report at the time by noting that “much of the delinquency of young people is rooted in their living situations. This is another reason that improvements are needed in our housing policy.”

The colloquium’s findings laid out numerous policies rooted in common sense. Perhaps because there were so many committee members, it is difficult to say that these policies were particularly specific. The report received little newspaper coverage, and the colloquium as a whole was undeniably anti-climactic.

One reason for this was because Japan had entered its post-Olympics recession and the times called more for economic recovery than “social development.” Satō decided to reshuffle his cabinet before the colloquium’s midterm report was released.

Cabinet reorganization and economic adjustments

Satō reorganized his cabinet on June 3, 1965. In addition to Fukuda replacing Tanaka as finance minister, Miki and Fujiyama also joined the cabinet as MITI minister and director general of the EPA, respectively. Tanaka was named secretary-general a day before this reorganization (and it has already been discussed how he supported Satō during the Japan-South Korea Diet).

Fukuda was named finance minister because the Japanese economy had entered a slump known as the “1965 Recession” following the Tokyo Olympics. Satō told Fukuda that “I’m leaving the job of overcoming this recession to you.” He decided to embark on expansionist fiscal policies and had the government issue debt-covering government bonds for the first time since the war.

This primed the pump, and Japan entered the second stage of its high-speed economic growth, the period known as the “Izanagi Boom.” Satō and Fukuda then adjusted the economy by reducing reliance on government bonds. Looking back,

Fukuda would comment that “if I were to name another great accomplishment of the Satō system, besides the return of Okinawa, it would of course be the stable growth of the economy.”

While the normalization of relations with South Korea was listed alongside the return of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands as Satō’s two great accomplishments, mentioned earlier in this chapter, it’s reasonable to also include Japan’s economic growth during this period and speak of the Satō government’s three great accomplishments. Satō appointed finance ministers such as Tanaka, Fukuda, and Mizuta in accordance with economic conditions and adjusted the economy.

This is likely because Japan’s economic growth at this point was less government-led and more due to the private sector extending its reach (to the extent that it would cause economic frictions with the US). With the economy experiencing stable growth, voices in favor of systemic reform did not spread far enough to threaten the government. Setting aside Satō’s poor personal popularity, the LDP continued to enjoy much higher support than the Socialists. In this sense, Satō was also blessed with economic good fortune.

When he reorganized his cabinet, Satō had sought to have Kōno and Nakamura Umekichi (a member of Kōno’s faction) join. But Kōno had recommended that Mori Kiyoshi or Sonoda Sunao take Nakamura’s place. Because Satō rejected this advice and appointed Nakamura as education minister anyway, Kōno left the cabinet (he had previously been a minister without portfolio). Satō considered it better for Kōno to be outside the cabinet than to have to make personnel choices with which he did not agree.

As soon as Kōno had left the cabinet, Satō called Fujiyama (a close ally of Kōno) and convinced him to join, telling him that “I will entrust the Economic Planning Agency to you.” Fujiyama later said that “had I known [that Kōno had just been kicked out of the cabinet], I never would have joined. Having me enter as soon as Kōno was out . . . I thought that he really lived up to his nickname of ‘Satō the human resources expert.’”

While Satō always listened to a wide array of opinions when it came to making policy, he also stuck to his principle of doing as he wished when it came to personnel choices. He tended to avoid politicians who tried to promote themselves and liked those who quietly applied themselves to party business. He hated nothing more than leaks and would furiously chew out the chief cabinet secretary and any relevant ministers when personnel decisions or schedules for foreign trips were made public prior to their official announcement.

The Kōno faction was a major force in the party, on the same level as the Satō and Ikeda factions. It was therefore bold of Satō to do as he wished when it came to assembling the cabinet and cutting out Kōno. Ikeda would have compromised with him and done all he could to prevent him from joining the anti-mainstream factions.

Dying rivals – Satō at his strongest

Kōno suddenly died on July 8, 1965, of an abdominal aortic dissection. He was sixty-seven. His last words were “as if I’d accept something like this killing me.”

Satō rushed to his side, but Kōno was already unconscious and in a coma by the time he arrived. He wrote in his journal that “I feel as if a *kyōyū* has departed” (a *kyōyū* was a cold-blooded and valiant figure).

Satō (who was three years younger than Kōno) told reporters that “with so many serious domestic and international issues facing me, I had hoped to make use of his sharp senses and ability to make decisions quickly.” The truth was likely very different, however. It had been Satō who had just removed Kōno from the cabinet a month earlier, after all.

The *Asahi Shimbun* reported that “with the death of Kōno Ichirō, the Liberal Democratic Party’s party politician factions have lost one of their major leaders. It will likely be a great setback for those critical of Satō.” Satō’s decision to push Kōno into the anti-mainstream can be said to have been on target. Combined with his appointments of Finance Minister Fukuda and Secretary-General Tanaka, decisions like these were why he was known as “Satō the human resources expert.” Mori Kiyoshi became the new leader of the Kōno faction, although the Nakasone faction took the opportunity to split off.

Satō learned on the morning of August 13 that Ikeda’s condition had worsened. He left his cabinet meeting and headed for the University of Tokyo Hospital, where Ikeda was being treated. He visited Ikeda for fifteen minutes from 10:25 a.m., but he was unconscious. Others arrived steadily, including Secretary-General Tanaka, MITI Minister Miki, and Welfare Minister Suzuki. Tears poured down Satō’s face when Ikeda passed away at 12:25 p.m.

Satō paid a mourning call to Ikeda’s home in Shinanomachi and said farewell to Ikeda’s body. While Satō’s personality had differed greatly from that of the frank Ikeda, his sorrow at losing someone he had known ever since they had taken their high school entrance examinations together was unimaginable. He had visited Ikeda’s home in December of the previous year and helped celebrate his sixty-fifth birthday (Ikeda had experienced a temporary recovery at the time and been released from the hospital). It was a farewell between two prime ministers who knew each other thoroughly.

Returning home, a depressed Satō commented to his sons that “[Ikeda’s] body had become so small.” Forty-seven years had passed since his first encounter with Ikeda in their lodgings in Nagoya.

While Maeo took the reins of Ikeda’s Kōchikai, he was an erudite man not well-suited to struggles over power. Meanwhile, on August 17, 1965, a little over a year after Ōno’s death, the former Ōno faction split between Funada Naka and Murakami Isamu.

On that same day, Satō directed Secretary-General Tanaka and Policy Research Council Chairman Akagi to “proactively work towards the modernization of the LDP.” “Modernization” in this sense meant the elimination of party factions. Satō stated that he was prepared to “immediately dissolve the Shūzankai [Mokuyō Club] if necessary for the elimination of internal party factions – the central problem for modernization.”

After consulting with Tanaka on the dissolution of the Satō faction, he carried through in a ceremony held at the Hannyaen (a restaurant) on September 20. Satō

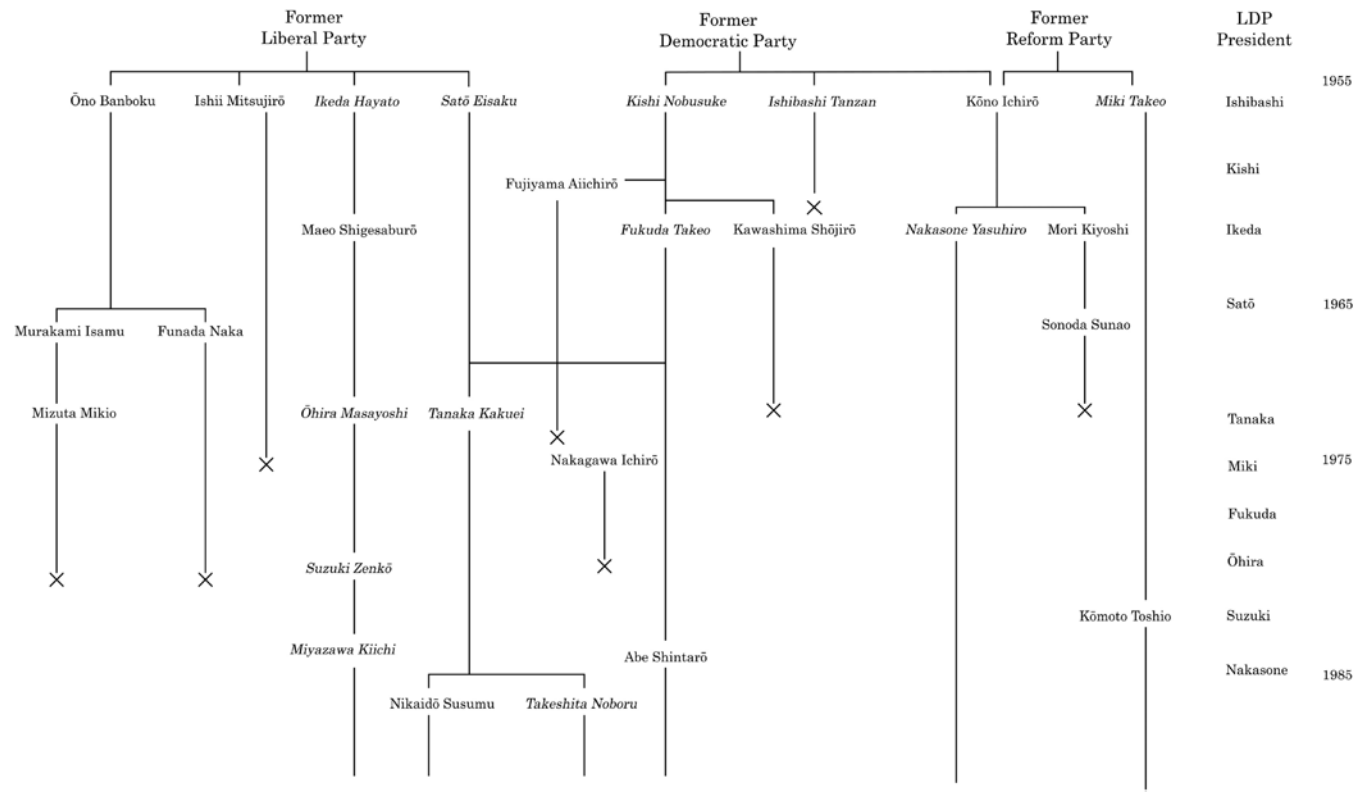


Figure 4.1 The Lineage of the LDP's Factions
 Source: Iseri Hirofumi, *Habastu Saihensei* [Factional Realignment], (Tokyo: Chūkō Shinsho, 1988), 11. Prime ministers are marked in italics.

sought to take advantage of the ongoing factional realignments to increase party solidarity ahead of the Japan-South Korea Diet that would be held in the fall. While nominally dissolved, the Satō faction would later resume its activities under the name of the Thursday Research Organization. (The date of this is unclear.)

The death of his rivals one after another and these factional divisions brought about the period when Satō was at the height of his power. This was another case where Satō had experienced good fortune. Had Kōno not suddenly died, there is a good chance that the following presidential election would have been marked by fierce competition. This period when Satō was at his strongest can be referred to as the “Satō system.” Less than a year into his government, there were already many signs that he would be in power for the long-term.

While the deaths of his rivals were an important factor in this, so were his aforementioned personnel management skills. And Satō took on a task suitable for a long-term government: the return of Okinawa.

“The ‘postwar’ has not ended” – Satō’s Okinawa statement

It was on August 19, 1965 – two days after Ikeda’s LDP funeral – that Satō landed at Naha International Airport in Okinawa aboard a special JAL plane. It had been seven years since his last visit, and the Stars and Stripes flew over the airport alongside American military flags. He descended the steps from his plane and firmly shook hands with Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands Watson and other officials. An American military band played the Japanese and American national anthems and fired off a 19-gun salute.

A visit to Okinawa by a serving Japanese prime minister was unprecedented (including during the prewar period). Satō had also brought along several important figures with him, including Chief Cabinet Secretary Hashimoto, Welfare Minister Suzuki, Education Minister Nakamura, Director General of the Prime Minister’s Office Yasui Ken, Secretary-General Tanaka, and President of the Southern Comrades Aid Council Ōhama Nobumoto (who was also president of Waseda University).

Climbing a stage that had been erected at the airport, Satō appeared before an audience of about five hundred members of Okinawa’s political and business circles. He then began to speak: “My Okinawan comrades, I have just arrived at Naha airport. I have at last fulfilled my long-held desire to visit Okinawa and finally been able to meet all of you in person. I am truly overcome by my emotions.”

The statement that he then read is extremely famous:

I am well aware that so long as Okinawa has not returned to its homeland, the “postwar” will not have ended for our nation. This is the feeling of the entire Japanese people.

It is no overstatement to say that of all Satō’s many speeches, these words have had the most lasting impact. But what were his thoughts as he spoke them? While he spoke of the “postwar not having ended,” it is unlikely that he was optimistic

about the return of Okinawa. After all, it was serving as a frontline base in the Vietnam War, with B-52 bombers carrying out missions from Kadena Air Base.

As he departed the airport by car, the streets were lined by members of the public and students. There were no gaps. Most waved Japanese flags. Others held up banners and placards carrying slogans like “We want to return to Japan soon” and “Our desire is to return to Japan immediately.” The residents of Okinawa had complicated expressions, and they did not cheer as the cars of Satō’s procession passed by. Most were silent.

Satō went to the Kokueikan, a movie theater, for his welcome gathering. There he repeated his words, saying again that “so long as Okinawa has not returned to its homeland, the ‘postwar’ will not have ended for our nation.” He also said that “the role that Okinawa plays for the peace and security of the Far East is extremely important” and discussed expanding aid for education and improving social welfare and sanitation in the territory. He carefully avoided making any significant references to the prospects for Okinawa’s reversion to Japanese administration.

Satō toured a number of battlefield memorials on the island. These included the Himeyuri Monument (dedicated to the female students drafted as nurses during the Battle of Okinawa who met a tragic end), the Shimamori Memorial Tower (a memorial to prefectural employees killed during the battle), and the Reimei Memorial Tower (a monument to commander Ushijima Mitsuru and his chief of staff Chō Isamu). He shed many tears.

While everything had gone according to plan thus far, that would change completely as night fell. The plan was for Satō to stay at the Ryukyu Tōkyū Hotel, but they found it surrounded by petitioners. About two thousand people sat in front of the hotel, and sixteen students and others were arrested.

Satō said, “have the [petitioners] choose a representative and let’s meet with them,” but they were not permitted to enter the hotel. Left with no choice, the group headed for the Japanese government’s Southern Liaison Office but ultimately had to stay in the American military command’s guest house. The demonstrations died down the next day, and Satō returned to Tokyo on the night of August 21 after visiting the smaller Okinawan islands of Miyakojima and Ishigakijima.

What concrete results did Satō’s visit to Okinawa have? Yara Chōbyō, the former president of the Association for the Reunion of the Okinawan Islands with the Homeland and a later chief executive of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, gave the use of public funds for education as one:

Of the prime minister’s presents, the most important was his response to our movement to have the Japanese government use public funds to pay for education on Okinawa. It is extremely significant that, beginning the year after his trip, the salaries for educators working in mandatory education on Okinawa were paid using public funds in the same way that those working in other prefectures were.

This was significant because it was absolutely unthinkable that the Japanese government would take on these educational costs unless they were operating under the premise that Okinawa would ultimately be returned to Japan.

American interference and Satō’s stubbornness

So why did Satō use the strong expression that “the ‘postwar’ has not ended” in his statements in Okinawa? It was a considerable step for him as his words were seen as a public pledge to return its administration to Japan. He had therefore increased the obstacle he now faced. The *Okinawa Times* dubbed his act “Satō’s Self-Immolation,” likening his words to the self-immolation of monks protesting the Vietnam War.

According to diplomatic records declassified in January 2015, his words did not appear in any of the drafts for his speech at the airport. And according to these records, the American embassy interfered in the drafting of his speeches. It had been given the intended texts ahead of time and sent them to Washington for instructions.

There is obviously no chance that it was Washington that sought to have Satō’s phrase about the postwar added to the speech. What the Johnson administration disliked about the proposed speeches was that they did not touch upon Okinawa’s strategic importance as an American military base. For Cold War era America, the American bases on Okinawa were indispensable for maintaining order throughout East Asia, not just Japan. They felt that this should be referenced.

US Envoy Emmerson visited North American Bureau Director Yasukawa at the foreign ministry on August 18, 1965 (the day before Satō would leave for Okinawa), and relayed his instructions from Washington. He said that “these speeches are disparaging to America’s administration of Okinawa” and that “if the prime minister’s speech goes on unchanged, it could harm the cooperative relationship between the United States and Japan over Okinawa.”

Yasukawa informed Satō that the US strongly desired to make revisions to his speech. From Satō’s perspective, it must have almost felt like he was being threatened when he was told that his speech “could harm [our] cooperative relationship,” given that his goal was to have Okinawa returned to Japan.

There was nothing unusual about the text of a speech being shown to one’s counterparts ahead of time. Japan had also received the draft of Commissioner Watson’s speech. But it was unusual to try to have the speech of another country incorporate the positions of your own. And the Americans had gone so far as to tell the Japanese that they should “consider [Watson’s speech] a draft; whether or not it is the final version will be Washington’s call after it sees what revisions the Japanese have made.”

It was humiliating to have another country interfere with a prime minister’s speech, but such was the relative power between the two countries at the time. Left with no choice, Satō added the phrase “the role that Okinawa plays for the peace and security of the Far East is extremely important.” But of the nine speeches that Satō gave in Okinawa, the only time these words appeared were during his speech at the Kokueikan. The speech he gave at the airport did not reflect the American demands.

While Satō had accepted the American interference, he also added a new phrase to his airport speech (the one that would have the most impact). This was his statement about the postwar. He had initially intended to say these words at the Kokueikan. Their appearance at the airport was Satō showing his stubbornness in response to the American interference. He would then repeat the phrase at the Kokueikan.

The Yamano/Kusuda plan and “Telepolitics”

The phrase “the ‘postwar’ will not have ended for our nation” did not originate with Satō, however. Drafting his speeches was the work of his close aides and those in the relevant ministries. So, who was it who came up with the phrase that could be called Satō’s byword? According to Kusuda, it was Yamano Kōkichi, director of the Special Regional Communications Bureau in the Prime Minister’s Office, who wrote the drafts of Satō’s speeches for Okinawa. He also said that the phrase was included in the draft for the second of Satō’s nine speeches, the one to be given at the Kokueikan.

Yamano had served on the carrier *Akagi* during the Second World War, narrowly escaping death when it was sunk during the Battle of Midway. At the time that the war ended, he was serving as paymaster for a base hosting Kaiten “human torpedoes.” He saw many young officers depart from places like Ōzushima in Yamaguchi to engage in what were euphemistically referred to as “special attacks.” The Kaiten contained no escape mechanism, although it did have one for self-destruction. Groups of Kaiten were also deployed to Okinawa. Yamano shed tears at the determination of these young officers who threw their lives away hoping to protect their homeland.

For Yamano, “my life after the war were ‘the rest of my days’” and “grappling with the Okinawan issue [as director of the Special Regional Communications Bureau] gave me a sense of mission and my life meaning.”

Yamano wrote the draft of the speech and then ran it by Prime Minister’s Secretary Motono, North American Section Chief’s Assistant Edamura, and Fumoto Kuniaki (secretary to Secretary-General Tanaka Kakuei). He then compiled the final draft.

He also received advice on the speech from others like North American Section Chief Nakashima Nobuyuki and Meiji University Professor Fujiwara Hirotsu. He said that “rather than being the work of one particular individual, [the speech] was the work of everyone who participated in looking it over.”

Kusuda noticed the postwar phrase in Yamano’s draft and made a proposal to Chief Cabinet Secretary Hashimoto:

“Let’s start with this. If he speaks these words as part of his first statement after arriving at Naha airport, the significance of Prime Minister Satō’s visit to Okinawa will be made clear to both Japan and the world.”

“You’re right. Let’s do that.”

Having obtained Hashimoto’s approval, Kusuda added the statement to the speech that would be given following Satō’s arrival at Naha Airport. The statement was the work of Yamano and Kusuda and is known as the “Yamano-Kusuda Draft.” Satō gave his approval. As would be expected of someone with Kusuda’s media background, he was able to correctly predict the reception that the phrase would receive. He therefore inserted it into the speech that would be given immediately upon Satō’s arrival in Okinawa. This could be regarded as a time when effective use was made of S-Operation.

In the meantime, Satō, picturing the location for his speech, told North American Section Chief Nakajima that he wanted “to use a private airport, not one of

the military bases.” His arrival at the airport would be a symbolic scene, and the backdrop and the impact of his words would determine whether he was successful or not. This was “word politics” or – to use a phrase more suitable to the age of television – “telepolitics.” Satō understood that.

In viewing the wording of the speech, Satō and the others would have recalled the famous phrasing of the 1956 economic white paper that declared that “the postwar is over.” The speech expressed the feelings of the people of Okinawa that the postwar had not ended and served as the antithesis of the white paper’s sentiment.

Satō learned in late 1965 that Takase Tamotsu, a researcher at Stanford University’s Hoover Institute, was investigating Okinawa’s outlying islands. He had the information relayed to the Kantei. Later, when Nixon was elected president, Satō received a promise via Takase from Nixon’s diplomatic advisor Allen that he would honor the gist of the Satō-Johnson joint statement. Takase was someone with connections in America.

“Work quietly” – the Cabinet Council on the Okinawan Issue

While Satō may have said in his speech that the “postwar” had not ended, he was cautious in his actions and statements afterward. The American position was not so weak that Satō drumming up popular opinion could be used to apply pressure to them during negotiations. In fact, America initially held to the “Blue Sky” position that it would only return Okinawa once the threats to the free nations of Asia had disappeared. This meant not just the Vietnam War but China and the Soviet Union as well.

Satō held the first meeting of the Cabinet Council on the Okinawan Issue (Okinawa Mondai Kakuryō Kyōgikai) at the Kantei on September 1, 1965. This council had been established to increase the support budget for Okinawa, expand education and hospitals in the territory, and strengthen its industrial base. Its members included Finance Minister Fukuda, Education Minister Nakamura, Welfare Minister Suzuki, and Secretary-General Tanaka. It projected that the support budget for the following fiscal year would be about 5.5 billion yen.

Satō did not speak much on the core topic of the return of Okinawa. It would only be on January 19, 1967, that he began to speak of the full reversion of Okinawa to Japanese control rather than only partial reversion (such as over the administration of education).

This cautiousness was typical of Satō, and he likely had Yoshida’s words in the back of his mind. He had met with Yoshida in Ōiso prior to becoming prime minister, and Yoshida had spoken to him about the importance of “working quietly”:

As someone who controls an entire country, popularity is important. But at the same time, you have to work steadily and keep the future of the country in your thoughts. You can’t concern yourself with popularity.

Being able to achieve both is ideal, but once you become prime minister, you’ll likely only be able to do the latter. This is because popularity is

something that improves when you speak well and have good publicity. But you’re the type to shut up and do your work. And that’s fine.

It had been Yoshida who had received recognition of Japan’s residual sovereignty over Okinawa in the San Francisco Peace Treaty, and Kusuda said that “I believe [Satō] consulted with former prime minister Yoshida Shigeru [on Okinawa.]” Yoshida took late 19th-century naval reformer Katsu Kaishū’s “sincere mind, sincere intent” (*seishin sei*) as his motto and repeatedly emphasized to Satō the importance of maintaining international trust. And that meant that “you absolutely must keep any diplomatic secrets you have.” This could likely be referred to as a policy of secrecy.

Satō took Yoshida’s teachings to heart, although his commitment to secrecy went beyond the need to maintain international trust and is thought to have largely stemmed from his desire to keep his weaknesses secret for reasons of factional politics.

As will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, Satō made use of Wakaizumi Kei as a secret envoy during his negotiations with the United States and entered into a “secret agreement on nuclear weapons.” He kept all of this hidden, even from the foreign ministry and Tanaka, his successor as prime minister. He reached a “secret agreement on textiles,” but Ōhira, the minister in charge of the issue, said that he was never shown it. It is undeniable that Satō engaged in excessive secrecy that went well beyond Yoshida’s advice. And far from being able to keep all of his diplomatic secrets, Wakaizumi would expose the “secret agreement on nuclear weapons” in detail after Satō’s death.

The eloquent Tanaka was quite a contrast with Satō, who shut up and worked. Tanaka enjoyed popularity with the public, while Satō was a politician well appreciated by experts.

If Yoshida served as Satō’s mentor, then he took his uncle Matsuoka to heart as a good example of what not to do. Matsuoka loved to make long-winded speeches and was showered with public acclaim. While Satō had greatly admired Matsuoka as a younger man, it seems that he had taken lessons from the end results of Matsuoka’s diplomatic efforts.

Despite this, Satō was at times envious of Matsuoka’s popularity. Lamenting his own lack of popularity, he once murmured to Hiroko that “if Uncle were alive today, he would do a great job working on PR for me. And he’d do it for free.”

On May 26, 1966, the second anniversary of Ōno Banboku’s death, Satō opened a speech by saying that “I, too, want to become a politician like Ōno – one close to the people and known by the nickname ‘Ei-chan.’” This was intended to be a humorous evocation of Ōno’s nickname of “Ban-chan.” But as always, Satō gave off an impression that was far from sociable. He likely thought that even those close to him would never call him “Ei-chan,” even as a joke.

Ōno and Satō had been like oil and water; the speech was only meant as a courtesy. Satō was well aware of his lack of popularity with the public and his insufficient PR. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* reported that “nobody calls him ‘Ei-chan.’ His name Eisaku has even been twisted to become ‘musaku’ [resourceless].”

The “backbone to protect the country” – the one-day cabinets

But Satō did what he could to make himself seem more appealing to the public, such as regularly appearing on television. He also placed importance on the “public hearings on national politics” that were more commonly known as the “one-day cabinets.”

The Ikeda government was the first to hold a one-day cabinet, which it did on October 6, 1962, in Fukuoka. Fifteen people asked questions that were answered by Ikeda and other ministers. These people were chosen from applicants and those recommended by the governors of the Chugoku region. The idea of the hearing was to hear from a broad segment of the public and allow them to have their voices reflected in national politics. It also provided a location in which the government could directly appeal to the public with their policies. The one-day cabinets were held once a year.

Satō continued the practice after he took over for the Ikeda government. His comments in the one-day cabinets were on a wide-range of topics such as Japan-South Korean relations, the public distrust of politics, underpopulation, and pollution. US-Japan relations were likely the area during which he put the most effort into his answers, however.

The one-day cabinet held on August 25, 1967, in Wakayama was the one to draw the most attention. Here Satō argued that Japan’s peace and prosperity had been protected by the US-Japan security treaty for the twenty-two years since the Second World War had ended and appealed for the “establishment of permanent peace.”

He forcefully argued that while “former prime minister Yoshida had concluded the US-Japan security treaty” and thereby “achieved peace,” “we cannot just rely upon America” and must “strengthen our self-defense capabilities in accordance with our national strength.” Satō was aware that he was the inheritor of the Yoshida doctrine and had his sights focused on the return of Okinawa and the 1970 extension of the security treaty.

Satō referred to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in Gifu on September 13, 1968, criticizing it by saying that “there is no freedom in communism.” Touching upon the three non-nuclear principles, he also stressed that “our self-reliant national defense (the SDF) is not enough to handle the stark international situation. The US-Japan security framework is an absolute necessity.”

Satō viewed the one-day cabinets as a good opportunity to frankly convey his beliefs to the public. Notes in his journal include a description of them as a “significant opportunity.” He also made statements there about having “the backbone to protect our nation with my own hands” and ensuring that “freedom will not die.”

At Matsue on September 25, 1969, he raised the underpopulation issue and spoke passionately about Japan’s national security in the period that would follow the return of Okinawa. He conveyed his perception that “we are increasingly being called upon to have the backbone to defend our own country with our own hands.”

Asked about the ongoing protests on universities, Satō called for increased self-awareness from university authorities and students “lacking the elements of good

judgment, autonomy, and temperament” and said that “I will explicitly say at this time that my policy is to firmly crack down on any illegal acts.” The public records on the hearing show that these statements were met with great applause.

Satō raised the issue of pollution at the September 21, 1970, one-day cabinet held in Utsunomiya, saying that his

fundamental approach to the pollution issue is striving to achieve a truly wealthy society by protecting the health of the people and preserving the safety of their living environments. This will be done on the basis of “no growth without welfare.”

The front pages of that evening’s editions of the *Mainichi Shimbun* and *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* widely reported on the slogan “no growth without welfare.”

At the October 6, 1971, one-day cabinet in Miyazaki, Satō began to show changes in his position on China. While he was opposed to expelling Taiwan from the United Nations, he said Japan – as a joint sponsor with America – welcomed “the entry of the People’s Republic of China into the United Nations and support it becoming a permanent member of the security council” as it would contribute to easing tensions in Asia.

He went so far as to say that he was “determined to seize every opportunity to improve Sino-Japanese friendship and that I expect that a great door has opened for the normalization of relations between Japan and China.” Satō had changed his position from opposing Chinese representation in the UN to supporting a policy of joint recognition for China and Taiwan in the body. The sponsored resolution that he had referred to would be rejected on October 25, however, and Taiwan was expelled.

Table 4.2 The One-Day Cabinets

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Major Themes of Satō’s Answers</i>
September 26, 1965	Kanazawa	Ratification of the Japan-South Korean treaty
November 5, 1966	Sapporo	Reelection as president, popular distrust of politics, China’s nuclear missile test, Ministerial Conference for the Economic Development of Southeast Asia
August 25, 1967	Wakayama	Continuation of the US-Japan security treaty, international peace
September 13, 1968	Gifu	Liberalism and communism, the necessity of the US-Japan security framework
September 25, 1969	Matsue	Depopulation, the defense concept for after the return of Okinawa, the Northern Territories, student protests
September 21, 1970	Utsunomiya	Pollution, “social development,” “no growth without welfare”
October 6, 1971	Miyazaki	Nixon’s visit to China, new economic policies, the China issue, international currencies

Source: (Compiled from sources listed in footnote 13 of Chapter 4)

It is thus worth noting that his comments on the normalization of relations between Japan and China predate Taiwan’s expulsion from the UN. But at the same time, from the Chinese perspective, his efforts to preserve Taiwan’s seat went against his stated desire for normalization and were difficult to accept. Satō’s China policy had reached an impasse. This will be discussed in Chapter 6.

The one-day cabinets would continue to be held until September 10, 1994, with the last being held by Murayama Tomiichi in Akita. Murayama’s statements at the occasion were rote and not well received.

Ishikawa Masumi, a member of the *Asahi Shimbun*’s editorial staff, wrote at the time that

while I had some objections when Prime Minister Satō spoke about “changing our ideas and the backbone to defend our country,” I respected the fact that the prime minister and his advisors were attempting to raise those kinds of topics. It appears that none of Prime Minister Murayama’s advisors view the one-day cabinets as a place for doing the same.

“I could not abandon our Okinawan comrades” – the defense debate

The return of Okinawa was the most significant political task for Satō and one that he devoted significant time to during the one-day cabinets. But how did Satō address this topic in the Diet?

In a January 28, 1966, speech on administrative policy, he raised the topics of overcoming the recession and lowering taxes; a peaceful resolution to the Vietnam War; and “social development” and housing policy. On the topic of Okinawa, he said that

the support budget for the 1966 fiscal year will be greatly expanded in preparation for the day it returns to the homeland. We will eliminate the gaps that exist between Okinawa and the homeland in areas such as education and social welfare. We will aim to proactively improve the welfare of the residents of Okinawa.

These statements could be interpreted as showing that Satō was aiming for the gradual reversion of authority over areas like education rather than complete reversion. Satō’s cautious approach was grounded in the fact that the contemporary international environment was disadvantageous to Japan and there was no guarantee that America would respond positively to Japanese conditions such as the removal of all nuclear weapons.

The Cold War was ongoing, and Okinawa was being used to dispatch B-52 bombers for attacks on Vietnam. In Indonesia, the government of Sukarno had been replaced by the anti-communist Suharto regime. And the Cultural Revolution was ongoing in China. In general, the situation in Asia was in turmoil.

When Inaba Seiichi of the Socialist Party asked Satō about the potential deployment of the SDF to Okinawa during the March 10 meeting of the House of Councillors’ Budget Committee, the Diet erupted into argument.

Satō stated that while the defense of Okinawa was primarily the responsibility of America as it held administrative control over the territory, “I could not abandon our Okinawan comrades. Japan would coordinate with America [in the defense of Okinawa]. America would likely accept [a Japanese request on these lines]. We would convince them to accept it.”

Satō’s words were no doubt related to the residual sovereignty that Japan held over Okinawa and his desire to increase its unity with the mainland. But Okinawa had not yet been returned to Japan. His answer that the SDF would potentially be deployed to Okinawa contradicted the position that the Japanese government had held since the time of Prime Minister Kishi that it would not be deployed. Defense Agency Director General Matsuno Raizō also took the position that “based on the law and our treaties, Japan could not do [carry out such a deployment] via a domestic deployment order.”

This had come about because, unusually, Satō had risen to Inaba’s bait: “Okinawa is part of Japan, right? Are you saying that Japan will be unable to act when Japanese territory comes under attack? It will be unable to exercise its right to self defense?”

The Socialist Party followed up on the exchange by releasing a unanimous statement:

The only correct path for not abandoning our Okinawan comrades is to achieve the return of Okinawa to the homeland and the removal of its nuclear bases.

Prime Minister Satō has not once demanded this. It is certainly not for the sake of our comrades that he has tried to use the unity of Okinawa and the homeland as a justification for dispatching the Self Defense Forces. The National Police Reserve was created following the outbreak of the Korean War to fill in the gaps left by the deployment of American units. This fact should be sufficient to show that the real intention behind his words was to respond to demands for military cooperation from America.

The Socialist Party sought the return of a nuclear-free Okinawa and paid no regard to the position of America. It is clear that they could make these demands only because they were not involved in the negotiations with America. While the Socialists viewed the dispatch of the SDF to Okinawa in self-defense as “opening a window to the [overseas] dispatch of the SDF,” this seems like a leap of logic.

With the Diet arguing itself into circles, Satō returned to the question at the March 16 meeting of the House of Councillors’ Budget Committee:

I spoke frankly from my keenly felt nationalist sentiment. I was not drawing the conclusion that I would immediately dispatch the Self-Defense Forces, even in an emergency. Naturally, so long as America possesses administrative authority [over Okinawa] as it currently does, in accordance with our constitution, treaties, and the Self-Defense Forces Law, we would be unable to exercise the right of self-defense or dispatch the Self-Defense Forces.

In other words, Satō was retracting his previous answer, attributing it to his “nationalist sentiment.” He had been briefly pushed into revealing his actual thoughts on Okinawa, but he now forced them back into his breast.

Second cabinet reorganization and the “Black Mist”

Satō undertook his second cabinet reorganization on August 1, 1966. Powerful figures like Justice Minister Ishii, Foreign Minister Shiina, Finance Minister Fukuda, MITI Minister Miki, EPA Director General Fujiyama, Welfare Minister Suzuki, and Secretary-General Tanaka remained in place while the position of chief cabinet secretary moved from Hashimoto to Aichi. Maeo also entered the cabinet as director general of the Hokkaido Development Agency.

According to Hori (who was still close to Satō despite having failed to be reelected), “the goal of this reorganization was applying a ‘divide and rule’ strategy towards the party factions.” Satō’s “divide and rule” approach was intended to divide the factions among themselves. It was an attempt to weaken the solidarity of the factions and strengthen Satō’s leadership through personnel choices.

The primary target of this maneuver was Maeo’s Kōchikai. While Maeo was admitted to the cabinet, Ōhira, the second-most important member of the Maeo faction, was left without a position. While Satō had made use of the “Tanaka-Ōhira group” when trying to have Ikeda cede power to him, he had attempted to divide the two men ever since becoming prime minister. Secretary-General Tanaka had made some efforts to have Ōhira appointed as chairman of the Policy Research Council, but Satō had rejected this. Well aware of the alliance between the two men, Satō was wary of what could happen if the two were allowed to join forces.

Miyazawa (who was involved in S-Operation) would become director general of the EPA in a third cabinet reorganization undertaken in December.

As for the movements of the former Kōno faction in the wake of his death, Mori Kiyoshi entered the cabinet as director general of the Prime Minister’s Office. Mori was aligned with Shigemasa Seishi’s pro-Satō branch of the faction, and his entrance into the cabinet deepened that branch’s divide with those led by Nakasone Yasuhiro (who opposed Satō). Nakasone would split off from the former Kōno faction, forming the Nakasone faction.

The mainstream factions were the Satō, Fukuda, Miki, Kawashima, and Ishii factions, with the Satō faction playing the central role. In a move almost symbolic of how impregnable Satō’s position had become, he altered the method in which the list of cabinet officers was announced. He ended the custom of individually calling each new minister to the Kantei prior to revealing the names. Instead, Satō appointed Aichi as his chief cabinet secretary and then – without summoning anyone to the Kantei – had Aichi announce the list to the press. Diet members who eagerly anticipated entering the cabinet were glued to their televisions.

Satō’s second cabinet reorganization would become tied to a scandal, however. Arafune Seijūrō of the Kawashima faction was one of the new members of the government, having been appointed as transport minister. He came to be criticized

for abusing his authority when he arranged for an express train to make stops at Fukaya Station in Saitama (the station closest to his home) when the JNR timetables were revised in late September.

Satō forced Arafune to resign on October 11, replacing him with Fujie Sensuke (another member of the Kawashima faction). While Arafune nominally resigned, he was effectively dismissed from his position. This was the first time that a serving cabinet minister was forced to resign for abusing their authority.

Another scandal, unrelated to the cabinet reorganization but much more serious, was the series of suspected improprieties known as the “black mist” (*kuroi kiri*). To make matters worse, these involved Tanaka Kakuei, a key supporter of the Satō government.

On August 5, immediately after Satō’s cabinet reorganization, Tanaka Shōji, a member of the House of Representatives for the LDP, was arrested on suspicion of extorting 100 million yen from Osano Kenji, owner of the bus company Kokusai Kōgyō. Suspicion then turned to Tanaka Kakuei who, as finance minister, had sold off the former site of Toranomon Park to Osano.

Then, at the October 20 meeting of the House of Representatives’ Budget Committee, the Communist Party went after the attempts by Muromachi Sangyō (Tanaka Kakuei’s family business) to buy up riverside property along the Shinano River. It was around this time that business contributions to the LDP began to be seen as problematic. The opposition parties and media referred to these scandals as the “black mist” and pressed Satō for answers. The Satō government – already suffering from low popularity – took its greatest hit yet. To make matters worse, Satō would have to win the December presidential election while facing questions on these scandals – scandals that involved Tanaka, one of the leaders of his faction.

Satō had left the task of gathering money to Tanaka and taken meticulous care to insulate himself from anything that could hurt him personally. He was highly appreciative of Tanaka’s efforts but saw it as dirty work and did not regard him as his successor. He was strict on this point and had cautioned Matsuno Raizō (who he had been close to since the time of Raizō’s father, Matsuno Tsuruhei) that “[Tanaka’s] talented. You need to watch out for him.”

Third cabinet reorganization and Foreign Minister Miki

Satō was reelected in the December 1, 1966, LDP presidential election, despite the controversy of the “black mist.” He received 289 votes to Fujiyama’s 89 and Maeo’s 47. While it was an overwhelming victory, he was still displeased by the large number of protest votes.

He wrote in his journal at this time that “while it made me feel a little isolated to receive fewer than three hundred votes, it was inevitable given that I didn’t campaign at all.” The *Yomiuri Shimbun* described it as “a shock for Prime Minister Satō” and said that “the future of his administration has become dark.” But despite these election results, Satō’s position in the party remained supreme. He had been aided in the election by Miki’s decision to support his reelection and not run against him.

Satō undertook his third cabinet reorganization just after the election, on December 3. The new cabinet had a motto of “new, pure, and vigorous” (*seishin, seiketsu, hatsuratsu*). Only four months had passed since his last reorganization, but Satō wanted to do away with the shadow of the “black mist” so he changed all of his cabinet officers. The only exceptions were Miki, who moved laterally from MITI minister to foreign minister, and Transport Minister Fujie (who had only entered the cabinet a couple of months earlier) who was appointed minister of home affairs.

As more than three years had passed since the last general election, these personnel choices were made with an election in mind. Many of those appointed were steady hands like Finance Minister Mizuta Mikio, MITI Minister Kannō Watarō, Construction Minister Nishimura Eiichi, Defense Agency Director General Masuda Kaneshichi, and EPA Director General Miyazawa. The *Asahi Shimbun* appraised it as a “well-disciplined cabinet,” a “cabinet for managing an election,” and a “cabinet made up of working-level officials.”

The mainstream factions controlled the majority of positions in the cabinet: of the eighteen cabinet officers (not including the prime minister), there were four from the Satō faction, three from the Miki faction, two from the Fukuda faction, and one from each of the Kawashima and Ishii factions. Satō made the mainstream factions’ concentration of power obvious. Fukuda Takeo also replaced Tanaka Kakuei – the embodiment of the “black mist” – as secretary-general.

The economy was recovering at this point, and Satō told Mizuta that “it looks like we might be entering a stage where it’s going to be necessary to make some adjustments to the economy, so please handle it. I realize that this probably isn’t the best news for you.” He was requesting that Mizuta, as Fukuda’s successor at the finance ministry, tighten up the government’s finances.

How should we appraise Miki’s time as foreign minister? As the return of Okinawa was the most important issue facing Satō, he needed a steady hand and someone he was close to in the position of foreign minister. Choosing Miki was a big risk. Given his own single-minded support of Kishi, there was no way that Satō had forgotten that when it had come time to force the revision of the security treaty through the Diet, Miki had joined Kōno, Matsumura, and Ishibashi in absenting himself from the session.

His decision to appoint Miki to the position anyway was meant to reward him for his support during the recent presidential election and to make use of his clean image. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* argued that “Foreign Minister Miki can be considered a fresh, powerful figure within the new [cabinet] lineup.”

As foreign minister, Miki of course cooperated with Satō on the return of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands. But as the leader of a weak faction, he was sensitive to shifts in public opinion and media coverage. He was the type of politician who would not normally be compatible with Satō and his philosophy of quietly getting the work done and not concerning himself with popularity. As will be discussed later, Miki would eventually resign as foreign minister in the midst of the negotiations over the return of Okinawa. The position of foreign minister was key to the return of Okinawa, but it seems to have been apparent from the

beginning that Miki was not a good fit for it. His appointment cannot help but seem like an unusually careless move by “Satō the human resource expert.”

The Ōtsu statement and the increasing number of opposition parties

With his new cabinet in place, Satō dissolved the House of Representatives on December 27, 1966. Because the specter of the earlier scandals still remained with the public, it was known as the “black mist dissolution.”

Notable from this campaign season was Satō’s statement in a January 19, 1967, speech in Ōtsu that “rather than a partial revision of authority over education, it would be preferable for administrative power [over Okinawa] to be returned all at once.” This “Ōtsu Statement” rejected the partial reversion approach that was being pushed by former Waseda University president Ōhama Nobumoto’s Okinawan Problems Council and former director general of the Prime Minister’s Office Mori Kiyoshi. It also showed that the Kantei would be taking on the issue independently. Satō had not previously made his position on the issue clear, and his public rejection of Mori’s approach as a local press conference infuriated Mori.

The LDP won 277 of 486 seats in the general election of January 29. Hori, who had lost his seat in the previous election, returned to the Diet. Despite the “black mist,” this was a net loss of just one seat (although this was only because the total number of seats in the House of Representatives had been increased by nineteen).

The LDP had received less than fifty percent of the vote for the first time since its founding. While the party’s power could thus be considered to be ebbing, it had still won almost sixty percent of seats. Satō was all smiles at his post-election press conference, knowing that he would be named prime minister at a special session of the Diet. The Democratic Socialists and Komeitō made major gains in this election, beginning an era of multiple parties.

The increasing number of opposition parties was beneficial to Satō. The ongoing Cultural Revolution in China had been one of the topics over which the government and opposition had clashed. The Democratic Socialists were critical of the pro-Chinese stance of the Socialists. And the Japan Communist Party distanced itself from the Chinese Communist Party, adopting a policy of “sovereign independence.”

With Satō’s position in the LDP supreme and an increasing number of relevant opposition parties in the Diet, he turned to his most important task, securing the return of Okinawa. On February 9, the same day that Satō was named prime minister, Foreign Minister Miki and Administrative Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Shimoda Takesō assembled at the Kantei. It was decided that the government would

press forward with measures to improve the welfare of the inhabitants [of Okinawa] and at the same time continue nonstop discussions with the United States on the complete return of administrative control in a way that takes into consideration the security of the Far East.

America was seeking continued use of its bases on Okinawa, however, and Satō still had no concrete prospects for its return. The relationship between Satō and Foreign Minister Miki was tenuous, and the foreign ministry had been unable to come up with a strategy for successfully negotiating with the US. It was at this point that Satō dispatched Wakaizumi Kei, a professor at Kyoto Sangyō University, as a secret envoy. This will be dealt with in Chapter 5, which also serves as the climax of this book.

5 The reversion of Okinawa and the “Secret Agreement”

The second Satō government

Kusuda as chief secretary to the prime minister: the third phase of S-Operation and Kantei politics

After being named prime minister at a special session of the Diet on February 17, 1967, Satō began his second government. He kept all of his cabinet officers on (such as Foreign Minister Miki and Finance Minister Mizuta), with the exception of Chief Cabinet Secretary Fukunaga Kenji, who was replaced with Kimura Toshio on June 22 due to illness.

Satō had appointed Kusuda from S-Operation as his secretary on February 28. He perceived that Kusuda was a man of few words who was able to keep a secret, something that likely made Satō like him. This chapter will continue to follow Satō’s Kantei politics through use of the Kusuda Minoru Files.

Kusuda had resigned from his position as deputy head of the politics bureau at the *Sankei Shimbun* newspaper in February and replaced Ōtsu as Satō’s chief secretary in March. While Satō had felt that he could rely upon Ōtsu when it came to elections and financial matters, he was not skilled at drafting speeches or well-versed in policy. Satō hoped that Kusuda could shore up these areas. Kusuda wrote in his journal that “Ōtsu was in a bad mood as one would expect. There won’t be anything handed over to me.”

If Satō’s attempt to challenge Ikeda for the LDP presidency late in his administration can be regarded as the first phase of S-Operation’ activities, then the second began with the first Satō government. It had secretly proposed policies to Satō and Kusuda had regarded it as a “ninja unit” (*ninja butai*).

Kusuda’s admission into the Kantei as chief secretary represented the beginning of a third phase. He was no longer part of a “ninja unit”; he was front and center, working in the secretariat alongside Motonori Moriyuki of the foreign ministry, Tanaka Takashi of the finance ministry, and Shimoinaba Kōkichi of the National Police Agency.

S-Operation – a group formed for the fight against Ikeda in the presidential election – now had a foothold inside the Kantei. And not just any foothold, but the position of chief secretary. Kusuda later looked back on this:

I was no longer working as a ninja or as part of a small team. I was now able to openly approach learned people whenever I wanted or needed to. In its third

phase, S-Operation had come to shoulder the responsibility of passing time in a way that conformed to the age, to this part of Japan's postwar history.

My strategic objective as secretary to the prime minister was the "return of Okinawa." That meant that I had to try to ensure that the Satō government was long-lived. So, I first worked to make the relationship between the government and the media a smooth one. I developed independent pipelines to each ministry and strengthened my relations with academic circles. I would create a grand think tank.

Satō and Kusuda's basic strategies were in alignment. But there were times when Kusuda was a step ahead of him in terms of refining his plans. It had been advice from Kusuda that had led Satō to form S-Operation, for example. Satō had already had a broad network of connections; now this expanded into academia and the world of publishing as well.

Satō asked Kusuda to "take charge of policy and the media." That certainly sounds impressive, but according to Kusuda, "by 'policy' he meant ghost writing drafts for him and by 'the media' he meant ensuring that relations with the press clubs went smoothly."

Kusuda's work involved a diverse set of tasks, from writing drafts of Satō's various speeches to handling the television program "Speaking with the Prime Minister" (*Sōri to Kataru*). Kusuda sought the opinions of young academics such as Kōsaka Masataka (an assistant professor at Kyoto University), Nagai Yōnosuke (a professor at the Tokyo Institute of Technology), Etō Jun (a literary critic), and Wakaizumi Kei (a professor at Kyoto Sangyō University). He also spoke with Yasuda Masahiro, a scholar of the Chinese classics who had instructed many prime ministers and enjoyed the favor of Tanaka Kengo of *Bungei Shunju* and Kasuya Kazuki of *Chūō Kōron* (two major magazines).

This was a new style of Kantei politics, one that governed the country by gathering the strength of intellectuals and the media rather than just relying upon cabinet officers. While Ikeda had also had a think tank earlier, Satō can be considered the trailblazer for full-fledged, open "brain trust politics." Coordination by Kusuda and others was indispensable in ensuring that the intellectuals selected had very different mindsets than bureaucrats and were not just limited to those in Tokyo. The involvement of one of these intellectuals, the driven Wakaizumi Kei, in the creation of the "secret agreement on nuclear weapons" will be discussed in detail later.

An "Inarticulate Foreign Policy" and social security

In his March 14, 1967, policy speech, Satō advocated for the achievement of peace in Vietnam, taking a cautious approach toward the Cultural Revolution and China, and making "proactive steps" toward the return of Okinawa. He described his policies with the slogan "a thoroughly peaceful foreign policy that protects freedom."

He was a bit more specific when it came to domestic policy. His policy for managing the economy was based on a five-year "economic and social development plan" that he said would stabilize prices, improve economic efficiency,

and advance social development. He emphasized the role of housing in social development: “We will resolutely move forward with our five-year plan for the construction of housing with the aim of realizing ‘a home for each household’ by the 1970 fiscal year.” He also mentioned increasing industrialization in agriculture, implementing policies aimed at small and mid-sized businesses, redistributing industry, and making fundamental improvements to the medical insurance system.

What did Satō have to say about the reversion of Okinawa, the most highly anticipated of his policies? Only that “we will continue to take proactive steps to prepare for the reversion of administrative control over Okinawa.”

This led to an editorial in the *Mainichi Shimbun* criticizing his “inarticulate foreign policy.” But Satō had no choice but to leave things abstract as the negotiations involved another country. The editorial instead praised Foreign Minister Miki’s speech which called for “mutual understanding and collaborative cooperation between the nations of the Asia-Pacific region.”

Miki had a tendency to emphasize the Asia-Pacific and worked at cross-purposes with the strongly anti-communist Satō. Satō once murmured to Kusuda that

Miki says that he’s prepared to go to the North [Vietnam]. Isn’t it because he carries out foreign policy with that kind of thinking that he makes mistakes? Wouldn’t it be bizarre for the foreign minister to visit a country that we don’t even have diplomatic relations with?

Table 5.1 General Account Budget Annual Expenditures

<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>Spending/Ratio</i>	<i>Social Security</i>	<i>Bonds</i>	<i>Defense</i>	<i>Public Works</i>
1964	Spending	4,443	455	2,808	6,444
	Ratio	13.3%	1.4%	8.4%	19.3%
1965	Spending	5,441	130	3,054	7,397
	Ratio	14.5%	0.3%	8.2%	19.8%
1966	Spending	6,311	455	3,451	8,836
	Ratio	14.1%	1.0%	7.7%	19.7%
1967	Spending	7,396	1,064	3,870	10,180
	Ratio	14.2%	2.0%	7.4%	19.6%
1968	Spending	8,268	1,928	4,218	10,656
	Ratio	14.0%	3.3%	7.1%	18.0%
1969	Spending	9,743	2,757	4,949	12,028
	Ratio	14.1%	4.0%	7.1%	17.4%
1970	Spending	11,567	2,875	5,904	14,099
	Ratio	14.1%	3.5%	7.2%	17.2%
1971	Spending	13,619	3,224	6,935	18,838
	Ratio	14.1%	3.3%	7.2%	19.5%
1972	Spending	16,822	4,564	8,214	26,410
	Ratio	13.9%	3.8%	6.8%	21.8%

Source: Ministry of Finance Historian’s Office, *Shōwa Zaisei-shi – Shōwa 27–48 Nendo Dai 19 Kan Tōkei* (Financial History of the Shōwa Period, 1952–1973 Vol. 19 Statistics), Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shinpō, 1999, 103–104. Spending is given in hundreds of millions of yen.

Turning to Satō's management of government finances, his government raised the ratio for social security, reduced the proportion of the budget spent on defense, and kept public works spending steady. There is a tendency to view the Japan of this period as a country dominated by its construction industry due to the large amount spent on public works. But the expanding welfare budget overtook public works. The proportion of public works spending allocated to large cities was reduced and an increasing amount spent on local areas.

The economy had left the "1965 Recession" behind and was exulting in the second phase of Japan's high-speed economic growth. As touched upon in the previous chapter, the almost five-year long period from October 1965 to July 1970 is known as the "Izanagi Boom."

Average growth during this period was 11.8 percent, and Japan overtook West Germany in 1968, becoming the Western country with the second-highest GNP. Not only were exports in areas like shipbuilding, steel, home appliances, and cars increasing, but they were doing so at a higher rate than the Jinmu and Iwato booms that had marked the first phase of high-speed economic growth.

The reformist local governments

The LDP's declining support in urban areas was a source of concern for Satō. While the results of the January 1967 general election were part of this, the election of reformist local governments (*kakushin jichitai*) in areas like Tokyo and Osaka were likely the clearest manifestation of the problem.

The Socialists had become the largest party in the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly in the July 1965 local elections, and Minobe Ryōkichi won the April 1967 Tokyo gubernatorial election with backing from the Socialists and Communists. Satō vigorously campaigned for LDP candidates in cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Fukuoka, but to little effect.

With defeat in the Tokyo gubernatorial election certain, Satō wrote in his journal that "'In war, you either win or you lose.' It's not something to get either depressed or happy about. The important thing is how well you fought and how you should fight in the next battle."

A reformist local government also gained power in Osaka in April 1971.

Hayama Shun won the Fujisawa mayoral election on February 20, 1972, with Socialist backing. To borrow the words of the *Mainichi Shimbun*, the "Tokaido reformist metropolis" that had already stretched across Tokyo, Kawasaki, Yokohama, and Kamakura was now extended to Fujisawa. Seventy percent of the population of Kanagawa prefecture now lived in cities with reformist governments.

From Satō's perspective, he had no choice but to push forward with "social development" and the return of Okinawa. By showing that he could produce results, he could repulse the opposition parties' offensive. The Satō government enacted the Basic Act for Environmental Pollution Control in August 1967 and also passed the Special Measures on the Health Insurance Law to raise insurance rates in an attempt to counter the health insurance deficit.

Table 5.2 Major Reformist Local Governments

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Victor</i>	<i>Supported by</i>
April 17, 1963	Yokohama (Mayor)	Asukata Ichio (first term)	Socialists
July 23, 1965	Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly Election	Socialist Party becomes largest party	Socialists
October 27, 1965	Kushiro (Mayor)	Yamaguchi Tetsuo (first term)	Socialists
April 12, 1966	Kyoto (Governor)	Ninagawa Torazō (fifth term)	Socialists, Communists
April 15, 1967	Tokyo (Governor)	Minobe Ryōkichi (first term)	Socialists, Communists
November 10, 1968	Chief Executive, Government of the Ryukyu Islands	Yara Chōbyō (first term)	Joint candidate of opposition parties
July 6, 1969	Yokosuka (Mayor)	Nagano Masayoshi (fourth term)	Reformists
April 12, 1970	Kyoto (Governor)	Ninagawa Torazō (sixth term)	Socialists, Communists
August 23, 1970	Kamakura (Mayor)	Masaki Chifuyu (first term)	Socialists, Communists
April 11, 1971	Osaka (Governor)	Kuroda Ryōichi (first term)	Socialists, Communists
April 11, 1971	Tokyo (Governor)	Minobe Ryōkichi (second term)	Socialists, Communists
April 25, 1971	Kawasaki (Mayor)	Itō Saburō (first term)	Socialists, Communists
February 20, 1972	Fujisawa (Mayor)	Hayama Shun (first term)	Socialists, Communists
June 25, 1972	Okinawa (Governor)	Yara Chōbyō (first term)	Reformist United Front Council

Source: (Compiled from sources listed in Footnote 3 of Chapter 5)

The front line against communism in Asia – Yoshida’s death

The first diplomatic task that Satō’s second government took on was strengthening Japan’s relations with Asia. Satō made the first visit by a Japanese prime minister to South Korea on June 30, 1967, meeting with President Park Chung-hee and Prime Minister Chung Il-kwon. They discussed economic cooperation between Japan and Korea and the ongoing situation in Vietnam. Satō also attended Park’s inauguration on July 1.

At Park’s invitation, unofficial talks were held on July 2 between Park, Satō, Taiwanese Vice President Yen Chia-kan, and US Vice President Humphrey. Satō stated that “restrictions on trade with Communist China and the Soviet Union are currently being loosened, but there might be a need to strengthen them instead given the military threat of the communists.” The interest of all of the participants was on movements in China.

Satō began a three-part tour of the Asia-Pacific which began with a meeting with President Chiang Kai-shek in Taipei from September 7 to October 21. This tour of Asia followed similar trips by Kishi in 1957 and Ikeda in 1963. Satō's visits were aimed at improving relations and economic cooperation with the host countries now that Japan had become the third-greatest industrial power in the world. He discussed the Chinese situation, the Vietnam War, and the Ministerial Conference for the Economic Development of Southeast Asia with each country's leaders.

The Ministerial Conference for the Economic Development of Southeast Asia was a Japanese initiative aimed at increasing economic cooperation. Its first meeting was held in Tokyo on April 1966 with Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, South Vietnam, Indonesia, and Cambodia in attendance. A second meeting was held in Manila in April 1967 with Miki present representing Japan.

Satō received news of Yoshida's death on October 20, 1967, as he was on the final stage of his Asian tour. He was in Manila at the time and was dumbstruck. He wrote in his journal that "even though it wasn't entirely unexpected, if he'd just waited two or three days, I would have been able to report on my trip to him. It's extremely unfortunate. . . . It's a shock."

Satō had spoken with Yoshida prior to his previous trips abroad, but he had forgone his trip to Ōiso this time due to Yoshida's poor health. Satō continued his Asian tour with great reluctance. He called Chief Cabinet Secretary Kimura in Tokyo and directed that preparations be made for Japan's first state funeral of the postwar. All night events in Manila were canceled.

Satō's trip to South Vietnam still remained, however. He arrived in a guarded Saigon (what is now Ho Chi Minh City) on October 21 and immediately returned to Japan after his meeting with Chairman of the National Leadership Committee Thieu and Prime Minister Ky. His plans to remain in the country through the 22nd were canceled. He was only in Saigon for a mere three hours.

On the plane home, Satō told Kusuda that "with Yoshida's death, I feel that I have lost a spiritual support. He loomed so large. But I guess I have to stand strong." He was talking to Kusuda, though it seems that he was more talking to himself.

Satō headed to Ōiso immediately after his plan arrived at Haneda Airport on the evening of October 21. There a lifeless Yoshida was laid out in his bed, just as he had been when he died. Satō took hold of the white cloth covering Yoshida and touched the face and hands of the now cold body. He bit his lip and cried. After returning home, he wrote in his journal that "it was a farewell in which I clung to him. I asked about the moment of his passing; it seems to have been a truly peaceful death."

Satō donned mourning clothes on the 22nd and headed back to Ōiso for Yoshida's private funeral. He brought the rattan walking stick that he had bought in Singapore as a gift for Yoshida with him. As he attempted to place it in the coffin, he saw that Yoshida's favorite stick was already there.

Reaching for Yoshida's favorite black walking stick, Satō said "I will take this to remember you by. In its place, take this." He placed the rattan stick next to his body.

The Vietnam War and US-Japan relations

So, how should Satō's foreign trip be appraised? Setting aside the content of the discussions he held, it is significant that he chose to visit South Korea, Taiwan, Laos, Malaysia, and South Vietnam. All of these were countries on the front line of the Cold War or regional conflicts that had not been visited by Ikeda.

The only countries that had attended summits in South Vietnam were the United States, South Korea, Australia, and the Philippines – all countries involved in the Vietnam War. The Socialist Party had attempted to block Satō's visit by releasing a statement ("Stop the Visit to South Vietnam") in opposition. The majority of Japanese opposed the Vietnam War, and Satō had a reputation for being anti-communist and a reactionary.

Zengakuren pushed back against Satō's trip, saying that it would lead to the strengthening of the US-Japan security framework. They flooded Tokyo's Haneda Airport with protestors. Notably, 2,500 students belonging to Zengakuren clashed with police on October 8. One student died on Benten Bridge at the entrance to the airport. Satō's decision to stand on the front line of the Cold War despite this domestic opposition was due to his commitment to America's global strategy. It displayed his opposition to communism both at home and abroad.

Satō told reporters in Canberra that the US "can't stop their bombing of the North until they receive corresponding guarantees from them." He thus at least passively supported America's bombing of North Vietnam as he discussed peace in Vietnam with various foreign leaders. His focus was fixed on the negotiations with the US over the return of Okinawa that awaited him after he returned from Saigon. At a press conference in Saigon, Satō explicitly stated that "I believe that visiting Southeast Asia will bring good results [in the negotiations with the US]."

Satō told Thieu that

while Japan cannot provide military assistance, we are prepared to provide locations in Tokyo or Kyoto for any possible talks between North and South Vietnam. This is an Asian problem and we need to resolve it without any interference from America, the Soviets, or Communist China.

The lack of any prospects for peace in Vietnam meant that Satō was not particularly enthusiastic about his visit to Saigon. That he did not avoid visiting the country despite this was typical of Satō's belief in doing the proper thing.

Was Satō's decision to return home early due to the death of Yoshida – a mentor who had retired four years earlier – an appropriate act for the leader of a nation? It might have been considered a praiseworthy act domestically, but it would not be strange for those in other countries to have interpreted it as him losing his nerve. Yoshida may have scolded Satō for it from the other world, lovingly telling him to "shut up and do your work."

Or perhaps Yoshida, amidst his waning consciousness, had been grateful to Satō. It had been Satō and Ikeda who had supported Yoshida's government until the bitter end. And Satō had refused to join the LDP at first out of loyalty to

Yoshida. He had idolized Yoshida and frequently visited Ōiso in an attempt to learn everything he could from him, be it policy-related or how to scheme. This had not changed once Satō had become prime minister. Satō had lost a spiritual support.

Ikeda and Satō – both members of the Yoshida school – had established stable conservative governments amidst high-speed economic growth and developed the Yoshida doctrine, the strategy of relying upon the security alliance with the United States and concentrating on strengthening Japan’s economy. It is likely partly due to his two students’ great accomplishments – the income-doubling plan and the reversion of Okinawa – that Yoshida is remembered today as a great prime minister.

Table 5.3 Satō’s 1967 Tour of Asia

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Major Meetings/Events</i>
6/30–7/2	South Korea	President Park Chung-hee, Prime Minister Chung Il-kwon. Attended the presidential inauguration.
9/7–9/9	Taiwan	Chiang Kia-shek, Vice President Yen Chia-kan.
9/20–9/22	Burma	Chairman of the Union Revolutionary Council Ne Win. Offered flowers at the grave of Aung San. Visited Japanese Cemetery. Toured a factory being built as reparations.
9/22–9/25	Malaysia	Prime Minister Rahman. Deputy Prime Minister Razak. Offered flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.
9/25–9/26	Singapore	Prime Minister Lee. Toured the Jurong Industrial Estate.
9/26–9/28	Thailand	Prime Minister Thanom. Offered flowers at the Victory Monument. Received an honorary degree from Thammasat University.
9/28–9/29	Laos	Prime Minister Phouma. Spoke with Japanese remaining in the country and Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers.
10/8–10/11	Indonesia	President Suharto. Offered flowers at Kalibata Heroes Cemetery. Spoke with Japanese remaining in the country and studying there.
10/11–10/14	Australia	Had lunch with Governor-General Casey. Prime Minister Holt, cabinet ministers, and Leader of the Labour Party. Whitlam. Visited the Australian War Memorial and offered flowers.
10/14–10/18	New Zealand	Had lunch with Governor-General Fergusson. Prime Minister Holyoake, cabinet ministers, and Leader of the Labour Party Kirk. Attended a reception hosted by the mayor of Auckland.
10/18–10/21	Philippines	President Marcos. Had lunch with the speakers of the Congress of the Philippines. Visited the Asian Development Bank.
10/21	South Vietnam	Chairman of the National Leadership Committee Thieu, Prime Minister Ky.

Source: (Compiled from sources listed in Note 5 of Chapter 5)

Agreement for the reversion of Okinawa "within a few years" – the second Satō-Johnson summit

On July 15, 1967, Foreign Minister Miki requested to Ambassador Johnson that the Ogasawaras be returned. The negotiations over these islands were not as difficult as those that would be held over Okinawa. Miki visited America in mid-September and met with Secretary of State Rusk and Secretary of Defense McNamara.

Satō's primary foreign policy goal was the return of Okinawa. His government passed a cabinet decision on August 1 establishing the Okinawan and Other Problems Council. The Okinawan Problems Council, a group with a similar name, had existed as a private advisory body for the director general of the Prime Minister's Office. It had disbanded on July 28 after submitting its findings on unifying education between the mainland and Okinawa.

The council was reestablished as an advisory body directly under the prime minister. It was also given a wider remit and was now to comprehensively examine issues related to defense, economic, local governance, and foreign policy. "And other" was added to its name so that too much emphasis was not placed on Okinawa; there were also issues related to the return of the Ogasawaras and the Northern Territories that the council was to study.

Ōhama Nobumoto, chairman of the former council, continued to serve as chairman. The council was also increased in size to sixteen with new members such as Kusumi Tadao (a commentator on military issues) being added.

Following the seventh meeting of the council on November 1, Ōhama and the others submitted a midterm report to Satō that stated it would "be desirable for an agreement to be reached within the next two or three years over the date for the reversion of administrative authority." The midterm report proposed that the US and Japan agree to hold continuous negotiations aimed at the return of Okinawa.

Satō visited America on November 12, arriving in Washington on the 13th after first passing through Seattle. Miki was among those who accompanied him. After entering Blair House, he conferred with Miki and Tōgō Fumihiko, the director of the foreign ministry's North American Bureau. Here Satō said that he would "propose to the President that they 'set the time for reversion within a few years.'" This phrasing reflected the "two or three years" suggested in the council's midterm report.

While Satō said that this "was decided after much consideration," internally Tōgō felt that "things had just become quite difficult, but I had no choice." The foreign ministry draft for the leaders' joint statement had only included the phrase "at as early a time as possible" for the return of Okinawa. The goal Satō had set for himself was much higher.

Satō met with President Johnson on November 14. No one spoke in the meeting other than the two men and their interpreters. After discussing his trip to Southeast Asia – including Vietnam – Satō emphasized to Johnson that:

It's naturally unthinkable that the bases on Okinawa could be done away with while the war in Vietnam is going on and the Communist Chinese are armed

with nuclear weapons. I believe [Okinawa] could perhaps be returned at an appropriate time, however. . . . Could we include language in the communiqué that would give hope to the Japanese people? . . . Could we set a goal of saying within the next two or three years when they will be returned? Not the date of the return but rather the timing for it.

While avoiding giving an immediate answer, Johnson said that "the traditional American position is to not hold and colonize such areas," allowing Satō to draw his own implications.

In response, Satō handed him a memo that included the phrase "an agreement should be reached within a few years on a date satisfactory to both countries for the reversion of these islands." He asked Johnson to "please think about it," and then the meeting ended.

Satō also had a separate meeting with Secretary of Defense McNamara and Secretary of State Rusk before meeting with Johnson again on November 15. This time, it was Johnson's turn to make demands of Satō.

Johnson asked for Japanese contributions to the Asian Development Bank and economic support for Indonesia and South Vietnam. Satō said he was "basically in full agreement," but the question of the exact amounts to be contributed was left for later. Johnson began to feel at ease with Satō and made numerous humorous remarks.

The phrase "within a few years" was incorporated into article seven of the joint communiqué:

The President and the Prime Minister frankly discussed the Ryukyu and the Bonin Islands. The Prime Minister emphasized the strong desire of the Government and people of Japan for the return of administrative rights over the Ryukyu Islands to Japan and expressed his belief that an adequate solution should promptly be sought on the basis of mutual understanding and trust between the governments and peoples of the two countries. He further emphasized that an agreement should be reached between the two governments within a few years on a date satisfactory to them for the reversion of these islands.

The President stated that he fully understands the desire of the Japanese people for the reversion of these islands. At the same time, the President and the Prime Minister recognized that the United States military bases on these islands continue to play a vital role in assuring the security of Japan and other free nations in the Far East.

The inclusion of the words "within a few years" in the joint communiqué can be considered a great success for Satō. Other parts of the communiqué praised Japan's contributions to the Asian Development Bank and its aid for South Vietnam.

But even so, the question of what conditions would be in place when the reversion of Okinawa was achieved was left to future negotiations. America sought free use of its bases on Okinawa and the deployment of nuclear weapons as its conditions for returning Okinawa. Meanwhile, the opposition parties in Japan

Table 5.4 The Course of US-Japanese Negotiations on the Return of Okinawa and Textiles

1945	Battle of Okinawa. Japan defeated.
April 28, 1952	San Francisco Peace Treaty goes into effect. Okinawa placed under American administration.
1960s	The export of Japanese textile products to the US increases rapidly, leading to trade frictions.
November 14–15, 1967	Prime Minister Satō meets with President Johnson and requests that a date for Okinawa’s return be determined “within a few years.”
November 21, 1969	Prime Minister Satō meets with President Nixon. US-Japan joint statement released stating that Okinawa would be returned in 1972 and that it would be nuclear-free and treated the same as the Japanese mainland.
June 24, 1970	Negotiations over textiles between MITI Minister Miyazawa, Foreign Minister Aichi, Commerce Secretary Stans, and Secretary of State Rogers breakdown.
March 8, 1971	Japan Textile Federation (JTF) announces self-imposed restrictions on the export of textiles to the US.
March 11, 1971	President Nixon rejects the JTF’s self-imposed restrictions in a statement.
June 17, 1971	Agreement on the return of Okinawa signed.
July 15, 1971	Nixon announces that he will be visiting China.
August 15, 1971	Nixon announces new economic policies, including a temporary end to the gold standard and the creation of a ten percent tariff on imports.
October 15, 1971	MITI Minister Tanaka and Presidential Envoy Kennedy provisionally sign an intergovernmental agreement on textiles. (This was formally signed on January 3, 1972.)
May 15, 1972	Okinawa returns to Japan.

Source: (*Yomiuri Shimbun* July 25, 2014 with some additions by author)

pressed for “*kaku nuki, hondo nami*” (“denuclearization and equality with the mainland”). “Equality with the mainland” in this case meant that the US-Japan security treaty’s status of forces agreement and system of prior consultation would be applied to Okinawa in the same way that it was to the rest of Japan.

Satō met with UN Secretary-General U Thant on the 16th and discussed the Vietnam issue, arguing that it was “vital to resolve the mutual distrust that exists between the United States and North Vietnam.”

The covert maneuvers of secret envoy Wakaizumi Kei

Why had Satō been able to so easily secure agreement over the “within a few years” phrasing from Johnson? And why did he tell Miki and Tōgō just before the talks began that he would “propose to the President that they ‘set the time for reversion within a few years,’” thereby making success more difficult for himself? This was unlike the normally cautious Satō.

It was because he had secretly been in contact with the US before his visit, dispatching Kyoto Sangyo University Professor Wakaizumi Kei as a secret envoy

to get an impression of what the Americans were thinking. Several days before Satō's visit, Wakaizumi had shown the "within a few years" phrasing to Special Assistant for National Security Affairs Rostow (an old acquaintance of Wakaizumi's) in Washington. He then reported back to Satō on Rostow's reaction.

Satō had first met Wakaizumi on September 30, 1966. Wakaizumi had had a personal interview with Secretary of Defense McNamara and gave Satō a lecture on national security in the era of nuclear weapons.

Wakaizumi informally spoke with Rostow on the return of Okinawa in July 1967 at the White House. He also met with officials outside of the White House, including Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense Halperin and Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Bundy. When he returned to Tokyo, he reported on what he had learned to Satō and Secretary-General Fukuda.

Wakaizumi's impression was that "these negotiations will require political decisions to be made at a very high level. They won't be easy. You won't get anything done at the working level; you'll need to go straight at the White House."

And it's true that when Miki visited the US in September, he was unable to extract a positive response from them. The "Sneider Group" within the US State Department (made up of Country Director for Japan Richard Sneider, Halperin, and others) was in favor of returning Okinawa. Secretary of State Rusk was more cautious, however, and the Sneider Group's memos never made it to the president's desk.

Satō thus decided to use Wakaizumi as a secret envoy at the suggestion of Fukuda (who was a rival of Miki's). Wakaizumi had many contacts in the US and met with Halperin and Rostow again in Washington in late October to find out what the American plan toward Okinawa was. Rostow made clear that while the White House would agree to an early return of the Ogasawaras, "it would be difficult for it to clearly state what the timing for the return [of Okinawa]" would be.

Wakaizumi reported back to Satō on November 6, telling him that "it'll be difficult to get agreement over the 'within a few years' phrasing." Unable to accept this, Satō became impatient:

Well, then I guess there's no choice but to crash up against the top level at the White House and break through that way. I'll leave the specifics to you, but I need you to go and convince them that this goal of 'within a few years' has to be put into the communiqué. Can you do that?

Satō was asking Wakaizumi to again go to America and work behind the scenes to get them to accept that an agreement over the return of Okinawa would be reached "within a few years." This time, he was granted the authority to negotiate with Rostow and the others. Having received written credentials from Satō, he was now a secret but still official envoy for the prime minister. Wakaizumi said that he "could feel Prime Minister Satō exerting strong leadership in a way that was 'unusual for him.'"

Wakaizumi followed Satō's directions in Washington. His activities were communicated to Johnson through Rostow and Rusk, so Johnson was aware of him.

Satō met with Wakaizumi once again in Washington on November 13, the day before his summit with Johnson. Wakaizumi told him that there was stiff resistance within the military to returning Okinawa and that it had made Rostow harden his position. Satō wrote in his journal that "it seems to be quite a hard problem. I'm anxious about tomorrow's meeting."

In other words, while Satō had used Wakaizumi to pass his goal of reaching an agreement "within a few years" to the US, he had nothing showing that Johnson had accepted this. Satō's decision to broach the topic of "within a few years" on the first day of the summit despite this was one he made on his own.

Why did Satō use a secret envoy?

So why did Satō decide to have Wakaizumi act as his secret envoy in the advance negotiations over the "within a few years" phrasing rather than make use of Miki and the foreign ministry? And having done so, why did he then conceal Wakaizumi's existence from them? There were three reasons.

First, Satō and Miki were not on good terms, and Miki's position as foreign minister was an unstable one.

According to Tōgō, Miki had wondered to foreign ministry officials in July 1967 about the possibility of having Japan permit the emergency reintroduction of nuclear weapons into Okinawa following prior consultations. Then a month later, he changed positions completely and informed his subordinate that "we should begin from the position of equality with the mainland (*hondo nami*) and not exhibit any thinking that would bring us even one step closer to allowing the free use [of nuclear weapons]."

But Satō was directing diplomatic officials to find out what the American conditions for the return of Okinawa were, telling them that "we will request [Okinawa's] return, that's all. Once that has caused the Americans to reveal what their conditions are, I will make the decision" on how to proceed. This estrangement between the prime minister and foreign minister meant that foreign ministry officials could only deal in generalities with their American counterparts.

Second, the Americans knew that it was Wakaizumi, not Miki, who truly spoke for Satō. Ambassador Johnson wrote that "The Foreign Minister, Takeo Miki, posed special difficulties because he was determined to replace Satō and could not always be counted on to represent Satō's attitude on United States-Japanese relations faithfully." This meant that the Americans also found it difficult to make use of the foreign ministry.

Third, Satō believed that important matters should be moved forward quietly, with few people involved. Later, after leaving office, Satō recalled learning this approach from Yoshida:

Yoshida's approach was to negotiate directly whenever possible and to not advertise [what he was going to do] before the negotiations started. This was out of consideration for the other side as it meant that there would be fewer complications for them if the negotiations fell through. He said that widely

publicizing things and getting too many people involved meant there would be problems if the negotiations failed.

This was not just true of Satō's approach to Okinawa; he had employed a "few people" approach to foreign negotiations ever since his time as finance minister.

Given that the phrase "within a few years" was successfully incorporated into the joint communiqué, it could be that Satō's decision to go over the heads of Miki and the foreign ministry with Wakaizumi is worthy of praise. But one of the reasons why he had used Wakaizumi was because he did not get along with Miki – who he himself had appointed. And his use of Wakaizumi threw the diplomatic channels into disorder. So, it cannot be praised unreservedly. It will be discussed later how Satō's heavy use of secret envoys would lead to the "secret agreement."

Nuclear weapons on Okinawa and the three non-nuclear principles

Satō reorganized his cabinet on November 25, 1967, leaving Foreign Minister Miki, Finance Minister Mizuta, and Secretary-General Fukuda in place. He also notably appointed Nakasone, who had previously accused Satō of having a "one-sided conservative cabinet," as minister of transportation. Nakasone's entry into the cabinet was likely due to Satō wanting to solidify the party in preparation for the likely difficult negotiations over the return of Okinawa.

The nuclear weapons present on the American bases on Okinawa were a major point of contention for the territory's return. Satō stressed at the December 11 meeting of the House of Representatives' Budget Committee that he held "three principles towards nuclear weapons: that Japan will neither possess them, produce them, nor permit their introduction [into Japanese territory.]" But he was more ambiguous when pressed on whether or not he would accept a reversion of Okinawa that kept America's nuclear weapons in place, saying only that "I will approach that with a blank slate; it's something that should be considered at the time of reversion."

He took the same position during his first press conference of 1968. He would not clearly state in advance whether the removal of nuclear weapons was a Japanese condition for reversion so as to leave room for negotiation with the US.

When the topic of the non-nuclear principles was taken up at a cabinet meeting on January 26, the day before Satō's policy speech, his proposal mentioned only two such principles: that Japan "would neither possess nor produce" nuclear weapons. While he had previously expressed three non-nuclear principles such as at the aforementioned budget committee, including them in his policy speech would increase their significance.

Nakasone responded by strongly arguing that "the three non-nuclear principles should be clearly written out to say that not only will Japan not possess nuclear weapons, we will not permit their introduction, either." As a long-time proponent of the peaceful use of nuclear technology, his views could not be easily dismissed.

Satō accepted this and stated in his policy speech the next day that "desiring the abolition of all nuclear weapons, we are determined to neither possess them

ourselves nor permit their introduction into our country.” The Anti-Vietnam War movement was at its height at this time, and members of the opposition parties and students would attempt to prevent the nuclear aircraft carrier USS Enterprise from entering Sasebo whenever it was scheduled to dock. This provides some of the contemporary background to this speech.

It is difficult to believe that American warships carrying nuclear weapons actually offloaded them prior to entering Japanese ports. Much of the Japanese public felt that the three non-nuclear principles were quite far removed from what was actually practiced. According to a memo written by American Bureau Director Tōgō, Satō personally “regretted the inclusion of ‘introduction’ among the three non-nuclear principles and thought it had been a mistake.”

Satō believed that there was a role for the deterring power of nuclear weapons. He introduced his “four nuclear policies” in a plenary session of the House of Representatives on January 30 and repeated them at a meeting of the house’s Budget Committee on February 5. These policies were: the three non-nuclear principles, nuclear disarmament, reliance on American nuclear deterrence, and the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Satō had received advice from Wakaizumi in formulating this group of policies. Wakaizumi viewed American nuclear deterrence as essential to maintaining the three non-nuclear principles. The opposition parties, however, criticized Satō for backtracking on the three non-nuclear principles as they viewed reliance on nuclear deterrence as potentially contradicting the claim that Japan would not “permit the introduction of nuclear weapons.”

Satō would continue to state that he had “no preconceptions” when asked about whether the three non-nuclear principles would be applied to Okinawa or whether the island would be returned to Japan with their nuclear weapons still in place. It was only in March 1969, after he had been elected to his third term as LDP president and the Nixon administration had taken office in the US, that Satō would clearly adopt a policy of “de-nuclearization and equality with the mainland” (*kaku nuki, hondo nami*).

Nakasone visited the US in September 1970 while serving as director general of the Defense Agency and met with Secretary of Defense Laird. He told Laird that “it would be best to hold back on the introduction of nuclear weapons for now.” The implication was that it would be possible for the US to reintroduce nuclear weapons in an emergency after first consulting with the Japanese government. While this showed flexibility, it cannot be denied that it also contradicted the three non-nuclear principles for which Nakasone had himself argued.

The return of the Ogasawara Islands and Satō’s third term as president – sparring with Miki

Satō’s approach to the issue of Okinawa’s return had been based on the premise that American foreign policy – particularly that regarding the Vietnam War – would remain constant. But on March 31, 1968, President Johnson announced that he was suspending combat operations against North Vietnam and would not run as a candidate in the next presidential election.

Johnson's statement potentially meant hope for peace in Vietnam, but it caught Satō, who had been aligning his movements closely to the US, entirely off guard. Socialist Party Chairman Katsumata Seiichi stressed at a press conference that "Prime Minister Satō should take responsibility for his support for the Vietnam War and resign." There were also LDP members outside of the mainstream like Utsunomiya Tokuma who predicted that "with Johnson's retirement, the prime minister's chances for a third term have disappeared."

And yet Satō's enthusiasm for the return of Okinawa was undiminished. He stated at the April 2 meeting of the House of Representatives' Budget Committee that

there is no need for me to change my thinking on the US-Japan security framework, the nuclear issue, the return of Okinawa, or Communist China. I believe that I should continue to think on them as I have in the past.

As if in support of Satō, Secretary Rusk told Wakaizumi that he "understood the prime minister's desire for an agreement to be reached within a few years over a satisfactory date for the return of [Okinawa]."

Negotiations over the return of the Ogasawara Islands continued in the meantime. Foreign Minister Miki and Ambassador Johnson met in Tokyo on April 5 and signed an agreement over their return. But according to a March 21 State Department telegram, Miki and Johnson exchanged "oral statements" regarding the emergency reintroduction of nuclear weapons to the islands. This is frequently regarded as a "secret agreement over nuclear weapons" (*kaku mitsuyaku*).

In his "oral statement," Ambassador Johnson raised the issue of introducing nuclear weapons into the Ogasawaras in an emergency and said that the US "anticipate[d] a favorable reaction." Miki only said that such an action would constitute a major change to the equipment of the American forces stationed in Japan and would therefore be subject to prior consultation between the two countries; Japan would "enter into such consultations." Even if the US "anticipated a favorable reaction," Miki spoke on the basis of the three non-nuclear principles; these "oral statements" cannot be regarded as a "secret agreement."

Satō attended the June 26 ceremony held at Hibiya Public Hall celebrating the return of the Ogasawaras. He successfully maintained the status quo in the July 7 House of Councillors election and went on to win his third term as LDP president in the November 27 election. Among his opponents in the election were Maeo and Miki (who had resigned as foreign minister).

Satō received 249 votes in the election, greatly surpassing Miki's 107 and Maeo's 95 and allowing him to secure a majority in the first round of voting. Even so, the fact that Miki had secured more than a hundred votes shows that he had fought well. Satō had verbally sparred with Miki during the campaign.

Miki stated in a November 18 policy speech at the Shin Osaka Hotel that Satō

has claimed to be negotiating with the expectation of achieving 'equality with the mainland' for the bases [in Okinawa]. . . . Prime Minister Satō speaks as if he were the only one who could achieve the return of Okinawa.

While his enthusiasm is admirable, given the true state of affairs, that is an overstatement.

Satō countered that “while I believe ‘equality with the mainland’ to be ultimately desirable, it would not be the best policy to make [such a demand] from the beginning of negotiations. . . . It was unwise of me to appoint someone who didn’t share my thoughts on this as my foreign minister.”

Reading over Satō’s statement about his “unwise” decision, Kishi thought to himself that “people don’t realize that fire is hot until they’ve been burned.” When Satō had first told him about his desire to appoint Miki as his foreign minister, Kishi had been strongly opposed to the choice and had tried to convince Satō of Miki’s “true nature.”

Nixon won the American presidential election while the LDP presidential campaign was in progress, and Satō sent him a congratulatory telegram on November 7. It seems likely that Satō had decided that calling for “equality with the mainland” prior to entering into negotiations with the Nixon administration would make things more difficult.

Despite this, Miki had clearly stated during the presidential campaign that Satō was “negotiating with the expectation of achieving ‘equality with the mainland.’” Given that Satō’s discomfort with Miki was one factor behind his decision to dispatch a secret envoy to the US, it seems fair to regard Satō’s decisions to appoint Miki as foreign minister and then keep him on in that position following the cabinet reorganization as major missteps for “the human resources expert.”

The Nixon administration took office on January 20, 1969.

Cabinet reorganization – student protests and the new national development plan

In his November 30, 1968, reorganization of the cabinet, Satō appointed the capable Hori, Tanaka, Fukuda, and Ōhira as his chief cabinet secretary, secretary-general, finance minister, and MITI minister respectively.

Hori had lost his reelection bid in November 1963 but had managed to regain his seat for a ninth term in the January 1967 general election. He had also been appointed as construction minister in the November 1967 cabinet reshuffle. This was a somewhat low post for him given that he had previously served as chief cabinet secretary under Yoshida. But losing an election meant that he had been behind in the competition for ministerial posts. He was now reappointed chief cabinet secretary, resuming a position that he had last held sixteen years earlier. Satō sought to strengthen the Kantei’s functions by solidifying his position through the appointment of these capable figures to the cabinet.

Appointing Hori as chief cabinet secretary (a position on the level of deputy prime minister) had meant that Satō had had to demote Kimura Toshio, his previous chief cabinet secretary, to the position of deputy chief cabinet secretary. This was an unprecedented move, one that the *Yomiuri Shimbun* appraised as an “outlandish scheme.” Kimura’s ability as a spokesman was highly regarded, and this is

believed to be why he was kept on in the Kantei. His acceptance of the demotion without complaint also improved his reputation.

The foreign minister would have to handle the return of Okinawa; Satō chose the genial and trustworthy policy-expert Aichi for the position. And with education administration facing widespread student protests on universities, he appointed Sakata Michita, a figure prominent within the LDP for his expertise on education, as education minister. Acting President of the University of Tokyo Katō Ichirō had been a few years behind Sakata at Seijō High School and the University of Tokyo.

At the time of the reorganization, Satō said that he was “determined to put every effort into stabilizing and improving the livelihood of the people” and raised the return of Okinawa, increasing the number of students who went on to university, stabilizing prices, addressing under and overpopulation, and expanding the social security system as tasks that needed to be addressed.

One of the notable incidents that quickly followed Satō’s cabinet organization was the decision on December 29 to cancel the entrance examinations for the University of Tokyo and the Tokyo University of Education. While both Education Minister Sakata and Acting President Kato were in agreement with the decision, it was ultimately Satō who made the call to have a cabinet decision issued on the following day.

After touring a still-chaotic University of Tokyo campus on January 20, Satō submitted the Act on Temporary Measures for University Operations to the Diet on May 24. It would be passed on August 3 after he worked in tandem with Secretary-General Tanaka to force the bill through, something that infuriated the opposition party lawmakers.

Satō had shown his determination on the issue at a March 14 cabinet meeting in which he had said that “we cannot take a half-hearted approach to the university problem.”

But as can be seen from the following August 3 passage from Satō’s journal, there were insufficient efforts made to explain the bill to the public: “We can pass the university bill with two days remaining in the Diet session. I have a tendency to get into a messaging war [against the opposition parties’ criticism of the government] but recently we’ve been quiet.”

Satō’s goal seems to have been to secure passage of the bill during the Diet session scheduled to end on August 5 as that would restore social order and allow him to devote himself to preparing for his fall trip to the United States. With the passage of the bill, protests on university campuses died down.

According to Sakata, the main purpose of the law was

to allow the minister of education to suspend a university’s educational and research functions if campus protests continued into September and beyond. This was to be done in accordance with the deliberations of the Ad Hoc Council on University Problems and after having heard the opinion of the university’s president.

If this measure was taken, that university’s staff would be treated as if they were on vacation and their pay reduced by thirty percent. While there was some

criticism that this infringed upon the autonomy of universities, its effect was immense.

When later asked about the most difficult task he had faced as prime minister, Satō answered that it was “probably the university protests.” According to him,

while we somehow managed to calm things down with the temporary measures law, that’s not even close to being a fundamental solution to the problem. . . . We probably need to provide more support to private universities. That’s one way of resolving this. We place too much importance on the national universities right now.

As the university legislation was moving through the Diet, the cabinet adopted the New National Development Plan on May 30. This was a plan for the large-scale reorganization of national land. It aimed to increase public funding for regional areas, expand national transportation and communication networks, and correct the country’s urban-centered development (which had been a focus of the previous Ikeda government’s Taiheiyo Belt concept). Satō told the National Governors’ Association on September 12 that he wanted to actively move forward with the plan.

Table 5.5 Timeline of Passage of the Act on Measures for Universities

May 24	Cabinet approves bill. Bill is presented to the Diet.
June 24	Rationale for bill presented to plenary session of the House of Representatives. Bill is assigned to the Education Committee following questions from government and opposition lawmakers.
June 25	Rationale for bill presented to Education Committee.
June 27	Committee begins deliberations.
July 4	Questioning by opposition members of the committee begins.
July 8	Chaos as committee session is forced open (Socialists occupy the chairman’s seat). Unanimity is reached at another irregular session.
July 11	Witnesses testify before the committee.
July 14	Public hearing is held.
July 15	Deliberations halted due to the resignation of the speaker and deputy speaker of the House of Representatives.
July 23	Deliberations reopened. LDP submits amendment on the punishment of students to Committee Chairman Ōtsubo.
July 24	LDP withdraws amendment. Bill is approved by the committee.
July 25	In the plenary session, there is continual voting on a flood of opposition motions related to the bill.
July 28	House of Representatives Steering Committee Chairman Kuno resigns.
July 29	Bill is approved by a plenary session of the house, sent to the House of Councillors.
August 2	A meeting of the House of Councillors Education Committee is held under the authority of its chairman. A vote is immediately forced through on the premise that the rationale for the bill and its questioning had already been finished. The bill is approved and the committee is thrown into chaos.
August 3	Bill is approved in a snap vote in the House of Councillors and becomes law.

Source: (*Asahi Shimbun*, August 4, 1969)

Satō stressed the importance of expanding airports in addition to the shinkansen bullet train network. This emphasis on air was partially due to him being from Yamaguchi. While the prefecture's Ube Airport had opened in July 1966, as of April 1969, it offered only one round-trip flight to Tokyo a day and only two to Osaka.

Satō would later tell Kishi that

what surprised me whenever I go home is that Yamaguchi prefecture seems to be the farthest place from Tokyo in the country. The Kanmon Bridge has just been finished, there's the national highway, and pretty soon you'll be able to go by shinkansen. But there just aren't any flights.

The report of the Okinawa Base Problems Research Group

While dealing with the university legislation and the plan for national land reorganization, Satō also worked to prepare for the reversion of Okinawa, establishing the Okinawa Base Problems Research Group on February 17, 1968. The group was created to study how the American military bases on Okinawa, a major point of dispute in US-Japanese negotiations, should be handled. It operated in conjunction with the Okinawan and Other Problems Council under Ōhama Nobumoto and was chaired by Kusumi Tadao, a military commentator.

It met twenty times in total, meeting for the last time on March 8, 1969. It also hosted the US-Japan Kyoto Conference from January 28 to 31 of that year with American participation. Wakaizumi gave a report titled "US-Japan Relations after the Reversion of Okinawa" at the conference. The group submitted a report to Ōhama on the last day it met.

The report concluded that "the US-Japan security treaty will apply to Okinawa in all respects following the return of administrative control to Japan. As such, American military bases located in the territory will be subject to the Status of Forces Agreement based on that treaty. Naturally, the establishment of certain items as being subject to prior consultation through the exchange of notes related to that treaty will also apply." This was the "equality with the mainland" position.

While the report held that "it will no longer be important to deploy nuclear weapons on Okinawa," it did not clearly state whether the reintroduction of nuclear weapons would be rejected if it became a topic of prior consultation. This ambiguity was due to a lack of consensus among its members. It could be said that while the report asserted that the prior consultation system would fully apply to a post-reversion Okinawa, it allowed some flexibility in how that system would operate and thereby left room for Satō to have some discretion in his negotiations with the United States.

Embarking on a strategy of "Denuclearization and Equality with the Mainland"

Ambassador to the US Shimoda Takesō, briefly back in Japan, briefed Satō on January 6, 1969. Satō had repeatedly stated that he had "no preconceptions" when

it came to conditions for the reversion of Okinawa and Shimoda, well-versed in the situation in America, gave his personal opinion that "it would be very dangerous to begin negotiations speaking of equality with the mainland."

It is likely that Shimoda was including "denuclearization" when he spoke of "equality with the mainland." He wrote in his memoirs that he "emphasized to Satō that 'denuclearization' was still the most difficult problem for achieving the return" of Okinawa.

While Satō responded that he would "have to keep the conversation somewhere between 'equality with the mainland' and 'the status quo,'" he also showed consideration for the people of Okinawa by saying that "the bases will not be able to function without the support of the local residents."

Before returning to Washington, Shimoda met with Satō again on January 13. Shimoda told him that

I believe a rapid resolution [to the negotiations] is possible if the [only] condition we put in place is equality with the mainland. Given the current international situation, I believe that it will be extremely difficult to reach a rapid resolution if we also demand denuclearization.

After a tense silence, Satō made his decision. "I just can't picture a return of Okinawa where those nuclear weapons remain in place. Let's push for denuclearization to the bitter end." Shimoda wrote that "it was a historic moment that to a large degree determined the course of the years-long negotiations over the reversion of Okinawa."

Satō believed that, given Japanese domestic opinion, he had to approach the negotiations with the US demanding denuclearization as well as equality with the mainland. He also had Chief Cabinet Secretary Hori inform Administrative Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Ushiba Nobuhiko and American Bureau Director Tōgō Fumihiko on February 18 that "we're going to push for denuclearization."

Satō adopted this same stance in a February 28 meeting with Harry Kern, a former foreign affairs editor for *Newsweek*, telling him that "American can place its nuclear weapons in South Korea" instead. Kern was an American lobbyist, and an unofficial record of this conversation appears within the Kusuda Minoru Files.

Satō also went so far as to argue that "if there's an emergency on the Korean Peninsula, the American military can use its bases on the Japanese mainland. If that means Japan gets dragged into a war, well, it can't be helped. It seems obvious that Japan would become involved in any situation requiring the American military to be deployed to Korea."

Given that Satō had emphasized equality with the mainland in his conversation with Kern, it seems likely that there was an implied "following prior consultation with Japan" when he said that "the American military can use its bases on the Japanese mainland."

The question for Satō was now when to make his support for denuclearization and equality with the mainland public. The submission of the Okinawa Base Problems Research Group's report on March 8 hastened his decision.

In response to a question from the Socialist Maekawa Tan at the March 10 meeting of the House of Councillors' Budget Committee, he explained what course he would take in the negotiations over Okinawa:

There's no need for Polaris submarines to enter Japanese ports, and that includes Okinawa. B-52 bombers carrying nuclear bombs will not be permitted to be stationed in Okinawa following its return. The bases in Okinawa cannot be effectively used without the understanding of the local population. And they will not receive that understanding if there are nuclear weapons in Okinawa. I believe that will convince [the Americans] with that argument.

Polaris submarines were nuclear submarines that carried ballistic missiles capable of being armed with nuclear warheads and launched while at sea. "If [Polaris submarines] are brought up in prior consultation, I believe it will be extremely easy for us to say no."

Satō also testified that "logically, the US-Japan security treaty will apply to a post-reversion Okinawa in the absence of any special agreement" saying otherwise.

In other words, Satō was going farther than the research group's report and implying that he would be approaching the negotiations over Okinawa from a position of denuclearization and equality with the mainland.

He was under the impression that Polaris submarines provided the American military with greater range than that of the Mace B missiles deployed on Okinawa and that the US thus had less reason to insist upon maintaining its land-based nuclear weapons there. The Mace B was an intermediate nuclear ballistic missile, and it was widely known from reports that it had been deployed to Okinawa.

Looking back on Satō's testimony, Kusuda said that

it made clear that the negotiations with America would be undertaken from the position that the three non-nuclear principles would have to be applied to Okinawa as well. This was the most important and historic decision made during the eight years of the Satō government.

The opposition parties, however, did not accept Satō's position.

Socialist Party Chairman Narita Tomomi told a reporter that even if Satō said he would not permit the introduction of nuclear weapons into Okinawa, "there really isn't actually any way of stopping the Americans from bringing them into Okinawa or the Japanese mainland, is there? Because they also have the right to initiate prior consultation."

Satō stated at the March 11 meeting of the committee that "as you are already aware, there is the argument that if there were 'purely defensive' [nuclear weapons] then it would be permissible under the [Japanese] constitution for us to possess them." He also said that if he were approached by the Americans for prior consultation about reintroducing nuclear weapons to Okinawa or their free use, "there are, generally speaking, cases where I would react positively and others where I would react negatively."

By doing so, Satō was backing away from his testimony of the previous day and allowing the implication that he would not necessarily say “no” during prior consultations. He had gone too far and was now returning to his previous position.

In other words, while Satō yearned for denuclearization and equality with the mainland and held to the position that “there will be no loosening of prior consultation following the reversion of Okinawa,” he avoided giving a clear answer when asked whether the emergency introduction of nuclear weapons would be permitted. This stance could be regarded as meaning that there were essentially only “two and a half non-nuclear principles.”

It undeniably seems a bit contradictory that Satō would then explain at the committee’s March 13 meeting that there would no division between Okinawa and the mainland when it came to the applicability of the three non-nuclear principles. The problem was that he did not know how the Americans would respond. The Mace B was becoming an outdated weapon, but they had made the decision to not inform Japan of their withdrawal until the Satō-Nixon talks in November.

The reality of the prior consultation system

The prior consultation system introduced during the Kishi government should be reviewed before moving on to a discussion of Satō’s negotiations with the US.

Prior consultation was intended to be a system under which American requests would either be approved or denied depending on the specifics of a situation, not one where this decision was made in advance. The opposition parties had a tendency to assert that the system existed for the sole purpose of rejecting American requests. But given that Japan was reliant upon America for its national security, the possibility that it would permit the introduction of nuclear weapons or their free use in an emergency cannot be denied.

As such, there was no guarantee that the three non-nuclear principles would be adhered to even in cases where prior consultation occurred. This was not just true of Okinawa, either, which was something that Satō likely wanted to keep ambiguous. That America sought to interpret the prior consultation narrowly (just as the opposition parties accused), also meant it was an open question as to whether or not there would actually be a request for prior consultation in an emergency.

The topics subject to prior consultation were limited to just three in notes exchanged by Prime Minister Kishi and Secretary of State Herter on January 19, 1960. These were major changes to the deployment of the American military in Japan, major changes to its equipment, and the use of American bases in Japan for combat operations. The introduction of nuclear weapons was subject to prior consultation as it was considered a major change of equipment.

But the American interpretation (based on the second paragraph of the Confidential Record of Discussion exchanged between Foreign Minister Fujiyama and Ambassador MacArthur) held that only the deployment of land-based nuclear weapons was subject to prior consultation; the temporary arrival of nuclear

weapons in Japanese ports was not. Ambassador Reischauer informed Foreign Minister Ōhira of this on April 4, 1963 (during the Ikeda government). As Ōhira failed to explicitly reject this interpretation at this time, this has also been called a "secret agreement over nuclear weapons." Ōhira did not pass this information on to either Prime Minister Satō or Foreign Minister Shiina after the beginning of the Satō government. This could perhaps be attributed to the factional discord within the LDP.

Even so, Satō learned of the American interpretation from Ambassador Reischauer on December 29, 1964, a month after he took office. He did not voice any objections at this time, which the Americans took as tacit agreement.

Given that numerous Japanese governments had told the public that they would not permit even the temporary presence of nuclear weapons in Japanese ports, Satō's silence here has to be regarded as meaning that he maintained this "secret agreement," albeit passively. The fact that he learned of it from the Americans rather than the prior government made the whole matter irregular.

But even if Satō had tacitly accepted the temporary presence of nuclear weapons in ports, he had not accepted the presence of land-based nuclear weapons in a post-reversion Okinawa. He went into his negotiations with the Nixon administration seeking the territory's denuclearization. And that meant another appearance by Wakaizumi.

"Supporting South Korea" – seeking denuclearization

The Republican Nixon administration took office in the United States on January 20, 1969, with Kissinger serving as national security advisor. Major policies (including the return of Okinawa) were formulated by Nixon and Kissinger; Secretary of State Rogers was excluded from this process.

Once Kissinger was named as Rostow's successor, Rostow introduced Wakaizumi to him. While Wakaizumi was discouraged by Kissinger's ignorance of Japan and Okinawa upon meeting him, he also felt that it would be possible to "establish bonds of trust with him in the future."

Satō's first personal contact with a member of the Nixon administration came with Secretary of Commerce Stans' visit to Japan on May 13. Stans brought a message from Nixon stating that he hoped they could reach an agreement that would reduce economic frictions between the US and Japan, especially those over textiles.

Satō explained the domestic opposition to any restrictions on textiles and that "these kinds of problems take time." He also said that he strongly hoped that "America does not pull down the flag of free trade and free competition."

The seventh meeting of the US-Japan Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Problems was held in Tokyo from July 29 to 31. While the meeting was for economic officials and Satō was therefore not in attendance, he did pursue the return of Okinawa with Secretary of State Rogers in private meetings and luncheons.

He told Rogers on July 31 that Japan would "hold fast to the three non-nuclear principles and it would be against Japanese government policy for nuclear

weapons to remain in Okinawa following its return." He also emphasized "the security of the Far East":

I am well aware that any threat to the continued existence of South Korea or Taiwan would naturally greatly affect our nation. And I am prepared, should we receive a formal request from South Korea, for not only the post-reversion bases in Okinawa but also those on the mainland to provide support for South Korea.

This was an attempt by Satō to make the return of Okinawa more likely by showing consideration for the American position and saying that Japan would "provide support for South Korea." But the Americans would not commit to denuclearization and in fact sought to have free use of their bases on Okinawa. From Satō's perspective, he could not recognize free use so long as the possibility remained that he would reject something during prior consultation.

While Nixon had not come to Japan for the committee meeting, Satō already knew him from before he became president. According to his journal, he met Nixon for the first time on November 9, 1954, as he accompanied Yoshida on his trip to Europe and America. Nixon was serving as Eisenhower's vice president at the time.

What connection did Nixon have to Okinawa? He had visited it on November 20, 1953, while traveling as vice president from Tokyo to Manila. While he stopped for only three hours, he toured American military facilities and stated that "so long as the threat of communism remains, it will be essential for the United States to maintain strong bases on these strategic islands."

Nixon also made multiple trips to Japan as a private citizen following his loss to Kennedy in the 1960 presidential election. He met with Satō, Ikeda, and Kishi during these visits.

It was rare for an American president to have such extensive experience with Japan, and immediately after taking office Nixon directed Kissinger to examine the Okinawa issue. While Kissinger thought it would be difficult for America to refuse to return Okinawa to Japan, the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) still wanted to maintain their nuclear stockpiles in the territory following reversion. Part of the Department of Defense, the JCS was the American military's highest staff organization and provided advice to the president and secretary of defense. Nixon had promised during his presidential campaign to place restrictions on Japanese textile exports, but he did not intend to be obstinate about the US's nuclear weapons on Okinawa.

But when Foreign Minister Aichi visited the US in June and September, he was unable to secure commitments from Rogers or anyone else that the nuclear weapons on Okinawa would be removed as they felt that decision belonged to the president. A disappointed Aichi declared that he would "give up my favorite cigarettes until our cry for denuclearization is met."

Ambassador Meyer would later note that "Actually, a decision [to remove our nuclear weapons from Okinawa] had been made within the top levels of the American government some months earlier [before Aichi and Rogers met], but it was to be left to the President to convey the good news to Prime Minister Sato in November."

In the meantime, Satō spoke about the role of US-Japan relations in Asia at a September 29 talk where Meyer was the guest of honor. He asserted that "because of the need for a cooperative relationship between the US and Japan in Asia," it was "of the highest importance" that the two countries "contribute to the economic independence" of developing nations. Satō was attempting to lay the groundwork for the return of Okinawa by emphasizing the importance of a broad cooperative relationship.

The Satō-Nixon joint statement

The November 1969 talks between Satō and Nixon were the most important of Satō's life. He arrived in America on November 17. He took the unusual step of flying from the Kantei to Haneda Airport aboard an SDF helicopter amidst pouring rain in order to avoid protesters. Rumors had spread that the helicopter would be fired upon from a nearby building, so Hiroko left her will with her sons before accompanying Satō.

Satō completed his final preparations at Blair House in Washington on November 18. He then removed a photograph of Yoshida from his breast pocket. Staring at the picture, he told Ambassador Shimoda that "I'll be fine. I have Yoshida with me."

Satō and Nixon met from the 19th to the 21st and then released a joint statement. The fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth items in this statement were of particular importance:

- 4 The Prime Minister deeply appreciated the peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations in the area and stated that the security of the Republic of Korea was essential to Japan's own security. . . . The Prime Minister said that the maintenance of peace and security in the Taiwan area was also a most important factor for the security of Japan. . . . The Prime Minister stated that Japan was exploring what role she could play in bringing about stability in the Indo-China area.
- 6 They therefore agreed that the two governments would immediately enter into consultations regarding specific arrangements for accomplishing the early reversion of Okinawa without detriment to the security of the Far East including Japan. They further agreed to expedite the consultations with a view to accomplishing the reversion during 1972 subject to the conclusion of these specific arrangements with the necessary legislative support.
- 7 The President and the Prime Minister agreed that, upon return of the administrative rights, the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security and its related arrangements would apply to Okinawa without modification thereof.
- 8 The Prime Minister described in detail the particular sentiment of the Japanese people against nuclear weapons and the policy of the Japanese Government reflecting such sentiment. The President expressed his deep understanding and assured the Prime Minister that, without prejudice to the position of the United States Government with respect to the prior consultation system under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, the reversion of Okinawa

would be carried out in a manner consistent with the policy of the Japanese Government as described by the Prime Minister.

After referencing South Korea, Taiwan, and Indochina in the fourth item, it was written in the sixth that Okinawa would be returned in 1972. The seventh included a statement that the security treaty would apply to Okinawa "without modification." Concerning nuclear weapons, the statement promised that the reversion of Okinawa "would be carried out in a manner consistent with the policy of the Japanese Government," although it also included a clause saying that this would be "without prejudice to the position of the United States Government with respect to the prior consultation system." In sum, these items can be considered to constitute a bilateral agreement on the denuclearization of Okinawa and its equality with the mainland.

While Nixon had also sought to make progress on the textile issue, the joint statement included only a mention of "imbalances" in US-Japan trade (in Article 12). The word "textiles" does not appear in the text.

Prior to leaving for the US, Satō had instructed American Bureau Director Tōgō that "the joint statement should focus only on Okinawa" and said that it would be "shameful for the Americans to add something now at the end when they must also understand that this is only about Okinawa." He also stressed that they needed "to absolutely avoid anything that could give the impression that a bargain had been reached over Okinawa and the economic issues."

Satō said at the National Press Club on November 21 that "the policy of the Government of Japan towards prior consultation would be to decide its position positively and promptly" should there be an emergency on the Korean Peninsula. The implication was that any decision made during these prior consultations would be as favorable as possible.

South Korean President Park Chung-hee was one of the third parties paying close attention to Satō's words and deeds. After studying the joint statement in detail as well as the words of Satō's National Press Club speech and press conferences, he expressed his concerns to Ambassador Kanayama Masahide:

The position of South Korea is that the ability of the bases on Okinawa to operate freely as they do now – including in the use of their nuclear weapons – is absolutely necessary. While our thoughts on that are unchanged, I well understand that this is a domestic Japanese matter and that it is essentially unavoidable for Okinawa to be denuclearized and rendered equal to the Japanese mainland. I take some security from the fact that Japan and the United States displayed strong determination towards the defense of South Korea in the joint statement and stated that the deployment of nuclear weapons will be considered through prior consultation in an emergency situation.

While I of course do not harbor any doubts about Prime Minister Satō's determination and he has said that in the case of an emergency he will rapidly enter prior consultation and determine his position, there will potentially be obstructionism by the opposition parties and riots by students and others. My state of mind is such that I am unable to feel entirely secure.

In other words, while Park took “some security” from the likelihood that Satō would permit the reintroduction of nuclear weapons in the event of an emergency, he was concerned that the opposition parties and students would act to prevent this.

Table 5.6 Chronology of the Reversion of Okinawa

August 1945	Unconditional surrender of Japan.
September 1951	San Francisco Peace Conference. Okinawa and other areas placed under American administration.
December 1960	Beginning of the Vietnam War.
October 1964	China conducts first nuclear test.
January 1965	US-Japan Summit. Prime Minister Satō Eisaku proposes the rapid reversion of Okinawa to President Johnson.
February 1965	America begins bombing North Vietnam.
November 1967	US-Japan Summit. Satō and Johnson confirm that administrative control of Okinawa will be returned to Japan.
June 1968	Return of the Ogasawara Islands.
December 1968	The foreign ministry quietly explores a position of “being prepared to accommodate the introduction of nuclear weapons during an emergency. We will persuade them not to have a permanent nuclear presence.”
March 1969	Prime Minister Satō publicly states at the House of Councillors Budget Committee that his negotiating position on Okinawa is “denuclearization and equality with the mainland.”
June 1969	Foreign Minister Aichi requests at a meeting with the US secretary of state that the “three non-nuclear principles” be applied to Okinawa. The reply is that “Okinawa’s nuclear weapons are necessary for deterrence.”
July 1969	Foreign ministry and State department leaders secretly meet in Tokyo. “Okinawa’s nuclear capabilities are of the utmost importance in an emergency in East Asia.”
July 1969	Prime Minister Satō’s secret envoy and Kissinger deliberate on the reintroduction of nuclear weapons to Okinawa.
July 1969	US Secretary of State Rogers visits Japan. Summit preparations are made.
November 1969	US-Japan Summit. Satō begins deliberations with President Nixon on a reversion that treats Okinawa like the mainland. Agreement is also reached on removing all nuclear weapons by reversion.
June 1971	US and Japan sign agreement on the reversion of Okinawa.
May 1972	Okinawa returns to Japan.
June 1972	Satō announces his resignation.
October 1974	Satō is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
September 2009	Beginning of the Hatoyama Yukio government. Foreign Minister Okada Katsuya orders an investigation into the secret agreement.
December 2009	Satō Shinji (Prime Minister Satō’s son) reveals the original copy of the Agreed Minute.
March 2010	Expert committee releases the report of its investigation into the secret agreement.
March 2010	Foreign Minister Okada tells reporters that the Agreed Minute and the Korea Minutes are “no longer in effect.”

Source: (Based on the December 23, 2010 morning edition of the *Asahi Shimbun* with additional material by author)

"Please trust me" – nuclear weapons and textiles

The three days of negotiations that resulted in the US-Japan joint statement were the highlight of the seven-year, eight-month-long Satō government. What were the actual circumstances behind these negotiations and how did the parties treat the nuclear weapon and textile issues? Let's carefully reexamine the summit.

At the first meeting between Satō and Nixon on November 19, the pair held deliberations on the nuclear issue. These ultimately bore fruit as the joint statement's Article 8. Satō had prepared a "Draft A" and a "Draft B" on this issue. The text of Draft A was identical to what would ultimately become Article 8 but lacked the phrase "without prejudice to the position [of the United States Government] with respect to the prior consultation system under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security." Satō showed this to Nixon first.

Under Draft A, the United States promised to remove its nuclear weapons from Okinawa and that was all. There was no consideration given to the American desire for favorable responses during prior consultation. Draft A thus favored Japan.

But the US did not want there to be restrictions on their use of the bases on Okinawa in an emergency. Looking over Draft A, Nixon countered that "I will need there to be more precise language regarding prior consultation if I am to explain this to the American people."

Satō then showed him Draft B, which included the phrase missing from Draft A. With this additional phrase incorporating the American argument in place, Nixon agreed, saying that he was "prepared to gain the understanding of the American people with this language."

Nixon then said that he had "another piece of good news for the prime minister" and revealed that "the gradual withdrawal of the Mace B missiles from Okinawa will begin within the next three weeks – prior to the Japanese general election." Satō of course expressed his thanks.

It is actually at this point where the problem lies, as the two leaders signed the "Agreed Minute to the Joint Communique" after their talks ended. This is the so-called secret agreement on nuclear weapons. This will be discussed after the overview of the second and third days of the summit, however.

Nixon brought up the textile issue on the second day of the talks. He said that while he understood "the prime minister's desire to not give any outward indication of a link between Okinawa and textiles," the United States "would seek a comprehensive agreement on textiles in the GATT at an appropriate time."

Satō only answered that "it is important that our countries maintain close communications on the textile issue," however, and irritated Nixon by failing to commit to resolving the issue within the coming year.

This led Satō to begin the third day's talks by saying that he had "one or two things that I would like to say on the textile issue." He said that while he "wished to avoid intertwining Okinawa and textiles at all costs," it went without saying that he was "prepared to bear full responsibility for this." He then went further:

I am not a temporizing man. My personal credo is to do what I promise. There will be many difficulties in resolving this issue as it involves important

interests of both the American and Japanese textile industries. But I want you to trust that I will do all I can to carry out what I say today.

The American record of the conversation says that Satō even asked Nixon to “please trust me” on the textile issue. Nixon shook his hand and said, “with the Okinawan issue, our greatest concern, resolved, we are truly taking a historic first step into a new era.”

It is likely that Nixon believed that Satō had committed to resolving the textile issue within a year. And while Satō did intend to do so, he was never able to work out the timing and conditions for it. Considering how lengthy the negotiations that would follow on this issue were, it has to be said that Satō overstepped in his statements here, and it was, in fact, a way for him to temporarily escape the difficult situation.

Although textiles had not been included in the joint statement, the two leaders had agreed to resolve the issue. It could be said that, from the American perspective at least, a “secret agreement on textiles” had been reached as a tacit understanding. It would soon become apparent that each country approached the issue with markedly different levels of enthusiasm, however, and textiles would cause increasing dissatisfaction on the parts of Nixon and Kissinger.

Wakaizumi’s mistakes and Tōgō’s corrections

The previous section was an overview of the Satō-Nixon talks as a whole. The three main points of contention arising from the talks were the “denuclearization” laid out in Article 8, the “secret agreement on nuclear weapons” (the Agreed Minute to the Joint Communiqué), and the “secret agreement on textiles.” Let us take a closer look at Article 8 first.

As has already been mentioned, Article 8’s phrasing on nuclear weapons was derived from the “Draft B” text that Satō showed Nixon. This text had been translated into English by Wakaizumi based on a draft by Satō and had been approved by Kissinger. But it contained a major mistake in its translation.

Satō had hidden Wakaizumi’s back channel interactions with Kissinger from the foreign ministry, and there were many things (including Draft B) that he had not divulged even to Aichi. There were essentially no major differences between the Japanese text of Draft B and the foreign ministry’s final draft. But Satō had shown Wakaizumi three drafts (the second of which would become Draft B), and Wakaizumi had translated these by himself. This meant that there were notable differences between his English texts and those produced by the foreign ministry.

Kissinger was shown a total of five drafts: Satō’s original three drafts as well as another two that Wakaizumi had added. The Draft A that Satō had first shown Nixon was a variation of Satō’s second draft that Wakaizumi had amended to be more favorable to Japan.

As these processes were complicated and will be brought up again later, only the course of events for November 19 and 20 will be discussed for the time being.

Following Satō’s meeting with Nixon on November 19, he met with Aichi and Tōgō (who had been waiting in another room) and told them “we agreed on

Draft B.” He pulled a paper out of his pocket and handed it to them. Satō had not told either Aichi or the foreign ministry about Draft B (which had been prepared by Wakaizumi and Kissinger) but, being so elated at having resolved the Okinawa issue, he had slipped and used the term. Not knowing what Draft B was, Aichi and Tōgō turned pale.

The paper that Satō had given them had the Japanese text for Draft B. He no longer had the English text, having given it to Nixon. When Tōgō received that text from Sneider (the official in charge of Okinawan affairs at the US embassy in Tokyo) and looked it over, he found that it differed from the foreign ministry draft. And, as he later wrote in an internal ministry document, he found “parts of the English text that didn’t make sense.” According to Tōgō, there were two problems with Wakaizumi’s translation.

First, the timing for the clause “would be carried out in a manner consistent with the policy of the Japanese Government” was unclear. This referred to the removal of nuclear weapons from Okinawa, something that needed to be done prior to reversion, but the English text made this ambiguous.

The second problem was the use of “its” in the phrase “without prejudice to its position with respect to the prior consultation system.” This was meant to indicate the United States government, yet those words did not appear anywhere in the clause. It was thus unclear from the English text what “its” referred to.

The mistakes in Wakaizumi’s English text for Draft B thus had less to do with the text’s contents than with its grammar. And while these might appear to be only minor errors, textual mistakes held great significance and could not be disregarded.

There’s no question that Tōgō and his colleagues felt that Draft B “was thoroughly unsuitable for use as an official text” and turned pale when they saw it. After all, who had created this translation? It was based on the foreign ministry draft, but it was not the work of anyone at the ministry; it was too sloppy with the fine details. From Tōgō’s perspective, it was an amateurish translation. Yet no major adjustments could now be made to the text as it had been agreed upon at the summit.

Tōgō and the others must have belatedly realized that Satō had used someone outside of the foreign ministry as a secret envoy and was prioritizing them over the ministry. He reported to Aichi late on the night of the 19th and then worked with Ambassador Shimoda and Treaties Section Chief Nakajima Toshijirō to work out corrected versions of both the English and Japanese texts.

Tōgō explained the situation to Satō as he was getting dressed the next morning. He read a corrected version and received Satō’s approval. Tōgō then met with Under Secretary of State Johnson and Sneider to explain the situation. Johnson immediately recognized the “errors in the English language draft.” Tōgō and the others had made the minimum necessary corrections to what would be Article 8 of the joint statement (as shown by the following added underlining):

The President expressed his deep understanding and assured the Prime Minister that, without prejudice to the position of the United States Government with respect to the prior consultation system under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, the reversion of Okinawa would be carried out in

a manner consistent with the policy of the Japanese Government as described by the Prime Minister.

Satō had concealed his back channel from the foreign ministry, but Tōgō's discovery of his and Wakaizumi's mistake had meant that it was nipped in the bud. Satō's accidental use of the term "Draft B" was one of the reasons why Tōgō discovered the English mistranslation so soon after the day's talks and was able to respond so quickly. It was an unusual slip for the normally secretive Satō caused by excess of enthusiasm. But given that it helped protect him, it could be said to have been a very fortunate one.

Was Satō's use of a secret envoy necessary?

Had Wakaizumi's English errors been left uncorrected when the joint statement was released, Satō and Aichi would have been held liable by the opposition and the media. Given the high risks involved, there seems to have been relatively few benefits to relying on a secret envoy. Had Satō's use of Wakaizumi been necessary in the first place?

Normally when a joint statement is drafted, the foreign ministry's Treaty Bureau and the relevant regional bureau draw up Japanese and English language drafts in accordance with the positions of the prime minister and foreign minister. These are then carefully screened for any discrepancies and to ensure that they are consistent with any relevant treaties or similar documents. Even a preeminent professional like Tōgō had worked with the support of subordinates and other bureaus within the ministry when he drew up the foreign ministry draft. They had to be especially diligent when it came to a matter of the greatest importance like the reversion of Okinawa.

Wakaizumi, by contrast, had holed himself up in a Washington hotel room and translated the drafts into English by himself. He would have had few documents to use as references as he did so. And he translated a total of five drafts into English (the three he had received from Satō as well as two of his own). These were circumstances that could easily lead to errors, regardless of Wakaizumi's skill in English. Satō had only poor English and only concerned himself with the Japanese texts. It should have been immediately apparent that there was a high likelihood of something going wrong. So why did Satō and Wakaizumi not give due consideration to that danger? It was reckless of them.

Wakaizumi later wrote a book titled *I Want to Believe There Was No Other Policy Option* (translated into English under the title *The Best Course Available*) in which he revealed the existence of the "secret agreement on nuclear weapons." As I read it, there were some sections about which I had doubts.

According to the book, Wakaizumi consulted with Prime Minister's Secretary Motono over the drafts for the November 1967 Satō-Johnson joint communiqué – including the English translation. But Motono stated in an oral history that he did not produce a draft with Wakaizumi, which means one of the two men is either lying or remembering things incorrectly.

Since the only point of contention at this time was the timing for reaching an agreement on the reversion of Okinawa ("within a few years"), the drafts would not have been that complicated. The conditions under which that reversion would occur were beyond the scope of the leaders' discussions.

But while Wakaizumi's book says that he consulted with Motono on the English translation in 1967, he did not do the same with Secretary Kosugi Teruo for the English translation of the Satō-Nixon joint statement in November 1969. This causes me to doubt what he wrote. Kosugi, Motono's successor as the prime minister's secretary from the foreign ministry, has stated that he "messed up by not creating an English version" while putting together the draft for Satō.

This point conforms to Wakaizumi's account in his book, and there's no doubt that his English translation was used for the core of the draft of the Satō-Nixon joint statement. Kosugi and Kusuda polished three Japanese-language drafts for Satō based on personal drafts by American Bureau Director Tōgō, but they did not know what they were going to be used for.

It is unknown why Wakaizumi did not seek out Kosugi and the others for an English translation at this time (not even through Satō). If I had to speculate, I would say that Wakaizumi's experiences in 1967 had perhaps given him increased confidence or that he had felt, given the great importance of the 1969 joint statement, that greater secrecy was needed. The latter seems the more likely possibility.

The contents of the 1969 joint statement were both more important and more complicated than those of the 1967 joint communiqué. And Wakaizumi added two drafts of his own to Satō's three, making a total of five. Despite the high level of difficulty, he translated these in his hotel room and then negotiated with Kissinger at the White House. Given that he was alone and working under severe time constraints, it would have been quite difficult for him to make so few errors that Kissinger would not have noticed them. This is the danger of using back channels.

Few joint statements have been as important as this one was. Given that importance and setting aside any mistakes he may have made in the English translations, Wakaizumi must have been overstepping his authority when he added two drafts at his own discretion (even if he had been entrusted to carry out back channel negotiations by Satō).

And despite having gone to all the effort of creating five drafts, Wakaizumi showed them all – from the draft most favorable to Japan to his final compromise draft – to Kissinger at the same time, allowing him to choose the one he preferred. Has there ever been another negotiation where a negotiator has provided their counterpart with a free choice from all the options? Wakaizumi would later lament his "poor negotiating technique" and the fact that he had laid all his cards on the table at the beginning of the negotiations.

Wakaizumi is sometimes called a "patriot" (*kokushi*). And that may have been the case from his perspective. But one has to question whether he was up to the tasks placed before him – including the "secret agreement on nuclear weapons" that will be discussed next.

The "Secret Agreed Minute" and the "Korea Minutes"

The "secret agreement on nuclear weapons" will now be taken up as the joint statement was not the only area in which Wakaizumi was involved. Indeed, it is likely more widely known that Satō sent Wakaizumi to serve as his secret representative in advance negotiations with Kissinger and then exchanged this secret agreement with Nixon. The primary reason why America wanted such an agreement was so that it could be used to convince domestic groups opposed to the reversion of Okinawa (most notably the military).

This secret agreement – more formally the Agreed Minute to the joint communiqué – acknowledged that nuclear weapons would be introduced into Okinawa in an emergency. Nixon states in the minute that the reintroduction of nuclear weapons into Okinawa would be necessary "in time[s] of great emergency" in the Far East and that the United States "would anticipate a favorable response" during prior consultation on this. It also names the bases at Kadena, Naha, and Henoko as locations for nuclear storage as well as Nike Hercules units. The Japanese government agreed that it would "meet these requirements without delay when such prior consultation [took] place." This was a framework under which Japan could not refuse the reintroduction of nuclear weapons into Okinawa.

It has been determined that the Agreed Minute was signed following the first talks on November 19. Wakaizumi and Kissinger had devised a scenario under which Satō and Nixon would go alone to a small room next to the Oval Office and sign while others were told they were looking at art. Under the original plan, the two men were only meant to initial the document, but as Nixon signed his full name, Satō had no choice but to follow suit.

While the "secret agreement on textiles" had been an unwritten, tacit understanding, the "secret agreement on nuclear weapons" was a document signed by Satō and Nixon, giving it great authority.

The Americans had hinted at the necessity of such a secret agreement to the Japanese foreign ministry as well as Wakaizumi. American Bureau Director Tōgō had thus told Satō and Foreign Minister Aichi during the preliminary discussions held in Washington the day before the talks began that "we may possibly have to create some kind of written document related to this issue [the emergency introduction of nuclear weapons]."

And the foreign ministry had actually prepared a "draft minute" that implicitly recognized the reintroduction of nuclear weapons into Okinawa. Unlike the Agreed Minute, however, this was not a pledge that Japan would allow such reintroduction; it only said that it would be examined in light of "contemporary circumstances." Since Wakaizumi and Kissinger had prepared the Agreed Minute and Satō had signed off on it, this foreign ministry draft went unused.

When the foreign ministry was exploring the creation of "some kind of written document," it was likely trying to come up with something that did not go against the gist of the joint statement and which could be explained to the Japanese people if it became public.

The foreign ministry also sought to use the negotiations over the reversion of Okinawa to get rid of the "Korea Minutes" that had been exchanged between

Foreign Minister Fujiyama and Ambassador MacArthur in January 1960. These held that the deployment of American forces stationed in Japan to the Korean Peninsula would be considered beyond the scope of prior consultation and have to be considered another secret agreement between the two countries.

As First North American Section Chief Chiba Kazuo told Acting Ambassador Osborn, Satō wanted to annul this agreement as soon as he learned of it, a position that Aichi shared. They were critical of the Korea Minutes because they knew that "if its existence was leaked, it would be a fundamental threat to the [US-Japan security] treaty relationship." The Satō government and other LDP governments would also take a major blow. Even if the information did not leak outside the party, just having it in the hands of the anti-Satō factions would be enough to threaten him.

The foreign ministry deliberated on a version of the joint statement that could serve as a replacement for the Korea Minutes. Their final draft included the phrase

Table 5.7 Text of the Secret Agreed Minute

TOP SECRET

AGREED MINUTE TO THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF UNITED STATES
PRESIDENT NIXON AND JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER SATŌ ISSUED ON
NOVEMBER 21, 1969

United States President:

As stated in our Joint Communiqué, it is the intention of the United States Government to remove all nuclear weapons from Okinawa by the time of actual reversion of administrative rights to Japan; and thereafter the treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security and its related arrangements will apply to Okinawa, as described in the joint Communiqué.

However, in order to discharge effectively the international obligations assumed by the United States for the defense of countries in the Far East including Japan, in time of great emergency the United States Government will require the re-entry of nuclear weapons and transit rights in Okinawa with prior consultation with the Government of Japan. The United States Government would anticipate a favorable response. The United States Government also requires the standby retention and activation in time of great emergency of existing nuclear storage locations in Okinawa: Kadena, Naha, Henoko, and Nike Hercules units.

Japanese Prime Minister:

The Government of Japan, appreciating the United States Government's requirements in time of emergency stated above by the President, will meet these requirements without delay when such prior consultation takes place.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that this Minute, in duplicate, be kept each in only in the office of the President and the Prime Minister and be treated in the strict confidence between only the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Japan.

Washington D.C. November 21, 1969

Richard Nixon (signature)
Eisaku Satō (signature)

"without prejudice to the position of the United States Government with respect to the prior consultation system" as the clause dealing with nuclear weapons. However, not only would the Nixon administration not accept an annulment of the Korea Minutes, but it also wanted a new secret agreement promising that nuclear weapons could be reintroduced into Okinawa in an emergency that it could use to convince domestic opponents of the reversion of Okinawa. This would become the Agreed Minute. And while Satō intended to sign this agreement that Wakaizumi had prepared under the utmost secrecy, he concealed it from Tōgō and the others.

The master copy of the Agreed Minute would only be made public on December 22, 2009, after Satō Shinji, Satō's younger son and a former MITI minister, released it to the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.

Wakaizumi's "Going Ahead" and Kissinger's "Secret Understanding"

Satō's use of Wakaizumi as a secret envoy not only invited confusion over the English translation of the Draft B for the joint statement's Article 8, but it ultimately led to a secret agreement on nuclear weapons (the Agreed Minute) that was shown to no one. It was of course Satō who made the final decision to accept this secret agreement. But Satō did not act with resolute determination; in truth he delegated much of the preliminary negotiations to Wakaizumi and then accepted his results.

Why did Satō use Wakaizumi rather than the foreign ministry? Why did he end up with Draft B and the Agreed Minute? Was he not a politician who liked following proper channels and doing things the way he believed they should be done? Wakaizumi's book and other sources can be examined on this point. As this is an important point that will affect the overall appraisal of Satō, let us go farther back in time and closely follow the respective moves made by Satō, Wakaizumi, and Kissinger.

It had been Wakaizumi who had proposed opening a "political hotline" with the Nixon administration (something that Satō had not had with the previous Johnson administration). He did this on June 21, 1969. Satō gave the matter careful consideration and then accepted his proposal, asking Wakaizumi if he could "count on you to help me out again?" Kissinger became Wakaizumi's counterpart in negotiations with Washington.

Satō initially placed more emphasis on gathering information than pursuing back channel negotiations. Wakaizumi wrote that he had "a bit of a tendency to go ahead on my own." One reason for this "tendency" was that Satō had not provided him with clear instructions. Satō preferred to use abstract phrases, and this ambiguity caused problems for Wakaizumi and led him to act according to his independent judgment.

Also, unlike during the Johnson administration, Satō introduced Wakaizumi to Aichi, his foreign minister. This was likely because Aichi was a trusted confidante; he had not done this when Miki was foreign minister.

Aichi told Wakaizumi that it was "possible that we would agree to the introduction of nuclear weapons in an emergency" and explained that the Japanese government's policy was to "not make any special arrangements or conclude any secret agreements." He then asked Wakaizumi to "please go to Washington quietly."

But Wakaizumi avoided having any more one-on-one meetings with Aichi and asked Satō to keep his activities secrets from Aichi as well. Satō accepted.

Wakaizumi met Kissinger at the White House on the 18th and 21st of July. Kissinger's conditions for the removal of all nuclear weapons from Okinawa were guarantees on the free use of America's bases and the introduction of nuclear weapons in an emergency. He also said that he "wished to hear Prime Minister Satō's thoughts on handling these matters through a secret understanding between the two leaders." In order to maintain secrecy, Wakaizumi and Kissinger referred to each other as "Mr. Yoshida" and "Dr. Jones."

When Wakaizumi returned to Japan and met with Satō on the 25th, he was reluctant about entering into a "secret understanding":

I want a "nuclear-free reversion" at all costs. It would be difficult to conclude some sort of special agreement over Okinawa.

But I believe that there may be times when it is necessary and in the Japanese national interest to allow them "free use" of their bases in an emergency. This is particularly true of an emergency in South Korea, but it might also be the case for Taiwan depending on the situation.

There are rumors that Kishi and [Foreign Minister] Fujiyama entered into a secret agreement at the time of the Kishi government's revision of the security treaty. I don't want to do that myself. It would be an utterly impossible thing for our nation now.

The "rumors" that Satō mentioned likely referred to the Korea Minutes that stated that the deployment of American forces stationed in Japan to the Korean Peninsula was not subject to prior consultation. Or perhaps it was a reference to the notes exchanged between Prime Minister Kishi and Secretary of State Herter that said that port visits to the Japanese mainland by American ships carrying nuclear weapons were also excluded from prior consultation. As discussed on page 173, Satō learned of this – a "secret agreement on nuclear weapons" that covered the Japanese mainland rather than Okinawa – from Ambassador Reischauer a month after taking office.

Getting rid of these Korea Minutes was a particular desire of Satō's, and he wanted to avoid reaching any secret agreements on nuclear weapons for either Okinawa or the mainland.

But Wakaizumi prodded Satō to act, telling him that "the White House says it cannot guarantee a 'nuclear-free reversion' without something along these lines." His thought process was "if we're to achieve a nuclear-free reversion, we've little choice but to accept some degree of secret arrangements." Judging from Wakaizumi's book, he seems to have known very little about the Korea Minutes or the other secret agreements. This was likely an indirect cause of his "going ahead on his own."

Satō's "Mutual Trust" and Wakaizumi's frustration

When Satō met with Wakaizumi on August 22, 1969, he seemed ready to grant the Americans free use of their bases in Okinawa in the case of an emergency in South Korea or Taiwan. But he was still averse to a secret agreement allowing the reintroduction of nuclear weapons in such an emergency, saying, "I want to avoid any special arrangements. I want us to proceed based on mutual trust." He also said as if to himself that "as a fellow politician, I think [Nixon] will understand the denuclearization problem if we can talk it through." Wakaizumi felt that "the prime minister's assessment was 'overly optimistic.'"

Wakaizumi met with Kissinger in San Clemente, California, on August 28 and told him that Satō wanted the nuclear weapons on Okinawa removed prior to reversion. But he said nothing about whether a secret agreement on the reintroduction of those weapons would be possible.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Aichi presented the Tōgō draft of the joint statement to Secretary of State Rogers on September 12 while making a visit to America. This read,

The President told the Prime Minister that, without prejudice to its position with respect to the prior consultation system under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, the United States Government would carry out the reversion of Okinawa in a manner consistent with the policy of the Japanese government.

Rogers avoided giving a response however, as his authority to negotiate over nuclear weapons had been usurped by Kissinger.

When Wakaizumi met with Satō again on September 16, he pressed him to make a decision on the secret agreement:

"We absolutely can't budge on the issue of a nuclear-free reversion. No matter what, we must make them accept that this as a fundamental condition for Japan. The problem is America's talk of reintroducing the nuclear weapons in an emergency after they've been removed.

"[You] say that that's something that can be worked out during prior consultation, but what will we do if, as I reported earlier, they push for some kind of guarantee that Japan will say yes? It's very likely that they will."

"Of course, I'll say yes if it's a situation where they really do need them."

"They might seek a solid guarantee for after you're gone, one that binds your successors."

"Well, as long as there's a foundation of friendship and goodwill between us, it'll be fine, right? As long as the LDP remains in power, it'll be fine."

Satō's position was that the "friendship and goodwill" between the two countries would be sufficient; he believed a secret agreement was unnecessary. Wakaizumi was frustrated and felt that Satō was "unconsciously avoiding the decisiveness

and responsibility essential to a prime minister due to the instinctual urge to protect himself that came from being a politician with a bureaucratic background."

Wakaizumi felt that with Japan under the protection of the American nuclear umbrella, it would be hard for it to refuse an American request for a guarantee on the reintroduction of nuclear weapons. While the chances of an emergency in the Far East that necessitated their reintroduction were low, the Americans – particularly the JCS – wanted to maintain their vested rights just in case.

Satō then told Wakaizumi that "because this special route [the back channel between Wakaizumi and Kissinger] is so important, I would really like for you to help one or two more times." But it was unclear what Satō wanted Wakaizumi to do regarding nuclear weapons and how. He was focused on cautiously finding out what the American plans were and wanted to delay making any decisions himself for as long as possible. This was a manifestation of Satō's "politics of waiting."

Wakaizumi's "Formula" – Satō agitated

Still lacking specific instructions, Wakaizumi visited Kissinger at the White House on September 26, 1969. While acknowledging the nuclear issue, Kissinger said that "textiles are actually more important" and stressed that "While President Nixon is a believer in free trade, he made commitments on this during the campaign and has to resolve it no matter what." He declared nuclear weapons to be "under the sole discretion of the president. Only he can make a decision on them."

Wakaizumi responded that "one potential formula" for resolving the Japanese requirement that the weapons be removed "would be the private exchange of a clear understanding between the president and prime minister."

It was Wakaizumi himself who proposed a secret understanding. It certainly feels like Wakaizumi overstepped his authority here, given that Satō had gone no further on the issue than speaking of "mutual trust" and "friendship and goodwill." While Kissinger had sounded out a possible "secret understanding" in July, he had asked to hear Satō's thoughts on the matter, not Wakaizumi's.

Kissinger met with Wakaizumi again on the 30th and explicitly stated that the resolution of the textiles issue and a guarantee on the reintroduction of nuclear weapons were the American requirements for the reversion of Okinawa. This decision had been personally made by Nixon. Wakaizumi felt that "a secret understanding is likely unavoidable . . . if we are to have them agree to a nuclear-free reversion."

Kissinger also expanded Wakaizumi's "formula" and proposed that "the two leaders sign agreed minutes." Wakaizumi had no objection.

Wakaizumi visited the Kantei on October 3 and, after first conveying what Kissinger had said on the textiles issue, asked Satō about the reintroduction issue:

It is now the belief and decision of not just the military but of President Nixon himself that they cannot return Okinawa without a guarantee that they would be permitted to reintroduce nuclear weapons through prior notice alone in the event of a sudden emergency.

I believe that prior notice alone would be a problem and that we would need to hold prior consultation even if it was only pro forma, but.

Satō was unable to hide his surprise and alarm that the guarantee on reintroduction had been put forward as a requirement for reversion. Unable to figure out what to do, he said "the problem is who defines what an emergency is and how."

Wakaizumi gave his view as "In practice, that will likely be something that America decides unilaterally. But I think we will still need to continue with the formality of 'prior consultation.'"

Satō said "That's true, but what can we do if they're just going to give us word and then unilaterally bring them in?" He was extremely dissatisfied at having this requirement thrust before him.

Be that as it may, it was irresponsible for Satō to throw his hands up and say, "but what can we do?" Even in his journal, he wrote only that "I will need serious determination on two or three points." He gives no sign of having worked to develop a counterproposal and cannot be considered to have acted as a tough negotiator. But at least he agreed with Wakaizumi on the "need to continue with the formality of 'prior consultation.'"

That Satō had hidden his discussions with Wakaizumi from everyone, even Aichi, and had not been able to adequately draw upon the wisdom of foreign ministry and MITI officials were also factors behind his inability to devise a counterproposal. He had placed his trust in Wakaizumi, but Wakaizumi was an amateur on the textile issue, the jurisdiction of which fell to MITI. At the time, Ōhira (a member of the Maeo faction), was serving as MITI minister. And if Satō did not even feel that he could talk about these issues with his confidante Aichi, there was no way that he would consult with Ōhira on them.

"That's fine. Please do it."

Satō called Wakaizumi to the Kantei on October 23, 1969, a month before his talks with Nixon. When Wakaizumi asked him about the emergency reintroduction of nuclear weapons, he repeated his earlier answer that it was "an issue of mutual trust."

Wakaizumi pressed him on the issue, pointing out that "they've asked for some kind of guarantee in writing. If we refuse, this might all fall apart." Satō retorted that "This isn't something that will be determined by anything written down. It'll be determined by the power relationship between Japan and America."

Aichi and the foreign ministry had been unable to get any answers on the nuclear issue through their channels, yet Satō still wanted to avoid exchanging a "secret agreement" through his back channel with Wakaizumi. Satō likely appeared indecisive to Wakaizumi. He stood up and voiced his pent-up frustration, saying, "You absolutely need to make a plan of your own here, Mr. Prime Minister."

Satō met with Wakaizumi on the 27th and again told him that he wished "to avoid making any special arrangements." But Wakaizumi pushed him, noting that "the president himself is asking you to put something in writing."

After briefly thinking on this, Satō changed his position:

"If Nixon feels that it is absolutely necessary, I'll sign a summary of our talks."

"What should be done about the format and so on?"

"Please put it together, incorporating their thoughts as well."

"So, I can negotiate this with Kissinger?"

"That's fine. Please do it."

"They've also said they want to know how we will guarantee this after you're gone."

"This is all determined by our power relationship with America, so they could just go ahead. If that kind of urgent emergency arises, they can just give us advance notice and then force things through. What could we do to stop them?"

"I will do everything I can to maintain the form of prior consultation. I feel that secret agreed minutes would be better as the form for the guarantee than a unilateral letter from us."

"Whatever the form, they could actually just push things through with force."

Satō had thus begun moving toward a "secret agreement on nuclear weapons." But he had only done so as a result of being cornered by Wakaizumi; he had certainly not undertaken this act with firm determination, and he had left the content and format of what would later be the Agreed Minute entirely to Wakaizumi. Despite feeling increasingly displeased with Satō and his attitude that there was nothing to be done, Wakaizumi drew up a draft for the Agreed Minute in America and ultimately got Satō to sign off on it.

There was another important occurrence during the day's meeting. Satō said,

some foreign ministry officials came and asked me what we should do about the nuclear weapons because we absolutely wouldn't be making any special arrangements this time. It seems there were a few things along those lines during the Kishi government. I don't really know anything about them, though.

Satō was thus hinting that a secret agreement on nuclear weapons had applied to the Japanese mainland since the revision of the US-Japan security treaty during the Kishi government. Wakaizumi wrote that "I wanted to ask about these 'special arrangements' from the Kishi government but I restrained myself." It can be surmised from this that he was likely unaware of the Korea Minutes and the Kishi government's previous secret agreement on nuclear weapons. While it is unsurprising that Wakaizumi, a private citizen, would be unaware of these agreements, he may have been more cautious about adding an additional secret agreement on nuclear weapons during the reversion of Okinawa had he been better informed about them.

The harm of two-dimensional diplomacy

Satō entrusted not only the undisclosed "secret agreement on nuclear weapons" to Wakaizumi but also the clause on nuclear weapons that would become Article 8 of the joint statement.

As discussed earlier, Article 8 was the Draft B text agreed upon by Satō and Nixon and then corrected by Tōgō (in the case of the English version). It was mentioned on pages 179 and 181–82 that Satō provided three drafts of this text to Wakaizumi (to which he then added two of his own) and that the Draft A and Draft B texts were the result of Wakaizumi's discussions with Kissinger.

But because the relationship between Drafts A and B and the content of the three/five drafts is a complicated one, it was not touched on in detail.

That will be done here. Satō's management of the Kantei will be examined by following the process that the three/five drafts and Drafts A and B went through.

Satō provided his three drafts for the nuclear clause to Wakaizumi on November 6, 1969, and entrusted negotiating a nuclear-free reversion to him. These three drafts had been created in late September by Satō's secretaries Kosugi and Kusuda based on private drafts by Tōgō. Kosugi was Motono's successor and had been dispatched by the foreign ministry.

According to Kusuda, Tōgō "just appeared in the secretarial office at the Kantei" in late September and handed his three drafts to Kosugi and Kusuda, saying, "I haven't consulted with anyone at the ministry on these yet. They're just my personal rough sketches."

The first draft was the most advantageous for Japan and had the United States explicitly agree to a nuclear-free reversion.

While the second draft included the clause "without prejudice to the position [of the United States Government] with respect to the prior consultation system," it was still discernible that it would result in a nuclear-free reversion as it said it "would be carried out in a manner consistent with the policy of the Japanese Government." This draft was close to the foreign ministry draft that had been presented to Rogers on September 12.

The third draft assumed that no agreement had been reached over removing the nuclear weapons from Okinawa and merely listed each government's positions.

Kosugi and Kusuda made minor adjustments to Tōgō's drafts and then handed them to Satō once Kusuda had created a fair copy of each. Satō showed these to Wakaizumi unchanged. In other words, the three drafts that Wakaizumi received from Satō were the Tōgō drafts as slightly modified by Kosugi and Kusuda.

Satō hid the fact that he had entrusted these three drafts to Wakaizumi from not only Aichi and the foreign ministry but from his secretaries as well. Even Kusuda, his close confidante, only learned after the Satō-Nixon talks in November that the drafts on which he had worked with Kosugi had been used for back channel negotiations.

It is especially important that the foreign ministry had notified the Kantei that the Americans had made a request for a "secret agreement on nuclear weapons."

First North American Section Chief Chiba Kazuo was another foreign ministry official who provided information on America to the prime minister’s secretaries in the Kantei. According to Chiba’s conversation with Kusuda on September 17, the Department of Defense (led by Defense Secretary Laird) and the US military were opposed to a nuclear-free reversion of Okinawa. They had proposed that secret arrangements be made as they did not want to lose their ability to launch attacks on Vietnam from Okinawa.

Satō was thus also aware of the American request for a secret agreement through foreign ministry channels, although he did not inform the ministry or his secretaries of the request made through Wakaizumi’s back channel. Kusuda and Wakaizumi trusted one another, but Kusuda made a point of not attending any of Satō’s discussions with Wakaizumi and did not ask what they involved.

Under Satō, the Kantei operated under a system in which information and authority were concentrated in the figure of the prime minister. And he did not share information and directives related to Wakaizumi’s efforts with the foreign ministry. Aside from a single introduction of Wakaizumi to Aichi, Satō did not reveal the existence of a secret envoy to the foreign ministry and kept the two completely separate from one another. It is undeniable that this two-dimensional diplomacy contributed to the nuclear secret agreement and the errors in the English text for Draft B. And unlike the Cabinet Office on External Affairs created during the Nakasone government in the 1980s or the current National Security Council created by Abe Shinzō, an extremely major element of Satō’s Kantei diplomacy was that it was maintained by individual figures like Wakaizumi and Kusuda.

The price of the “Nuclear Secret Agreement” – Wakaizumi and Kissinger’s scenario

So how is it that Drafts A and B for Article 8 of the joint statement were created? Wakaizumi traveled to America to meet with Kissinger from November 10 to 12, 1969. He had created a draft of the Agreed Minute on the emergency reintroduction of nuclear weapons and now worked with Kissinger to adjust it. As they did so, the wording conformed to Wakaizumi’s position and used “prior consultation” rather than “prior notice.”

As mentioned earlier, Wakaizumi showed Kissinger all five drafts for Article 8 (three he had received from Satō and two of his own) at this time. After examining them, Kissinger accepted Draft 3 (Satō’s second draft), which included the phrase “without prejudice to the position [of the United States Government] with respect to the prior consultation system under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.”

This could be considered the moment in which it was effectively decided that a nuclear-free reversion would occur. The US had always intended to ultimately recognize such a reversion, and as such, its focus had been on obtaining advantageous conditions for the free use of its bases on Okinawa, the reintroduction of nuclear weapons, and the textile issue. It is likely that Kissinger did not choose

Draft 5 (Satō's third draft and the one that most favored the United States) because of this intent to agree to a nuclear-free reversion.

Wakaizumi and Kissinger contrived a theatrical scenario designed to result in the adoption of Draft 3 at the summit: first, Satō would show Nixon Draft 2 (which had been written by Wakaizumi) rather than Draft 3. This draft was more favorable to Japan as it was the same text but with the phrase "without prejudice to the position [of the United States Government] with respect to the prior consultation system under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security" removed.

The idea was that Nixon would read Draft 2 and then seek to have the prior consultation system taken into account. At that point Satō would present Draft 3, and they would reach an agreement. Wakaizumi and Kissinger dubbed Draft 2 and Draft 3 Draft A and Draft B respectively.

In other words:

- 1 Satō shows Draft A (Draft 2, Wakaizumi's modified version of Satō's second draft).
- 2 Nixon requests additional consideration of the prior consultation system.
- 3 Satō shows Draft B (Draft 3, Satō's second draft).
- 4 The two leaders agree.

Kissinger also "briefly showed" Wakaizumi the State Department's draft of the clause at this meeting. This text (which claimed to be "close to the proposal that [the Japanese] foreign ministry had made to the United States in September") read: "The President . . . said that he understood that he would receive the agreement of the Japanese Government [over the reintroduction of nuclear weapons into Okinawa.] The Prime Minister expressed his approval of this understanding."

Under this phrasing, Japan would be unable to refuse the introduction of nuclear weapons. Wakaizumi flatly rejected it, saying, "Is this a joke?" The "proposal that [the Japanese] foreign ministry had made to the United States in September" had essentially been the same as Draft B. Wakaizumi had the State draft withdrawn and reached an agreement with Kissinger on Satō's second draft (Draft B).

As was discussed earlier, while Satō's second draft contained formalistic errors, it was essentially the same as the foreign ministry's final draft in terms of its content. As such it could thus be said that Wakaizumi had succeeded in having the foreign ministry's draft adopted.

But this was only true for the joint statement that would be made public. Wakaizumi had personally proposed the formula for an agreed minute that would eviscerate the joint statement's nuclear clause. That this was combined with public assurances of "denuclearization and equality with the mainland" would cast a shadow over the reversion of Okinawa. Setting aside the specific contents of the Agreed Minute, the greatest price that would be paid for this was the deception of the public – especially the people of Okinawa – and the earning of their distrust.

But while this is worthy of condemnation, it would not be fair to blame Wakaizumi alone. Satō had provided only ambiguous instructions concerning the Agreed Minute. Wakaizumi wrote the following about the "sense of isolation" he felt:

It was truly hard. Even though this vital document was to be drafted in English, I had almost nothing in the way of reliable reference materials to use and I couldn't consult with anyone. Because I had been told "I'm leaving it all to you, please work it out," I keenly felt the weight of the responsibility that had been put on me and was continually tormented by feelings of dread and isolation.

As I wrote, I couldn't help but pray that no situation would come to pass where this scrap of paper would really have meaning. I repeatedly put down my pen and closed my eyes.

When Wakaizumi returned home and reported to Satō on November 15 that it had been decided to use Draft B in the joint statement, Satō's eyes sparkled. He said, "It is already a great success, having achieved just this." As has been mentioned multiple times, while Draft B was based off of Tōgō's second personal draft, it differed slightly from the final foreign ministry draft, and there were errors in the English text.

Satō then carefully read over the Agreed Minute and said, "This is fine." He had thus accepted the "secret agreement on nuclear weapons." Wakaizumi explained that it would be signed in a small room next to the Oval Office.

While Kusuda had quietly let Wakaizumi into the Kantei that day, he was not present at the meeting between Satō and Wakaizumi. And the two men's private discussion was not leaked to the foreign ministry or anywhere else. Not even Aichi was aware of Draft B. It was the Kantei-driven framework that, supported by Kusuda, existed during the third phase of S-Operation that made this possible.

On the other hand, Satō was unenthusiastic about the textile issue and did not even look at Wakaizumi's notes on it. Textiles were a difficult issue to resolve, even for someone with MITI experience like Satō. But he did not work with MITI Minister Ōhira or MITI officials on the issue as he wanted to avoid the criticism that he had "bought rope with threads" (that is, that he had made an improper compromise on textiles in order to secure the reversion of Okinawa). This expression was derived from the fact that the word Okinawa, when written in Japanese, includes the word "rope." Both the Japanese textile industry and the media were critical of any deal being struck over textiles.

This could be regarded as a topic on which Satō prioritized domestic political logic over foreign affairs. Had he accepted Nixon's unreasonable request that Japan voluntarily restrict its textile exports, there would inevitably have been a backlash from MITI, the textile industry, and the Diet. But in the realm of international politics, it is essential to have something of appropriate value with which to barter if you hope to use diplomacy to recover former territory taken in war. Satō should have put more effort into the textile issue from the very beginning.

It would be difficult to say that Satō's Kantei functioned systematically during the negotiations over textiles and the reversion of Okinawa. Key figures like Kusuda and Wakaizumi did not share information with one another, and Kosugi was not involved in the English translation of Satō's drafts. This Kantei-driven framework can be regarded as having encouraged not only Satō's secrecy but also Wakaizumi's acting independently.

The balance sheet for Kantei-led diplomacy – the shell of the prior consultation system

The reversion of Okinawa was unquestionably Satō's greatest accomplishment. But even acknowledging that, how should his frequent use of Wakaizumi be regarded? His initial intention may have been to use Wakaizumi to obtain information, but contrary to that intent, Wakaizumi was used by America as they thrust their demand for a secret agreement onto him. Wakaizumi's role should be reviewed, including later developments.

Let us begin with the American situation. Nixon and Kissinger favored covert diplomacy, and this led to a fall in status for the State Department and Secretary of State Rogers. This made it difficult for Aichi and the foreign ministry to adequately fulfill their roles as their counterparts. Nixon and Kissinger's preference for covert diplomacy was not Satō's only reason for using Wakaizumi, however, as he had been operating behind the scenes since the Johnson administration. Satō's poor relations with Foreign Minister Miki was one reason why he had used Wakaizumi to deal with Johnson.

Even following the Satō-Nixon joint statement and the Agreed Minute, he continued to use Wakaizumi as an envoy in the still unresolved negotiations over textiles. These did not go well, however. It would ultimately be Tanaka who resolved the textiles issues after moving from the position of secretary-general to MITI minister. And as will be discussed in the following chapter, Satō would make use of Eguchi Mahiko, a figure of unknown background, as a secret envoy in his attempts to make contact with China. Satō has to be regarded as having been heavily disposed toward using "informal actors" as he relied upon them when approaching three important matters: Okinawa, textiles, and China.

It was the Kantei-driven brain trust politics of the Satō-Kusuda system that made this possible. In Kantei-led diplomacy, it is easy for the prime minister to exercise initiative. But the downsides of Satō's reliance upon secret envoys for Okinawa, textiles, and China can be regarded as outweighing the positives in each case.

Satō's decision to make heavy use of Wakaizumi even though he was receiving information from the foreign ministry was likely the result of a desire to prevent any information carrying a high political risk from leaking. Had the secret agreement been discovered in that era of factional politics, it could have meant the end of his political career. He did not even inform Tanaka, his successor as prime minister, about the agreement. This secrecy was not unique to Satō, of course; the

details of the Ōhira-Reischauer talks held during the Ikeda government had not been turned over to Satō when he took office. But even so, the extent to which Satō engaged in secrecy and two-dimensional diplomacy stands out.

Setting aside factional politics, it seems likely that Satō's excessive secrecy was related to past difficult experiences in his life. His removal from the mainstream of the Ministry of Railways for saying what he thought was right and his narrow escape during the shipbuilding scandal were formative events for him. His character formed from an early age can also be added to this. He had long had a tendency to hold his true feelings close to his chest and been tormented by feelings of inadequacy toward his older brothers.

Wakaizumi wrote the following on Satō's character:

internally, I frequently found something lacking in Satō's attitude. It was a marked contrast from the quick, concise, clear, and logical responses of Kishi Nobusuke and Fukuda Takeo. This likely came from his character of being unusually cautious concerning misunderstandings and leaks. He was guarded about everything and wary to the point of cowardice.

He found Satō "indecisive" and prone to ambiguity on the textile issue as well.

From the perspective of "sharp-eared Eisaku," Wakaizumi was initially nothing more than a pawn to be used to collect information. But due to his monopoly on access to Kissinger, Wakaizumi gradually rose to become the central figure of the back channel. This elevation occurred gradually; rather than having a definite strategy, Satō would often just passively respond to the American requests delivered through Wakaizumi.

There were also other problems. Aware of Satō's intentions, the foreign ministry had sought to eliminate the Korea Minutes, the secret agreement dating from the revision of the security treaty. But not only did America – viewing free use of all its Japanese bases as important (not just those in Okinawa) – not agree to get rid of the Korea Minutes, it sought through foreign ministry channels to have unilateral statements by Japan added to the joint statement as it viewed it as inadequate regarding America's authority to use its bases.

The result was the inclusion of the phrases "the security of the Republic of Korea was essential to Japan's own security" and "the maintenance of peace and security in the Taiwan area was also a most important factor for the security of Japan" in Article 4 of the joint statement and Satō's statement following a November 21 press conference at the National Press Club that "the Government of Japan [will] decide its position positively and promptly" if prior consultation was requested during an emergency in Korea. This speech had been drafted by the foreign ministry's American Bureau and checked by the Treaties Bureau.

In other words, the implication was that even if the pretense of prior consultation (rather than mere prior notice) had been maintained, in the event of an emergency in Korea (the most likely such scenario), Japan would approach those consultations from the position of doing all it could to say "Yes." While the Korea

Minutes were still in place, the foreign ministry's intention behind the National Press Club speech had been to render them irrelevant.

It is thus unlikely that the foreign ministry would have accepted the Agreed Minute that Satō signed and Wakaizumi would later make public. The ministry had prepared draft minutes of its own on the reintroduction of nuclear weapons into Okinawa. But as was mentioned earlier, these only held that such reintroduction would be examined in light of "the contemporary circumstances"; they were not a pledge along the lines of the Agreed Minute.

There was no coordination among the Japanese. The National Press Club speech had been written by the foreign ministry, the Agreed Minute was the work of a secret envoy, and the negotiations over the nuclear clause of the joint statement had involved a mixture of Wakaizumi's personal drafts and unfinished versions from the foreign ministry. Satō's preference for secrecy and the use of the "politics of waiting" have to be considered the root of this.

While Satō's governance during the third phase of S-Operation was Kantei-led, it was also to an extent disorganized given that Satō had secretly adopted a back channel and had Wakaizumi and the foreign ministry acting independently of one another. And perhaps more concessions were made than was necessary given that both Wakaizumi and the foreign ministry responded to American demands: the foreign ministry in the National Press Club speech and Wakaizumi in the Agreed Minute. The result was that the prior consultation system (already of questionable functionality) was hollowed out even further and the situations in which America's bases in Japan could be used freely seemed to have expanded.

America achieved its initial goal of emasculating the prior consultation system. The feeling cannot be denied that, even taking into account the difficulty of using diplomacy to regain territory lost in a war, America played its hand better. This can likely be considered to have shown the limits of using a secret envoy outside of foreign ministry channels and, by extension, the limits of Satō's politics. The Kantei-led diplomacy used to achieve the reversion of Okinawa has not become a model for later diplomatic efforts. If there are lessons to be taken from the reversion of Okinawa, they are just the simple facts that two-dimensional diplomacy has seriously harmful effects and that excessive secrecy can cause one to be forsaken by the public.

America had desired the free use of its bases in Okinawa ever since the Eisenhower administration. And while Nixon and Kissinger were also known for their use of secrecy, there was still communication between the State Department and the military. Under Secretary of State Johnson (the former ambassador to Japan) was told about Wakaizumi by Kissinger.

Even if the successful securing of the phrase "within a few years" during the Johnson administration can be considered Wakaizumi's achievement, was it necessary for Satō to make such heavy use of him during the Nixon administration as well, given that it resulted in Satō being nearly forced into accepting a secret agreement on nuclear weapons? Had there been no other way? This is the point of Satō's life on which I have the most doubts. I would like to examine that question next.

Was there no other way?

As I repeatedly read Wakaizumi's book *I Want to Believe There Was No Other Policy Option*, I was given the impression that Okinawa would not have been returned if no secret agreement had been reached on nuclear weapons. The title of the book is a reference to the line "I would like to believe that there was no other policy option [that would have been found], no matter how many men had been had been put on the matter at the time" from the book *Kenkenroku* by Mutsu Munemitsu (Japan's foreign minister during the First Sino-Japanese War). Wakaizumi may well have thought "if I can enable a nuclear-free reversion of Okinawa with one top secret scrap of paper, so be it." While the title seems like an attempt to manipulate the feelings of the reader, I have no intention of harboring doubts about his passion.

So, was the secret agreement on nuclear weapons truly unavoidable? Had there been no other option? While this is nothing more than a historical "What if?" there seems to have been other policies that could have been tried.

The Satō-Nixon talks were held over the course of three days, from November 19th to the 21st, with the deliberations on Okinawa held on the first day. Had the leaders failed to reach an agreement here, it seems likely that Satō would have rethought his approach (such as with the foreign ministry's "draft minute") and offered a compromise proposal on the following day.

Those backing up Satō in Washington, including American Bureau Director Tōgō and Ambassador Shimoda, were knowledgeable and experienced in a vast array of areas; they clearly surpassed Wakaizumi. The "draft minute" shows that even if another document had had to be created that would have been understood by the Americans in a manner similar to the Agreed Minute, it would have avoided the direct, indisputable language that Wakaizumi used. Foreign ministry officials were masters of choosing the right wording, and even if this document had been discovered, there's no question that they would have used all their knowledge to explain it to the Japanese public and protect Satō.

If Nixon had submitted a draft in response, it likely would have been the State Department draft that Kissinger "briefly showed" Wakaizumi on November 11. This draft, which had originally been readied as a counter-proposal to the Japanese draft of the joint statement's nuclear clause, read "The President . . . said that he understood that he would receive the agreement of the Japanese Government [over the reintroduction of nuclear weapons into Okinawa]. The Prime Minister expressed his approval of this understanding."

But the contents of this draft were so beyond acceptable that even Wakaizumi flatly rejected it. Would Nixon really have brought it out at such a final, critical moment? He would have had to have realized that there was a significant possibility that Satō would reject it and the talks would break down. Nixon may have been a strategist, but would he not have avoided risking having the talks end without any agreement having been reached and without Okinawa being returned to his ally?

One thing that can be said for the sake of Wakaizumi's honor is that had he not accepted the secret agreement, the State Department would likely have shown its

draft to the foreign ministry prior to the Satō-Nixon talks, and there's a non-zero chance that the advance negotiations between the two would have had difficulty moving forward.

However, when Foreign Minister Aichi met Secretary Rogers on September 12, Rogers said that "two topics I always avoid are the future of Jerusalem and nuclear weapons in Okinawa." He also said that he had "still never spoken at length with the president about nuclear weapons."

It was on November 11 that Kissinger "briefly showed" the State Department draft to Wakaizumi – six days before Satō's departure from Japan. Would America really have put forward a plan so unacceptable to Japan immediately before the talks were going to start? It certainly feels like a bluff.

Had the State Department draft been brought forward at that time, it is likely that the Japanese would have rejected it outright; even if they did not, they would have shown strong reluctance and left the final decision for the talks. And in that case, Satō would have again presented the foreign ministry draft of the joint statement's nuclear clause on the first day of talks. If an agreement could not be reached on the basis of that draft, he would have put forward a compromise plan based on the foreign ministry's "draft minute" the next day.

That would have meant that Satō faced high-risk talks, ones that might not be able to produce a joint statement. But the same would have been true of Nixon. Even if the State Department draft had been provided to the Japanese in advance, it would have been deferred to the talks where it would have then fallen to Nixon to make the final decision for the Americans.

From Nixon's perspective, failing to return Okinawa despite the Johnson administration's promise that an agreement would be reached "within a few years" would inevitably enflame the anti-American nationalist sentiment in Japan that had already repeatedly attempted to prevent Satō's foreign trips and even led to deaths.

If that happened, the operations of American bases throughout Japan (not just Okinawa) could have been hampered. Already in January 1968, student demonstrators and labor unions from across the country had gathered in Sasebo and clashed with police when the American nuclear aircraft carrier *USS Enterprise* had entered port, causing hundreds of injuries.

Rather than take that risk, would not Nixon have had no choice but to adopt the Japanese draft as the basis for the joint statement's nuclear clause? Even if the draft minutes were not as explicit as the Agreed Minute, they still offered a certain degree of assurance on free usage.

I would like to present circumstantial evidence that "other policy options" were possible.

The guidelines for America's negotiations with Japan were decided on May 28, 1969 (six months before the issuing of the joint statement). They focused on the free usage of American military bases in Japan. It had already been decided that the US would agree to remove the nuclear weapons on Okinawa during the final stage of negotiations in exchange for the right to reintroduce them in an emergency. These guidelines were laid out in *National Security Decision Memorandum 13, Policy Toward Japan*.

In other words, the removal of the nuclear weapons on Okinawa was an expected concession, but one that would not be made clear for as long as possible so that it could be used as a bargaining chip. Satō had failed to adequately perceive that America placed more importance on the free use of its bases throughout Japan than on the removal of its nuclear weapons.

November 20, the second day of the talks, was intended for discussion of the textile issue. It is likely that Nixon would have become quite anxious if that topic had had to be put on hold because the Okinawa issue had stretched into the second day. He had publicly promised to resolve the textile issue, making it unlikely that he could have broken off the talks with Satō. In that sense, Satō should have put more thought into how to finally resolve the textile issue so as to have had a potential bargaining chip in his negotiations with the US.

The fragility of back channels

It was in 1979, four years after Satō's death, that references to a "Mr. Yoshida" appeared in Kissinger's memoirs. This was Wakaizumi's codename. Kissinger recorded many of his phone calls, including some with Wakaizumi. These recordings are known as the Kissinger Telecons.

For his part, Wakaizumi published his book in 1994 and thereby made the secret agreement on nuclear weapons public. While he had promised Satō that he would keep his actions secret, he stated in the book that he wished his "testimony to become a part of history" and swore that "I hereby take the stand of my own free will before the court of the world." He then exposed the details of the nuclear secret agreement.

But I could not sympathize with the conclusion of the book in which he criticized Japanese society as a "fool's paradise" and advocated for "true bushido." Whatever his motive for revealing his actions, there is no way of knowing when Wakaizumi had his change of heart. I could not help but notice how fragile the back channel that Satō had relied upon had been.

The existence of a "secret envoy" had been known in academic circles even before the publication of Kissinger's memoirs. The American Brookings Institute conducted joint research in the early 1970s, and Fukui Haruhiro, one of its members and an associate professor at the University of California, published an article titled "The Negotiations over the Reversion of Okinawa: The Japanese Government's Decision Making Process" in the journal *Kokusai Seiji* in 1975. Wakaizumi's name did not appear in Fukui's article, but he did analyze the "secret negotiations" between Kissinger and a "secret envoy," calling the decision-making model used in the reversion of Okinawa an "emergency type."

What happened to the original Japanese copy of the Agreed Minute, the nuclear secret agreement? Satō never showed Wakaizumi the signed copy, only telling him that he had "dealt with it properly." Despite having trusted Wakaizumi with so much, Satō mislead him here by saying that he had "dealt with" the original copy. How typical of the secretive Satō. Wakaizumi likely understood this to mean that Satō had destroyed it, which is also what many researchers and

other involved figures believed. But he had actually hidden it in his desk at his home.

And oddly, when Wakaizumi visited the Satō home in the 1980s long after Satō's death, Satō's family (including Hiroko) showed him Satō's journal and allowed him to make copies but concealed the existence of the original copy of the Agreed Minute. Wakaizumi quotes from Satō's journal numerous times in his book.

Following the reversion of Okinawa, Wakaizumi had requested that Kusuda "Keep your involvement in the Okinawa issue a secret for the rest of your life," telling him, "I want you to take it to your grave." Kusuda swore to do so. He wrote in 1996 that when he was informed by Wakaizumi about the publication of his book, it was "absolutely the first time I had heard about the [Agreed Minute]" and that "I don't think the Japanese have a copy."

As cited on page 185, the original copy of the Agreed Minute was revealed to the world in the December 22, 2009, evening edition of the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. The LDP had entered the opposition with the beginning of a Democratic Party government and Satō Shinji, Satō's second son and a former MITI minister, had boldly decided to make the document public.

Had there actually been an emergency situation in the Far East during this period and a dispute had arisen over the secret agreement, US-Japan relations and the populations of both nations could have become mired in confusion and distrust. The political connotations of reintroducing nuclear weapons by actually going through the prior consultation system were very different from those of reintroducing them through the Agreed Minute, a secret agreement arranged in advance that Satō had concealed.

Since the prime ministers, foreign ministers, foreign ministries, and defense agencies that followed the Satō government never laid eyes on the original copy of the Agreed Minute, they had been unable to corroborate the existence of the secret agreement even after Wakaizumi had revealed it. And foreign ministry officials, having been excluded from the negotiations over the agreement despite it being within their purview, would likely have actually been driven by a desire to deny that any such agreement existed.

As such, the secret agreement was not part of the Japanese government's institutional memory. As Wakaizumi arranged for Kissinger to approve Satō's second draft (which was close to the foreign ministry draft), he and the foreign ministry had, in a way, played complementary roles. But because his negotiations had been conducted in secrecy, it was difficult for many foreign ministry officials to believe that the supposed secret agreement actually existed.

There were an exceedingly small number of figures involved with the ministry who were aware that the Agreed Minute was in the Satō home, however. When his family had first discovered it hidden in the desk of his study, they had consulted with people affiliated with the foreign ministry and said they wanted it placed within the ministry's archives. But because this offer was rejected on the grounds that it was "a personal rather than an official document," it remained within the Satō home. This sequence of events makes one suspect that there are problems with the way that the ministry manages official documents.

The legacy of the "Nuclear Secret Agreement"

In the nearly fifty years since Satō signed the Agreed Minute, the issue of reintroducing nuclear weapons into Okinawa has not actually become an issue in US-Japan relations. But this can be largely attributed to a strategic shift on the part of the United States – the loading of SLBMs (submarine-launched ballistic missiles) onto Polaris submarines – rather than to the adroitness of Satō's diplomacy. As these missiles had a greater range than the Mace B missiles deployed on Okinawa, its strategic value for the storage of nuclear weapons was reduced accordingly.

But does that mean that the secret agreement had no actual political significance? Kuriyama Takakazu, an investigator for the foreign ministry's Treaty Bureau, went through Kissinger's memories after the master copy of the Agreed Minute was made public. He argued that "Kissinger writes that the [Agreed Minute] is of no significance for the nuclear weapon introduction issue. I think that is absolutely correct."

Certainly, the secret agreement had been primarily intended for use in convincing domestic American groups like the military to accept a denuclearized reversion. It would have likely been difficult for the United States to actually reintroduce nuclear weapons into Okinawa solely on the basis of an undisclosed secret agreement.

At the same time, it is also true that there was some precedent for this. During the Ikeda government, Ambassador Reischauer pushed Foreign Minister Ōhira to accept the interpretation that the entry of US ships carrying nuclear weapons into Japanese ports was beyond the scope of prior consultation on the basis of a confidential discussion between Foreign Minister Fujiyama and Ambassador MacArthur during the Kishi government.

And it can be surmised from the 1974 La Rocque testimony and a statement by Reischauer in 1981 that American vessels carrying nuclear weapons had visited ports on the Japanese mainland. Gene La Rocque, a retired US Navy admiral, testified before Congress that American warships did not offload their nuclear weapons before entering Japanese ports. Reischauer's statement said that this was permitted due to a confidential oral statement between the two countries.

The US-Japanese relationship was based on the trust of the Japanese people, and there is no question that the discovery of the secret agreement on nuclear weapons shook that trust (particularly for the residents of Okinawa). In that sense, the agreement can be regarded as having left a negative legacy for US-Japan relations and both countries' policies toward East Asia.

Ōta Masahide, Okinawa's governor at the time of the publication of Wakaizumi's book, later wrote the following:

I was governor at the time and took the great shock that the people of the prefecture had received and their new uneasiness very seriously. I wrote a letter to Professor Wakaizumi asking for clarification, but he replied that "I have given a full account of everything related to this matter in my book. I have absolutely nothing more with which to supplement or explain that account."

For the leaders of the Japanese and American governments to unilaterally decide this kind of major issue in the utmost secrecy without first asking the opinion of the most involved party, the people who will be effected to an unfathomable degree by their decision . . . it means that the fate of the Okinawan people are in the grasp of a baffling "hand of darkness." Can we really call this a democratic state?

Also, Higa Mikio, a professor at Ryukyu University and a former deputy governor of Okinawa, said this:

As we have come to learn about secret agreements on the introduction of nuclear weapons, the Japanese assumption of costs for US military expenses, and the like, I have come to suspect that the Satō visit [to Okinawa in 1965] was part of the policy of "showing discrimination towards and demanding sacrifice" from Okinawa. . . .

I can only think that it shows a lack of understanding of the perceptions, feelings, and values of the Okinawan people who were released from the lengthy American military administration. I think that it would have been better if Satō had had the courage [during his 1965 visit] to accept the petition of the protesters' representatives rather than taking refuge within an American military base. I strongly suspect that Okinawa was used a tool in US-Japanese diplomacy.

At the same time, there is also an influential interpretation that the Agreed Minute did not amount to a secret agreement on nuclear weapons. This was the finding of an expert committee formed by the foreign ministry for its March 9, 2010, report. This finding was based on the fact that Satō had kept the document among his private possessions and not passed it on to the Tanaka government and the extent to which its contents greatly exceeded the text of Article 8 of the joint statement. I remember feeling that the committee's findings were rather surprising.

This is because Foreign Minister Aichi had explained to the press corps on November 21, 1969, that "all of the results of the discussion between the two leaders have been included in the joint statement; there have been absolutely no secret understandings of any sort." He also said that while the statement included the clause "without prejudice to the position of the United States Government with respect to the prior consultation system," the Japanese had "given no guarantees that we will permit the 'emergency reintroduction [of nuclear weapons].'"

The American press briefing was given by Under Secretary of State Johnson. He stated that while America had not exercised its right to store nuclear weapons following the reversion, it had retained its right to deliberate with Japan "during exceptional situations." Japan, he explained, "can decide to either say 'Yes' or 'No'" during these deliberations. But as will be discussed on page 209, Johnson would testify before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that Japan was inclined to say "Yes."

While the joint statement held that it was possible for the reintroduction of nuclear weapons to be either accepted or rejected, the Agreed Minute took it as a

given that it would be accepted. It even went so far as to explicitly name bases: "the United States also requires the standby retention and activation in great emergency of existing nuclear storage locations in Okinawa: Kadena, Naha, Henoko, and Nike Hercules units." The natural interpretation would seem to be that a secret agreement was in effect, at least during the Satō government.

Foreign Minister Okada Katsuya would announce at a June 15, 2010, press conference that both the Japanese and American governments recognized that both the Korea Minutes (the understanding dating from the revision of the security treaty that American forces stationed in Japan could be used during an emergency in Korea without engaging in prior consultation) and the Agreed Minute were "no longer in effect." The Obama administration was in place in America at the time.

But if Okada's statement was accurate, when did these two secret agreements go out of effect? Because of the American policy to NCND (neither confirm nor deny) the presence of nuclear weapons on a given ship or plane, it is difficult to ascertain when this could have happened. However, because Okada said that port visits "would not become an actual issue" and America stopped carrying nuclear weapons on surface vessels in 1992, it could be interpreted as having happened at that time.

Some doubts remain about the nullification of the Korea Minutes, however. Okada said that he had told the US government that Japan would give an "appropriate and rapid response" if it requested prior consultation on the use of American military forces in Japan during an emergency in Korea. But will the prior consultation entered into during such a situation effectively just be "prior notification," as Wakaizumi had tried to avoid?

We should not completely reject the role of informal actors like Wakaizumi. While he did not act as a secret envoy, the Tanaka government that replaced Satō also dispatched Komeitō Chairman Takeiri Yoshikatsu to Beijing to meet with Premier Zhou Enlai. These represented the first steps toward the normalization of relations between Japan and China. Unlike with the efforts under the Satō government, however, Tanaka did not involve Takeiri in the actual substance of his negotiations. He also had Foreign Minister Ōhira and the foreign ministry examine the memos that Takeiri brought back from China, and he rejected the Chinese efforts aimed at reaching a "tacit understanding" over Taiwan.

6 2,797 days

The third Satō government, longest and undefeatable

The 300-seat Shiwasu election

Making it certain that the reversion of Okinawa was going to happen was the greatest accomplishment of the Satō government, even if there were more than a few problems with how that was done. On the night of November 20, 1969, the day after the agreement over reversion had been reached, Satō attended a reception hosted by Ambassador Shimoda. He spoke to Takeshita Noboru during the banquet and told him to “accompany him to the second floor as he was going to take a short break.” Takeshita held no position in the cabinet at this point but had served as deputy chief cabinet secretary during Satō’s first cabinet.

Sitting down, Satō directed Takeshita to “contact Chief Cabinet Secretary Hori. I’m going to call and then dissolve the Diet when I get back.” Takeshita wrote about how he viewed Satō at the time:

I was twenty-three years younger than him and he was just a massive figure in my eyes. It was just like looking up at a mountain.

He was always a strict and fearsome leader, but he also possessed great kindness and a warm heart. . . .

I can still remember it clearly, watching the always principled and cautious prime minister make that decision as leader of the nation [to dissolve the Diet and call an election] before my very eyes that night. I was surprised inside and also filled with a tension for a moment as I thought, “so this is what politics really is.”

Before departing for America, Satō had sounded out Hori, LDP Vice President Kawashima, and Secretary-General Tanaka about the possibility of dissolving the Diet and calling for an election. With the reversion of Okinawa certain, he immediately decided to do it.

In the December 27 “Shiwasu election” (“Shiwasu” being the traditional Japanese name for the twelfth month of the year), the LDP won a massive victory of 300 seats (including those who were unaffiliated during the election but joined the party afterward). Satō personally received 96,979 votes, a new record for him. The Socialists won only ninety seats, a drop of forty-four from their pre-election total.

Satō returned to Hiroko a chubbier man following the election, having eaten everything put in front of him while on the campaign trail. As his usual diet was mostly vegetables, Hiroko questioned him on the change: “What happened!? Why can’t you take care of yourself? You’re always so prudent about other things [this was said with some sarcasm].”

A dejected Satō annoyed her by answering like a child: “What? I ate it because it was delicious.”

The Osaka expo – Satō’s third government

Satō began his third government on January 14, 1970. Foreign Minister Aichi and Finance Minister Fukuda were among those who remained in their position while the post of MITI minister passed from Ōhira to Miyazawa. Satō had high regard for Miyazawa’s skill at public relations and expected him to help resolve the tensions with America over textiles. Another notable appointment at this time was the choice of Nakasone, an expert on defense policy, as director general of the Defense Agency. This was done with an eye toward the post-reversion situation.

Tanaka continued to serve as secretary-general. Satō had planned to give the position to Fukuda as he intended for Fukuda to succeed him as party president. But with Tanaka having just led the party to such a great electoral victory, it was impossible to replace him.

Following the first cabinet meeting of his new government, Satō announced that “the trust that the people have shown us in this general election has renewed our determination to govern this nation with sincerity and honesty as we strive to make this a wealthy society.” Focusing on individual issues, he also said that “as we work to resolve the long-standing issues remaining from the 1960s, including those affecting commodity prices, education, agriculture, and our cities, we will strive all the more towards social development rooted in the spirit of respect for humanity.”

For Satō, 1970 was a year in which he could run his administration with plenty of breathing room. The LDP had a stable majority in the Diet, and the reversion of Okinawa, his dream, had been promised. The US-Japan security treaty was automatically extended on June 23, and he appointed himself the head of the Central Pollution Control Headquarters that the cabinet created on July 31. This body was under the direct control of the cabinet and promoted antipollution measures in coordination with other governmental bodies.

There were also undesirable events during this period, of course. Nine members of the Red Army Faction hijacked Japan Airlines Flight 351 on March 31. After Parliamentary Vice-Minister of Transport Yasamura Shinjirō exchanged himself for the hostages at Gimpo Airport outside Seoul, the hijackers defected to North Korea. Satō had directed Transport Minister Hashimoto Tomisaburō to show respect for human life during this incident. The passengers of the flight later sent Satō a telegram that read, “We thank you from the bottom of our hearts for the great cooperation and support you provided.”

The trend toward reformist local governments continued (as shown in the accompanying chart). On April 12, Ninagawa Torazō was elected as governor of Kyoto for the sixth time with the backing of the Socialist and Communist parties, defeating an LDP candidate.

The Osaka Expo was likely the most striking event of 1970. The first international exposition to be held in Asia, the Expo was visited by 64,220,000 people during the period from March 15 to September 13. Satō said during his welcoming speech at the opening ceremony held on March 14 that “as the first exposition of the 1970s, a time when humanity is attempting to achieve great change, this has enormous significance for the history of civilization.”

Satō’s words seemed to take pride that Japan, having long absorbed Western European civilization, had achieved its own original development and become strong enough to play a role within the international community. This must have been a profound moment for the generation who had survived the horrors of the war.

It is possible that – had Satō been unable to finalize the details for the reversion of Okinawa in 1969 – the New Left would have joined together to oppose the 1970 renewal of the security treaty, leading to unforeseen difficulties. With the automatic extension of the security treaty and the celebration of the Osaka Expo, it seems fair to consider Satō as having surpassed Kishi.

Satō invited many important figures to the Expo as his guests, and his meetings with them at the Kantei sometimes went beyond mere formalities. In particular, South Korean Prime Minister Chung Il-kwon and Ambassador Lee Hu-rak visited on May 21 to make an impassioned appeal for economic cooperation between the two countries and for improvement of the situation for permanent Korean residents in Japan. Satō avoided giving a clear answer, only saying that “You can take pride in your nation’s growth. . . . You needn’t worry too much. South Korea will become a wonderful country.”

Satō’s fourth term as LDP president – carelessness invited by overwhelming victory

Satō’s position of superiority within the LDP was unassailable. He was reelected as president at the October 29, 1970, party convention, becoming the first person in the history of the LDP to gain a fourth term as president. His sole opponent in the election was Miki, who he easily defeated.

The Maeo and Fukuda factions seem to have realized that they had no hope of challenging Satō. They each hoped that by throwing their support to him, he would feel indebted and back them in the next presidential election. As Fukuda was already serving as finance minister, Maeo expected to also receive a major post in the cabinet.

And yet Satō invited Maeo, the man who had provided him with the most support in the election, to the Kantei and informed him that he would be putting off a reorganization of the cabinet. The current ministers were “close to being the best possible members,” he said. Being unable to enter the cabinet was, for Maeo, a betrayal. And to make matters worse, there was a rising group led by Ōhira

within the Maeo faction that sought to replace him. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* argued that “Prime Minister Satō turned things upside-down by postponing his cabinet reshuffle as soon as he won his fourth presidential term.” Satō’s control of the party was strong enough to let him get away with this.

On April 17, 1971, Ōhira succeeded Maeo to become the third president of the Kōchikai. The loss of face that Satō had caused Maeo to suffer had hastened Ōhira’s rise. Ōhira was a long-standing ally of Tanaka and would go on to back him in the final round of the next LDP presidential election, an unfavorable development for Fukuda. But it seems unlikely that even “Satō the human resources expert” could see that far into the future.

Prior to this point, however, Satō had been wary of the combination of Tanaka and Ōhira and had made sure that the two men were never appointed to one of the top three party positions at the same time. He had personally made use of their relationship in seeking to have Ikeda cede the presidency to him and was well aware of how strong their alliance was. Satō had taken a “divide and conquer” approach to the other LDP factions. His basic strategy toward the Kōchikai had been to favor Maeo and Miyazawa and to isolate Ōhira. Should he not have thus made Maeo look good by giving him an important position in the cabinet?

Satō made Maeo lose face and hastened Ōhira’s rise to power in the faction by doing so. Given Ōhira’s superior political acumen and his relationship with Tanaka, it seems likely that Satō would have had an easier time manipulating the faction had Maeo remained its chairman. While this is of course speaking with the benefit of hindsight, Satō’s actions here can be considered careless and due to his overwhelming victory winning his fourth term. Tanaka did maintain a relationship with Maeo as well as Ōhira, however. So, it is perhaps possible that Maeo remaining Kōchikai chairman would not have significantly affected later developments.

In any case, winning a fourth term proved a double-edged blade for Satō. Had he not sought another term, there is a high chance that Finance Minister Fukuda, his desired successor, would have become president in his stead. By instead gaining a fourth term, he increased the power of Secretary-General Tanaka as it had been he who Satō had tapped to run his presidential campaign. From Tanaka’s perspective, this was killing two birds with one stone as it also expanded his support within the party. Tanaka would become the longest-serving LDP secretary-general ever, holding the position for five terms (a total of forty-nine months).

Tanaka did not just immediately become the most dominant candidate in the next presidential election, after all. Notably, his attempt to become Satō’s successor suffered a setback when Vice President Kawashima (an ally of Tanaka who had been at the center of his efforts against Fukuda) suddenly died on November 9. Kawashima was a former member of the Kishi faction who had broken off and formed his own faction when Fukuda had taken over from Kishi. It was also said that there was a conflict within the Kawashima faction between groups led by Akagi and Shiina.

The changing nature of the US-Japan security framework – the Johnson testimony

So, how was the reversion of Okinawa proceeding at this time? While the Satō-Nixon joint statement had determined the broad framework for the reversion, a more detailed agreement (one that laid out, for example, the specific date for the reversion) still needed to be signed. Negotiations between American Bureau Director Tōgō and US Envoy Sneider over this agreement began on January 20, 1970.

But a surprising piece of testimony from Under Secretary of State Johnson became public as these negotiations were still ongoing. This was from Johnson's testimony before closed hearings of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs in late January, but the records of the hearings were only released on August 23.

Johnson's testimony, which can be said to have laid out the price that Japan had paid for the reversion of Okinawa, consisted of four main points.

First, Japan had expressed for the first time that it believed its national security to be tied to that of South Korea and Taiwan. He said that this was, in a sense, "part of the deal when we agreed to return Okinawa."

Second, Johnson testified that America's military bases in Japan (including Okinawa) "are more concerned with fulfilling America's other promises in the region than they are directly related to the defense of Japan" and that "our actions involving the bases on the Japanese mainland are, in theory, expanding."

Third, he stated that Japan would be "inclined to say 'Yes' during prior consultation."

Fourth, he testified that according to Article 4 of the joint statement, "agreement or arrangements will be created between the United States and Japan" that would allow B-52s to be launched freely from Okinawa if the Vietnam War was still ongoing at the time of reversion.

There was a domestic aspect to Johnson's testimony; it came in response to the criticism within the United States that Japan was freeloading when it came to its defense. And as he was thus expressing America's true intentions, the Japanese media interpreted his words as meaning that a path for the reintroduction of nuclear weapons into Okinawa would remain following its reversion. There was also the problem that, had Japan indeed agreed that B-52s would be allowed to freely act from Okinawa, it would contradict the Satō government's claim that it "would not make special arrangements."

Speaking generally, the overall problem was the question of whether or not the reversion of Okinawa had brought about changes to the operation of the US-Japan security treaty (including the prior consultation system). The Satō government had been asserting since the talks with Nixon that no changes had been made to the security framework.

The Johnson testimony, however, asserted that it had become more favorable to America and now nearly allowed the free use of the American bases in Japan. It seemed to support the opposition's claims that "the Japanese mainland was becoming another Okinawa" and that "Japan's security has been transformed."

When they asserted that the Japanese mainland was becoming another Okinawa, they meant that the activities of the American bases on the mainland were expanding (such as by allowing them to be used to launch attacks on Korea).

Satō's only response was to say, "Let us push forwards towards achieving a nuclear-free reversion with equality with the mainland in 1972," at a cabinet meeting on August 25. Two days later, Foreign Minister Aichi maintained before the House of Councillors' Foreign Affairs Committee that there had been no changes to the US-Japan security framework and that "absolutely no documents of agreement had been exchanged between our two countries other than the Joint Statement." The Satō government somehow managed to put out the fire. But the more serious issue of textile negotiations with the US remained.

Nixon's "Disillusionment and Worries" – protracted US-Japan frictions over textiles

Satō gave a speech at the UN on October 21, 1970, shortly before he won his fourth term. The speech covered a wide array of topics including peace in Vietnam, the division of countries like Germany and Korea, the resolution of the Northern Territories issue, economic cooperation with developing nations, and coming to terms with environmental issues.

His assertion that the Japanese constitution "reflects the resolve of our people never again to be visited by the horrors of war, and is a product of the spirit of the age in which the United Nations Charter was born" was particularly notable as it came on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

Satō met with President Nixon in Washington on the 24th while returning home. The friction over textiles remained the greatest outstanding issue between the US and Japan, and the two leaders agreed to reopen their negotiations on the issue. Satō had chosen to serve a fourth term as LDP president not just so that he could oversee the return of Okinawa to its homeland but also because he had an obligation to resolve the textile issue.

Nixon considered Satō to have made a commitment to implement export restrictions on textiles at the November 1969 summit where he had agreed to the reversion of Okinawa. He was dissatisfied that Satō had been slow to deliver. But at the same time, Satō had been mocked within Japan for "buying rope with thread" (i.e., that he had entered into a secret agreement under which he had accepted export restrictions on textiles in exchange for the reversion of Okinawa). This made Satō all the slower in responding to the textile issue as he wanted to avoid the impression of a *quid pro quo*.

The MITI minister was the cabinet minister in charge of the negotiations over textiles. Satō had told MITI Minister Ōhira at the time of the joint statement that there had been no secret agreement over textiles. Because Satō had failed to indicate the direction in which he wanted to go on textiles, Ōhira had been unable to convince the textile industry (which strongly opposed any restrictions on exports). And foreign policy officials also had only a vague sense of what commitments Satō had made on the issue.

Despite this, Satō was indeed sincere in his intention to resolve the textile issues in a way entirely separate from Okinawa. His choice of Miyazawa to succeed Ōhira at MITI when he launched his third cabinet on January 14, 1970, was an indication of this.

Satō met with Ambassador Meyer on January 29 and told him that “we are not attempting to procrastinate on the textile issue. MITI Minister Miyazawa is currently working to convince each business leader individually.” In June, Miyazawa proposed a one-year restriction on exports in Washington. These talks stalled when Commerce Secretary Stans countered with a demand for a five-year restriction.

After the topic resurfaced at Satō’s meeting with Nixon in October 1970, new negotiations began, this time between Japanese Ambassador to the US Ushiba Nobuhiko and Peter Flanigan, one of Nixon’s assistants. These negotiations stretched into 1971, however. Although the Japanese textile industry was opposed to any export restrictions, the Japan Textile Federation announced voluntary restrictions on its own initiative on March 8, 1971, due to the protracted trade frictions between the countries.

Nixon announced that he saw these restrictions as insufficient on March 11, however, and announced that he would pursue a negotiated compromise. In a letter he sent to Satō the next day, Nixon expressed his displeasure over the issue, stating that “I cannot conceal my disillusionment and concerns over the textile issue at this point.” The phrase “disillusionment and concerns” was unusually strong for a communication between two national leaders and must have come as a shock to Satō.

The textile issue would not be resolved until the arrival of MITI Minister Tanaka in Satō’s final reorganization of his cabinet.

Table 6.1 Timeline of US-Japan Negotiations Over Textiles

January 1965	Prime Minister Satō requests that the reversion of administration control over Okinawa be carried out at an early date.
November 1968	Republican candidate for president Nixon makes a campaign promise to restrict the importation of textiles.
January 1969	President Nixon’s birthday.
May 1969	Commerce Secretary Stans visits Japan. Proposes restrictions on textile exports.
September 1969	Kissinger implies to the Japanese that “resolution of the textiles issue is a ‘requirement’ for the reversion of Okinawa.”
June 1970	MITI Minister Miyazakawa Kiichi meets with Secretary Stans.
October 1970	It is agreed at US-Japan talks to reopen negotiations on textiles.
March 1971	Japan Textile Federation passes its “Declaration on Voluntary Restrictions on Exports to the United States.”
March 1971	President Nixon sends Prime Minister Satō a letter expressing his “disillusionment and concerns.”
June 1971	United States and Japan sign agreement on the reversion of Okinawa.
January 1972	United States and Japan sign agreement on textiles.
May 1972	Okinawa returns to Japanese control.

Source: (*Asahi Shimbun*, July 25, 2014)

1971: “The year of elections and China”

The extraordinary session of the Diet held from November 24 to December 18 became known as the “Pollution Diet” as the Satō government used it to pass fourteen bills related to pollution. One of these caused the creation of the Environment Agency on July 1, 1971.

Satō welcomed the New Year at the Kantei, writing in his journal that “this year will be the year of elections and China.” The mention of “elections” referred to the unified local elections that would be held in May and the House of Councillors elections in June. “China” was a reference to his concerns about the growing number of countries who chose to recognize China rather than Taiwan.

Eighteen nations led by Albania had introduced a resolution that would expel Taiwan from the United Nations and grant the People’s Republic of China the right of representing China in the body. On November 20, 1970, the resolution secured majority support. This had no immediate effect, however, as nineteen countries including Japan and the United States had moved to have the issue of China’s representation designated an “important question.” But if the Albanian resolution managed to secure two-thirds support in the General Assembly, Taiwan would be expelled.

The unified local and House of Councillors elections yielded harsh results for Satō. In the April 11 unified local elections, held just a few days after Satō’s seventieth birthday on March 27, Tokyo Governor Minobe won an overwhelming victory over Hatano Akira, the LDP candidate. Minobe had been backed by the Socialist-Communist united front and had campaigned under the slogan “Stop the Satō” (sic). The reformist candidate Kuroda Ryoichi also defeated Satō Gizen, the incumbent LDP governor of Osaka.

Satō campaigned across Japan, giving speeches in support of the LDP’s candidates. He appealed that

This is not a united front between the Socialists and Communists; it is a united front between the Communists and Socialists. Ten years from now, we will have entered an era where the LDP and the Communists face each other.

(that is, one in which the Communists had replaced the Socialists as the primary opposition party). He emphasized the need to confront the “extreme left” and sought to enflame the anti-Communist sentiment of the voters. This was an attempt to split the Socialists and Communists, but it did not go well.

Satō had even sent Hiroko to Kamakura to drag out the author Kawabata Yasunari (an old acquaintance of Hatano’s) to campaign for him in the gubernatorial election. That the LDP suffered an absolute defeat in the election despite his efforts was a blow to Satō. The *Mainichi Shimbun* headline the following day read, “Shock to the Satō System – LDP No Longer Optimistic about Easy Councillors Victory.”

As the headline said, Satō was worried about the negative effect these results would have on the House of Councillors election in June. The Satō government thus attempted to shift things in their favor by scheduling the signing of the

agreement over the reversion of Okinawa for June 17, the height of the campaign season for the House of Councillors.

Article 2 of this agreement explicitly stated that treaties and agreements between Japan and the United States would apply to Okinawa. When this agreement took effect in 1972, the return of Okinawa to its homeland would be realized. The Senkaku Islands were naturally included within the boundaries of Okinawa when it was returned. These uninhabited islands, located in the East China Sea, have since been claimed by China and Taiwan.

The signing ceremony was broadcast by satellite and took place simultaneously in Washington and Tokyo. It was signed by Foreign Minister Aichi and Secretary of State Rogers. Satō spoke at the ceremony, saying that

I hope from the bottom of my heart that the return [of Okinawa] will occur as early as possible next year. This reversion agreement will cause the relationship of trust and friendship that exists between Japan and the United States to grow even closer.

Perhaps due to his continued dissatisfaction over the slow results of the negotiations over textiles, Nixon did not attend the ceremony.

But this agreement did not provide the electoral benefits that the previous joint statement had; the LDP lost one seat in the House of Councillors election held on June 27. Some within the party began to predict that Satō would step down after the Okinawa Diet came to a close.

This was the nickname given to the extraordinary Diet session called on October 16 to deliberate on bills related to the reversion agreement. These five bills were passed by the House of Councillors on December 29. After they passed, Satō called on Speaker of the House of Councillors Kōno Kenzō and thanked him. Kōno was the younger brother of Kōno Ichirō; he did not get along well with Satō.

Even so, he later looked back on Satō and recalled that “there were things about him that no one else could imitate. The most impressive of these was the way he handled Tanaka. No one was better at managing people than Satō.” Fukuda, Tanaka, Ōhira, Miki, and Nakasone were all considered potential successors to Satō at this time.

Shortly after the Councillors’ election, Satō attended the inauguration of President Park in Seoul on July 1.

Satō said at a press conference that he had explained to Park that

It is obvious that Japan would have an interest in any situation that arose on the Korean Peninsula. We do not want the South Koreans to be concerned about the fact that American military forces stationed in Okinawa will become subject to the [US-Japan] security treaty as a result of that territory’s reversion to Japanese administration. For this reason, when I accepted this reversion, it was after having received the understanding [from the United States] that there would be absolutely no hindrances to the security of South Korea following the return of Okinawa.

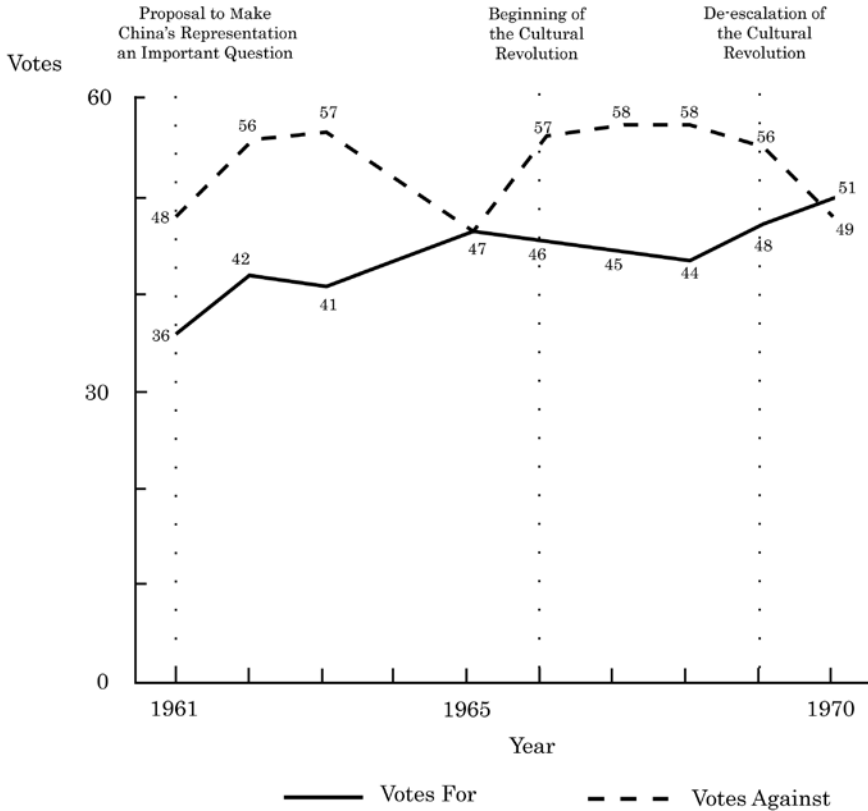


Figure 6.1 Support for the Albanian Resolution

Source: *Asahi Shimbun*, November 21, 1970, evening edition

The Nixon Shock – Satō’s final reorganization of the cabinet

Satō struggled to find a way to implement voluntary restrictions on textile exports and thereby complete his unfinished business with America. He spoke to Ambassador Meyer on June 2, 1971, half a month before the signing of the Okinawa reversion agreement, telling him that “it could perhaps be said that textiles are one area in which I have not fulfilled my promises.”

While Satō had told the Japanese public that no connection existed between Okinawa and textiles, he felt that he had to put export restrictions in place now that the US had agreed to return Okinawa. While he used the term “promise,” as he essentially thought of this as a quid pro quo for Okinawa, it could likely be regarded as a secret agreement on textiles.

Satō carried out his final reorganization of his cabinet on July 5. Maeo, who he had left out of his previous cabinet, became justice minister, and he appointed

Takeshita as his chief cabinet secretary. Maeo had relinquished the leadership of the Kōchikai to Ōhira on April 17. The most important development of this reorganization was Satō's decision to place the two rivals of Tanaka and Fukuda as MITI minister and foreign minister respectively.

Satō entrusted Tanaka with the difficult issue of negotiating with America over textiles. If Tanaka placed voluntary restrictions on exports, he would be subjected to criticism by the textile industry. Meanwhile, Fukuda would be shielded from the textile negotiations as they were outside of his jurisdiction. And he would get to oversee the promised return of Okinawa.

But then there was an unexpected development in America. Nixon suddenly announced on July 15 that he would be visiting China no later than May. This became known as the "Nixon Shock" in Japan, and it damaged not just Satō but also his foreign minister Fukuda. Satō wrote in his journal that "I don't know what all's involved. Perhaps [Nixon's] focus is on trying to get out of the war in Vietnam soon. . . . Regardless, it may be a sign that the Communist Chinese have adopted a more flexible attitude."

While Nixon's announcement of his visit was unexpected, so was the fact that China was willing to host him. The shock for Satō was two-fold: Nixon had not taken Japan into account when arranging his visit to China. And the leader of a Japanese ally was visiting China when he had not yet visited Japan. Satō had to hurriedly make revisions to the policy speech he planned to make on July 17.

After resigning as prime minister, Satō told an interviewer that

figuring out what exactly America was going to do was the thing that caused the most trouble. None of us had any idea. They said, "we won't abandon our old friend [Taiwan]," but gave absolutely no sense of what their attitude towards Taiwan was going to be moving forward. We could have tried to work this out if they hadn't gone over our heads with their foreign policy. But things don't go the way you think they will.

Defeat in the UN on Chinese representation – Satō's "Conclusion"

Even so, Satō had Japan join America as a cosponsor for UN General Assembly resolutions on designating China's representation an "important question" and on a system of double representation for China. Designating the matter an important question would mean that two-thirds approval was needed to expel Taiwan from the UN. And under the proposed double representation system, the People's Republic of China (PRC) would be granted a permanent seat on the Security Council, but Taiwan would be permitted to remain in the General Assembly.

Satō dispatched former foreign minister Aichi to the UN and sent Matsuno Raizō to Taiwan to convince Chiang Kai-shek to accept the double representation system. Chiang would not explicitly accept or reject it, however.

At the same time, Foreign Minister Fukuda, the cabinet officer with jurisdiction over the issue, was not optimistic about Satō's two resolutions. Satō overrode

Fukuda's objections and continued to support them anyway. Six reasons can be given for Fukuda's caution here:

First, the Albanian resolution that would grant the PRC representation was aligned with global trends. There was thus a high probability that the two Japanese-backed resolutions would be defeated.

Second, Nixon and Kissinger had arranged a visit to China without showing any regard for Japan. But Secretary of State Rogers was proposing that Fukuda support a joint resolution opposing the expulsion of Taiwan. In other words, America's diplomatic policies did not seem to be entirely aligned with one another.

Third, recognizing both the PRC and Taiwan, even just in the UN, could lead to the institutionalization of a "Two Chinas" system. This was something opposed by both Chinese governments as each asserted that they were the only legitimate government of China.

Fourth, there were those within the foreign ministry (led by the Asian Bureau) who felt that Japan should not be a sponsor on these resolutions as doing so could harm future relations with the PRC.

Fifth, opinion inside the LDP was split into pro-Taiwan and pro-PRC factions.

Sixth, a growing segment of the public and the Japanese business community was calling for a breakthrough in Sino-Japanese relations.

These reasons are why Fukuda wanted Japan to avoid being a cosponsor on the American resolutions even if it would ultimately vote in favor of them. But he had no choice but to obey Satō's decision.

Satō's gamble ended in failure. The General Assembly rejected the motion to designate the question of China an important matter on October 25. Albania's resolution was passed by an overwhelming margin. This meant that the PRC joined the UN, and Taiwan was expelled; the resolution for a double representation system was discarded without a vote. Chou Shu-kai, the Taiwanese foreign minister, departed immediately prior to the vote on the Albanian resolution. Not only had Satō suffered a defeat, he had also managed to entangle Fukuda, his chosen successor, in the fiasco.

Takeshita later said that Satō's true intention had been to bring about a "conclusion" on Taiwan:

He worked to protect Taiwan out of gratitude to President Chiang Kai-shek, who had said after the war that he would "repay violence with virtue" and immediately repatriated all of the Japanese soldiers remaining in China and opposed a divided occupation of Japan.

By personally bringing this to a conclusion even if it meant losing a General Assembly vote, he would make it easier for whoever took over for him to choose a new diplomatic course [on China]. The prime minister's true intention was to remain faithful during his own time in office.

While this is how Takeshita recalled these events, Satō was not solely pro-Taiwanese in his actions. Out of view of the public, he had also been looking for a way to establish a relationship with China.

The defeat in the UN forced not only Satō but also Fukuda into a bind. Heading into the next presidential election, Tanaka and the counter-mainstream factions would call for the normalization of relations with China. Not only was this policy popular with both the Japanese public and the business community, it was a way of drawing a distinction between themselves and Satō/Fukuda. According to Fukuda, “Tanaka, Miki, and Nakasone formed a three-faction alliance over the China issue. This was referred to as the Sino-Japanese normalization faction.” Ōhira was actually involved as well, making it a four-faction alliance against Fukuda.

While the Nixon Shock had been an unforeseen event, debate over China’s representation in the UN had been going on for years. Taiwan and China changing places at some point should not have been overly surprising. The decision to make Fukuda, his imagined successor, foreign minister in his final cabinet reorganization may have been the most serious mistake that “Satō the human resources expert” ever made. This is not just a matter of speaking with the benefit of hindsight; Satō himself had told a reporter earlier “this will be the year of elections and China.”

China’s admission to the United Nations was both an issue that divided the LDP and something that the trends of the times were pointing toward. That this would be a risky time to be foreign minister was something that Satō could have surmised. Considering the issues caused by his appointment of Miki when he first became prime minister, it seems fair to say that Satō’s famed personnel management skills did not apply when it came to choosing foreign ministers.

Tanaka and Fukuda in contrast

The experiences of MITI Minister Tanaka, Foreign Minister Fukuda’s greatest rival, stood in marked contrast. He succeeded in bringing the negotiations with America over textiles to a close on October 15, 1971. Japan agreed to an export restriction of 997.5 million square yards a year, with this figure increasing by five percent a year. Tanaka suffered the backlash of the textile industry, but he also pursued remedial measures targeting the industry such as buying back looms with public funds. There are indications that Tanaka, as a member of Satō’s faction and the minister in charge of the negotiations, was the only person Satō told about the “promise” he had made to Nixon on textiles.

The opposition introduced motions of no confidence in the House of Representatives against Fukuda and Tanaka on October 27. Their stated rationales were the collapse of Fukuda’s China policy and Tanaka’s submission to American pressure on textiles.

While both of these motions failed, it was clear that Fukuda had suffered more damage. Twelve members of the LDP (including Fujiyama Aiichirō, chairman of the Diet Members’ League to Promote the Restoration of Sino-Japanese Diplomatic Relations) absented themselves from the vote on the motion targeting Fukuda. Six of these twelve then returned to participate in the vote on Tanaka. For this reason, there were 280 votes against the motion targeting Tanaka, six more than Fukuda had received.

This six-vote differential reflected the relatively more serious situation in which China policy (with which Fukuda had been tasked) found itself. Tanaka

had resolved the textiles issue, but Fukuda had distanced Japan from China based on Satō's policies. And as Zhou Enlai would later tell Miki, the Chinese view was that China would find it difficult to improve relations with Japan should Fukuda (who China viewed as part of the pro-Taiwanese faction) become prime minister. Tanaka becoming prime minister would make it easier to move forward with the normalization of relations with China.

Making Fukuda foreign minister had been a miscalculation on Satō's part, one that had worsened Fukuda's position. And to make matters worse, Fukuda then made a blunder while explaining the main points of the Okinawa reversion agreement during a plenary session of the House of Representatives on November 5.

Fukuda's copy of his speech had been collated incorrectly, meaning that once he had given his explanation of Article 2, he skipped several passages and began discussing Article 7. Noticing his mistake after being jeered by the opposition, he said, "My apologies. I would like to retract everything from Article 2 on." Rattled, he then resumed his explanation, this time from Article 4.

But because Fukuda had retracted everything he had said from Article 2 on, that was from where he needed to resume. This mistake was naturally not overlooked by the opposition, who proceeded to hound Fukuda by saying that "your mistakes in explaining this serious matter show a lack of due diligence on your part and a lack of respect towards the Diet." The House of Representatives descended into chaos.

The following day Fukuda asked Speaker Funada Naka to strike all of his remarks from the Diet record. Fukuda apologized to the House and had to redo his explanation from the beginning. According to Kusuda's journal, the miscollation was apparently due to a mistake by Fukuda's secretary. Still, Fukuda's failure to check that his speech was correct before giving it was an atypical act of negligence on his part.

Despite Fukuda's blunder, the House of Representatives passed the agreement on November 24 and also adopted a resolution by the LDP, Komeitō, and Democratic Socialists calling for the reduction of America's bases on Okinawa and opposing nuclear weapons. The Socialists and Communists had not attended the vote. The House of Councillors also passed the agreement on December 22. For Satō, who had bet his political life on securing the return of Okinawa, this was a long-awaited moment.

Satō also became the first prime minister to attend the annual Peace Memorial Ceremony in Hiroshima. In the speech that he gave on the occasion, he noted that "the destructive calamity that Hiroshima suffered due to the atomic bomb is a lesson for all of humanity, one that shows how we should live in the nuclear age." He also said he would "do my best to improve the welfare of the victims of the atomic bombing, going beyond what has been done thus far."

Setting up Fukuda as Satō's successor – the San Clemente discussion

Satō once again saw in the New Year at the Kantei. Because his term as LDP president would be coming to an end in October, 1972 would be his last year as prime minister. It was also the year that Okinawa was returned to Japan. Accompanied

by Fukuda and Tanaka, he met with Nixon on the 6th and 7th of January at Nixon's home in San Clemente, California. The most important topics they discussed were the situation with China and the date for the reversion of Okinawa.

Satō made clear to Nixon that the announcement of his visit to China had come as a shock to the countries of Asia and that he felt it was “necessary to create some kind of communications channel for contacting the necessary countries” in the future. Nixon responded that he would “fully report to Japan on my trip to China after it's over” and that he was “in no way planning to sacrifice Japan to normalize relations with Peking.”

US-Japan relations, damaged by the Nixon Shock, had now been repaired – at least on the surface. And Japan was not the only one to have been left out of the loop on Nixon's trip to China; even Secretary of State Rogers had only been informed of Nixon's announcement at the last moment. Meanwhile, the date for Satō's long-awaited reversion on Okinawa had been set for May 15. With Satō's greatest political objective now a certainty, the movements over who would succeed him picked up speed.

According to *Yomiuri Shimbun* reporter Miyazaki Yoshimasa, Satō was in good spirits at the press conference in San Clemente and frequently referred questions to Fukuda by answering that something would “be handled by the foreign minister.” While Satō worked to make Fukuda look good, Tanaka had few opportunities to speak and looked somewhat out of place at the event. The reporters present received the impression that Satō had decided on Fukuda as his successor. That impression was also shared by Fukuda, who expected that Satō would now tell Tanaka that he would be handing his position over to him.

But while Satō had worked to create an atmosphere indicating that Fukuda was the heir apparent, he made no efforts to persuade Tanaka to accept this. This was likely in part because Tanaka took steps to avoid being alone with Satō during the trip, such as leaving early in the morning to go golfing. Satō had also not made clear when he would be stepping down. Tanaka did make his presence known by intruding upon Satō and Nixon's table at a luncheon, however.

It is possible that Satō underestimated the amount of power that Tanaka actually had as he had not yet gathered together his faction. Back in Japan, Tanaka told his secretary Hayasaka Shigezō that “Once Old Man Satō steps down, I'm doing it [forming my own faction].” Tanaka was determined to split off from the Satō faction and form his own; he had his sights aimed at the reversion of Okinawa scheduled for May 15.

The Chinese view of Japan – “Taiwan Belongs to China”

Nixon and Kissinger visited China from February 21 to 28, 1972, meeting Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. Zhou told them that he distrusted Satō:

The present Satō government's words do not count. The Satō government may say one thing one day, and on another day, they say another. Even their own Diet no longer believes them.

So, we are placing our hope on the next Japanese government, because if China and Japan are able to restore diplomatic relations, Chinese-Japanese friendship should not hurt the relations between Japan and the United States.

We even said that if we are able to establish diplomatic relations with Japan and conclude a peace treaty with Japan, then we will even consider a mutual non-aggression pact with Japan.

Until this point major Chinese figures like Zhou had criticized Satō for his “policy of viewing China as an enemy” in adherence with “American imperialism.” The Chinese saw Satō as advancing a scheme to create “two Chinas,” as shown by his attempts to protect Taiwan. Fukuda was not an appropriate choice to be the next prime minister as his views were too close to those of Satō. On the other hand, political and business circles in South Korea looked forward to Fukuda becoming prime minister and were wary of Tanaka and his Sinophilic leanings.

Of course, America had also been a sponsor of the two UN resolutions on Chinese representation. And even if Satō opposed communism, he was not necessarily entirely anti-Chinese, or a proponent of a “two Chinas” policy. In an August 31, 1971, interview with Vice President of the New York Times Reston, he said that “I have always taken the position that there is only one China.”

In his journal entry for New Year’s Day, 1972, Satō went so far as to write that “I believe that we must also establish diplomatic relations with China this year. But even so, the treatment of Taiwan is a cause of concern. This won’t be settled unless I leave for Beijing.”

Spurred on by the closer relationship between American and China, Satō even testified that “Taiwan belongs to China” before the House of Representatives’ Budget Committee on February 28. While Japan had renounced its claim to Taiwan in the San Francisco Peace Treaty, it had previously avoided making any further reference to its ownership. Satō was making a commitment with his testimony. China’s position was that it owned Taiwan; by publicly stating the same, Satō was displaying that he had a positive attitude toward China.

Satō had likely overstepped in his testimony, however. He himself had said in the 1969 joint statement that “the maintenance of peace and security in the Taiwan area was also a most important factor for the security of Japan.” Satō had not given adequate consideration to the fact that Taiwan was involved in both the Treaty of Taipei and the US-Japan security treaty’s Far East clause. (The Treaty of Taipei was the peace treaty concluded by the Yoshida government with Taiwan in 1952.)

For his part, Foreign Minister Fukuda stated that “were there to be a military clash in the Taiwan Strait and the American military requested permission to deploy from its bases in Japan, our country could tell them either ‘Yes’ or ‘No.’” He also said that “as diplomatic relations have still not been restored with China . . . Taiwan theoretically falls within the bounds of the ‘Far East’ as referred to in the security treaty.” Fukuda’s statements on Taiwan were more cautious than Satō’s and also served to indirectly correct them.

**“Wouldn’t it be better to wait for a new government?” –
the International Relations Colloquium**

Placing its hopes on the more pro-Chinese Tanaka becoming the next prime minister, China had abandoned the idea of repairing its relations with the Satō government.

But with the reversion of Okinawa definite and Nixon’s decision to visit China without consulting with Japan, Satō had regrets about his relationship with China. Previously, toward the end of the Ikeda government, he had covertly met with Nan Hanchen, who was in Japan as head of the economic friendship delegation to the Chinese Economic and Trade Exhibition in Tokyo. He had also tried to make contact with Zhou Enlai through Kuno Chūji, a member of his faction.

Let us return to the summer of 1971 and examine Satō’s China policy in the wake of the Nixon Shock. This is because, while Sino-American relations and the issue of China’s representation in the UN have already been analyzed, Satō also made other efforts in this area. He brought together experts to deliberate on the China issue and also groped for a way to privately make contact with the Chinese government.

The International Relations Colloquium (IRC), the group of academics Satō gathered (through Kusuda) to discuss China and global politics, will be looked at first.

Launched on August 26, 1971, the IRC had thirteen members, all of whom were university professors.

While the earlier Okinawan and Other Problems Council had been an advisory body for the prime minister, the IRC was an unofficial advisory body that reported to Chief Cabinet Secretary Takeshita. This was to allow the members to discuss freely and avoid the publicity that an advisory body for the prime minister generates. This also meant that while some politicians such as Takeshita attended its meetings, Satō did not do so himself.

At the IRC’s second meeting on September 30, Takeshita provided its members with an overview of the circumstances and internal party conditions that had led Japan to become a sponsor of the UN resolutions involving Chinese representation. EPA Director General Kimura Toshio also told the group that he was “pessimistic” about the resolutions’ chances and that he believed it likely that the Diet and various political parties would work toward normalizing relations with China.

The reason that Kimura was speaking to the group on these topics was that he had served as acting foreign minister for fifty days until late August. (Fukuda had been hospitalized due to gallstones.) Kimura had visited the hotel in Hakone where Fukuda was cooperating and consulted with him on the UN representation and other issues.

After hearing these presentations, Ishikawa Tadao commented, “So wouldn’t it be better to wait for a new government [rather than pursue normalization with China under the Satō government]?”

Taiwan was expelled from the United Nations about a month later (on October 25). The general view in the body seems to have been that, having attempted

to protect the Taiwanese seat, it would be difficult for Satō to bring Japan closer to China. In that sense, Satō's historic mission was coming to an end. But he did not give up. In fact, he increased his Chinese maneuvers.

Satō's three routes of maneuvers toward China: Okada, Hori, and Eguchi

As Satō was having the IRC discuss the China problem, he was also making covert attempts to contact the Chinese government. He attempted three routes, all of which ended in failure.

The first of these was Hong Kong Consul General Okada Akira. While Administrative Vice-Minister Mori Haruki and most of the foreign ministry leadership was not enthusiastic about the idea of becoming closer to China, Okada was not part of the ministry mainstream. He advocated making a breakthrough on relations with China.

Aware of this, Satō called Okada to the Kantei on September 11, 1971, and told him that "I am ready to send the foreign minister or chief cabinet secretary to China to prepare for the normalization of relations between our countries." Okada's special assignment was to inform China of this.

The whole effort seems to have been rather slapdash, with Satō not even consulting with Fukuda (who was visiting the US at the time) before embarking on it. Also, Satō's meeting with Okada was held about six weeks before the General Assembly would adopt the Albanian resolution to expel Taiwan. It seems difficult to believe that China would accept his overture when he was simultaneously attempting to protect the Taiwanese seat in the UN.

Even so, Okada contacted Lee Quo-wei, a Hong Kong businessman with connections to Zhou, and informed him of his assignment when he returned to Hong Kong. Beijing had no energy to spare for Japan at the moment, however, as the Lin Biao Incident had just taken place. This was a failed plot to assassinate Mao Zedong; Lin was killed when his plane crashed in Mongolia as he was fleeing China.

Satō's second attempt was a letter by LDP Secretary-General Hori to Zhou. This letter was drafted by Kusuda with Hori making amendments after consulting with Nakajima Mineo, a member of the IRC. The letter's contents were favorable to China, noting for example that "the territory of Taiwan belongs to the people of China." Tokyo Governor Minobe was planning to visit China, and Hori entrusted the letter to him (with Satō's permission).

Minobe gave the letter to Zhou in Beijing on November 10, 1971. But Zhou was not receptive, noting for example that "while the letter acknowledges that the government in Beijing is the legitimate government of China, it does not say that it is the 'sole' legitimate government."

Satō's third avenue was an attempt to contact Zhou through a secret envoy, Eguchi Mahiko. Eguchi published an article on this ("I was Former Prime Minister Satō's Secret Envoy during His Maneuvers Aimed at the 'Beijing Government'") in the December 1973 issue of the magazine *Hōseki*, labeling himself a "diplomatic advisor to the former prime minister."

While it is known that Eguchi was an expert on China, many details regarding him remain unknown. Even Motono Moriyuki, Satō's secretary from the foreign ministry, said in an interview that he had never heard Eguchi's name (though he also noted that "Chinese issues have long been the realm of *rōnin*, even going back before the war").

According to Eguchi, he met with several members of a Chinese organization in Hong Kong – the "Hong Kong Group for the Restoration of Diplomatic Relations with Japan" – about a potential Satō visit to China. He said he met with them for the last time on June 20, 1972.

But what did Satō actually think of Eguchi? Eguchi makes his first appearance in Satō's journal on September 2, 1971, when Satō wrote that "Eguchi Mahiko came with Kogane Yoshiteru, and I heard a detailed account of the China issue as seen from Hong Kong. Eguchi said that he would likely be able to get in touch with Zhou Enlai. I thought that he had been deceived but went along with it."

In other words, while Eguchi had proposed that he be used as a secret envoy to China, Satō was largely humoring him. Kogane, Eguchi's companion, was a former member of the "Yoshida Thirteen." He had served as postal minister during the Ikeda government but later had fallen out with him and joined the Fukuda faction.

Satō wrote in his journal for November 28 that he had "invited Eguchi Mahiko and spoke with him for about an hour this evening. He's recently returned from Hong Kong. He doesn't seem to have leaked anything." It is thus apparent that Satō was concerned about the possibility of Eguchi revealing information.

Satō began to meet with Eguchi frequently as he traveled back and forth from Hong Kong. At one point, he considered Eguchi to have been making "impressive efforts." Then Nakasone came to suspect that Satō was working with Eguchi. Nakasone was himself attempting to contact Zhou and had figured out that Eguchi was acting as a secret envoy for Satō. He met with Eguchi on April 5, 1972.

After speaking with Satō about China on April 8, Nakasone revealed that he was aware of Eguchi's efforts. Satō lamented in his journal, "Was I the foolish one for having treated Eguchi with such secrecy?"

Eguchi's efforts to make contact with China never yielded fruit, but Satō would continue to receive information on China from him, even after Tanaka became prime minister on July 7. He distanced himself from Eguchi following Tanaka's visit to China, however, writing in his journal that "enough is enough."

What these three routes – Okada, Hori, and Eguchi – all share is that in none of them did Satō coordinate his actions with the leadership of the foreign ministry or MITI. This meant that no consideration was given to how they might touch upon the US-Japan security treaty or the Treaty of Taipei. The efforts through Eguchi were done with a particular emphasis on secrecy, and it seems fair to regard him as having been a secret envoy. As with Satō's prior use of Wakaizumi, it is believed that he chose to use a secret envoy in an attempt to prevent information from leaking. Eguchi would eventually reveal to Nakasone that he was working confidentially for Satō, however.

Satō's emphasis on secrecy prevented his rivals and the media from ascertaining his weaknesses; in that sense, it was likely a factor in the long length of his administration. But the heavy use of secret envoys can easily lead to diplomatic complications. And there is much that is unknown about Eguchi's background and abilities. I cannot help but have concerns about Satō's choice to use Eguchi as a secret envoy in his efforts to improve relations with China after he had already used Wakaizumi during the negotiations with America.

The “Secret Agreement on Restoration Costs” and the creation of the Tanaka faction

There are two reasons why it is unlikely that Satō was particularly devoted to these efforts toward China in the first place, however: the discovery of the “secret agreement on restoration costs” and the formation of the Tanaka faction.

The first refers to Japan's agreement to take on \$4 million of the cost for rehabilitating American military land during the reversion of Okinawa. Foreign ministry documents on the agreement were leaked in March 1972, leading to Satō being questioned on the matter in the Diet. Socialist lawmakers Yokomichi Takahiro and Narasaki Yanosuke exposed the top-secret foreign ministry telegrams at the March 27 meeting of the House of Representatives' Budget Committee.

They had been provided with the documents by Nishiyama Takichi, a reporter for the *Mainichi Shimbun*, on the condition that they not reveal their source. He had in turn obtained them from Hasumi Kikuko, a foreign ministry official with whom he was having an affair. Hasumi was Foreign Ministry Councilor Yasukawa Takeshi's secretary.

The telegrams stated that Japan would assume \$4 million of the land restoration costs for the reversion of Okinawa. As Foreign Minister Fukuda and other officials had previously explained that these costs would be borne by the US, this amounted to another “secret agreement” between Japan and the US. Tokyo prosecutors charged Nishiyama and Hasumi with violating the National Public Service Act on April 15.

Satō criticized the media at the April 6 and 7 meetings of the House of Councillors' Budget Committee, saying that they were “not abiding by the [journalistic] code of ethics” (rules for journalists covering, for example, how to ethically gather information). Unsurprisingly, the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association saw his criticism as an attempt to change the subject and hit back at him. The *Mainichi Shimbun* did print an apology to its readers, however, saying that “We have to acknowledge that Mr. Nishiyama acted in a morally regrettable way to obtain his materials.” This issue would eventually lead to a boycott of the *Mainichi Shimbun* and cause problems for its operations.

Making matters even worse for Satō, Tanaka undercut him by forming his own faction within the Satō faction in late April. Tanaka's internal faction included the majority of the Satō faction's members. When Kimura Takeo, one of the Satō faction's leaders, joined Tanaka, Satō summoned him to the Kantei and broke off relations with him. He even warned Tanaka after a cabinet meeting on April 25 to “lose your appetite for succeeding me.”

But Tanaka was no longer someone just kept around for dirty work. He disregarded Satō and launched the Tanaka faction on May 9 with 81 members. He had managed to gather nearly eighty percent of the Satō faction's 102 members. This was only six days before the ceremony for the reversion of Okinawa, the great culmination of Satō's time as prime minister. Satō must have felt humiliated.

Tanaka entered into a factional alliance with Ōhira and Miki; Nakasone gave up on running for party president and threw his support behind Tanaka. Fukuda was surrounded by enemies on all sides. With Satō's covert efforts stalled, improving relations with China would become the work of the Tanaka government.

The return of Okinawa to Japan – Satō's decision to step down

Several days after being robbed of the majority of his faction by Tanaka, Satō experienced one of the best days of his life. On May 15, 1972, he attended the ceremony for the reversion of Okinawa at the Budokan in Tokyo. Approximately ten thousand were in attendance, including the Emperor and Empress, Speaker of the House of Representatives Funada Naka, Speaker of the House of Councilors Kōno Kenzō, Chief Justice Ishida Kazuto, cabinet ministers such as Foreign Minister Fukuda, US Vice President Spiro Agnew, and Governor of Okinawa Miyazato Matsushō.

The stage's curtains were a light blue to symbolize the skies of Okinawa. A Japanese flag was raised in the center of the stage and *deigo*, the prefectural flower of Okinawa, provided a bit of color. After the singing of the national anthem by those present, Satō gave his speech:

Today, Okinawa has returned to our homeland. I would like to first humbly announce this to the spirits of the millions who made the ultimate sacrifice in the past great war. . . .

I cannot help but be filled with truly deep emotion as I think of the feelings of one million Okinawan comrades who have earnestly waited, persevering through great anguish, over these long twenty-seven years for the day when they would return to our homeland.

Nothing can be done to make up for the hardships suffered by the people of Okinawa Prefecture during and following the war. But as its unification with the mainland moves forward, I am determined to strive to promote its comprehensive development in a way that is harmonious with the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage of Okinawa. We will put all of our energy into creating a wealthy Okinawa Prefecture.

Satō's voice became choked with tears. Following the words of the Emperor, Vice President Agnew read a declaration by President Nixon. Satō gave Agnew a firm handshake, and the hall was filled with thunderous applause. Afterward, Funada, Kōno, and Ishida also gave addresses. Satō repeatedly took out a handkerchief and dabbed at his eyes with it.

Governor Miyazato drew thunderous applause from the attendants when he said that

we will strive with renewed awareness to be ‘a peaceful, cheerful, and wealthy prefecture’ through the self-governance of the Okinawan people. I am determined to work diligently towards the creation of a culturally rich society and to contribute to our nation’s prosperity.

Satō caused an unexpected incident during the final chanting of banzai. Everything went as planned through the three chants of “Long live Japan!” (*nihonkoku banzai*), but Satō, overcome with emotion at being in front of the Emperor and Empress, went on to shout, “Long live the Emperor!” (*tennō heika banzai*). The ceremony’s main event ended with the words “in commemoration of the return of Okinawa, long live Japan, banzai.”

All the attendants echoed Satō’s shouts of “Long live Japan” and “Long live the Emperor,” and the hall rang with their chants. Hiroko wrote about the second call that “I think that, being in front of the Emperor, he just did it without thinking.”

Satō seems to have personally thought that it was only natural that he shouted, “Long live the Emperor.” He wrote in his journal that “the ceremony ended with all of us in tears . . . the hall shook as everyone responded to my calls of ‘Long live Japan’ and ‘Long live the Emperor.’” Satō’s sense of identity had been fully formed during the prewar period, so this is not surprising. But had the ceremony been hosted by Tanaka, the next prime minister and a man seventeen years Satō’s junior, it seems unlikely that he would have gone off script and shouted, “Long live the Emperor.”

With the reversion of Okinawa complete, Satō was expected to make it his last hurrah and release his hold on the government. But even after the ceremony, he was slow to say that he would step down. Years later, he would become angry when Hiroko and their sons commented on his poor departure from office, shouting, “What are you talking about!?”

He set down the playing cards with which he had been fortune-telling and proceeded to lecture his family:

The leader of a country shouldn’t make any mention of resigning until the very moment they’re ready to do it. Just talking about it will shake the entire country. And it affects foreign countries as well. It’s out of the question for a leader to concern themselves with having a last hurrah or whether it’s personally good or bad for them.

Satō had planned to pass major bills on increasing fares for the national railway and amending the National Health Insurance Law after the ceremony for Okinawa. It was only when these bills failed to pass the House of Councillors on June 16 that Satō decided to resign. He would later tell those around him that “when you can no longer get important things done through your own power, it’s time to quit. That’s the nature of being a politician.”

“I hate newspapers” – Satō’s resignation

Satō announced on June 17, 1972, that he would be stepping down. Wearing flashy clothes – a blue collared shirt and red tie – Satō spoke at a general meeting of the LDP Diet members of both houses and told them that “I want you to find a fine successor to me and overcome any difficulties under his leadership.”

He fiercely criticized the “recent bias of the newspapers” at a party held after the general meeting ended. Earlier, following the leaking of foreign ministry telegrams, Satō had complained that the newspapers were “not abiding by the [journalistic] code of ethics.” The newspapers and opposition parties had pushed back, calling his words an infringement of freedom of the press and “the people’s right to know.” Satō still held a grudge against them.

Satō appeared before the press at the Kantei afterward. And then something happened.

As Satō entered the press conference room, he looked over the seated reporters and asked, “Where are the television networks?” His tone hardened as he continued. “I’m sure I told [Takeshita and Kusuda] that I wanted to speak directly to the people over television today.” Satō had wanted a “meeting with the television cameras” and had thought there would be no reporters in the room; their presence was offensive to him.

He then actually beckoned the television cameras and said, “I hate newspapers because they’re biased and don’t communicate my words accurately. Let’s make today a gift for television.”

When making the advance arrangements with the cabinet press corps, Takeshita and his staff had arranged things so that while newspaper reporters would be present in the press conference room, they had agreed to not ask any questions. This was because Takeshita had considered it unthinkable to entirely exclude the reporters.

When the reporters remained seated, Satō glared at Takeshita, General Affairs Council Chairman Yamanaka Sadanori, Secretary-General Hori, and Policy Research Council Chairman Kosaka Zentarō and said, “This isn’t what we’d arranged. . . . I can’t talk like this.” He then left the room.

A startled Takeshita said, “The prime minister must have gotten a mistaken impression. I mean, we gave the television networks the best seats.” Takeshita, Hori, and the others turned pale and stood frozen in place as Yamanaka chased after Satō.

After hearing Yamanaka’s explanation, Satō returned to the room. But he had just declared a few minutes earlier that he “hated” newspapers because they were biased. And this was something the reporters could not accept. The chairman of the cabinet press corps protested, telling Satō that “We of the cabinet press corps find the prime minister’s statement absolutely impermissible.” Satō struck his podium twice in response and said, “Then please get out” (he had a habit of striking tables with his palm when irritated). The reporters all left.

This incident was an explosion of Satō’s many years of pent-up enmity toward the newspapers. It has already been mentioned that he had criticized them for not abiding by their code of ethics during the foreign ministry telegram scandal.

According to a memo by Kusuda, Satō had long been critical of newspapers and viewed them as having acted as “accomplices” of the students during the earlier university protests. In contrast, he had received a positive impression from television from his repeated appearances on “Speaking with the Prime Minister.” This was like an underlying reason why he had decided to call a “meeting with the television cameras.” Regardless, Satō’s expulsion of the reporters had been an act unworthy of a prime minister, the result of a one-sided grudge rooted in misunderstanding.

This entire sequence of events was broadcast on television as it occurred.

Alone now that the press corps was gone, Satō turned to the cameras and began speaking. It had become quite an unusual situation.

Satō’s governance as “Saitaku Dōki”

Satō remained calm and defiant amidst this strange atmosphere and, reading a statement that Kusuda had painstakingly worked on, announced his resignation as prime minister.

The statement featured the expression “*saitaku dōki*,” a four-character idiomatic compound (*yoji jukugo*). Its appearance was the result of consultations between Kusuda and Senda Hisashi, a member of S-Operation. Senda had found the compound in *Katsugaku*, a compilation of lectures by the philosopher Yasuoka Masahiro.

According to Yasuoka:

Zen practitioners have an expression: “*saitaku dōki*.” When an egg is incubated and becomes a chick, its pecking from inside the shell tells its mother on the outside that it has grown enough to hatch. This is the first character of the compound, [meaning “to call”]. Hearing this, the mother will immediately break the shell from the outside with her beak. This is the second character, [meaning “to peck”]. The pecking from the outside can neither precede the chick’s pecking from the inside nor can it follow it. It is only when the two act in unison that the chick is able to hatch well. This is “*saitaku dōki*.” The same holds true of eras. Creating a new era also requires precise timing, of course.

Kusuda and Senda had written this statement to mark the end of S-Operation, but Satō rearranged it to be used as a summary of his administration.

Satō said that

I believe that the most crucial thing, when determining whether the time is right to make a decision on a grave issue that will determine the fate of nations and peoples, is to have a steady grasp on shifts in the international situation and domestic opinion. You need to gauge the precise time to act in concert with those shifts.

This was nothing other than a description of the “politics of waiting” – the practice of patiently waiting to ascertain the opportune time to act – as well as an explanation

aimed at the criticism that “Satō’s governance is hard to understand.” While it cannot be denied that this was a bit of *ex post facto* reasoning, it fits him well.

While discussing his government’s accomplishments, Satō placed US-Japan relations at the top of the list. He stated that

I have dealt with a number of domestic and foreign issues, building on the efforts of my predecessors, most notably Prime Minister Yoshida. But it would not be an overstatement to say that the diplomatic matter that I poured more effort into than anything else during my time in charge of political matters has been maintaining and developing the friendship between Japan and the United States.

But the room was empty apart from the television cameras. While Satō gave an emotional performance, his announcement of his resignation had been ruined. Satō’s overwhelming dislike of newspapers had led him to believe that television could communicate things directly. But television does not always reflect things fairly and objectively. In fact, by editing out significant portions of things, television news can amplify their negative aspects.

Satō’s perception of events had been overly optimistic and his staging a failure. This was just what Secretary Kusuda had feared. But Satō had told him, “I don’t want to do a press conference. Let’s have me address the people through television. Please allow me to be selfish this one last time.” Kusuda was opposed to this “meeting with the television cameras” but was unable to say anything. Having done all he could over the years of Satō’s government to maintain positive relations with the media, he surely must have felt anguished that Satō’s final press conference had gone so poorly.

Satō’s attitude had been one of arrogant authority. It went far beyond the level of merely being poor at handling the media, as had been the case when he had been a young chief cabinet secretary. He was able to carry out his reckless press conference just as he wished; his authority had reached the point where those around him were unable to voice their concerns. It had become expected that even leaders of the Satō faction, men like Tanaka, Hori, and Hashimoto Tomisaburō who had entered the Diet at the same time as Satō or even earlier, would stand at attention before him.

But if there is something for which one can feel sympathy toward Satō, it was the formation of the Tanaka faction on May 9. Eighty percent of his faction had changed allegiances to Tanaka. And while Takeshita did not attend Tanaka faction meetings due to his position of chief cabinet secretary, it was a certainty that he, too, had joined. Satō had had his feet kicked out from under him and could no longer communicate freely with Takeshita, the man who should have been managing his press conferences.

As one would expect, the Kantei was flooded with phone calls late into the night and received a mountain of letters the next day. But while there were those who criticized Satō’s actions as “scandalous,” there were also those who had sent letters of encouragement or expressed appreciation for his lengthy government.

Satō noted with a wry smile that “this is far more letters than I’ve received at any other point since becoming prime minister.”

And the newspapers naturally lodged letters of protest against him. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* reported that Satō had appeared “agitated at his second-rate ‘last hurrah.’”

“I want to make Fukuda prime minister”

Had Satō been an average prime minister, he likely would have become nervous and succumbed to self-loathing. But he had nerves of steel. On June 18, the day after he had announced his resignation, he went to visit the graves of those who had passed on before him such as Yoshida, Matsuoka, Ikeda, and Kawashima. Then on the following day, he “called both Fukuda Takeo and Tanaka Kakuei to the presidential office to advocate for a ‘gentlemanly contest’ between them.” This meant that he wanted the presidential election to be approached with fairness, for the two men to avoid bribery or other underhanded tactics.

While Satō had written in his journal that “I want, somehow, to make Fukuda prime minister,” many of the members of his faction such as Takeshita had already gone over to Tanaka. Satō was extremely displeased that some members like Hashimoto Ryūtarō and Obuchi Keizō had expressed their support for Tanaka without even asking for his opinion first. According to his journal, “for them to have not asked my opinion directly shows that they are still truly far from being respectable.”

The members of the Satō faction who had decided to support Fukuda in accordance with Satō’s wishes formed the Shūzan Club on June 19. There were only twenty of them, some of whom were Hori, Masuda Kaneshichi, and Matsuno Raizō. It was the first time that the Satō faction, the largest in the LDP, had split since its formation in 1956. Hori told Kusuda that “the prime minister regrets making Takeshita his chief cabinet secretary.”

Satō’s mental state was surely not a tranquil one at this point. But Satō, no matter what difficulty he faced, had always been able to sleep well when he went to bed. And he ate well even when the political situation was in turmoil. They say that “politicians fight with their stomachs” and he had a hearty appetite. He never suffered from an upset stomach while campaigning. He was 174 cm tall and weighed close to 80 kg. That he always ate and slept well also contributed to his lengthy government.

Over the seven years and seven months that Satō had served as prime minister, he had set aside the “social development” that he had initially promoted, instead shifting his sights to securing the return of Okinawa. Senda, a member of S-Operation, wrote that “social development – the banner program for Satō’s domestic policies – ultimately never went anywhere because while we were aware of the issues involved, we lacked programs needed to actually enact it as policy.”

All of Satō’s attempts to get closer to China – such as the Hori letter that Zhou Enlai rejected – were unsuccessful. Satō had inherited the foreign policy of Yoshida, and that had included establishing relations with Taiwan within the framework of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Normalizing relations with China could be said to have been beyond him.

There's a bit of an anecdote about Satō's resignation that sheds light on Satō's character. The night before Satō's resignation, Kusuda visited Satō's bedroom three or four times to consult with him. The Kantei is not very large, and there was a working desk and television in the bedroom. It was not rare for secretaries to enter. Satō quietly told fortunes with playing cards, talking to Kusuda in a low voice. Hiroko was watching television beside him but did not realize that they were talking about his resignation.

Satō told her nothing about what he was about to do on the morning of the speech either. The only sign was that he went straight for red, the lucky color of his necktie. Hiroko wrote on this that "Even though he'd be setting aside the important work that he'd pursued for seven years and eight months, he didn't say a single word in advance to me, his wife. He didn't give me any hints. . . . My husband was the kind of man who would not talk to me even about this kind of major personal matter."

The five neutral factions and the four-faction alliance – the birth of President Tanaka

Following Satō's announcement that he would be stepping down, the world of politics became focused on the LDP presidential election. An unexpected development for Satō and Fukuda was (as has been mentioned earlier) Nakasone's decision to withdraw his candidacy on June 19 and throw his support behind Tanaka. He did this a mere two days after Satō announced his resignation.

Nakasone was from the same district as Fukuda (Gunma 3rd) and Satō threatened him by saying that "not supporting Fukuda will offend the people of your district." But Nakasone paid him no heed. Just as when Yoshida's lengthy administration drew to a close, Satō's time was rapidly coming to an end.

A greater shock to Satō was that, as touched upon earlier, Hashimoto Ryūtarō, Obuchi Keizō, Komiya Jūshirō, Koyama Shōji, and others – all politicians whose careers he had cultivated – moved to support Tanaka. When Obuchi told him, "I'll work hard and become a fine politician," Satō found himself unable to demand that he support Fukuda.

While Satō attempted to persuade Construction Minister Nishimura Eiichi and former transport minister Hashimoto Tomisaburō, leaders of his faction, to support Fukuda, they too were leaning toward supporting Tanaka. Despite having decided early on that Fukuda was the best choice to be the next LDP president, Satō had made the mistake of allowing Tanaka to snatch the support of powerful members of the party.

The members of the Shūzan Club like Hori and Matsuno were the only members of the Satō faction to support Fukuda. They would later become members of the Fukuda faction.

Satō pinned his electoral hopes on the "five neutral factions," a term for the smaller Shiina, Sonoda, Murakami, Funada, and Ishii factions. These factions followed a policy of acting in unison, and Ishii Mitsujirō, a former deputy prime minister, supported Fukuda.

When Satō met with Ishii at the Kantei, Ishii reproached him, saying,

I want you to consider [the end of your administration] responsibly, as you said you would. Your faction is the one in the most turmoil. Is that how things should be? I want your faction at least to act properly.

Ishii was a year older than Satō and had served as speaker of the House of Representatives during the second Satō government. He was one of the few politicians able to speak frankly to Satō.

Satō told Ishii that “there’s the problem that while I, the one who’s retiring, am growing fatter, the key figure is getting thinner.” This was a reference to Fukuda. By displaying concern for Fukuda’s health, he was hinting that he was backing Fukuda as his successor and looking for help. While this was an approach typical of Satō, it likely seemed to Ishii to show a lack of commitment. The five neutral factions did not work in tandem in the election; each voted freely.

On July 4, the day before the party convention, Satō called Tanaka and Fukuda to the Kantei to make a final attempt at regaining control. Tanaka had entered into an alliance with the Ōhira, Miki, and Nakasone factions, however, and rejected Satō’s effort, noting that “even you compete fiercely against your brother Kishi when it’s election time.” The bitter confrontation between Tanaka and Fukuda had already begun and was past the point of no return.

With Tanaka having entered into a four-faction alliance, it would be hard to prevent a Tanaka victory in the final round of voting. What Satō could hope for was to at least have Fukuda receive the most votes in the first round.

In the first round of voting on July 5, the totals were Tanaka 156 votes, Fukuda 150, Ōhira 101, and Miki 69. Tanaka received 282 votes in the final round, decisively beating Fukuda’s 190. Tanaka rose up and answered the room’s applause by thrusting out his right hand in his characteristic pose. Satō was sitting next to Kishi in the front row, immediately in front of Tanaka. Looking at pictures of the occasion, disappointed expressions can clearly be seen on Satō and Kishi’s faces. This was effectively the moment when Satō’s political life came to end, his faction having been stolen by Tanaka.

“My accomplishments await the judgment of historians” – from Satō to Tanaka

When the Satō government resigned en masse on July 6, Tanaka was named prime minister in a plenary session of the House of Representatives. After this was done, Satō made Tanaka and Fukuda shake hands in the chamber. Satō was marking the end of his 2,797-day (seven years, eight months) term as prime minister, the longest uninterrupted administration in Japanese history. On the night that he resigned, Satō wrote in his journal at length about his pride in this accomplishment:

At 2,797 days, my time in office is the second longest in history, coming between Itō Hirobumi’s 2,720 days and Katsura Tarō’s 2,886 days (though

these are the sum total [of multiple times in office]). In terms of uninterrupted length, it surpasses the 2,248 days of the Yoshida government and is the longest continuous administration in history. My accomplishments await the judgment of historians.

How should we respond to this sentence in Satō's journal?

At 2,797 days long, the Satō government encompasses an entire era. Many of the striking events of postwar Japanese history were concentrated into this era, including the university protests, the Osaka Expo, and the birth of the reformist governors. And Satō overcame many difficulties to achieve the reversion of Okinawa.

While the reversion of Okinawa was his greatest accomplishment, he also achieved the normalization of relations with South Korea, economic growth, national land reorganization, increased the welfare budget, and pursued a policy of "social development" that attempted to correct the social strains brought about by rapid economic growth. As symbolized by his use of S-Operation, the Satō government was also a trailblazer in its use of brain trust politics and how it managed the Kantei. Backed by high-speed economic growth, his time in office was a golden age for the LDP.

The issues with the reversion of Okinawa – the secret agreement on nuclear weapons, the problems brought about by two-dimensional diplomacy, and the changes made to the US-Japan security framework – have already been discussed numerous times, so that will not be done here. It left behind a secret agreement in Okinawa, and in 1996, twenty-one years after Satō's death, Wakaizumi would take his own life due to the emotional turmoil that had caused. This was immediately after he had arranged for an English translation of his book on Satō and this "secret agreement" to be released.

This was published by the University of Hawaii under the title of *The Best Course Available: A Personal Account of the Secret U.S.-Japan Okinawa Reversion Negotiations*. The secret agreement on nuclear weapons that Satō had concealed and taken to his grave reemerged and was made known to the world by the secret envoy he had forbidden to ever speak about it. Wakaizumi's account was incomparably scrupulous, even making use of Satō's journal from his time as prime minister.

With his faction stolen by Tanaka, Satō was on his own for the first time in more than a decade. But his story was not over. He successfully maneuvered to win the Nobel Peace Prize and made his final journey. The final chapter will trace the glory of his final years and his sudden death.

Conclusion – The Nobel Peace Prize

The glory of Satō's final years and his sudden death

Satō's grudge against Tanaka

In July 1972, Prime Minister Tanaka enjoyed an unprecedented level of popular support and was at the zenith of his popularity and power. Most of the Satō faction had become the Tanaka faction, and the members of the Shūzan Club like Hori had joined the Fukuda faction. Satō was left behind, no longer a member of any faction. The Satō faction, the largest faction in the Diet, boasting more than a hundred members, had disappeared all too quickly.

Satō and Hiroko departed the prime minister's residence. What thoughts were running through Satō's mind as he was back in his private residence in Daizawa, Tokyo, for the first time in years? Two weeks after his resignation, Satō invited University of Tokyo Professor Etō Shinkichi (a former member of his brain trust) to his home on July 20. Etō was a specialist on Chinese politics, and Satō wanted to ask him about Sino-Japanese relations.

Satō was in a good mood after Etō had finished and told him to "Please tell Kosaka to continue the good work." Kosaka Zentarō, a former foreign minister and a man passionate about Sino-Japanese relations, was serving as chairman of the Council on the Normalization of Sino-Japanese Diplomatic Relations. He noted that "it'll probably be easy for Tanaka because I did all I could to fulfill our loyalty to Taiwan." Satō then asked Etō a question:

"How about Eguchi?"

"I don't really know. But looking at the overall situation, I can't really think that Zhou Enlai wanted to work with the Satō government at that point [the final period of the Satō government during which he was attempting to contact China]."

"Yeah, I guess that's a reasonable take on things."

"You didn't make use of [the pro-Chinese Diet members] Matsumura [Kenzō], Furui [Yoshimi], and Tagawa [Seichi]?"

"Furui and Kuno [Chūji] talked with me about various things. Old Man Matsumura wouldn't listen to anything I had to say. Probably because they all go to Beijing and then side with the Communist Chinese. [Though maybe not] as much as Utsunomiya [Tokuma]."

“You must be disappointed with how China turned out. You must have many regrets.”

“No, I did what I could on it, it was just no good. Please tell Kosaka that China and Japan should normalize relations. But that he has to be careful when dealing with Taiwan. He has to avoid earning their enmity.”

Etō tried to draw out Satō on Tanaka and Takeshita. Satō seemed indifferent at first, saying that “Tanaka is opening up a new era. Restoring relations with Beijing is like that. He doesn’t have any experience with diplomacy but he’s competent so it should go well.”

Etō then drew closer and asked, “Is the rumor true that while you were acting calm, Tanaka was coldly throwing money around?”

Satō’s eyes flashed and his attitude changed completely. “Anything I say to Takeshita gets passed on to Tanaka. No one listens to what I have to say anymore.”

There was clear resentment on Satō’s face. He had a deep-seated grudge against Tanaka. Etō began to say that “from your perspective, Tanaka is a traitor, isn’t he?” but he swallowed his words.

While the grudge between Tanaka and Fukuda (known as the “Kakufuku Onnen”) gathered more public attention, Satō also had considerable ill will toward Tanaka. Having raised Tanaka within his own faction, Satō likely found the situation unbearable. Tanaka visited China on September 25 and broke off formal relations with Taiwan (while still maintaining non-governmental ties).

The Grand Cordon of the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum – visiting America

While there were still those who would visit his home and pay their respects, without his faction Satō no longer had any of the authority he had possessed just a few months earlier. Regardless, his final years were filled with glory. It was announced on November 3, 1972, that he would be awarded the Grand Cordon of the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum.

This was the highest Japanese decoration, and Satō was only the second post-war figure to be a living recipient (the other being Yoshida Shigeru.) It had been considered a certainty that he would receive the decoration; not only had he exceeded Yoshida’s record uninterrupted term of six years, one month as prime minister, but he had also achieved major accomplishments such as the return of the Ogasawara Islands and Okinawa.

Satō released an informal statement in which he said that “I believe that I met the public’s expectations in a number of diplomatic areas while serving as prime minister, such as the restoration of diplomatic relations with South Korea, the ratification of ILO Convention 87, and the reversion of Okinawa. I believe that these are also fruits of the tireless labors of the Japanese people and show how strong the nation of Japan has become.”

“ILO Convention 87” referred to the International Labor Organization’s “Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention.” This

was ratified in 1965 despite heavy debate. In his statement, Satō was taking pride in his diplomatic accomplishments, including this one.

Satō could not hide his excitement over receiving the decoration in his journal, writing that “I haven’t written in a while, but I hope this honor will be broadcast widely, alongside my long hair. I’ve already received almost three hundred telegrams congratulating me and more may come.” The mention of “long hair” refers to the fact that he had started to grow out his hair since leaving office.

On November 13, ten days after the announcement of the award, Tanaka dissolved the House of Representatives. This was the first dissolution of the Diet in three years and was timed to benefit from the excitement over the normalization of relations with China. But the LDP actually lost seats in the December 10 general election because it ran too many candidates.

Satō came in second in Yamaguchi second district, with the Socialist candidate Yamada Hajime coming in first and Kishi coming in third. It was the first time that Satō had come in second since the May 22, 1958, general election in which Kishi, the serving prime minister, had come in first. Satō had successfully been elected to the House of Representatives ten times, all in succession. He had no way of knowing that this would be his last campaign.

Satō said in an interview for the magazine *Bungei Shunjū* that

I plan to look over my political career and write my memoirs someday. But I’m still a serving politician, even if I’ve resigned as prime minister. I want to continue doing what I can to help the people, such as by managing US-Japan relations.

As if to put these words into action, Satō visited America with Hiroko from January 17 to February 4, 1973, and attended Nixon’s second inauguration on January 20. At a party that night, he was introduced as one of the world’s greatest leaders and danced unsteadily with the First Lady.

Satō looked forward to visiting former president Johnson’s ranch. On reflection, had Johnson not accepted the phrase “within a few years,” the reversion of Okinawa may have taken longer to be achieved. But Johnson suddenly passed away on January 22. Satō attended Johnson’s funeral in Washington on the 25th and expressed his sorrow to reporters, noting that “there are no longer any living former presidents in America.”

There was another unforeseen development while Satō was visiting the United States: Nixon’s decision to end the war in Vietnam. Satō told reporters that the Vietnam ceasefire was “a matter that took great determination. Things will remain difficult, however,” and that he could “well understand the president’s sense of isolation.”

Satō’s meeting with Nixon was delayed to January 31. But when they did ultimately meet, Satō gave his thanks for the reversion of Okinawa, saying that Nixon had made “the decision of the century.”

“Unless these two truly join together” – Satō’s conversation with Kishi

Satō had received the Grand Cordon of the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum, but further honors awaited him. He gave a speech at the House of Representatives on December 1, 1973, to mark his twenty-fifth year as a member of the body. And on July 7, 1974, his younger son Shinji was elected to the House of Councillors.

What occupied Satō’s thoughts around this time? He spoke about all his feelings to the *Bochō Shimbun* (a local Yamaguchi newspaper) in early 1974. The article took the form of a conversation with Kishi. It was unusual for the two men to appear in the media together. The article was titled “The First Dialogue with the Prime Minister Brothers.”

While talking about his greatest accomplishment, the reversion of Okinawa, Satō stressed that “the US military saw returning Okinawa, America’s keystone in the Pacific, to Japan as a terrible thing.” Asked about the future of Yamaguchi, he emphasized cultivating talented personnel and reinforcing its small and mid-sized businesses. He also said, “I want us to have an airport appropriate for the age of air, one that meets our needs.”

But what did Satō have to say about the Tanaka government and its difficulties responding to the oil crisis? Kishi raised the issue of inflation and tacitly praised Fukuda by saying that “the high-speed growth that Tanaka is pursuing won’t work; we need to change to a path of stable growth [as being advocated by Finance Minister Fukuda].”

Satō backed up Kishi’s views: “As my brother just stated, the most important thing is for the steps taken against domestic inflation to make a solid impact. What the public truly wants right now is for their stressful lives to return to normal. And that’s not just true of housewives.”

Reflecting on his government, Satō said that “Tanaka and Fukuda were my two arms. They supported me. But they’ve changed since the election for party president. I believe that Japan will not find happiness until those two truly join together.”

According to Satō, “Tanaka is now holding back and leaving things to Fukuda when it comes to policy as well. I suspect that things in Japan will calm down. We can’t be impatient the way that Tanaka is.” Satō’s sympathies obviously lay with Fukuda. Tanaka may have taken over the majority of the Satō faction, but he did not view Tanaka as his successor.

“It is inevitable that the public should have doubts” – the Nobel Peace Prize

It was announced on October 8, 1974, that Satō would receive the Nobel Peace Prize. This would be the highest honor that Satō received. The Norwegian Nobel Committee named his efforts toward peace in the Pacific and stopping the proliferation of nuclear weapons as the reasons for the choice.

Satō expressed his joy over the event from his home:

Q: First, what are your feelings on having received the prize?

A: I am extremely happy that the “thoroughly peaceful foreign policy that protects freedom” concept that I spoke of so often in the Diet has now received international recognition.

Q: Your efforts to keep nuclear weapons out of Japan are one of the reasons that you have been awarded the prize.

A: The three non-nuclear principles that I laid down are without doubt policy. And I believe America understands Japan based on the US-Japan security treaty.

Q: The non-nuclear principle of not permitting the introduction of nuclear weapons has become an issue due to the La Rocque testimony [that said nuclear weapons were not actually removed from US vessels when entering Japanese ports].

A: As the only country to experience the use of nuclear weapons, it is inevitable that the testimony should cause the public should have some doubts. With nuclear weapons becoming [more widespread], we must move forward on the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Q: Regarding Japan’s peace from here on . . .

A: We have the US-Japan security treaty. America possesses nuclear weapons and Japan’s security is maintained within the American nuclear umbrella. And the introduction of nuclear weapons [by the United States] into Japan is subject to prior consultation. You can’t enter into a treaty of alliance with someone without trusting them. In that sense, the government should speak with more conviction when countering the La Rocque testimony. There seems to have been something wrong with their explanations so far.

The “La Rocque testimony” that the reporters were pressing Satō on refers to the testimony retired US Navy Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque gave before Congress on September 10, 1974. La Rocque testified that US warships carrying nuclear weapons did not offload them prior to visiting ports, including those in Japan.

And when interviewed by the *Mainichi Shimbun* following the announcement of Satō’s Nobel Peace Prize, La Rocque avoided making a clear statement on the issue. He did, however, note that

a dangerous process must be undertaken to transfer nuclear weapons from one ship to another while at sea. . . . There’s the danger that an accident will happen. . . . Warships capable of carrying nuclear weapons have entered Japanese ports.

While La Rocque had chosen his words carefully and only said that the ships were “capable” of carrying nuclear weapons, many readers likely understood him to mean that the ships were actually doing so. When he was asked about the three non-nuclear principles, La Rocque said that he “wasn’t familiar with them.”

Being the first Asian to receive the Nobel Peace Prize was certainly a grand achievement for Satō. But as he himself acknowledged when he said it was

“inevitable” that the public should have doubts, the Japanese people with their strong aversion to nuclear weapons did not share his sense of elation. Satō’s words that “the three non-nuclear principles that I laid down are without doubt policy” undeniably rang hollow to a Japanese public who had become aware that nuclear weapons had been introduced into Japan.

As was written on page 164, Satō had earlier told American Bureau Director Tōgō that he “regretted the inclusion of ‘introduction’ among the three non-nuclear principles and thought it had been a mistake.”

“You’re you, I’m me. But we get along.” – Peace Prize efforts

The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Satō was the result of more than a year of campaigning. He told *Gekkan Jiyūminshu* (an LDP magazine) that “Friends told me ‘I’ve nominated you for the Nobel Peace Prize, just so you know . . . ’ but I never dreamed that I would receive it on the first try.”

Kajima Morinosuke, a former member of the House of Councillors and head of Kajima Construction, was the first to speak of arranging for Satō to receive the prize. Former ambassador to the UN Kase Toshikazu was the primary figure in the overseas efforts to win him the prize, although the foreign ministry added its support later. Kase had previously worked as a secretary for former foreign minister Matsuoka Yosuke and therefore felt close to Satō (Matsuoka’s nephew).

Kase visited Satō’s country home in Karuizawa on July 29, 1973, as part of the effort. The entry for the day in Satō’s journal reads: “Kase Toshikazu and his wife came today; he’s nominated me for the Nobel Peace Prize at Kajima’s prompting. We discussed the matter in detail and then they departed.” Satō also consulted with his former secretary Motono Moriyuki (now a councilor in the foreign ministry) on the topic.

The first step in the campaign was to have Prime Minister Tanaka, Foreign Minister Ōhira, and a dozen notable academics send nominations to the Norwegian Nobel Committee in Oslo. Satō was involved in the selection of the nominators. Kase and the foreign ministry’s legations overseas also asked various foreign nations to send letters in support of Satō’s nomination. Motono had the home ministry send supporting materials to its foreign legations.

Significantly, Kase gathered speeches that Satō had given as prime minister and translated them into English. He then approached all five committee members in Oslo. These translated speeches were 250 pages long. Kase had previously contributed to an effort to have Yoshida Shigeru win the prize. After Yoshida’s death, he had set his sights on Satō as “Yoshida’s favorite disciple within the conservative mainstream” and a “tenacious politician.”

In addition to Satō’s “policies of peace” during his lengthy time as prime minister and the reversion of Okinawa, Kase also listed among his accomplishments that “he did not spend money on arms, instead using that money domestically for welfare policies and overseas to support developing nations (especially in Asia). He also took a leading role in the Asian Development Bank.”

Nuclear proliferation was a concern at the time as India had just carried out a nuclear test. Even if doubts existed about whether the three non-nuclear principles

had actually prevented the introduction of nuclear weapons into Japan, there was substantial international praise for the fact that while Japan was capable of pursuing nuclear weapons, it had voluntarily chosen not to.

The question of the three non-nuclear principles and introduction is not the only doubt that exists concerning Satō's Nobel Peace Prize, however.

First, following China's nuclear test in December 1964, Satō had told Ambassador Reischauer that "if the other fellow has nuclear (sic), it was only common sense to have them oneself . . . the constitution must be revised, though the time is not yet ripe for this." And he had told Kusuda that "maybe I should just say that we should arm ourselves with nuclear weapons and resign."

Second, while the Satō government had signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty in February 1970, its ratification had been postponed due to domestic opposition. It would only be ratified in June 1976 under the Miki government.

In light of this, how did Satō view peace and international harmony? He argued for mutual respect and non-involvement in *Gekkan Jiyūminshu*:

Ignoring others and thinking only of yourself leads to conflict. My favorite phrase is "You're you, I'm me. But we get along." In the words of Mushanokoji Saneatsu [a Japanese writer], it's important to respect everyone's position and to not interfere with one another as we work towards achieving peace and international harmony.

He also argued for coexistence and coprosperity, saying that the Japanese "couldn't really be said to be a people who love peace" but were rather "economic animals." He said, "I want our nation to prosper in a way that takes the positions of other nations into full consideration and provides benefits to developing nations."

Along with then-Foreign Minister Shiina, Satō had submitted a letter nominating Yoshida Shigeru for the Nobel Peace Prize to the Norwegian Nobel Committee on January 29, 1965. This was unsuccessful, however.

Award ceremony – final foreign vacation

Satō attended the awards ceremony on December 10, 1974, at the hall of the University of Oslo. He was surrounded by applause and cheers as he climbed the stage to accept his Nobel diploma.

With a tense face, Satō gave his acceptance speech in English. He argued that it was necessary to "deal with the divergent interests of the nations involved, in a spirit of mutual accommodation" to overcome the unrest that had followed the oil crisis. He also invoked the words of Yozakura Tenshin that "there was a whole universe in a bowl of tea." Yozakura was a former president of the Tokyo Fine Arts School and was known throughout the world, such as for his *Book of Tea*.

Satō gave a lecture on December 11 at the Nobel Memorial Hall titled "The Pursuit of Peace and Japan in the Nuclear Age." Satō noted that he had been born in 1901, the same year that the first Nobel Prize had been awarded, and argued

for the peaceful use of nuclear power. The lecture was read on his behalf by Ōta Hiroshi, secretary at the Japanese embassy in Britain.

The draft of the speech had been written by Kusuda with assistance from the academics Umesao Tadao, Kyōgoku Jun'ichi, Kōsaka Masataka, Yamazaki Masakazu, and Yasuoka Masahiro, as well as Okazaki Hisahiko (a councilor at the Japanese embassy in South Korea). As Kusuda felt that Satō's announcement of his resignation as prime minister had been a tragedy, he likely felt that this speech represented his last chance to recover his honor. Satō was well satisfied with the draft and held a dinner for Kusuda and the others.

Satō emphasized the three non-nuclear principles in his Nobel lecture and said that it was “my desire to see [the ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)] completed with the least possible delay.” This was somewhat contradicted by the fact that, as mentioned earlier, while the Satō government had signed the NPT, it had also delayed its ratification. And as prime minister, he had told Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Justas Paleckis that “due to the criticism that the Non-Proliferation Treaty maintains the privileges of the nuclear powers, our nation must cautiously examine what stance to take on it.”

Satō traveled to the Soviet Union, arriving in Leningrad on December 13. Hiroko had once told him “after you resign as prime minister, let's leisurely travel to foreign countries.” He had replied “when we do that, I really want to go to the Soviet Union.” He had been unable to visit while prime minister.

Satō met with Premier Kosygin at the Kremlin on the 17th. Satō told him,

This is quite rude of me, but the sleeping compartments on your country's trains are quite narrow, aren't they? I realize that you might not use them very often, but I have an interest in such things as I used to work in railways. If you place an order with Japan, we can make you something better.

Kosygin gave a wry laugh and said, “Thank you for your concern.”
Satō spoke to Hiroko about traveling on their flight back to Japan:

When it was announced that I'd won the Nobel Prize, you said in interviews on TV and in magazines that this would probably be the last trip we'd take overseas. Are you really planning to kill me off so soon? We should visit the Soviet Union and Scandinavia again, in a different season next time.

According to Hiroko, Satō would look back on his life during breaks in travel and have internal conversations with the deceased Yoshida.

Satō's government had amply surpassed Yoshida's 2,616 days in office. He had also managed to secure the return of Okinawa, something that his mentor had not. Satō's starting point had been picked out by Yoshida and his hand never left Yoshida's favorite cane as he traveled. Satō remains the only Japanese to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

According to Hiroko, she had planned to spend her days leisurely talking with her semi-retired husband once the aftereffects of his winning the Nobel Peace

Prize had died down. She had no way of knowing that Satō would collapse just five months later and that there would be no more foreign vacations.

The Shiina decision and Chiang Kai-shek's funeral

The political situation in Japan had been extremely chaotic as Satō had departed for the Nobel ceremony in Oslo. Prime Minister Tanaka had resigned in a financial scandal, and LDP Vice President Shiina Etsusaburō had chosen Miki to succeed him. The Miki government began on December 9, 1974.

Satō wrote about the Shiina decision in his journal: “With the mediation of Shiina this morning [December 1], the choices seem to have been narrowed down to just Miki Takeo. While it's the next best choice, I think it's a fine thing.” Satō's implication by referring to Miki as “next best” seems to have been that Fukuda would have been the best choice.

According to his journal, “The choice had come down to either Miki or Fukuda, but Fukuda has always been the kind of man to hold back.” He warned Fukuda to “pay attention to everything so that you're on track to be Miki's successor; don't expect it to just fall into your lap.”

Satō became a member of the international humanitarian group Amnesty International after winning the Nobel Prize and appeared at a number of their meetings.

Satō paid more attention to Taiwan than any other country. The Tanaka government's normalization of relations with China may have been in line with the trends of the times, but Satō (who had maintained relations with Taiwan) saw it as hasty. He supported a proposal backed by Foreign Minister Miyazawa and others to reopen air routes between Japan and Taiwan from outside the government and wrote in his journal that he was “concerned that Miki has perhaps had a change of heart [and bowed to Beijing].”

Satō had long wanted to visit Taiwan but had restrained himself due to the backlash that would certainly come from China. Then Chiang Kai-shek died on April 5, 1975. Acting as a “friendly representative,” he attended Chiang's funeral on April 16.

KMT leaders had draped a party flag over Chiang's casket which was then covered by the national flag. Once the choir stopped singing, a salute was fired and the participants saw off the casket.

Once back at his hotel, Satō took out his journal and described the funeral in detail: “It was just as one would have expected of a funeral for the virtuous President Chiang. We had also attended the state funeral for President Johnson, but Chiang's touched our hearts far more. He truly ‘repaid violence with virtue’ when it came to the past war. The profound impression that made on us goes with saying, of course.”

“Hiroko, please give up” – coma

Satō did not appear tired following his return from Taiwan. Aside from some eye trouble, he seemed by all indications to be healthy. Unnoticed by him, however, his life was drawing to a close.

On May 18, 1975, Satō played golf with his sons at the Three Hundred Club in Chigasaki. He wrote in his journal:

I took up my clubs for the first time in a while. My opponents were Shinji and Ryūtarō. We started earlier than normal, at eleven. My performance was not at all admirable. I frequently missed with my driver in particular. I need to go to the hospital.

This was meant as a joke in light of his poor golf performance. While there are a few passages showing uneasiness about his health in Satō's journal, they are only on the level of March 12's entry: "I was slightly worried about my health, so I had Dr. Yatsuji examine me. There was nothing wrong." Satō made an appointment for three days at Jikei University Hospital from May 28, but this was only to receive a checkup.

Satō would collapse at Shinkiraku, a restaurant in Tsukiji, on May 19 and be admitted to Jikei University Hospital nine days earlier than expected, however. Satō had been attending a meeting of the Chōeikai with about twenty political and business leaders when this occurred.

In the restaurant's waiting room, Satō told Fukuda that "All I want is for you to [secure ratification of] the NPT. You know, because of the Nobel Prize." They soon moved into the main hall, and when Satō attempted to sit cross-legged, he fell over, in between a table and a legless chair (*zaisu*). Satō tried to get up, placing his hands on the table a couple of times.

Fukuda joked, "It's tough being fat," and offered Satō his hand, but he collapsed without taking it. He had fallen unconscious after having a stroke.

Hiroko, Shinji, Kishi, Secretary-General Nakasone, Policy Research Council Chairman Matsuno Raizō, Chief Cabinet Secretary Ide Ichitarō, Takeshita, and Hori were among those who rushed to the restaurant. Satō was carried to Jinkei University Hospital and placed in the hospital room that he had reserved for his checkup. Perhaps if he had scheduled his checkup for a little earlier, he never would have collapsed.

His coma lasted for two weeks, but Hiroko continued to care for him. A silent Satō seemed to be saying "Hiroko, please give up, please give up." According to Hiroko, Satō "never showed any sign of discomfort." In truth, however, both his hands and feet had become numb, and he had contracted pneumonia. He had to have a tube inserted below his Adam's apple via a tracheotomy because he was having difficulty breathing due to phlegm.

A get-well gift of fruit arrived from the Emperor and Empress on May 28 along with a message saying that they were worried for him. But Satō remained in his coma and was rapidly approaching his last day.

At 12:55 a.m. on June 3, sixteen days after his collapse, Satō quietly passed away. Cerebral hemorrhage was listed as the cause of death. When the doctor informed them that he had passed, Hiroko and their two sons gripped his still warm legs. Satō's face was peaceful, and he seemed to be slightly smiling.

He was seventy-four. It was early summer, just six months since he had received the Nobel Peace Prize. Outside, in the dead of night, raindrops were falling. It was

as if the rain was mourning the death of the former prime minister who had overseen the longest uninterrupted government in Japanese history.

Public funeral and afterward

Satō's body was laid in a casket. Hiroko placed his favorite playing cards, walking stick, and collared shirts with him. The collared shirts were pink, light purple, and light blue and were accompanied by flashy red, purple, and navy-blue ties. His favorite golf ball was also placed in the coffin.

Hiroko then placed a blank journal into the coffin. It was a request to "please continue writing your journal in the other world." Satō could be extremely meticulous and never failed to write in his journal, even when busy. Well aware of his character, Hiroko bought more journal books than necessary so as to have them ready. Having many blank journals available represented a desire for Satō to continue to have a long life.

Prime Minister Miki decided that Satō would have a public funeral and personally served as chairman. Hiroko was the chief mourner. The public funeral was jointly hosted by the government, LDP, and private volunteers. While it followed the form of a state funeral, it was not an official state funeral like Yoshida's had been. This is said to be because when those around Miki had privately sounded out the opposition parties on the issue, they had found resistance to the idea of a state funeral.

Miki was particularly sensitive to shifts in public opinion and the media. He may have recalled Satō's declaration at his final press conference that he "hated newspapers." There is no question that had either Fukuda or Tanaka, the two supporters of the Satō government, been prime minister, Satō – now a Nobel laureate – would have received a state funeral.

About 6,400 people attended the public funeral held at the Budokan on June 16. This was where, three years and one month earlier, Satō had shouted "Long live Japan!" and "Long live the Emperor!" after the ceremony for the reversion of Okinawa. Satō's remains were led by Miki and placed on the platform.

Miki read a memorial address for Satō in which he said that "The tremendous spirit and conviction that you showed during the reversion of Okinawa are what we most need right now. Overflowing with thoughts of your homeland and your fellow Japanese, you showed genuine patriotism and devotion."

Chamberlain Urabe Ryōgo offered a prayer as a servant of the Emperor and Empress, and there were offerings of flowers from the Crown Prince and Princess as well as envoys from various countries. Underneath the stand on which Satō's remains were placed, people's eyes were drawn to the collar of the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum and his golden Nobel Peace Prize medal.

Shortly after the public funeral ended, Kishi expressed his sadness at having lost his younger brother to Hiroko: "Eisaku was an idiot. You were so passionate about managing his health. But he'd escape your gaze and indulge in sweet things and eat too much. And now he's died."

Kishi was so overcome with loneliness that he paradoxically called his brother an "idiot."

Hiroko was regretful and said, “Thinking back things now, I should have been more forceful and stricter in interfering with him. No matter how much he yelled at me or seemed like he was going to hit me.”

In addition to Satō’s grave in his hometown of Tabuse, another was erected at the Tsukiji Honganji’s Wadabori Mausoleum in Eifuku, Suginami Ward. On both gravestones are words chosen by Yasuoka Masahiro: “Don’t Refuse. Don’t Drive Away. Don’t Compete. Don’t Submit.” According to Hiroko, these words accurately expressed Satō’s character. Satō’s younger son Shinji, who moved to the House of Representatives from the House of Councillors four years after his death, was also filled with admiration at the way that they “got to the heart of the old man.”

Hiroko remained healthy for years after Satō’s death. She would collapse from a subarachnoid hemorrhage on April 14, 1987, and pass away two days later after being admitted to Tokyo Women’s Medical University Hospital. She passed in the middle of the night, almost a month and a half after the twelfth anniversary of Satō’s death. Hiroko had been planning to lend her home to Secretary-General Takeshita and move to an apartment nearby but died just as she was about to do so. She had spent her life with Satō, having been betrothed to him at a young age. It was the death of the longest-lived postwar first lady.

Several months later, Kishi died of heart failure at the age of ninety on August 7. Regardless, the lineage of this “brilliant clan” was carried on by Kishi’s son-in-law Abe Shintarō and Shintarō’s younger son Abe Shinzō.

Afterword

Satō Eisaku, who oversaw the longest uninterrupted administration in Japanese history, achieved many accomplishments such as the reversion of Okinawa. He also had many reputations. The “politics of waiting” and “Satō the human resources expert” are terms often used when describing him. But the impression I received as I was writing the draft of this book was that he was perhaps the most “prime minister-like” of all of Japan’s postwar prime ministers.

But what kind of a politician is a “prime minister-like prime minister”? The leader of a large faction, Satō was defiantly brusque, and his mere presence alone was intimidating. And even if the media disliked him, they had no choice but to recognize his ability because of the way that he steadily took on important matters. He did not fall even when facing hardships head on; he overcame adversity and kept moving, even if he had to sometimes resort to hardline means to do so. That seems like a fair answer.

During the Koizumi Jun’ichirō government of some years ago, a staggering number of books were published on Koizumi. And currently many works – both critical of and praising – are being released about Abe Shinzō. It is natural for a serving prime minister to be in the spotlight, but look at the ongoing Tanaka boom, where books on Tanaka are being released almost monthly. Perhaps the arrival of this kind of phenomenon is because our image of what a prime minister should be like has been shaken. There is confusion about what a prime minister-like prime minister is.

If asked to name postwar prime minister-like prime ministers other than Satō, I would likely add Yoshida Shigeru, who taught Satō how to be a premier, and Satō’s older brother Kishi Nobusuke. Nakasone Yasuhiro was the last; I do not believe that any have appeared since.

This book traced Satō’s life from his youth to his receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize. It followed his career through the Ministry of Railways, his entrance into politics, and his time as a cabinet minister and prime minister. While much of the chapters on the Satō government were devoted to the reversion of Okinawa, I have also tried to discuss domestic politics and his personal relationships.

But even if he was a “prime minister-like prime minister,” Satō was by no means flawless. His initial banner policy of “social development” fell by the wayside. And because Okinawa is an issue that still affects us today, I have presumed to include some post-Satō developments in the second half of Chapter 5.

I feel there were significant issues with how Satō conducted his Kantei diplomacy, that is, his heavy reliance on secret envoys not just during the reversion of Okinawa but also with China and for the negotiations over textiles. This is less because it was two-dimensional diplomacy than because his excessive secrecy risked damaging the public trust and national interests. And as he did so, he committed two errors in appointing foreign ministers who were unlike him and his usual mastery of personnel management.

Last but not least, I would like to recognize the editors and proofreaders at Asahi Shimbun Publications who took painstaking efforts in the completion of this book. Due to my own faults and waiting for the release of the Kusuda Minoru Files and foreign ministry documents, it took me more than five years from the time I first received a letter from them in August 2012 to finish. I would like to deeply apologize to all those involved.

November 20, 2017

Hattori Ryūji

Table B1.1 List of Japanese Prime Ministers, 1946–1975

<i>Name</i>	<i>Took Office</i>	<i>Left Office</i>	<i>Party</i>
Yoshida Shigeru	May 22, 1946	May 24, 1947	Liberal
Katayama Tetsu	May 24, 1947	March 10, 1948	Socialist
Ashida Hitoshi	March 10, 1948	October 15, 1948	Democratic
Yoshida Shigeru	October 15, 1948	December 10, 1954	DLP/Liberal
Hatoyama Ichirō	December 10, 1954	December 23, 1956	Democratic/LDP
Ishibashi Tanzan	December 23, 1956	February 25, 1957	LDP
Kishi Nobusuke	February 25, 1957	July 19, 1960	LDP
Ikeda Hayato	July 19, 1960	November 9, 1964	LDP
Satō Eisaku	November 9, 1964	July 7, 1972	LDP
Tanaka Kakuei	July 7, 1972	December 9, 1974	LDP
Miki Takeo	December 9, 1974	December 24, 1976	LDP

Table B1.2 Timeline of Satō Eisaku's Life

27 March 1901	Born in Tabuse, Yamaguchi, third son of Satō Hidesuke and Moyo.
April 1913	Enters Yamaguchi Middle School
July 1918	Takes high school entrance examinations in Nagoya, meeting Ikeda Hayato. Accepted to Fifth High School (Kumamoto).
March 1921	Enters Tokyo Imperial University.
December 1923	Passes Higher Civil Service Examination.
May 1925	Enters the Ministry of Railways.
1925–1934	Works in various railway offices in Kyushu.
February 1926	Marries Satō Hiroko, his cousin.
June 1934	Named overseas research fellow, dispatched to Europe and America until 1936.
1936–1944	Rises in the ranks of the home ministry in Tokyo.
December 7, 1941	Attack on Pearl Harbor. Pacific theater of Second World War begins.
April 1944	Appointed director of Osaka Railway Bureau

(Continued)

Table B1.2 (Continued)

August 1945	End of Second World War. Satō is hospitalized with heavy fever.
January 1946	GHQ announces the purge of militarists from public offices.
February 1946	Appointed director of the Railway Bureau.
February 1947	Appointed administrative vice-minister of transportation by Yoshida Shigeru.
March 1948	Resigns from ministry. Joins the Democratic Liberal Party.
October 1948	Appointed chief cabinet secretary for the Yoshida government.
January 1949	Elected to the House of Representatives for the first time from Yamaguchi second district.
April 1950	Named secretary general of the Liberal Party.
July 1951	Serves as a cabinet minister for the first time (posts and telecommunications).
January 1953	Named secretary general of the Liberal Party
April-June 1954	Narrowly escapes arrest for bribery in connection with the Shipbuilding Scandal. Charged with campaign finance violations.
November 1955	Refuses to join newly formed Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), becomes independent.
December 1956	Receives amnesty when Japan joins the UN; campaign finance charges dropped.
February 1957	Joins LDP following Prime Minister Hatoyama's resignation.
June 1958	Serves as finance minister in the second Kishi government.
July 1961	Serves as MITI minister in Ikeda government.
January 1964	Launches S-Operation, his think tank.
July 1964	Defeated by Ikeda in LDP presidential election.
November 1964	First Satō government formed after Ikeda resigns due to illness.
February 1965	Holds first meeting of the Social Development Colloquium.
August 1965	Makes first postwar visit by a prime minister to Okinawa.
November 1966	Reelected as LDP president.
February 1967	Second Satō government formed.
November 1967	Visits US, meets with President Johnson. The two leaders' joint communiqué states that the Ogasawara Islands will be returned within a year and that the timing for the reversion of Okinawa will be decided "within a few years."
November 1968	Reelected as LDP president.
November 1969	Visits US, meets with President Nixon. It is announced in their joint statement that a "denuclearized and equal to the mainland" Okinawa would be returned to Japan in 1972.
January 1970	Third Satō government formed.
November 1970	Reelected as LDP president.
May 15, 1972	Okinawa returns to Japan.
June 1972	Announces resignation as prime minister.
November 1972	Awarded the Grand Cordon of the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum.
October 1974	Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
May 19, 1975	Collapses and falls into coma at restaurant in Tsukiji.
June 3, 1975	Dies at Jikei University Hospital.
June 16, 1975	Public funeral held.

Notes

Introduction

The Third Son of a Sake Brewer

Satō Eisaku, *Kyō wa Asu no Zenjitsu* [Today is the Day Before Tomorrow], (Tokyo: Face, 1964), 9–13, 24–26. Yamaguchi Society for Local History, *Satō Kansaku Tebikae* [Notes on Satō Kansaku], (privately published by Satō Eisaku, 1975), Preface, 167–179. Satō Hiroko, *Satō Hiroko no Saishō Fujin Hiroku* [The Secret Memoirs of First Lady Satō Hiroko], (Tokyo: Asahi Bunko, 1985), 23. Yamada Eizō, *Seiden Satō Eisaku* [Authentic Biography of Satō Eisaku] Volume 1, (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1988), 15–26.

Other works on Satō's life include Miyazaki Yoshimasa, *Saishō Satō Eisaku* [Prime Minister Satō Eisaku], (Tokyo: Shin Sangyō Keizai Kenkyūkai, 1980). Iwakawa Takashi, *Ninkai Satō Eisaku Kenkyū* [Ninkai: Research into Satō Eisaku], (Tokyo: Tokuma Bunko, 1984). Yamada Eizō, *Seiden Satō Eisaku* [Authentic Biography of Satō Eisaku] Volume 2, (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1988). Kōsaka Masataka, “Satō Eisaku – ‘Machi no Seiji’ no Kyojitsu” [Satō Eisaku: The Fiction and Fact of the “Politics of Waiting”] in Watanabe Akio, ed., *Sengo Nihon no Saishō-tachi* [Prime Ministers of Postwar Japan], (Tokyo: Chūkō Bunko, 2001), 207–247. Etō Shinkichi, *Etō Shinkichi Chosakushū – Daijūkan Satō Eisaku* [Collected Writings of Etō Shinkichi, Volume 10: Satō Eisaku], (Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten, 2003). Kōno Yasuko, “‘Satō Eisaku Nikki’ to ‘Kusuda Minoru Nikki’ – Chōki Seiken-ka no Gaikō to Naisei” [The Journals of Satō Eisaku and Kusuda Minoru: Foreign and Domestic Policy During a Lengthy Administration] in Kurosawa Fumitaka, Suetake Yoshiya, eds., *Nikki de Yomu Kindai Nihon Seiji-shi* [Modern Japanese Political History as Seen in Journals], (Tokyo: Minerva Shobō, 2017), 277–296.

Of these, there is much to be learned from the two volumes of Yamada's *Seiden Satō Eisaku*, a massive work of nearly a thousand pages. It was written at a time when many key sources such as the Kusuda Minoru Files and foreign ministry documents had not yet been made public, however. The “Kusuda Minoru Files” are documents left behind by the Prime Minister's Secretary Kusuda Minoru. They can be viewed online at <http://j-dac.jp/KUSUDA/index.html>. Wada Jun, Murai Tetsuya, Murai Ryōta, Nakashima Takuma, and Inoue Masaya have written an informative bibliography of the files.

Also, Yamada was an *Asahi Shimbun* reporter who was close to Satō. Given this relationship and the fact that he wrote his book at the request of Satō's wife Hiroko, it is difficult to deny that his book has a bit of a hagiographic character. Yamada would hang out in the secretarial office at the Kantei where he received the nickname "Yamachū" (from his prior service as a naval lieutenant or "chū"). Satō was close to Yamada but criticized the editorials in the *Asahi Shimbun* as being biased. National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies COE Project for Oral History and Policy Enrichment, *Motono Moriyuki Oral History*, (Tokyo: National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, 2005), 101, 114, 120–121.

For an overview of the Satō government, works include Kusuda Minoru, *Shuseki Hishokan* [Chief Secretary], (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1975). Kusuda Minoru, *Satō Seiken: 2797 Nichi* [The Satō Government: 2,797 Days], (Tokyo: Gyōsei Mondai Kenkyūjo Shuppankyoku, 1983). Senda Hisashi, *Satō Naikaku Kaisō* [Recollections of the Satō Government], (Tokyo: Chūkō Shinsho, 1987). Nakashima Takuma, *Kōdo Seichō to Okinawa Henkan 1960–1972* [High-Speed Growth and the Reversion of Okinawa 1960–1972], (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2012), 109–287.

For the Satō government's domestic policies including "social development," see Kikuchi Nobuteru, "Shakai Kaihatsu no Zassetsu to Sono Haikei – Keizai Shakai Hatten Keikaku o Chūshin to shite" [The Breakdown of Social Development and its Background – Focusing on the Economic and Social Development Plan], *Neppō/Nihon Gendaishi* 15, 2009, 71–116. Kikuchi Nobuteru, "Nihon ni okeru Shakai Kaihatsu Rōsen no Zassetsu – Shin Keizai Shakai Hatten Keikaku no Motta Imi" [The Breakdown of Social Development Plans in Japan – The Significance of the New Economic and Social Development Plan], *Rekishi Hyōron* 724, 2010, 45–60. Murai Ryota, "'Shakai Kaihatsu' Ron to Seito System no Hen'yo – Satō Seiken to 70-Nen Anpo" [The Theory of "Social Development" and the Changing of the Party System – The Satō Government and the 1970 Security Treaty], *Komazawa Daigaku Hogakubu Kenkyū Kiyō* 71, 2013, 1–32. Murai Ryota, "1970-Nen no Nihon no Kōsō – Aratana Nihon e no Toikake ni Kotaete" [The Concept of Japan in 1970 – Responding to Questions for a New Japan] in Fukunaga Fumio, ed., *Daini no "Sengo" no Keisei Katei – 1970 Nendai Nihon no Seijiteki/Gaikoteki Saihen* [The Formation Process of a Second "Postwar" – The Political and Diplomatic Realignment of 1970s Japan], (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 2015), 35–57.

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Diplomacy – The Political Process over the Okinawa Issue], (Tokyo: Fukumura Shuppan, 1970). Fukui Haruhiro, “Okinawa Henkan Kōshō – Nihon Seifu ni okeru Kettei Katei” [Negotiations Over the Reversion of Okinawa – The Japanese Government’s Decision Process], *Kokusai Seiji* 52, 1975, 97–124. I.M. Desler, Fukui Haruhiro, Satō Hideo, *Nichibei Sen’i Funsō* [The US-Japan Textiles Conflict], (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1980). Kōno Yasuko, *Okinawa Henkan o Meguru Seiji to Gaikō – Nichibei Kankei-shi no Bunmyaku* [The Politics and Diplomacy of the Reversion of Okinawa – The Context of US-Japan Relations], (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1994). Kōno Yasuko, “Okinawa Henkan to Chiikiteki Yakuwari Buntan Ron – Kiki Ninshiki no Isō o Megutte (I), (II)” [A Theory of the Reversion of Okinawa and the Territorial Division of Roles – On Phases of Crisis Awareness, Parts I and II], *Hōgaku Shirin* 106:1, 106:3, 2008–2009, 1–57, 93–143. Kōno Yasuko, “Satō Naikaku-ki no Gaimushō to Okinawa Mondai – Zenmen Henkan Ron no Sentaku o Megutte” [The Foreign Ministry and the Okinawa Problem during the Satō Government – On the Complete Reversion Theory], *Hōgaku Shirin* 110:4, 2012, 1–26. Gabe Masaaki, *Okinawa Henkan to wa Nan Datta no ka – Nichibei Sengo Kōshōshi no Naka de* [What was the Reversion of Okinawa? – Amidst the History of Postwar US-Japan Negotiations], (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2000). Miyazato Seigen, *Nichibei Kankei to Okinawa 1945–1972* [US-Japan Relations and Okinawa 1945–1972], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000). Robert D. Eldridge, *Iotō to Ogasawara o Meguru Nichibei Kankei* [US-Japan Relations Over Iwo Jima and the Ogasawaras], (Kagoshima: Nanpō Shinsha, 2008). Wakaizumi Kei, *Tasaku Nakarishi o Shinzemu to Hosu – Kaku Mitsuyaku no Shinjitsu* [I Want to Believe There Was No Other Policy – The Truth of the Secret Agreement on Nuclear Weapons], (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 2009). Ishii Osamu, *Zero kara Wakaru Kaku Mitsuyaku* [Understanding the Secret Agreement on Nuclear Weapons from Nothing], (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo, 2010). Gotō Ken’ichi, “Okinawa Kaku Mitsuyaku” o Seotte – Wakaizumi Kei no Shōgai [Shouldering the Okinawa Secret Agreement on Nuclear Weapons – The Life of Wakaizumi Kei], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010). Hatano Sumio, *Rekishi to shite no Nichibei Anpo Jōyaku – Kimitsu Gaikō Kiroku ga Akasu “Mitsuyaku” no Kyojitsu* [The US-Japan Security Treaty as History – The Fact and Fiction of the “Secret Agreements” as Made Clear by Confidential Diplomatic Records], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010). Morita Yoshihiko, *Hyōden Wakaizumi Kei – Aikoku no Misshi* [A Critical Biography of Wakaizumi Kei – Patriotic Secret Envoy], (Bunshun Shinsho, 2010). Ōta Masakatsu, *Nichibei “Kaku Mitsuyaku” no Zenbō* [A Complete Look at the US-Japan “Secret Agreement on Nuclear Weapons”], (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2011). Nozoe Fumiaki, “1967-nen Okinawa Henkan Mondai to Satō Gaikō – Kokunai Yoron to Anzen Hoshō o Megutte” [The 1967 Okinawa Reversion Issue and Satō’s Foreign Policy – On Domestic Public Opinion and National Security], *Hitobashi Hōgaku* 10:1, 2011, 325–360. “NHK Special” Reporter Team, *Okinawa Henkan no Daishō – Kaku to Kichi, Misshi Wakaizumi Kei no Kunō* [The Price for the Reversion of Okinawa: Nuclear Weapons and Bases – Secret Envoy Wakaizumi Kei’s Anguish], (Tokyo: Kobunsha, 2012). Shinobu Takashi, *Wakaizumi Kei to*

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Journals of participants include Satō Eisaku, *Satō Eisaku Nikki* [The Journal of Satō Eisaku] 6 volumes, ed., Itō Takashi, (Asahi Shimbun, 1997–1999). Kusuda Minoru, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki – Satō Eisaku Sōri Shuseki Hishokan no 2000 Nichi* [The Journal of Kusuda Minoru – 2000 Days as Chief Secretary to Prime Minister Satō Eisaku], eds., Wada Jun, Iokibe Makoto, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2001).

The contemporary significance of research on Satō is discussed in the introduction, so it will not be repeated here. From here on, I would like to trace Satō's life based on the newly disclosed Kusuda Minoru Files and foreign ministry documents.

Two Excellent Older Brothers – Ichirō and Nobusuke

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 12–14, 20–22. Satō Shintarō, ed., *Chichi Satō Ichirō ga Kakinokoshita Gunjuku Kaigi Hiroku* [The Private Records on the Naval Disarmament Conferences that my Father, Satō Ichiro, Left Behind], (Tokyo: Bungeisha, 2001). Hata Ikuhiko, ed., *Nihon Rikukaigun Sōgō Jiten* [General Dictionary of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy], 2nd Edition, (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2005), 648–649. *Tokyo Shimbun*, August 11, 1975 (evening).

“He had a better disposition”

The industrialist Nagano Shigeo was a distant relative of Kishi and was close to the three brothers. Nagano's career included serving as president and managing director of Fuji Iron & Steel, the first president of Nippon Steel, and so on. Nagano recalled that “My impression from associating with the three brothers was that Ichirō was the smartest of the three, but he died young unfortunately. The strongest impression I received from Eisaku was that he somehow had the mannerisms of a bureaucrat. Because Kishi was a calm man, however, the kind who didn't get hung up on small things, I've continued to have a close relationship to him just as I did then.” Nagano Shigeo, *Waga Zaikai Jinsei* [My Life in Business], (Tokyo: Diamond-sha, 1982), 205.

Adoptive Marriage – Hiroko and Eisaku

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 73–74. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 23–26, 150–152. Yamada, *Seiden*, 1:1, 20–21. Hara Yoshihisa, *Kishi Nobusuke*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1995), 3. COE Project, Motono Moriyuki Oral History, 116–117.

Matsuoka Yōsuke's “Bugle”

Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 147–148.

An Inarticulate Leader of Brats – Eisaku at Kuniki Ordinary Elementary School

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 14–20, 22–23, 28–32. Yamada, *Seiden*, 1:26–28.

Abandoning His Dreams of the Military – Yamaguchi Middle School

Asahi Shimbun, August 3, 1961. Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 32–45. Yamaguchi High School 100 Year History Editorial Committee, *Yamaguchi Kenritsu Yamaguchi Kōtō Gakkō Hyakunenshi* [100 Years of Yamaguchi High School], (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Kenritsu Yamaguchi Kōtō Gakkō Kaikō 95 Shūnen Kinen Jigyōkai, 1972), 11–12, 284, 332, 337–340.

High School Entrance Exams – Meeting Ikeda Hayato

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 46–51, 65–66. Itō Masaya, *Ikeda Hayato*, (Tokyo: Jiji Tsūshin, 1985), 7. Fujii Nobuyuki, *Ikeda Hayato – Shotoku Baizō de Ikunda* [Ikeda Hayato – We're Going with Income-Doubling], (Tokyo: Minerva Shobō, 2012), 8–11.

Indomitable Will and Simple Honesty – “Bankara” Kumamoto Fifth High School

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 52–73. Society for Publishing The Railway Man Satō Eisaku, ed., *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku* [The Railway Man Satō Eisaku], (Tokyo: Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku Kankōkai, 1977), 328. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Kumamoto Branch, *Gokō Jinmyaku – Gokō Kaikō 95 Shūnen Kinen* [Fifth High School Connections – Commemorating the 95th Anniversary of the Fifth High School], (Tokyo: Shōwa Shuppan, 1983), 17–23. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 26.

Many graduates of the Fifth High School went on to become professionals like bankers, government officials, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and judges. Daigo Koto Gakkou Kaiko 50-Nen Kinenkai, ed., *Goko 50-Nen-shi* [A 50 Year History of the Fifth High School], (Kumamoto: Fifth High School, 1939), 574.

A Secret Plan for the Higher Civil Service Examination – Tokyo Imperial University

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 75–86.

The Ministry of Railways – Matsuoka’s Push

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 87–95. Nippon Yūsen, ed., *Nippon Yūsen Kabushiki Gaisha 50 Nenshi* [A 50 Year History of Nippon Yūsen], (Tokyo: Nippon Yūsen, 1935), 318–319. Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 120–127. Hara, *Kishi Nobusuke*, 36–37.

Chapter 1

Director Yoshida Hiroshi’s “Railroad Familism” – Learning in Moji

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 96–99, 101, 125–141. *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku*, 3–5, 28–33, 224–226, 326, 353. Nishimura Eiichi, *Kumo o Tsukamu Koto ka* [Grasping Clouds?], (Tokyo: Nishi Nihon Shimbun, 1983), 9–11. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 22–27. Hata Ikuhiko, ed., *Nihon Kanryō-sei Sōgō Jiten – 1868–2000* [A General Dictionary of the Japanese Bureaucracy, 1868–2000], (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2001), 239–243. Hata, *Rikukaigun Sōgō Jiten*, 211.

Marriage – Stationmaster at the Age of 25

An “Irritatingly Slow-Footed” Career – Ten Years Working Away from Tokyo

Satō Ichirō, “Otōto Nobusuke, Eisaku o Kataru – Sehyō to Hantai na Kyōdai Ai” [Speaks of His Younger Brothers Nobusuke and Eisaku – A Brotherly Love that Goes against the Popular Judgment], *Bungei Shunjū*, January 1955 Extra Edition, 141. Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 95–120, 141–144, 147–148. *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku*, 40, 49, 60, 65. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 26–33, 103–108, 152–153, 260–263. Satō Shintaro, *Chichi Satō Ichirō*.

Matsuoka and Yoshida’s Argument – Japan’s International Isolation

Harada Kumao, *Saionji-kō to Seikyoku* [Duke Saionji and Politics], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1950), 2:365–366. Inoki Masamichi, *Hyōden Yoshida Shigeru* [Yoshida Shigeru, a Critical Biography], (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbun, 1980), 2:148–150. Itō Takashi, Hirose Yoshihiro, eds., *Makino Nobuaki Nikki* [The Journal of

Makino Nobuaki], (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron-sha, 1990), 509, 521, 526–527. Inoue Toshikazu, *Shōwa no Sensō – Nikki de Yomu Senzen Nihon* [The Shōwa Wars: Pre-war Japan as Seen in Journals], (Tokyo: Kōdansha Gendai Shinsho, 2016), 64–72.

**“Friendly” Americans – Satō as an Overseas Research Fellow
Hitler’s Germany and Mussolini’s Italy**

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 148. *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku*, 77–153. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 134–135, 154–155.

The Joint Private Station Usage Proposal – Business Section of the Supervisory Bureau

Kiyasu Kenjiro, *Tetsudō Hōki Ron* [Railways Legislative Theory], (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1935). Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 148–151.

The Second Sino-Japanese War – Chief of the Railways Section

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 146, 151–160. *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku*, 159–162, 178–188. Toyama Misao, *Rikukaigun Shōkan Jinji Soran (Rikugun Hen)* [Survey of Army and Navy Officer Personnel Matters (Army)], (Tokyo: Fuyo Shobō Shuppan, 1981), 351, 353–354.

Conflict Over the Subway – General Affairs Section Chief

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 22, 88, 92, 161–165. Satō Eisaku, introduction to Sakai Kenki, ed., *Matsuno Tsuruhei Den* [Biography of Matsuno Tsuruhei], (Kumamoto: Kumamoto Denki Tetsudo, 1972). Takitani Yuki, Horikawa Tan, ed., *Rekidai Yūsei Daijin Kaikoroku* [Memoirs of Postal Ministers], (Tokyo: Teishin Kenkyūkai, 1973), 2:7–8. Yamaguchi Society for Local History, *Satō Kansaku Tebikae*, 179. *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku*, 163–165, 192–195, 198–199, 206–209. Gotō Keita, *Watashi no Rirekisho – Shōwa no Keieisha Gunzō* [My Career – The Businessmen of the Showa Period], (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1992), 26–27. Kōsaka Masataka, “Satō Eisaku,” 210, 217.

“A politician of conviction” – The Lessons of Matsuoka Diplomacy

“Triple-Jump Eisaku” – Director of the Supervisory Bureau

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 165–167. Takitani, Horikawa, *Yūsei Daijin*, 2:4. Satō Eisaku, introduction to Society for the Publishing of a Biography of Matsuoka Yōsuke, ed., *Matsuoka Yōsuke – Sono Hito to Shōgai* [Matsuoka Yōsuke – The Man and His Life], (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1974), 2–3. *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku*, 165–174, 212–216. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 34–35, 101–102, 146–147.

Major General Yoshizumi became head of the Development Bureau in April 1942. He was promoted to lieutenant general in June 1943.

Demotion – Osaka Railway Bureau Director

Life or Death Crisis – Learning of Japan’s Defeat From a Hospital Bed

“Changing How I Live” – The Fate of the Three Brothers

Satō Ichirō, *Kaigun 50 Nenshi* [A Fifty Year History of the Imperial Navy], (Masu Shobō, 1943). Satō Ichirō, “Eikoku Kaigun no Suion” [The Declining Fortunes of the Royal Navy] in Mainichi Shimbun, ed., *Kuzureyuku Eiteikoku 20 Nenshi* [A 20 Year History of the Collapse of the British Empire], (Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbun,

1943), 165–212. Horiki Kenzō, *Sōryokusen to Yūsō* [Total War and Transportation], (Tokyo: Kōtsū Kenkyūjo, 1944). Horiki Kenzō, “*Raku Ja Ne Yo*” [“It’s Not Easy, You Know”], (Tokyo: Tetsudō Kosaikai, 1975), 20–22. *Mainichi Shimbun*, October 2, 1945. Pearl Buck, *Ajiya no Tomo e* [To My Asian Friends], trans. Ishikawa Kin’ichi, (Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbun, 1946), 92–101. Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 144–145, 167–177, 282. JNR, *Nihon Kokuyū Tetsudō 100 Nenshi* [100 Year History of Japanese National Railways], (Tokyo: JNR, 1973), 10:47. *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku*, 72, 173–177, 222–223, 229–272. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 35–40.

Chapter 2

“Now there’s only Eisaku” – Kishi’s Arrest

Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 39–41.

“I plead not guilty” – Matsuoka’s Arrest

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 177–181. Satō Eisaku, “Ima Dakara Hanaso” [We Should Talk About This Now], *Bungei Shunjū*, January 1973, 156. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 156–157. Kuriya Kentarō, *Tokyo Saiban e no Michi* [The Road to the Tokyo Trials], (Tokyo: Kōdansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 2013), 420–422.

The “Great Familism of the Railways” – Director of the Railway Bureau

Asahi Shimbun, March 3, 1946. Nakamura Kikuo, *Matsuoka Komakichi Den* [A Biography of Matsuoka Komakichi], (Tokyo: Keizai Orai-sha, 1963), 275–285. Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 181–184, 206. JNR, *100 Nenshi*, 10:156–157. *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku*, 275–278, 288–305, 313–314. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 33–34, 44–45.

The Resolution of Matsuoka and Yoshida

“I worked to win the war” – The September 15 Conflict

The February 1 Strike and an Illusory Cabinet Appointment

An Affinity With Yoshida – Administrative Vice-Minister of Transport

Ariga Sōkichi, *Kiga Toppa Shikin – Yoranki no Kokutetsu Rōdō Undō* [Starvation Breakthrough Capital – The Infancy of the National Railways Labor Movement] (Tokyo: Kōtsū Rōdō Kenkyūjo, 1953), 15–16, 29–34, 41, 55–56, 73, 76, 94, 97–98, 100, 112–113, 115–119, 121, 124–127, 152–154, 169. Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 185–194. Society for the Publishing of a Biography of Matsuoka Yōsuke, *Matsuoka Yōsuke*, 1186, 1190. *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku*, 217–218, 278–311, 341–348. Masuda Kaneshichi, *Masuda Kaneshichi Kaisōroku – Yoshida Jidai to Watakushi* [The Memoirs of Masuda Kaneshichi – The Yoshida Era and Me], (Mainichi Shimbun, 1984), 21–52. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 42, 45–48, 134–135, 157.

Satō’s “Motivation for Going Into Politics” – Contact With the Katayama Government

“A Heaven-Sent Opportunity” – Resigning

Okada Seiichi, “Komuinhō no Kaisei to Sangyōkai e no Han’ei – Sangyō Heiwa to Seisan Kōjō no Michi Akaru” [Revision of the National Public Service Law

and its Effects on Business – Opening a Path to Industrial Peace and Improving Productivity], *Jitsugyō Tenbō* 20:10, 1948, 4–5, 9. Okada Seiichi, “Salvage Yobanashi” [Evening Tales of Salvage], *Jitsugyō no Nihon* 54:8, 1951, 40–42. Okada Seiichi, “Tōnan Ajia Muke Yūsōjin no Kyōka de Kyōryoku Suishin” [Promoting Cooperation by Strengthening Exports to Southeast Asia], *Jitsugyō no Sekai*, 48:10, 1951, 78. Okada Seiichi, “Waga Salvage Gyō no Katsuyaku” [My Activities in the Salvage Industry], *Jitsugyō Tenbō* 23:7, 1951, 84–85. Okada Seiichi, “Yakumu Baishō to Salvage” [Labor Compensation and Salvage], *Jitsugyō no Nihon* 56:7, 1953, 80–81. Nagasawa Genkō, ed., *Tomabechi Gizō Kaikoroku* [The Memoirs of Tomabechi Gizō], (Tokyo: Asada Shoten, 1951), 303–307. Maejima Yoshimasa, “Salvage Ō Okada Seiichi no Hansei (1)(2)” [Half of the Life of Salvage King Okada Seiichi (1)(2)], *Jitsugyō no Nihon* 54:13, 54:14, 1951, 64–66, 52–54. Koga Tatsuo, Okada Seiichi, Kataoka Yumihachi, “Chinbotsu Sen Hikiage o Kataru” [Discussing the Raising of Sunken Ships], *Jitsugyō no Nihon* 54:15, 1951, 84–89. Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 194–206. Nishio Suehiro, *Nishio Suehiro no Seiji Oboegaki* [The Political Notes of Nishio Suehiro], (Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbun, 1968), 151–152, 172–191. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, June 3, 1975. *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku*, 285, 311–314. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 48–49. Fukuda Takeo, *Kaiko 90 Nen* [90 Years of Recollections], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 162. Sodei Rinjiro, ed., *Yoshida Shigeru=MacArthur Ōfuku Shokanshu (1945–1951)* [The Correspondence between Yoshida Shigeru and MacArthur (1945–1951)], (Hōsei Daigaku, 2000), 27, 50–51, 169–170. Yoshida Shigeru, *Kaisō 10 Nen* [10 Years of Recollections], (Tokyo: Chūkō Bunko, 2014), 1:177.

“The Yoshida School” – Head of the Yamaguchi Chapter of the Democratic Liberal Party

Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 206–214. *Tetsudōjin Satō Eisaku*, 171–172, 305. Masuda, *Kaisōroku*, 126–127. Okazaki Katsuo, *Sengo 20 Nen no Henreki* [20 Years of Traveling], (Tokyo: Chūkō Bunko, 1999), 63.

The Second Yoshida Government – Chief Cabinet Secretary

“There are no scoops in Awashima” – The “Unarmed” Chief Cabinet Secretary

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For more on Satō during this period, see Murai Tetsuya, *Sengo Seiji Taisei no Kigen – Yoshida Shigeru no “Kantei Shudō”* [The Origins of the Postwar Political System – Yoshida Shigeru’s “Kantei Leadership”], (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2008), 194, 227–228, 238–239, 274–276.

The “Conspiracy Dissolution” and Satō’s First Election

The National Railway as a Public Corporation and the Junkeikai – DLP Policy Research Council Chair

Satō Eisaku, “Sōsenkyo to Minjitō” [The Democratic Liberal Party and a General Election], *Senken Keizai* 24, 1949, 20–21. Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 220, 283. Ishida Hirohide, *Shōbu no Kodoku* [The Loneliness of Competition], (Tokyo: Tokyo Shobō, 1958), 102. Ishida Hirohide, *Watakushi no Seikai Shōwa-shi* [My History of the Political World of the Showa Period], (Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shimpō, 1986), 68–69, 76, 82, 178. Takitani Yuki, Horikawa Tan, *Yūsei Daijin*, 2:32–33. JNR, *Nihon Kokuyū Tetsudō 100 Nenshi* [100 Year History of Japanese National Railways], (Tokyo: JNR, 1973), 12:5–13. Miyazaki, *Satō Eisaku*, 25–33. Miyazaki, *Miyazaki Nikki*, 1:133. Masuda, *Kaisōroku*, 109–110, 123–125. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 50–55. Society for the Publication of “Politics and People”, ed., *Hitotsubu no Mugi – Ima Yomigaeru Hoshijima Nirō no Shōgai* [One Grain of Wheat – The Life of Hoshijima Nirō Brought Back to Life], (Tokyo: Kōsaido Shuppan, 1996), 22, 130–131, 147–150. Kuriya, *Tokyo Saiban*, 450–451.

The Peace Dispute and the “Self-Righteous Judgment of Scholars” – Liberal Party Secretary-General

The House of Councillors Election and the Red Purge

Yomiuri Shimbun, March 2, 1950. *Asahi Shimbun*, March 29, 1950, May 5, 1950, May 7, 1950, June 7, 1950, June 27, 1950, February 7, 1951. Hatoyama Ichirō, *Hatoyama Ichiro Kaikoroku* [Memoirs of Hatoyama Ichiro], (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū Shinsha, 1957), 94. House of Representatives, *Gikai Seido*, 764–767, 949–961. *Tsuiso no Hirokawa Kōzen*, 633, 655. Ōhama Nobumoto, *Watakushi no Okinawa Sengo-shi – Henkan Hishi* [My History of Postwar Okinawa – The Secret History of Reversion], (Tokyo: Konshu no Nihon, 1971), 66. Hokkoku Shimbun Editorial Bureau, ed., *Sengo Seiji e no Shōgen – Masutani Shūji to Sono Shūhen* [Testimony on Postwar Politics – Masutani Shūji and His Surroundings], (Kanazawa: Hokkoku Shimbun, 1974), 250. Miyazaki, *Satō Eisaku*, 32–33. Morikawa Akira, ed., *Tsubokawa Shinzō-Sensei o Shinobu no Ki* [A Record of Remembering Tsubokawa Shinzo], (privately published by Sakai Kaoru, 1980). Yoshida Shigeru Memorial Foundation, ed., *Yoshida Shigeru Shokan* [The Letters of Yoshida Shigeru], (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 1994), 327–328.

Satō’s Three Accomplishments as Minister of Posts and Minister of Telecommunications

Satō Eisaku, “Shikin Kakutoku ni Yoron no Shiji o!!!” [Public Support for Securing Capital!!!], *Diamond Bekkan*, July 1952, 28–30. Satō Eisaku, “Satō Daijin Roso Incho to Oi ni Kataru” [Minister Satō Speaks with the Union Chairman at Length], *Kangyō Rōdō* 6:1, 1952, 4–11. Inamasu Hisayoshi, *Kanpō Nenkin*

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**The "Snap Dissolution" and the Fragmented Election
From Minister of Construction to a Second Term as Secretary-General
The "Baka Yarō Dissolution" – The "Debureaucratization" of Secretary-General Satō**

Satō's Manuevers and Kishi's Return

Asahi Shimbun, August 28, 1952, October 3, 1952, November 28, 1952, November 29, 1952, December 5, 1952 (evening), January 31, 1953, March 1, 1953, March 2, 1953 (evening), March 28, 1953, April 21, 1953, April 22, 1953. Satō Eisaku, "Kokudo Kaihatsu o Uttaeru" [Calling for National Land Development], *Jitsugyō no Sekai*, January 1953, 44–45. Satō Eisaku, "Nentō Shokan" [New Year Speech], *Shintōshi*, January 1953, 2–3. Ōno Banboku, *Ōno Banboku Kaisōroku* [The Memoirs of Ōno Banboku], (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1962), 113, 124–125, 156. Editorial Committee for the Publication of Recollections of Ōno Banboku, ed., *Ōno Banboku – Shōden to Tsuisōki* [Ōno Banboku – A Brief Biographical Sketch and Recollections], (Tokyo: Ōno Banboku-Sensei Tsuisōroku Kankōkai, 1970), 124. Sakai, *Matsuno Tsuruhei*, 235–237. Editorial Committee for the 30 Year History of the Ministry of Construction, ed., *Kensetsushō 30 Nenshi* [30 Year History of the Ministry of Construction], (Tokyo: Kensetsu Kōhō Kyōgikai, 1978), 7. Shinoda Kōsaku, *Seikai 33 Nen* [33 Years of Politics], (Tokyo: Shinoda Seiji Keizai Kenkyūkai, 1978), 85–87, 227–228. Miyazaki, *Satō Eisaku*, 41–54. Kishimoto, *Issei no Michi*, 110–111. Kishi Nobusuke, *Kishi Nobusuke Kaikoroku – Hoshu Gōdō to Anpo Kaitei* [Kishi Nobusuke's Memoirs – The Conservative Merger and Revision of the Security Treaty], (Tokyo: Kōsaidō Shuppan, 1983), 63–84. Nishimura, *Kumo o Tsukamu*, 9–11, 27–29, 103, 114, 155–156. Iwakawa, *Satō Eisaku Kenkyū*, 33, 71–77. Masuda, *Kaisōroku*, 246–247. Yamada, *Seiden*, 1:157, 166, 199–238. Yoshida, *Yoshida Shigeru Shokan*, 328. Fukuda, *Kaiko 90 Nen*, 94–104.

For Ikeda's statements that led to the motion of no confidence, see *Dai 15 Kai Kokkai Shūgiin Kaigiroku* [Records of the House of Representatives for the 15th Diet] No. 7, November 27, 1952, 12.

**Hatoyama's Return to the Liberal Party and the Shipbuilding Scandal
A "Destined" Amnesty – From Indictment to Dismissal**

From the “Ogata” Concept to the Resignation En Masse of the Yoshida Cabinet

Asahi Shimbun, February 22, 1954, February 25, 1954, March 29, 1954 (evening), April 4, 1954 (evening), April 14, 1954, April 14, 1954 (evening), April 21, 1954, April 23, 1954, April 24, 1954 (evening), May 14, 1954, May 22, 1954, June 5, 1954 (evening), June 13, 1954, June 16, 1954 (evening), June 25, 1954, August 4, 1954, September 16, 1954 (evening), September 26, 1954 (evening), September 30, 1954, October 9, 1954, November 5, 1954 (evening), November 9, 1954, November 30, 1954 (evening), December 7, 1954 (evening), December 19, 1956 (evening), December 28, 1956 (evening), August 16, 1957. House of Representatives, *Gikai Saiedo*, 812, 989. Miyazaki, *Seikai 25 Nen*, 138. Takitani, Hori-kawa, *Yūsei Daijin*, 2:49–50. Shinoda, *Sekai 33 Nen*, 114. Tanaka Jirō, Satō Isao, Nomura Jirō, eds., *Sengo Seiji Saiban Shiroku* [Historical Records of Postwar Political Trials], (Tokyo: Daichi Hōki Shuppan, 1980), 2:317–338. Kishi, *Kaikoroku*, 119–122. Satō Sanae, *Satō Hiroko – Naite Waratte* [Satō Hiroko – Crying and Smiling], (Tokyo: Yamanote Shobō, 1984), 198–200. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 55, 63–71, 136–137. Shindō Eiichi, ed., *Ashida Hitoshi Nikki* [Journal of Ashida Hitoshi], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986), 5:118, 156, 162, 168, 173, 177–179, 181–186, 189, 191, 194–196, 198, 205, 207, 209–212. Yamada, *Seiden*, 1:242–279, 326–328. Itō Shigeki, *Kenji Sōchō no Kaisō* [Recollections of a Public Prosecutor General], (Tokyo: Asahi Bunko, 1992), 23–24, 30, 33. Yoshida, *Yoshida Shigeru Shokan*, 328–329. Fukuda, *Kaiko 90 Nen*, 107. Tsubuhari Osamu, Tsuboi Yoshiki, eds., *Samazamana Koto Omoidasu Sakura Kana – Tsuboi Genkō Den* [Biography of Tsuboi Genkō], (Tokyo: Tsubasa Sangyō, 1997), 47, 92. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 1:141–209, 397. Hatoyama Ichirō, Hatoyama Kaoru, *Hatoyama Ichirō/Kaoru Nikki Jokan Hatoyama Ichiro-Hen* [The Journals of Hatoyama Ichiro and Kaoru Vol I – Hatoyama Ichiro], eds., Itō Takashi, Suetake Yoshiya, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 1999), 579, 706, 715, 720, 723, 732, 742, 748, 750, 756, 765. Ishibashi Tan’ichi, Itō Takashi, eds., *Ishibashi Tanzan Nikki*, 2:645, 652–654, 657, 659, 661–672. Hatoyama Ichirō, Hatoyama Kaoru, *Hatoyama Ichirō/Kaoru Nikki Gekan Hatoyama Kaoru-Hen* [The Journals of Hatoyama Ichiro and Kaoru Vol II – Hatoyama Kaoru], eds., Itō Takashi, Suetake Yoshiya, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2005), 75, 81, 346, 422, 560, 612.

There are no signs that Satō accompanying Yoshida drew any notice overseas. “Yoshida Sōri Ōbei Hōmon Kankei Ikken (1954–9) Shimbun Ronchō” [Matters Related to Prime Minister Yoshida’s Trip to Europe and America (September 1954) – Press Reaction], A.1.5.0.3–5, Diplomatic Records Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hererafter MOFA).

The “Honor Student” and “Transfer Student” of the Yoshida School

Yomiuri Shimbun, January 6, 1958, June 13, 1958. *Asahi Shimbun*, June 10, 1962 (evening). Itō, *Ikeda Hayato*, 35. Matsuno Raizō, *Hoshu Honryū no Shisō to Kōdō – Matsuno Raizō Oboegaki* [Thoughts and Actions of the Conservative Mainstream – The Notes of Matsuno Raizo], ed., Sengo Seiji Kenyūkai, (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1985), 54.

Chapter 3**Abandoned – The “Hatoyama Boom” Election**

Yomiuri Shimbun, January 25, 1955, March 1, 1955. *Asahi Shimbun*, March 17, 1955, March 19, 1955. Masutani Shūji, “Watakushi no Rirekisho” [My Career] in Nihon Keizai Shimbun, ed., *Watakushi no Rirekisho* [My Career], (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1960), 11:300–301. Satō Eisaku, introduction to Naka Masao, *Masutani Shūji*, (Tokyo: Masutani Shūji Denki Kōkankai, 1967). Miyazaki, *Satō Eisaku*, 55–58. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 55–58.

Enduring the Birth of the Liberal Democratic Party**The Split of the “Yoshida Thirteen” – Twelve Against One****First Sprouts of the Satō Faction – The Mokuyōkai****A “Season of Learning” – Absenting Himself From the Diet for the Soviet-Japanese Joint Declaration****LDP Presidential Election – A Staff Officer in the Kishi Camp****The “Triumphant General” Joins the LDP – From Ishibashi to Kishi**

Asahi Shimbun, November 13, 1955 (evening), November 14, 1955, November 16, 1955, November 28, 1956, January 31, 1957 (evening), February 1, 1957 (evening), March 10, 1957, October 9, 1957. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, December 11, 1956. Kōno Ichiro, *Ima Dakara Hanasō* [We Should Talk About This Now], (Tokyo: Shunyōdō Shoten, 1958), 185. House of Representatives, *Gikai Seido*, 840. Satō Eisaku, “Hakkan o Shuku suru” [Congratulations on Publication] in Matsuno Raizō, *Giin Seikatsu 25 Nen – Asu o Mezashite* [25 Years as a Diet Member – Aiming for Tomorrow], (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Jigyō Shuppan, 1972), i-ii. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 1:219–221, 223–224, 228–229, 238, 240–242, 288–289, 332, 344, 348, 350, 357–358, 365, 374. Maeo Shigezaburō, *Watakushi no Rirekisho – Ushi no Ayumi* [My Career – A Snail’s Pace], (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1974), 118–119. Yamaguchi Society for Local History, *Satō Kansaku Tebikae*, 177. Hori Shigeru, *Sengo Seiji no Oboegaki* [Notes on Postwar Politics], (Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbun, 1975), 100–102. Hashimoto Tomisaburō, *Watashi no Rirekisho – Gekidō no Ayumi* [My Career – A Tumultuous Journey], (Tokyo: Nagata Shobō, 1976), 101–106. Editorial Committee for “Ningen Ozawa Saeki,” ed., *Ningen Ozawa Saeki* [Ozawa Saeki the Man], (Tokyo: Ozawa Ichiro Kōenkai Rikuzankai, 1980), 173. Miyazaki, *Satō Eisaku*, 238–241. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 58–62, 87–95. Yamada, *Seiden*, 1:294–300, 308–310, 321–332. Fukuda, *Kaiko 90 Nen*, 116–117. Ishibashi, *Ishibashi Tanzan Nikki*, 2:841–845. National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies COE Project for Oral History and Policy Enrichment, Matsuno Raizō Oral History Part 1, (Tokyo: National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, 2003), 143.

According to Yamada, Satō watched the presidential election on television at home. Yamada, *Seiden*, 1:326.

Entering the Party Mainstream – General Council Chairman

Asahi Shimbun, April 1, 1957, March 22, 1958, March 30, 1958. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, July 11, 1957. Kishi, *Kaikoroku*, 394–395. Yamada, *Seiden*, 1:332–336. Abe

Atsushi, *Kōchikai no 50 Nen – Ima Soshite Mirai e* [50 Years of the Kōchikai – Present and Towards the Future], (Tokyo: Kōchikai 50 Shūnen Jikkō Inaki, 2007), 17.

The Theory for “Stable Growth” Put Forward by the “Amateur Finance Minister”

The Five Commissioners and Direct Vassals of the Satō Faction – Satō and Tanaka

Asahi Shimbun, January 8, 1958, April 8, 1958, April 26, 1958, May 24, 1958, November 17, 1958, December 24, 1958, December 31, 1958, January 1, 1959, January 27, 1959 (evening), January 31, 1959 (evening), April 1, 1959. *Okinawa Times*, October 14, 1958, October 15, 1958. Miyazaki Yoshimasa, *Saishō Satō Eisaku* [Prime Minister Satō Eisaku], (Tokyo: Shin Sangyō Keizai Kenkyūkai, 1980), 415. Kishi, *Kaikoroku*, 422. Yamada, *Seiden*, 1:338–342. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 1:402–403. National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies COE Project for Oral History and Policy Enrichment, *Seiji to wa Nani ka – Takeshita Noburu Kaikoroku* [What is Politics? – The Memoirs of Takeshita Noboru], (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001), 77–78. COE Project for Oral History, *Matsuno Raizō Oral History Part 1*, 163–165. Study Group for Modern Japanese Historical Materials, *Matsuno Raizō Oral History (Appendix)*, (Kindai Nihon Shiryō Kenkyūkai, 2008), 101. Hattori Ryūji, *Tanaka Kakuei – Shōwa no Hikari to Yami* [Tanaka Kakuei – The Darkness and Light of the Showa Period], (Tokyo: Kōdansha Gendai Shinsho, 2016), 76.

The Bureaucratic Faction Triangle – Ikeda Joins Kishi and Satō in the Party Mainstream

“Brother, let’s die together” – Revising the US-Japan Security Treaty

Asahi Shimbun, December 16, 1958 (evening), December 17, 1958, December 28, 1958, June 17, 1959 (evening), June 18, 1958, June 19, 1958, June 19, 1960 (evening). *Yomiuri Shimbun*, August 25, 1959, October 22, 1959 (evening). Akagi Munenori, Suzuki Takanobu, eds., *Kishaseki kara mita Kokkai 10 Nen no Sokumen-shi – Anpo kara Anpo made* [10 Years of the Bypaths of Diet History as Seen by Reporters – From Security Treaty to Security Treaty], (Tokyo: Sankei Shimbun, 1969), 127. Akagi Munenori, *Ano Hi Sono Toki* [That Day, That Time], (Tokyo: Bunka Sōgō Shuppan, 1971), 152–154. Hagiwara Kichitarō, *Ichi Zaikaijin, Kakitomeoki Sōrō* [One Businessman Writes for the Record], (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980), 96–99. Miyazaki, *Satō Eisaku*, 82. Kishi, *Kaikoroku*, 454–456, 557–564. Yamada, *Seiden*, 1:345–347. Nakasone Yasuhiro, *Seiji to Jinsei – Nakasone Yasuhiro Kaikoroku* [Politics and Life – The Memoirs of Nakasone Yasuhiro], (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), 224–231. Fukuda, *Kaiko 90 Nen*, 134–138. Nakasone Yasuhiro, *Tenchi Ujō* [The Sentient World], (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1996), 200–209. Editorial Committee for a Collection of Rememberances of Nadao Hirokichi, ed., *Watakushi no Rirekisho – Nadao Hirokichi* [My Career – Nadao Hirokichi], (Tokyo: Nadao Hirokichi Sensei Tsuitoshu Henshū Iinkai, 1996), 83, 89. *Tokyo Shimbun*, August 16, 1975 (evening), Kishi, *Kaikoroku*, 638. Hara Yoshihisa, ed., *Kishi Nobusuke Shōgenroku* [The Testimony of Kishi Nobusuke], (Tokyo: Chūkō Bunko, 2014), 241–242, 329, 424–425.

The Birth of the Ikeda Government and the Expansion of the Satō Faction

Tokyo Shimbun, June 29, 1960 (evening). *Yomiuri Shimbun*, July 4, 1960, July 14, 1960 (evening), November 23, 1960. *Asahi Shimbun*, July 10, 1960 (evening), July 14, 1960, July 19, 1960, November 22, 1960, December 8, 1960. *Mainichi Shimbun*, July 10, 1960 (evening), November 22, 1960. “Edwin O. Reischauer to Dean Rusk,” June 8, 1961, Digital National Security Archive ([http://search.proquest.com/dnsa/hereafter DNSA](http://search.proquest.com/dnsa/hereafter%20DNSA)). *Ningen Ozawa Saeki*, 241–250. Setoyama Mitsuo, *Heiwa e no Daidō – Masatsu naki Shakai no Kensetsu* [A Great Road to Peace – Constructing a Society without Friction], (Tokyo: Nihon Seisansei Honbu, 1985), 218–221. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 1:412, 485–487.

“Healthy” Growth – MITI Minister

Escaping “Island Nation Economics” – The Joint US-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs

Asahi Shimbun, June 5, 1961 (evening), July 20, 1961, August 4, 1961 (evening), September 3, 1961 (evening), September 12, 1961 (evening), September 16, 1961 (evening), September 17, 1961, April 10, 1962, April 23, 1962 (evening), August 25, 1962. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, July 18, 1961 (evening), July 19, 1961. Ministry of Foreign Affairs Economic Bureau America/Canada Section, “Dai Ikkai Nichibei Bōeki Keizai Gōdō Inkaiki Giji Gaiyō” [Summary of the Proceedings of the 1st Joint US-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs], November 2–4, 1961, Nichibei Bōeki Keizai Gōdō Inkaiki Kankei Dai Ikkai Inkaiki Honkaigi, E’2.3.1.17–1–3, MOFA. Satō Eisaku, *Han’ei e no Michi* [The Path to Prosperity], (Tokyo: Shuzankai Shuppankyoku, 1963), 81–148. *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, May 15, 1970 (evening). *Mainichi Shimbun*, May 15, 1970 (evening). MITI Editorial Committee for a History of Commercial Policy, ed., *Tsūshōsangyō Seisaku-shi Dai Hachikan Daisan-ki Kōdō Seichō (I)* [History of Commercial and Industrial Policy, Volume 8: The Third Period of High-Speed Growth (I)], (Tokyo: Tsūshōsangyō Chōsakai, 1991), 179–180, 226. MITI Editorial Committee for a History of Commercial Policy, ed., *Tsūshōsangyō Seisaku-shi Dai Kyūkan Daisan-ki Kōdō Seichō (2)* [History of Commercial and Industrial Policy, Vol. 9 The Third Period of High-Speed Growth (II)], (Tokyo: Tsūshōsangyō Chōsakai, 1989), 16. Suzuki Hironao, *Ikeda Seiken to Kōdō Seichō-ki no Nihon Gaikō* [The Ikeda Government and Japanese Diplomacy in the Era of High-Speed Growth], (Tokyo: Keiō Gijyū Daigaku, 2013), 111–112. Website of the Research Institute of Japan (<http://naijyo.or.jp/about/>)

The Reelection of Ikeda – From Satō’s Nara Remarks to His Departure From the Cabinet

Satō’s Annoyance Toward Ikeda – “Relations between Japan and South Korea are our Top Priority”

Asahi Shimbun, November 12, 1961 (evening), December 18, 1961, July 10, 1962, July 14, 1962 (evening), July 15, 1962, July 19, 1962, October 31, 1962, November 12, 1962 (evening), November 26, 1962 (evening). *Yomiuri Shimbun*, December 18, 1961, December 19, 1961, July 19, 1962. *Mainichi Shimbun*, December 19, 1961, July 19, 1962. Kōno Ichirō, “Nisso Kōryū ni tsuite Kokumin

ni Uttaeru” [Appealing to the People on Soviet-Japanese Exchange], *Chūō Kōron*, July 1962, 197. Satō Eisaku, “Ōbei no Kyotō-tachi to Atte – Satō Eisaku-shi wa Kataru” [Meeting the Prominent Leaders of Europe and America – Satō Eisaku Speaks], *Weekly Economist*, November 20, 1962, 21. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 1:496–501, 508–511, 513, 515, 2:56. Committee for the Publication of a Biography of Kōno Ichirō, ed., *Kōno-Sensei o Shinobu* [Remembering Kōno-Sensei], (Tokyo: Shunjūka, 1966), 24–32. Kusuda, *Shuseki Hishokan*, 20–24. Hashimoto, *Wataishi no Rirekisho*, 109. Fukuda, *Kaiko 90 Nen*, 148–151.

De Gaulle, Kennedy, and Chiang Kai-shek – Satō’s Tour of Europe and America

Satō also attended the general meeting of the Committee for Economic Development of The Conference Board in San Francisco in late November 1962. This was a meeting of business people, and Satō appealed that the discriminatory import restrictions on Japan were harmful to the free world.

Satō, *Ōbei no Kyotō*, 16–21. Satō, *Han’ei e no Michi*, 4–79, 102–103, 149–183, and 1–22 of the English text. Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 226–227, 254–279. Satō Eisaku, “Kokumin o Tomasu tame no Seiji” [Politics to Enrich the People], *Weekly Economist*, May 19, 1964, 32. Satō, *Nikki*, 1:518–564. Kimura Takeo, *Jiden Yonezawa Sonpin no Uta* [Autobiography – Song of the Yonezawa Sun Bin], (Mitaka: Keizōsha, 1978), 212–217. COE Project for Oral History, Matsuno Raizō Oral History Part 1, 143–144, 160. National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies COE Project for Oral History and Policy Enrichment, Matsuno Raizō Oral History Part 2, (Tokyo: National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, 2003), 78–80. Ikeda Shintarō, “Ikeda Gaikō to Jimintō – Seiken Zenhanki o Chūshin toshite” [Ikeda Diplomacy and the LDP – Centering on the First Half of his Government] in Hatano Sumio, ed., *Ikeda/Satō Seiken-ki no Nihon Gaikō* [Japanese Foreign Policy during the Ikeda and Satō Governments], (Tokyo: Minerva Gaikō, 2004), 44.

It was in 1963 that “an agreement was reached in Moscow ending nuclear testing” (*Kyo wa Asu no Zenjitsu*, 258), however. Because it had not been reached at the time of Satō’s visit to Europe and America in 1962, this account could be seen as contradictory.

When Satō met with Vice Premier Chiang Ching-kuo on April 30, 1970, while serving as prime minister, he said, “Problems arise because Diet members are involved in LT Trade. I think it better not to send Diet members from the government party to the Communist Chinese.” China Section Chief Hashimoto Hiroshi, “Sōri to Shō Keikoku to no Kaidan” [The Prime Minister’s Discussion with Chiang Ching-kuo], April 30, 1970, *Nichi-Chūka Minkoku Kankei*, 2016–2162, MOFA.

Rejoining the Cabinet and Satō’s Dissatisfaction With Ikeda “Social Development” and the Reversion of Okinawa – Heading Toward a Confrontation With Ikeda

The Satō-Fujiyama Alliance and Ikeda’s Third Term

Asahi Shimbun, January 14, 1964, March 6, 1964 (evening), March 12, 1964 (evening), May 16, 1964 (evening), March 29, 1964 (evening), June 8, 1964 (evening), June 27, 1964 (evening), June 28, 1964, July 30, 1964. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 6, 1964, July 2, 1964, July 10, 1964 (evening). Ibe Hideo, *Shakai Keikaku* [Social

Planning], (Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1964), 115, 350–366. Satō Eisaku, *Asu no Zenjitsu*, 225–241. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 2:54–55, 68, 76, 100, 127, 137–138, 141, 143, 146–152. Council on Population Problems, “‘Chiiki Kaihatsu ni kan shi, Jinkō Mondai no Kenchi kara Toku ni Ryui subeki Jikō’ ni tsuite no Iken” [Opinions on “Matters Regarding Regional Development that Particularly Require Attention from the Standpoint of Population Problems”], *Gekkan Fukushima*, 47:2, 1964, 29–37. “Jinkō Mondai Shingikai no Chiiki Kaihatsu ni kan shi Jinkō Mondai no Kenchi kara Toku ni Ryui subeki Jikō ni tsuite no Iken” [The Council on Population Problems’ Opinions on “Matters Regarding Regional Development that Particularly Require Attention from the Standpoint of Population Problems”], *Jinkō Mondai Kenkyū* 89, 1964, 63–70. Kusuda, *Shuseki Hishokan*, 28–31. Fujiyama Aiichirō, *Seiji Waga Michi – Fujiyama Aiichirō Kaisōroku* [Politics, My Path – The Memoirs of Fujiyama Aiichirō], (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1976), 141–147. Hosokawa Ryūgen, “Seijika Rashikaranu Onkō na Shinshi” [A Gentleman with a Warmth Unlike a Politician] in Ishii Hisako, ed., *Tsuiso Ishii Mitsujirō* [Remembering Ishii Mitsujirō], (privately published, 1982), 86–88. Senda Hisashi, “Ashita e no Tatakai” [The Fight for Tomorrow] in Kusuda, *Satō Seiken*, 1:64–68. Senda Hisashi, *Satō Naikaku Kaisō*, 40–42. Itō Masaya, *Ikeda Hayato to Sono Jidai* [Ikeda Hayato and His Times], (Tokyo: Asahi Bunko, 1985), 274–275. Sankei Shimbun, *Sengoshi Kaifu* [Unsealing Postwar History] in Sankei Shimbun Reporting Team, ed., *Sengoshi Kaifu Shōwa 40-Nendai-Hen* [Unsealing Power History – 1965–1975] (Tokyo: Fusosha Bunko, 1999), 143–144. Hasegawa Takashi, Hinata Reo, “‘Ishii Mitsujirō Nikki’ 1961–1964” [Journal of Ishii Mitsujirō – 1961–1964], *Komazawa Daigaku Daigakuin Shigaku Ronshū* 45, 2015, 67–68, 76–81.

Satō was asked, “Do you not agree that, as Prime Minister Ikeda put it, ‘even if prices go up, things will be fine if wages do as well?’” He argued that, “That’s fine so long as it feels like real wages have gone up. But if people have real problems with their livelihoods, that argument won’t work. . . . I am devoted to the idea of making the public wealthy. . . . We must reduce the burden that is currently placed on the public.” Satō Eisaku, “Kokumin o Tomasu,” 31.

The Mokuyō Club is referred to as the “Mokuyōkai” in Satō’s journal.

For Kusuda Minoru’s life prior to going to work for the Sankei Shimbun, see Kusuda, *Tanjinbonshin*, (privately published, 1999), Kusuda Minoru Files Y-4–6 (hereafter, KMF).

S-Operation – “A Far Eastern Approach to the Kennedy Machine” The “Tanaka-Ōhira Group” – Toward the Next Presidential Election

Kusuda Minoru, “‘S Operation’ no Kōsō ni tsuite” [On the Concept of “S-Operation”], November 24, 1963, KMF E-1–2. Kusuda Minoru, “S Operation no Gutaiteki na Susumekata ni tsuite” [On How Specifically to Move Forward with S-Operation], January 10, 1964, KMF E-1–3. “Satō-ate S Ope Teigen” [S-Operation Proposals to Satō], January 19, 1964, KMF E-1–5. Kusuda Minoru, “S Operation Gijiroku” [Minutes for S-Operation], January 16 to May 21, 1964, KMF E-1–167. Kusuda Minoru, *Nikki*, May 27 to July 8, 1964, KMF E-1–168. Kusuda Minoru, “Seisaku An” [Policy Proposals], April 26 to May 30, 1964,

KMF E-1-169. Kusuda Minoru, “Okinawa Henkan Mondai” [The Okinawa Reversion Issue], January 21, 1988, KMF Y-4-4. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, November 9, 1964 (evening). Prime Ministerial Secretariat, ed., *Satō Naikaku Sōri Daijin Enzetsushu* [Collection of Prime Minister Satō’s Speeches], (Tokyo: Naikaku Sōri Daijin Kanbō, 1970), 1–20. Kusuda, *Shuseki Hishokan*, 25–28. Kusuda Minoru, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki – Satō Eisaku Sōri Shuseki Hishokan no 2000 Nichi* [The Journal of Kusuda Minoru – 2000 Days as Chief Secretary to Prime Minister Satō Eisaku], eds., Wada Jun, Iokibe Makoto, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2001), 845, 849–947. Fujiyama, *Waga Michi*. 157. Miyazaki, *Satō Eisaku*, 107–115. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 168–189. Senda, *Ashita e no Tatakai*, 46–64. Senda, *Satō Naikaku Kaisō*, 23–32, 97–122. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 2:175–197. Maeo Shigezaburō, *Seijika no Hojoki* [A Politician’s *Hojoki*], (Tokyo: Risōsha, 1981), 379. Fukuda, *Kaiko 90 Nen*, 149–157.

The Conservative Mainstream – The “Original” and “New” Mainstream

Yomiuri Shimbun, July 5, 1964, November 9, 1964 (evening), August 10, 1968, August 21, 1970. “Jimin/Shakai – Sono Habatsu Chizu” [A Chart of LDP and Socialist Factions], *Bungei Shunjū*, November 1968, 92–109. *Yomiuri Shimbun* Political Department, ed., *Sōri Daijin* [Prime Minister], (Tokyo: *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 1972), 100, 112–114, 118, 183, 279, 283. Hori Shigeru, *Sengo Seiji*, 168. Shimizu Mikio, *Jiyū Minshutō* [The LDP], (Tokyo: Kyōikusha, 1978), 139. Tanaka Rokusuke, *Honshu Honryū no Chokugen* [Speaking Frankly on the Conservative Mainstream], (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 1985), 9. Matsuno, *Hoshu Honryū*, 14, 28–29, 171. Satō Seizaburō, Matsuzaki Tetsuhisa, *Jimintō Seiken* [LDP Governments], (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 1986), 76. Iwate Hoso, ed., *Moto Sōri Suzuki Zenkō Gekidō no Nihon Seiji o Kataru – Sengo 40 Nen no Kenshō* [Former Prime Minister Suzuki Zenko Speaks on Japan’s Tumultuous Politics – An Examination of the 40 Years Since the War], (Iwate: Iwate Hōsō, 1991), 151–152. Kitaoka, *Jimintō*, 105.

Chapter 4

“Government that values humanity” – Satō’s Policy Speech

Naikaku Sōri Daijin Kanbo, Satō Enzetsu-shu, 23–31. Kusuda Minoru, *Satō Seiken: 2797 Nichi* [The Satō Government: 2,797 Days], (Tokyo: Gyōsei Mondai Kenkyūjo Shuppankyoku, 1983). Iwate Hōsō, *Suzuki Zenkō*, 152–154. Suzuki Zenkō, *Hitoshikarazaru o Ureeru – Moto Shushō Suzuki Zenkō Kaikoroku* [Lamenting Inequality – The Memoirs of Former Prime Minister Suzuki Zenkō], ed., Azumane Chimao, (Morioka: Iwate Nippō, 2004), 66–67, 114, 160–162.

Suzuki later accompanied Satō as welfare minister when he visited Okinawa in August 1965, observing hospitals and welfare facilities.

The Road to a Long-Lived Government

Satō’s Brain Trust – The Second Phase of S-Operation

“S-Operation Proposal to Satō,” August 3, 1964, KMF E-1-54. “S-Operation Proposal to Satō,” November 14, 1964, KMF E-1-65. “S-Operation Proposal to Satō,”

August 26, 1966, KMF E-1-126. “S-Operation Proposal to Satō,” November 17, 1966, KMF E-1-136. “S-Operation Proposal to Satō,” May 1, 1967, KMF E-1-142. Kusuda Minoru, “SOP,” September 25, 1965 to February 24, 1967, KMF E-1-170. “Terebi no Riyō ni tsuite” [On the Use of Television], KMF K-3-75. Nagata Kyōsuke, *Satō Ban Nikki* [Satō Watch Journal], (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 1968), 210. Yomiuri Shimbun, *Sōri Daijin*, 31, 185. Kusuda, *Shuseki Hishokan*, 87-91. Kusuda, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki*, 23, 26, 31, 52, 56, 64, 72, 69, 111, 137, 146, 153, 156, 160-161, 195, 202, 205, 215, 220, 239-240, 242, 253-254, 258, 269, 271, 274, 280, 283, 333-334, 349, 380-381, 383, 386, 399, 414, 448, 450-453, 464-465, 467, 471, 481, 485-487, 507, 525-526, 543-544, 547, 590-591, 594, 606, 611, 619, 648, 650, 652, 658, 676, 681-682, 688-689, 701, 724, 731, 734, 737, 834-844, 884. Kusuda Minoru, “Sugao no Ningen Satō Eisaku ‘Kimi wa Seisaku to Masukomi Tantō da’” [The Unvarnished Satō Eisaku: “Take Charge of Policy and the Media”], *Seiji Kishi OB Kaihō* 78, 2001, KMF Y-4-7. Jiji Tsūshin, ed., *Sengo Nihon no Seitō to Naikaku – Jiji Yoron Chōsa ni yoru Bunseki* [Postwar Japanese Political Parties and the Cabinets – Analyzed through Jiji Opinion Polling], (Tokyo: Jiji Tsūshin, 1981), 21-44. Iwakawa, *Ninkai*, 163-165. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 177-178, 299-301. Senda, *Naikaku Kaisō*, 123-129. Takeshita Noboru, *Shōgen Hoshu Seiken* [Testimony – Conservative Governments], (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbun, 1991), 30, 33-34. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 2:251, 268, 423, 3:92, 334, 467, 4:38, 78, 98, 278, 280, 296, 381, 5:29. COE Project, Matsuno Raizō Oral History Part 1, 156. COE Project, Matsuno Raizō Oral History Part 2, 82. COE Project, Motono Moriyuki Oral History, 102, 106-108, 160. Morita Hajime, *Kokoro no Ittō – Kaisō no Ōhira Masayoshi – Sono Hito to Gaikō* [Light of the Soul – Recollections of Ohira Masayoshi – The Man and His Diplomacy], eds., Hattori Ryūji, Nobori Amiko, Nakashima Takuma, (Tokyo: Daiichi Hōki, 2010), 78-79.

“Sharp-Eared Eisaku” – Attending Twenty-Nine Unofficial Groups

Thinking of Okinawa – The First Satō-Johnson Summit

The Treaty on Basic Relations Between Japan and the Republic of Korea

“Dai Ikkai Johnson Daitōryō, Satō Sōri Kaidan Yōshi” [Summary of the First Talks between President Johnson and Prime Minister Satō], January 12, 1965, foreign ministry document disclosed in accordance with the Freedom of Information Law, 01-535, MOFA. “Dai Ni Johnson Daitōryō, Satō Sōri Kaidan Yōshi” [Summary of the Second Talks between President Johnson and Prime Minister Satō], January 13, 1965, foreign ministry document disclosed in accordance with the Freedom of Information Law, 01-535, MOFA. Foreign Ministry American Bureau, “Okinawa ni Kan suru Nichibei Kyōgi Iinkai no Kinō Kakudai” [Expanding the Function of the US-Japan Consultative Committee on Okinawa], March 30, Beikoku Kanrika no Nansei Shotō Jōkyō Nanken – Okinawa Kankei – Nichibei Kyōgi Iinkai Kaisai Kankei, A’-3.0.0.7-1(196), H28-1, MOFA. “Nikkan Jōyaku Oyobi Shokyōtei Kankei – Honpō Kokkai Shingi Kankei” [Related to the Japan-Korea Treaty and Various Agreements – Related to Deliberations in the Diet], B’-5.1.0.J/K(S)1-5, MOFA. “Nikkan Jōyaku Oyobi Shokyōtei Kankei – Honpō Kokkai Shingi Kankei – Kokkai Shingi Gaiyō” [Related to the Japan-Korea

Treaty and Various Agreements – Related to Deliberations in the Diet – Summary of Diet Deliberations] Vol. 3–5, B'.5.1.0.J/K(S)1–5–1, MOFA. “Nikkan Jōyaku Oyobi Shokyōtei Kankei – Honpō Kokkai Shingi Kankei – Kokkai Toben Shiryō” [Related to the Japan-Korea Treaty and Various Agreements – Related to Deliberations in the Diet – Materials for Answers Given in the Diet] Vol. 7, B'.5.1.0.J/K(S)1–5–3, MOFA. “Nikkan Jōyaku Oyobi Shokyōtei Kankei – Kankei” [Related to the Japan-Korea Treaty and Various Agreements – Related] Vol. 2–3, B'.5.1.0.J/K(S)1–6, MOFA. Foreign Ministry, “Satō Sōri no Beikoku Hōmon” [Prime Minister Satō’s Visit to America], January 1965, KMF J-1–1. *Asahi Shimbun*, April 2, 1965 (evening), June 3, 1965. Prime Ministerial Secretariat, *Satō Enzetsushū*, 40, 42, 76. Satō, *Nikki*, 2:221–226, 234–235, 287–288, 335–336, 347. Hosoya Chihiro, ed., *Nichibei Kankei Shiryōshū, 1945–97* [Collection of Materials on US-Japan Relations, 1945–97], (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1999), 623–625. COE Project, *Motono Moriyuki Oral History*, 114–118, 126. National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies COE Project for Oral History and Policy Enrichment, *Yanagiya Kensuke Oral History Part 1*, (Tokyo: National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, 2005), 195–207. “Memorandum of Conversation,” January 12–13, 1965 in Department of State, ed., *Foreign Relations of the United States* (hereafter FRUS), Vol. XXIX, Part 2: Japan, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2006), 66–85. Asano Toyomi, ed., *Nikkan Kokkō Seijōka Mondai Shiryō – Daiyonki 1963–1965 Dai Ikkai Daihyōkan Taiwa/Honkaigi/Jōyaku Jisshi* [Materials Relating to the Normalization of Relations between Japan and South Korea – Phase Four – Dialogue Between Representatives, Primary Meetings, Implementation of Treaty], (Tokyo: Gendai Shiryō Shuppan, 2015), 123, 141, 173–176, 211–219, 256–257. Edamura Sumio, *Gaikō Kōshō Kaisō – Okinawa Henkan, Fukuda Doctrine, Hoppō Ryōdo* [Recollections of Diplomatic Negotiations – The Reversion of Okinawa, the Fukuda Doctrine, and the Northern Territories], eds., Nakashima Takuma, Nobori Amiko, (Tokyo: Yōshikawa Kōbunkan, 2016), 39–40. Nozoe Fumiaki, *Okinawa Henkan-go no Nichibei Anpo – Beigun Kichi o Meguru Sokoku* [US-Japan Security after the Reversion of Okinawa – The Struggle over US Bases], (Tokyo: Yōshikawa Kōbunkan, 2016), 16–17.

Yi Tong-won wrote that “After many troubles, Satō attempted to send former prime minister Yōshida Shigeru [to South Korea] in Shiina’s place, but he wasn’t accepted either.” Yi Tong-won, *Nikkan Joyaku no Seiritsu – Yi Tong-won Kaisōroku – Shiina Etsusaburo to no Yujo* [The Creation of the Japan-South Korea Treaty – The Memoirs of Yi Tong-won – His Friendship with Shiina Etsusaburo], trans. Gu Marumo, (Tokyo: Sairyusha, 2016), 70. But according to page 89 of Asano, *Nikkan Seijōka*, it was Yi who sought to have Yoshida visit South Korea.

The Reality Lying Behind the Social Development Colloquium

Cabinet Oral Understanding, “Shakai Kaihatsu Kondankai ni tsuite” [On the Social Development Colloquium], January 8, 1965, National Archives of Japan, Heisei 11 So-01738100. *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, February 13, 1965 (evening), March 27, 1965 (evening), May 11, 1965, May 29, 1965, June 23, 1965 (evening), June 25, 1965, July 23, 1965 (evening), September 28, 1965, November 5, 1965, December 1,

1965, December 2, 1965, December 10, 1965. S-Operation Proposal to Satō, “Watakushi no Ningen Sonchō to Shakai Kaihatsu” [My Respect for Humanity and Social Development], May 1965, KMF E-1-81. Mizuno Shigeo, “Shakai Kaihatsu Kondankai no Chūkan Hōkoku no Ikisatsu to Gaiyō” [Summary and Background to the Interim Report of the Social Development Colloquium], *Jichi Kenkyū* 41:10, 1965, 3-12. “Shakai Kaihatsu Kondankai Chūkan Hōkoku” [Interim Report of the Social Development Colloquium], *Jichi Kenkyū* 41:10, 1965, 123-156. *Asahi Shimbun*, December 10, 1965. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 2:238, 249, 346.

Cabinet Reorganization and Economic Adjustments

Dying Rivals – Satō at His Strongest

Asahi Shimbun, June 3, 1965, July 9, 1965, August 13, 1965 (evening), August 17, 1965 (evening), August 18, 1965. Kusuda, *Shuseki Hishokan*, 67-68. Kusuda, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki*, 53-54, 189, 613. Nakasone Yasuhiro, “Kōno Ichirō” in LDP Publicity Committee, ed., *Hiroku Sengo Seiji no Jitsuzō* [Confidential Records – The Real State of Postwar Politics], (Tokyo: Jiyū Minshutō Kōhō Inkaishū Shuppankyoku, 1975), 566. Fujiyama, *Waga Michi*, 178-179. Jiji, *Sengo Nihon no Seitō*, 29-44. Senda, *Ashite e no Tatakai*, 96-100. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 169. Fukuda, *Kaiko 90 Nen*, 160-170, 207. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 2:293, 304-305, 311, 314-315, 318, 3:350.

“The ‘postwar’ has not ended” – Satō’s Okinawa Statement

American Interference and Satō’s Stubbornness

The Yamano/Kusuda Plan and “Telepolitics”

“Work quietly” – The Cabinet Council on the Okinawan Issue

“Beikoku Kanrika no Nansei Shotō Jōkyō Nanken – Okinawa Kankei” [Difficult Matters Related to the Condition of the Ryukyus under American Administration – Related to Okinawa], A.3.0.0.7-1(9), MOFA. *Asahi Shimbun*, August 19, 1965 (evening), August 20, 1965, August 20, 1965 (evening), August 21, 1965, January 19, 1967 (evening). *Yomiuri Shimbun*, September 1, 1965 (evening), May 27, 1966, June 18, 1972. Editorial Committee, *Ōno Banboku*, 157. Ōhama, *Okinawa Sengoshi*, 63-75. Yara Chōbyō, *Yara Chōbyō Kaikoroku* [Memoirs of Yara Chōbyō], (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1977), 76-77. Yamano Kōkichi, *Okinawa Henkan Hitorigoto* [Monologue on the Reversion of Okinawa], (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1982), 18-88. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 137-138, 148. Takase Tamotsu, *Dare mo Kakanakatta Shūnō Gaikō no Uchimaku* [The Inner Workings of Summits that No One Has Written], (Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shinpō, 1991), 9-10, 21-25, 34-38. Satō, *Nikki*, 2:300, 302-308, 356, 3:125, 509, 4:282, 403-404, 5:214, 331, 371, 453, 519. Sankei Shimbun Reporter Team, *Sengoshi Kaitō*, 144-146. Kusuda, *Okinawa Henkan Mondai*. Kusuda Minoru, “‘Kaku Nuki Henkan’ Satō Shushō no Ketsudan – Okinawa Henkan e no Nagai Michinori” [Prime Minister Satō’s Decision for a “Nuclear-Free” Reversion of Okinawa – The Long Journey to the Reversion of Okinawa], *Seiji Kisha OB Kaihō* 60, 1996, KMF Y-4-5. Kusuda, *Saitaku Dōki*, 870-872. COE Project, *Motono Moriyuki Oral History*, 121, 126-128. *Okinawa Times*, January 30, 2005, March 17, 2010, January 16, 2015, January 19, 2015. Edamura, *Gaikō Kōshō Kaisō*, 40-44. Economic Planning Agency, “Shōwa

31-Nen – Nenji Keizai Hōkoku – Keizai Kikaku-chō” [1956 Annual Economic Report – Economic Planning Agency] on the Cabinet Office website (<http://www5.cao.go.jp/keizai3/keizaiwp/wp-je56/wp-je56-010501.html>).

The “postwar” declaration does not appear in the August 12, 1965, draft of the airport speech (see “Beikoku Kanrika no Nansei Shotō Jōkyō Nanken – Okinawa Kankei”).

The “backbone to protect the country” – The One-Day Cabinets

Prime Ministerial Secretariat Publicity Office, “Shōwa 37 Nendo Daiikkai Kokusei ni Kan suru Kōchōkai Kiroku” [Record of the First Hearings on National Governance, 1962], October 6, 1962. Prime Ministerial Secretariat Publicity Office, “Shōwa 38 Nendo Daiikkai Kokusei ni Kan suru Kōchōkai Kiroku” [Record of the First Hearings on National Governance, 1963], September 7, 1963. Prime Ministerial Secretariat Publicity Office, “Shōwa 39 Nendo Daiikkai Kokusei ni Kan suru Kōchōkai Kiroku” [Record of the First Hearings on National Governance, 1964], August 22, 1964. Prime Ministerial Secretariat Publicity Office, “Shōwa 40 Nendo Kokusei ni Kan suru Kōchōkai Kiroku” [Record of the 1965 Hearings on National Governance], September 26, 1965. Prime Ministerial Secretariat Publicity Office, “Shōwa 41 Nendo Kokusei ni Kan suru Kōchōkai Kiroku” [Record of the 1966 Hearings on National Governance], November 5, 1966. Prime Ministerial Secretariat Publicity Office, “Shōwa 42 Nendo Kokusei ni Kan suru Kōchōkai Kiroku” [Record of the 1967 Hearings on National Governance], August 25, 1967. Prime Ministerial Secretariat Publicity Office, “Shōwa 44 Nendo Kokusei ni Kan suru Kōchōkai Kiroku” [Record of the 1969 Hearings on National Governance], September 25, 1969. Prime Ministerial Secretariat Publicity Office, “Shōwa 45 Nendo Kokusei ni Kan suru Kōchōkai Kiroku” [Record of the 1970 Hearings on National Governance], September 21, 1970. Prime Ministerial Secretariat Publicity Office, “Shōwa 46 Nendo Kokusei ni Kan suru Kōchōkai Kiroku” [Record of the 1971 Hearings on National Governance], October 6, 1971. “Satō Eisaku Memo,” September 13, 1968, KMF K-2–29. Kusuda, *Shuseki Hishokan*, 91–97. *Asahi Shimbun*, October 6, 1962 (evening), September 27, 1965, October 31, 1966 (evening), August 25, 1967 (evening), September 13, 1968 (evening), September 25, 1969 (evening), September 21, 1970 (evening), October 6, 1971 (evening), September 13, 1994. *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, September 21, 1970 (evening). *Mainichi Shimbun*, September 21, 1970 (evening).

While the records of the Hearings on National Governance are held by the National Diet Library and elsewhere, I was unable to find a record of the September 13, 1968, hearing.

“I could not abandon our Okinawan comrades” – The Defense Debate

Asahi Shimbun, January 29, 1966, March 11, 1966, March 15, 1966. “Dai 51 Kai Kokkai Sangiin Yosan Iinkai Kaigiroku” [51st Diet – Record of the House of Councillors Budget Committee] No. 11, March 10, 1966. “Dai 51 Kai Kokkai Sangiin Yosan Iinkai Kaigiroku” [51st Diet – Record of the House of Councillors Budget Committee] No. 13, March 16, 1966. Prime Ministerial Secretariat, *Satō Enzetsushū*, 95–106.

Second Cabinet Reorganization and the “Black Mist”**Third Cabinet Reorganization and Foreign Minister Miki****The Ōtsu Statement and the Increasing Number of Opposition Parties**

Yomiuri Shimbun, October 12, 1966, November 5, 1966, December 1, 1966 (evening), December 4, 1966, January 31, 1967. *Asahi Shimbun*, September 4, 1966, November 6, 1966, December 4, 1966, January 15, 1967, January 19, 1967 (evening), January 20, 1967, January 21, 1967, February 9, 1967 (evening). *Mainichi Shimbun*, January 20, 1967. Ōhama, *Okinawa Sengoshi*, 75–77. Nagata Mikio, *Fuki no Tō – Watakushi no Rirekisho* [A Flower Bud – My Career], (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1971), 126. Kusuda Minoru, *Satō Seiken: 2797 Nichi* [The Satō Government: 2,797 Days], (Tokyo: Gyōsei Mondai Kenkyūjo Shuppankyoku, 1983). Kusuda, *Okinawa Henkan Mondai*. Yasukawa Takeshi, *Wasure Enu Omoide to Kore kara no Nichibei Gaikō – Pearl Harbor kara Hanseiki* [Unforgettable Memories and the Future of US-Japan Diplomacy – 50 Years from Pearl Harbor], (Tokyo: Sekai no Ugoki-sha, 1991), 143–146. Satō, *Nikki*, 2:517–518. COE Project, *Matsuno Raizō Oral History Part 1*, 160. Morita, *Kokoro no Ittō*, 78–79. Edamura, *Gaikō Kōshō Kaisō*, 51.

Chapter 5**Kusuda as Chief Secretary to the Prime Minister: The Third Phase of S-Operation and Kantei Politics****An “Inarticulate Foreign Policy” and Social Security**

“Kusuda Minoru Nikki,” February 10, 1967, February 28, 1967, March 1, 1967, March 3, 1967, KMF Y-1–1. “S-Operation Proposal to Satō,” May 1, 1967, KMF E-1–142. Kusuda, *Kaku-nuki Henkan*. Kusuda, *Sugao no Ningen Satō*. Kusuda, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki*, 62, 845, 875–877, 883–892. *Mainichi Shimbun*, March 15, 1967. Prime Ministerial Secretariat, *Satō Enzetsushū*, 129–139. Memorial Publication Society for Miki Takeo, ed., *Gikai Seiji to tomo ni – Miki Takeo Enzetsu/Hatsugen-shu* [With Diet Politics – Collection of Speeches and Statements by Miki Takeo], (Tokyo: Miki Takeo Shuppan Kinenkai, 1984), 1:288. COE Project, *Motono Moriyuki Oral History*, 101, 113–114.

In terms of large collections of Satō’s speeches, in addition to the Prime Ministerial Secretariat’s Collection of Prime Minister Satō’s Speeches, there is also Prime Ministerial Secretariat, ed., *Satō Naikaku Sōri Daijin Enzetsushū (Daini Shū)* [Collection of Prime Minister Satō’s Speeches (2nd Collection)], (Tokyo: Naikaku Sōri Daijin Kanbo, 1972). These can also be found in the Kusuda Minoru Files as A-2–40 and A-2–41.

The Reformist Local Governments

Mainichi Shimbun, April 18, 1963 (evening), October 28, 1965 (evening), July 7, 1969 (evening), August 24, 1970 (evening), April 12, 1971 (evening), April 26, 1971 (evening), February 21, 1972 (evening), June 26, 1972 (evening). *Yomiuri Shimbun*, July 24, 1965 (evening), April 13, 1966 (evening), January 30, 1967, April 17, 1967, August 18, 1967 (evening), November 11, 1968 (evening), April 13, 1970 (evening). Satō, *Nikki*, 3:56–63.

The Front Line Against Communism in Asia – Yoshida’s Death The Vietnam War and US-Japan Relations

“Johnson to Satō,” January 29, 1966, Vietnam Sensō Gunji Josei (Tero o Fukumu) [The Military Situation in Vietnam (Including Terrorism)] Vol. 5, A’.7.1.0.15–2, MOFA. “Satō Sōri Tōnan Ajia Shokoku Hōmon” [Prime Minister Satō’s Visit to Southeast Asia], 2017–16, MOFA. “Shimazu Hisanaga Chūtai Taishi kara Miki Gaishō” [Ambassador to Taiwan Shimazu Hisanaga to Foreign Minister Miki], September 8, 1967, foreign ministry document disclosed in accordance with the Freedom of Information Law, 04–1220, MOFA. Foreign Ministry, “Satō Sōri no Tōnan Ajia Shokoku/Gōshū/New Zealand Hōmon – Shūnō Kaidan Kiroku” [Prime Minister Satō’s Visit to Southeast Asia, Australia, and New Zealand – Summit Records], September to October, 1967, foreign ministry document disclosed in accordance with the Freedom of Information Law, 04–821, 823, MOFA. “Satō Sōri to Marcos Daitōryō to no Kaidan Kiroku” [Record of the Talks Between Prime Minister Satō and President Marcos], October 19 to 20, foreign ministry document disclosed in accordance with the Freedom of Information Law, 02–805, MOFA. “Satō Sōri to Chū Kokka Shido Iinkai Gichō, Kii Shushō to no Kaidan Kiroku” [Record of the Talks Between Prime Minister Satō and Chairman of the National Leadership Committee Thieu and Prime Minister Ky], October 21, foreign ministry document disclosed in accordance with the Freedom of Information Law, 02–806, MOFA. *Asahi Shimbun*, July 1, 1967, September 7, 1967 (evening), September 20–30, 1967 (evening), October 1, 1967, October 7 to 22, 1967. “Kimura Shiroshichi Chūkan Taishi kara Miki” [Ambassador to South Korea Kimura Shiroshichi to Miki], July 2, 1967, KMF J-3–56. Foreign Ministry Councillor Mori Haruki, “‘Morning Tea’ no Sai no Kaidan Gaiyō” [Summary of the Discussion at “Morning Tea”], July 2, 1967, KMF J-3–55. “Shō Sōtō Fusai Shusai Bansankai ni okeru Aisatsu” [Greeting at the Banquet Hosted by President Chiang and his Wife], September 8, 1967, KMF J-4–63. Foreign Ministry Asian Bureau, “Satō Sōri no Tōnan Ajia Shokoku/Gōshū/New Zealand Hōmon Kiroku” [Record of Prime Minister’s Visits to Southeast Asia, Australia, and New Zealand], September to October 1967, KMF J-1–2. Satō Eisaku, “[Yōshida Shigeru] Tsuisō no Ji” [Memorial Speech (for Yōshida Shigeru)], October 31, 1967, KMF K-9–58. Satō, *Nikki*, 3:96–97, 129–132, 137–144, 148–160. Foreign Ministry, ed., *Waga Gaikō no Kinkyō* [The Recent State of Our Diplomacy] No. 12, (Tokyo: Gaimushō, 1968), 155–169, 309–310. Kusuda, *Shuseki Hishokan*, 18. Kusuda, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki*, 108, 212, 746–748. Masuda, *Kaisōroku*, 292–294. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 143–145. Yoshida, *Yoshida Shigeru Shokan*, 338. COE Project, *Motono Moriyuki Oral History*, 147–153.

Related documents in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Records Office include “Kishi Sōri Daiichiji Tōnan Ajia Hōmon Kankei Kaidanroku” [Records of Talks Related to Prime Minister Kishi’s First Visit to Southeast Asia], June 1957, A’.1.5.1.3–5, “Ikeda Sōri Tōnan Ajia Shokoku Hōmon/Keihatsu Taisaku” [Prime Minister Ikeda’s Visit to Southeast Asia/Awakening Remedy], 2014–27–6, “Malaysia Funsō Honpō no Taido” [Our Country’s Posture towards the Malaysia Conflict] Vol. 2, A’.7.1.0.12–7, “Malaysia Funsō Honpō no Taido – Kawashima

Tokushi Indonesia, Malaysia, Tai Shokoku Hōmon Kankei” [Our Country’s Posture towards the Malaysia Conflict – Related to Special Envoy Kawashima’s Visits to Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand], 2 volumes, A’.7.1.0.12–7–2, “Nikkan Kankei/Satō Sōri/Chon Kankoku Shushō Kaidan” [Japan–South Korea Relations/ Meeting between Prime Minister Satō and South Korean Prime Minister Chung Il-kwon], 2013–3306, “Tōnan Ajia Kaihatsu Kakuryō Kaidan Kankei Daiikai Kaigi Kankei Gijiroku” [Related to the First Meeting of the Ministerial Conference for the Economic Development of Southeast Asia – Conference Records], B’.6.1.0.63–1–2.

Agreement for the Reversion of Okinawa “within a few years” – The Second Satō–Johnson Summit

Asahi Shimbun, August 1, 1967 (evening), November 1, 1967 (evening), November 2, 1967. Foreign Ministry, “Nichibei Kyōdō Seimei-an” [Draft of US–Japan Joint Statement], October 7, 1967, Okinawa Kankei 5 – Henkan Kōshō Zenshi (Taibe/Tainai) [Related to Okinawa 5 – History Preceding Negotiation on Reversion (Toward America/Domestic Audience)], 2011–20, MOFA. North American Bureau Director Tōgō Fumihiko, “Kyōdō Seimei no Okinawa Kankei Bubun no Saishū Dankai ni okeru Kei” [Proceedings of the Final Stage of the Portion of the Joint Statement Related to Okinawa], November 14 to 15, Nichibei Kankei (Okinawa Henkan) 47, H22–21, MOFA. “Satō Sōri/MacNamara Kokubō Chōkan Kaidanroku” [Record of Discussion between Prime Minister Satō and Secretary of Defense MacNamara], November 14, Nichibei Kankei (Okinawa Henkan) 47, H22–21, MOFA. “Satō Sōri/Rusk Kokumu Chōkan Kaidanroku” [Record of Discussion between Prime Minister Satō and Secretary of State Rusk], November 15, Nichibei Kankei (Okinawa Henkan) 47, H22–21, MOFA. “Tsuruoka Senjin Kokuren Taishi kara Miki Gaishō” [From UN Ambassador Tsuruoka Senjin to Foreign Minister Miki], November 16, 1967, Vietnam Sensō – Heiwa Mondai – Kokuren ni okeru Toriatsukai [Vietnam War – Peace Issue – Treatment in the UN], A’.7.1.0.15–8–2 Vol. 2, MOFA. Foreign Ministry, “Satō Sōri no Beikoku Hōmon” [Prime Minister Satō’s Visit to America], November 1967, KMF J-1–3. “President Johnson–Prime Minister Satō, Private Conversation,” November 14, 1967, DNSA. “Summary of Talks Between Johnson and Satō,” November 15, DNSA. “Memorandum of Conversation,” November 14–15, 1967, FRUS Vol. XXIX Part 2, 227–244. Ōhama, *Okinawa Sengoshi*, 79–83. U. Alexis Johnson, *Johnson Beitaishi no Nihon Kaisō* [US Ambassador Johnson’s Japan Memoirs], trans. Masuda Hiroshi, (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 1989), 154–179. Tōgō Fumihiko, *Nichibei Gaikō 30 Nen* [30 Years of US–Japan Diplomacy], (Tokyo: Chūkō Bunko, 1989), 127–140. Edamura, *Gaikō Kōshō Kaisō*, 54–65.

The Covert Maneuvers of Secret Envoy Wakaizumi Kei

Wakaizumi Kei, “Chugoku no Kaku Busō to Nihon no Anzen Hoshō” [China’s Nuclear Arms and Japan’s Security], *Chūō Kōron*, February 1966, 46–79. Wakaizumi Kei, “MacNamara Bei Kokubō Chōkan Tandoku Kaikenki” [Record of Exclusive Meeting with US Defense Secretary MacNamara], *Chūō Kōron*, September 1966, 48–69. Wakaizumi Kei, “Kaku Gunshuku Heiwa Gaikō no Teishō”

[Appeal for Peace Diplomacy against Nuclear Proliferation], *Chūō Kōron*, March 1967, 68–101. Wakaizumi Kei, *Tasaku Nakarishi*, 21–37, 57–58, 70–115. WW Rostow, “Memorandum of Conversation Between Kei Wakaizumi and Rostow,” October 27, November 11, 1967, DNSA. “Rostow to Rusk,” November 11, DNSA. Rostow, “Memorandum for the Record,” November 13, DNSA. Rusk, “Memorandum for the President,” November 13, 1967, DNSA. Satō, *Nikki*, 3:49, 109, 168–169, 174, 180. Suetsugu Ichirō, *Onko Sōshin – Sengo ni Chōsen – Kokoro ni Nokoru Hitobito* [Create a New Paradigm by Revisiting the Past – Challenging the Postwar – The People Who Remain in My Heart], (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 2002), 217.

According to pages 128 to 131 of COE Project’s *Motono Moriyuki Oral History*, Motono has no memory of working with Wakaizumi to compose a draft and believes that the account in Wakaizumi’s book (especially pages 87 to 88 where Motono appears) is contrary to the facts. But Motono does acknowledge that he was aware of Wakaizumi’s movements.

While it is uncertain whether Wakaizumi consulted with Motono while composing the draft, it can be confirmed from American records such as the previously cited Rostow memorandum that Wakaizumi was negotiating with America behind the scenes.

Why Did Satō Use a Secret Envoy?

American Bureau Director Tōgō Fumihiko, “1969-Nen Satō Sōri/Nixon Daitōryō Kaidan ni Itaru Okinawa Henkan Mondai” [The Okinawa Reversion Issue Up to the 1969 Summit Between Prime Minister Satō and President Nixon], December 15, 1969, Okinawa Kankei 20 [Related to Okinawa 20], H22–12, MOFA. Satō, *Ima Dakara*, 157. Johnson, *Nihon Kaisō*, 146–147, 150, 174.

According to the June 15, 1968, issue of *Kanpō*, the North American and Central/South American bureaus were merged into the American Bureau, and portions of the Central/South American and Immigration bureaus became the Consular Immigration Section. (This was done through a revision of the Foreign Ministry Establishment Law.) With these changes, Tōgō’s title changed from director of the North American Bureau to director of the American Bureau.

Nuclear Weapons on Okinawa and the Three Non-Nuclear Principles

Dai 57 Kai Kokkai Sangiin Yosan Iinkai Giroku [Record of the 57th Diet House of Councillors Budget Committee] No. 2, December 11, 1967. *Dai 57 Kai Kokkai Shugiin Yosan Iinkai Giroku* [Record of the 57th Diet House of Representatives Budget Committee] No. 1, February 5, 1968. *Asahi Shimbun*, January 1, 1968, January 28, 1968, January 31, 1968, February 6, 1968, April 16, 1968. Wakaizumi Kei, “Nihon no Kaku Seisaku no Yotsu no Hashira” [The Four Pillars of Japan’s Nuclear Policy], February 3, 1968, KMF F-1–158. Wakaizumi, *Tasaku Nakarishi*, 140–141. Tōgō, “Sōri ni tai suru Hōkoku (Okinawa Kankei)” [Report to Prime Minister (Okinawa Related)], October 7, 1969, 1972-Nen no Okinawa Henkanji no Yūji no Sai no Kaku Mochikomi ni kan suru “Mitsuyaku” ni Kakaru Chōsa Kanren Bunsho 2, H22–13, MOFA. Prime Ministerial Secretariat, *Satō Enzetsushu*, 192. Satō, *Nikki*, 3:163, 182, 223–224. Kusuda, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki*, 159,

163, 170, 670–671, 889–890. Hattori Ryūji, *Nakasone Yasuhiro*, (Tokyo: Chūkō Shinsho, 2015), 105–112, 120–122.

The Return of the Ogasawara Islands and Satō’s Third Term as President – Sparring With Miki

“American Embassy in Japan to Rusk,” March 21, 1968, DNSA. “Bundy to American Embassy in Japan,” April 3, DNSA. *Asahi Shimbun*, April 1, 1968 (evening), November 7, 1968 (evening). *Dai 58 Kokkai Sangiin Yosan Inkaikai Kaigiroku* [Record of the 58th Diet House of Councillors Budget Committee] No. 11, April 2, 1968. Wakaizumi Kei, “Amerika Saikō Shūnō Kaikenki – Johnson Daitōryō/Rusk Kokumu Chōkan no Shin’i o Kiku” [Account of Meeting with America’s Highest Leaders – Asking the Intentions of President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk], *Bungei Shunjū*, July 1968, 105. “Wakaizumi Kei-shi Kichō Hōkoku” [Wakaizumi Kei’s Report Upon Returning to Japan], October 8, 1968, KMF H-2–25. Kishi, *Kaikoroku*, 550. Memorial Publication Society for Miki Takeo, *Gikai Seiji to Tomo ni*, 1:378–382. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 3:261–262, 341–342, 346, 350, 354. Ōda Masakatsu, *Meiyaku no Yami – “Kaku no Kasa” to Nichibei Dōmei* [The Alliance’s Darkness – The “Nuclear Umbrella” and the US-Japan Alliance], (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōron-sha, 2004), 117, 123.

Cabinet Reorganization – Student Protests and the New National Development Plan

“Kusuda Memo,” KMF K-6–19. “Tōdai Mondai – Jiyū Minshutō Seinen-bu/Fujinbu Zenkoku Taikai ni okeru Sōri Daijin Aisatsu kara” [The University of Tokyo Problem – Taken from the Prime Minister’s Greeting at the National Meeting of the LDP Youth and Women’s Groups], January 21, 1969, KMF K-6–43. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, December 1, 1968, January 20, 1969 (evening), August 4, 1969. *Asahi Shimbun*, December 30, 1968, May 25, 1969, August 4, 1969, September 12, 1969 (evening). Prime Ministerial Secretariat, *Satō Enzetsushū*, 231–232. Satō, *Ima Dakara*, 158. Satō, *Nikki*, 3:369, 377–381, 383–386, 389, 391, 393–394, 397, 402–403, 405, 407–410, 412, 414–415, 417–419, 423, 427, 429–431, 433–438, 441–442, 444–449, 453, 457, 461–463, 466–468, 470, 474, 477–483. *Bōchō Shimbun*, January 1, 1974. Kusuda, *Shuseki Hishokan*, 99–100. Kusuda, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki*, 422–423. Nagatochi Masanao, *Bunkyō no Hata o Agete – Sakata Michita Kikigaki* [Raising the Banner of Education – The Oral Recollections of Sakata Michita], (Tokyo: Nishi Nihon Shimbun, 1992), 154–162. Shimokobe Atsushi, *Sengo Kokudo Keikaku e no Shōgen* [Testimony on Postwar National Land Planning], (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 1994), 104–118, 237–240. Website of Yamaguchi Ube Airport (www.yamaguchiube-airport.jp/data/outline.html).

According to page 127 of Mikuriya Takashi, Agawa Naoyuki, Karube Tadashi, Makihara Izuru, eds., *Butai o Mawasu, Butai ga Mawaru – Yamazaki Masakazu Oral History* [Move the Stage, the Stage Moves – An Oral History of Yamazaki Masakazu], (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2017), Yamazaki, Kyōgoku Jun’ichi, and Etō Shinkichi thought of “canceling the entrance examinations for the University of Tokyo for a year” during the student protests as a form of “shock therapy”:

“Thinking that some kind of performance was needed, we had Satō put on work clothes and long boots and walk around in front of Yasuda Auditorium after the struggle over the building had ended (January 20, 1969). . . . When he then said, ‘we’re cancelling the exams,’ we immediately made a breakthrough.”

In other words, Yamazaki and the others proposed canceling the exams as a form of “shock therapy” and Satō’s January 20, 1969, visit to the University of Tokyo was meant as a “performance” to lay the groundwork for doing so. The question of who was the primary force behind the decision to cancel the examinations is a point of contention. I would therefore like to lay everything out chronologically so that the relationships between the actors can be understood and that question answered.

First, it had been effectively agreed by Education Minister Sakata and Acting President Katō on December 29, 1968, that the exams would be canceled. University of Tokyo officials told the government at that time that, should the academic strike and blockade end and it seemed likely that classes would begin again, they would then attempt to work to restore the exams. (The strike would ultimately continue until about January 15, 1969.) The education ministry replied that it “wanted to leave such discussions for that time.” This decision was widely reported on, such as in the December 30, 1968, issue of the *Asahi Shimbun*.

The December 30, 1968, entry in Satō’s journal reads: “Decided to cancel the University of Tokyo entrance exams. We first held a gathering of the relevant cabinet officials and then announced that the entrance exams for the University of Tokyo and Tokyo University of Education (with the exception of the physical education department) are cancelled for the time being.” It was on December 30, 1968, that the cabinet decided that the exams would, in principle, not be held.

Regardless, Satō invited Dean of the Faculty of Literature Hayashi Kentarō and Etō on January 10, 1969, and “discussed the university issue with them for about ninety minutes over coffee.” That same day, he “heard a detailed report on the University of Tokyo campus last night from Sakata and [Chairman of the National Public Safety Commission] Araki [Masuo]” at a cabinet meeting. He then wrote, “There’s a need for much further examination of the decision to cancel the entrance exams.”

Satō also received phone calls from Hayashi. He wrote in his journal for January 14 that “It’s been decided that the strike at the University of Tokyo has ended, but classes are of course not ready to start. And right now Minsei [the Democratic Youth League of Japan] are in control, having replaced the three factions. We must remain cautious about the entrance exams.”

On January 17, he wrote “Cabinet meeting. The university issue was of course the main topic and everyone gave their opinion on it. It ended at about 11:30. As there are absolutely no changes that should be made to the decision of December 29, the entrance exams will not be held.” The riot police entered the campus on the 18th, and Satō and Sakata toured the grounds on the 20th (Satō, *Nikki*, 3:369, 378–387).

To summarize, it had been decided in principle to cancel the exams in late December 1968. While that decision continued to be examined, there was never

any developments that caused it to be overturned. For this reason, Satō never stopped being cautious and confirmed the late December decision to cancel the exams on January 17. Accordingly, the interpretation that Satō's visit to the University of Tokyo on January 20 was a "performance" seems unlikely to be true.

However, as written in the "revised memorandum" to the oral history, it should be understood that "No changes were made to Yamazaki's discussions of his own experiences . . . even if there were things that he remembered incorrectly, that is how he remembers them and that can be a valuable clue in understanding his thoughts" (Mikuriya, *Butai o Mawasu*, 6–7).

Documents related to the university issue are collected in KMF K-6. Among these is "Yamazaki Masakazu-shi no Iken (Gekisakuka/Tezukayama Gakuin Daigaku Jokyōju)" [The Opinion of Yamazaki Masakazu (Dramatist/Tezukayama Gakuin University Professor)] (KMF K-6–9). While the document is undated, judging from its contents it is from the time of the passing of the university law and makes no reference to the cancellation of the entrance examinations.

**The Report of the Okinawa Base Problems Research Group
Embarking on a Strategy of "Denuclearization and Equality with the Mainland"
The Reality of the Prior Consultation System**

North American Bureau Director Tōgō, "Sōbi no Jūyō na Henkō ni kan suru Jizen Kyōgi no Ken" [On Prior Consultation Related to Important Changes to Equipment], January 27, 1968, Iwayuru "Mitsuyaku" Mondai ni kan suru Chōsa Hōkoku Taishō Bunsho, 2010–6438, MOFA. American Bureau Director Tōgō, "Shimoda Taishi – Sōri Hōkoku no Ken" [Ambassador Shimoda – On the Prime Minister Report], January 6, 1969, Nichibei Kankei (Okinawa Henkan) 19, H22–21, MOFA. "Aru Gaijin to no Taiwa" [Conversation with a Certain Foreigner], February 28, 1969, KF F-1–80. "Okinawa Kichi Mondai Kenkyūkai – Hōkoku Oyobi Shiryō no Kopii" [Okinawa Base Problems Research Group – Copies of Reports and Materials] Part I, KMF F-2–70. Committee on Carrying out the US-Japan Kyoto Conference, "Nichibei Kyoto Kaigi – Hōkokusho Shiryō – Kaikai Aisatsu/Mondai Teiki/Gichō Hōkoku" [US-Japan Kyoto Conference – Report Materials – Opening Speech/Presentation of Issues/Chairman's Report], January 31, 1969, KMF F-2–68. "Satō-ate Shimoda Shokan" [Letter from Shimoda to Satō], March 7, 1969, KMF F-1–81. Okinawa Base Problems Research Group, "Okinawa Kichi Mondai Kenkyūkai Hokoku" [Report of the Okinawa Base Problems Research Group], March 8, 1969, KMF F-2–69. "Memorandum of Conversation between Wakaizumi and Richard L. Sneider," May 10, 1968, DNSA. Rostow, "Memorandum for the President," January 3, 1969, DNSA. "Memorandum of Conversation Between Wakaizumi and Rostow," January 13, DNSA. *Dai 60 Kai Kokkai Sangiin Yosan Iinkai Kaigiroku* [60th Diet – Record of the House of Councillors Budget Committee] No. 9–12, March 10 to 13, 1969. *Asahi Shim-bun*, March 9, 1969, March 10, 1969 (evening), March 11, 1969, March 11, 1969 (evening), March 12, 1969, March 14, 1969, October 5, 1997. *Mainichi Shim-bun*, March 13, 1969 (evening). "Okinawa Henkan Mondai ni Tai suru Nichibei Ryōkoku no Taido" [The Positions of the US and Japan on the Okinawa Reversion

Issue], *Shiryō Heiwa Keizai* 98, 1969, 27–39. Modern History Research Group, *Okinawa Kichi Mondai Kenkyūkai Hōkoku* [Report of the Okinawa Base Problems Research Group], (Tokyo: Gendaishi Kenkyūjo, 1969), 1–5, 14–15. Ōhama, *Okinawa Sengoshi*, 94–103. Kusuda, *Shuseki Hishokan*, 178–185. Kusuda, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki*, 196–197, 304, 308–309. Hori, *Sengo Seiji no Oboegaki*, 123–124. Shimoda Takezō, *Sengo Nihon Gaikō no Shōgen* [Testimony on Post-war Japanese Foreign Policy], (Tokyo: Gyōsei Mondai Kenkyūjo Shuppankyoku, 1985), 2:177–178. Senda, *Satō Naikaku Kaisō*, 68–78. Satō, *Nikki*, 2:212, 3:376, 380, 406. Hosoya, *Nichibei Shiryōshū*, 465–467. Hattori Ryūji, *Ōhira Masayoshi – Rinen to Gaikō* [Ōhira Masayoshi – His Ideas and Diplomacy], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2014), 62.

“Supporting South Korea” – Seeking Denuclearization

The Satō-Nixon Joint Statement

“Please trust me” – Nuclear Weapons and Textiles

Richard M. Nixon, “Asia After Viet Nam,” *Foreign Affairs* 46, 1967, 111–125. Richard M. Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Touchstone, 1990), 258, 282, 343. “Beikoku Yōnin Honpō Hōmon Kankei Nanken – Nixon Moto Fukudaitōryō Kankei” [Difficult Matters Related to Visits to Japan by Important Americans – Related to Former Vice President Nixon], A.1.6.2.4–7, MOFA. “Aichi Kiichi Gaishō kara Shimoda Takezō Chūbei Taishi-ra” [From Foreign Minister Aichi Kiichi to Ambassador to the US Shimoda Takezō, and so on], May 13, 1969, Nichibei Bōeki/Sen’i Mondai (Stans Beikoku Shōmu Chōkan Hōnichichi), 2010–6232, MOFA. “Satō Sōri Shusai Gosankai ni okeru Sōri Daijin Aisatsu” [Prime Minister Satō’s Greetings at the Luncheon He Hosted], July 29, 1969, Nichibei Bōeki Keizai Gōdō Iinkai (Dainana Kai), 2010–6169, MOFA. Foreign Ministry Information/Culture Bureau Foreign Affairs Councillor Akatani Gen’ichi, “Satō Sōri to Rogers Kokumu Chōkan to no Kaidan Yōshi” [Summary of the Discussion between Prime Minister Satō and Secretary of State Rogers], July 31, 1969, Okinawa Kankei 20, H22–12, MOFA. American Bureau, “Dainana Kai Nichibei Bōeki Keizai Gōdō Iinkai Giji Gaiyō – Shōwa 44 7-Gatsu 29-Nichi – 31-Nichi” [Summary of the 7th Meeting of the US-Japan Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Problems, July 29–31, 1969], September 1969, Nichibei Bōeki Keizai Gōdō Iinkai – Dai 7 Kai Iinkai Honkaigi – Giji Gaiyō, E’.2.3.1.17-8-5-1, MOFA. “Kanayama Masahide Chūkan Taishi kara Aichi” [From Ambassador to South Korea Kanayama Masahide to Aichi], November 24, 1969, Okinawa Kankei 7, 2011–696, MOFA. American Bureau Director Tōgō, “Sōri/Daitōryō Kaidan Keii” [Particulars of the Talks Between the Prime Minister and President], November 24, 1969, Okinawa Kankei 20, H22–12, MOFA. American Bureau, “Satō Sōri/Nixon Daitōryō Kaidan” [Talks Between Prime Minister Satō and President Nixon], November 27, Okinawa Kankei 20, H22–12, MOFA. Satō Eisaku, “Ajia no Keizai Jiritsu ni Kiyō” [Contributing to the Economic Self-Sufficiency of Asia], *Sekai Shūhō* No. 41, 1969, 20–21. Satō, *Nikki*, 1:207, 2:113, 310, 472, 3:58–59, 314, 344–346, 388, 421, 450, 464, 510, 534–541. Royama Michio, “Shin Daitōryō e no Kitai to Gimō” [Expectations and Doubts Concerning the New President], *Ushio*,

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Wakaizumi’s Mistake and Tōgō’s Correction

Was Satō’s Use of a Secret Envoy Necessary?

The “Secret Agreed Minute” and the “Korea Minutes”

Wakaizumi’s “Going Ahead” and Kissinger’s “Secret Understanding”

Satō’s “Mutual Trust” and Wakaizumi’s Frustration

Wakaizumi’s “Formula” – Satō Agitated

“That’s fine. Please do it.”

The Harm of Two-Dimensional Diplomacy

The Price of the “Nuclear Secret Agreement” – Wakaizumi and Kissinger’s Scenario

The Balance Sheet for Kantei-Led Diplomacy – The Shell of the Prior Consultation System

Was There No Other Way?

The Fragility of Back Channels

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When Kusuda consulted with Wakaizumi on the National Press Club speech, he “emphasized that the Vietnam issue should be included.” Taking this advice, Kusuda met with Research Section Chief Murata Ryōhei and rewrote the speech. Kusuda, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki*, 399.

According to Okawara Yōshio, Tōgō and the others had heard rumors that there was a “ninja” at work, though they didn’t know it was Wakaizumi or the details of his movements. Okawara Yōshio, *Oral History – Nichibei Gaikō* [Oral History – US-Japan Diplomacy] (Japan Times, 2006), 187–188. While Aichi had met Wakaizumi, he did not know of Draft B or the rest.

As mentioned in the seventh note to Chapter 5, according to pages 128 to 131 of COE Project’s *Motono Moriyuki Oral History*, Motono has no memory of working with Wakaizumi to compose a draft, and Wakaizumi’s account in his book (especially pages 87 to 88 where Motono appears) is contrary to the facts. But at the same time, Motono also says that he was aware that Wakaizumi was involved.

For Kosugi’s testimony, see NHK Special, *Okinawa Henkan no Daishō*, 86. For Higa’s testimony, see Kōno Yasuko, Taira Yōshitoshi, eds., *Taiwa – Okinawa no Sengo – Seiji/Rekishi/Shikō* [Okinawa’s Postwar: A Dialogue – Politics, History, and Thought], (Tokyo: Yoshida Shoten, 2017), 126–127.

Chapter 6

The 300-Seat Shiwasu Election

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The Osaka Expo – Satō’s Third Government

Satō’s Fourth Term as LDP President – Carelessness Invited by Overwhelming Victory

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Saishō Fujin Hiroku, 226–234. Satō, *Nikki*, 4:194, 199–201. Modern Japanese Historical Resources Research Group, ed., *Hosoda Kichizō Oral History*, (Tokyo: Kindai Nihon Shiryo Kenkyukai, 2006), 2:16–17.

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Asahi Shimbun, January 21, 1970, August 24, 1970 (evening), August 25, 1970, August 25, 1970 (evening), August 27, 1970 (evening). American Bureau First North American Section (Satō Yukio), “Tōgō Kyokuchō/Sneider Kōshi Kaidan” [Conversation Between Director Tōgō and Envoy Sneider], March 24, 1970, Nichibei Kankei – Okinawa Henkan 14, 2014–2730, MOFA. Foreign Affairs Councillor Yasukawa Takeshi, “Johnson Kokumu Jikan to no Kaidan Yōshi” [Summary of Conversation with Under Secretary of State Johnson], July 29, 1970, Nichibei Kankei – Okinawa Henkan 14, 2014–2730, MOFA. Foreign Ministry, “Okinawa Henkan Kyōtei Yōshi Oyobi Kanren Mondai no Gaiyō” [Summary of Agreement on Reversion of Okinawa and Related Issues], April 27, 1971, Okinawa Kankei/Okinawa Henkan Kyōtei Kankei Kōshō – Taibei Zenpan (4), B’5.1.0.J/U24(51), MOFA. American Bureau, “Beikoku Jōin Gaikō Iinkai Anzen Hoshō Torikime Oyobi Taigai Yakusoku Koiinkai Chōmonkai Giroku (Nihon Oyobi Okinawa) Daiichi Bunsatsu (Kariyaku)” [Report of Proceedings of the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on US Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad (Japan and Okinawa), Vol. 1 (Provisional Translation)], September 1970, KMF F-1–253. Satō, *Nikki*, 4:149.

According to U. Alexis Johnson with Jef Olivarius McAllister, *The Right Hand of Power* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 547, “Japan was going to regain Okinawa, and we had Japan on record about the conditions under which it would approve our taking action from our Japanese bases to maintain regional security. Together our two countries had shown that diplomacy does not always require one party to lose for the other’s gain.”

Nixon’s “Disillusionment and Worries” – Protracted US-Japan Frictions Over Textiles

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The Nixon Shock – Satō's Final Reorganization of the Cabinet Defeat in the UN on Chinese Representation – Satō's “Conclusion” Tanaka and Fukuda in Contrast

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Setting up Fukuda as Satō’s Successor – The San Clemente Discussion

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The Chinese View of Japan – “Taiwan Belongs to China”

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“Wouldn’t it be better to wait for a new government?” – The International Relations Colloquium

Satō’s Three Routes of Maneuvers Toward China: Okada, Hori, and Eguchi The “Secret Agreement on Restoration Costs” and the Creation of the Tanaka Faction

“Kusuda Minoru Shokan” [Kusuda Minoru Letter], October 1964, KMF E-1–57. Cabinet Secretariat, “Dainikai Kokusai Kankei Kondankai Sokkiroku”

[Stenographic Record of the 2nd Meeting of the International Relations Colloquium], September 30, 1971, KMF H-1-1. “Shū Onrai-ate Hori Shokan” [Hori’s Letter to Zhou Enlai], October 25, 1971, KMF G-1-93. *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, February 1, 1971 (evening), July 11, 1971, August 19, 1971, August 30, 1971 (evening). *Dai 68 Kai Sangiin Yosan Iinkai* No. 6, 7, April 6–7, 1972. *Mainichi Shimbun*, April 15, 1972 (evening). “Gaimusho Kimitsu Rōei/Hasumi Jiken” [Foreign Ministry Leaks/The Hasumi Incident], H22–14, MOFA. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Sōri Daijin*, 20. Eguchi Mahiko, “Watashi wa, Satō Zenshusho no ‘Pekin Seifu’ Kosaku no Misshi datta” [I was Former Prime Minister Satō’s Secret Envoy During His Manuevers Aimed at the “Beijing Government”], *Hōseki*, December 1973, 114–129. Kusuda, *Shuseki Hishokan*, 115–117. Kusuda, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki*, 544, 619–621, 627–628, 634–635, 649–650, 654, 657–658, 665, 677, 730, 808–809. Hori, *Sengo Seiji*, 128–131. Kishimoto, *Issei no Michi*, 143–147. Okada Akira, *Mizutori Gaikō Hiwa – Aru Gaikokan no Shōgen* [Secret Stories of Waterfowl Diplomacy – Testimony of a Certain Diplomat], (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 1983), 145–169. Tagawa Seiichi, *Nicchū Kōryū to Jimintō no Ryoshū-tachi* [Sino-Japanese Exchange and the LDP Bosses], (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbun, 1983), 22–33. Nakajima Mineo, “‘Hori Shokan’ no Omoide” [Memories of the “Hori Letter”] in Publication Committee for a Biography of Hori Shigeru, ed., *Tsuisō Hori Shigeru* [Recollections of Hori Shigeru], (Tokyo: Hori Shigeru Den Kankō Iinkai, 1985), 347–348. Editorial Committee, ed., *Nakajima Mineo Chosaku Senshū – Daisankan: Uragirareta Minshu Kakumei* [Selected Writings of Nakajima Chosaku, Vol. 3: The Betrayed Democratic Revolution], (Tokyo: Obirin Daigaku Hokuto Ajia Sōgō Kenkyūjo, 2016), 230–245. Senda, *Satō Naikaku Kaisō*, 125, 130–143. Yasukawa, *Nichibei Gaikō*, 152–153. Nakasone, *Seiji to Jinsei*, 285–288. Nakasone Yasuhiro, *Jishoroku – Rekishi Hōtei no Hikoku to shite* [Meditations – Taking the Stand Before the Court of History], (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2004), 89–92. Nakasone Yasuhiro, *Nakasone Yasuhiro ga Kataru Sengo Nihon Gaikō* [Postwar Japanese Diplomacy as Told by Nakasone Yasuhiro], eds., Nakashima Takuma, Hattori Ryūji, Nobori Amiko, Wakatsuki Hidekazu, Michishita Narushige, Kusunoki Ayako, Segawa Takao, (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2012), 225–227. Satō, *Nikki*, 2:463, Vol. 4, 413, 419–420, 426, 455, 461, 464, 474, 496, 5:27, 41–42, 46, 56, 73, 78–79, 87, 90, 94, 107, 112, 119, 124–125, 129–131, 133–136, 140–141, 153, 176, 205–206, 240, 273, 299, 376–377, 403, 435, 455, 461, 474. Sankei Shimbun Reporting Team, ed., *Sengoshi Kaifu Shōwa 40-Nendai-Hen* [Unsealing Power History – 1965–1975] (Tokyo: Fusosha Bunko, 1999). Etō, *Satō Eisaku*, 196–198, 214. COE Project, *Motono Moriyuki Oral History*, 145. Hattori, *Tanaka Kakuei*, 138–139.

In *Postwar Japanese Diplomacy as Told by Nakasone Yasuhiro*, Nakasone says that Satō directed Eguchi to tell him the details of his efforts to approach China. Nakasone, *Sengo Nihon Gaikō*, 225–227. But Satō wrote in his journal that “[Nakasone] unexpectedly knows Eguchi Mahiko and that I’m using him. Was I the foolish one for having treated Eguchi with such secrecy?” Satō, *Nikki*, 5:79. Given this entry, it is difficult to think that Satō directed Eguchi to speak to Nakasone.

According to the NHK Documentary/BS1 Special “The Whole Picture of Sino-Japanese ‘Secret Envoy Diplomacy’ – Satō Eisaku’s Top Secret Negotiations” (broadcast on September 24, 2017), it was Prime Minister’s Secretary Nishigaki Akira from the finance ministry (a later administrative vice-minister of finance) who acted as a go-between for Satō and Eguchi. Nishigaki was entrusted by Satō with restoring Sino-Japanese relations as a top-secret task. The reason was that newspaper reporters were watching Kusuda and Kosugi, preventing them from working in secret. Thus, Satō did not make use of S-Operation (symbolized by Kusuda) and instead secretly met Eguchi not at the Kantei but rather at his official residence using Nishigaki, the least experienced of his secretaries.

For sources written by those involved in the foreign ministry’s leaking of confidential documents, see Hasumi Kikuko, “Gaimushō Kimitsu Bunsho Rōei Jiken – Hanketsu to Rikon o Ki shite – Watashi no Kokuhaku” [Foreign Ministry Confidential Document Leaking Incident – Expecting a Sentence and Divorce – My Confession], *Shūkan Shinchō*, February 7, 1974, 32–41. Hasumi Kikuko, Hasumi Takeo, “Shinsō Kokuhaku (1)(2)(3)” [True Confession (1)(2)(3)], *Josei Jishin*, February 9/16, 1974, February 23, 1974, March 2, 1974, 32–38, 34–38, 34–38. National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies COE Project for Oral History and Policy Enrichment, *Yōshino Bunroku Oral History*, (Tokyo: National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, 2003), 108–120. *Asahi Shimbun*, March 8, 2006. Nishiyama Takichi, *Okinawa Mitsuyaku – “Jōhō Hanzai” to Nichibei Dōmei* [Okinawa Secret Agreement – “Intelligence Crime” and the US-Japan Alliance], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 2007). and Nishiyama Takichi, *Ketteiban – Kimitsu o Kaishi seyo – Sabakareta Okinawa Mitsuyaku* [Reveal the Secrets – The Judged Okinawa Secret Agreement – Definitive Edition], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2015).

Hasumi’s “Foreign Ministry Confidential Document Leaking Incident – Expecting a Sentence and Divorce – My Confession” can be found in “Shūkan Shinchō” Editorial Department, ed., “*Shūkan Shinchō*” *ga Hojita Scandal Sengoshi* [A Postwar History of the Scandals Reported on by Shukan Shincho], (Tokyo: Shinchō Bunko, 2008), 333–362.

The *Mainichi Shimbun* reportedly paid 10 million yen in compensation to Hasumi in December 1973. Hasumi, “Shinsō Kokuho (1),” 33–34.

The Return of Okinawa to Japan – Satō’s Decision to Step Down

Asahi Shimbun, May 15, 1972. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, June 17, 1972, June 17, 1972 (evening). Prime Ministerial Secretariat Office for Preparing the Okinawa Reversion Ceremony, ed., *Okinawa Fukki Kinen Shikiten Kiroku* [Record of the Ceremony for the Reversion of Okinawa], (Tokyo: Naikaku Sōri Daijin Kanbō, 1972), 19, 108, 169–182. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 311–313. Satō Eisaku, *Nikki*, 5:104.

“I hate newspapers” – Satō’s Resignation

Satō’s Governance as “Saitaku Dōki”

“I want to make Fukuda prime minister”

“Kusuda Memo,” KMF K-3–72. “Satō Naikaku Sōri Daijin Tainin Aisatsu” [Prime Minister Satō’s Resignation Address], June 17, 1972, KMF K-7–1.

“Zaikyō Kyūsha Henshūkyokuchōkai ‘Kōgi’” [“Protest” from the Association of Editors in Chief of 9 Companies in Tokyo], June 17, 1972, KMF K-7-31. Cabinet Press Corps, “Kōgisho” [Letter of Protest], June 17, 1972, KMF K-7-32. *Asahi Shimbun*, April 6, 1972 (evening), April 14, 1972, June 18, 1972, June 19, 1972, June 20, 1972. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, June 17, 1972, June 17, 1972 (evening). Publication Committee for Commemorating the 15th Anniversary, ed., *Katsugaku*, (Osaka: Kansai Shiyu Kyōkai, 1972), 20. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Sōri Daijin*, 20. Kusuda Minoru, *Satō Seiken: 2797 Nichi* [The Satō Government: 2,797 Days], (Tokyo: Gyōsei Mondai Kenkyūjo Shuppankyoku, 1983). Kusuda, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki*, 732–734, 738–741, 895–899. Satō Hiroko, “Saitaku Dōki,” *Chichi*, March 1984, 26–27. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 117, 136, 285–290, 302–306. Senda, *Satō Naikaku Kaisō*, 122, 149. Satō, *Nikki*, 5:130–134. Take-shita, *Seiji to wa Nani ka*, 205–206. COE Project, *Matsuno Raizō Oral History Part 1*, 158–159.

Satō’s view that the newspapers were “co-conspirators” who stoked the university protests is a little one-sided. This is because there was a fair amount of press coverage that was critical of the protests. “Tōdai Funsō no Dakai o Meguru Ronchō – Katō Teian kara Nyūshi Chūshi Kettei made” [Tone Taken on the Breakthrough on the University of Tokyo Conflict – From the Katō Proposal to the Decision to Cancel the Entrance Examinations], January 8, 1969, KMF K-6-13.

The Five Neutral Factions and the Four-Faction Alliance – The Birth of Party President Tanaka

“My accomplishments await the judgment of historians” – From Satō to Tanaka

Asahi Shimbun, June 20, 1972. Fukuda, *Waga Haisen no Ki*, 132–137. Fukuda, *Kaiko 90 Nen*, 197–202. Fukuda Takeo, Matsuoka Hideo, *Haishō – Hei o Kataru* [Vanquished General – The Soldiers Speak], (Tokyo: Yōkakai, 1972), 3–18. Yamada, *Seiden*, 391–395. Satō, *Nikki*, 5:133–143. Kei Wakaizumi, *The Best Course Available: A Personal Account of the Secret U.S.-Japan Okinawa Reversion Negotiations*, ed., John Swenson-Wright, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). *Yomiuri Shimbun* Shōwa Jidai Project, *Shōwa Jidai – Sengo Tenkan-ki* [Shōwa Period: The Postwar Turning Point], (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2013), 260. Hasegawa Takashi, Hinata Reo, “‘Ishii Mitsujiro Nikki’ 1972” [Journal of Ishii Mitsujiro – 1972], *Komazawa Daigaku Daigakuin Shigaku Ronshū* 46, 2016, 63–65, 74, 77, 80, 88–91, 95. Hattori, *Tanaka Kakuei*, 144–146.

“Vanquished General” was a booklet reprinting a dialogue that appeared in the *Mainichi Shimbun* from July 28 to August 7, 1972.

Ishii had opposed Satō’s fourth term as party president. Ishii Mitsujirō, *Kaisō 88 Nen* [88 Years of Recollections], (Tokyo: Culture Shuppansha, 1978), 451–452.

Conclusion

Satō’s Grudge Against Tanaka

Satō, *Nikki*, 5:156. Etō, *Etō Shinkichi Chosakushū*, 203–206.

The Grand Cordon of the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum – Visiting America

Yomiuri Shimbun, February 21, 1971, November 3, 1972, November 4, 1972, January 18, 1973, January 26, 1973 (evening), February 1, 1973 (evening), February 4, 1973, February 5, 1973. “Memorandum of Conversation between Nixon and Satō,” January 31, 1973, DNSA. “Satō/Nixon Kaidan Memo” [Memo of Conversation between Satō and Nixon], January 31, 1973, KMF J-12–42. Satō, *Ima Dakara*, 158. Satō, *Nikki*, 5:230–231, 280–294. Arima, *Tsuioku*, 1:161–169.

“Unless these two truly join together” – Satō’s Conversation With Kishi
Kanpō, December 1, 1973. *Bōchō Shimbun*, January 1, 1974.

“It is inevitable that the public should have doubts” – The Nobel Peace Prize “You’re you, I’m me. But we get along.” – Peace Prize Efforts

“Reischauer to Rusk,” December 29, 1964, DNSA. Foreign Ministry Eurasia Bureau, Western Europe Section, “Yōshida Shigeru-shi no Nobel Heiwa Jushō no tame Genzai made ni Okonatta koto” [Actions Taken Towards the Awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Yōshida Shigeru], April 27, 1965, Nobel Shō Kankei, I.1.0.0.10, MOFA. *Mainichi Shimbun*, October 7, 1974, October 9, 1974 (evening), October 10, 1974. Kase Toshikazu, “Nobel Heiwashō no Butairi” [Behind the Scenes on the Nobel Peace Prize], *Jiyū* 16:12, 1974, 38–49. Satō Eisaku, “Kimi wa Kimi, Ware wa Ware, Saredo Nakayoki – Nobel Heiwashō o Jushō shite” [You’re You, I’m Me, but We Get Along – Receiving the Nobel Peace Prize], *Gekkan Jiyū Minshu* 225, 1974, 15–22. Satō, *Nikki*, 5:423, 430, 433, 467, 513, 6:197. Kusuda, *Kusuda Minoru Nikki*, 260. Hatano Sumio, ed., *Ikeda-Satō Seiken-ki no Nihon Gaikō* [Japanese Foreign Policy under the Ikeda and Satō Governments], (Tokyo: Minerva Shobō, 2004). COE Project, *Motono Moriyuki Oral History*, 204–206. Yōshitake Nobuhiko, “Nobel Shō no Kokusai Seijigaku – Nobel Heiwashō to Nihon: Josetsu” [The International Politics of the Nobel Prize – the Nobel Peace Prize and Japan: Introduction], *Chiiki Seisaku Kenkyū* 12:4, 2010, 35–38. Hanyu Kōichi, “Gaikō Kimitsu Bunsho kara Mita Satō Eisaku Nobel Heiwa Shō Jushō to ‘Futatsu no Chūgoku’ Mondai” [Satō Eisaku’s Nobel Peace Prize and the “Two Chinas” Issue as Seen in Classified Documents], *Tōkai Daigaku Kiyō Bungakubu* 102, 2014, 37–61.

The first Asian to receive the Nobel Peace Prize would have been Le Duc Tho of North Vietnam in 1973, but he refused the award.

When I requested that the foreign ministry disclose its materials related to Satō’s Nobel maneuvers, I was told that “none exist.” Foreign ministry document disclosed in accordance with the Freedom of Information Law, 2016–301.

Award Ceremony – Final Foreign Vacation

Asahi Shimbun, April 17, 1969. “Satō Moto Sōri no Jushōshiki ni okeru Aisatsu” [Former Prime Minister Satō’s Speech at the Award Ceremony], December 10, 1974, KMF L-1–20. Satō Eisaku, Satō Eisaku Kōenkai, *Satō Eisaku Nobel Heiwashō 1974 Jushō Kinen Kōenshū* [Satō Eisaku’s Nobel Peace Prize – 1974 Award Commemorative Lecture], Satō Eisaku Kōenkai, 1975, KMF L-1–27.

Yomiuri Shimbun, December 11, 1974, December 12, 1974 (evening). Senda, *Ashita e no Tatakai*, 18–21. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 317–329. Kusuda, *Saitaku Dōki no Seiji*, 899–901.

The Shiina Decision and Chiang Kai-shek's Funeral

“Hiroko, please give up” – Coma

Public Funeral and Afterward

“Shō Kaiseki Taiwan Sōtō Seikyo” [The Death of Taiwan President Chiang Kai-shek], 2017–256, MOFA. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, ed., *Sōri Daijin*, 35–36. *Asahi Shimbun*, April 15, 1975, May 20, 1975, May 20, 1975 (evening), May 23, 1975, May 26, 1975 (evening), May 28, 1975 (evening), June 3, 1975, June 3, 1975 (evening), June 16, 1975 (evening), June 17, 1975, April 16, 1987 (evening). *Yomiuri Shimbun*, June 3, 1975. Prime Ministerial Secretariat, ed., *Ko Satō Eisaku Kokumin Sōgi Kiroku* [Record of the Late Satō Eisaku's National Funeral], (Tokyo: National Printing Bureau, 1976). Miyazaki, *Satō Eisaku*, 13–14, 244–249. Nagano, *Waga Zaikai Jinsei*, 70–72. Nishimura, *Kumo o Tsukamu*, 157. Mainichi Shimbun Politics Department, *Seihen* [Change of Government], (Tokyo: Gendai Kyōiku Bunko, 1993), 182–184. Satō, *Nikki*, 6:208–217, 219, 222–223, 225–232, 246, 248, 314, 327–338, 361–362. Satō Hiroko, *Saitaku Dōki*, 26–27. Satō Hiroko, *Saishō Fujin Hiroku*, 330–343.

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