

FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL THINKING ON SEA POWER

No. 2

# JAPANESE SEA POWER

A MARITIME NATION'S STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY



NAOKO SAJIMA AND KYOICHI TACHIKAWA



# JAPANESE SEA POWER

A MARITIME NATION'S  
STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY

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by

Naoko Sajima and Kyochi Tachikawa

Sea Power Centre – Australia

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### Director Sea Power Centre – Australia

|                       |            |                                |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| Department of Defence | Telephone: | +61 2 6127 6512                |
| Canberra ACT 2600     | Facsimile: | +61 2 6127 6519                |
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# FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL THINKING ON SEA POWER

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The Foundations of International Thinking on Sea Power series is a refereed publication that reflects original research, both historical and contemporary, on how various States perceive the necessity for, and the use of, seas power. The series re-examines the fundamental understanding of sea power in a variety of cultural traditions from ancient times to the present day.

Modern concepts of sea power are largely based upon the Anglo-American tradition, and subsequently many navies have had difficulty identifying and applying alternative maritime traditions. By examining the broadest aspects of maritime strategy, this series aims to highlight the assumptions that underpin our modern perceptions of sea power.

No. 1 *Ancient Egyptian Sea Power and the Origin of Maritime Forces*  
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No. 2 *Japanese Sea Power: A Maritime Nation's Struggle for Identity*  
by Naoko Sajima and Kyoichi Tachikawa



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# ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

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|      |  |
|------|--|
| ASDF | Air Self-Defense Force                     |
| BCE  | Before the Common Era                      |
| CE   | Common Era                                 |
| CFE  | <i>Conventional Armed Forces in Europe</i> |
| GHQ  | General Headquarters of the Allied Powers  |
| GSDF | Ground Self-Defense Force                  |
| HMS  | His/Her Majesty's Ship                     |
| ICBM | Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles        |
| IDP  | Imperial Defense Policy                    |
| IJA  | Imperial Japanese Army                     |
| IJN  | Imperial Japanese Navy                     |
| IPCA | <i>International Peace Cooperation Act</i> |
| JDA  | Japan Defense Agency                       |
| JSDF | Japan Self-Defense Force                   |
| LDP  | Liberal Democratic Party                   |
| MSA  | Maritime Safety Agency                     |
| MSDF | Maritime Self-Defense Force                |
| NDPG | <i>National Defense Program Guideline</i>  |
| NDPO | <i>National Defense Program Outline</i>    |
| NIDS | National Institute for Defense Studies     |
| PKO  | Peacekeeping Operations                    |

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| PSI    | Proliferation Security Initiative  |
| RAN    | Royal Australian Navy  |
| RIMPAC | Rim of the Pacific   |
| ROK    | Republic of Korea  |
| SCAP   | Supreme Commander for Allied Powers                                      |
| SLOC   | Sea Lines of Communication   |
| SMS    | <i>Seine Majestat Schiff</i><br>(His Majesty's Ship, German designation) |
| SPC-A  | Sea Power Centre - Australia   |
| US     | United States  |
| USFJ   | US Forces in Japan   |
| USSR   | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics                                      |
| WWI    | World War I  |
| WWII   | World War II   |

# ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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## Naoko SAJIMA

Naoko Sajima has been a professor at Senshu University since April 2001. Sajima graduated from Sophia University, Department of Law, and completed her MA degree (International Politics) at Aoyama Gakuin University. During a career of 19 years at the Japan Defense Agency, she worked in the Foreign Relations Office and as a senior researcher in the National Institute for Defense Studies, among other posts. She was a visiting fellow at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, the Australian National University in 1994-1995 and a distinguished fellow at the Centre for Strategic Studies, New Zealand in 1998-1999. She has been the Secretary General of the Japan Society for New Zealand Studies (JSNZS) since 2008. Sajima has published widely in both in English and Japanese: her leading English language monographs include; *JANZUS: Towards Complementary Security Arrangements*, presented at the 2008 International Study Association (ISA) Annual Convention in San Francisco; *Japan, Australia and Asia-Pacific Security*, Routledge, London, 2006, (co-author); and *Strategic Cultures in the Asia-Pacific Region*, MacMillan Press, London, 1999, (co-author). In 2005 she received the 15th Cum-Sophia Award [Sophia Alumni Association Prize] as an editor in chief with the winning work, *Gendai anzen hoshō yōgo jiten* (Concise Encyclopaedia of Security Affairs), Shinzansha, 2004.

## Kyoichi TACHIKAWA

Dr Kyoichi Tachikawa is Senior Research Fellow at the Department of Military History, the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Ministry of Defense, Japan, where he has worked since 1995. He has authored or edited several books in Japanese and in English, including *Dainiji-sekaitaisen to furansu-ryō Indoshina: Nichi-futsu kyōryoku no kenkyū (WWII and French Indochina: A Study of Franco-Japanese Collaboration)*, Sairyūsha, Tokyo, 2000; *British and Japanese Military Leadership in the Far Eastern War 1941-1945* (co-edited with Brian Bond), Frank Cass, London, 2004; and *Shi Pawa: sono riron to jissen* (Sea Power: Theory and Practice) (co-edited with Tomoyuki Ishizu et al), Fuyō Shobō Shuppan, Tokyo, 2008.

# PICTURE CREDITS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# PREFACE

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When the Foundations of International Sea Power series was conceived, there was some discussion on whether a study on Japanese sea power would truly offer an alternative view to the dominant Anglo-centric views of sea power. Indeed some have suggested that Japanese maritime forces were nothing more than a carbon copy of the British Royal Navy before 1945 and of the United States Navy since 1945. Such a perception could not be further from the truth. It became clear that many naval analysts in Australia and elsewhere had a very limited understanding of how or why Japanese sea power differed from that of the traditional maritime powers. The Sea Power Centre - Australia (SPC-A) was very lucky to find Naoko Sajima, an expert on contemporary maritime Japan, to take the lead with this volume, and through her efforts Kyoichi Tachikawa agreed to provide the necessary historical discussion on the birth and evolution of Japanese sea power. Their work is something of a revelation and shows that much of our assumed knowledge of Japan is based more on our imposed values than on the historical and contemporary facts. The introduction, appendices and bibliography provide further background in support of the main works by Sajima and Tachikawa.

This work would not have come to fruition without the support of current and past directors and staff of the SPC-A: all have contributed in their own way. Hirokatsu Nakagawa of the Japan Times - Tokyo, expertly translated much of Tachikawa's original chapter into English. Yumi Kitaguchi of Senshu University and Alessio Patalano of the Department of War Studies, King's College, London, kindly read the draft text and their comments have been incorporated.

Gregory P Gilbert  
Series Editor  
Canberra, Australia  
May 2009



*Japan: A maritime nation*

# CHAPTER 1 - AN INTRODUCTION TO MARITIME JAPAN

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Japan is an island country surrounded on all sides by the sea. That means any threats to our country will always approach us via the sea. In addition, Japan lacks natural resources, so it must rely on countries overseas for most of the materials that we require in our daily lives. We use a maritime transport network stretching around the globe to obtain more than 90% of these materials.<sup>1</sup>

## Japan is a Maritime Nation

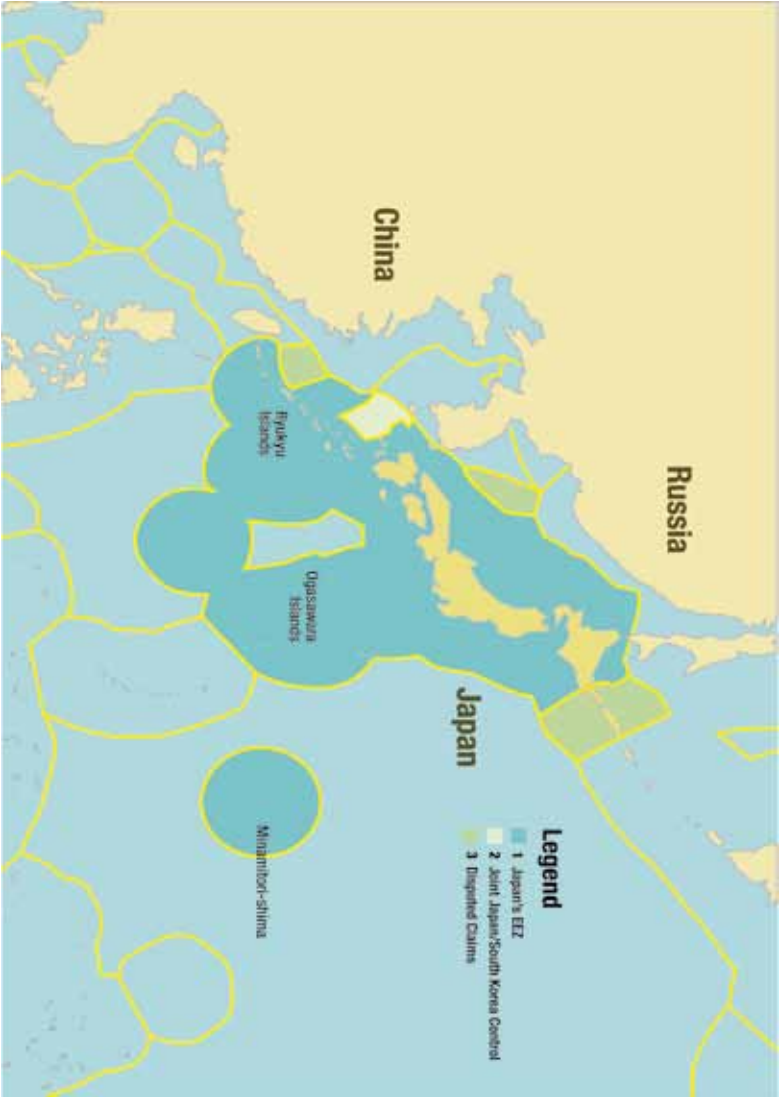
The Japanese archipelago is a mountainous arc lying along the eastern edge of the Eurasian continent.<sup>2</sup> It includes four larger islands (Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu and Shikoku) and over 1000 smaller islands covering some 370,000km<sup>2</sup> of land and with an exclusive economic zone totalling almost 4,480,000km<sup>2</sup>. The modern Japanese nation stretches from the Ryukyu Islands in the south to the Soya and the Etorofu Straits in the north (control of the Kuril Islands is disputed between Japan and Russia).<sup>3</sup> The current geography of Japan dates from the end of the last ice age, approximately 12,000 years ago. Fossils and archaeological remains confirm that Japan was once part of the Asiatic mainland, but as temperatures rose so did the adjacent seas, and the land bridges attaching the islands of Japan to the Asian mainland were submerged. From then to the present, Japan has developed its own distinctive culture with influences from the mainland cultures of China and Korea. The distance between Japan and Korea is some 200 kilometres and between Japan and China a little more than 800 kilometres.

The Japan, East China and Yellow seas form an ocean corridor that has assisted sea communications; something like an East Asian Mediterranean with the Korean peninsula - like its Italian counterpart - located at the centre of eastern and western trade.<sup>4</sup>

The seas have shaped Japanese character because few places in Japan are far from the coast. The Pacific Ocean, the Sea of Japan and the Inland Sea<sup>5</sup> have a profound effect on Japan's climate. The Pacific Ocean provides warm and moist easterlies while the Sea of Japan adds warmth and moisture to the cold, dry Siberian winds that in turn dump heavy snowfalls on much of northern Japan. The Inland Sea, meanwhile, is a protected warm-water channel suitable for local sea communications and an excellent natural



*Japan's exclusive economic zone, including jointly managed and claimed zones*



retreat for those threatened by the Pacific typhoons that at times bring destruction to the archipelago. The seas around Japan have always been a vital source of food, and the Japanese population has one of the world's highest intakes of fish and other marine products. While small fishing vessels from coastal villages still fish the rich inshore waters, larger vessels travel ever increasing distances across the world's oceans to satisfy the massive demand of the Tokyo and Osaka markets.

## Japan's Struggle for Maritime Identity

The seas around Japan have always provided a great highway for the communication of ideas and trade. It would be fair to say that maritime engagement was the natural situation for prosperity. Yet, the long term view of Japanese sea power sees a recurrence of peaks and troughs. Although a maritime nation by circumstance, a small number of Japanese rulers have chosen to either ignore or suppress the nation's maritime identity.

From the earliest times, the sea was also used both as a means of communication and as a practical aid for the consolidation of Japanese national power. The two great chronicles of Japan, the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*,<sup>6</sup> describe the myths and historical events that led to the formation of the island nation and the consolidation of the imperial house. Legends describe the first Emperor of Japan leading a successful expedition to conquer Yamato, in central Japan, and after considerable fighting the Japanese nation was born.<sup>7</sup> For the next 1000 years sea communications between the many kingdoms around the East Asian Mediterranean were an essential component of the rising civilisations in Japan, China, and Korea. Chinese records describe close connections with the eastern barbarians of the country of Wa (their name for Japan), mostly with the cooperation of the kingdoms of the Korean peninsula. Indeed the Japanese relationship with the Baekje (Kudara) kingdom in southwest Korea was very close, and it is possible that both ruling families were related in some way.<sup>8</sup>

### The Age of Gods

According to the Japanese creation myth the divine couple, Izanagi (He-who-invites) and Izanami (She-who-invites), gave birth to the islands of Japan. Their mating created the eight largest islands of Japan, and consequent bubbles in the ocean gave rise to the smaller islands and other foreign lands. Izanagi and Izanami later created deities of the sea, wind, mountains, rivers, trees and rice.

The Buddhist religion was introduced into Japan along the major trade routes during the 6th century CE - a westerly route through Korea and a southerly route across the East China Sea to Mingzhou. In CE 663 the failure of the Japanese navy at the Battle of

Baekgang (Hakusukinoe), off Korea, was followed by a long period of relative isolation. Even though official embassies left Japan for China between the 7th and 9th centuries, Japan remained cut-off from the majority of international trade and its culture turned in upon itself. For example, the Heian Period (especially the 9th-11th centuries) is famous for the development of refined techniques for mounted warfare and the warrior tradition that grew into the fully fledged notion of *bushidō* (way of the warrior).

The sea highways to Japan were reopened from the middle of the 16th century with the arrival of Portuguese and Spanish traders – who brought guns, Western material culture and Christianity. They were followed by the northern European maritime powers, the Dutch, British and French, who came to trade without the same missionary zeal as their Iberian compatriots. But this was not a one-sided affair, as Japanese merchants in large trading vessels also sailed across Asia and the Pacific and traded as far south as Malacca. Around the same time Japan began to develop a strong centralised government and sea power became more important to the newly emerging rulers. This was to be a false dawn for the Japanese navy, for the losses during the Korea campaigns (1592-1598)<sup>9</sup> dampened the enthusiasm for foreign expeditions. Even though a powerful navy was maintained by the early Edo Shoguns, the latent value of sea power was soon lost to the isolationist tradition. (See Appendices 5 and 6). Although by the early 17th century, a maritime focused Japan still looked east and south to the wide open spaces of the Pacific Ocean, the opportunity to open up trading links with the island inhabitants of southeast Asia, the central and south Pacific was lost when the Tokugawa Shogunate introduced its policies of seclusion, the Sakoku Edicts, during the 1630s.<sup>10</sup>

#### The Sakoku Edicts of the 1630s

- Overseas trade was restricted to a few 'open' ports while the activities of merchants were also severely limited. Only Chinese merchants and those from the Dutch East India Company were permitted to trade, and then only through enclaves around Nagasaki.
- No Japanese were to leave Japan's boundaries on pain of death. Europeans that entered Japan illegally also faced the death penalty, although in practice marooned sailors were often escorted to Nagasaki and allowed to depart on Dutch ships.
- Teaching or practicing Christianity was strictly forbidden on pain of death.

Thereafter Japanese rulers were content to limit their use of the sea to domestic maritime communications, including Japanese coastal waters, the Inland Sea, and the river systems. Even though these communications were developed to a high level of sophistication, international technological advances and improvements in shipping



*The transmission of Buddhism during the 1st to 6th Centuries CE*

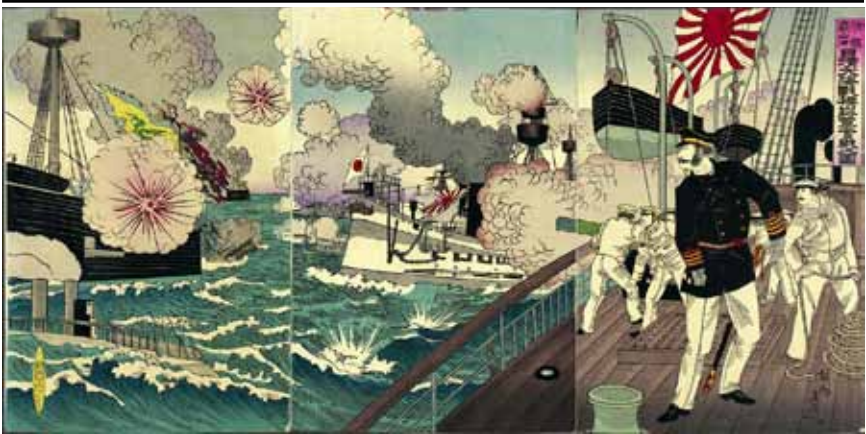
practices were excluded from the Japanese maritime tradition. At the same time, the Japanese rulers attempted to use the surrounding seas as a barrier, protecting the nation from potential or actual outside influences, trade or invasion. There have been few external threats to Japan and even fewer invasion attempts, and so it was generally easy to regulate external contact by controlling access to harbours and ports.

Even by design, the suppression of the natural inclinations of a maritime Japan was a difficult task, as some degree of sea communication was maintained even during times of seclusion. 'The maritime obstacle was not insurmountable. Japan has never been totally cut-off from the rest of the world'.<sup>11</sup> Still, for much of the Edo period, especially between 1635 and 1853, Japan was characterised by an inward looking, highly ritualised, self-contained society. This society had an artistic quality that became imbedded in Western minds as the essence of 'Japaneserie': an imaginary realm of kimonos, geishas posing beneath pagodas, paper houses and square sailed junks anchored in the Inland Sea. Despite this distinctive cultural creativity, the actual conditions in Japan often point to a slow provincial decline.

The 19th century brought great change in Japan. Increasing pressure to reopen sea communications came from groups within Japan who challenged the Tokugawa rule, but it was the Western maritime powers (Britain, Russia, France and America) that finally forced Japan to reopen. The arrival of Commodore Perry's American squadron at Uraga in 1853 demonstrated the potent influence of naval power and maritime trade (see Appendix 7).<sup>12</sup> The Japanese response was to rebuild the nation's sea power. In just a few decades Japan developed an oceanic navy capable of defeating rival Pacific naval powers, as was demonstrated during the First Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895 and the Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905 (see Appendices 9 and 10).<sup>13</sup>

By the start of World War I Japan was recognised as a major sea power. The Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) contributed to the Allied effort to capture German bases in the Pacific and helped keep the sea lines of communications open across the Pacific and Indian Oceans as well as in the Mediterranean. After the war, the former German Pacific Island territories were placed under Japanese rule as mandated territories.<sup>14</sup>

The IJN worked within the international framework established by the maritime powers throughout the 1920s, but during the early 1930s the growing rivalry with the United States, coupled with increased aggression in China, saw Japan increasingly isolated and heading along a course towards open conflict. The Second Sino-Japanese War started in 1937 but it was the economic blockade in 1941 that ultimately convinced the Japanese to embark on the Pacific War (1941-1945). However the IJN's strategic goals ultimately outgrew its national capacity and the destruction of Japanese sea power during World War II ultimately led to the defeat and occupation of Japan itself (more information is contained in Appendices 12 and 13).<sup>15</sup>



*A scene of action in the Yellow Sea during the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895*

After a period of occupation under American General Douglas MacArthur and General Headquarters (1945-1951), Japan again became an independent nation, albeit one dominated militarily by the US Forces in Japan (USFJ). The post-war period has seen Japan re-engaging within the world economy, with its national existence dependent upon international trade flowing along sea lines of communication largely secured by the power of the US Navy and its security guaranteed against potential Cold War antagonists by a US nuclear umbrella. However, the need for Japanese sea power was never quite forgotten and the maritime elements of the Japan Self-Defense Force have grown significantly over recent years. Contemporary Japanese sea power has again become an important contributor to national defence policy, with the many roles of maritime forces now including peacekeeping, providing humanitarian assistance, naval diplomacy, deterring potential enemies, guaranteeing maritime security, protecting maritime resources, and maintaining sovereignty.

***Umi no hi* (Marine Day): 20 July**

Marine Day also known as Ocean Day has been celebrated every year as a public holiday in Japan since its inception in 1996. It commemorates the return of the Emperor Meiji from the northern island of Hokkaido to the port of Yokohama in 1876. More generally it is 'celebrated in the hope of prosperity for the maritime nation of Japan, as well as a day of thanks for the blessings of the sea'. Many Japanese people take advantage of the holiday and the summer weather to visit a beach on Marine Day.

**PALAEOLITHIC PERIOD (c. 50,000-11,000 BCE)**

**JŌMON PERIOD (c. 11,000-300 BCE)**

**YAYOI AND KOFUN PERIODS (300 BCE - CE 552)**

Petty rulers of Wa (Japan) in contact with China

**LATE YAMATO PERIOD (CE 552-710)**

Introduction of Buddhism 552

Naval Battle of Baekgang 663

**NARA AND HEIAN PERIODS (CE 710-1192)**

**KAMAKURA PERIOD (CE 1192-1336)**

Compilation of *Goseibai Shikimoku* code for warrior society 1232

**MUROMACHI PERIOD (CE 1336-1573)**

The age of internal wars 1467-1477

Japanese pirate raids on east and southeast Asia c. 1500

Introduction of firearms 1543

**AZUCHI-MOMOYAMA PERIOD (CE 1573-1603)**

Korea campaigns 1592-1598

Battle of Noryang 1598

**EDO PERIOD (CE 1603-1868)**

Tokugawa Shogunate established 1603

Ban on Japanese travel abroad 1630s

Crisis as Captain Perry arrives at Uruga 1853

**MEIJI PERIOD (CE 1868-1912)**

Meiji Constitution 1890

First Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895

Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905

Annexation of Korea 1910

**TAISHŌ PERIOD (CE 1912-1926)**

Japan declares war on Germany 1914

Japan enters the League of Nations 1920

**SHŌWA PERIOD (CE 1926-1989)**

Second Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945

Japan attacks Pearl Harbor 1941

Atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki 1945

Allied occupation under MacArthur 1945-1951

Japan regains independence 1952

**HEISEI PERIOD (CE 1989-PRESENT)**

*A Chronology of Japan*

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Today the role of the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force is summarised on their web site as follows:

In recognition of the new security environment, the Defense Program Guidelines define the role of the defense forces as 'effective response to the new threats and diverse situations', 'proactive efforts to improve the international security environment', and 'preparation for full-scale invasion', which is the primary role of defense forces. Japan will efficiently maintain the necessary Maritime Self-Defense Forces posture to effectively carry out missions in each these areas.<sup>16</sup>

The search for national identity continues: it is frequently seen as a struggle between those who wish to return to an isolated Japan and those who see Japan playing a major role in global affairs. Such a dichotomy is false, for Japan does not have to choose between such extreme paths, and only a balance between the two extremes can provide a long and stable future. The application of sea power by the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force remains hotly debated today. But it would be a tragedy if the Japanese people reasserted their cultural identity without recognising Japan's long and prosperous history as a maritime nation.



*Ships of the Maritime Self-Defense Force remain an important symbol of Japanese sea power*

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## Sources

A number of original source documents relating to Japanese sea power have been included as appendices at the end of this volume to help provide context. Although such texts often have a style that may be unfamiliar to modern readers, the original sources provide a greater insight into the cultural differences existing between the Japanese writers of the past and ourselves. Of course much water has travelled under the bridge since these documents were written. They are not without bias, and the process of English translation itself also contributes its own particular bias. The reader who wishes to specialise in Japanese sea power should not rely solely upon the translations of others.

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> The Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force official web site <[www.mod.go.jp/msdf/formal/english/index.html](http://www.mod.go.jp/msdf/formal/english/index.html)> (24 February 2009).
- <sup>2</sup> Much of the following discussion is based upon M Collcutt, M Jansen, and I Kumakura, *Cultural Atlas of Japan*, Phaidon Press, Oxford, 1988, especially pp. 12-22.
- <sup>3</sup> In 1945, the Soviet Union ignored a Neutrality Pact and entered the war against Japan. After Japan had accepted the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, the Soviet Union began to occupy the Kuril Islands. Then, between 28 August and 5 September, it occupied all of the four Northern Islands, and by 1949 it had forcibly deported all 17,000 Japanese residents. The occupation continues today.
- <sup>4</sup> For example see the recent studies on 'The East Asian Mediterranean', CE 1500-1800, <[www.eamh.net](http://www.eamh.net)> (25 February 2009).
- <sup>5</sup> The Inland Sea is the body of water separating the Japanese main islands of Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu. It is a major route for sea communications, linking the Sea of Japan with the Pacific Ocean.
- <sup>6</sup> The *Kojiki* (often abbreviated as *Ki*) and the *Nihon Shoki* (sometimes referred to as *Nihongi*) are the two oldest extant historical records of Japan. See Appendix 1, at the end of this volume, for a selection of relevant extracts from: WG Aston (trans), *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to AD 697*, 2 vols, Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, London, 1896. These works were a very potent factor in the development of Japanese militarism during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

- <sup>7</sup> Although the traditional date for Emperor Jinmu and the unification of Japan is 660 BCE, most modern scholars date the conquest of Yamato to about 300 BCE. It heralds the start of the Yamato period.
- <sup>8</sup> Many Koreans who fled to Japan after CE 663 – when Baekje (Kudara) was absorbed into a unified Korea, under the Silla (Shiragi) rulers – were welcomed by the Yamato rulers.
- <sup>9</sup> The main English language sources for the Korea campaigns 1592-1598 include: (the pro-Japanese) Stephen Turnbull, *Samurai Invasion: Japan's Korean War 1592-98*, Cassell & Co, London, 2002; and Samuel Hawley, *The Imjin War: Japan's Sixteenth Century Invasion of Korea and Attempt to Conquer China*, The Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2005.
- <sup>10</sup> The move towards national isolation was a relatively slow process, with the Sakoku Edicts announced in five stages between 1633 and 1639. The final step on the path of isolation occurred in 1641 with the lease arrangements for the Dutch Factory at Dejima.
- <sup>11</sup> See Collcutt, Jansen, and Kumakura, *Cultural Atlas of Japan*, pp. 12-22.
- <sup>12</sup> Assimilation of Western naval technologies was a high priority. The Shogunate acquired its first steamship, *Kankō Maru* in 1855, and its first screw-driven steam warship, *Kanrin Maru*, in 1857. For the US perspective see S Wallach (ed), *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan*, MacDonald, London, 1954.
- <sup>13</sup> The best English language source for the Sino-Japanese War is Sally CM Paine, *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895: Perceptions, Power, and Primacy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003. For the Russo-Japanese War see Julian S Corbett, *Maritime Operations in the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905*, 2 vols, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 1994; and Fred T Jane, *The Imperial Japanese Navy*, Thacker, London, 1904 (reprinted 1984).
- <sup>14</sup> The Japanese mandated territories in the Central Pacific (north of the Equator) included the Mariana Islands, the Caroline Islands, and the Marshall Islands. German New Guinea and associated islands (south of the Equator) became Australian mandated territories.
- <sup>15</sup> There are numerous sources for the Pacific War 1941-1945, but for a good introduction see: RH Spector, *Eagle against the Sun: The American War with Japan*, Random House, New York, 1985; and HP Willmott, *The Second World War in the Far East*, Cassell & Co, London, 1999. For a Japanese perspective see PS Dull, *A Battle History of the Imperial Japanese Navy (1941-1945)*, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 1978; DC Evans, *The Japanese Navy in World War II*, 2nd edn, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 1986; and DM Goldstein & KV Dillon, *The Pacific War Papers: Japanese Documents of World War II*, Potomac Books, Washington, DC, 2004.
- <sup>16</sup> The Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force official web site <[www.mod.go.jp/msdf/formal/english/index.html](http://www.mod.go.jp/msdf/formal/english/index.html)> (24 February 2009).



*Modern Japan*



# CHAPTER 2 - THE BIRTH AND EVOLUTION OF JAPANESE SEA POWER: A HISTORY TO WORLD WAR II

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**Kyoichi Tachikawa**

## Introduction

This chapter explores the history of Japanese sea power from pre-modern times to the end of World War II (WWII).<sup>1</sup> Depending on the parameters used, the history covered may be divided into three periods: from the beginning of recorded history through to the end of the Edo period, the Meiji period leading up to and including WWII, and from the end of WWII to the present. These three periods are herein designated with names reflecting the form of naval power existing during each: the coastal navy era, the oceanic navy era, and the contemporary maritime era. In parallel to these three eras, Japanese maritime forces developed from coastal fleets into the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) and subsequently become the modern Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF).

The history of Japanese sea power differs radically from that of other major seafaring nations in that it did not progress through an unbroken chain of development, but instead experienced two major gaps between the periods defined above. During those intervals, the evolution of Japanese sea power came to a complete or nearly complete halt. In other words, the transitions between the three periods were marked by Japan's total (or almost total) lack of understanding concerning the utility of sea power.

As such, it is easier to discuss and comprehend the development of Japanese sea power by framing it with the aforementioned periods. This chapter covers the history of Japanese sea power from the beginning of recorded history to the end of WWII, dealing with the coastal navy era in the first half, and the oceanic navy era in the second half. Furthermore, the oceanic navy era is sub-divided into the formative decades (during the latter half of the 19th century) and the decades of growth and decline (from the end of the 19th century through to the first half of the 20th century). The following chapter by Naoko Sajima takes up the story for the contemporary maritime era.

## The Coastal Navy Era

### Use of Sea Power in Foreign Conflicts

During the coastal navy era, Japan's central government engaged in only three major military campaigns overseas - the Battle of Baekgang (Hakusukinoe), which took place in CE 663 during the rule of Emperor Tenji (before his accession), and the two Korea campaigns conducted by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1592-1593 and 1597-1598.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, Japan was subjected to only two full-scale attacks by foreign military forces during prior to the 1850s, namely, the invasions by the Mongol Empire in 1274 and 1281. There were also lesser incidents, such as coastal raids by Jurchen and southeast Asian pirates in the Heian period (794-1192), attacks on Tsushima by forces from the Korean peninsula and elsewhere in the Muromachi period (1336-1573), as well as illegal incursions into Nagasaki Bay by foreign vessels and assaults on Japanese facilities and vessels at Sakhalin and Iturup during the Edo period (1603-1868).<sup>3</sup>

The Battle of Baekgang and the two Korea campaigns ended disastrously for Japan, primarily due to defeat in naval combat. In each case, Japan's military strategy was focused on ground warfare, with little thought given to seaborne operations other than transportation of personnel and supplies to the Korean peninsula. Consequently, the Japanese forces were ill-prepared for naval combat, both in terms of tactics and equipment.

Comprising four engagements that took place over 27-28 August 663, the Battle of Baekgang pitted Japanese naval forces supporting the Baekje (Kudara) restoration movement against the navy of Tang China, which was allied with Silla (Shiragi). The Japanese naval forces numbered 1000 vessels by one estimate, but apparently did not operate as a cohesive fleet when attacking the Tang navy. Instead, the Japanese fleet arrived at the battle zone at various times, with each ship individually entering into combat upon arrival, and lacking the necessary fleet strategies and tactics. From the outset the Japanese force was a ragtag assemblage of commoner soldiers serving under local nobles, without a unified command structure. Eager for glory, the crews of each ship hastily sought to smash through the enemy's lines, resulting in a disjointed array of attacks that were largely ineffective. In contrast, the smaller Tang fleet - made up of only 170 vessels - operated under a common doctrine and established strong formations.<sup>4</sup> It also displayed greater tactical sophistication, using pincer movements to pick off Japanese ships one by one. The weaponry employed against the Japanese fleet evidently included flaming arrows, which may have been launched from archers on shore. All four engagements of the battle ended in victory for the Tang fleet, with Japan suffering the catastrophic loss of 400 vessels due to fire (see Appendix 1).<sup>5</sup>

This defeat is seen by some historians as having stripped Japan of its dominance as a maritime power.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the incident prompted Japan to make a radical shift in strategy where it relinquished its sea power and reallocated its resources to the reinforcement of land-based defences, including the permanent stationing of troops and the construction of defensive banks in northern Kyushu. In other words, Japan abandoned its status as a seafaring nation in favour of becoming an island nation, attempting to use the sea as a protective moat.

The Mongol Empire's invasions (1274 and 1281) constituted the only occasions in pre-modern history that Japan had to mount a full-scale defence of the home islands (see Appendix 3). At that time, Japanese military thinking was still dominated by the land-based defence doctrine that had emerged following the rout at the Battle of Baekgang, where any invasions would be opposed on the ground rather than at sea before landing. As a result, Mongolian forces were able to land at Hakata with relative impunity during the first invasion in 1274. Japan later made up for this mistake by constructing defensive walls along Hakata Bay, which helped ward off the Mongolian attackers during the second invasion in 1281. However, the basic doctrine of meeting the enemy on land remained unchanged, except that this time the defensive perimeter was extended out to the shoreline. Japan lacked the vision and means of intercepting the Mongolian forces at sea, having forsaken the struggle for sea power ever since the defeat at Baekgang. Excluding an account that the Kyushu army, under Shōni Kagesuke's command, used several hundred ships to pursue about eight Mongolian ships, the only waterborne operations that Japanese forces could achieve were a limited number of surprise daylight attacks and night time forays, such as the intrepid boarding attacks led by men such as Kusano Tsunenaga, Kōno Michiari, Takezaki Suenaga, the brothers Ōyano Jōrō Taneyasu and Saburō Tanemura, and Akizuki Kurō Tanemune.<sup>7</sup>

The decades following the Mongol invasions saw the development of Japanese coastal navies, along with the burgeoning activity of the *wakō*, bands of mariners who engaged in piracy and black market trading (further information on the *wakō* pirates may be found at Appendix 4). However, these forces were private navies or groups of mercenaries contracted by local rulers, and thus these maritime forces were not under the central government's command. Nevertheless, coastal navies steadily expanded throughout the country during the later years of the Muromachi period (1467-1573), particularly in western Japan. As a result, Japanese sea power was resurrected to some extent by the time that Toyotomi Hideyoshi unified the nation and launched his first Korean campaign in April 1592 (see Appendix 6).



At the beginning of the Korean campaign of 1592, Hideyoshi's naval forces comprised approximately 700 combat vessels crewed by roughly 9200 men.<sup>8</sup> The fleet's primary mission was to escort ground forces to the Korean peninsula and to protect them until the landings were completed.<sup>9</sup> This, of course, was a very important mission and, as will be discussed later, was a defining military role of Japan's coastal navies that gave rise to the term *keigoshū* (literally 'guarding group') for these forces. In the case of the Korea campaigns, however, Hideyoshi has been criticised by historians for the faulty deployment of his navy, at least in the initial phase. Their analyses accuse him of belittling the power of the Korean naval forces or showing very little thought for the possibility of sea combat, or even worse, failing to understand the purpose of a navy and lacking any vision to gain command of the sea.<sup>10</sup> In any event, there is no doubt that Hideyoshi's strategy was focused on achieving total victory through ground action. Fortunately for him his ground forces landed during the first invasion without opposition, due to delays in the Korean response. If the naval forces of Gyeongsang province, the location of the landings, had countered the Japanese navy before the invasion began, it is possible that Hideyoshi's plans would have been foiled from the start (see Appendices 5 and 6).<sup>11</sup>

This lack of understanding of sea power is given credence by problems that existed in Hideyoshi's deployments. During the first invasion, the leaders of the Japanese sea forces – Admirals Kuki Yoshitaka, Katō Yoshiaki, Tōdō Takatora, and Wakizaka Yasuharu – were initially stationed at the islands of Tsushima and Iki, midway between Japan and the Korean peninsula, and they did not leave these islands until after the landing forces had departed for Korea.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, in the second campaign, three of the commanding admirals were assigned to the rear guard of the ground units, with Katō and Tōdō serving with the Sixth Army, and Wakizaka joining the Seventh Army.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, Konishi Yukinaga, who had a lengthy record of commanding naval forces, was not included among the admirals in Hideyoshi's fleet. Instead, he and his troops were deployed in the first wave of ground forces. Other capable naval forces were assigned to ground operations including: the main forces of brothers Kurushima Michiyuki and Michifusa (who were members of the Santō Murakami clan), and the forces of Chōsokabe Motochika (who had participated with Kuki and Katō in a naval blockade supporting Hideyoshi's siege of Odawara in 1590). The forces of the Mōri, Kobayakawa and Noshima Murakami clans were also completely committed to the land operations. Such dispositions failed when put to the test. The Japanese fleet was thrown on the defensive as soon as Yi Sun-sin, the Korean admiral in command of the Jeolla province's eastern fleet, came to the relief of his beleaguered compatriots. Consequently, the Japanese military was forced to make ad hoc reorganisations, with the Kurushima and Chōsokabe warriors being hastily reassigned to naval operations.<sup>14</sup>

The Battle of Noryang (Keichonoeki), the naval engagement that closed the second Korean campaign, is another telling example of Hideyoshi's inability to effectively use his naval assets. Although the Japanese side fought hard in a battle that saw the death of Yi Sun-sin, their bulk was made up of the forces of Shimazu Yoshihiro (who until that time was completely divorced from naval operations) and the troops under Konishi (who barely escaped from their isolated position at Suncheon). As a result, it is reasonable to conclude that the Japanese navy was inappropriately deployed throughout the entire conflict.

On the other hand, a completely different perspective can be taken, as the Japanese navy achieved several major successes as well. Despite their delayed arrival at the Korean coast, the Japanese admirals of the first campaign displayed competence in cleanup operations, managing to track down and capture nearly 70 surviving ships of the Gyeongsang fleet within the first month of the invasion. The Japanese navy also temporarily obliterated the Korean navy at the Battles of Geojedo and Chilcheollyang at the outset of the second campaign. Unlike in the first campaign, the Korean navy lost around 160 ships to be sunk or captured during a series of battles while attempting to block the Japanese invasion force at sea.<sup>15</sup> As these examples indicate, it is possible to claim that the Japanese naval forces were operated correctly in the context of their mission of escorting troop ships and supporting landing operations.

At any rate, the Japanese defeat can be attributed to problems with how the Japanese navy was operated after the initial landings were completed. Although it is clear to the modern observer that the navy needed to maintain command of the sea along the Korean peninsula's west coast, in order to provide lateral support to the advance of Konishi's and Katō Kiyomasa's forces toward Gyeongseong (modern Seoul) and Pyongyang, the Japanese navy did not do this. It is possible that the war plans had included such a mission, but its execution was thwarted by the arrival of Yi Sun-sin's fleet. By not seizing the opportunity to shift its operations to lateral support, the Japanese navy was unable to contribute effectively to the desired outcome of the Korea campaigns.<sup>16</sup>

Another problem was that the Japanese admirals often spread their fleets instead of engaging in coordinated operations. This tactic ultimately failed, as witnessed in Yi Sun-sin's defeat of Tōdō's fleet in three engagements at Okpo, Happo, and Jeokjinpo on 7 and 8 May 1592, and of Wakizaka's fleet in the Battle of Hansando on 8 July. In between those defeats, Japanese naval forces were also smashed in separate encounters at Dangpo on 2 June, Danghangpo on 5 June, and Yulpo on 7 June. Moreover, the Battle of Hansando was lost because Wakizaka rushed his fleet into combat, ignoring Hideyoshi's order to wait for the arrival of the forces of Kuki and Katō Yoshiaki to engage in joint manoeuvres.<sup>17</sup> These failures suggest that the Japanese navy suffered from weak coordination and disjointed command.

The Japanese navy exercised very little in the way of the tactics associated with contemporary naval forces, and instead relied mainly on archery, musketry, and boarding attacks, with some attempts to burn enemy vessels by hurling flaming brush onto their decks. In other words, it used only land warfare tactics to fight sea battles. Moreover, it showed extreme incompetence in operating tactical formations at sea.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to these weaknesses, there were other factors behind the Japanese navy's ultimate defeat at the hands of the Korean navy, such as the brilliant leadership and shrewd tactics demonstrated by Yi Sun-sin, the Korean navy's use of the so-called 'turtle ships', and the superiority of Korean naval artillery. The imbalance of capabilities between the two sides eventually meant that the Japanese naval forces, at least during the latter half of the first Korean campaign, had little choice but to remain anchored in bays and refuse to be lured out to fight by Yi Sun-sin, and respond to Korean naval attacks through ground warfare – putting men ashore to fire upon the enemy ships with arquebuses and other long-range weapons. The Korean navy's superiority was the product of a long-running national endeavour to build up sea power in response to centuries of suffering under *wakō* attacks. In contrast, Hideyoshi invited defeat by neglecting to make effective, coordinated use of the Japanese coastal navies. Instead, he initially assigned the sea-combat experienced forces of the Kurushima, Mōri, Kobayakawa, and Noshima Murakami clans to ground operations, and formed a navy of his own design that was led completely by men he had personally groomed from an early age. The single exception was the seasoned Admiral Kuki, who had commanded Oda Nobunaga's navy. In this context, Hideyoshi's decisions go to show that an effective naval force cannot be readily built from scratch with inexperienced seafarers.

During the Edo period, the twilight of the coastal navy era, Japan experienced a number of scattered, small-scale incidents perpetrated by foreign ships, including illegal incursions into Nagasaki Bay, and attacks upon Japanese facilities and vessels at Sakhalin and Iturup. Japan's responses to these incidents provide a picture of Japanese sea power on the eve of its transformation from independent coastal navies to a modern oceanic navy (see Appendix 5).

The Edo Shogunate initially believed that any foreign attack upon Japan would be directed at Kyushu, or more specifically, the island of Dejima near Nagasaki, the only international trade port operating at the time. Following the Shogunate's banning of visits by Portuguese ships in 1639, *daimyō* (feudal lords) controlling coastal domains in western Japan, particularly those in Kyushu, were tasked with watching out for the approach of foreign ships (two types of guard stations, *urabansho* and *tōmibansho*, were put into operation in July 1639 and June 1640). In May 1640, the Shogunate severely dealt with a Portuguese mission that had sailed to Nagasaki to call for resumption of trade, ordering the execution of nearly 60 representatives and sailors, but sparing

the lives of a dozen or so non-Christian members. Fearing a reprisal by Portugal, the Shogunate strengthened the defence network at Nagasaki, and in February 1641 ordered lords Nabeshima and Kuroda, the *daimyō* of the nearby provinces of Saga and Fukuoka, to alternatively garrison and defend Nagasaki each year, and gave the other *daimyō* of Kyushu the duty of providing supporting troops in the event of a foreign assault on Nagasaki. This system proved its effectiveness in 1647, when Nagasaki's defenders drove off two Portuguese galleons attempting to make a port call. Granted that the visit was made by just a pair of ships seeking to re-establish trade relations, and not to conduct a raid, the major *daimyō* of Kyushu nevertheless managed to mobilise roughly 1000 vessels to block off Nagasaki Bay and encircle the interlopers, successfully pressuring them into withdrawing.<sup>19</sup> Japan's response to this incident suggests that the Shogunate possessed a certain degree of ability to exercise sea power in the early Edo period (see Appendix 5).



The Dutch trading station at Dejima, c. 17th century



*A Japanese merchant ship, c. 1634*

It was not long, however, before the Shogunate's sea power rapidly atrophied into near oblivion as the nation continued to uphold its isolationist stance. In the autumn of 1808, the British warship HMS *Phaeton* entered Nagasaki harbour under a Dutch flag and proceeded to capture representatives of the Dutch trading enclave at Dejima who had rowed out to greet the ship. Afterwards, *Phaeton*'s commander continued to act in a high-handed manner, sending out boats to take soundings of the harbour, and demanding to be supplied with fuel and provisions. This time, those charged with defending Nagasaki were completely powerless to repel the intruder.<sup>20</sup>

From the latter half of the 18th century, the Shogunate became increasingly alarmed at Imperial Russia's southward encroachments into the Sea of Japan. Matters took a turn for the worse in the early 19th century, when Russian ships made several attacks on and near islands in the area around Ezochi (modern Hokkaido). In September 1806, armed Russian sailors raided a trading post operated on Sakhalin by the Matsumae clan, setting the storehouses ablaze after stealing food and liquor. In the following April two armed Russian vessels (one of which had participated in the trading post raid) landed more than 20 soldiers on Iturup, where they plundered rice, salt, liquor, weapons, clothing, and other articles from Japanese trading stations. The Russian raiders also abducted a Nanbu clan official and several residents. At the time a force of nearly 200 Japanese soldiers was stationed on the island but they avoided engaging the Russians in serious combat as they had no means to oppose the formidable armament of the Russian ships. The Japanese garrison elected to withdraw after a few hours of feeble resistance. The Russians then raided Rishiri Island in the following month, torching Japanese merchant ships after looting them of rice, cannons, and other items. *Manshunmaru*, a Shogunate warship that happened to be there at time, also fell prey to the raiders.

Initially, the Shogunate had entrusted the Matsumae clan, the rulers of the northern Ezochi domain,<sup>21</sup> with the responsibility of dealing with the Russian threat,<sup>22</sup> but brought the territory under its direct control in a phased process around the turn of the 18th century.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, the Shogunate re-employed the defence model of Nagasaki, calling upon the *daimyō* of the Tohoku region to furnish defence forces for Ezochi.<sup>24</sup> In order to respond to the Russian raids, the Shogunate used the defence system to summon together a ground force of 3000 soldiers from the Tohoku domains.<sup>25</sup> However, the defenders did not make any attempts to counter further Russian incursions through direct engagement by naval forces, as they had no warships at their disposal.

Under Article 17 of the *buke shohatto* (Laws for the Military Class) promulgated by the Shogunate in 1635, all *daimyō* were prohibited from constructing or owning warships with a capacity in excess of 500 koku (a unit of volume equalling roughly 180 litres). The purpose of this restriction was to place a check on the domains' sea forces, and thereby reduce their power to oppose the central government.<sup>26</sup> The Shogunate navy itself consisted solely of just one large warship, Atakemaru (built in the early 1630s), plus several sekibune (medium ships under 500 koku) and kobaya (small vessels). While the exact number of ships is not clear, the Shogunate owned fourteen boathouses of varying sizes in Edo to shelter its vessels, so the actual fleet size was probably limited to that number.

It should be noted here that the Edo Shogunate navy was the first permanent seaborne military force to be maintained by Japan's central government in both war and peacetime. As discussed previously, all earlier Japanese naval forces were comprised of privately

owned fleets, so it wasn't until the Edo period that an official navy finally emerged. Moreover, the Shogunate established two governmental posts for commanding the navy, the *ofunabugyō* and the *funategashira*. These officials, however, had very little real power during the relatively peaceful years that ensued after the Edo Shogunate firmly established itself. Although the Shogunate navy played a key role in the early Edo period by gaining a victory over the Toyotomi clan's naval forces in the winter campaign of the Siege of Osaka (1614), it subsequently did not enjoy any further opportunities to engage in such illustrious service. Even the new pride of the navy, the *Atakemaru*, ultimately became dilapidated and was scrapped by Tokugawa Tsunayoshi's administration in 1682; after a career as harbour defence vessel for Edo Bay (Tokyo Bay) and without ever seeing action. Following *Atakemaru's* demise, the Shogunate navy degenerated into an assembly of *sekibune* and *kobaya* that could no longer be considered a true sea force. Eventually, the navy's role became limited to constabulary and diplomatic tasks, such as duties policing coastal waters against smuggling and providing transport for the Shogun on his falconry expeditions.

The autobiography of Matsudaira Sadanobu, the statesman who crafted the Kansei Reforms in the late 18th century, gives some insight into the condition of the Shogunate navy prior to the implementation of his reforms, revealing an organisation that put little effort into training:

Since the Shogunate navy had previously practiced only river boat rowing and did not train in oceanic navigation, starting in 1792 groups of ten sailors each were sent to the domain of Commander Mukai in Uraga for one year to practice oceanic navigation, learn how to fish for bonito and how to row in all weather conditions, and train on board cargo ships and other vessels.<sup>27</sup>

The Edo Shogunate did not envision any use of its navy to intercept foreign ships on the open sea or to launch a seaborne attack against other nations and it had only a miniscule sense of the need for coastal defence. This lax attitude may have evolved as a reaction to the disastrous failure of Hideyoshi's Korea campaigns, or simply as a product of Japan's geopolitical circumstances,<sup>28</sup> but at any rate the Edo Shogunate managed to survive without serious sea power at its disposal, owing to the good fortune of not being exposed to major attacks by foreign powers during its lengthy time in power. However, during this period the Shogunate navy increasingly fell behind its counterparts in Western nations, whose sea power underwent a dramatic evolution.

Japan's coastal navy era was marked by the failed application of sea power in the Battle of Baekgang in 663 and during the Korea campaigns 1592-1598. Moreover, nearly all the attacks made on Japan by foreign powers in this era coincidentally took place

during the times when Japan had lost its naval power, and thus lacked the means to exert an effective response to attacks from the sea. Nevertheless, Japan was not pressed with an absolute need to permanently maintain robust naval forces during this era, as evidenced by its near lack of opportunity for involvement in foreign wars, and by the absence of any major foreign assaults on Japanese territory, other than the Mongolian invasions.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, having failed in its support of the Baekje restoration movement and its invasion of Korea as a result of defeats in naval battles, Japan lost confidence in engaging in sea combat and rejected the notion of launching any further military campaigns abroad, choosing instead to preserve domestic order. Consequently, Japan focused on bolstering its ground defence capabilities, if not limiting armaments in some cases. As such, Japan by its own choice relinquished the opportunity to develop its sea power beyond a force for transporting ground troops to the Korean peninsula and providing cover for them.

## Coastal Navy Tactics and Operations

The preceding section only briefly touched upon the combat tactics employed by Japan's coastal navies, and made no mention of how the units were operated in conflicts within the Japanese archipelago. As these topics merit discussion, this section examines the operational aspect of coastal navies in terms of the tactics they used in sea warfare, and the roles they played in domestic wars besides ship-to-ship combat.

First, let us look at coastal navy tactics as used in domestic sea battles. Surprising as it may seem, the coastal navy era witnessed only a handful of domestic sea battles in which the opposing forces directly squared off against each other. The prominent encounters of this period comprised little more than the Battle of Dannoura (1185), which marked the final clash of the Genpei War; the naval action led by Mōri Motonari during the Battle of Itsukushima (1555); and the two engagements between the navies of Oda Nobunaga and Mōri Terumoto at the mouth of the Kizu River (1576, 1578) during the Ishiyama Hongan-ji War. There were also some lesser sea battles, but these, too, were few and far between; examples include the Battle of Daiei (1526) and the Battle of Kōji (1556), both fought between the Satomi and Hōjō clans off the Miura Peninsula; as well as battles between the Mōri navy (joined by Murakami Takeyoshi) and the Ōtomo navy at Kanmon Straits and in its vicinity (1561), between the Hōjō and Takeda clans in Suruga Bay (1580), and between the Tokugawa (Kuki Moritaka and Mukai Tadakatsu) and Toyotomi forces (Ōno Harutane) during the winter campaign of the Siege of Osaka (1614).

Records indicate that coastal navy tactics followed such styles as *kaizoku*, *ikkoku*, *kuki*, *santō*, *iwakore*, *ippon*, *izumi*, *noshima*, *kōshō*, *kan*, *zen*, and *kawakami*, and that tactical formations included *kakuyoku* (crane's wing), *gyorin* (fish scales), *engetsu* (half moon),



*chōda* (long snake), *hōen* (square and circle), *hōshi* (arrowhead), and *gankō* (wild geese in flight).<sup>30</sup> Initially, these tactical styles and formations were kept within the clan that developed and used them, and though some were later compiled into written form, for the most part they were passed down to younger generations of warriors by word of mouth.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, although they were probably based on actual combat experience to a certain extent, they were basically theoretical constructs, and it is unlikely that all of them were implemented in battle without alteration.

Accounts of the aforementioned sea battles indicate that the navies of Murakami and Oda were the only ones to employ distinctive naval combat tactics. The other navies instead used ground warfare tactics. Specifically, both sides would commence battle by exchanging volleys of arrows once they came in range of each other (bows were replaced with arquebuses in some battles, starting in the late Muromachi period). After one or both sides weakened or ran out of arrows (or bullets), the battle would shift to close quarters combat, with the stronger side attempting to board. Once a boarded ship was captured, the victors would proceed to attack another enemy vessel. Hence, the tactics were essentially the same as those used in land battles, if enemy ships are construed as squads of enemy soldiers, or bands of famed enemy warlords. Of course, there were operational elements unique to sea warfare, such as changing tides, poor footing for shipboard combatants (lack of space and stability), the difficulty of resupply at sea, and the carrying capacity and manoeuvrability of ships. However, at risk of overstatement, the way in which sea combat was conducted differed from ground warfare in only one aspect – the fighting took place on water or aboard ships. Much of the same can be said for Western naval battles up to the 16th century, except that ramming, a defining tactic of Western naval combat, was generally not used by Japanese coastal navies.<sup>32</sup> The absence of this tactic from Japanese marine warfare may have resulted from differences in ship construction, but the biggest reason seems to be the Japanese emphasis on boarding and looting enemy vessels, rather than their destruction.

In contrast with other Japanese coastal navies, the Murakami and Oda navies displayed distinctive methods of sea combat. While historians do not agree on whether the Murakami navy participated in the Battle of Itsukushima instigated by Mōri Motonari, it is certain that it clashed with the Oda navy in at least one battle, if not two, at the mouth of the Kizu River during the Ishiyama Hongan-ji War. In those engagements, ships led by Mōri sought to resupply forces at Ishiyama Hongan Temple, under siege by Oda's army, and were opposed by ships under Oda's control. The first battle was won by the Mōri navy, the second by the Oda navy.<sup>33</sup>

Under the fighting style of the Murakami navy, which constituted the bulk of Mōri's naval forces, ships attacked in single columns, with the lead vessel initiating combat by

firing bows or arquebuses at the enemy. The second and third ships launched flaming arrows, and then hurled incendiary grenades when the enemy came into closer range. Finally, a troop ship would move in to offload a boarding party (it is believed that close quarters combat was already underway at this point, so the warriors from the final ship apparently served to reinforce comrades who had begun the boarding attack). In other words, the Murakami navy's approach for gaining victory was to operate its ships in squadrons that sought to weaken the enemy fleet by either capturing or burning down its components.

The primary reason for the Oda navy's defeat in the first battle at the mouth of the Kizu River was its inability to hold up to the Murakami navy's incendiary weapons. Undaunted by this loss, Nobunaga ordered Kuki Yoshitaka to build ships that could withstand incendiary attacks, resulting in the creation of the so-called *tekkōsen* (literally 'iron-armoured ships').<sup>34</sup> The *tekkōsen* are believed to have been *ōtakebune* (a class of warships that were very large by Japanese standards) that were armoured with iron plating. These vessels were also armed with three cannon – considered an extremely rare feature in contemporary Japan – and their complement include a unit of arquebusiers. The Oda navy produced six *tekkōsen*, which were deployed to intercept the Mōri navy.<sup>35</sup>

In the second encounter at the mouth of the Kizu River, the Mōri navy initially held the upper hand, but the Oda navy ultimately achieved an overwhelming victory, owing to the frontal action by the *tekkōsen*. Unable to damage the *tekkōsen* with incendiaries, the Mōri navy succumbed to the withering firepower of the Oda navy's cannons.

As discussed above, the Murakami and Oda navies made use of tactics that were very distinctive within the context of Japanese coastal navy history, and were not, in this author's opinion, seen in the actions of other Japanese coastal navies. However, it is unclear what became of Nobunaga's *tekkōsen* following their initial deployment and it remains a mystery as to what fomented Japan's later abandonment of such innovations in naval warfare.<sup>36</sup>

The mission of Japanese coastal navies in domestic conflicts also included roles other than ship-to-ship combat. As in the foreign wars mentioned in the preceding section, a key role of Japanese coastal navies in such conflicts was the transportation of personnel and supplies. Notable examples of this include Abe no Hirafu's expedition against the Emishi (658); the movement of Taira forces and Minamoto no Yoshitsune's forces in the Genpei War, from the Battle of Ichi no Tani, on through the Battle of Yashima and ending with the Battle of Dannoura (1185); the so-called 'Westward Retreat' and 'Eastward Advance' during the civil strife of the Nanboku-chō Period, from the defeat of Ashikaga Takauji's army by the forces of Kusunoki Masashige and Nitta Yoshisada at Teshimagawara in Settsu to the Battle of Minatogawa (1336); and Toyotomi Hideyoshi's

invasion of Shikoku (1585). With the exception of Abe's battles across the Tohoku region, all these events involved ship transport of large armies across the Seto Inland Sea. (The Genpei War and the Battle of Dannoura are described in Appendix 2).

The coastal navies also served as an indispensable tool for landing ground forces in seaborne attacks against enemy positions in coastal areas and on islands. Such landing operations took place in various assaults, including Ono no Yoshifuru and Minamoto no Tsunemoto's expedition against the forces of Fujiwara no Sumitomo (940), and the raids against the Hōjō clan on the Miura Peninsula by the Satomi navy (1526, 1556), which had built up its power in Awa province (modern Chiba) during the middle of the Muromachi period. In addition, Oda Nobunaga mobilised the Kuki navy in 1569 for his attack on the Kitabatake clan, the rulers of Ise province, and mobilised it again along with the ships of Takigawa Kazumasu in 1574 to crush the Ikkō-ikki resistance at Nagashima. In both cases, however, Nobunaga's assaults were not just landings, but joint ground-sea operations in which overland and seaborne troops formed a pincer movement to encircle the enemy.

There were also examples of naval bombardment of coastal positions, such as the siege of Moji Castle in the war between the Mōri and Ōtomo clans (1561), and the siege of Hara Castle during the Shimabara Rebellion (1637). In the former siege, Ōtomo Yoshishige requested several Portuguese ships anchored at Funai harbour in Bungo Province (modern Ōita) to fire upon the enemy, while in the latter case, Matsudaira Nobutsuna, an Elder (*rōjū*) and the commander-in-chief of the Edo Shogunate's army, dispatched Dutch ships from Hirado to conduct the bombardment.<sup>37</sup>

Japan's coastal navies were used for other roles as well, such as the naval blockade imposed by Hideyoshi during his aforementioned siege of Odawara, and the intelligence gathering performed by the Murakami navy during war between the Mōri and Ōtomo clans. As noted earlier, the naval forces of several Kyushu *daimyō* successfully blockaded Nagasaki harbour and drove off Portuguese ships during Japan's period of isolationism, but such operations were extremely rare in the coastal navy era, given the difficulty of mobilising the massive seapower needed to implement them. In contrast, seaborne intelligence gathering and communication are much easier to carry out, so, despite the paucity of historical references to these tasks, it is likely that they were a common mission for Japanese coastal navies.

In summary, sea combat was an important role of the Japanese coastal navies, but they had little opportunity to engage in such action. Instead, it seems their main function in practice was to provide a means of transporting personnel and supplies, including in support of landing operations. In addition, they were probably employed often for intelligence gathering and communication. Finally, Japan's coastal navy era also saw instances of sea power used to establish blockades and to bombard coastal fortifications.

## The Oceanic Navy Era: The Formative Years

Japan's coastal navy era was brought to a close when the nation was visited in July 1853 by a squadron of US Navy ships commanded by Commodore Matthew Perry. (See Appendix 7). This turn of events prompted the Edo Shogunate not only to begin building up its navy, but also to relax regulations on sea power in the following September – namely, lifting the ban on the construction of large ships that had been in effect since 1635, and granting all domains the right to possess naval forces. The Shogunate's sea power build-up was aimed at acquiring the maritime defence capabilities needed to repel foreign vessels attacking Japan. This time, Japanese strategy shifted toward meeting the enemy on the sea, rather than perpetuating the shore-based defence doctrine that emerged following Japan's defeat in the Battle of Baekgang.

At the time when Japan ended its policy of seclusion, the Shogunate and powerful fiefs like the Satsuma domain already had the technology to build Western-style sailing ships, as demonstrated by the Shogunate's construction of *Hōōmaru* in Uruga, and the Satsuma domain's construction of *Shōheimaru*.<sup>38</sup> However, Japan's shipbuilding capacity and technologies remained limited for some time; the first domestically-produced steamship was not seen until the Mito domain laid down *Chiyodagata* in 1862. Consequently, Japan initially had little choice but to acquire its warships through purchases from such countries as the Netherlands, the United States, Prussia, France, and the United Kingdom. Except for *Chiyodagata*, all Shogunate navy steamships – *Kankōmaru*, *Kaiten*, *Banryūmaru*, *Kanrinmaru*, *Chōyōmaru*, *Fujisanmaru*, and *Kaiyōmaru* – were manufactured overseas.<sup>39</sup> Japanese sea power did not escape its dependence on foreign shipbuilders until the 20th century.<sup>40</sup>

The Shogunate also began to provide warship crews with training at naval training centres it opened in Nagasaki in 1855 (closed in 1859), Tsukiji (Edo) in 1857, and Kobe in 1863 (closed in 1865). At the same, it started to create the infrastructure for domestic production of steam warships by establishing a shipyard in Nagasaki in 1861, and steelworks in Yokosuka and Yokohama in 1865.<sup>41</sup> Much of the training in vessel operation and shipbuilding techniques was provided by foreign advisors hired by the Shogunate.<sup>42</sup> By implementing these and other modernising efforts in the final years of the Edo period, the Shogunate laid the foundation for Japan's first oceanic navy.

In May 1868, the new government created by the leaders of the Meiji Restoration demanded that the forces of the former Shogunate relinquish all warships in their possession. The former Shogunate navy rejected this command, but sought to reach a compromise by turning over four of its eight steam warships. However, three of the vessels surrendered were dilapidated (the fourth was *Fujisanmaru*), while the remaining four were still new.<sup>43</sup> Roughly six months later, former shogunal retainer Enomoto



*The 'Black Ships' enter Japanese waters and end the self-imposed seclusion, c. late 1850s*

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Takeaki and supporters, remaining faithful to the Shogunate, took *Kaiyōmaru*, *Kaiten*, *Banryūmaru*, *Chiyodagata*, and other warships from the coast of Shinagawa and sailed for Hakodate (see Appendix 8).

The Meiji Imperial government's nascent navy consisted mainly of the four ships relinquished by the Shogunate loyalists, warships supplied by major domains, and transports; with most of the vessels in poor condition.<sup>44</sup> As a result, the Imperial fleet was greatly outclassed by the former Shogunate navy. However, following the Battle of Aizu, the Imperial government was able to acquire from the hitherto neutral United States *Stonewall*, a French-built ironclad that had been partially purchased by the Shogunate but was withheld from delivery (after transfer, it was rechristened *Kōtetsu*, and later *Azuma*). On 6 May 1869, the Imperial navy battled in Miyako Bay with the former Shogunate navy, which had launched a surprise raid to seize *Kōtetsu*. The first sea skirmish between the two forces, however, took place off the coast of Shinagawa soon after the Emperor issued an edict proclaiming the restoration of Imperial rule in January 1868. In that incident, *Shōōmaru*, a transport belonging to the Satsuma domain, was fired upon and damaged by the former Shogunate navy's *Kaiten* and *Kanrinmaru*. *Shōōmaru* fled the engagement after making an unsuccessful attempt to ram *Kaiten*. Another clash occurred later in January 1868, following the outbreak of the Boshin War, when the Satsuma domain's *Kasugamaru* battled with the former Shogunate navy's *Kaiyōmaru* off the coast of Awa province. Outgunned by *Kaiyōmaru*, the Imperial ship *Kasugamaru* used its speed advantage to break off the battle.<sup>45</sup>

After relocating to Ezochi, the former Shogunate navy suffered a major loss of strength when its main ship, *Kaiyōmaru*, was wrecked in a storm. In order to fill the void, they decided to try to capture *Kōtetsu*, which it had partly paid for but not received. Three warships were assigned to this raid, but two fell behind along the way. The lead ship was *Kaiten*, under the command of Hijikata Toshizō, and she proceeded to sail alone into Miyako Bay, where *Kōtetsu* was anchored along with other Imperial navy ships, and attempted to make, in the fashion of coastal navy era tactics, a boarding attack on its target. However, the raid soon became bogged down because *Kaiten*, being a paddle steamer, could not lay aboard in an ideal position. Moreover, its deck was significantly higher than that of *Kōtetsu*, preventing the boarding party from taking swift action. The crew of *Kōtetsu* inflicted heavy casualties on the boarding party and *Kaiten*'s crew with gunfire, forcing *Kaiten* to end its attack and retreat to Hakodate. The engagement is said to have lasted approximately 30 minutes.<sup>46</sup>



*The Battle of Hakodate, 1869*

The two navies engaged in battle again in the following June in waters off Hakodate, with five Imperial warships pitted against three former Shogunate warships. It was already clear by this time that the Imperial navy had come from behind to gain the upper hand in terms of combat strength. Both sides suffered damage from fierce exchanges of cannon fire in an engagement that lasted more than two weeks, but the Imperial navy's numerical superiority allowed it to emerge as the victor.<sup>47</sup>

On 4 May 1870, the Ministry of Military Affairs (*hyōbushō*) submitted to the Council of State (*dajōkan*) a three part statement of opinion that can be considered a basic roadmap for the establishment of a full-fledged navy.<sup>48</sup> The second part, an argument for the need to establish a proper navy, advocated the formation of a navy with the capabilities to defend the entire nation from attacks by foreign forces.<sup>49</sup> As can be gathered from this standpoint, the basic *raison d'être* of the IJN was to provide maritime defence. However, it comprised only 7 warships and 8 transports at the time of the victory over the remnants of the Shogunate navy,<sup>50</sup> and 14 warships and 3 transports (together, 13,832 tons) when the Ministry of the Navy was founded in 1872, and hence was woefully undersized.<sup>51</sup> As such, the IJN was too small to provide adequate national defence, and its combat capabilities severely lagged behind those of Western nations and Qing China.

Domestic disturbances continued to erupt in Japan following the annihilation of the pro-Shogunate forces, and the navy was deployed to deal with those conflicts. One such case was the Saga Rebellion of 1874, in which the navy was used mainly to transport marines. It also performed other roles, such as the bombardment of Imari and other towns, and the capture of a ship intended to transport one of the revolt's leaders, Etō Shinpei.<sup>52</sup> During the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, it was again primarily tasked with transporting ground troops (more than 1000 private vessels were mobilised for this purpose), and it also patrolled the sea, conducted reconnaissance on Saigō Takamori's forces, and bombarded enemy positions.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to supporting the suppression of domestic revolts, the navy also once again began to be used for foreign expeditions. The first such mission following the Meiji Restoration was a punitive expedition against Taiwan in 1874 in which it mainly served to transport ground forces, but also engaged in gunboat diplomacy up and down the coast of Qing China. At the same time, it also prepared itself for the possible outbreak of hostilities with Qing military forces. The navy played the leading role in the Ganghwa Island Incident of 1875, in which it fired upon gun emplacements on Ganghwa Island. Subsequently, it conducted gunboat diplomacy against Korea.<sup>54</sup>

During these years, Japan perceived Russia as the biggest potential threat. The second part of the aforementioned Ministry of Military Affairs' statement of opinion had this to say about Russia:

In recent years, they have usurped areas in Manchuria along the Amur River and extended their influence to the borders of Hokkaido and Korea. They are also pressing upon the borders of Japan, China, and Korea. If they expand their territory to the Sea of Japan, gain a good port, and build up a navy there, it will become impossible to restrain their greed, and they will do immense harm to Asia and Europe. This should be Japan's greatest concern, and we must take steps to prevent this from happening.<sup>55</sup>

Nevertheless, the potential for conflict with Qing China grew in the wake of troubles on the Korean peninsula, including the Jingo Incident of July 1882 and the Kōshin Incident of December 1884. During the 1880s, Japan formulated and implemented several naval force expansion programs that appear to have been premised on Qing China as the main threat: an 8-year project launched in 1883 to construct or purchase 32 warships (prematurely terminated in 1885), the 3-year first phase of an expansion project (54 vessels) started in 1886, and the 5-year second phase (6 vessels), which began in 1889.<sup>56</sup> In particular, the three ships built in the first-phase project and named for Japan's three most famous scenic spots (*Matsushima*, *Itsukushima*, *Hashidate*) seem to



have been constructed with the Qing navy warships *Dingyuan* and *Zhenyuan* in mind.<sup>57</sup> Japan's naval expansion programs eventually boosted the navy's size to 31 warships (nearly 59,000 tons) and 24 torpedo boats (roughly 1470 tons) by the outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War.<sup>58</sup>

Fleets are the strategic unit of a navy. The first time that the IJN organised fleets was in 1870, during the Franco-Prussian War. Japan remained neutral in that conflict, and its navy deployed squadrons (*shōkantai*) to patrol the waters off vital trade ports and coastal areas, such as Yokohama, Hyogo (Kobe), Nagasaki, and Hakodate.<sup>59</sup> The navy subsequently formed squadrons in 1871, a mid-sized fleet (*chūkantai*) in 1872, a standing squadron on 28 December 1885, and, based on an ordinance concerning naval fleets that was issued on 29 July 1889, a Standing Fleet centred around six top-of-the-line capital ships.<sup>60</sup> On 19 July 1894, just prior to the formal outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War, the IJN created its first-ever combined fleet by joining the Standing Fleet and the Western Fleet.<sup>61</sup>

Several examples of how the IJN was operated before the First Sino-Japanese War have already been cited. Although the navy engaged in some sea combat prior to that war, its biggest role was, as with the coastal navies of earlier times, the transportation of ground forces. Other duties included bombardment of ground positions, maritime patrols, reconnaissance, and support of gunboat diplomacy.

In 1893, the Kingdom of Hawaii was overthrown and replaced with a republican government. The United States established a treaty with the Republic of Hawaii to annex the islands, but a change of the US presidency led to a retraction of the agreement, which fuelled unrest in Hawaii. In order to protect the lives and property of Japanese living in Hawaii, the Japanese government dispatched two warships to Honolulu, sending *Kongō* from Yokosuka and redirecting *Naniwa* from its visit to San Francisco.<sup>62</sup> This deployment demonstrates that Japan had already begun recognising the protection of citizens overseas as one role of the navy.<sup>63</sup>

During its formative years, the IJN was dependent on other countries for not only its supply of warships, but also advice on tactics. The course on naval tactics at Japan's Naval War College (founded in 1888) was taught by Captain John Ingles, a member of the Royal Navy.<sup>64</sup> Ingles advocated the line-of-battle formation, which was out of favour among many contemporary navies at the time, and he extolled the effectiveness of rapid-fire guns as ship armament.<sup>65</sup> His advice seems to have influenced the outfitting of Japanese warships in the ensuing years, and the tactics used by the IJN during the First Sino-Japanese War.

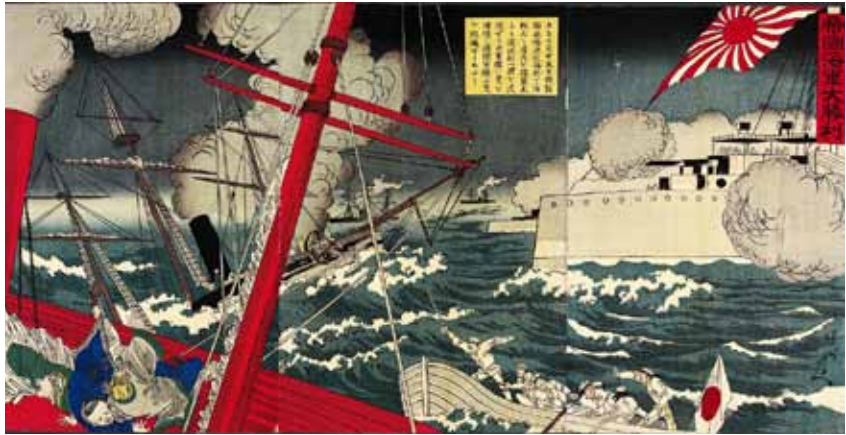
Japan worked hard in the second half of the 19th century to rebuild its sea power, which had atrophied from the more than 200 years of isolationism. Granted that this effort was heavily dependent on outside assistance from the Netherlands, France, and the United Kingdom, it nevertheless restored Japanese sea power to a level where the Japanese government was confident enough to go to war with Qing China by the end of the century.<sup>66</sup> Similar to the coastal navy era, operations of the early IJN continued to be centred upon sea combat and the transport of ground forces, but it also expanded out to encompass new roles, such as naval (gunboat) diplomacy and the protection of Japanese nationals overseas. Tactics also shifted, with coastal navy-style boarding attacks disappearing after the Battle of Miyako Bay and bows and firearms being replaced by long range naval guns (although still mostly cannon). However, the coordination of fleet operations remained largely underdeveloped.

## From the First Sino-Japanese War to World War II

### The First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War

The IJN used similar strategies and tactics in both the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) (see Appendices 9 and 10).<sup>67</sup> In the former conflict, the navy's primary goal was to wipe out China's Beiyang Fleet and thereby gain command of the Yellow Sea and the Bohai Sea. Likewise, the initial primary objective in the Russo-Japanese War was to take control of the seas around East Asia by annihilating Russia's Pacific Fleet.<sup>68</sup> Later in the Russo-Japanese War, the IJN further demonstrated its intent to achieve dominance in the Far East when it decisively defeated the ships of Russia's Baltic Fleet that had sailed from the North Atlantic. Other roles of the IJN in these wars included escorting troop ships and supporting landing operations. Achieving command of the sea was an essential undertaking not only for establishing stable supply lines to Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) units on the Eurasian continent, but also for maintaining the security of the maritime trade routes that kept Japan's wartime economy running.<sup>69</sup>

There were other similarities in how the IJN operated in these wars. These included the use of line-of-battle formations to put pressure on the front of enemy columns (specifically, crossing-the-T in both wars, plus a vertical pincer movement in the Russo-Japanese War), and the exploitation of the combat advantages of Japanese warships (vessel speed and rapid-fire guns).<sup>70</sup> In addition, the IJN conducted night time torpedo boat attacks in the Battle of Weihaiwei (4–5 February 1895) during the First Sino-Japanese War (considered to be the first such attack in naval history),<sup>71</sup> and employed night time raids by destroyer and torpedo boat squadrons as part of a strategy to ensure complete naval victory after the day long gun battle between capital ships at Tsushima during



*A sea battle during the First Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895*



*A naval hero of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905*

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the Russo-Japanese War.<sup>72</sup> Such operations demonstrate that the IJN had achieved a high level of skill in fleet manoeuvrability and combat techniques by the mid 1890s.

Parallels can also be drawn between the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese wars in terms of their effects on early 20th century naval doctrine. For instance, the IJN became strongly cognisant of the need to gain early command of the sea, and took on the view that engaging in decisive fleet battles was the top priority in naval warfare. In addition, both wars shaped the navy's fundamental policy for armament planning; the First Sino-Japanese War gave rise to the concept of developing a *roku-roku kantai* (a fleet centred around six modern battleships and six modern armoured cruisers), which evolved into the goal of creating a *hachi-hachi kantai* (a fleet centred around eight modern battleships and eight modern armoured cruisers) following the Russo-Japanese War. These and other effects can be interpreted as the products of Japan's victories in the Battle of the Yalu River (17 September 1894) during the First Sino-Japanese War and in the Battle of Tsushima (27-28 May 1905) during the Russo-Japanese War. Nevertheless there were also critical issues of the two wars that tended to be overlooked in the glow of those triumphs. For example, the main engagements in both wars were land battles – the naval battles were basically operations conducted in support of the ground war – and Russia's Vladivostok fleet had been able to inflict unnerving losses on Japan through commerce raiding.<sup>73</sup> Although the IJN was provided with the chance to relearn those lessons from its involvement in World War I (WWI), it instead proceeded on the path to WWII with decisive battle in its sights and without taking advantage of the opportunity to develop a doctrine for trade protection. In addition, following the Russo-Japanese War, the peacetime mission of the IJN was expanded to include resource protection, particularly of Japanese fishing vessels in northern waters.<sup>74</sup>

## World War I

During WWI (1914–1918), the IJN provided support to ground forces and, as a new role, protected maritime shipping. It did not encounter any opportunities for direct fleet-to-fleet combat. At the time of this war, Japan possessed command of the sea in the Far East theatre, where it faced no rivals capable of standing up to its sea power.<sup>75</sup> (See Appendix 11).

The IJN's support of ground forces was provided early in the war during the Siege of Qingdao (Chintao), which was carried out jointly with the United Kingdom.<sup>76</sup> During this battle, the Second Fleet, which was formed from old vessels left over from the Russo-Japanese War, blockaded Jiaozhou Bay and supported the landing of ground troops. In other Japanese naval operations, the First Fleet, composed of state-of-the-art warships, protected sea lanes and commerce in the East China Sea and the Yellow Sea, while the Third Fleet performed similar duties at the United Kingdom's request in waters around

and north of Hong Kong.<sup>77</sup> Judging from the size and vessel quality of each Japanese naval unit, the Siege of Qingdao appears to have been the IJN's main operation early on,<sup>78</sup> but on the whole, Japan's involvement in WWI was marked by greater emphasis on defence of maritime shipping.

At the start of the war, the Japanese navy planned to limit its operating area to Japanese coastal waters.<sup>79</sup> Contrary to navy expectations, however, its mission of providing maritime security expanded considerably. In September 1914, two Southern Expeditionary Squadrons were formed to engage in search-and-destroy operations against ships of Germany's elusive East Asia Squadron in the central and south Pacific. These two expeditionary squadrons played a large but at the time little known role in Japan's occupation of German possessions in the central Pacific.<sup>80</sup> At the behest of the United Kingdom, Japanese ships were detached to help patrol Indian Ocean waters and to escort Australian and New Zealand military transports sailing to Europe.

In 1917, the Japanese navy organised three special squadrons to safeguard sea lanes in the Mediterranean Sea and waters around Australia and New Zealand. This was another operation launched at Britain's request, although this time it had a different impetus - the need to respond to Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare. During its Mediterranean deployment, the Second Special Squadron served mainly to escort troop transports, which was the most critical duty of maritime security and hence reflected the deep trust that the Allies held regarding Japan's naval forces. Operating from its base at Malta, the Second Special Squadron served in the Mediterranean from early April 1917 to November 1919, during which time it single-handedly escorted a total of roughly 790 ships in nearly 350 sorties, and made 24 effective attacks against German submarines in approximately 35 engagements. At least 13 lost or damaged enemy submarines were reported.<sup>81</sup>

During the war, the Japanese navy also helped to hunt for German raiders, including the light cruiser SMS *Emden* which was conducting raids in the Indian Ocean, and patrolled sea lanes along the North American west coast.

As these examples indicate, the IJN expanded its operating area to an unprecedented extent during WWI. For the most part, this expansion was implemented as part of the Japanese contribution to an Allied naval coalition effect, at the request of Japan's ally the United Kingdom. The IJN's role was unique in that it comprised mainly sea lane protection and action against commerce raiding, rather than fleet-to-fleet warfare. By fully discharging this responsibility, the IJN had earned the respect of the Allies, but it failed to build upon this accomplishment in subsequent conflicts - an omission that may have been its greatest shortcoming associated with the war. Instead of remaining focused on its mission of sea lane and commerce defence, the IJN showed greater interest

in the Battle of Jutland (31 May - 1 June 1916), the main fleet engagement fought between Germany and the United Kingdom without the involvement of the IJN.<sup>82</sup>

In closing this section on the Japanese navy's participation in WWI, it should be noted that, in 1914, the Japanese seaplane carrier *Wakamiya* conducted one of the world's first ship-launched air raids during the Siege of Qingdao.<sup>83</sup>

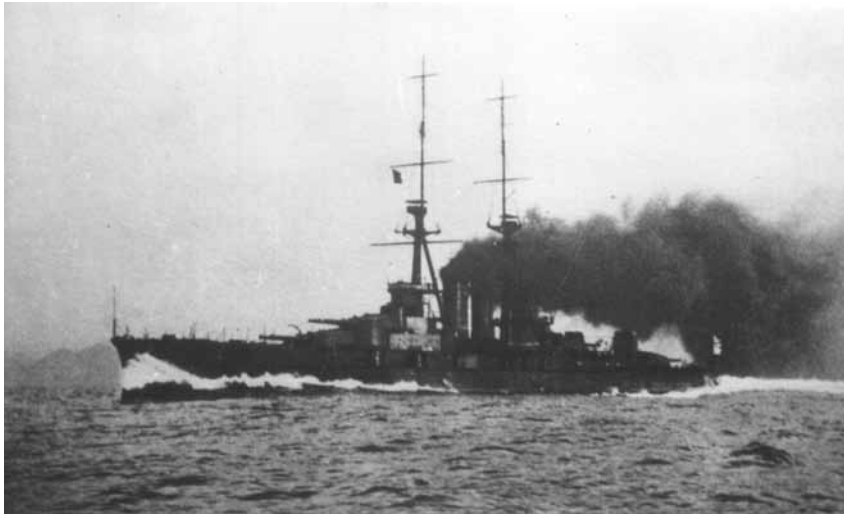
## The Doctrine of Decisive Battle with All-big-gun Capital Ships

This section will examine the IJN's tactical and strategic doctrine regarding the United States during a period surrounding that covered by the preceding section, the years between the Russo-Japanese War and the end of the 1930s.

In 1907, the Japanese government formulated its first 'Imperial Defense Policy' (*teikoku kokubō hōshin*; hereafter abbreviated as IDP), which was divided into three sections covering defence policy, military force levels needed for defence, and strategic guidelines.<sup>84</sup> It was revised three times, which each version providing a window to the contemporary Japanese military's arms policy, strategic planning, and perceptions of foreign threats.

The IDP identified nations regarded as hypothetical enemies to Japan and ranked them according to the degree of threat perceived. The list comprised Russia, the United States, Germany, and France in the original edition of 1907; changed to Russia, the United States, and China in the second edition (1918); and to the United States, China, and Russia in the third edition (1923).<sup>85</sup> In the fourth edition (1936), the list was ordered as the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), China, and the United Kingdom, but a note was expressly added to explain that the ranking of the US and USSR was not an indication of their relative weight as threats.<sup>86</sup> The selection of these nations was based not on real threats of imminent outbreak of war with Japan, but simply on long-range forecasts on the potential for conflict with Japan to develop. This is demonstrated by comparing the list in the first edition with WWI: Germany was ranked third on that list but was on the enemy side, while first-ranked Russia and second-ranked United States were on the same side as Japan. Nevertheless, such theorising was not without merit; the military strength possessed by the nations perceived as hypothetical enemies was a yardstick by which Japan could decide the level of armed power that it needed.

It should also be remembered that the lists were the product of compromise between the Japanese army and navy. The Army doggedly continued to position Russia, its traditional enemy, as the most likely potential adversary. In the eyes of the navy, however, the United States was the only significant foreign naval power, other than Japan's ally the United Kingdom, following the crushing defeat of the Russian navy in



*The battleship Kirishima in 1915*



*The destroyer Kashiwa in 1915*

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the Russo-Japanese War. Only the Pacific Ocean separated Japan from the United States, and both countries were becoming polarised over their interests in China. For these reasons, the IJN viewed the United States as the strongest threat. Hence, the 1907 and 1918 IDP's ranking of Russia over the United States as the top hypothetical enemy was not the manifestation of a common perception among Japan's military planners that Russia posed a distinctly higher threat.

By the time of the third edition in 1923, however, circumstances had changed. The United States was moved to the top of the adversary list, while Russia, which had been transformed into the USSR following the Russian Revolution and Civil War, dropped to third place. One reason for this reversal was, of course, the fact that the internal turmoil of the Soviet Union weakened the Japanese army's argument for keeping it at the top of the list, thus allowing the IJN to present the United States as a more credible threat.<sup>87</sup> More significantly, however, anti-American sentiment had been running high in the IJN following the recent Washington Naval Conference. Japan had approached the gathering with the goal of having the participants agree to a 70 per cent cap on the IJN's capital ship tonnage vis-à-vis the US Navy, but had to settle for a 60 per cent limit instead. The resulting discontent among the Japanese navy's leaders subsequently found its way into the 1923 IDP.<sup>88</sup> Although the United States had formerly been viewed as a potential enemy simply within the theoretical framework of war planning, it started to be perceived as a real threat in the wake of the Washington Naval Conference.

Like most other major navies in the first half of the 20th century, the IJN based its strategic planning on the doctrine of possessing a large force of all-big-gun capital ships. This was reflected in the IDP's stated objectives concerning naval force strength. The first edition of 1907 called for implementing the so-called *hachi-hachi kantai* ('eight-eight fleet') model of a navy based around eight modern battleships and eight modern armoured cruisers. The IJN's desire for all-big-gun capital ships continued to grow, prompting the demand in the second edition for another set of eight capital ships to form an 'eight-eight-eight fleet'. Nevertheless, the lack of funding for this plan is a clear sign that it was an ambition held only by the navy. In fact, the Diet did not authorise allocations for the initial eight-eight fleet project until 1920, after the eight-eight-eight fleet plan was released.<sup>89</sup> However, as a result of the Washington Naval Conference, the IJN was forced to scale back its shipbuilding aspirations, and hence the IDP had to be revised again in the short interval of five years following publication of the second edition. Under the third edition, the navy's targeted capital ship strength was whittled down to nine vessels (ten up to 1935). At the same time, though, the third edition stated that the navy should include 3 aircraft carriers and 80 submarines, suggesting that naval planners were possibly looking to shift strategy and tactics toward new directions to get around the limitations imposed by the Washington Naval Conference. The reality, however, was that forward-looking planners



were few and far between among the navy's leadership, which instead remained obsessed with the all-big-gun capital ship doctrine.

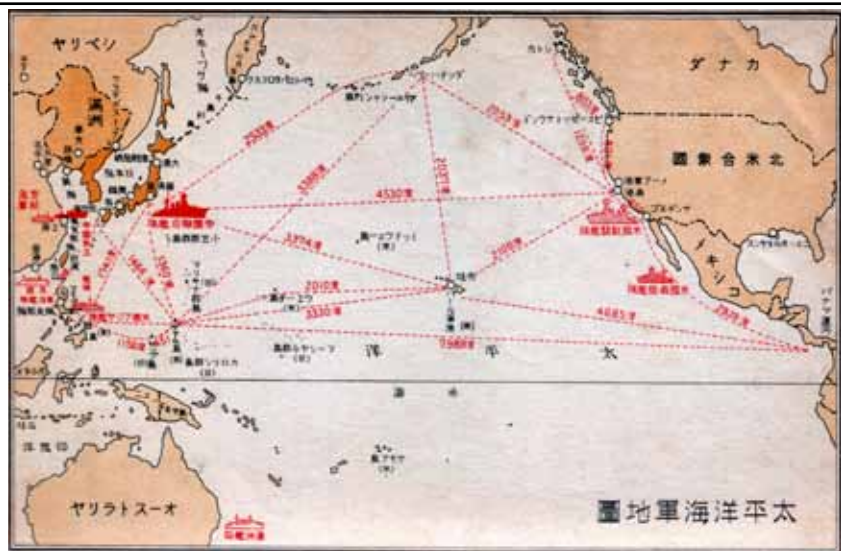
The third section of the IDP, which covered strategic guidelines, described how Japan would prosecute war against a single nation and war against multiple enemies, spelling out general strategic policies for dealing with each potential foe in both cases. The remainder of this section will focus on the strategic guidelines laid out for a one-on-one war against the United States, because Japan did not have sufficient resources to effectively fight multiple enemies at the same time, and because the contemporary IJN perceived the United States as the most likely adversary in a two-sided war, and prepared its forces for that scenario.

The Japanese navy's strategic vision for war with the United States was, simply put, a rehashing of its approach to the Russo-Japanese War, except that the Russian navy was replaced by the US Navy, and the theatre of operations was shifted to the Western Pacific. Otherwise, the basic blueprint remained the same, as is seen in the IDP. The strategic guidelines of the 1907 IDP declared that the basic policy for deploying the IJN was to 'wipe out the enemy's primary Far East naval forces in order to take command of the Western Pacific and thereby protect Japanese sea lanes, and then await the arrival of the enemy navy's main fleet to ambush and destroy its forces'.<sup>90</sup> This policy was fine-tuned in the 1918 IDP, which specified an invasion target, a force concentration point, and a picket line:

At the start of hostilities, the Army and the Navy will conduct a joint operation to invade Luzon and annihilate the enemy's naval bases there. This will make it easier to carry out further attacks on the enemy ... The strategy for the Navy is to concentrate all its warships near Amami Oshima, establish a picket line along the Ogasawara (Bonin) Islands, and then launch an all-out attack on the enemy navy's main forces where they arrive.<sup>91</sup>

The strategic guidelines of the 1923 IDP, list not only Luzon but also Guam as a target for joint army-navy attacks on US Navy bases. While this edition added other changes to the strategies outlined in the earlier editions, it preserved the same basic policy, in that the IJN would draw the US Navy's main forces to the Far East theatre and then launch a concentrated attack aimed at wiping out those forces.<sup>92</sup> The same can be said for the 1936 IDP, which greatly increased the number of requisite aircraft carriers to ten, but nevertheless stuck to the basic course of action of earlier editions.<sup>93</sup>

To reiterate, the first phase of the IJN's scenario for war with the United States was to destroy the US Navy's forces in the Far East theatre in order to gain command of the



A pre-1940 Japanese map showing distances between major Pacific bases

sea there. The second phase was to await the arrival of the US Navy's main forces to the Western Pacific and then launch a decisive fleet-to-fleet battle against them south of Japan's main islands (west of the Ogasawara Islands), with the hope of emerging victorious and acquiring complete command of the Western Pacific.<sup>94</sup> This two-phase core strategy was dubbed *taibei yōgeki sakusen* (literally 'strategy for intercepting the US fleet').

The *taibei yōgeki sakusen*, which represented an elementary style of warfare in which a decisive fleet-to-fleet battle would be initiated only until after the main elements of the US Navy had sailed to waters near Japan, was later modified into the *taibei yōgeki zengen sakusen*, in which the *zengen* (attrition) component incorporated advances in weapons technology. As indicated above, the *taibei yōgeki zengen sakusen* had already started to take shape in the 1923 IDP, and had become the established course of action by no later than the release of the 1936 IDP.<sup>95</sup>

The aim of the *taibei yōgeki zengen sakusen* was to use attritional attacks to enhance the likelihood of Japan's victory in the decisive naval battle against the US. As the US Navy made the long voyage across the Pacific, the IJN would make attacks of opportunity using the optimally effective means for each sortie. As a result, the US Navy would be gradually weakened by the time it reached Japan's home waters, giving Japan the edge

in the final all-out engagement. Japan's naval strategists estimated that the attritional attacks would diminish the US Navy's power by roughly 30 per cent.<sup>96</sup>

The IJN planned to implement its strategy of early attrition through raids by submarines and aircraft, as well as night time assaults by mainly torpedo boats. The job of attacking the American fleet in waters far from Japan was to be handled by the submarines.<sup>97</sup> Traditionally, submarines were considered the ultimate stealth weapons of navies, but the IJN in this era considered the primary role of its submarines to be implementation of the attritional component of the *taibei yōgeki zengen sakusen*.<sup>98</sup> Accordingly, the navy's technological development program placed greater emphasis on creating larger, faster submarines rather than enhancing stealth capabilities, such as minimising propeller noise.<sup>99</sup> Moreover, the IJN ignored the strategic and tactical potential offered by deployment of submarines for commerce raiding and other disruption of maritime transport.<sup>100</sup>

After making long-distance submarine raids, the IJN planned to further pummel the approaching US naval forces with attacks by aircraft based on islands in the South Pacific Mandate acquired by Japan following WWI, and then by carrier-based aircraft. During this era, however, battleship fleets were still considered a navy's greatest strength, so aircraft were assigned the backseat role of simple attritional strikes in the *taibei yōgeki zengen sakusen*. Around the time that the aerial sorties began, the IJN would also commence night time raids by torpedo boat squadrons. Finally, the navy would seek victory in a decisive battle that pitted the firepower of its battleships and other warships against that of the US Navy. The main players in the final clash would be capital ships.<sup>101</sup> As this description indicates, the *taibei yōgeki zengen sakusen* was the product of the Japanese naval doctrine of fighting a decisive fleet-to-fleet battle using all-big-gun capital ships.

The *taibei yōgeki zengen sakusen* was beset by some inherent drawbacks. The biggest problem was that it completely depended on how the enemy would react; if the US Navy declined to attempt a counterattack on Japan, the final decisive battle in Japan's home waters would not take place. While the IJN could attempt to provoke the US Navy into action, the choice of whether to respond was completely at the latter's discretion.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, the Japanese navy's leadership was apparently convinced that attacks on US bases in the Philippines and Guam would unfailingly provoke the US Navy to send its capital ships to counter-attack Japan. Another weakness in the strategy was the dubious premise that that US Navy would continue sailing toward Japan if it were significantly weakened by the various attritional attacks planned by the IJN. Depending on the level of damage incurred, it seems more plausible that the US Navy would reconstitute its strength before continuing with an attack against Japan. Continuance



of the mission without reinforcement would most likely be a sign that the attritional attacks failed to seriously soften the US Navy's power.<sup>103</sup>

Despite becoming an obsession of the IJN from the end of the Russo-Japanese War to the late 1930s, the *taibei yōgeki zengen sakusen* – and its vision for a climactic contest between battleship fleets – was never implemented in war. Instead, it became an outdated doctrine as the IJN opened the door to a new era in the battles of the Pacific War (1941-1945).

## Japanese Naval Operations against China

During the 1930s, the IJN engaged in military actions against Chinese forces. Its role in this period consisted of continuing peacetime operations (patrols, surveillance, and communication), protecting and evacuating residents of Japanese enclaves in China, supporting Japanese ground forces, blockading the Chinese coast, capturing major Chinese ports, and conducting aerial missions, such as bombing of enemy strong points (see Appendix 12).<sup>104</sup>

The IJN operated to protect Japanese residents in China during such occasions as the Shanghai Incident (January 1932) and the Battle of Shanghai (August 1937), but the actual mission of engaging Chinese forces in combat was assigned to the Japanese army. The IJN's Third Fleet Command was tasked with facilitating local communication and coordination, and some naval vessels provided escort for civilian ships transporting Japanese citizens, as part of the evacuation of Japanese citizens from the Yangtze River region following the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in July 1937.<sup>105</sup> The combat operations in Japanese attacks upon Chinese ports were also mainly the army's responsibility. The IJN's aerial raids against China were conducted by both carrier- and land-based air squadrons. As such, the primary roles of the navy's surface components in the China campaign consisted of supporting ground force landings, blockading China's coast, and implementing escort and minesweeping operations as backing for attacks on ports.

The IJN's support of landing operations during this decade occurred as early as the Shanghai Incident, and included intensive support of landings early in the Second Sino-Japanese War, including an opposed landing in the Battle of Shanghai (23 August 1937) and a landing at Hangzhou Bay (5 November 1937). The IJN also supported a considerable number of landings at points up the Yangtze River.

The navy's blockade was 'a strategy for quickly sapping China's fighting power in order to stabilize the domestic situation, given the need to take self-defensive measures for protecting Japanese lives, property, and interests from harm by the Chinese military.'<sup>106</sup> In order to cover China's extensive coastline, the IJN assigned the Third Fleet to the

waters around central China and the Yangtze River, and the newly formed the Fourth and Fifth Fleets to patrol the coasts of, respectively, northern and southern China.<sup>107</sup> Although the blockade interdicted only a fraction of shipping, it successfully prevented nearly 700 Chinese ships from delivering weapons and other materiel for supplying Chiang Kai-shek's forces. Understandably, the limited number of IJN vessels assigned to the vast Chinese seaboard could not realistically block the passage of all Chinese maritime traffic. Moreover, the IJN was not able to include ships of other nations within the scope of its blockade. Eventually, Japan's naval leaders came to the realisation that it would be more effective to simply concentrate on controlling the Chinese ports that served as key offloading points. It was this change of strategy that motivated the Japanese military's capture of such ports as Xiamen, Lianyungang, Nan'ao, and Guangdong.<sup>108</sup>

Although the IJN in the 1930s still adhered to the doctrine of making decisive naval battles the top priority, its surface operations against China demonstrate that it had not abandoned such roles as protection and evacuation of Japanese nationals overseas, and support of landing operations.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, its blockade of China's coast and assistance in capturing major ports were undoubtedly critical missions in the context of obstructing American and European material support to Chiang Kai-shek – support which Japan saw as the biggest factor behind the protraction of its war with China. Nevertheless, those missions lacked the glamour of climactic naval battles, and hence they did not earn the respect they deserved for the immense effort that went into them. For this reason, it seems, the IJN lost interest in those roles.

## The Pacific War

As discussed earlier, Japanese naval strategists envisioned a two-phase scenario for war against the United States. First, the IJN would destroy the US Navy's forces in the Far East and thereby gain command of the sea there. Next, when the US Navy's capital ship fleet was sent from the US mainland to retaliate, the IJN would make attacks of opportunity to weaken the US fleet as it sailed across the Pacific, and then would finally crush it in a decisive battle in home waters south of Japan's main islands, allowing Japan to assume complete control of the Western Pacific. The IJN continued to subscribe to this basic strategy up to the months just before the outbreak of the Pacific War. In the fall of 1941, however, the plan was radically altered at the strong request of the Combined Fleet Command, which was headed by Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku. Under the new scheme, the IJN would first attack the US Navy's Pacific Fleet at its base in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. By annihilating the US Navy's main force in the Pacific at the start of the war, it was reasoned, Japan could ensure the success of its so-called 'Southern Operations' (*nanpō sakusen*) for capturing enemy bases and resource-rich territories in southeast Asia.<sup>110</sup> Despite these changes, however, the *taibei yōgeki sakusen* for engaging the US Navy's main forces in all-out surface battle was not discarded. During the first phase of

the war plan, all elements of the IJN, excluding those assigned to support the army in the Southern Operations (the Third Fleet and the Southern Expeditionary Fleet), would be kept ready to implement the *taibei yōgeki sakusen* in the event of a counterattack by the US Navy.<sup>111</sup> (See Appendix 13).

For the attack on Pearl Harbor, the IJN formed a tasked force (First Air Fleet) centred around a core of six aircraft carriers. The actual attack was successfully conducted by the air squadrons of those carriers.<sup>112</sup> In the Southern Operations, the IJN escorted ships transporting army forces, provided cover during landings, engaged in minesweeping, and performed various other roles, but what captured the world's attention was the sinking of the Royal Navy's battleships HMA Ships *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* by land-based aircraft of the Japanese navy off the coast of the Malay peninsula. At this time, the IJN's main force, the First Fleet (centred around six battleships considered the navy's strongest assets), was kept behind at the Hashirajima anchorage in the Seto Inland Sea for, at least on paper, the purpose of executing the final phase of the *taibei yōgeki sakusen* if the US Navy were to launch an attack against Japan.

The Japanese navy's achievements early in the war raised two questions in the minds of its leaders. The first was whether surface fleets or air units constituted the navy's core fighting force. This issue had been debated previously, but it quickly became the subject of intense scrutiny following the successful strikes that Japanese naval aviation had made against numerous enemy ships, including some in action. Initially, the IJN held on to its longstanding belief that battleship-centred fleets were its greatest power. As the war progressed, however, naval battles involving only the firepower of surface ships – with no contribution by air squadrons – became the exception, not the rule. At the same time, more and more naval operations relied heavily on air power, suggesting that air units had in effect become the key force of the IJN. Nevertheless, the navy as an organisation was slow to recognise that transformation. The first concrete sign that the navy was beginning to officially acknowledge the change was the designation of a carrier task force as a permanent fleet (the reorganised Third Fleet) in July 1942, the month after the IJN's critical defeat in the Battle of Midway. However, the navy's surface fleet-focused philosophy continued to linger.<sup>113</sup>

The other question prompted by the navy's early successes, particularly at Pearl Harbor, was the issue of what to do next. As already made clear, the ultimate goal of the navy's traditional war plans was to crush the US Navy's main fleet as it approached Japan for attack. However, the IJN had already demolished the bulk of the US Navy's Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor at the very start of the Pacific War.<sup>114</sup> In other words, the war began with the execution of the second phase envisioned in the traditional war plans, thus leaving the navy with no follow-up operation to perform. The problem was that the war plans offered no specific guidance for action following the second phase,

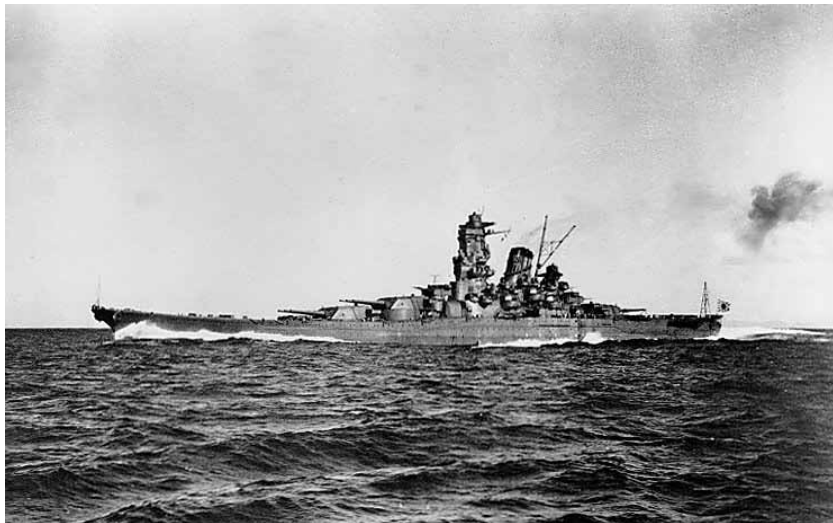
other than for the navy and army to concoct further operations on an ad hoc basis. This oversight remained unresolved in the strategic guidelines of all editions of the IDP.<sup>115</sup>

Let us now examine the early Pacific War from the perspective of this book's subject, sea power. Japan had gained command of the Western Pacific by the end of 1941, and of the eastern Indian Ocean by early April 1942. Still virtually unscathed at that time, Japan had come to possess sea power on a level unprecedented in its history. This juncture was also the pinnacle of Japan's sea power, though the nation did not realise that fact at the time. Moreover, by taking command of the sea, Japan had become the biggest wielder of sea power in the Pacific, but it seems that very few of the nation's leaders realised that this achievement was not the product of pure naval force. As noted above, the decimation of American and British naval forces in the Pacific was accomplished through air power, both from the land as well as from the sea. Sea power had served as a platform for air power. It is often pointed out that the first Pacific War combatant to unhesitatingly switch to a doctrine emphasising air power was not the IJN - which had demonstrated the superiority of air power at Pearl Harbor and off the Malay peninsula - but rather the US Navy, which had quickly and accurately grasped air power's superiority from the devastating aerial attack of Pearl Harbor.

Japan's fall from the pinnacle of its sea power began with the Battle of Midway on 5 June 1942. Aerial attacks by a US Navy task force resulted in the IJN's loss of four aircraft carriers, nearly 300 aircraft, and numerous aviators. The loss of so many highly skilled and experienced aviators eventually proved to be a fatal blow to the Japanese navy. For the remainder of the war the IJN was unable to completely replace this deficit. The bottom line was that American air power had crippled Japanese air power, thereby making it extremely difficult for Japan to sustain its sea power. Following the Battle of Midway, the IJN was worn down through defeat in nearly every engagement with the US Navy. The Japanese navy's defeat in the Battle of the Philippine Sea in June 1944 was the final stroke that sealed the downfall of Japanese sea power.

One of the key factor behind that downfall was the attritional effect of another form of sea power - submarines. Only several hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the US Navy decided to engage in unrestricted air and submarine warfare against Japan.<sup>116</sup> The American submarine fleet achieved its first significant results during its mission to block Japan's maritime transport of reinforcements and supplies to Guadalcanal. From August to November of 1942, American submarines sank 62 Japanese ships (nearly 270,000 tons).<sup>117</sup> Over the course of the entire war, the US Navy's submarine attacks accounted for Japan's loss of 213 naval vessels and roughly 1150 merchant ships (totalling some 4,850,000 tons).<sup>118</sup>





*The battleship Yamato at sea, 1941*



*The Japanese battlefleet at sea, October 1944*

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The US Navy's campaign of unrestricted air and submarine warfare severed Japan's maritime supply routes to troops at the front, forcing Japan to shorten its battle lines. At the same time, the IJN was left with less area to exercise its sea power, and the loss of transports carrying supplies to Japan's home islands created a shortage of material that weakened the nation's capacity to build the ships needed to sustain its sea power. The last Japanese aircraft carrier to be constructed was *Shinano*, which was commissioned in November 1944, the same month that Japan completed construction of its last new light cruiser.<sup>119</sup> Another challenge facing the IJN was its critically limited supply of ship fuel. As a result of this shortage, the IJN was unable to mount further operations by surface fleets following Operation KIKUSUI, in which *Yamato* was sunk. Maritime supply lines between the home islands and southern areas had already been completely severed by March 1945.<sup>120</sup> By this period, Japan ceased to hold sea power in the Western Pacific, which had fallen under the full control of the US Navy and other Allied naval forces.

As for submarine deployment by the IJN, submarines were used following the initial two-phase operations of the war to disrupt sea lanes in the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific, and to transport personnel and supplies, but their main mission continued to be attacks on enemy naval fleets, primarily US Navy task forces.<sup>121</sup>

Already in a moribund state from its lack of fuel, Japanese sea power was delivered its final blow by naval mines. In early 1945, American B-29 bombers began dropping mines in key ports in China and southeast Asia, including Shanghai, Saigon, and Singapore. This campaign was carried to ports and coastal waters of the Japanese home islands starting in May 1945. By the end of the war, these mines had sunk or severely damaged 267 Japanese ships (643,821 tons).<sup>122</sup> It was the entrapment of the IJN by mines that sounded the death knell for Japanese sea power.

## Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the history of Japanese sea power from the beginning of recorded history to WWII in the middle of the 20th century. As noted in the introduction, the history of Japanese sea power did not progress through an unbroken chain of development, but instead experienced two major gaps. The first lasted for the roughly twelve centuries from Japan's defeat in the Battle of Baekgang to the arrival of Commodore Perry's squadron in the twilight years of the Edo Shogunate. Those centuries were marked by a nearly total absence of Japanese sea power, save for some limited signs of recovery in the Sengoku period. Instead, it was era in which Japan focused solely on land power - a very unusual path to be taken by a nation bounded on all sides by the sea. Yet, this choice was the fortunate product of the geopolitical milieu in which Japan was placed.

After Japan was awakened from its peaceful slumber by the arrival of Perry's so-called 'black ships,' it embarked on a program to rapidly build up its sea power. The growth achieved through this effort gave Japan the ability to score victories over Qing China and Russian navies around the turn of the 19th century, and helped it to become the world's third largest naval power by the end of WWI. Subsequently, Japan's sea power evolved to the point where the Japanese navy was able to gain command of the Western Pacific and the Eastern Indian Ocean for a while during the early stages of the Pacific War. Nevertheless, Japan lacked the knowledge and expertise needed to sustain such a high level of sea power, and consequently lost it all in but a short time. This second loss of sea power occurred with a rapidity that warrants re-examination of the factors that enabled or promoted such a swift demise. In any case, Japan was not free to remain indolent or neglectful during the second absence of sea power, as the strategic environment surrounding the nation became completely transformed. It was under those circumstances that Japanese sea power made a new start.

## NOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> This chapter is a slightly modified English translation of Chapter 6 in Kyoichi Tachikawa, Tomoyuki Ishizu, et al (eds), *Shi Pawa: sono riron to jissen* (Sea Power: Theory and Practice), Fuyō Shobō Shuppan, Tokyo, 2008, pp. 177-218. The views expressed are the author's and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the National Institute for Defense Studies, Ministry of Defense, Japan.
- <sup>2</sup> The official history of the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) up to World War II counts Empress Jingū's so-called 'Conquest of the Three Korean Kingdoms' as one of the major foreign military campaigns conducted by Japan in pre-modern times, based on accounts in the ancient chronicles *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*. It also states that Japan subsequently sent military forces to Korea on fifteen occasions in order to quell disturbances there, up to the reign of Empress Suiko. In addition, the expeditions reportedly led by Abe no Hirafu in 658 and 660 to subjugate the Mishihase region can also be considered foreign military campaigns, provided that Mishihase was a foreign land (its location is not precisely known). Sources include: Satō Ichirō, *Kaigun gojūnenshi*, Masushobō, 1943, pp. 6-9; Shibata Zenjirō, 'Waga-kaigun no hattatsu to zōkan no suii,' *Nippon kaigunshi*, (ed) Yūzankaku Editorial Board, Yūzankaku, 1934, p. 361.
- <sup>3</sup> The Bombardment of Kagoshima (1863; conducted by the British) and the Bombardment of Shimonoseki (1864; conducted by the British, the United States, France, and the Netherlands)

were conflicts that took place following the transition to an oceanic navy. The primary means of combat used by the Satsuma and Chōshō domains were land-based cannons, not naval power.

- 4 One theory holds that the Tang navy's combat vessels were large ships armed with catapults and other weaponry.
- 5 Sources include: Tōyama Mitsuo, *Hakusukinōe: Kodai Higashi Ajia taisen no nazo*, Kōdansha, 1997, pp. 197–216; Satō Kazuo, *Umi to suigun no Nihonshi*, Vol 1, Hara Shobō, 1995, pp. 69–73.
- 6 Nakajima Gonkichi, 'Nihon suigunshi,' *Yūshū*, Vol 27, No 5, May 1940, p. 14; Takagi Tomosaburō, *Kaijōken to Nippon no hatten*, Kōa Nipponsha, 1942, p. 104.
- 7 Satō Kazuo, *Umi to suigun no Nihonshi*, Vol 2, Hara Shobō, 1995, pp. 31–40. Mori Katsumi, 'Mōko shūrai,' *Nihon no kassen 2: Nanbokuchō no sōran*, (ed) Kuwata Tadachika, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1978, pp. 144–146. The Japanese defenders were able to make some achievements, but at a heavy price.
- 8 Udagawa Takehisa, *Sengoku suigun no kōbō*, Heibonsha, 2002, p. 169. Satō, *Umi to suigun no Nihonshi*, Vol 2, p. 269. Nakajima Gonkichi, 'Kaigun heijutsujō yori mitaru Hōtaikō seikan-eki to Nisshin Nichiro-eki,' *Nippon kaigunshi*, (ed) Yūzankaku Editorial Board, p. 332. Ogasawara Naganari, *Teikoku kaigun-shiron*, Shunyōdō, 1898, p. 42. The total number of ships assembled by Hideyoshi is said to have been 40,000 (Udagawa, *Sengoku suigun no kōbō*, p. 167).
- 9 Sources include: Satō, *Umi to suigun no Nihonshi*, Vol 2, p. 266; Nakajima, 'Kaigun heijutsujō yori mitaru Hōtaikō seikan-eki to Nisshin Nichiro-eki,' p. 336.
- 10 Hanami Sakumi, 'Seikan-eki ni okeru waga-kaigun,' *Nippon kaigunshi*, (ed) Yūzankaku Editorial Board, pp. 122–128. Nakajima, 'Nippon suigunshi,' p. 20. Takagi, *Kaijōken to Nippon no hatten*, p. 140.
- 11 The commanders of the Eastern and Western Gyeongsang fleets, Park Hong and Won Gyun, fled the region without engaging the Japanese forces.
- 12 Wakizaka arrived at Tsushima earlier than Konishi Yukinaga, the commander of the First Army.
- 13 Satō, *Umi to suigun no Nihonshi*, Vol 2, p. 296. The Kurushima clan forces were also assigned to the Sixth Army.
- 14 Udagawa, *Sengoku suigun no kōbō*, p. 170.
- 15 Hora Tomio, 'Bunroku/Keicho no eki,' *Nihon no kassen 6: Toyotomi Hideyoshi*, (ed) Kuwata Tadachika, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1978, pp. 398 & 421. Satō, *Umi to suigun no Nihonshi*, Vol 2, pp. 298–301.
- 16 Nakajima, 'Kaigun heijutsujō yori mitaru Hōtaikō seikan-eki to Nisshin Nichiro-eki,' p. 340.
- 17 Wakizaka's indiscretion played into the hands of Yi Sun-sin, who successfully lured him out to battle on the open sea.

- <sup>18</sup> Nakajima, 'Kaigun heijutsujō yori mitaru Hōtaikō seikan-eki to Nisshin Nichiro-eki,' pp. 333, 338 & 341.
- <sup>19</sup> Yamamoto Hirofumi, *Kan-ei jidai*, new edition, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1996, pp. 215 & 218. One account of the incident reports that the five biggest *daimyō* of Kyushu mobilised some 50,000 ground troops as well.
- <sup>20</sup> Normally, the *daimyō* responsible for defending Nagasaki was required to station approximately 1000 troops in the town from spring through fall. However, Saga's Nabeshima clan, which was in charge of defence at the time, had withdrawn a large portion of its garrison in order to reduce costs, since the annual Dutch trading season (spring to fall) had already ended. The inopportune timing of this drawdown was one of the reasons that an effective response could not be mounted against *Phaeton*.
- <sup>21</sup> The Ezochi domain was an ill-defined frontier region occupying much of northern Hokkaido. It was traditionally occupied by the Ainu (or Ezo) people.
- <sup>22</sup> The Shogunate chose this arrangement in order to avoid provoking Russia unnecessarily, and to escape from directly bearing the humiliation caused by Russian attacks on islands that Japan had already declared to be part of its territory (Asakura Yūko, *Hoppōshi to kinsei shakai*, Seibundō, 1999, pp. 56-57.
- <sup>23</sup> The Shogunate assumed direct control of eastern Ezochi in 1799, and the rest of the island in April 1807.
- <sup>24</sup> This responsibility fell mainly to the Tsugaru clan (based in modern Hirosaki) and the Nanbu clan (modern Morioka). The size of the forces deployed to Ezochi was based not on each domain's wealth assessments, but on flexible negotiations between the Shogunate and the two domains (Asakura, *Hoppōshi to kinsei shakai*, p. 124).
- <sup>25</sup> Kikuchi Isao, *Etorofutō: Tsukurareta kokkyō*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999, pp. 140-171.
- <sup>26</sup> This point is discussed in detail in Chapter 1 of Adachi Hiroyuki's *Iyō no fune: Yōshiki-sen dōnyū to sakoku taisei*, Heibonsha, 1995.
- <sup>27</sup> Matsudaira Sadanobu, *Uge no hitokoto: Shūgyōroku*, (ed) Matsudaira Sadamitsu, Iwanami Shoten, 1942, p. 121.
- <sup>28</sup> It has also been suggested that the reason why Japan had no concept of sea power, at that time, was that Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* mentioned riverine combat, but not sea combat (Noguchi Takehiko, *Edo no heigaku shisō*, Chūō Kōronsha, 1991, p. 236).
- <sup>29</sup> Nearly all of China's dynastic rulers were focused on preparedness for ground warfare, and showed little interest in sea power other than as a means of countering *wakō*. Hence, China did not possess a level of sea power that posed a significant threat to Japan.
- <sup>30</sup> Mishima Yasukiyo, *Suigun*, Seijisha, 1942, pp. 166-175. Ogasawara, *Teikoku kaigun-shiron*, pp. 38 & 40-41. The *santō*, *ippon*, and *kōshū* styles were created and used by, respectively, the Mishima Murakami, Mōri, and Takeda clans.

- <sup>31</sup> Mishima, *Suigun*, pp. 175–179.
- <sup>32</sup> Nagao Yūichirō, Ishizu Tomoyuki, and Tachikawa Kyoichi, ‘Sentō kūkan no gaienteki kakudai to gunjiryoku no henshen,’ *Sensō no honshitsu to gunjiryoku no shosō*, (ed) Ishizu Tomoyuki, Sairyūsha, 2004, p. 112.
- <sup>33</sup> Sources include Morimoto Shigeru’s *Sengoku saikyō no kaijō gundan: Mōri suigun*, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1991; *Murakami suigun no subete*, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1997; and *Senshi dokyūmento: Murakami suigun kōbōshi*, Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 2001; Satō Kazuo’s *Umi to suigun no Nihonshi*, Vol 2, as well as Udagawa Takehisa’s *Sengoku suigun no kōbō* and *Setouchi suigun*, Kyōikusha, 1981. Records of the first battle state that the Mōri navy was made up of nearly 300 warships sent to escort approximately 600 transports, while the Oda navy consisted of about 300 ships seeking to thwart the resupply mission.
- <sup>34</sup> Nobunaga also ordered Takigawa Kazumasu to construct a large ship, but it was not armoured with iron plating.
- <sup>35</sup> The *tekkōsen* may well be considered an example of Nobunaga’s capacity for revolution in military affairs, along with other military innovations he realized, such as the development of permanent forces of foot soldiers (*ashigaru*), the creation of specialized units (arquebusiers, pikemen, and the like), and the heavy use of firearms (Battle of Nagashino).
- <sup>36</sup> The exception being that Hideyoshi deployed a *tekkōsen* during the Japanese-Korean War 1592-1598.
- <sup>37</sup> Morimoto, *Sengoku saikyō no kaijō gundan: Mōri suigun*, pp. 55–56. Ebisawa Arimichi, ‘Shimabara no ran,’ *Nihon no kassen 7: Tokugawa Ieyasu*, (ed) Kuwata Tadachika, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1978, pp. 354–355. Irimoto Masuo, *Shimabara no ran*, Kyōikusha, 1980, pp. 235–236. Kanda Chisato, *Shimabara no ran: Kirishitan shinkō to busō hōki*, Chūō Kōronshinsha, 2005, pp. 175–177.
- <sup>38</sup> Further information on shipbuilding and naval development by the Satsuma domain is available in Chapter 3 in Part I of Ikeda Kiyoshi’s *Nihon no kaigun: Tanjōhen*, Asahi Sonorama, 1993.
- <sup>39</sup> Motozuna Kazumichi, *Bakumatsu no jōkisen monogatari*, Seizandō Shoten, 2004, pp. 98–121.
- <sup>40</sup> At the time of the Russo-Japanese War, all capital ships and nearly all auxiliary ships in the IJN were vessels built overseas, primarily in the United Kingdom (Satō, *Kaigun gojūnenishi*, p. 65; Military History Office, National Defense College, *Senshi sōsho: Kaigun gūsenbi 1–Shōwa jūrokunen jūichigatsu made*, Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1989, p. 113. However, the navy endeavored to acquire its smaller vessels from domestic shipyards (Ikeda, *Nihon no kaigun: Tanjōhen*, p. 59).
- <sup>41</sup> In 1871, the Yokosuka Iron Foundry was renamed the Yokosuka Navy Yard by the Meiji government.
- <sup>42</sup> See Shinohara Hiroshi’s *Kaigun sōsetsushi: Igirisu gunji komondan no kage*, Libroport, 1986, and *Nihon kaigun oyatoi-gaijin: Bakumatsu kara Nichiro sensō made*, Chūō Kōronsha, 1988.

- <sup>43</sup> Yoshimura Masahiko, 'Meiji shoki no 'kaigun seibi' mondai: Meiji ninen Meiji tennō no gokamon o chūshin toshite,' *Gunjishi-gaku*, Vol 40, No 4, March 2005, p. 81.
- <sup>44</sup> The first naval review held for the Meiji emperor (26 March 1868) brought together a total of six warships (2456 tons), with one each from six domains, including Satsuma, Choshū, Tosa, and Hizen (Military History Office, National Defense College, *Senshi sōsho: Daihon-ei kaigunbu/renghō kantai 1-Kaisen made*, Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1975, pp. 3-4. Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 1, Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1995 p. 56).
- <sup>45</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 1, pp. 48-49.
- <sup>46</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 1, pp. 52-53. Motozuna, *Bakamatsu no jōkisen monogatari*, pp. 129-131.
- <sup>47</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 1, pp. 54-55. Motozuna, *Bakamatsu no jōkisen monogatari*, pp. 133-136.
- <sup>48</sup> Toyama Saburō, *Nihon kaigunshi*, Kyōikusha, 1980, p. 37.
- <sup>49</sup> Satō, *Kaigun gojūnenishi* p. 54.
- <sup>50</sup> Yoshimura, 'Meiji shoki no 'kaigun seibi' mondai,' p. 83.
- <sup>51</sup> Satō, *Kaigun gojūnenishi*, p. 57.
- <sup>52</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 1, p. 212-213.
- <sup>53</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 1, p. 232-236.
- <sup>54</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 1, p. 216-227.
- <sup>55</sup> Satō, *Kaigun gojūnenishi*, p. 51. Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Daihon-ei kaigunbu/renghō kantai 1*, p. 10-11.
- <sup>56</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 1, pp. 240-241 & 301-302.
- <sup>57</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Kaigun gūsenbi 1*, p. 110.
- <sup>58</sup> Toyama, *Nihon kaigunshi*, p. 67. This source also indicates that the Qing navy possessed 82 warships and 25 torpedo boats (together, nearly 85,000 tons). Owing to the presence of the *Dingyuan* and the *Zhenyuan*, the Qing navy held a numerical advantage in terms of large vessels and large-caliber guns, but the IJN made up for its smaller size through quality—namely, its rapid-fire guns and the faster speed of its vessels (Satō, *Kaigun gojūnenishi* p. 138).
- <sup>59</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Daihon-ei kaigunbu/renghō kantai 1*, p. 48.
- <sup>60</sup> Ikeda, *Nihon no kaigun: Tanjōhen*, p. 151.
- <sup>61</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Daihon-ei kaigunbu/renghō kantai 1*, p. 49. Operational command of the IJN was separated from governmental control with the establishment of the Imperial Japanese Army General Staff Office in December 1879. Later, an ordinance issued on

19 May 1893 established the IJN General Staff Office as an independent organ with operational command, and created the post of Chief of Navy General Staff.

- <sup>62</sup> Nomura Minoru, *Nihon kaigun no rekishi*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002, pp. 28–29.
- <sup>63</sup> The Xiamen (Amoy) Incident of late August 1900 also shows that Japan considered protection of its nationals overseas to be part of the navy’s peacetime mission, except that in this case such protection was a pretext for occupying Xiamen. (For a description of the incident, see Nomura, *Nihon kaigun no rekishi*, p. 52.)
- <sup>64</sup> Japan formally decided to model its navy after the Royal Navy in October 1870.
- <sup>65</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 1, p. 322.
- <sup>66</sup> Ikeda Kiyoshi argues instead that the leaders of the IJN circa 1890 probably believed that the navy would, in the event of war, have great difficulty just gaining control of the waters around Japan.
- <sup>67</sup> During this era, strategies and tactics were collectively referred to as *sensaku* by the IJN.
- <sup>68</sup> Nakajima, ‘Kaigun heijutsujō yori mitaru Hōtaikō seikan-eki to Nisshin Nichiro-eki,’ pp. 336–337. The fact that both wars commenced with naval battles (the Battle of Pungdo and the Battle of Chemulpo Bay) reflects the Japanese leadership’s priority on achieving command of the sea.
- <sup>69</sup> Nomura, *Nihon kaigun no rekishi*, p. 68.
- <sup>70</sup> However, there were some differences in how combat was carried out. For example, in the Battle of the Yalu River in the First Sino-Japanese War, two Japanese squadrons turned round to catch the enemy in a pincer attack, while in the Battle of Tsushima in the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese fleet stayed on course with the enemy.
- <sup>71</sup> Toyama, *Nihon kaigunshi*, p. 77. Ikeda, *Nihon no kaigun: Tanjōhen*, p. 216. Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 1, p. 372.
- <sup>72</sup> Dubbed the *nanadangamae* (seven-stage approach), the strategy was conceived by Akiyama Saneyuki (Tanaka Hiromi, *Tōgō Heihachirō*, Chikuma Shobō, 1999, pp. 87–88; Tanaka Hiromi, *Akiyama Saneyuki*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 194–195). In reality, the first stage, an operation to lay coupled mines, had to be cancelled due to rough seas, and the IJN’s early victory made it unnecessary to execute the last three stages. It has been suggested that the first stage was instead planned as an all-out night raid by destroyers and torpedo boats on the night before the encounter between the capital ships of both sides (Ikeda, *Nihon no kaigun: Tanjōhen*, p. 319).
- <sup>73</sup> Ishikawa Yasushi, *Kaigun kokubō shisōshi*, Hara Shobō, 1995, pp. 19–20. Ishikawa criticizes the IJN as having developed an end-justifies-the-means mentality from the euphoria of its victories in both wars.
- <sup>74</sup> Nomura, *Nihon kaigun no rekishi*, p. 75.



- <sup>75</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 2, Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1995, pp. 282 & 285.
- <sup>76</sup> Hirama Yōichi, *Daiichiji sekai taissen to Nihon kaigun: Gaikō to gunji tonō rensetsu*, Keio University Press, 1998, pp. 162–163.
- <sup>77</sup> Satō, *Kaigun gojūnenshi*, pp. 242–243. Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 2, pp. 295, 296, & 299.
- <sup>78</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 2, pp. 299–300.
- <sup>79</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 2, p. 294.
- <sup>80</sup> Satō, *Kaigun gojūnenshi*, p. 243. Hirama, *Daiichiji sekai taissen to Nihon kaigun: Gaikō to gunji tonō rensetsu*, pp. 36–37 & 59–64.
- <sup>81</sup> The German and Austrian records suggest no actual submarines were lost in these attacks. See Satō, *Kaigun gojūnenshi*, pp. 247–251. Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 2, pp. 349–350. Kaigun Suiraishi Kankōkai, *Kaigun suiraishi*, private printing, 1979, pp. 951–952. During the campaign, the Japanese fleet suffered 78 deaths from combat or illness, as well as bow damage on two ships (Satō, *Kaigun gojūnenshi*, p. 251).
- <sup>82</sup> Toyama, *Nihon kaigunshi*, p. 119. Although the IJN had conducted some research and other preparations regarding anti-submarine warfare, it did not achieve satisfying results in its actual operations (Kaigun Suiraishi Kankōkai, *Kaigun suiraishi*, pp. 874–879).
- <sup>83</sup> Nihon Kaigun Kōkūshi Hensan-iinkai (ed), *Nihon kaigun kōkūshi 1: Yōheihen*, Jiji Tsūshinsha, 1969, p. 5. Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 2, pp. 302–305.
- <sup>84</sup> Details on the policy are available in Kurono Taeru, *Teikoku kokubō hōshin no kenkyū*, Sōwasha, 2000.
- <sup>85</sup> Kaigun Rekishi Hozonkai (ed), *Nihon kaigunshi*, Vol 3, Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1995, p. 74.
- <sup>86</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Kaigun gūsenbi 1*, p. 86.
- <sup>87</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Kaigun gūsenbi 1*, p. 72.
- <sup>88</sup> Ishikawa, *Kaigun kokubō shisōshi*, p. 110.
- <sup>89</sup> Nomura, *Nihon kaigun no rekishi*, p. 103.
- <sup>90</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Kaigun gūsenbi 1*, p. 63. The concept of attacking the enemy navy after waiting for it to sail to waters near Japan was the same ploy used in the Battle of Tsushima during the Russo-Japanese War. This strategy first emerged at the end of the 19th century, according to Ishikawa, *Kaigun kokubō shisōshi*, p. 11.
- <sup>91</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Kaigun gūsenbi 1*, p. 67. This source also indicates (p. 162) that the Ogasawara Islands (which are essentially an extension of the eastern perimeter of Honshu) longed served as the basic reference point for picket line formation until the development of aircraft allowed the line to be moved out to longitude 160° East in 1940.

- <sup>92</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Kaigun gensenbi 1*, pp. 72 & 148.
- <sup>93</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Kaigun gensenbi 1*, p. 85.
- <sup>94</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Kaigun gensenbi 1*, pp. 155 & 162.
- <sup>95</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Kaigun gensenbi 1*, pp. 160–161.
- <sup>96</sup> Ikeda Kiyoshi, *Nihon no kaigun: Yakushinhen*, Asahi Sonorama, 1993, p. 87.
- <sup>97</sup> Military History Office, National Defense College, *Senshi sōsho: Sensuikanshi*, Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1979, pp. 32–33. Kaigun Suiraiishi Kankōkai, *Kaigun suiraiishi*, pp. 749–750. The Washington Naval Treaty can be seen as having inadvertently given submarines the role of making up for the loss of naval power resulting from the restrictions on capital ships (Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Sensuikanshi*, pp. 29–30; Ikeda, *Nihon no kaigun: Yakushinhen*, p. 188).
- <sup>98</sup> Kaigun Suiraiishi Kankōkai, *Kaigun suiraiishi*, pp. 749–750. Other missions of Japanese submarines – such as surveillance of enemy bases, and tracking and reporting on enemy vessel movements – were geared towards facilitating the navy’s execution of the final decisive battle.
- <sup>99</sup> Toyama, *Nihon kaigunshi*, pp. 150–153. Okumiya Masatake, *Shinjitsu no Taiheiyō sensō*, PHP Kenkyūsho, 1998: originally published as *Taiheiyō sensō no hontō no yomikata*, PHP Kenkyūsho, 1987, pp. 304–305.
- <sup>100</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Sensuikanshi*, pp. 21 & 36. Ikeda, *Nihon no kaigun: Yakushinhen*, p. 187.
- <sup>101</sup> Toyama, *Nihon kaigunshi*, pp. 173–174. The IJN planned to employ its remaining air power in an auxiliary role during the final battle. In particular, the carrier-based air squadrons were to be used to gain command of the skies over the battle area (Tachikawa Kyoichi, ‘Dainiji sekai taissen made no Nihon rikukaigun no kōkū unyōshisō,’ *Ea pawā: Sono riron to jissen*, (ed) Ishizu Tomoyuki, Tachikawa Kyoichi, Michishita Narushige, and Tsukamoto Katsuya, Fuyō Shobō Shuppan, 2005, p. 131.
- <sup>102</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Kaigun gensenbi 1*, pp. 146 & 150.
- <sup>103</sup> As another flaw, Nomura points out that Japan’s naval strategists did not contemplate the question of what action the navy would take to end the war following its hypothetical victory in the decisive fleet-to-fleet battle (*Nihon kaigun no rekishi*, p. 117).
- <sup>104</sup> The 1936 IDP’s (4th edition) basic strategic guidelines for war against China called for the IJN to wipe out Chinese naval forces and gain command of China’s coastal waters and the Yangtze River region. It also indicated that the navy would, in collaboration with the Japanese army, seek and destroy enemy forces in northern, central, and southern China in accordance with the situation in each region, and subsequently cooperate in occupying strategic points (Nomura, *Nihon kaigun no rekishi*, p. 133).

- <sup>105</sup> Military History Office, National Defense College, *Senshi sōsho: Chūgoku hōmen kaigun sakusen 1-Shōwa jūsan-nen san-gatsu made*, Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1974, p. 282–304.
- <sup>106</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Chūgoku hōmen kaigun sakusen 1-Shōwa jūsan-nen san-gatsu made*, p. 481.
- <sup>107</sup> Nomura, *Nihon kaigun no rekishi*, p. 147.
- <sup>108</sup> Military History Office, National Defence College, *Senshi sōsho: Chūgoku hōmen kaigun sakusen 2-Shōwa jūsan-nen shi-gatsu ikō*, Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1975, p. 49.
- <sup>109</sup> The navy did not lend its support to landing operations when the army occupied northern French Indochina in September 1940, but this was because of special circumstances – the navy was displeased with the army's disregard for an order issued by the Imperial General Headquarters. For more information, see Ōi Atsushi's *Tōsui midarete: Hokubu futsuin shinchū jiken no kaisō*, Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1984.
- <sup>110</sup> Toyama, *Nihon kaigunshi*, pp. 190 & 199. Assuming that this interpretation is correct, the Southern Operations were the focus of the overall war plan, and the attack on Pearl Harbor was just a subsidiary operation.
- <sup>111</sup> Toyama, *Nihon kaigunshi*, p. 192.
- <sup>112</sup> Five IJN submarines carrying midget submarines were also committed to the attack. One midget submarine is believed to have successfully infiltrated Pearl Harbor, where it made a torpedo attack against US Navy vessels. Sources holding this opinion include Ikeda, *Nihon no kaigun: Yakushinhen*, pp. 298–299.
- <sup>113</sup> Nomura, *Nihon kaigun no rekishi*, p. 203.
- <sup>114</sup> The IJN failed to accomplish its main objective in the Pearl Harbor attack, which was to destroy the Pacific Fleet's aircraft carriers. However, in the context of the *taibei yōgeki sakusen*, carriers were not considered key components of the enemy's fighting potential, at least in the final decisive battle.
- <sup>115</sup> For the remainder of the war, the naval strategists formulated four editions of the '(Basic) Outline of War Guidance That Needs to Be Implemented'.
- <sup>116</sup> Ōi Atsushi, *Kaijō goeisen*, Asahi Sonorama, 1992, pp. 71–72. Tominaga Kengo (ed), *Taiheiyō sensō*, Vol 5, Misuzu Shobō, 1975, p. 560.
- <sup>117</sup> Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Sensuikanshi*, pp. 217–218.
- <sup>118</sup> Ōi, *Kaijō goeisen*, pp. 398–399.
- <sup>119</sup> Tominaga (ed), *Taiheiyō sensō*, Vol 5, p. 805. Construction of destroyers and submarines continued on into 1945.
- <sup>120</sup> One of the major factors behind this result is believed to have been the IJN's feeble interest in surface escort operations. Sources suggesting this include: Ōi, *Kaijō goeisen*; Military History

Office, National Defense College, *Senshi sōsho: Kaijō goeisen*, Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1971; and Kaigun Suiraiishi Kankōkai, *Kaigun suiraishi*, Part 16.

<sup>121</sup> Kaigun Suiraiishi Kankōkai, *Kaigun suiraishi*, pp. 773–774 & 1,022–1,034; Military History Office, *Senshi sōsho: Sensuikanshi*, pp. 87, 207–217 and Chapter 2 onward in Part 4.

<sup>122</sup> Tominaga (ed), *Taiheiyō sensō*, Vol 5, p. 567.



*Members of the Japanese MSDF exercising with US Navy personnel*



*Welcome visitors - Officers of the Japanese MSDF in Pearl Harbor*

# CHAPTER 3 - CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE SEA POWER: WEIGHING ANCHOR

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Naoko Sajima

## The 'Long After War' Captivity

This chapter describes the evolution of Japan's sea power from the end of World War II (WWII) to the present; from a time when Japan attempted to make drastic changes in its strategic thinking, through a long period of transformation, to the current situation in which Japan is trying to end what has become known as the 'long after war' captivity. In order to understand these developments this chapter will also focus on the development of the Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF) over the last sixty or so years.<sup>1</sup>

After the initial experience of national shame, which followed directly from Japan's unconditional surrender, the Japanese people who had survived the war swore that Japan was to be reborn as a peaceful democratic country in accordance with the liberation policies of the Allied forces. A new model Japan was required: one starting with a denial of the fundamental values which had shaped policies before and during the war, and one with a commitment to establish a nation based on democratic values. This new model Japan was considerably shaped and modelled by the Allied nations, as the victorious nations having won the war wanted to make the peace. For the first few years the rebirth of Japan was driven mainly by the Allied Occupation forces, under the direction of General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (SCAP), and the occupational authority of the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers (GHQ).<sup>2</sup>

National reconstruction was the country's priority: first feeding its people, second improving their living standards, and finally increasing its economic capability. The general international stability of the Cold War period allowed Japan to do this, helped by the framework of the alliance with the United States (US). Japan's sea power too did not remain dormant. It was revived under the conditions of the Cold War and as a consequence Japanese sea power evolved in direct support of Japan's Cold War ally, the US. At the height of the Cold War, Japan was called an anchor of the free world in the western Pacific, while Japan and Australia together became the northern and southern anchors of a free and democratic Pacific under a US hegemony.<sup>3</sup>

The end of the Cold War brought about radical changes in Japan's security environment, and the continuing effort of the international fight against terrorism after the 11 September 2001 attacks on the US encouraged Japan to reformulate its security policies. Amongst the factors influential in shaping its decisions, was the question - what form should the future of Japanese sea power take?



*Emperor Hirohito and General Douglas MacArthur after the surrender, 1945.  
At the time an insult to many in Japan but in time this photograph  
became a metaphor for the 'long after war' US dominance of Japan*

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## A Maritime Self-Defense Force is Created 1945-1976

After WWII, the only pathway open to the Japanese, under the direction and control of the occupation authorities, was to introduce the basics of democracy and to liberate Japan quickly from its pre-war social system. The directions of the GHQ were either welcomed or were treated as orders by the Japanese, who had been defeated for the first time in history, had the first atomic bombs used against them, and had their first experience of occupation. The Japanese people resolved to ensure that the horrors of war and atomic bombs would never be repeated, and made strenuous efforts to establish a democratic peace-loving nation.

The new Japanese Constitution, which came into effect in May 1947, under the guidance of GHQ, was to become a new Bible of values for the Japanese. It sought to replace the former nationalist polity, which had lost moral authority. Of particular note in the Constitution was Article 9, with its renunciation of war, the non-possession of war-potential and the denial of the right of belligerency of the state (see Appendix 14 for full text):

Article 9 of the Constitution (under Chapter II: Renunciation of War)

- (1) Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.
- (2) In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained.
- (3) The right of aggression of the state will not be recognised.

The pre-war Japanese social system was suppressed. GHQ conducted a wholesale purge of the Japanese military and about one thousand Japanese, including former prime ministers Hideki Tojo and Koki Hirota, were tried by the Tokyo International War Tribunal. The conservative social and economic elements in Japan which had been behind the war were totally purged. Instead, freedom of the press was guaranteed, four million workers joined labour unions, two million small farms were created and new capitalists started their enterprises. Although the government needed to find jobs for millions of people who had returned from Japan's former overseas territories, they also required a sizable increase in the labour force to help fuel Japan's rapid recovery.

In the meantime, the Emperor and the Japanese monarchy were retained by the victorious power although the monarchy lost its military command and control capacity.



It became more like the symbolic system of monarchy that had existed before the Meiji period.<sup>4</sup> It was not long, however, before the dangers of the Cold War and particularly the war in Korea confronted the Japanese with a strategic dilemma. This was resolved when, in 1950, MacArthur authorised the establishment of the National Police Reserve, consisting of 75,000 men, and the expansion of the Japan Maritime Safety Agency (MSA) – later renamed the Japan Coast Guard – by 8000 men.<sup>5</sup> Rearming Japan became a critical agenda for the United States and its allies, in part to help fill the power vacuum left in Japan but also to counter the rising power of the Communist forces which had bubbled over into the Korean War. A rearmed Japan became an essential component in the US-led anti-communist efforts to protect their interests in the northeast Asia region.

Forty-eight countries signed the Peace Treaty with Japan on 8 September 1951, despite the opposition of the Soviet Union and several East European countries. At the same time the *Japan-United States Security Treaty* (1951) was concluded by the Japanese Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, acting alone but believing he was acting on behalf of the Japanese people, he accepted the return of Japan's sovereignty under a United States security umbrella. He felt that Japan could only develop its economy in order to quickly recover its prosperity, if US forces were retained in and around its territory providing a defence against attack from overseas. Japan was to increasingly assume responsibility for its own defence always avoiding any armament which would be seen as an offensive threat. This strategic decision was the so-called Yoshida Doctrine.<sup>6</sup>

Accordingly, some lands and facilities, which the occupation forces had used exclusively, were retained for use by the US Forces in Japan (USFJ). Under the guidance of SCAP and with the strong encouragement of post-occupation US officials, Japan created the National Safety Agency in 1952, and finally in 1954, recognising the inevitable, created the new armed forces – the so-called Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDF).<sup>7</sup>

However, the dilemma between the renunciation of war (Clause 9) and the need for armed forces to counter Cold War threats remained, and in practice it was resolved by placing strict limitations upon the JSDF's activities. Successive Japanese governments have interpreted the inherent right of self-defence and have limited the use of its military capacity for this purpose. In accordance with such an exclusively defence-oriented constitutional policy, the government has gradually taken steps to improve its self-defence capabilities and to ensure the efficient operation of its self-defence. As a result of this interpretation of the Constitution (that Japan possess no military forces but only self-defence strength), Japan has never called its armed forces an 'army', 'navy' or 'air force', but instead refers to them as a 'Ground Self-Defense Force (GSDF)', a 'Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF)' and an 'Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF).'<sup>8</sup>

Initially the roles and missions of MSDF were solely for the coastal defence of Japan. Nonetheless, Japan is undeniably, in terms of physical and strategic geography, a maritime nation. It is located at a strategically important intersection of sea communications, is close to the ports, harbours and coastlines of the major powers of the Eurasian continent, and it controls the choke points for all the maritime traffic extending from the northeastern part of the continent to the Pacific Ocean. In terms of defence, a Japanese nation without sea defences would be extremely vulnerable. Japan's territory consists of a long and thin crescent-shaped archipelago with long coast lines and numerous small islands; its large population is confined to a very narrow territory; its industries and population are concentrated mainly in coastal urban areas; and a large number of important facilities essential to social services and economic development are in coastal areas. Hence coastal defence is critically and eternally important for the defence of Japan. The MSDF has been the primary group to defend the surrounding sea areas, and in order to perform its missions, the Regional District Units has been deployed as indicated:



*A schematic map of Japan showing the Regional District Units of the MSDF*

Often reality differs from the stated political desires. In fact, despite the disarmament of the former Japanese Imperial Forces at the end of 1945, small minesweeping units of the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) were retained and continued to conduct minesweeping operations in the Sea of Japan for a few years. By order of the GHQ in Japan, these vessels cleared large numbers of US mines which were sown during WWII. Such minesweeping contributed significantly to the Korean War effort by enabling US and Allied naval task forces to access previously restricted areas. The minesweeping operations continued under the MSA until January 1952 when the Sea of Japan was declared safe.<sup>9</sup> In a sense, unlike the GSDF which was created after a clear break with the Imperial Army or the newly established ASDF, the MSA and MSDF had some continuity from the Imperial navy and as a result the MSDF has maintained many of the IJN's traditions.<sup>10</sup>

Nonetheless, within the spirit of the Constitution, Japan is committed to avoid acquiring any arms and undertaking operations or developing organisations which might be used for any wartime operations that are considered beyond defensive actions. To emphasise this point the JSDF does not use the same terminology as used by the old Imperial Japanese Army and Navy. Even though the English terms are translated the same, in Japanese, they are limited to their defensive mission. The JSDF for example, uses terms such as: infantry/*futsuka* (that means general service), engineer/*shisetsu* (that means facility service), tank/*tokusha* (that means special vehicle) and so on. The JSDF is not seen as a military force in the traditional sense. It may look like a military force to those outside Japan but legally, organisationally and psychologically it is one of the government organisations which affords self-defence activities.

Indeed, under current constitutional limits, Japan cannot possess what are referred to as 'offensive' weapons which might be used exclusively for the destruction of other countries. The JSDF, for example, cannot possess intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), long-range strategic bombers or offensive aircraft carriers. Nor is the JSDF allowed to operate militarily outside Japanese territory. In addition, the Commander-in-Chief of the USFJ has the shared responsibility for determining the balance between US forces and the JSDF for the mission of defending Japan.<sup>11</sup>

The fundamental principles of Japan's defence policy under the constitutional restrictions, have the following elements:

*Exclusively defence-oriented policy.* This means that military force cannot be exercised until an armed attack is initiated, and that the scope and level of defence should be kept to the minimum required for the purpose of self-defence. Moreover, the defence capability Japan should possess must be limited to the minimum necessary level. This policy

then conforms to the passive defence posture that is consistent with the spirit of the Constitution.

*Non-nuclear principles.* The three non-nuclear principles are those of ‘not possessing nuclear weapons, not producing them and not permitting their introduction in Japan’. Japan adheres to the three non-nuclear principles as a fixed line of national policy.<sup>12</sup>

*Civilian control.* Civilian control refers to strict political authority over the military and democratic political control of the military appropriate for a democratic state. Japan has learned the lessons of the pre-war tragedy in which its military forces were out of control.

*Principles on arms export.* The government’s policy guidelines on arms exports are: not permitting the export of arms to Communist bloc countries, countries to which the export of arms is prohibited under a United Nations resolution, or countries which are actually involved in or are likely to become involved in international conflicts; restraining the export of arms to other areas; treating equipment related to arms production in the same manner as arms.<sup>13</sup>

For the Japanese, anti-militarism is entrenched in the Constitution. Lacking some military capabilities, therefore, Japan has maintained an alliance with the United States which allows the continued deployment of the USFJ. In a sense, the *Japan-United States Security Treaty* is like an ‘unequal contract’ and the relationship remains that of winner and loser, in the security context, at least.

During the Cold War, the bipolar US-USSR confrontation directly affected the Japanese domestic political situation and made the political discourse inflexible. The major opposition parties – the Japan Socialist Party (later renamed to the Japan Social Democratic Party) and the Communist Party – were strongly opposed to the Japan-US security alliance and the existence of the JSDF. Though the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) formed the majority position for almost the entire period of the Cold War, such a rigid bi-polar domestic political situation, the limitations of the Constitution and the legacies of the occupation by the winner, forced the Japanese government to always be very cautious in its attitude towards its defence and security policies.<sup>14</sup>

As a result of the pressures of the Cold War and the domination of domestic politics by the LDP, United States security policy directly interlocked with that of Japan. The changes in US policy towards Japan in the 1950s, largely in response to the international situation, resulted in subsequent uncertainties in the development of the JSDF. This

was reflected in the *Basic Policy for National Defense*, adopted by the National Defense Council and approved by the Cabinet in May 1957. The order of its four elements showed the preferable priorities which come from the Constitution but the reality was in the reverse order.

### **Basic Policy for National Defense 1957**

(Adopted by the National Defense Council and approved by Cabinet 20 May 1957)

The aim of national defense is to prevent direct and indirect aggression and to repel any such aggression with the aim of protecting Japan's independence and peace, which are founded on democracy.

In order to achieve this, the Basic Policy states as follows:

- (1) To support the UN activities and promote international cooperation to achieve world peace.
- (2) To stabilize the livelihood of the people, promote their patriotism, and establish the foundations required for national security.
- (3) Within the limits required for self-defense, to progressively establish efficient defense capabilities in accordance with the nation's strength and situation.
- (4) To deal with external act of aggression based on the Japan-US Security Arrangements, until the UN can provide sufficient functions to effectively prevent such acts in the future.<sup>15</sup>

Between 1945 and 1976 the major security policies of Japan were clearly based upon the Japan-US security alliance. In 1964, when Japanese eyes were focused on the Olympic Games in Tokyo, China tested its first atomic bomb. The Great Cultural Revolution and Chinese nuclear tests strained trading relations between China and Japan but the need to rely upon the US security alliance for Japan's defence was again made clear by such events. The increasing scale and severity of the US involvement in Vietnam also caused concern in Japan, where the government tried to dissociate itself from American policy in southeast Asia without damaging the Japan-US security alliance. Although there was some opposition to the United States in Japan, the increasing economic prosperity ensured that the LDP remained in power and the Japan-US security alliance remained a bedrock of government policy. Even though the Japanese government officially stated (particularly in the 1950s) that the UN was one of the pillars of Japanese foreign policy, Japan did not send a single observer to UN peacekeeping operations during the Cold War. Further, although the Japanese government stressed the importance of Asia in its foreign

relations the importance of Asian countries as security partners paled when compared with the importance of the United States. As long as the Japanese government took the formal position that collective self-defence was unconstitutional if it was exercised through military means (although it was constitutional to apply military means for individual self-defence purposes), it was unlikely that Japan would participate militarily on collective security activities even under the aegis of the UN. Consequently, the US remained the first and only interdependent security partner for Japan.



*The minesweeper support ship Hayase, commissioned 1971*

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## Countering the Cold War Threats 1976-1989

While political/economic relations with the US rapidly strengthened in the 1950s and 1960s, Japanese domestic arguments about its defence policy were barren and contradictions remained unsolved. It took nearly twenty years before a major attempt was made to settle these uncertainties, when in October 1976 the *National Defense Program Outline* (1976 NDPO) was released. It authorised the levels of military strength that Japan should possess.

As with other nations, Japan's security has primarily depended first and foremost on its own efforts, and recognising this fact the 1976 NDPO stated that Japan would make its utmost efforts, using all available means, to prevent threats from reaching the country directly. Thus the 1976 NDPO was based on the concept that Japan should not become a military power vacuum and therefore a source of instability in the region. The level of Japanese defence capabilities to be maintained in peacetime was determined as follows:

- The assorted functions required for national defence should be prepared, and a balanced posture maintained in terms of organisation and deployment, including logistic support systems.
- *A full warning posture* should be maintained in peacetime.
- *A limited and small-scale invasion* should be dealt with on its own, as a basic matter of principle.
- The level of the defence force should be standardised so that its defence structure, when a new posture is required by a serious change in military circumstances, can be smoothly adapted to cope with such a situation.

*A full warning posture* became a primary aim of the JSDF's build-up planning and then secondly, the JSDF needed to prepare for defence against *a limited and small-scale invasion*. These capacities of JSDF were then considered for their usefulness as foundations for other non-military activities, such as disaster-relief. See Diagram 1 for a conceptual outline from the 1976 NDPO.

The MSDF build-up afterwards was materialised within the framework of the 1976 NDPO for nearly twenty years to the mid-1990s. Regarding the 1976 NPDO, the MSDF had targeted to complete and maintain the following capabilities:

Major units and main equipment of MSDF in the attached table of 1976 NDPO

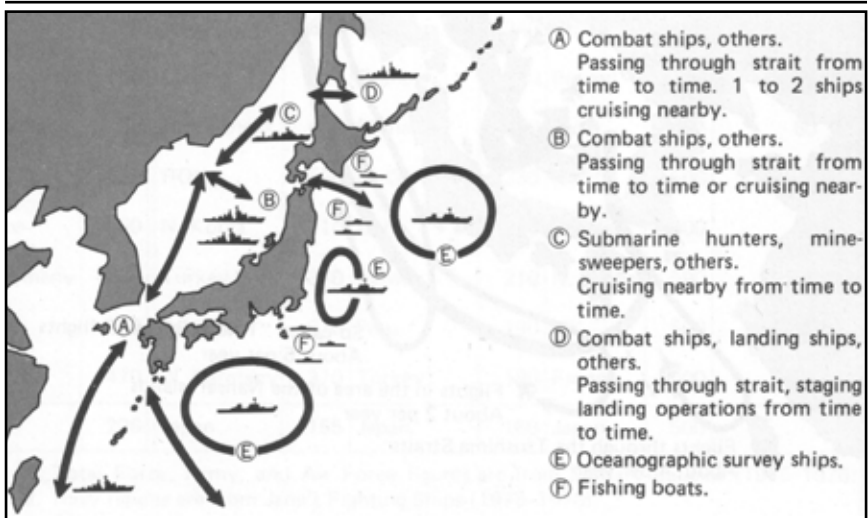
**Major units:**

|  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| destroyer units (for mobile operations)      | 4 escort flotillas      |
| destroyer units (as regional district units) | 10 regional units       |
| submarine units                              | 6 divisions             |
| minesweeping units                           | 2 minesweeping flotilla |
| patrol aircraft units                        | 6 land-based squadrons  |

**Main equipment:**

|                 |                |
|-----------------|----------------|
| destroyers      | about 60 ships |
| submarines      | 16             |
| combat aircraft | approx. 220    |

In reality, during the Cold War era, the defence of Japan from an invasion by the USSR was a real threat. Therefore, in conjunction with the US Navy's 7th Fleet, the MSDF conducted coordinated surface, undersea and (local) air defence operations against the USSR. Among various JSDF roles, the most important mission of the MSDF was warning and surveillance in sea areas and airspace surrounding Japan. The cumulative success of these conjunct operations was thought to have prevented USSR incursions.<sup>16</sup>



*Outline of the movements of Soviet ships around Japan 1976 according to the NDPO*



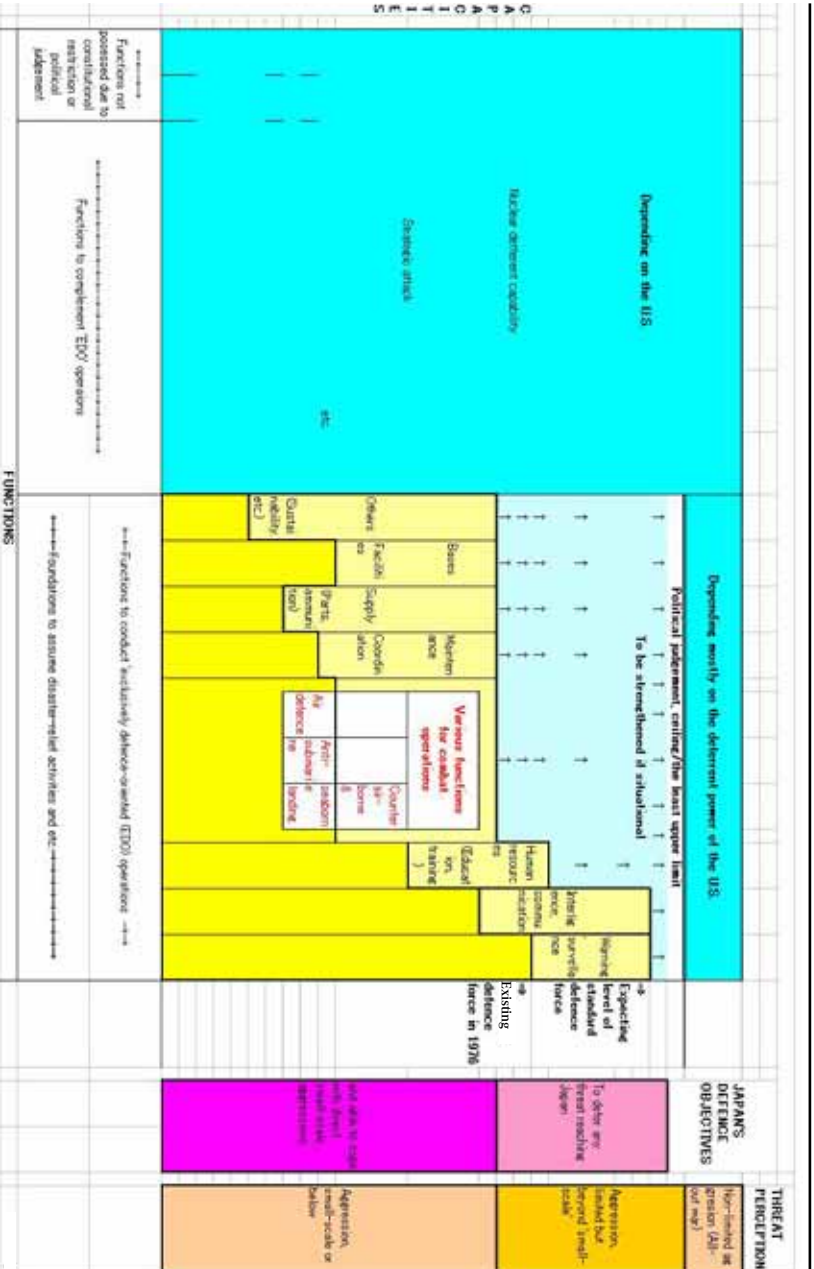


Diagram 1: The defence capability to be maintained constantly in peacetime (conceptual diagram as of 1976 NDPD)



*The destroyer Asakaze in the 1970s*

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Although Japan's defence budget had been strictly limited by domestic political reasons for twenty years – mostly less than 1 per cent of its GNP – Japan had achieved the goals for the acquisition of military equipment set in the 1976 NDPO by the mid-1990s. While maintaining its exclusive defence-oriented strategy and its minimum defence operational concept, Japan had enjoyed economic prosperity throughout the Cold War era. Even though the Japanese budget became one of the world's largest, and even though the JSDF looked to possess highly sophisticated weapon systems, the capability of JSDF was relatively small in comparison with its region; its size and its roles were strictly self-restricted.<sup>17</sup>

However, the growth in size of Japan's economy had gradually changed Japan-US relations from that of a winner-loser agreement to one of more equal partners. Security relations, too, required to be reframed on a more equal footing. After the approval, in 1978, of new guidelines for Japan-US cooperation, bilateral linkages between Japan and the US rapidly deepened. As the roles and missions of MSDF were most-naturally integrated with their US counterparts amongst the three services, opportunities for joint exercises with the US Navy also increased.

In 1980, the MSDF took part in the Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) Exercise for the first time, and has regularly participated in subsequent RIMPAC Exercises. Though the

activities of the MSDF in the multilateral exercises were regarded to be limited within the Japan-US bilateral framework, the MSDF has gradually become an active participant within the West Pacific alliances. In June, 1983, the first Japan-US combined command post exercise for the MSDF and the US Navy was staged. Moreover, since 1980s, the so-called 'inter-operability' between the two forces has been pursued with a high priority.

During the 1980s trade friction between Japan and the US became a source of serious tension between various political groups in each country trying to use the issue to pursue their own political agendas. Questions of what was an appropriate financial share for each national contribution to northeast Asian defence came to the fore. During the 1980s the US increased pressure on Japan for it to raise its share of the security burden, while at the same time Japan's financial assistance as the provider of host nation support for the USFJ also increased rapidly. Nonetheless, the concept of self-defence (exclusive defence oriented policy) within the constitutional framework continued to be interpreted in an inflexible manner that made it very difficult for the JSDF to participate in international affairs.

Throughout the Cold War period, Japan had greatly increased its dependence of sea lines of communication (SLOC) for the import and export of raw materials and manufactured goods, especially energy and food, and Japan continued to rely upon the presence of the US Navy, operating globally, for SLOC protection. The MSDF was not able to control or coordinate sea lane defence activities and thus could offer no guarantee for the safety of Japanese commercial ships travelling along the long sea transport route from Europe and the Middle East (passing through the Indian Ocean, the Malacca Strait, and the South China Sea) to Japan.

## A Post-Cold War Maritime Force 1989-2001

The end of the Cold War brought about radical changes in Japan's security environment, and Japan has had to reformulate its security policies. The first upheaval occurred at the time of the Persian Gulf crisis in 1990-1991. Japan could not respond to the crisis as did other members of the international community by participating in the Multinational Task Force that conducted operations in the Gulf.

As a result, although Japan provided US\$13 billion to the cost of the war, Japan's name was not among the countries which the Kuwaiti government thanked after the crisis in its appreciation advertisement in the *New York Times*. In Japan, there was a widespread perception that the country should have done more, and that the country's prestige had suffered.<sup>18</sup>

The Japanese realised that the ideas and means which it had adopted in pursuing its Cold War international interests no longer met the expectations of the international community. Hesitantly, in April 1991, the government resolved to dispatch MSDF vessels to minesweeping activities in the Persian Gulf. A total of six MSDF vessels, including small wooden minesweepers, were charged with this first critical mission in an international forum. Over a six month deployment, they demonstrated professional excellence and achieved all that was required of them.

Japan, then started the journey in search of its own security role within the new international environment. In trying to create new missions, according to its 'peace constitution', Japan realised that much more accommodation with international norms would be required. Moreover, the end of the Cold War brought about a sea change in Japanese domestic politics. In 1993, the period of one-party domination collapsed, and coalition governments seemed to become a fact of life in Japanese politics. Concurrently, by chance, some defence issues become high on the agenda, fuelled by: suspicions about North Korean nuclear ambitions; a review of the 1976 NDPO; the revitalisation of the Japan-US alliance; and Japanese participation in multinational task forces in the Persian Gulf. These matters had forced the Japanese to consider their security more closely and in parallel defence of Japan became an important political agenda item. Each political party's defence agenda was of considerable importance, for each successive coalition government, since the early 1990s tried to conduct reviews of Japan's defence policy.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, because Article 9 of the Constitution had been interpreted (and is still interpreted in 2009) as restricting Japan's military capacity, the government policy continued to be developed on the basis of concentrating on the capabilities of the forces to operate in a territorial self-defence mode.

One consequence had been to restrict Japan's ability to participate in collective security activities, such as those authorised by the UN. However, the argument in support of this position were increasingly untenable and the government now needed to establish an interpretation of the Constitution which reflected the country's international potential, including the use, where appropriate, of its Self-Defense Forces in collective security roles.

It was thought that if Japan was desirous of a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, this may be a necessary reform for Japan. To get a permanent seat was an earnest desire of many in Japan, who were anxious that Japan be treated with the status that appropriately reflected its huge budgetary contribution to the UN.

One of the major developments in the 1990s was Japan's decision to begin sending JSDF forces overseas on UN peacekeeping operations (PKO). This action was taken in

accordance with the *International Peace Cooperation Act* (IPCA), which was enacted in 1992 as a product of the national debate following the 1990-1991 Gulf War. The IPCA institutionalised Japan's ability to despatch units of the JSDF for peacekeeping purposes under UN auspices, and subsequently Japan has sent JSDF personnel to Cambodia, Mozambique, Zaire, East Timor and so on.

Under the current condition of IPCA in 2009, however, the PKO activities of the JSDF are still limited as follows:

*Participation in peacekeeping forces.* In the International Peace Cooperation Act, which the Japanese government determined in 1992, the JSDF's cooperation in UN peacekeeping operations will never entail the possibility of the use of force or the dispatch of armed forces to foreign countries, in accordance with Article 9 of the Constitution.

In the meantime, some progress had been made. In December 1995, the new NDPO (1995 NDPO), allowed more *flexible* operations for the JSDF, although it still hesitated to touch upon the collective security issue, and the actual extent of capability to be deployed was subject to case by case decisions and thorough political discussion. However, though the 1995 NDPO emphasised the importance of international contribution by JSDF, it linked the selection of capabilities for international activities to a much smaller overall self-defence capacity. The term *flexible* in the 1995 NDPO meant that it was necessary to do more with fewer forces. Diagram 2 shows the concept of the JSDF's capabilities set by the 1995 NDPO.

A table of the major MSDF's capabilities in the 1995 NDPO follows:

|   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| Major units and main equipment of MSDF in the attached table of 1995 NDPO |                         |
| <b>Major units:</b>   |                         |
| destroyer units (for mobile operations)                                   | 4 escort flotillas      |
| destroyer units (as regional district units)                              | 7 regional units        |
| submarine units   | 6 divisions             |
| minesweeping units  | 1 minesweeping flotilla |
| patrol aircraft units   | 13 land-based squadrons |
| <b>Main equipment:</b>  |                         |
| destroyers  | about 50 ships          |
| submarines  | 16                      |
| combat aircraft   | approx. 170             |



In reality, unlike Europe and even other parts of the Asia-Pacific region, tensions were still high in northeast Asia in the 1990s. Russian forces in the Far East still possessed tremendous military capabilities. These included weapons Russia transferred from west of the Urals and others relocated from Eastern Europe after the *Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty* (CFE) took effect.<sup>20</sup> Russian forces were under reconstruction, but both the Japan Defense Agency (JDA) and the Pentagon observed that future military trends might be uncertain.<sup>21</sup> On the Korean peninsula too, tension had heightened over North Korea's suspected development of nuclear weapons and its research and development on extending the range of its *Nodong* surface-to-surface missile.<sup>22</sup> Such developments could be destabilising not only in Northeast Asia, but also in the Asia-Pacific region.

Therefore, after a long period of debate, the United States declared in early 1995 that the presence of its forces in the region, comprising approximately 100,000 personnel, would be maintained through to the beginning of the 21st century.<sup>23</sup> Having accepted this, the Japanese government decided to continue shouldering expenses for the stationing of US forces to increase the reliability of the *Japan-United States Security Treaty*.<sup>24</sup>

Then, in April 1996, the *Japan-US Joint Declaration on Security*, which showed the direction of bilateral cooperation for the 21st century, was signed at the Japan-US summit meeting in Tokyo. Thus, affirmation of the role of the alliance in the post-Cold War era was settled. As Article VI of the *Japan-United States Security Treaty* stated, the treaty's second objective was to contribute to the maintenance of international peace:

For the purpose of contribution to the security of Japan and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East, the United States of America is granted the use by its land, air and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan.

Observers recognised that the treaty was not only a military alliance but aimed at broader mutual cooperation between Japan and the US. Moreover, following the reaffirmation by the Joint Declaration of the role played by the Japan-US partnership in the maintenance of peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, the two countries formulated the new *Guidelines for Japan-US Defense Cooperation* in 1997. In order to ensure the effectiveness of the guidelines, Japan enacted the *Law Concerning Measures to Ensure the Peace and Security of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan*. Through these agreements, the two countries have studied joint defence planning for armed attacks against Japan and cooperative planning for situations in areas surrounding Japan. Furthermore, Japan established the 'coordination mechanism' which aimed to coordinate the respective activities of the two countries in emergencies.<sup>25</sup>

In the meantime, the Great Hanshin-Awaji earthquake occurred on 17 January 1995. The number of disaster relief teams of JSDF despatched through to 27 April was the largest in Japan since its establishment. MSDF fleets were anchored at Kobe port, delivering the much needed commodities, while a large number of MSDF personnel provided physical assistance to the many people affected. Misfortunes never come singly. On 20 March, the sarin gas terrorist attack on the Tokyo subway system was the second disaster of 1995. JSDF teams were despatched and the rescue operations continued until 23 March. Such a series of domestic operations awakened the Japanese to practical use of the JSDF for national humanitarian and security operations.

Concurrently, from the early 1990s, the JSDF not only took part in international peace cooperation activities but also promoted security dialogues and defence exchanges, including bilateral and multilateral training outside the Japan-US security relationship. These efforts aimed to build confidence and cooperative relations with the wider international community. An agreement between Japan and Russia on prevention of marine accidents, which was signed on the 13 October 1993, was one of the results of such bilateral efforts. Multilaterally, in December 1994, the first Asia-Pacific Security Seminar was held under the auspices of the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) of the Japan Defense Agency (JDA). The first Forum for Defense Authorities in the Asia-Pacific Region followed in October 1996. The MSDF and its personnel were active participants in such multilateral security dialogues.

Indeed, maritime security and MSDF cooperation with neighbouring countries were critically important for Japan to enhance its regional security. MSDF contributions included: the first visit by MSDF Ships to the Republic of Korea (ROK) in 1996; the combined search and rescue operation exercise with the Russian Navy in 1998; the first joint exercise of search and rescue operations with the ROK Navy in 1999.

On the other hand, although the 1995 NDPO emphasised the importance of jointness between the three services; joint exercises involving all three services was never an easy task for the JSDF. The first joint exercise was held with 2400 personnel from the GSDF, MSDF and ASDF in December 1998. However, increasing domestic/international disaster relief activities such of that in Honduras in 1998; Turkey in 1999; Mount Usu and Mount Miyake in 2000; and India in 2001, have encouraged the three Services to work better together.

Nonetheless, when a North Korean spy ship was discovered off the Noto Peninsula on the 23 March 1999 and Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi ordered the first maritime security operations in Japanese waters since 1945, the Japanese were terribly shocked and realised the weakness of the MSDF. The limitations of the MSDF were again highlighted when the *Ship Inspection Operation Law* came into effect on 1 March 2001.



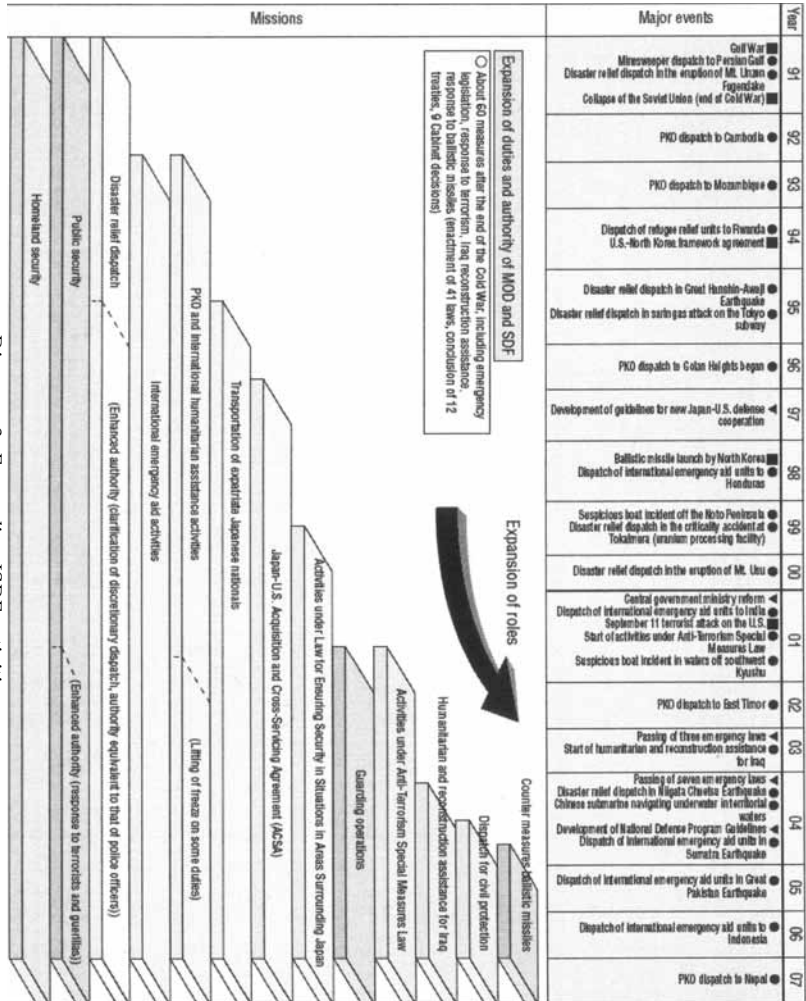


Diagram 3: Expanding JSDF activities

(Ministry of Defense, Defense of Japan 2007, Inter Group, Tokyo, 2007, p. 161)

In summary, during the mid-1990s the image of the JSDF had greatly improved and the public expectations for its international/domestic use had rapidly increased. However, there were still great hesitations about security policies amongst the major political groups in Japan. Moreover, as Japan faced economic recession throughout the 1990s, defence build-up plans were often cut-back, restricted or delayed. It was not easy for Japan to fully materialise the idea of the 1995 NDPO.

## Anchors Aweigh: A New Beginning 2001 to 2009

Following the major terrorist strikes against the United States on the 11 September 2001, Japan, under the direction of Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, deployed the MSDF to the Indian Ocean in support of US and their Coalition partners' operations in Afghanistan. Koizumi, who came to office in March 2001, fully supported the United States in their war on terrorism. Although Japan could not directly participate in the war against Iraq in 2003 for constitutional reasons, in early 2004 Koizumi showed strong leadership and dispatched around 600 troops to Iraq to participate in the reconstruction phase. Their mission was humanitarian assistance but it was the first time the GSDF had operated in what was effectively a combat zone.

In December 2001, Japan amended the *International Peace Cooperation Law* to remove the clause that limited JSDF participation in the core operations of peacekeeping forces. Furthermore, given its strong concerns regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction and missile proliferation, Japan participated in the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), which US President George W Bush announced in Poland in May 2003. Previously, in 1998, Japan had decided to begin joint Japan-US technical research on a sea-based upper-tier missile defence system.

Between 1990 and 2005, the JSDF greatly expanded its activities and became increasingly engaged internationally, regionally and domestically. (See Diagram 3)

Accordingly, after deliberation by bodies such as the Defense Posture Review Board and the Security Council of the then Japan Defense Agency, the latest outline was formulated in 2004 (2004 NDPO) in order to respond adequately to the international security environment following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States.<sup>26</sup> The 2004 NDPO prescribed that Japan's defence capabilities, which were the ultimate guarantee of national security, shall be *multi-functional, flexible, and effective*, and that the improvement of efficiency and rationalisation were necessary in order to realise such capabilities. The Japan-US security arrangements were considered indispensable to ensuring Japan's security, and the presence of the USFJ was thought essential for the maintenance of peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.



*Japanese Murasame class destroyers manoeuvring at sea*



*Launch of submarine Souryu*

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Considering the progress made in Japan-US cooperation in dealing with global issues, as exemplified in the fight against terrorism, the Japan-US cooperative relationship was understood to have played a significant role in the effective promotion of international efforts to prevent and respond to new threats and diverse contingencies. The Japan-US security arrangements did not function simply because of the existence of the *Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America*, in order to make this agreement effective, it was considered essential to make continuous efforts in times of peace. Diagram 4 shows the 2004 NDPO concept of defence capability to be maintained in peacetime.

In the 2004 NDPO, the concrete capability of the forthcoming MSDF was described as follows:

### **(1) Posture of New Destroyer Units for More Effective Response**

In order to secure as many well-trained destroyers as possible among a limited number of vessels and to enable prompt response to diverse contingencies, destroyer units would be formed according to the level of training rather than the conventional fixed formation. Mobile Operation Units should be integrated into eight divisions (one division consisting of four vessels) to enable swift and continuous response to contingencies. The formation of Regional District Units might be modified so that one unit might be deployed in each of five patrol districts in view of the current security environment.

### **(2) Formation of Submarine Units Focusing on Response to New Threats and Diverse Contingencies**

Submarine units should continue to retain a total of 16 submarines (units might be consolidated, from six divisions with two or three vessels per division to four divisions with four vessels each). The new formation of submarines to be deployed in important maritime traffic points in the East China Sea and the Sea of Japan for information gathering purposes should be intended to detect signs of new threats and diverse contingencies as early as possible to enable a flexible response.

### **(3) Improving the Efficiency of Combat Aircraft Units**

While ensuring the continued surveillance posture of the surrounding sea area, as well as its responsiveness and effectiveness, the number of combat aircraft (including patrol aircraft, and minesweeping and transport helicopters) should be reduced from approximately 170 to

150 as a result of consolidation of units and improvements in efficiency. For the fixed-wing patrol aircraft units, P-3C successor aircraft (P-1) with improved performance need to be introduced, and the current eight squadrons must be integrated into four squadrons for increased efficiency. From the viewpoint of increasing operational efficiency, patrol helicopter units might be consolidated from eight squadrons to five, and will be helicopter carrier-based, in principle.

The major units and main equipment of the MSDF in the 2004 NDPO are outlined below.

|   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| Major units and main equipment of MSDF in the attached table of 2004 NDPO |                           |
| <b>Major units:</b>   |                           |
| destroyer units (for mobile operations)                                   | 4 flotillas (8 divisions) |
| destroyer units (regional district units)                                 | 5 divisions               |
| submarine units   | 4 divisions               |
| minesweeping units  | 1 flotilla                |
| patrol aircraft units   | 9 squadrons               |
| <b>Main equipment:</b>  |                           |
| destroyers  | 47                        |
| submarines  | 16                        |
| combat aircraft   | approx. 150               |

In reality, JSDF activities are not only legally restricted but are also limited because of their personnel numbers and the budget growth rate (see Appendix 15). Overall the number of JSDF personnel is very small when compared with the large population which it is intended to defend (the ratio of JSDF personnel to the Japanese population is compared with the Australian and New Zealand ratios in Graph 1 of Appendix 15). Moreover, the JSDF has to date been largely built around an army (GSDF) central force, with a relatively small MSDF component (the ratios of three JSDF services are compared with the Australian and New Zealand ratios in Graphs 2 to 4 of Appendix 15). The relative size of Japan's defence budget in growth rate, per capita and per military personnel is again relatively small when compared with those of Australia and New Zealand (see Graphs 5 to 7 of Appendix 15).

Tables 1 to 5 outline various aspects of the modern MSDF. The MSDF's major ships which are currently in service are shown in Table 1. While the main operations which are currently (2009) legally available for the MSDF are contained in Tables 2 and 3. Table 4 shows how the use of of armed force and weapons during maritime operations by JSDF personnel are strictly regulated. A comparison in maritime strength between Japan and its neighbours is detailed in Table 5.



**Number of Ships**

(As of March 31, 2008)

| Class                  | Number (vessels) | Standard Displacement (1,000 tons) |
|------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| Destroyer              | 52               | 211                                |
| Submarine              | 16               | 43                                 |
| Mine warfare ship      | 31               | 27                                 |
| Patrol combatant craft | 9                | 1                                  |
| Amphibious ship        | 13               | 29                                 |
| Auxiliary ship         | 31               | 126                                |
| Total                  | 152              | 437                                |

Note: Figures are rounded off, so the totals may not tally.

**Performance Specifications and Data**

| Class                 | Type      | Standard Displacement (tons) | Maximum Speed (knots) | Principal Weaponry   |   |  |
|-----------------------|-----------|------------------------------|-----------------------|--|---|--|
| Destroyer             | Kongo     | 7,250                        | 30                    | 127-mm gun × 1<br>Close-range weapon system [20 mm] × 2                                  | Agile system × 1 set<br>Vertical launching system × 1 set | SSM system × 1 set<br>Triple torpedo tube × 2    |
|                       | Atago     | 7,750                        | 30                    | 5-inch gun × 1<br>Close-range weapon system [20 mm] × 2                                  | Agile system × 1 set<br>Vertical launching system × 1 set | SSM system × 1 set<br>Triple torpedo tube × 2    |
|                       | Shirane   | 5,200                        | 32 (31)               | 5-inch gun × 2<br>Close-range weapon system [20 mm] × 2                                  | Short-range SAM system × 1<br>ASROC system × 1            | Triple torpedo tube × 2<br>Patrol helicopter × 3 |
|                       | Hatakaze  | 4,600 (4,650)                | 30                    | 5-inch gun × 2<br>Close-range weapon system [20 mm] × 2                                  | Tartar system × 1<br>SSM system × 1 set                   | ASROC system × 1<br>Triple torpedo tube × 2      |
|                       | Takanami  | 4,650                        | 30                    | 127-mm gun × 1<br>Close-range weapons system [20 mm] × 2                                 | Vertical launching system × 1 set<br>SSM system × 1 set   | Triple torpedo tube × 2<br>Patrol helicopter × 1 |
|                       | Murasame  | 4,550                        | 30                    | 76-mm gun × 1<br>Close-range weapon system [20 mm] × 2                                   | Vertical launching system × 1 set<br>SSM system × 1 set   | Triple torpedo tube × 2<br>Patrol helicopter × 1 |
|                       | Asagiri   | 3,500 (3,550)                | 30                    | 76-mm gun × 1<br>Close-range weapon system [20 mm] × 2<br>Short-range SAM system × 1 set | SSM system × 1 set<br>ASROC system × 1 set                | Triple torpedo tube × 2<br>Patrol helicopter × 1 |
|                       | Hatsuyuki | 2,950 (3,050)                | 30                    | 76-mm gun × 1<br>Close-range weapon system [20 mm] × 2<br>Short-range SAM system × 1 set | SSM system × 1 set<br>ASROC system × 1 set                | Triple torpedo tube × 2<br>Patrol helicopter × 1 |
|                       | Abukuma   | 2,000                        | 27                    | 76-mm gun × 1<br>Close-range weapon system [20 mm] × 1                                   | SSM system × 1 set<br>ASROC system × 1 set                | Triple torpedo tube × 2                          |
| Submarine             | Oyashio   | 2,750                        | 20                    | Underwater launching tube × 1 set  |   |  |
| Minesweeper (Ocean)   | Yayoi     | 1,000                        | 14                    | 20-mm machine gun × 1  | Deep-sea minesweeping equipment × 1 set                   |  |
| Minesweeper (Coastal) | Sugashima | 510                          | 14                    | 20-mm machine gun × 1  | Minesweeping equipment × 1 set                            |  |
| Missile ship          | Hayabusa  | 200                          | 44                    | 76-mm gun × 1  | SSM system × 1 set  |  |
| Amphibious ship       | Osumi     | 8,900                        | 22                    | Close-range weapon system [20 mm] × 2  | Landing craft air cushion [LCAC] × 2                      |  |

Note: Parentheses indicate that some ships have these standard displacements.

*Table 1: Number of major ships commissioned into service, with performance specifications and data*

(Ministry of Defense, *Defense of Japan 2008*, Inter Group, Tokyo, 2008, p. 418)

| Operation  | Applicable Situations  | Conditions Required for Operations  | Main Type of Authorized Actions Authority is Provided   |
|--|--|---|---|
| Maritime security operations (Article 82, Self-Defense Forces Law)   | When there is a particular need in order to protect lives and property or maintain order at sea  | (I) Authorized by Minister of Defense<br>(II) Consent of the Diet not required<br>(III) Additional requirements: approval of the Prime Minister   | *Partial application of the Police Duties Law (Use of weapons)<br>*Partial application of the Japan Coast Guard Law (requests for cooperation, on-the-spot inspections, use of weapons, etc.)   |
| Disaster relief dispatch (Article 83, Self-Defense Forces Law)   | When judged necessary in order to protect lives and property or maintain order at sea in the event of natural calamities or other disasters (see Note 3)   | (I) Authorized by Minister of Defense or those designated by the Minister<br>(II) Consent of the Diet not required<br>(III) Additional requirements: at the request of prefectural governors or other parties designated by Government ordinance (occurring particularly urgent situations when it is deemed there is no time to wait for a request to be made) | *Partial application of the Police Duties Law (Cooperation, crime prevention and control, entry, use of weapons) (all only when police officers are not present)<br>*Partial application of the Japan Coast Guard Law (request for cooperation)<br>*Authority provided for under the Disaster Measures Special Law (Designation of asset zones, guarantee of passage for emergency vehicles, etc. restricted to cases where municipal mayor or police officer is present) |
| Earthquake disaster relief dispatch (Article 84-2, Self-Defense Forces Law)  | When the Director-General of the Earthquake Disaster Warning Headquarters deems the support of the SDF to be necessary for the swift and appropriate implementation of emergency measures to deal with earthquakes and other disasters (Article 1-3-2 of the Special Law Concerning Countermeasures for Large-Scale Earthquakes) | (I) Authorized by Minister of Defense<br>(II) Consent of the Diet not required<br>(III) Additional requirements: request of the Director-General of the Earthquake Disaster Warning Headquarters (Prime Minister)   | *Partial application of the Police Duties Law (the same as in the case of a disaster relief dispatch)<br>*Partial application of the Japan Coast Guard Law (the same as in the case of a disaster relief dispatch)  |
| Elimination of mines and other dangerous objects (Article 84-3, Self-Defense Forces Law)   |  | (I) Authorized by Minister of Defense<br>(II) Consent of the Diet not required  | *Elimination and disposition of mines and other dangerous explosive objects found on the sea  |
| Evacuation of Japanese nationals residing abroad (Article 84-3, Self-Defense Forces Law)   | When a disaster, promotion, or other emergency situation occurs in a foreign country   | (I) Authorized by Minister of Defense<br>(II) Consent of the Diet not required<br>(III) Additional requirements: request of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to evacuate Japanese nationals, and protect their life and body  | *Use of weapons to protect one's own life, to board or seize personnel on duty  |
| Real area support (Self-Defense Forces Law Article 84-4, Law Concerning Measures to Ensure the Peace and Security of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan, Ship Inspection Operations Law)   | When a situation that may seriously affect the peace and security of Japan occurs in an area surrounding Japan   | (I) Authorized by supplier-Minister of Defense or someone else delegated authority by the Minister<br>(II) Consent of the Diet required (prior to taking any response measure, in principle)<br>(III) Additional requirements: approval of the Prime Minister (according to the basic plan, and the established site-specific procedure)                        | *Provision of supplies and services for real area support, real area search and rescue activities, and ship inspection operations<br>*Use of weapons to protect one's own life or body or other personnel on duty   |
| International disaster relief activities (Self-Defense Forces Law Article 84-4, International Disaster Relief Law)   |  | (I) Authorized by Minister of Defense<br>(II) Consent of the Diet not required<br>(III) Additional requirements: request of the government of the disaster-stricken country to dispatch international disaster relief teams, and consultation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs   | *International disaster relief activities for mine and the like or personnel of the SDF, and transportation operations authorized to Japan  |
| International peace cooperation activities (Self-Defense Forces Law Article 84-4, International Peace Cooperation Law)   | When a request is made from the United Nations to take part in international peace cooperation activities compatible with the International Peace Cooperation Law  | (I) Authorized by Chief of the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters (Prime Minister)<br>(II) Consent of the Diet required if units or other groups of the SDF implement peace-keeping operations of the peace-keeping force<br>(III) Additional requirements: Cabinet decision for operations other than peace-keeping operations                       | *International peace cooperation activities by units and the like of the SDF, and transportation operations authorized to Japan<br>*Use of weapons to protect one's own life or body or other personnel on duty   |
| Activities based on the Replacement Support Special Measures Law (Replacement Support provision of the Self-Defense Forces Law Paragraph 2 Item 1, Replacement Support Special Measures Law Article 5) |  | (I) Authorized by supplier-Minister of Defense or someone else delegated authority by the Minister, service-Minister of Defense<br>(II) Consent of the Diet required  | *Provision of supplies and services by units and the like of the SDF as replacement support activities<br>*Use of weapons to protect one's own life or body or other personnel on duty  |

Table 2: Main operations of the MSDF  
(Ministry of Defense, *Defense of Japan 2008*, Inter Group, Tokyo, 2008, pp. 434-436)



| <b>(1) Activities based on the Special Measures Law for Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq</b>       |                            |                                   |                                  |   |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
|  | <b>Place of Dispatch</b>   | <b>Period of Dispatch</b>         | <b>Number of Personnel</b>       | <b>Description of Principal Tasks</b>   |
| MSDF   | Persian Gulf etc.          | February 30-April 8, 2004         | About 330                        | Maritime transport of vehicles and other equipment required for the GSDP's activities   |
| <b>(2) Cooperative activities based on the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law</b>                                   |                            |                                   |                                  |   |
|  | <b>Place of Dispatch</b>   | <b>Period of Dispatch</b>         | <b>Number of Personnel</b>       | <b>Description of Principal Tasks</b>   |
| MSDF   | Northern Indian Ocean etc. | November 2001-November 2007       | About 320                        | Material supplies for U.S., U.K. and other forces   |
| <b>(3) Replenishment activities based on the Replenishment Support Special Measures Law</b>                          |                            |                                   |                                  |   |
|  | <b>Place of Dispatch</b>   | <b>Period of Dispatch</b>         | <b>Number of Personnel</b>       | <b>Description of Principal Tasks</b>   |
| MSDF   | Indian Ocean               | January 2008-                     | About 340                        | Material supplies for U.S., U.K. and other forces   |
| <b>(4) International Peace Cooperation Activities</b>  |                            |                                   |                                  |   |
| Support activities in the areas of transport and supply carried out by units of the MSDF in Cambodia and East Timor. |                            |                                   |                                  |   |
| <b>(5) International Disaster Relief Activities by the SDF</b>   |                            |                                   |                                  |   |
|  | <b>Place of Dispatch</b>   | <b>Period of Dispatch</b>         | <b>Total Number of Personnel</b> | <b>Description of Principal Tasks</b>   |
| Transportation of Materials for International Disaster Relief Activities in Turkey (earthquake)                      | Maritime transport unit    | September 23-November 22, 1999    | 426                              | Marine transportation of materials necessary for international disaster relief activities in the Republic of Turkey (e.g. temporary dwellings)                            |
| International Disaster Relief Activities in Thailand (earthquake, tsunami)   | Dispatched maritime unit   | December 28, 2004-January 1, 2005 | 590                              | Search and rescue activities for the disaster struck victims around Thailand and its sea  |
| International Disaster Relief Activities in Indonesia (earthquake, tsunami)  | Maritime transport unit    | January 5-March 23, 2006          | 593                              | Marine transportation of GSDP International Disaster Relief Teams<br>Support for the activities of GSDP International Disaster Relief Teams<br>Transport of aid materials |
| International Disaster Relief Activities off Kamchatka Peninsula, Russia   | Maritime transport unit    | August 5-10, 2005                 | 345                              | Rescue of a Russian submarine   |

Table 3: Major MSDF record in international peace cooperation activities  
(Ministry of Defense, *Defense of Japan 2008*, Inter Group, Tokyo, 2008, pp. 505-507)

| Type of Operation   | Provision   | Content   |
|---|---|---|
| Maritime security operation   | Article 93 (1), Self-Defense Forces Law                                     | Article 7 of the Law Concerning the Execution of Duties of Police Officials applies mutatis mutandis to the execution of duties of SDF personnel under maritime security operations.  |
| Article 37, Marine Transportation Restriction Law                           | Article 93 (3), Self-Defense Forces Law                                     | Article 20 (2) of the Japan Coast Guard Law, which allows shooting with risk of injury to stop boats that meet certain conditions, applied mutatis mutandis to the execution of duties of SDF personnel under maritime security operations.   |
| Article 8, Ship Inspection Operations Law                                   | Article 37, Marine Transportation Restriction Law                           | Article 7 of the Law Concerning the Execution of Duties of Police Officials applies mutatis mutandis to MSDF personnel ordered to execute the measures in line with the Marine Transportation Restriction Law. If the crew of the vessel does not obey repeated orders to halt, persistently resists or tries to escape and when there is a considerable reason to believe that there are no other means to halt the vessel, the said personnel may use their weapons within the extent that is judged to be reasonably necessary, following the orders of the Captain etc. |
| Ship inspection operations  | Article 8, Ship Inspection Operations Law                                   | SDF personnel and others ordered to execute ship inspection operations may use weapons to the extent considered proper and necessary in light of the situation when there are reasonable grounds for the use of weapons to protect lives and bodies of themselves and others engaged in duties together. The use of weapons shall not cause harm to persons, except for cases falling under Article 36 (self-defense) or Article 37 (averting present danger) of the Penal Code. SDF personnel and others engaged.  |
| Article 8, Special Measures Law concerning Replenishment Support Activities | Article 8, Special Measures Law concerning Replenishment Support Activities | SDF personnel and others ordered to execute Replenishment Support Activities may use weapons to the extent considered proper and necessary in light of the situation when there are reasonable grounds for the use of weapons to protect lives and bodies of themselves and others engaged in duties together. The use of weapons shall not cause harm to persons, except for cases falling under Article 36 (self-defense) or Article 37 (averting present danger) of the Penal Code.  |

Table 4: Main statutory provisions about the use of armed force by MSDF personnel (Ministry of Defense, *Defense of Japan 2008*, Inter Group, Tokyo, 2008, p. 437 & p. 439)

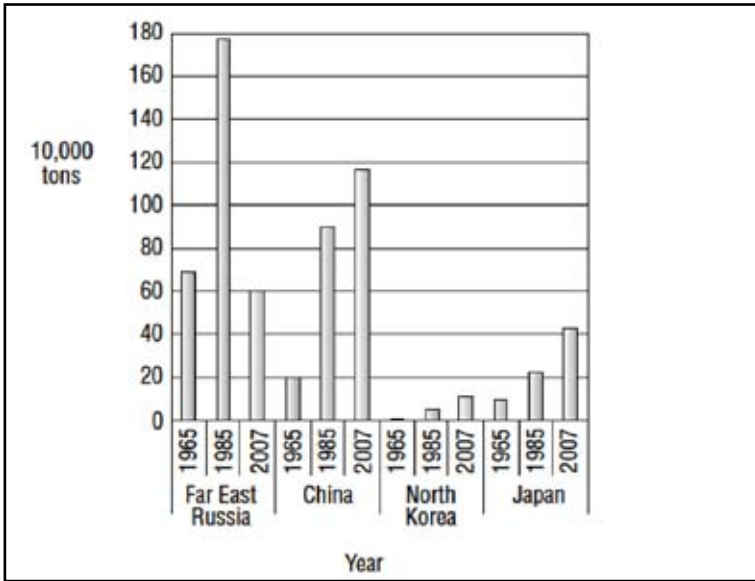


Table 5: Major changes in maritime strength in countries and regions surrounding Japan  
 (Ministry of Defense, *Defense of Japan 2008*, Inter Group, Tokyo, 2008, p. 394)

## Conclusion

Since 1945, Japan has had no overseas territory or bases to defend and the control of sea lanes on which Japan's economic security depends has been the responsibility of the Allied nations, and particularly the US Pacific (Seventh) Fleet. The roles and missions of the MSDF have formed a sub-set of the US strategy in the Pacific, and have indirectly contributed to the security of Japanese SLOCs through maritime security cooperation activities between Japan and the US.

In the post-11 September 2001 world, however, Japanese security activities, both as an ally of the United States and as a regional/international actor, have become more internationally active than at anytime since the end of WWII. Sea power, therefore, has once again become an indispensable factor in Japan's historic conversion. However, the relative size of the MSDF is still small in comparison with neighbouring countries, and Japan still struggles to identify itself as a fully-fledged maritime nation.

Now, Japan is a great contributor to the 'coalition of the willing' and its security linkages with other countries besides the United States have become direct and close. For example Japan-Australia defence cooperation has worked so well to date, that a *Japan-Australia Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation* was concluded on 13 March 2007.

In the 21st century Japan is taking its rightful, although peaceful, place as one of the responsible players amongst the developed countries. It is weighing anchor and expanding MSDF activities, but it is constitutionally at a crossroads. Japan's strategy for the future must combine the peaceful application of sea power with the recognition that Japan is indeed a maritime nation.

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> A comprehensive study of Japan's maritime security may be found in Euan Greham, *Japan's Sea Lane Security 1940-2004*, Routledge, London, 2006. For capability based analysis, see Narushige Michishita, 'Jieitai no Shi Pawa no hatten to igi' (The evolution of sea power of MSDF and its meanings), in *Shi Pawa: Sono riron to jissen* (Sea Power: its theory and practice), Fuyō Shobō Shuppan, Tokyo, 2008, pp. 219-279.
- <sup>2</sup> For a general description of Japan's strategic culture to date see Naoko Sajima, 'Japan's Strategic Culture at a Crossroads', in Ken Booth and Russell Troad (eds), *Strategic Cultures in the Asia-Pacific Region*, Macmillan, London, 1999, pp. 69-91.

- 3 For the security relationship between Japan and Australia see, Naoko Sajima, 'Japanese Security Perceptions of Australia', in Brad Williams and Andrew Newman (eds), *Japan, Australia and Asia-Pacific Security*, Routledge, London, 2006, pp. 47-69.
- 4 Amongst various studies about the US occupation policy and its influence towards the Japanese, one of the most comprehensive collections of researches is Makoto Iokibe (ed), 'The Occupation of Japan: Studies from Various Viewpoints', *International Relations*, Vol 85, May 1987.
- 5 The Japan Coast Guard Law was previously promulgated on 27 April 1948.
- 6 For the Yoshida Doctrine see John W Dower's *Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience, 1878-1954*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1979, Chapters 8-9, and *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, WW Norton, New York, 1999. See also Howard B Schonberger, *Aftermath of War: Americans and the Remaking of Japan, 1945-1952*, Kent University Press, Ohio, 1989.
- 7 The Defence Agency, which was the generic administrative name for the Self-Defense Forces, was established concurrently.
- 8 See Yomiuri Shinbun Sengoshi-han (ed), *Sai-gunnbi no Kiseki* (The Way to Rearmament), Yomiuri-shinbunsha, Tokyo, 1981.
- 9 Details in Takeo Okubo, *Uminari no hibi: kakusareta sennngoshi no dannso* (The Sea Roaring Days: A Hidden Story in History After the War), Kaiyomonndaikennyuukai, Tokyo, 1978.
- 10 See James E Auer, *Yomigaeru nihon kaigun* (Rearmament of Japanese Maritime Forces 1945-1971), Tokyo: Jijitsushinsha, 1972, (in Japanese but original PhD thesis for Tufts University was in English).
- 11 Regarding these official interpretations, see White Papers (*Defense of Japan*), which the Defense Ministry (Defense Agency to 2007) has published annually since 1976 after a six year interval after the first published in 1970. Recent volumes are available online <[www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w\\_paper/2008.html](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/2008.html)> (18 February 2009).
- 12 Although Japan does not have nuclear weapons, it does have an efficient, civilian controlled nuclear power industry that helps to reduce its dependence on energy imports.
- 13 Japan's *Principles on Arms Export*, under the framework of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Strategic Export Controls (COCOM), was established in 1949. At the end of the Cold War COCOM was dissolved and the Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) superseded it in 1994. At the time of writing (2009) there are exceptions, such as mutual exchanges of equipment and technology between the US and Japan.
- 14 Igarashi, Takeshi, 'Peace-Making and Party Politics: The Formation of the Domestic Foreign-Policy System in Postwar Japan', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Summer 1985, pp. 323-356.
- 15 *The Basic Policy for National Defense 1957* adopted by the National Defence Council and approved by the Cabinet on 20 May 1957.

- <sup>16</sup> Eiichi Funada, 'Shi Pawa to nichibei boueikyoryoku (Sea power and Japan-US defence cooperation)', *Shi Pawa: Sono riron to jissen*, Fuyō Shobō Shuppan, Tokyo, 2008, pp. 281-305.
- <sup>17</sup> In 1994, not long after the end of the Cold War, Japan's ground defence capability (in manpower) was estimated as one fifteenth that of the Chinese Army, its maritime capability (in tons) one third that of the Chinese Navy, and its air defence capability one thirteenth (in number of aircraft) of the Chinese Air Force.
- <sup>18</sup> Ichiro Ozawa, *Blueprint for a New Japan: The Rethinking of a Nation*, Kodansha International, Tokyo, 1993, pp. 36-39.
- <sup>19</sup> One of these was Advisory Group on Defence Issues, *The Modality of the Security and Defence Capability of Japan: The Outlook for the 21st Century*, Tokyo, August 1994.
- <sup>20</sup> Japan Defense Agency (JDA), *Defense of Japan 1994*, Inter Group, Tokyo, 1994, p. 43.
- <sup>21</sup> The JDA raised its legion to the status of a Ministry in January, 2007.
- <sup>22</sup> JDA, *Defense of Japan 1994*, pp. 34-57.
- <sup>23</sup> US Department of Defense, Office of International Security Affairs, *United States Security Strategy for the East Asia-Pacific Region*, US Government Printing Office, Washington DC, February 1995, p. 32.
- <sup>24</sup> The cost of hosting US troops in Japan had been continually increasing and is presently estimated at over US\$5 billion annually, equating to an average of 11 per cent of Japan's total self-defence budget.
- <sup>25</sup> JDA, *Defense of Japan 2004*, Inter Group, Tokyo, 2004, pp. 131-148.
- <sup>26</sup> Since 2005 *Defense of Japan* has been officially described in English as the *National Defense Program Guideline* (NDPG), although the Japanese terminology has not changed. This chapter, however, uses the original English translation and abbreviation, *National Defense Program Outline* (NDPO), in an effort to maintain consistency.



*Launching the new helicopter capable destroyer Hyuuga*



*Ready to defend Japanese shores: the amphibious ship Oosumi with the destroyer Murasame and an air cushioned landing craft on amphibious exercises*

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# APPENDICES

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1. Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to CE 697
2. The Battle of Dannoura 1185
3. The Mongol Invasions of Japan 1274-1281
4. The Wakō pirates 13th to 16th centuries
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7. The End of Seclusion, Commodore Perry and the Black Ships 1853-1854
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# APPENDIX 1 -

## NIHONGI: CHRONICLES OF JAPAN FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO CE 697

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Edited extracts from: WG Aston, (trans), *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to AD 697*, 2 vols, Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, London, 1896.

### **The Age of the Gods** (Volume 1, p. 22)

Sea-gods are a feature in this Japanese creation myth, one that reveals what was most important to the original inhabitants. According to legend a divine couple, named Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto, created the islands of Japan and populated it with gods.

In one writing it is said: - 'Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto, having together procreated the Great-eight-island Land, Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'Over the country which we have produced there is naught but morning mists which shed a perfume everywhere!' So he puffed them away with a breath, which became changed into a God, named Shina tohe no Mikoto. He is also called Shina tsu hiko no Mikoto. This is the God of the Wind. Moreover, the child which they procreated when they were hungry was called Uka no mi-tama no Mikoto [rice spirit]. Again they produced the Sea-Gods, who were called Wata tsu mi no Mikoto, and the Mountain-Gods, who were called Yama tsu mi, the Gods of the River-mouths, who were called Haya-aki-tsubi no Mikoto, the Tree-Gods, who were called Ku-ku no chi, and the Earth-Goddess, who was called Hani-yasu no Kami. Thereafter they produced all manner of things whatsoever.'

### **Chūai** (Volume 1, pp. 221-222)

A turn towards the sea. Japanese interests now extend across the Sea of Japan to the southern tip of Korea [then known as Silla (Shiragi)].

[CE 193] Autumn, 9th month, 5th day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, and consulted with them as to attacking the Kumaso [people living in the southern part of Kyushu island]. At this time a certain God inspired the Empress and instructed her, saying: - 'Why should the Emperor be troubled because the Kumaso do not yield submission? It is a land wanting in backbone. Is it worthwhile raising an army to attack it? There is a better land than this, a land of treasure, which may be compared to the aspect of a beautiful woman - the land of Mukatsu, dazzling to the eyes. In that land there are gold and silver and bright colours in plenty. It is called the Land of Silla [the south eastern part of Korea] of the coverlets of paper-mulberry. If thou worship me aright, that land will assuredly yield submission freely, and the edge of thy sword shall not at all be stained with blood. Afterwards the Kumaso will surrender. In worshipping me, let these things be given as offerings, namely, the Emperor's august ship and the water-fields called Ohota, presented to him by Homutachi, the Atahe of Anato.' When the Emperor

heard the words of the God, his mind was filled with doubt, and straightaway ascending a high hill, he looked away into the distance. But far and wide there was the ocean, and he saw no land. Hereupon the Emperor answered the God, and said: - 'We have looked all around, and there is sea, and no land. Can there be a country in the Great Void? Who is the God who cheats us with vain illusions? Moreover, all the Emperors our ancestors have worshipped the Gods of Heaven and Earth without exception, and none has been omitted.' Then the God again spake by the mouth of the Empress, saying: - 'I see this country lie outstretched like a reflection from Heaven in the water. Why sayest thou that there is no country, and dost disparage my words? But as thou, O King! hast spoken thus, and hast utterly refused to believe me, thou shalt not possess this land. The child with which the Empress has just become pregnant, he shall obtain it.' The Emperor, however, was still incredulous, and persisted in attacking the Kumaso. But he retreated without having gained a victory.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. The Emperor took suddenly ill, and died on the following day, at the age of 52. One version says: - 'The Emperor having gone in person to smite the Kumaso, was hit by an enemy's arrow, and slain.'

**Jingū** (Volume 1, pp. 229-231)

The journey to Korea and the tribute from the King of Silla (Shiragi).

[CE 200] The Empress returned to the Bay of Kashihi, and loosing her hair, looked over the sea, saying: - 'I, having received the instructions of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and trusting in the Spirits of the Imperial ancestors, floating across the deep blue sea, intend in person to chastise the West. Therefore do I now have my head in the water of the sea. If I am to be successful, let my hair part spontaneously into two.' Accordingly she entered the sea and bathed, and her hair parted of its own accord. The Empress bound it up parted into bunches. Then she addressed her ministers, saying: - 'To make war and move troops is a matter of the greatest concern to a country. Peace and danger, success and failure must depend on it. If I now entrusted to you, my ministers, the duties of the expedition we are about to undertake, the blame, in case of ill-success, would rest with you. This would be very grievous to me. Therefore, although I am a woman, and a feeble woman too, I will for a while borrow the outward appearance of a man, and force myself to adopt manly counsels. Above, I shall receive support from the Spirits of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, while below I shall avail myself of the assistance of you, my ministers. Brandishing our weapons, we shall cross the towering billows: preparing an array of ships, we shall take possession of the Land of Treasure. If the enterprise succeeds, all of you, my ministers, will have the credit, while if it is unsuccessful, I alone shall be to blame. Such have been my intentions, do ye deliberate together regarding them.' The ministers all said: - 'The object of the measure which the Empress has devised for the- Empire is to tranquillize the ancestral shrines and the Gods of the Earth and Grain, and also to protect her servants from blame. With heads bowed to the ground we receive thy commands.'

Autumn, 9th month, 10th day. The various provinces were ordered to collect ships and to practise the use of weapons. But an army could not be assembled. The Empress said: - 'This is surely the will of a God.' So she erected the Shrine of Oho-miwa, and offered there a sword and a spear. Then the troops assembled freely. Hereupon a fisherman of Ahe, by name Womaro, was sent out into the Western Sea, to spy if there was any land there. He came back and said: - 'There is no land to be seen.' Again a fisherman of Shika, named Nagusa, was sent to look. After several days he returned, and said: - 'To the north-west, there is a mountain girt with clouds and extending crosswise. This is perhaps a country.' Hereupon a lucky day was fixed upon by divination. There was yet an interval before they should set out. Then the Empress in person, grasping her battle-axe, commanded the three divisions of her army, saying: - 'If the drums are beaten out of time, and the signal-flags are waved confusedly, order cannot be preserved among the troops: if greedy of wealth, and eager for your much, you cherish self and have regard for your own interests, you will surely be taken prisoners by the enemy. Despise not the enemy, though his numbers may be few; shrink not from him, though his numbers may be many. Spare not the violent, slay not the submissive. There will surely be rewards for those who ultimately conquer in battle, and of course punishments for those who turn their backs and flee.'

After this a God gave instructions, saying: - 'A gentle spirit will attach itself to the Empress's person, and keep watch over her life: a rough spirit will form the vanguard, and be a guide to the squadron.' So when she had received the divine instructions she did worship, and for this purpose appointed Otarimi, Yosami no Ahiko to be the Director of the ceremonies in honour of the God. The time had now come for the Empress's delivery. So she took a stone which she inserted in her loins, and prayed, saying: - 'Let my delivery be in this land on the day that I return after our enterprise is at an end.' That stone is now on the road-side in the district of Ito. After this the rough spirit was told to act as vanguard of the forces, and the gentle spirit requested to act as guardian of the Royal vessel.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. Sail was set from the harbour of Want. Then the Wind-God made a breeze to spring up, and the Sea-God uplifted the billows. The great fishes of the ocean, every one, came to the surface and encompassed the ships. Presently a great wind blew from a favourable quarter on the ships under sail, and following the waves, without the labour of the oar or helm, they arrived at Silla. The tide-wave following the ships reached far up into the interior of the country. Hereupon the King of Silla feared and trembled, and knew not what to do, so he assembled all his people and said to them: - 'Since the State of Silla was founded, it has never yet been heard that the water of the sea has encroached upon the land. Is it possible that the term of existence granted to it by Heaven has expired, and that our country is to become a part of the ocean?' Scarce had he spoken when a warlike fleet overspread the sea. Their banners were resplendent in the sunlight. The drums and fifes raised up their voices, and the mountains and rivers all thrilled, to the sound. The King of Silla beholding this from afar felt that his country was about to be destroyed by this extraordinary force, and was terrified out of his senses. But presently coming to himself, he said: - 'I have heard

that in the East there is a divine country named Nippon [this is one of the earliest uses of Nippon representing a united Japan], and also that there is there a wise sovereign called the Tenno. This divine force must belong to that country. How could we resist them by force of arms?' So he took a white flag, and of his own accord rendered submission, tying his hands behind his back with a white rope. He sealed up the maps and registers, and going down before the Royal vessel bowed his head to the ground, and said: - 'Henceforward, as long as Heaven and Earth endure, we will obediently act as thy forage-providers. Not allowing the helms of our ships to become dry, every spring and every autumn we will send tribute of horse-combs and whips. And, without thinking the sea-distance a trouble, we will pay annual dues of male and female slaves.' He confirmed this by repeated oaths, saying: - 'When the sun no longer rises in the East, but comes forth in the West; when the River Arinare [Am-nok-kang] turns its course back-ward, and when the river pebbles ascend and become stars - if before this we fail to pay homage every spring and every autumn, or neglect to send tribute of combs and whips, may the Gods of Heaven and Earth both together punish us.'

Then someone said: - 'Let us put to death the King of Silla.' Hereupon the Empress said: - 'When I first received the Divine instructions, promising to bestow on me the Land of Gold and Silver, I gave orders to the three divisions of the army, saying: - 'Slay not the submissive.' Now that we have taken the Land of Treasure, and its people have freely offered submission, it would be unlucky to slay them.' So she loosed the cords with which he was bound, and made him her forage provider. Ultimately she proceeded to the interior of that country, placed seals on the magazines of precious treasure, and took possession of the books of maps and registers. The spear on which the Empress leant was planted at the gate of the King of Silla as a memorial to after ages. Therefore that spear even now remains planted at the King of Silla's gate.

Now Phasa Mikeun, King of Silla, gave as a hostage Micheul-kwi-chi Pha-chin Kan-ki [Mishikin], and with gold and silver, bright colours, figured gauzes and silks, he loaded eighty vessels, which he made to follow after the Imperial forces. This was the origin of the King of Silla always sending eighty ships of tribute.

**Saimei** (Volume 2, pp. 263-264)

A Japanese naval attack against the Su-shên fleet, who were probably Chinese traders occupying an island or part of the Chinese coastline.

[CE 660] 6th year, Spring, 3rd month. Abe no Omi was sent on an expedition with a fleet of 200 ships against the land of Su-shên [Chinese island or coastal area]. Abe no Omi made some Emishi of Michinoku embark on board his own ship. They arrived close to a great river [the Ishikari River]. Upon this over a thousand Emishi of Watari-shima assembled on the sea shore and made a camp facing the river. Two men of this camp came forward and called out hurriedly, saying: - 'The Su-shên fleet has arrived in great force and threatens to slay us. We pray, therefore, to be allowed to cross the river and to serve the Government.' Abe no Omi sent a boat to go and fetch these two Emishi, and inquired

from them where the enemy were concealed and the number of their ships. The two Emishi accordingly pointed out the place of their concealment, saying: - 'There are over twenty ships.' Thereupon he sent messengers to summon them, but they refused to come. Abe no Omi accordingly heaped up on the beach coloured silk stuffs, weapons, iron, etc, to excite their cupidity. The Su-shen people thereupon drew up their fleet in order, and tying feathers to poles, raised them aloft by way of flags. They approached with equal oars and came to a pause in a shallow place. Then from one of the ships they sent forth two old men who went round the coloured silk stuffs and other articles which had been piled up, examining them closely. They then changed the single garments they had on, and each taking up one piece of cloth in his hand, went on board their ship and departed. Presently the old men came back again, took off the exchanged garments, and laying them down along with the cloth they had taken away, went on board their ship and departed. Abe no Omi sent several ships to fetch them, but they refused to come, and returned to the island of Herobe [Herobe is a separate part of Watari-shima]. After some time they asked for peace, but Abe no Omi refused altogether to listen to them. So they betook themselves to their own palisades and fought. At this time Mamukatsu, Noto no Omi, was slain by the enemy. While the battle was still going on, and was not yet fought out, the enemy, finding that they were being beaten, put to death their own wives and children.

#### Tenchi (Volume 2, pp. 277-279)

After over 450 years of close contact with a number of Kings ruling on the Korean peninsula, major conflict erupted between two blocks: the Tang Chinese with their Korean allies, and the independent Korean Kingdoms supported by the Japanese.

[CE 662] 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 27th day. A grant was made to the Kwisil Pok-sin, Minister of Baekje (Kudara), of 100,000 arrows, 500 kin of raw silk, 1000 kin of floss silk, 1000 tan of cloth, 1000 hides of leather, and 3000 koku of seed-rice.

3rd month, 4th day. The Emperor presented to the King of Baekje 300 tan of cloth. In this month the men of Tang [Chinese] and the men of Silla [south-east Korea] invaded Koryō. Koryō asked aid from our Government, and generals were sent, who occupied the walled city of Sonyu. Owing to this, the men of Tang were unable to conquer the southern territory, while Silla was prevented from overthrowing the fortresses to the west.

Summer, 4th month. A rat brought forth young in a horse's tail. The Buddhist priest Tohyōn divined, saying: - 'The men of the North are about to attach themselves to the Southern Country.' Perhaps (he meant) that Koryō, being beaten, would become a vassal of Japan.

5th month. The General-in-Chief, Adzumi no Hirafu no Muraji, of Lower Daikin rank, and others, in command of a fleet of 170 ships, escorted Phung-chhyang and his people to the Land of Baekje, where, by an Imperial edict, he was made to take up the succession to the (royal) Dignity. Moreover a golden tablet was conferred on Pok-sin, his back was stroked, and he was praised and an honorary grant made to him. At this time Phung-

chhyang and his people, and also Pok-sin, received the Imperial decree with their heads bowed to the ground, so that everybody shed tears. 6th month, 28th day. Baekje sent the Talsol, Manchi, and others to offer tribute and bring presents.

Winter, 12th month, 1st day. Phung-chhyang of Baekje, his Minister Pok-sin, and others held counsel with Sawi no Muraji and Yechi no Takutsu, saying: - 'This Chyu-yu is far away from cultivated lands. The soil is unfertile, and there is no land suitable for agriculture or for the mulberry tree. It is simply a stronghold for defensive warfare. If we were to remain here long, the people would starve. We should remove to Phi-syöng. Phi-syöng is girt on the north and west by the Rivers Ko-nyön and Tan-kyöng, while on the south and east it is protected by deep mud and high earthworks. It is encompassed on all sides by rice-fields, to which the rain-water is drawn down by cutting canals. Its produce of flowers and fruit is the fairest of all the three Kingdoms of Korea. A source of food and clothing, it is a choice situation favoured by the two first principles. It may be said that it lies low, but why should this prevent us from removing thither?' Upon this Yechi no Takutsu alone stood forward and objected, saying: - 'The distance between Phi-syöng and the position occupied by the enemy can be covered in one night's march. This is extremely near. Should a surprise take place, regrets would be useless. Now starvation is a secondary matter; destruction demands our first attention. The reason why the enemy do not now rashly approach is that Chyu-yu has taken advantage of a scarped hill by which it is thoroughly well fortified. The cliff's are high and the ravines narrow. This makes it easy to defend and difficult to attack. But if we occupied the low ground, how should the country have remained undisturbed up to this day? In the end, they refused to listen to his remonstrances and made Phi-syöng the capital. This year, in order to assist Baekje, arms were put in order, ships fitted out, and stores of army provisions prepared.

[CE 663] This year was the year Midzunoye Inu (59th) of the Cycle. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 2nd day. Baekje sent the Talsol, Kim-syu, and others to offer tribute. Silla men wasted by fire four districts of the southern border of Baekje. They also captured Antök and other strong positions. This being so, the enemy were not far from Phi-syöng, and this position became therefore untenable, so they came back again and occupied Chyu-yu, in accordance with Takutsu's policy. In this month, the Minister Pok-sin sent up (to the Emperor) Hsü Shou-yen and other Tang prisoners.

3rd month. Wakugo, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, and Ohobuta, Hashibito no Muraji, Generals of the Front Division, Wosa, Kose no Kamusaki no Omi, and Namaro, Miwa no Kimi, generals of the Middle Division, and Hirafu, Abe no Hikedana no Omi, and Kamatsuka, Ohoyake no Omi, Generals of the Rear Division, were sent in command of 27,000 men to invade Silla.

Summer, 5th month, 1st day. Inugami no Kimi, who had hurried to Koryö to give information of warlike matters, on his - way back saw Kyu-hé at the walled city of Syök-syöng. Kyu-hé accordingly told him of Pok-sin's guilt.

6th month. Wakugo, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, General of the Front Division, and the others, took two cities of Silla named Sapi and Kinokang. Phung-chhyang, King of Baekje, suspecting Pok-sin of harbouring treasonous intentions, bound him with a leathern strap passed through his palms. But he was unable to come to a decision - of himself, and did not know what to do. So he inquired of his Ministers, saying: - 'Pok-sin's guilt has been so and so. Shall he be beheaded, or not?' Upon this, the Talsol, Tök Chip-tök, said: - 'This traitor ought not to be let off.' Pok-sin forthwith spat upon Chip-tök and said: - 'Thou worthless dog! Thou idiotic slave!' The King compelled his stout fellows to execute him and to put his head in pickle.

### Tenchi (Volume 2, pp. 279-280)

The Japanese lost their influence in the Korean peninsula after their failure at the Battle of Baekgang (CE 663) - in Japan known as the Battle of Hakusukinoe. The subsequent loss of faith in Japanese naval forces led to a reluctance to conduct further expeditions across the Sea of Japan, and as a result Japan ultimately became more isolated. Japan once again witnessed the return of internal rivalries and disorder.

[CE 663] Autumn, 8th month, 13th day. Silla, taking advantage of the King of Baekje having put to death his own good general, laid plans to enter that country direct, and first of all to capture Chyu-yu. Now Baekje learnt the enemy's plan, and addressed his generals, saying: - 'I now hear that Omi, Ihohara no Kimi, the auxiliary general of the Land of Great Japan, in command of more than 10,000 stout fellows, is on the point of arriving hither by sea. I hope that you, my generals, will take such measures as are suitable in advance. I intend myself to proceed to Pëkchon and give him reasonable entertainment.'

17th day. The hostile generals arrived before Chyu-yu and encompassed the Royal city. The Tang- generals, in command of 170 fighting ships, drew up in line of battle in the Pëkchon river. The Japanese warships which first arrived engaged the Tang fleet, but had not the advantage, and therefore retired. Great Tang stood on its guard in strict order of battle.

27th day. The Japanese generals and the Baekje King, regardless of the aspect of affairs, said to one another: - 'If we struggle which shall get first, they will naturally retire of themselves.' So they again led forward the routed Japanese ranks, and the troops of the Middle Division of their force, to attack the Great Tang fleet. But Tang closed upon their vessels from right and left, and engaged them from all sides. In a short space of time the Imperial force was defeated, and many fell into the water and were drowned. The ships were unable to manoeuvre either astern or ahead. Yechi no Takutsu looked up to heaven and made oaths; he gnashed his teeth, and in his rage slew several tens of men. He then fell fighting. At this time King Phung-chhyang of Baekje with a number of others, embarked in a ship and fled to Koryö.

9th month, 7th day. Not until now did the Baekje city of Chyu-yu surrender to Tang. Then the people of that country said to one another: - 'Chyu-yu has fallen; there is nothing more to be done this day the name



of Baekje has become extinct. Shall we ever visit again the place where the tombs (of our ancestors) are? Let us, however, repair to the city of Ho-nyé, and meet there with the Japanese generals, so as to concert with them the measures required by the circumstances.' In the end the wives and children, who had from the first remained in the walled town of Chhim-pok-ki, were informed of their intention to quit the country.

11th day. They set out for Muho. 13th day. They arrived at Ho-nyé.

24th day. The Japanese fleet, with the (Baekje) Minister Yō Chă-sin, and the Talsol, Mok-so Kwi-chă, Kong-na Chinsyu, and Ōng-nyé Pong-nyu, along with the people of the country, arrived at the city of Ho-nyé. The next day they set sail, and at length bent their course towards Japan.



*Map of the Korean Kingdoms about CE 663*

## APPENDIX 2 -

### THE BATTLE OF DANNOURA 1185

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The Genpei War (1180-1185) was the culmination of a decades-long conflict between two clans (the Taira and the Minamoto) over the dominance of the Imperial court, and by extension, the control of Japan. It began with Minamoto support for a different candidate to take the throne, in conflict with the Taira's nomination. The ensuing Battle of Ujigawa River (1180) took place just outside Kyoto and the fighting continued across the main island of Honshu for the next six years. The war ended with the Minamoto clan's decisive victory at Dannoura.

#### Dannoura

The Battle of Dannoura was a major sea battle of the Genpei War fought on 25 April 1185 in the Kanmon Strait off the southern tip of Honshu. In a struggle lasting little over half a day, the Minamoto clan fleet, numbering 800 ships led by Minamoto no Yoshitsune, decisively defeated the Taira clan fleet, numbering 500 ships under Taira no Munemori.

The Taira fleet, although outnumbered, were more experienced in naval combat tactics and understood the tidal system in the Kanmon Strait. Deployed in three squadrons with ships abreast and with archers to the fore, the Taira fleet met the somewhat disorderly massed Minamoto fleet head on. After using their long-range archery to soften up the enemy, the Taira squadrons used the tides to try and surround the Minamoto ships. As the ships closed-in the battle changed to one of boarding parties fighting hand-to-hand with swords and daggers. Perhaps it was the superior numbers of the Minamoto forces that counted most in the hand-to-hand engagement, but when a Taira admiral, Taguchi Shigeyoshi, changed sides with his ships, the Minamoto fleet sensed victory.

The Taira ships were gradually being overcome and their morale sank with their dead warriors. The Taira clan members were totally dejected when the ship carrying the six-year-old Emperor Antoku was surrounded and targeted by Minamoto archers, forcing Antoku and his grandmother, the widow of Taira no Kiyomori (the head of the clan), to commit suicide by jumping overboard. The Japanese crown jewels were also thrown into the water before the royal treasure ship was captured. Some say that the Emperor's sword has been lost since this time, but his mirror was later recovered by divers.

Many of the Taira warriors, also threw themselves overboard, committing suicide rather than having to face defeat at the hands of the Minamoto. The Heike crabs found in the Straits of Shimonoseki are considered by many Japanese to hold the spirits of the defeated Taira warriors.

Hence it was through this naval defeat that the Taira clan lost their struggle to control all of Japan on behalf of the Emperor. The victorious Minamoto no Yoshitsune became the new power broker, and his elder half-brother Minamoto no Yoritomo established a military government (*bakufu*) in Kamakura, becoming the first Kamakura Shogun in 1192.



*Most of the battles during the Genpei War were land battles but the war ended with the naval Battle of Dannoura*

## The Aftermath

After Yoritomo's death in 1199, quarrels for supremacy started between the Bakufu of Kamakura and the Imperial court in Kyoto. Those quarrels for supremacy found an end in the Jokyu disturbance in 1221 when Kamakura defeated the Imperial Army in Kyoto, and the Hojo regents in Kamakura achieved complete control over Japan. By redistributing the land gained during the Jokyu disturbance, they were able to achieve loyalty among all the powerful people throughout the country.

In 1232 a legal code, the *Goseibai Shikimoku* was promulgated. It stressed Confucian values such as the importance of loyalty to the master, and generally attempted to suppress a decline of morals and discipline. Its fifty one articles set down in writing for the first time the legal precedents of the *bakufu*. In essence, it was a body of pragmatic law laid down for the proper conduct of the warriors in administering justice. Tight control was maintained by the Hojo clan, and any signs of rebellions were put down immediately.

## APPENDIX 3 -

# THE MONGOL INVASIONS OF JAPAN 1274-1281

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After the Mongol ruler Kublai Khan had over-run China becoming emperor of the Yuan Dynasty, he requested the Emperor of Japan, as 'the ruler of a small country', to pay him tribute. From 1272, Kublai Khan planned to strike Japan: a large number of ships were constructed in southern China and Korea and an army of 40,000 men (mostly ethnic Chinese and Koreans) assembled. Japan had no maritime defences but they could muster about 10,000 samurai if the clans could be united.

### The First Invasion, 1274

In the autumn of 1274 a Mongol invasion with up to 900 ships set out into the Sea of Japan from the port of Masan in southern Korea. The invaders seized the islands of Tsushima and Iki, which lay in the Tsushima Strait. On 18 November, the Mongol armada reached Hakata Bay on the island of Kyushu. Despite resistance from local samurai, the organisation, technical abilities and large numbers of formed troops in the Yuan Chinese Army overcame all Japanese opposition on land. As night fell, a driving wind and heavy rain began to lash the coast and Kublai Khan's fleet weighed anchor and headed out to sea to avoid grounding their ships in Hakata Bay. Some say that unfortunately for the invasion fleet they met a typhoon head-on, other say that the fleet withdrew deliberately. In just two days the Yuan ships lost about two thirds of their force and about 13,000 drowned. The survivors limped home but Kublai Khan was not yet satisfied.

### Seven years preparing for war

Kublai Khan sat at his capital in Dadu (modern-day Beijing) and contemplated his next move against Japan. He needed a new fleet and another army. In 1280 he established a new government command, the 'Ministry for Conquering Japan'. In Japan, the Kyushu samurai waited for the military government in Kamakura to reward them for their victory, but there were no spoils to dole out because the invaders had come from outside of Japan and hence there was neither land to be redistributed nor booty to be handed out. The Kamakura Shogunate had no means to pay the thousands of samurai who had fought against the Mongol invasion. The Japanese were not idle. They took a census of all available warriors and weaponry and built a defensive wall around Hakata Bay, between five and fifteen feet high and almost twenty five miles long. Japan mustered 40,000 samurai and other fighting men to resist the next invasion. The Japanese were so entrenched in their land-based samurai culture they did not even consider trying to use their own naval power to oppose the invaders.

### The Second Invasion, 1281

In the spring of 1281 the Mongols sent two separate forces; a Korean fleet of 900 ships containing 40,000 Korean, Chinese, and Mongol troops set out from Masan, and a larger Chinese fleet of 100,000 troops in 3500 ships set out from southern China. The 'Ministry for Conquering Japan' planned a two pronged attack that would meet off the Japanese coast and form a combined invasion fleet. The Korean fleet reached Hakata Bay on 23 June 1281 but the ships from China did not arrive. Samurai conducted numerous night raids in small boats, attacking the Chinese and Korean troops and setting fire to their ships. This coastal stalemate lasted for 50 days, with the Korean fleet waiting for the much anticipated Chinese fleet to arrive before attacking the Japanese troops ashore. On 12 August the fleet from southern China arrived at Hakata Bay. The Japanese attacked

the Yuan invaders who had landed at Takashima, a small island off Hizen, but were repulsed by the overwhelming numbers of the Yuan forces. On 29 July 1281, a second typhoon struck the shores of Kyushu. Only a few hundred Mongol ships managed to survive the storm and almost all the Korean, Chinese and Mongol invaders drowned. Both Mongol invasions were defeated by typhoons but it is also likely that the Yuan Chinese forces did not have the required experience and perhaps control necessary for such an important exercise in maritime power projection.

## The Aftermath

Kublai Khan accepted that Japan was protected by supernatural forces, or at least he felt that the effort to conquer Japan was just not worth the expense. On the other hand, the Japanese believed that their gods had sent the storms to preserve Japan from the Mongols. They called the two storms *kamikaze*, or 'divine winds'. During World War II (WWII), Japanese imperial troops once again invoked the *kamikaze* in their battles to defend their homeland against the Allied invaders. But by 1945, the Allied navies were much more capable of projecting power and more experienced at amphibious operations than the Mongols ever were.



*Samurai board a Mongol Ship during the 1281 invasion.*

*From the Mongol Invasion Scroll.*

*Much of our knowledge about the Mongol invasions comes from a scroll which was commissioned by the samurai Takezaki Suenaga, who fought in the conflict.*

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## APPENDIX 4 -

### THE WAKŌ PIRATES 13TH TO 16TH CENTURIES

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Like their better known European counterparts, the maritime trader/raiders made significant contributions to the development of the East Asian Mediterranean. From the earliest times, individual Japanese mariners travelled across the East China Sea, the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan, in search of adventure, trade, booty or a combination of all three motives. Sailing in single ships or in fleets, they acted according to the wishes of their charismatic leaders, but their nautical experience, excellent seafaring skills and detailed knowledge of local waters assisted in the development of Japanese sea power and maritime trade. As these mariners operated quite independently from the rulers of Japan, they blossomed during times of civil unrest and internal conflict. The mariners operated at the fringes of Japanese society and hence were mostly overlooked during the development of Japanese cultural traditions. They were effectively raider/traders but many Chinese and Korean communities thought of them as nothing more than ruthless pirates or *wakō*. The *wakō* were first mentioned in an early 5th century Goguryeo (Kokuri) inscription, but they did not become famous for their piratical deeds until much later.

Between the 13th and 16th centuries, *wakō* pirates became very active plundering the coast of Korea and the Chinese empire. Although the term *wakō* translates as 'Japanese pirates', the *wakō* generally included any mariner familiar with the East Asian Mediterranean who attacked shipping and raided ports during these centuries. The *wakō* pirates included Chinese, Koreans, Portuguese rebels, freebooters as well as Japanese. During the summer of 1223 the *wakō* raided the south coast of Goryeo (Koryo), heralding the escalation of piracy in the region. At the peak of *wakō* activity, around the end of the 14th century, fleets of up to 500 ships, transporting several hundred horsemen and several thousand soldiers, would raid the coast of China. For the next half-century, sailing principally from Iki Island and Tsushima, they engulfed coastal regions of the southern half of Goryeo. Between 1376 and 1385, no fewer than 174 instances of pirate raids were recorded in Korea. When the *wakō* power base on Tsushima was captured, by the Korean Joseon rulers, in the Ōei Invasion of 1419, there was a temporary reduction in the activities of these Japanese raiders.

The Ming Chinese government implemented a policy forbidding civil trade with Japan, in an effort to expel the *wakō*, while they hoped to maintain their official trade with Japan. Instead, it forced many Chinese merchants to trade with Japan illegally in an effort to protect their own trading interests. This led to a resurgence in *wakō* activity during the early sixteenth century, with Chinese traders joining forces with the Japanese pirates and expanding their forces. However it was not long before the suppression of piracy became a political issue for the newly re-emerging nations bordering the East Asian Mediterranean. As the Korean kingdoms jostled for supremacy and as the Ming Chinese sought to regain control of their neighbouring seas, the heyday of piracy was disappearing fast. *wakō* activity effectively ended in the 1580s when it was suppressed by Japan's newly emerging centralised government under Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He used Japanese sea power to consolidate his hold over the Japanese islands and to enforce his anti-piracy edicts in an effort to regulate international trade.



*Main routes of the wako raids*

## APPENDIX 5 -

# JAPANESE INNOVATIONS AND EUROPEAN TRADE

## 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

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During the 16th and 17th centuries Japan changed from a collection of semi-independent territories under many warring clans into a unified nation under a single powerful ruler (the Shogun) with a strong centralised government. In essence, it was the story of three powerful Japanese generals – Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582); Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598); and, the founder of the Edo Shogunate, Tokugawaw Ieyasu (1542-1616). Each was a strong and ruthless leader but their individual characters differed in a way that is described by a traditional Japanese story about the three men. When the three men were given a songbird that refused to sing: Nobunga reacted by saying ‘I will kill it if it does not sing’; Hideyoshi said ‘I will force it to sing’; while Ieyasu suggested ‘I will wait until it does sing’. These rulers effectively moulded early modern Japan out of its medieval past by innovation, adaptation, the application of power and where necessary by outright slaughter.

### European Contacts

In 1543, three Portuguese traders landed in Japan after the Chinese junk in which they were travelling, was blown off-course. Portuguese trading ships soon headed for Japan in search of commercial opportunities, and recognising a trading opportunity when they saw one the Japanese welcomed them. As the Japanese clans were engaged in protracted civil war, they also desired knowledge from the Europeans especially on how to build larger ships, to make more efficient guns and arquebuses, to navigate and to make maps. The Portuguese (called *Nanban*, literally ‘Southern Barbarians’) acted as intermediaries in the Asian trade but also helped to better arm the rival Japanese clans.

Francis Xavier, a Jesuit missionary, reached Japan in 1549, and having identified room for evangelism, he was followed by more missionaries seeking to convert the Japanese to Christianity. Luís Frois, who arrived in Japan in 1563 to ‘convert the heathen’, instead discovered ‘that these Japanese are in no sense barbarous ... I learn something everyday from these people, and I am sure that in the whole universe there is no people better gifted by Nature.’ Unfortunately many later missionaries did not see the Japanese people in such a favourable way, and they did not understand that Christian conversion was condoned by certain Japanese leaders in an effort to disrupt the unifying efforts of their political rivals. Although at first the Japanese rulers ignored Christianity as irrelevant, after 1600, Ieyasu believed that Christianity posed a political threat to the country’s still fragile unity. He and his successors ordered the suppression of Christianity and condoned anti-Christian violence and massacres. By 1637 Christianity was a spent force in Japan, although small communities continued to practice the faith by hiding from the central government’s agents.

The Portuguese trade monopoly declined as Chinese smugglers and Japanese ‘Red Seal’ ships started to take over the East Asian Mediterranean trade. From 1600, Ieyasu allowed the Spanish, the Dutch, and the English to trade with Japan, and a number of Japanese traders travelled abroad on foreign ships. Two Japanese men known as Christopher and Cosmas crossed the Pacific on a Spanish galleon as early as 1587, and eventually made their way to Europe.

The first Dutch ship to arrive was *Liefde*. One of its pilots was an Englishman, William Adams, who was commissioned (he was held captive until he agreed) by Ieyasu to build a Western style ship for the Japanese. Adams remained in Japan as a teacher of



Western navigational sciences, shipbuilder and diplomatic agent for the Shogun; he died in Japan in 1620. The first English ship to trade with Japan was *Clove*, which arrived in 1613 carrying an agent who soon established an English 'factory' at Hirado. But the tide had turned against foreign traders and there was increasing hostility to Christians. The English factory at Hirado was not profitable and closed down in 1623.

The Dutch, called *Kōmō* (literally 'Red Hair'), were given preference by the Japanese as they were ready to ignore all religious considerations for the sake of a profitable monopoly of trade. But Portuguese and Spanish shipping in the Pacific was also weakened by the naval strength of the Dutch (labelled as piracy by their opponents), and so the Dutch ultimately became the only Westerners given access to Japan. For two centuries from 1641, the Dutch were restricted to the island of Dejima in Nagasaki Harbour.

### Japanese Innovation

It would be misleading to assume, as many 20th century Western historians have done, that the changes in Japan during the 16th and 17th centuries were driven by contact with the West. Western stimulus must be seen as one of a number of inputs that fed into the Japanese unification process. During these centuries, the Japanese were great innovators, adapting the new technology gathered from outside but always combining it within their own techniques and resources to build items that were needed by the Japanese. For example, Japanese shipbuilding did not start with the ideas of William Adams in the early 1600s, the new Western ideas were integrated with recent developments within the Japanese shipbuilding industry of the 16th century. During much of the 16th century powerful rulers, competing for supremacy in Japan, built coastal navies of several hundred ships and hence major shipbuilding efforts were well underway even before the two Korea campaigns of the 1590s. The largest of the warships were called *atakebune* but also, in 1576, Oda Nobunaga had six *Ō-atakebune* (Great Atakebune) made. They were heavy ships armed with multiple cannons and large calibre arquebuses that were designed, like the 19th century coastal monitors, to sink the wooden ships of the enemy. Using his *Ō-atakebune*, Nobunaga defeated the Mōri clan's navy at the Kizu River, near Osaka, in 1578.

Japanese sea power was used as a centralising force during the 16th and 17th centuries, initially to assist in the subjugation of Oda Nobunaga's opponents: using his large fleet in naval battle, as an instrument of intimidation or a visible sign of his prestige. More and more of the Japanese clans were subordinated to the will of the most powerful clan leader, and then Toyotomi Hideyoshi tried to wield Japanese sea power on the Korean peninsula. Tokugawa Ieyasu unified Japan under his rule and consolidated his naval forces into a strong arm of his central administration. By adapting Western ideas, especially in the maritime field, Ieyasu and his successors developed a powerful and strong modern fleet which by the 1630s could back-up the Sakoku Edicts with Japanese sea power. In effect, after almost one hundred years of shock after contact with the West, a unified Japan under the Edo Shogunate had regained control of Japanese waters and was once again powerful enough to defend Japan. But, having won the struggle for Japanese sea power it would not last. Over the next two hundred years the Shogunate would let its maritime defences dwindle away and would once again face foreign invaders without an adequate means of defence.

## APPENDIX 6 -

### THE KOREA CAMPAIGNS 1592-1598

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Toyotomi Hideyoshi took over the leadership of Japan in 1582 when Oda Nobunaga was assassinated. Hideyoshi had inherited more than one third of the Japanese nation, including the cities of Kyoto, Osaka and Sakai, but he continued the war of unification conquering Kyushu in the west and eastern Japan. By 1590 having consolidated much of Japan, Hideyoshi turned his attention to the Ming Chinese positions in Korea. The subsequent Korea campaigns are known by several names, including the Imjin War in Korea.

In 1592, the Japanese were ready for an invasion of Korea with about 140,000 men and some 800 ships. They landed almost unopposed near Busan (Pusan) and quickly moved inland. An army of 40,000 warriors, led by daimyo (leaders) from western Japan, marched on Seoul, but the Korean forces, with Ming Chinese and Korean guerrilla support, counterattacked. The invading forces were bogged down in a land campaign that they could not win as their logistic communications were under attack by Korean naval forces in their rear. The naval battles around the southern coast of Korea were the decisive element of the war.

The Japanese ships were built for boarding tactics, but this undermined their capability to manoeuvre rapidly in combat. They were also susceptible to capsizing if operating in choppy seas or storms. Very few Japanese ships had cannon, and those that did were top heavy. In their place they relied upon arquebuses and swords. If they could they would quickly board an enemy's ship where they could engage in a hand-to-hand melee, one in which the Japanese samurai excelled. The Korean fleet numbered just 80 galleys but they included the so-called 'turtle ships', iron-plated warships with cannons. The Korean Navy was also led by one of their most able and justifiably famous Admirals Yi Sun-sin. In action the Turtle Ships were hard to board while they could fire against the defenceless Japanese wooden ships almost at will.

At the Battle of Okpo in May 1592, Yi Sun-sin's fleet intercepted a Japanese supply squadron and destroyed 26 ships. The next day his ships destroyed another 13 Japanese supply ships. In June, similar raids by the Koreans destroyed 33 Japanese ships without loss. In an effort to stop these attacks on their supply convoys a Japanese squadron met Yi Sun-sin's fleet at the Battle of Tanhangpo, but again the Japanese were defeated, losing another 30 ships in the process. The commerce destruction continued, with a large Japanese logistics convoy destroyed entirely and a second losing 42 ships. By the end of July, the sea communications of the Japanese Army (based at Pyongyang) were effectively cut. In August 1592 Yi Sun-sin attacked the Japanese supply fleet at Busan sinking 130 out of the 500 ships in the harbour. With the supply situation desperate, the Japanese land forces were forced to withdraw from north and central Korea and held on to southern Korean as a base.

In July 1597 the Japanese Navy successfully defeated a Korean fleet off Kadok, but their success was short lived, for in September Yi Sun-sin in command of only 12 Korean ships managed to defeat a 133-ship squadron off Chin Do Island. With the Japanese naval forces increasingly desperate Admiral Yi Sun-sin decides to defeat Japanese sea power in Korean waters once and for all. He attacked two Japanese squadrons, and using a type of flame-thrower [or perhaps firing flaming arrows], he completely destroyed one squadron and the remaining squadron lost 50 ships. Thus the Battle of

Noryang (Keichonoeki) was the decisive victory of the Korea campaigns and – like the better known battle of Trafalgar – the victorious Admiral Yi Sun-sin lost his life shortly before the end of the battle. By the end of 1598, the Japanese had evacuated Korea and the unfortunate Hideyoshi had died, some say from despair over his Korean failure.



*The Korea campaigns, 1592-1598*

## APPENDIX 7 -

# THE END OF SECLUSION, COMMODORE PERRY AND THE BLACK SHIPS 1853-1854

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The Sakoku Edicts of the 1630s ushered in almost two hundred years of Japanese seclusion, and the traditional view is that the arrival of the Americans under Commodore Perry in 1853 led to the 'opening of Japan' to trade. This is an overly simplistic view that overlooks major Japanese internal drivers for change and the strong desire by some Japanese for an open Japan. The rural samurai class steadily lost economic power during the early part of the 19th century, while at the same time the city-based merchant class was steadily gaining in prosperity. The Japanese countryside was struggling under a high burden of debt, in marked contrast to the pleasure-seeking life of the bourgeois in Yedo and Osaka. The rise of this capitalist class was not really compatible with the continued existence of an artificially constructed Tokugawa feudal society. Among the educated classes in Japan there was also a mental climate for a return of the emperor to the central stage. By the 1850s there were many in Japan who wanted to reform or overthrow the Edo Shogunate, including those who wanted to resurrect the old samurai virtues as well as those who wished to capitalise from increased trade with the West.

The Edo Shogunate had never fully prevented trade with East Asia and the West, rather it tried to limit such trade and the associated cultural influences. From the turn of the 19th century foreign ships - Russian, British and American - had entered Japanese waters. The Russians tried to open official trade with Japan in 1805. The British interest increased especially after they leased Hong Kong, and in 1846 a British missionary was allowed to settle in Okinawa. In 1852 the Russians sent a fleet under Admiral Putyatyn to persuade the Japanese to sign a commercial treaty, but it was an American fleet under Commodore Matthew Perry that finally broke the deadlock.

The Americans had several reasons to show an interest in Japan. They were developing trade with China and using the Great Circle Route which took their ships past the shores of Japan. The American whaling industry was spreading across the whole Pacific, and many Americans felt that Japanese trade would be a profitable enterprise that should be controlled by Americans rather than a European power. There was also a need for secure supplies and coal for the oceanic route, a need to protect American sailors who might be shipwrecked off Japan and a desire to open the pot of gold that was believed to be at the end of the Japanese trade rainbow. Perhaps more importantly, there was a need to demonstrate America's rising nationalism in an international arena.

In 1852 Commodore Perry with a squadron of four black-hulled frigates (including two steam-driven) US ships *Mississippi*, *Plymouth*, *Saratoga*, and *Susquehanna*, departed Norfolk, Virginia on a course for Japan. On 8 July 1853 he arrived with his fleet off Uraga Harbour near Edo and confronted the Tokugawa Shogunate's officials who told him to proceed to Nagasaki, which was then the only Japanese port open to foreigners. Perry refused to leave and demanded permission to officially present a letter from the US President Millard Fillmore. The Japanese lacked the naval forces necessary to resist Perry's fleet and so, in order to avoid a naval bombardment of Edo, Perry was allowed to come ashore. On 14 July Perry presented the letter to officials at Kurihama (Yokosuka). He informed the Shogunate that he would return soon to obtain their reply, and then departed for the Chinese coast.

Abe Masahiro, the chief counsellor and effective ruler of Japan, described the situation in a decree from the Shogunate:

Everyone has pointed out that we are without a navy and that our coasts are undefended. Meanwhile the Americans will be here again next year. Our policy shall be to evade any definite answer to their request, while at the same time maintaining a peaceful demeanour. It may be, however, that they will have recourse to violence. For that contingency we must be prepared lest the country suffer disgrace. Therefore every possible effort will be made to prepare means of defence.

On 13 February 1854 Commodore Perry once again entered the outer bay of Edo, this time with six 'Black Ships', *Lexington*, *Vandalia*, *Macedonian*, *Susquehanna*, *Powhatan*, and *Mississippi*. He was approached by two government boats with Japanese officials on board and after several diplomatic discussions and a threat by Perry to proceed with his squadron to a position off Edo itself, virtually all the demands in Fillmore's letter were met. Perry signed the Convention of Kanagawa on March 31, 1854 (see copy below), effectively marking the end of the self-imposed Japanese seclusion. Japan was now open to American and European exploitation, and it did not take long before British, French and Russian ships also entered Japanese waters and forced their own Unequal Treaties upon the defenceless Japanese leadership.



*When Commodore Perry's fleet arrived in 1853 most Japanese had never seen or imagined such ships, and the 'Black Ships' became a physical symbol of the Western threat*

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## EMPIRE OF JAPAN TREATY

Kanagawa, March 31, 1854.

Treaty between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan

The United States of America and the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish firm, lasting, and sincere friendship between the two nations, have resolved to fix, in a manner clear and positive, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace and amity, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed in the intercourse of their respective countries; for which most desirable object the President of the United States has conferred full powers on his Commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry, Special Ambassador of the United States to Japan, and the August Sovereign of Japan has given similar full powers to his Commissioners . . . And the said Commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers, and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following articles:

### ARTICLE I.

There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part, and the Empire of Japan on the other part, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons or places.

### ARTICLE II.

The port of Simoda [in Yedo harbor], in the principality of Idzu, and the port of Hakodade, in the principality of Matsmai [Hokkaido], are granted by the Japanese as ports for the reception of American ships, where they can be supplied with wood, water, provisions, and coal, and other articles their necessities may require, as far as the Japanese have them. The time for opening the first-named port is immediately on signing this treaty; the last - named port is to be opened immediately after the same day in the ensuing Japanese year.

**NOTE.** A tariff of prices shall be given by the Japanese officers of the things which they can furnish, payment for which shall be made in gold and silver coin.

### ARTICLE III.

Whenever ships of the United States are thrown or wrecked on the coast of Japan, the Japanese vessels will assist them, and carry their crews to Simoda, or Hakodade, and hand them over to their countrymen, appointed to receive them; whatever articles the shipwrecked men may have preserved shall likewise be restored, and the expenses incurred in the rescue and support of Americans and Japanese who may thus be thrown upon the shores of either nation are not to be refunded.

### ARTICLE IV.

Those shipwrecked persons and other citizens of the United States shall be free as in other countries, and not subjected to confinement, but shall be amenable to just laws.

**ARTICLE V.**

Shipwrecked men and other citizens of the United States, temporarily living at Simoda and Hakodade, shall not be subject to such restrictions and confinement as the Dutch and Chinese are at Nagasaki, but shall be free at Simoda to go where they please within the limits of seven Japanese miles ... from a small island in the harbor of Simoda marked on the accompanying chart hereto appended; and in shall like manner be free to go where they please at Hakodade, within limits to be defined after the visit of the United States squadron to that place.

**ARTICLE VI.**

If there be any other sort of goods wanted, or any business which shall require to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle such matters.

**ARTICLE VII.**

It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin and articles of goods for other articles of goods, under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese Government for that purpose. It is stipulated, however, that the ships of the United States shall be permitted to carry away whatever articles they are unwilling to exchange.

**ARTICLE VIII.**

Wood, water, provisions, coal, and goods required, shall only be procured through the agency of Japanese officers appointed for that purpose, and in no other manner.

**ARTICLE IX.**

It is agreed that if at any future day the Government of Japan shall grant to any other nation or nations privileges and advantages which are not herein granted to the United States and the citizens thereof, that these same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States and to the citizens thereof, without any consultation or delay.

**ARTICLE X.**

Ships of the United States shall be permitted to resort to no other ports in Japan but Simoda and Hakodade, unless in distress or forced by stress of weather.

**ARTICLE XI.**

There shall be appointed, by the Government of the United States, Consuls or Agents to reside in Simoda, at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the signing of this treaty, provided that either of the two Governments deem such arrangement necessary.

**ARTICLE XII.**

The present convention having been concluded and duly signed, shall be obligatory and faithfully observed by the United States of America and Japan, and by the citizens and subjects of each respective Power; and it is to be ratified and approved by the







*Re-enacting the arrival of Commodore Perry during recent celebrations in Japan*



*The modern US presence, USS Blue Ridge off Japan*

## APPENDIX 8 -

# THE BOSHIN WAR AND THE BATTLE OF HAKODATE 1868-1869

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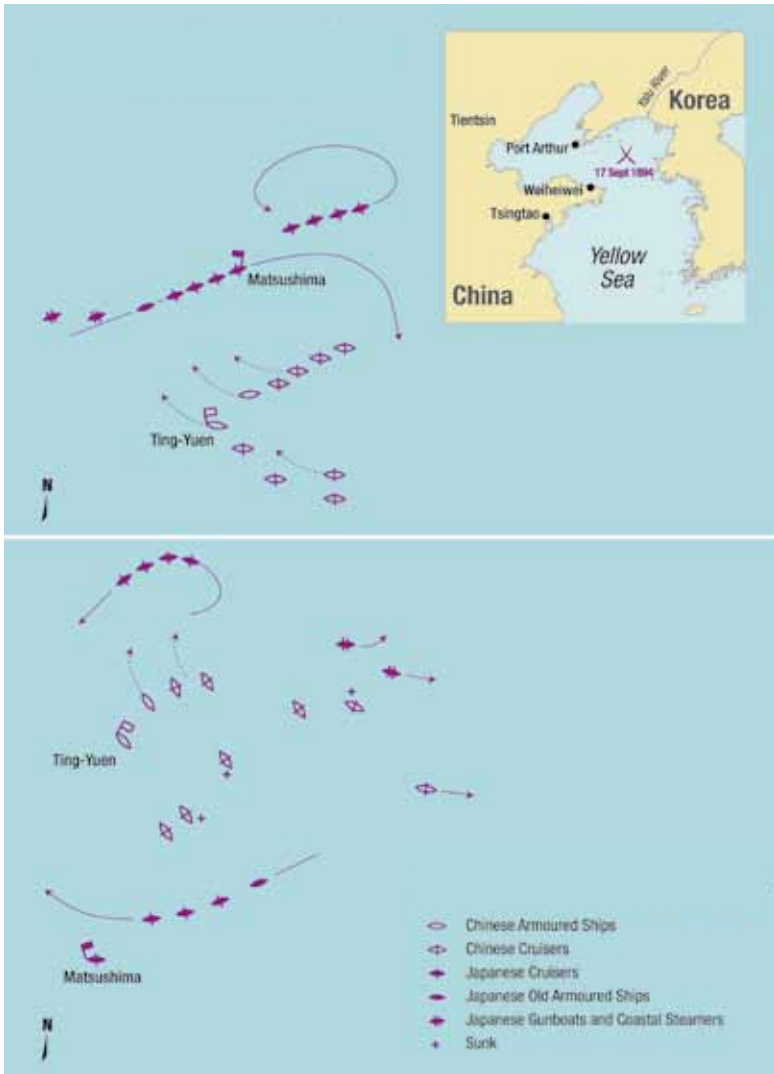
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The Boshin War 1868-1869 (literally: the War of the Year of the Dragon) was a civil war fought in Japan between the ruling Edo Shogunate and their opponents in the imperial court who supported the Emperor Meiji. The Shogunate had failed to prevent foreigners from entering Japanese ports and enforcing Unequal Treaties, they had failed to manage the subsequent social transformation associated with the failure of the village craft production economy and the start of industrialisation. Large numbers of nobles and samurai were disillusioned. An alliance of southern samurai and court officials secured control of the imperial court and influenced the young emperor. Tokugawa Yoshinobu, the last Shogun, attempted to appease the Imperial faction, but his opponents would accept nothing less than the total removal of the Shogun from the Japanese leadership. Yoshinobu turned to his military forces and led them to Kyoto to overthrow the Emperor's court, but the Imperial forces were too powerful. Although relatively small, they had developed an efficient modernised army that rapidly overcame the traditional samurai army of the Shogunate. After several victorious battles the Meiji forces eventually captured Edo (modern Tokyo) and Yoshinobu was forced to surrender. The remaining Tokugawa forces held out in northern Japan until they were finally beaten at the Battle of Hakodate.

The Battle of Hakodate was fought from 4 to 10 May 1869, between the remnants of the Shogunate Navy (five steamships), and the newly formed Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) with eight steam ships. The Imperial fleet landed troops on the island of Hokkaido where they destroyed onshore fortifications and attacked the rebel ships. On 4 May the Shogunate ship *Chiyodagata* was captured by Imperial troops after it was abandoned after running aground. On 7 May the Shogunate's *Kaiten* was heavily damaged by Imperial gunfire and put out of action, while *Banryū* was severely damaged by gunfire and sank. The fighting was intense and the Imperial navy also lost the *Chōyō* from gunfire. The IJN won the engagement, and the last of the Shogunate samurai surrendered before the end of May 1869.

The British warship HMS *Pearl* and the French warship *Coetlogon* stood by during the conflict in an effort to maintain their neutrality. The troops of the former Tokugawa Shogun fought side-by-side with a group of French military advisors, members of the 1st French Military Mission to Japan under Captain Jules Brunet, who had trained them during 1867-1868.

The Meiji Restoration was complete, and despite some 3500 casualties, it is mostly remembered as a bloodless revolution. It is also interesting that although the Imperial forces had campaigned to throw the Western powers out of Japan and to reject the Unequal Treaties they soon realised the futility of such policies. Instead, the Meiji rulers decided to pursue modernisation with Western aid. Japan had achieved much in the way of modernisation during the fourteen years between the arrival of Commodore Perry and the start of the Boshin War, but the speed of modernisation only increased with the Meiji Restoration.



*The Battle of the Yalu River was the decisive sea battle of the First Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895*

## APPENDIX 9 -

### THE FIRST SINO-JAPANESE WAR 1894-1895

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Tension between the Japanese and Chinese empires was generally high throughout much of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and it did not take much for that tension to escalate into open warfare. When Chinese troops were used to put-down a rebellion in Seoul, Korea, the Japanese demanded the Chinese withdraw, but instead the Chinese reinforced their troops. The First Sino-Japanese War started when, without first declaring war, four Japanese cruisers attacked a Chinese troop convoy sinking one transport (*Kow-Shing*) and damaging an escorting cruiser. War was officially declared on 1 August 1894, and both the Japanese and Chinese navies concentrated on the sea communications that supported their land forces on the Korean peninsula. In September, the Japanese fleet attempted to intercept a Chinese convoy but instead found the Chinese fleet that was escorting the convoy. The Battle of the Yalu River was the result.

On 17 September 1894, the Chinese fleet under Admiral Ting met the Japanese fleet under Admiral Ito Sukenori off the Yalu River in the Yellow Sea and adjacent to the north-western tip of Korea. Ito divided his forces into a fast squadron (four new fast cruisers) and a main body (one old battleship, one armoured steamer, four armoured cruisers, a gunboat and an armed transport), and sent his fast squadron to attack the starboard wing of the Chinese fleet (two battleships, eight armoured cruisers and three torpedo boats) and then to engage the Chinese cruisers and torpedo boats. In the meantime the Japanese main body engaged the heavy Chinese ships at close range. Ships on both sides were severely damaged by gunfire but the Chinese suffered most losing three ships sunk and two damaged by fire (two Chinese cruisers were also destroyed after running aground the following day). But the Japanese guns could not penetrate the Chinese battleships' armour and so, after five hours of action, both fleets separated, having expended their heavy ammunition. The Chinese withdrew to Port Arthur and the Japanese did not pursue.

The Battle of the Yalu River had far-reaching effects, for it demonstrated the advantages of concentrated firepower when used by ships in a line-ahead formation. Heavily armoured battleships were now invulnerable to fire from smaller calibre naval guns, but they were also too heavy to maintain the same speed as the new fast cruisers and torpedo boats. Naval fleets were henceforth divided into main battle squadrons and squadrons of light forces.

The Japanese landed a force near Port Arthur in October and captured that port on 22 November. To avoid further action with the Japanese fleet the remaining Chinese ships withdrew to their port at Weiheiwei. But the IJN was able to capitalise on its ability to manoeuvre throughout the Yellow Sea by landing a Japanese army on the Shantung Peninsula, either side of Weiheiwei on 19 January 1895. That port was quickly besieged, with the two remaining Chinese battleships, a few cruisers and ten torpedo boats trapped in the harbour. The Japanese successfully attacked the Chinese fleet at Weiheiwei with torpedo boats on the nights of 4/5 and 5/6 February, and despite some losses, effectively destroyed the remaining Chinese fleet. Only two Chinese torpedo boats managed to escape. With the Japanese now in control of the northern Chinese seas, Weiheiwei finally capitulated on 12 February 1895. The Treaty of Shimonoseki between Japan and China was signed, with Japan gaining the Liaodong peninsula (including Port Arthur), Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands. But it did not take long for the Tripartite Intervention (by France, Germany and Russia), to diplomatically force Japan to return the Liaodong peninsula to Chinese control.

*Naval battles of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905*



## APPENDIX 10 -

# THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR 1904-1905

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Russia's policy of expansion in East Asia brought it into conflict with the emerging Japanese nation. Both countries concentrated their naval forces in the Yellow Sea to ensure communications were maintained with their land forces. Japan felt aggrieved by the Tripartite Intervention and when Russia leased Port Arthur from the Chinese, war became inevitable.

The Pacific Fleets at the outbreak of the war included:

**Japanese** - 6 battleships, 6 cruisers, 12 light cruisers, and 19 destroyers

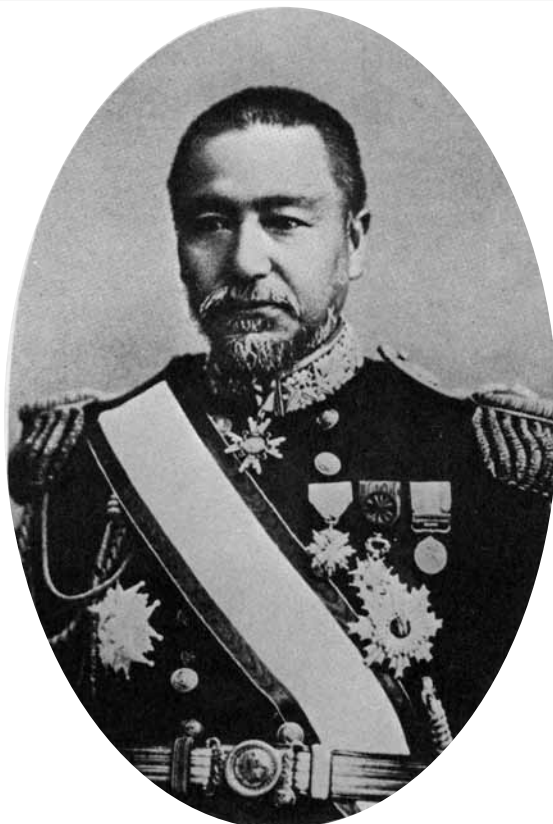
**Russian** - 7 battleships, 4 cruisers, 6 light cruisers, and 27 destroyers

Japan commenced their attack, without a declaration of war, when on the night of 8/9 February they conducted a surprise attack with ten destroyers against the Russian squadron in Port Arthur. Two Russian battleships and a cruiser were hit by torpedoes and were out of action for months. The next morning Admiral Togo, the Japanese commander, led his heavy ships into a fire-fight against the Russian ships lying in the roads of Port Arthur, and although very little damage sustained, this action provided cover for a major Japanese landing at Inchon (the harbour of Seoul, Korea). A separate naval action off Inchon, ended with a squadron of Japanese cruisers damaging a Russian cruiser and gunboat, both of which were later scuttled. The Japanese formally declared war on 10 February 1904.

The war soon became bogged down around Port Arthur with the Japanese blockading the port and both sides using offensive minefields to hinder freedom of action around the harbour entrance. Both the Russians and the Japanese eventually lost battleships to these mines. In April the Japanese landed an army on the Kwantung peninsula to besiege Port Arthur by land. After another month, Japanese siege guns were able to rain down shells upon the ships in the harbour. The Russian squadron attempted to break out on 23 June, but failed. The situation was rapidly becoming critical, so on 10 August 1904 the Russian fleet sailed out of Port Arthur to meet their Japanese opponents at the battle of the Yellow Sea.

Throughout the day six Russian battleships were engaged by four Japanese battleships and two armoured cruisers. After six hours of close combat and tactical manoeuvring, the Russian flagship suffered a critical hit that killed their admiral and practically all personnel on the bridge, and soon after most of the Russian fleet limped back into Port Arthur. Admiral Togo then ordered a night attack by his destroyers and although this caused no significant damage, it confirmed their moral supremacy over the Russian fleet.

Another battle was fought, this time in the Sea of Japan, on the 14 August 1904, when three Russian armoured cruisers, engaged in raiding Japanese trade, were met by four Japanese armoured cruisers and two light cruisers. After losing one of their number, the Russians fled and by default the Japanese gained undisputed sea supremacy in the Yellow Sea. The Russian naval forces at Port Arthur were gradually absorbed in the land defences, with many naval guns removed from the warships and used ashore. On 6 December Japanese troops captured Hill 203 in the defences and thus were able to bring direct artillery fire down on the Russian fleet in the harbour. The remaining ships were all scuttled to avoid capture and unnecessary casualties. On 2 January 1905 Port Arthur capitulated.



*Admiral Togo Heihachiro*

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The initial series of defeats in the Far East, had forced the Russians to send naval reinforcements from Europe to the Pacific. In October 1904, the 'Second Russian Pacific Squadron' of 38 ships, under Vice Admiral Rozhdestvensky, departed the Baltic and headed for East Asia. By the end of May 1905, Rozhdestvensky's fleet was approaching the Korean coast. Admiral Togo, well informed about the Russian reinforcements, awaited their arrival in the Korean Strait off Tsushima Island. The Japanese fleet numbered over 50 ships, although the Japanese had fewer battleships.

The Battle of Tsushima, fought on 26-27 May 1905, was an overwhelming victory for the Japanese and almost overnight confirmed Japan as a major sea power. Details of the battle are contained in Admiral Togo's official report of the battle reproduced below.

In September 1905 the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed by both parties and the war ended. Japan gained control over Port Arthur and South Sakhalin as part of this treaty.



*The Second Russian Pacific Squadron's journey to Tsushima*



## THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR 1904-1905

### ADMIRAL TOGO'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF TSUSHIMA AS PUBLISHED BY THE IMPERIAL NAVAL HEADQUARTERS STAFF

An extract from: FT Jane, *The Imperial Japanese Navy*, 1904, Addenda pp. 411-423.

By the help of Heaven our united squadron fought with the enemy's Second and Third Squadrons on 27 and 28 May, and succeeded in almost annihilating him. When the enemy's fleet first appeared in the south seas our squadrons, in obedience to Imperial command, adopted the strategy of awaiting him and striking at him in our home waters. We therefore concentrated our strength at the Korean Straits, and there abode his coming north. After touching for a time on the coast of Annam, he gradually moved northward, and some days before the time when he should arrive in our waters several of our guard-ships were distributed on watch in a south-easterly direction, according to plan, while the fighting squadrons made ready for battle, each anchoring at its base so as to be ready to set out immediately.

Thus it fell out that on the 27th, at 5 a.m., the southern guard-ship *Shinano Maru* reported by wireless telegraphy: 'Enemy's fleet sighted in No. 203 section. He seems to be steering for the east channel.'

The whole crews of our fleet leaped to their posts. The ships weighed at once, and each squadron, proceeding in order to its appointed place, made its dispositions to receive the enemy. At 7 a.m. the guard-ship on the left wing of the inner line, the *Idzumi*, reported: 'The enemy's ships are in sight. He has already reached a point 25 nautical miles to the north-west of Ukujima; he is advancing north-east.' The Togo (Captain Togo Masamichi) section, the Dewa section, and the cruiser squadron (which was under the direct command of Vice-Admiral Kataoka) came into touch with the enemy from 10 to 11 a.m., between Iki and Tsushima, and thereafter as far as the neighbourhood of Okinoshima these ships, though fired on from time to time by the enemy, successfully kept in constant touch with him, and conveyed by telegraph accurate and frequent reports of his state. Thus, though a heavy fog covered the sea, making it impossible to observe anything at a distance of over five miles, all the conditions of the enemy were as clear to us, who were 30 or 40 miles distant, as though they had been under our very eyes. Long before we came in sight of him we knew that his fighting force comprised the Second and Third Baltic Squadrons, that he had seven special service ships with him, that he was marshalled in two columns line ahead, that his strongest vessels were at the head of the right column, that his special service craft followed in the rear, that his speed was about 12 kts., and that he was still advancing to the north-east.

Therefore I was enabled to adopt the strategy of directing my main strength, at about 2 p.m. towards Okinoshima, with the object of attacking the head of his left column. The main squadron, the armoured cruiser squadron, the Uriu section and the various destroyer sections at noon reached a point about 10 nautical miles north of Okinoshima, whence, with the object of attacking the enemy's left column, they steered west, and at about 1.30 p.m. the Dewa section, the cruiser squadron, and the Togo (Captain) section still keeping touch with the enemy, arrived one after the other and joined forces. At 1.45 p.m. we sighted the enemy for the first time at a distance of several miles south on our port bow. As had been expected, his right column was headed by four battleships of the *Borodino* type, his left by the *Oslibia*, the *Sissoi Veliky*, the *Navarin*, and the *Nahimoff*, after which came the *Nikolai I* and the three coast defence vessels, forming another squadron. The *Jemrchug* and the *Izumrud* were between the two columns, and

seemed to be acting as forward scouts. In the rear, obscured by the fog, we indistinctly made out the *Oleg* and the *Aurora*, with other second- and third-class cruisers, forming a squadron; while the *Dmitri Donskoi*, the *Vladimir Monomakh*, and the special service steamers were advancing in column line ahead, extending to a distance of several miles.

I now ordered the whole fleet to go into action, and at 1.55 p.m. I ran up this signal for all the ships in sight: 'The fate of the Empire depends upon this event. Let every man do his utmost.'

Shortly afterwards the main squadron headed south-west, and made as though it would cross the enemy's course at right angles; but at five minutes past two o'clock the squadron suddenly turned east, and bore down on the head of the enemy's column in a diagonal direction. The armoured cruiser squadron followed in the rear of the main squadron, the whole forming single column line ahead. The Dewa section, the Uriu section, the cruiser squadron, and the Togo (Captain) section, in accordance with the previously arranged plan of action, steered south to attack the rear of the enemy's column. Such, at the beginning of the battle were the dispositions on both sides.

### Fight of the Main Squadron

The head of the enemy's column, when our main squadron bore down on it, changed its course a little to starboard, and at eight minutes past two o'clock he opened fire. We did not reply for some time, but when we came within 6000 metres' range we concentrated a heavy fire on two of his battleships. This seemed to force him more than ever to the south-east, and his two columns simultaneously changed their course by degrees to the east, thus falling into irregular columns line ahead, and moving parallel to us. The *Oslibia*, which headed the left column, was soon heavily injured, burst into a strong conflagration, and left the fighting line. The whole of the armoured cruiser squadron was now steaming behind the main squadron line, and, the fire of both squadrons becoming more and more effective as the range decreased; the flagship *Kniaz Suvaroff* and the *Imperator Alexander III*, which was the second in the line, burst heavily into flames, and left the fighting line, so that the enemy's order became more deranged. Several of the ships following also took fire, and the smoke, carried by the westerly wind, quickly swept over the face of the sea, combining with the fog to envelop the enemy's fleet, so that our principal fighting squadrons ceased firing for a time.

On our side also the ships had suffered more or less. The *Asama* had been struck by three shells in the stern near the water-line, her steering-gear had been injured, and she was leaking badly, so that she had to leave the fighting line; but she performed temporary repairs, and was very soon able to resume her place.

Such was the state of the main fighting forces on each side at 2.45 p.m. Already the result of the battle had been decided in this interval.

Thereafter our main squadron, forcing the enemy in a southerly direction, fired on him in a leisurely manner whenever his ships could be discerned through the smoke and fog, and at 3 p.m. we were in front of his line, and shaped a nearly south-easterly course. But the enemy now suddenly headed north, and seemed about to pass northward by the rear of our line. Therefore our main squadron at once went about to port, and, with the *Nisshin* leading, steered to the north-west. The armoured cruiser squadron also, following in the main squadron's wake, changed front, and thereafter again forced the enemy southward, firing on him heavily. At 3.07 p.m. the *Jemruchug* came up to the rear of the armoured cruiser squadron, but was severely injured by our fire. The *Oslibia* also, which had already been put out of action, sank at ten minutes past three o'clock,

and the *Kniaz Suvaroff*, which had been isolated, was injured more and more. She lost one of her masts and two smoke-stacks, and the whole ship, being enveloped in flame and smoke, became unmanageable, and her crew fell into confusion. The enemy's other vessels, suffering heavily, changed their course again to the east. The main squadron now altered its direction 16 points to starboard, and, the armoured cruiser squadron following, they pursued the retreating enemy, pouring a constantly heavier fire on him, and discharging torpedoes also whenever occasion offered. Until 4.45 p.m. there was no special change in the condition of the principal fight. The enemy was constantly pressed south, and the firing continued.

What deserves to be specially recounted here is the conduct of the destroyer *Chihaya* and of the Hirose destroyer section at 3.40 p.m., as well as that of the Suzuki destroyer section at 4.45 p.m. These bravely fired torpedoes at the flagship *Suvaroff*. The result was not clear in the case of the first-named boats, but a torpedo discharged by the last-named section hit the *Suvaroff* astern on the port side, and after a time she was seen to list some 10 degrees. In those two attacks the *Shiranui*, of the Hirose section, and the *Asashio*, of the Suzuki section, being each hit once by shells from ships in the neighbourhood, fell into some danger, but both happily escaped.

At 4.40 p.m. the enemy apparently abandoned the attempt to seek an avenue of escape northward, for he headed south, and seemed inclined to fly in that direction. Accordingly, our chief fighting force, with the armoured cruiser squadron in advance, went in pursuit, but lost him after a time in the smoke and fog. Steaming south for about eight miles, we fired leisurely on a second-class cruiser of the enemy's and some special service steamers which we passed on our starboard, and at 5.30 p.m. our main squadron turned northward again in search of the enemy's principal force, while the armoured cruiser squadron, proceeding to the south-west, attacked the enemy's cruisers. Thereafter until nightfall these two squadrons followed different routes, and did not again sight each other.

At 5.40 p.m. the main squadron fired once upon the enemy's special service steamer *Ural*, which was near by on the port side, and at once sank her; then, as the squadron was steaming north in search of the enemy, it sighted on the port bow the remaining ships of his principal force, six in number, flying in a cluster to the north-east. Approaching at once, it steamed parallel to these, and then renewed the fight, gradually emerging ahead of them and bearing down on their front. The enemy had steered north-east at first, but his course was gradually deflected to the west, and he finally pushed north-west. This fight on parallel lines continued from 6 p.m. to nightfall. The enemy suffered so heavily that his fire was much reduced, whereas our deliberate practice told more and more. A battleship of the *Alexander III* type quickly left the fighting line, and fell to the rear, and a vessel like the *Borodino*, which led the column, took fire at 6.40 p.m., and at 7.23 suddenly became enveloped in smoke, and sank in an instant, the flames having probably reached her magazine. Further, the ships of the armoured cruiser squadron, which were then in the south pursuing the enemy's cruiser squadron northward, saw at 7.07 p.m. a ship like the *Borodino*, with a heavy list, and in an unmanageable condition, come to the side of the *Nakhimoff*, where she turned over and went to the bottom. It was subsequently ascertained from the prisoners that this was the *Alexander III*, and that the vessel which the main squadron saw sink was the *Borodino*.

It was now getting dusk, and our destroyer sections and torpedo sections gradually closed in on the enemy from the east, north, and south, their preparations for attack having been already made. Therefore the main squadron ceased by degrees to press the enemy, and at 7.28 p.m. when the sun was setting, drew off to the east. I then

ordered the *Tatsuta* to carry orders to the fleet that it should proceed northward, and rendezvous on the following morning at the Ulneung Islands. This ended the battle during daylight on the 27th.

### Fight of the Dewa, Uriu, and Togo (Captain) Sections and of the Cruiser Squadron

At 2 p.m., when the order to open the fight was given, the Dewa, Uriu, and Togo sections, and the cruiser squadron, separating from the main squadron, steamed back south, keeping the enemy on the port bow. In pursuance of the strategical plan already laid down, they proceeded to menace the vessels forming the enemy's rear – namely, the special services steamers and the cruisers *Oleg*, *Aurora*, *Svietlana*, *Almaz*, *Dmitri Donskoi*, and *Vladimir Monomakh*. The Dewa and Uriu sections, working together in line, reached the enemy's cruiser squadron, and, steaming in a direction opposite to his course, engaged him, gradually passing round his rear, and emerging on his starboard, where the attack was renewed on parallel courses; then, taking advantage of their superior speed, these sections changed front at their own convenience, sometimes engaging the enemy on the port side, sometimes on the starboard. After 30 minutes of this fighting the enemy's rear section gradually fell into disorder, his special service steamers and warships scattering and losing their objective. At a little after 3 p.m. a vessel like the *Aurora* left the enemy's rank and approached our ships, but, being severely injured by our heavy fire, she fell back. Again, at 3.40 p.m., three of the enemy's destroyers sallied out to attack us, but were repulsed without accomplishing anything.

The result of this combined attack by the Dewa and Uriu sections was that by 4 o'clock there had been a marked development of the situation, the enemy's rear sections being thrown completely into disorder. Ships in this quarter had fallen out of their formation; all seemed to have suffered more or less injury, and some were seen to have become unmanageable.

The Uriu section, at about 4.20 p.m., seeing one of the enemy's special service steamers (probably the *Anjier*), a three-master with two smoke-stacks, which had become isolated, at once bore down on her and sank her. This section also fired heavily on another special service steamer, a four-master with one funnel (probably the *Iltis*), and nearly sank her.

About this time our cruiser squadron and the Togo section arriving on the scene, joined forces with the Dewa and Uriu sections, and, all working together, pursued and attacked the enemy's disordered cruiser squadron and special service steamers. While this was in progress, four of the enemy's warships (perhaps the coast defence vessels), which had been forced back by our main squadrons, came steaming south, and joined his cruiser squadron. Thus the Uriu section and our cruiser squadron became heavily engaged with these for a time at short range, and all suffered more or less, but fortunately their injuries were not serious.

Previously to this the *Kasagi*, flagship of the Dewa section, had been hit in her port bunker below the water-line. As she made water, it became necessary for her to proceed to a place where the sea was calm in order to effect temporary repairs. Rear-Admiral Dewa himself took away the *Kasagi* and *Chitose* for that purpose, and the remaining ships of his section passed under the command of Rear-Admiral Uriu. At 6 p.m. the *Kasagi* reached Aburaya Bay, and Rear-Admiral Dewa, transferring his flag to the *Chitose*, steamed out during the night, but the *Kasagi's* repairs required so much time that she was not able to take part in the pursuit the following day. The flagship *Taniwa*, of the

Uriu section, also received a shell below the water-line astern, and at about 5.10 p. m. she had to leave the fighting line and effect temporary repairs.

Alike in the north and in the south the enemy's whole fleet was now in disorder, and had fallen into a pitifully broken condition. Therefore at 5.30 p.m. our armoured cruiser squadron separated from the main squadron, and, steaming south, attacked the enemy's cruiser squadron. At the same time the enemy, forming a group, all fled north, pursued by the Uriu section, the cruiser squadron, and the Togo section. On the way the enemy's battleship *Kniaz Suvaroff*, which had been left behind unmanageable, as well as his repair ship *Kamchatka*, were sighted, and the cruiser squadron, with the Togo section, at once preceded to destroy them. At 7.10 p.m. the *Kamchatka* was sunk, and then the Fujimoto torpedo section, which accompanied the cruiser squadron, steamed out and attacked the *Suvaroff*. She made her last resistance with a small gun astern, but was finally struck down by two of our torpedoes, and went down. This was at 7.20 p.m. Very shortly afterwards our ships in this part of the field received orders to rendezvous at the Ulneung Islands, and subsequently we ceased fighting, and steamed to the north-east.

### Fight of the Destroyer and Torpedo Sections

The fight during the night of the 27th began immediately after the battle during the day had ceased. It was a vehement and most resolute attack by the various destroyer and torpedo sections.

From the morning of this day a strong south-west wind had raised a sea so high that the handling of small craft became very difficult. Perceiving this, I caused the torpedo section which accompanied my own squadron to take refuge in Miura Bay before the day's fighting commenced. Towards evening the wind lost some of its force, but the sea remained very high, and the state of affairs was very unfavourable for night operations by our torpedo craft. Nevertheless, our destroyer sections and torpedo sections, fearing to lose this unique occasion for combined action, all stood out before sunset, regardless of the state of the weather, and, each vying with the other to take the lead, approached the enemy. The Fujimoto destroyer section steaming from the north, the Yajima destroyer section, and the Kawase torpedo section from the north-east, bore down on the enemy's main squadron, while the rear of the same squadron was approached by the Yoshijima destroyer section from the east and the Hirose destroyer section from the south-east. The Fukuda, Otaki, Aoyama, and Kawada torpedo sections, coming from the south, pursued the detached vessels of the enemy's main squadron, as well as the group of cruisers on a parallel line in his left rear. Thus as night fell these torpedo craft closed in on him from three sides. Alarmed apparently by this onset, the enemy at sunset steered off to the south-west, and seems to have then changed his course again to the east. At 8.15 p.m. the night battle was commenced by the *Yajima* destroyer attacking the head of the enemy's main squadron, where after the various sections of torpedo craft swarmed about him from every direction, and until 11 p.m. kept up a continuous attack at close quarters. From nightfall the enemy made a desperate resistance by the aid of search-lights and the flashing of guns, but the onset overcame him, he lost his formation, and fell into confusion, his vessels scattering in all directions to avoid our onslaught. The torpedo sections pursuing, a pell-mell contest ensued, in the course of which the battleship *Sissoi Veliky* and the armoured cruisers *Admiral Nakhimoff* and *Vladimir Monomakh*, three ships at least, were struck by torpedoes, put out of action, and rendered unmanageable. On our side *No. 69* of the Fukuda torpedo section, *No. 34* of the Aoyama section, and *No. 35* of the Kawada sections were all sunk by the enemy's shells during the action, while the destroyers *Harusame*, *Akatsuki*, *Ikazuchi*,

and *Yugiri*, as well as the torpedo boats *Sagi*, No. 68, and No. 33, suffered more or less from gun-fire or from collisions, being temporarily put out of action. The casualties also were comparatively numerous, especially in the Fukuda, Aoyama, and Kawada sections. The crews of the three torpedo boats which sank were taken off by their consorts, the *Kari*, No. 31, and No. 61.

According to statements subsequently made by prisoners, the torpedo attack that night was indescribably fierce. The torpedo craft steamed in so rapidly and so close that it was impossible to deal with them, and they came to such short range that the warships' guns could not be depressed sufficiently to aim at them.

In addition to the above the Suzuki destroyer section and other torpedo sections proceeded in other directions the same night to search for the enemy. On the 28th, at 2 a.m., the Suzuki section sighted two ships steaming north at a distance of some 27 miles east-north-east of Karasaki. The section immediately gave chase, and sank one of the ships. Subsequent statements by prisoners rescued from her showed her to be the battleship *Navarin*, and that she was struck by two torpedoes on each side, after which she sank in a few minutes. The other torpedo sections searched in various directions all night, but accomplished nothing.

### The Fight on 28 May

At dawn on 28 May the fog which had prevailed since the previous day lifted. The main squadron and the armoured cruiser squadron had already reached a point some 20 miles south of the Ulneung Islands, and the other sections, as well as the various torpedo craft which had been engaged in the attack during the night, gradually and by different routes drew up towards the rendezvous. At 5.20 a.m., when I was about to form the armoured cruiser squadron into a search cordon from the east to west for the purpose of cutting the enemy's line of retreat, the cruiser squadron, which was advancing northward, being then about 60 miles astern, signalled that it had sighted the enemy eastward, and that several columns of smoke were observable. Shortly afterwards this squadron approached the enemy and reported that its force consisted of four battleships - two of these were subsequently found to be coast defence vessels - and two cruisers, and that it was advancing north. Without further inquiry it became clear that these ships formed the chief body of the enemy's remaining force. Therefore our main squadron and armoured cruiser squadron put about, and, gradually heading east, barred the enemy's line of advance, the Togo and Uriu sections, joining the cruiser squadron, contained him in the rear, so that by 10.30 a.m., at a point some 18 miles south of Takeshima (the Liancourt Rocks), the enemy was completely enveloped. His force consisted of the battleships *Orel* and *Nikolai I*, the coast defence ships *Admiral Apraxin* and *Admiral Seniavin*, and the cruiser *Izumrud*, five ships in all. Another cruiser was seen far southward, but she passed out of sight. Not only had these remnants of the enemy's fleet already sustained heavy injuries, but also they were, of course, incapable of resisting our superior force. Therefore soon after our main squadron and armoured cruiser squadron had opened fire on them, Rear-Admiral Nebogatoff, who commanded the enemy's ships, signalled his desire to surrender with the force under him. I accepted his surrender, and as a special measure allowed the officers to retain their swords. But the cruiser *Izumrud*, previously to this surrender, had fled southward at full speed, and, breaking through Togo's section, had then steamed east. Just then the *Chitose*, which, on her way back from Aburaya Bay, had sunk one of the enemy's destroyers en route, reached the scene, and, immediately changing her course, gave chase to the *Izumrud*, but failed to overtake her, and she escaped north.

Previously to this the Uriu section, while on its way north, at 7 a.m. sighted one of the enemy's ships in the west. Thereupon the *Otowa* and the *Niitaka*, under the command of Captain Arima, of the former cruiser, were detached to destroy her. At 9 a.m. they drew up to her, and found that she was the *Svietlana*, accompanied by a destroyer. Pushing closer, they opened fire, and, after about an hour's engagement, sank the *Svietlana* at 11.06 a.m. off Chyukpyong Bay. The *Niitaka*, accompanied by the destroyer *Murakumo*, which had just arrived, continued the pursuit of the enemy's destroyer *Buistri*, and at 11.50 a.m. drove it ashore and destroyed it in an unnamed bay some five miles north of Chyukpyong Bay. The survivors of these two vessels were all rescued by our special service steamers *America Maru* and *Kasuga Maru*.

The main part of our combined squadron which had received the enemy's surrender were still near the place of the surrender, and were engaged in dealing with the four captured ships, when, at 3 p.m., the enemy's vessel *Admiral Oushakoff* was sighted approaching from the south. A detachment consisting of the *Iwate* and the *Yakumo*, were immediately sent after her, and at a little after 8 p.m. they overtook her, as she steamed south. They summoned her to surrender, but for reply she opened fire, and there was nothing for it but to attack her. She was finally sunk, and her survivors, over 300, were rescued.

At 3.30 p.m. the destroyers *Sazanami* and *Kagero* sighted two destroyers of the enemy escaping east, and then at a point some 40 miles south-west of Ulneung Islands. These were pursued at full speed to the north-west, and, being overtaken at 4.45 p.m., an action commenced. The rear-most of the two destroyers then ran up a white flag in token of surrender, whereupon the *Sazanami* immediately took possession of her. She was found to be the *Biedvi*, with Vice-Admiral Rozhdestvensky and his staff on board. These, with her crew, were made prisoners. The *Kagero* meanwhile continued the chase of the other destroyer up to half-past six, but she finally escaped north.

At 5 p.m. the Uriu section and the Yajima destroyer section, which were searching for the enemy in a westerly direction, sighted the battleship *Dmitri Donskoi* steaming north, and went in pursuit. Just as the Russian vessel had reached a point some 30 miles south of the Ulneung Islands, the *Otowa* and the *Niitaka*, with the destroyers *Asagiri*, *Shirakumo*, and *Fubuki*, which were coming back from Chyukpyong Bay, bore down on her from the west and opened fire, so that she was brought between a cross cannonade from these and the Uriu section. This heavy fire from both sides was kept up until after sunset, by which time she was almost shattered, but still afloat. During the night she passed out of sight. So soon as the cruisers had ceased firing on her the *Fubuki* and the Yajima destroyer section attacked her, but the result was uncertain. On the following morning, however, she was seen drifting near the south-east coast of the Ulneung Islands, where she finally sank. Her survivors, who had landed on the islands, were taken off by the *Kasuga* and the *Fubuki*.

While the greater part of the combined squadrons were thus busily engaged in the north dealing with the results of the pursuit, there were in the south also some considerable captures of ships remaining at the scene of the action. Thus the special service steamers *Shinano Maru*, *Tainan Maru*, and *Yawata Maru*, which had set out early on the morning of the 28th charged with the duty of searching the place of the engagement, sighted the *Sissoi Veliky* at a point some 30 miles north-east of Karasaki. She had been struck by torpedoes the night before, and was now on the point of sinking. They made preparations for capturing her, and took off her crew. She went down, however, at 11.06 a.m. Again, at 5.30 a.m., the destroyer *Shiranui* and the special service steamer *Sado Maru* found the *Admiral Nakhimoff* in a sinking condition some five miles east of Kotozaki, in Tsushima.

Thereafter they sighted the *Vladimir Monomakh* approaching the same neighbourhood with a heavy list. The *Sado Maru* took measures for capturing both these ships, but they were so greatly shattered, and were making water so fast, that they sank in succession at about 10 a.m., after their crews had been removed. Just then the enemy's destroyer *Gromky* came to the same neighbourhood, and suddenly steamed off northward. The destroyer *Shiranui* went in pursuit, and about 11.30 a.m. attacked her. *No. 63*, a unit of the torpedo-boat sections, co-operating in the attack. The enemy's fire having been silenced, the destroyer was captured and her crew were made prisoners, but her injuries were so severe that she sank at 12.43 p.m. In addition to the above the gun-boats and special service steamers of our fleet, searching the coasts in the neighbourhood after the battle, picked up not a few of the crews of the sunken ships. Including crews of the captured vessels, the prisoners aggregated about 6000.

The above are the results of the battle, which continued from the afternoon of the 27th till the afternoon of the 28th. Subsequently, a part of the fleet conducted a search far southwards, but not a sign was seen of any of the enemy's ships. About 38 of his vessels had attempted to pass the Sea of Japan, and of these the ships that I believe to have escaped destruction or capture at our hands were limited to a few cruisers, destroyers, and special service steamers. Our own losses in the two days' fight were only three torpedo-boats. Some others of our vessels sustained more or less injury, but not even one of them is incapacitated for future service. Our casualties throughout the whole fleet were 116 killed and 538 wounded, officers being included.

There was no great difference in the strengths of the opposing forces in this action, and I consider that the enemy's officers and men fought with the utmost energy and intrepidity on behalf of their country. If, nevertheless, our combined squadrons won the victory, and achieved the remarkable success recorded above, it was because of the virtues of His Majesty the Emperor, not owing to any human prowess. It cannot but be believed that the small number of our casualties was due to the protection of the spirits of the Imperial ancestors. Even our officers and men, who fought so valiantly and so stoutly, seeing these results, found no language to express their astonishment.

## Comparative Statement - The Enemy's Ships and their Fate

I. Battleships, eight, whereof six were sunk (the *Kniaz Suvaroff*, the *Alexander III*, the *Borodino*, the *Osliabia*, the *Sissoi Veliky*, and the *Navarin*) and two were captured (the *Orel* and the *Nikolai I*).

II. Cruisers, nine, whereof four were sunk (the *Admiral Nakhimoff*, the *Dmitri Donskoi*, the *Vladimir Monomakh*, and the *Svietlana*), three fled to Manila and were interned (the *Aurora*, the *Oleg*, and the *Jemtchung*), one escaped to Vladivostock (the *Almaz*), and one became a wreck in Vladimir Bay (the *Izumrud*).

III. Coast defence ships, three, whereof one was sunk (the *Admiral Oushakoff*) and two were captured (the *Admiral Apraxin* and the *Admiral Seniavin*).

IV. Destroyers, nine, whereof four were sunk (the *Buini*, the *Buistri*, the *Gromky*, and one other), one captured (the *Byedovi*), one went down on account of her injuries when attempting to reach Shanghai (the *Blestyashchti*), one fled to Shanghai and was disarmed (the *Bodri*), one escaped to Vladivostock (the *Bravi*), and the fate of one is unknown.

V. Auxiliary cruiser, one, which was sunk (the *Ural*).



VI. Special service steamers, six, whereof four were sunk (the *Kamchatka*, the *Ilitis*, the *Anastney* and the *Russi*) and two fled to Shanghai, where they were interned (the *Kovea* and the *Sveri*).

VII. Hospital ships, two, which were both seized, one (the *Kastroma*) being subsequently released, and the other (the *Orel*) made prize of war.

## Recapitulation

Thirty-eight Ships

Twenty sunk.

Six captured.

Two went to the bottom or were shattered while escaping.

Six disarmed and interned after flight to neutral ports.

One fate unknown.

One released after capture.

Two escaped.

## APPENDIX 11 - THE JAPANESE NAVY IN WORLD WAR I

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Edited extracts from: Earl Brassey and J Leyland (eds), *The Naval Annual 1919*, Clowes and Sons, London, 1919, pp. 62-68.

It was on August 23, 1914, that our Government declared war on Germany in the cause of justice and in fulfilment of the treaty obligations of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. On the outbreak of hostilities, the following German Naval Forces were concentrated in the Pacific, viz.: -

1. German Pacific Cruiser Squadron, under Rear-Admiral von Spee (consisting of *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, *Nürnberg*, *Leipzig*, and *Dresden*), the whereabouts of which were uncertain. It was believed that the squadron was cruising amongst the Marshall or Caroline Islands.
2. A minor Squadron (comprising gun-boats and destroyers, including the Austro-Hungarian cruiser *Kaiserin Elizabeth*) was at Qingdao [China], the only German Naval Base in the Pacific. [Qingdao was known in German as Tsingtau]

From a strategical point of view, what we had before us at the time of the declaration of hostilities was -

1. Firstly, the capture of Qingdao (Chintao), and thus to render von Spee's Squadron homeless, and the destruction of the minor Squadron sheltering in the harbour;
2. Secondly, to locate von Spee's Squadron and destroy it;
3. Thirdly, to protect the Allied trade routes.

The first task was mainly entrusted to Japan, with the assistance of some British Forces. The second rested mainly with Vice-Admiral Jerram, Commander-in-Chief British China Squadron, supported by Japanese, French, and Russian Forces, and in co-operation with the Royal Australian Squadron. The third task was carried out by the respective countries, according to their own plans.

As is well known, the capture of Qingdao was successfully accomplished within a period of 10 weeks, but the Japanese Navy was called upon to increase its vigilance owing to the large expanses of ocean, in which von Spee's Squadron, as well as other German warships from several quarters, could operate, and thus threaten the trade routes and communications across the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Immediately on the outbreak of war - August 23, 1914 - the Second Squadron, under Vice-Admiral S. Kato (comprising the battleships *Suwo*, *Iwami* and *Tango*; the coast-defence ships *Okinoshima* and *Mishima*; the armoured cruisers *Iwate*, *Tokiwa* and *Yakumo*; and the light cruisers *Chitose*, *Takachiho*, *Akitsuishima* and *Tone*; and three destroyer divisions) was ordered to blockade Qingdao, while the First Squadron, under Vice-Admiral T Kato (comprising four battleships, *Settsu*, *Aki*, *Kawachi*, and *Satsuma*; four cruisers, *Yahagi*, *Hirato*, *Niitaka* and *Kasagi*; and four destroyer divisions) was

dispatched to patrol the waters between the Yellow Sea and the northern part of the China Sea, protecting our troopships proceeding to Qingdao, and at the same time safeguarding Allied trade routes.

August 27, 1914, was the date on which Vice-Admiral S. Kato, Commander-in-Chief of the Second Squadron, declared the blockade of Kiochau Bay. From that time the Squadron (including the British battleship *Triumph* and the destroyer *Usk*) kept a vigilant watch night and day, sweeping and clearing mines under the enemy's fire, in all conditions of weather, thus enabling Lieutenant-General Kamio to land his army for the siege of the forts of Qingdao. Towards the end of September, as soon as the mines were cleared, the Squadron commenced the bombardment of the forts, with the object of distracting the enemy's fire from our Army, which was just then preparing for offensive operations. After the lapse of about a month, when the Army was entirely ready for a general attack, the Squadron joined in the bombardment, and finally on November 7th of the same year the enemy was forced to his knees. In these operations we destroyed all enemy ships in the port (consisting of the Austro-Hungarian cruiser *Kaiserin Elizabeth*, the German gun-boats *Cormoran*, *Iltis*, *Tiger*, *Luchs*, and destroyer *S 90*), at the cost of the cruiser *Takachiho*, the destroyer *Shirotae*, and torpedo-boat *No. 33*, torpedoed or mined.

On August 26, 1914, the armoured cruiser *Ibuki* and cruiser *Shikuma*, under Senior Captain K. Kato, were despatched to Singapore to join the British China Squadron under Vice-Admiral Jerram. At the commencement our object was to search for von Spee's Squadron, but no enemy ships could be found within the Java Sea or west of it.

On September 10th, the German cruiser *Emden*, which had slipped out from Qingdao before our blockade was declared, made a sudden appearance in the Bay of Bengal and sank several British merchant vessels. At this period there was urgent need for escorting British troops from Australia and New Zealand proceeding to the Western Front. Accordingly, the armoured cruiser *Ibuki* was ordered to proceed to New Zealand to assist in the conveying of the troopships, while the *Shikuma* proceeded with all speed to the Bay of Bengal to co-operate with the British cruisers against the *Emden*. Dealing with the *Emden*, however, was a most difficult task, and we were thus compelled to send more cruisers to deal with this elusive raider, until a squadron, comprising the cruisers *Tokiwa*, *Yakumo*, *Ibuki*, *Ikoma*, *Nisshin*, *Shikuma*, *Hirato*, *Yahagi*, under the command of Vice-Admiral S. Tochinai, was established in those waters early in November.

On the morning of November 9th, when a huge convoy from Australia and New Zealand, escorted by the Japanese cruiser *Ibuki* and two British cruisers, *Melbourne* and *Sydney*, was proceeding within reach of the Cocos Islands, the *Emden* was reported by the wireless station there, and the *Sydney* proceeded to put an end to the career of that notorious raider. Consequently, Admiral Tochinai's Squadron was practically disbanded, most of the ships being added to Vice-Admiral Yamaya's Squadron, then operating against von Spee, and other vessels were withdrawn to Home waters. The *Ibuki*, however, still remained on escort duties for the troopships as far as Aden.

At the outset of the war, our Third Squadron, under the command of Rear-Admiral M Tsuchiya (consisting of some eight cruisers and gunboats) was despatched to patrol the stretch of waters extending from the southern part of the East Sea to the China Sea, with the object of protecting trade routes. This monotonous duty was faithfully performed until early in November, 1914, when Qingdao fell and the *Emden* was destroyed.

About this period, owing to the withdrawal of British men-of-war from the East for the Western campaign, the whole task of patrolling this part of the ocean, as well as



*Japanese forces landing at Qingdao late August 1914. The Japanese amphibious experiences during WWI led to major doctrinal developments in amphibious operations and large scale exercises during the inter-war period*



*A small British contingent landed with the Japanese at Qingdao in an effort to demonstrate Allied solidarity, but the operation was quintessentially a demonstration of the dominance of Japanese sea power in the east*

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of watching the enemy colliers at Manila, was entrusted to Rear-Admiral Tsuchiya. In February, 1915, he proceeded to Singapore on the urgent request by wireless from Admiral Jerram, and directly despatched ashore landing parties to assist the British Forces in suppressing the rebellion. The landing forces from the French cruiser *Montcalm* and the Russian auxiliary cruiser *Allior* also participated in this work.

From that time up till the present our Squadrons, though many changes in commanders and units have taken place, bear the responsibility of patrolling the vast area of the China Sea, Java Sea, Batan Sea, Sulu Sea, Celebes Sea, and the northern part of the Indian Ocean, operating from Singapore as the base.

About the middle of September, 1914, the First South-Bound Squadron (comprising two battle-cruisers (*Kurama* and *Tsukuba*), two cruisers (*Asama* and *Iwate*), and one destroyer division), under the command of Vice-Admiral T. Yamaya, was despatched to the Marshall and Caroline Islands to search for von Spee's Squadron.

In the early part of October another Squadron, designated the Second South-Bound Squadron (consisting of the battleship *Satsuma* and the light cruisers *Yahagi* and *Hirato*), under the command of Rear-Admiral T. Matsumura, was despatched with the same object in view. In the course of these operations, the Marshall and Caroline Islands were occupied by us in order to deprive the enemy of his base.

About the end of October it became apparent that no enemy vessels were to be found in those waters, and since von Spee's appearance off Samoa and Tahiti, the enemy's whereabouts were believed to be further southward. Hence a grand plan was projected between the British and Japanese Naval General Staffs to locate von Spee's Squadron from three directions; from the south by the British Squadrons coming from South America, from the north by the Allied Fleets starting from North America, and from the north-west by a Japanese Squadron under Vice-Admiral Yamaya, operating from Fiji.

These operations were successful in chasing von Spee from the South Pacific to the Falkland Islands, where he was totally defeated by Admiral Sturdee on December 8, 1914, the *Dresden* being the only vessel which escaped.

After the destruction of von Spee's Squadron, as our forces in this quarter were very much reduced, it was necessary to despatch some cruisers from time to time to deal with the *Dresden* and other German raiders. Since that time practically the whole of the Pacific, north and south, has been safeguarded by the Japanese Navy.

In August 1914 two German cruisers were reported to be on the west coast of North America, while no British men-of-war were present there excepting the Canadian sloop *Rainbow*. This exposed our trade routes, both British and Japanese, to attack. To the Japanese cruiser *Idzumo*, then in Mexican waters, fell the duty of proceeding to Esquimalt, Canada, to safeguard those waters. The *Newcastle* arrived shortly afterwards to join the *Idzumo* and *Rainbow*.

These three vessels were insufficient to deal with von Spee's Squadron, and accordingly two more Japanese warships, the battleship *Hizen* and armoured cruiser *Asama*, were detailed for service there, and, while en route, were obliged to lie off Honolulu to watch the German gun-boat *Geier*. After the *Geier*, which was interned ultimately on November 7th, was disposed of, these two ships proceeded to Mexican waters to join *Idzumo* and *Newcastle*, and later on all these forces were put under the command of Rear-Admiral Moriyama. About this time the Australian battle-cruiser *Australia* joined these forces to

locate the German Squadron, which was supposed to be cruising off the West coast of South America. This detachment formed part of the grand operations already mentioned, organised from three directions.

At the beginning of 1915, the cruisers *Tokiwa* and *Chitose*, under Vice-Admiral S. Tochinai, were despatched to this quarter to replace the forces under Admiral Moriyama. On March 10th of the same year, *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, a German auxiliary cruiser, was disarmed in an American port; and four days later *Dresden* was sunk by the British Forces at Juan Fernandez off Chile. After several months' anxious watching, all the Japanese forces were withdrawn from those waters.

The prolongation of the war and the stubbornness of Germany's resistance, necessitated our sending naval forces as far as the Mediterranean. In February, 1917, a Japanese Squadron comprising a cruiser and three destroyer divisions, under the command of Rear Admiral K Sato, started for the Mediterranean.

Allied naval operations in the Mediterranean were divided into three main spheres: -

1. The blockade of the Austro-Hungarian forces in the Adriatic.
2. The blockade of the Turkish forces and the Dardanelles.
3. The protection of Allied transports and merchantmen from submarine attack, and the taking of adequate measures for the destruction of these pests.

The third task was that in which the forces of Rear-Admiral Sato participated during the hardest days for nearly two years. The number of vessels escorted by our forces in the Mediterranean is as follows: -

|                                  |                   |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Warships                      | 21                |
| 2. Transports and merchant ships | 623 British       |
| ditto                            | 100 French        |
| ditto                            | 18 Italian        |
| ditto                            | 26 others         |
| <b>Total</b>                     | <b><u>788</u></b> |

Three-quarters of the above vessels were troopships conveying troops. The number of troops thus convoyed amounted to 800,000.

The break up of Russia and the tyranny of the Bolsheviks, backed by German and Austrian prisoners, compelled us to send naval forces, consisting of the *Asahi* and *Iwami* and an auxiliary ship, under the command of Rear-Admiral Kanji Kato, in January, 1918, to Vladivostock. (Later on these were replaced by *Mikasa* and *Hizen* with a destroyer division.) This force operating with the British and American forces was successful in protecting the Allied interests, and checking enemy action.

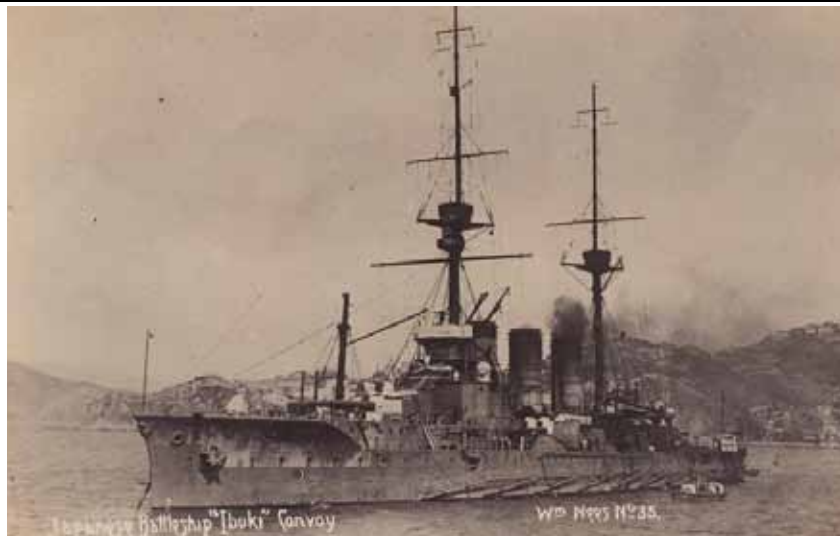
In August of the same year, when Japanese troops were sent to Siberia to assist the Czecho-Slovaks, the whole of the Third Japanese Squadron, under Vice-Admiral Arima, consisting of two battleships, *Katori* and *Kashima*, two cruisers, *Aso* and *Chihaya*, and two destroyer divisions, together with a naval wireless corps, was despatched to support the Army.

I have given merely an outline of our Navy's enormous contribution to the successful conclusion of this great war. It will be seen that the Japanese Navy participated in the safeguarding of the seas from German violence over almost the whole world, excepting the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. It may be felt that something brilliant is wanting in the naval operations in this great war compared with the achievements in the Japanese-Russian War of 1904 and 1905, but anyone knowing the strategic situation will readily understand the positions, and in no way can a reflection be cast on the activities of the Navy. One has merely to remember the geographical position of Japan in its relations to the world war. The subjugation of Germany must be largely attributed to the unobtrusive but ever increasing pressure of the Allied Navies, which kept up a vigilant blockade and patrolled the world, absolutely erecting a strong barrier against all enemy trade and communications, while at the same time safeguarding those of the Allies in spite of the enemy's stubborn and persistent submarine campaign.

In conclusion, it may well be said that the final victory of the Allied cause was won by their absolute command of the Seas, in which the Japanese Navy can claim a fair share.

G NAKASHIMA,

Commander, Imperial Japanese Navy.



*The armoured-cruiser Ibuki helped escort the first Australian troop convoy across the Indian Ocean in 1914*

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*The Australian Squadron and the Japanese Training Squadron, Sydney Harbour, May 1906. A visible sign of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance but a concern for Australia (AWM PO2751.053)*



*Japanese cruisers enter Jervis Bay, Australia, on a good-will visit, 1919. The Imperial Japanese Navy and Royal Australian Navy had worked well together during WWI (AWM PO1617.003)*

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*A hypothetical fleet encounter, 1934*

## APPENDIX 12 -

# THE SECOND SINO-JAPANESE WAR 1937-1945

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Conflict between China and Japan escalated during the early 1930s, they came to blows intermittently until 1937. On 18 September 1931 the Japanese Army forces attacked the Chinese in Manchuria in what became known as the Mukden Incident. Subsequently the Japanese Guandong Army occupied all of Manchuria and in February 1932 established the puppet state of Manchukuo. China appealed to the League of Nations for help. The League's investigation condemned Japan for its incursion into Manchuria, and led directly to Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations. In the meantime Japan pressured China into recognising the independence of Manchukuo. The conflicts did not end there, as the Imperial Japanese Army and its supporters sought every opportunity to take advantage of China's political weakness, despite opposition from members of the Japanese Diet (parliament), its diplomatic corps and the majority of the Imperial Japanese Navy (who favoured expansion into the Pacific). The Japanese often fought by proxy, supporting Chinese factions against the Chinese Kuomintang government, through such instruments as the North China Autonomous Movement.

The Second Sino-Japanese War commenced with a major Japanese invasion of eastern China, it continued during World War II and ended only with the surrender of Japan in 1945. China and Japan did not formally declare war on each other until after Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1941.

The war actually began on 7 July 1937 with the Battle of Lugou Bridge (sometimes called the Marco Polo Bridge Incident). The Minister of War, General Sugiyama, ordered Japanese reinforcements to China and although the Japanese Prime Minister Prince Konoye, backed by the Navy and Foreign Ministers, tried to restrain Sugiyama, their efforts were in vain. Japanese troops (including Marines) launched an amphibious campaign to occupy Shanghai, Nanjing and Northern Shanxi as part of campaigns involving approximately 200,000 Japanese soldiers, and considerably more Chinese soldiers. The fall of Nanjing was accompanied by a massacre of Chinese civilians, widely reported (some would say exaggerated) in the West.

The discipline of the Japanese forces at Nanjing had broken down completely. Just before the city fell, a Japanese naval aircraft bombed and sank the USS *Panay* in the Yangtze, and an artillery unit commanded by a notorious ultra-nationalist, shelled the British river gunboat HMS *Ladybird*. The US and Britain were on the brink of war, but an official Japanese apology (by diplomats who had originally opposed the war) prevented escalation.

The fighting continued in 1938 but despite some victories, and a few set backs, the Imperial Japanese Army operations in China lacked adequate strategic control. With Japanese casualties and costs mounting, the deeply frustrated Imperial General Headquarters retaliated by ordering air units of the Navy and Army to launch the world's first massive air bombing raids upon civilian targets. The provisional capital, Chongqing, and nearly every major city in unoccupied China were targeted, leaving millions of Chinese civilians dead, injured and homeless. By 1940, the fighting had reached a stalemate. While Japan held most of the eastern coastal areas of China, guerrilla fighting continued in the conquered areas.

Japan's departure from the League of Nations lost them their support in America, and as reports of massacres reached the US newspaper audience, US public opinion started to favour China. The Japanese attack on *Panay* swung public opinion sharply against Japan. Up until December 1941, the United States, Britain and France provided war material and volunteers to support the Chinese, but it was only after the start of the Pacific War that the Allies, especially the US, provided large quantities of trained personnel and military supplies. Even though large amounts of material were supplied, Chinese leader Chang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang achieved little other than tying down large numbers of Imperial Japanese Army troops. The massive Japanese offensive operations in 1944 (Operation ICHIGO) found little Chinese opposition but managed to ensure that the Japanese troops in occupied China would not take any part in the defence of Japan in 1945.

The war ended suddenly soon after the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Japanese troops in China formally surrendered on September 9, 1945 and by the provisions of the 1943 Cairo Conference, Manchuria, Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands reverted to Chinese control.

The Second Sino-Japanese War is important for the development of the IJN. Not only did it help set the scene for the Pacific War, confirming the US as an enemy rather than a friend, but it gave the IJN practical experience in the command and control of fleets, amphibious operations, and the application of naval aviation.

## APPENDIX 13 -

### THE PACIFIC WAR 1941-1945

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The following extracts, taken from the United States Strategic Bombing Survey (Pacific), *Interrogations of Japanese Officials*, (OPNAV-P-03-100), Washington, DC, 1 July 1946, provide a record of some of the opinions of Japanese Naval Officers after the war. They make interesting reading even though the opinions expressed were often limited by the difficult circumstances - they were interrogated rather than interviewed.

#### The Naval War in the Pacific

Interrogation Nav No. 115 (USSBS No. 503) Tokyo: 9-12 December 1945  
Vice Admiral Fukudome, Shigeru, IJN; Chief of Staff, Combined Fleet from 1940 to April 1941; Chief First Section, Naval General Staff, Tokyo, April 1941 to May 1943; Chief of Staff, Combined Fleet from May 1943 to March 1944; Commander, Second Air Fleet, July 1944 to 15 January 1945; Commander, 10th Area Fleet, 15 January 1945 to present date.

**Q.** In the original concept at the beginning of the war, were the various forces given definite final objectives or merely limited objectives, with a view to subsequent orders depending on the progress of the campaign?

**A.** The original order given to Admiral Yamamoto by the Imperial General Headquarters contained two main parts: one, destruction of the enemy fleet; two, coordination with the Army in capturing, and gaining control of the southern areas. With regard to the first part, as in the case of the Russo-Japanese War when Admiral Togo was ordered to destroy the Russian Fleet without any detailed instructions as to how or where that was to be done, steps and methods to be employed for the destruction of the enemy fleet were left to Admiral Yamamoto's discretion. He was to draw up the plan of operation by estimating the enemy strength in the light of the strength which he had available himself. As regards the second point, the Army, of course, was to carry out the work of occupation. The purpose of that was less strategic than economic and political, the object being principally to gain control of the raw materials in the south. The duty of the Navy in that connection was to support the Army effort both with its fleet and its land-based air force. Lest there be misunderstanding on the point, I wish to say that though Admiral Yamamoto was assigned this specific duty of planning and executing the destruction of the enemy fleet according to his own discretion, he could not activate any plan without the approval of the Imperial General Headquarters. I cannot recall that any line was fixed to designate the limits of ocean surface to be secured; I do recall, however, that lands to be occupied were definitely fixed.

**Q.** Initially, what was the farthest fixed position to which the advance in the north was limited?

**A.** In the north, the Aleutians, including Attu and Kiska, but I believe that Dutch Harbor was left to fleet discretion. In the south Rabaul was designated from the beginning; and the Solomons and Midway were added later.

**Q.** This would then be called the first established line - Attu and Kiska (possibly Dutch Harbor), Wake, Rabaul and so on west? We might accept that as a first line?

**A.** Yes, include the Gilberts in that line. That was the first line for occupation but this did not restrict naval activity.

**Q.** Then the move into the Western Aleutians in June 1942 was actually in completion of this initial plan, even though delayed somewhat?

**A.** I wish to make a correction, the question of including Kiska and Attu in the original program was only considered, but it was not adopted at that time. It was added at the same time Midway was brought into this line.

**Q.** In May 1942, Japanese forces were in the Solomons. Was this the first move beyond the original line? If so, what was its intent?

**A.** I believe that this was the first instance in which we went beyond the original line, and that move was made, I believe, because the local command at Rabaul felt that the occupation of the Solomons was essential to the maintenance of our hold on Rabaul which was a point on our original line.

**Q.** That, of course, was an Imperial General Staff decision?

**A.** Since that was in the nature of an addition to the regular duty already assigned to the fleet it must have been issued as an Imperial General Headquarters order; probably recommended by Rabaul, approved by Imperial General Headquarters and issued in the form of an order.

**Q.** What was the intention as to the extent of the advance in that direction?

**A.** Taking of Rabaul, in the first place, was a part of the Navy plan. At first there was one section of opinion which favored taking only as far as Shortland, but later it was extended over the entire Solomons. There was also another section favoring extension to New Hebrides with the object of cutting off communications between the United States and Australia, but the section that favored taking the whole Solomons Group prevailed.

**Q.** Was there, at a later date, any further planned extension toward the southeast? Any attempted plan?

**A.** Yes, the idea was considered of taking New Hebrides and even of proceeding to Australia, but those plans were never attempted or incorporated into an order.

**Q.** Who initiated the proposal to make an amphibious occupation of Port Moresby; was it primarily Army or Navy interest?

**A.** I don't remember the circumstances exactly, but believe it was probably the Navy; because in the operations centered about Rabaul, the Navy was taking the initiative in most cases. After Rabaul was taken and subsequent operations were extended it became more and more clear that a broad area would have to be occupied in order to secure Rabaul. Just exactly who made the original proposal, I do not know, but it is certain that the demand originated at Rabaul, probably on the Navy side, and was approved by Central Authorities. When the decision to take Port Moresby was made, the Army reaction to it was that it would be quite simple to occupy Port Moresby by a sea-borne operation.

**Q.** What was the effect of the Battle of the Coral Sea on that operation, and what new plans were evolved?

**A.** My memory is rather hazy on this subject, also, but I believe that the results obtained in the Coral Sea did not come up to the anticipations of the Central Authorities, as we had to pull out after a single engagement. It had been hoped that the result of this engagement would enable us to open up the situation there more advantageously.

However, I don't believe that our authorities saw any need of changing subsequent plans as a result of the engagement in the Coral Sea.

**Q.** Then the subsequent movement of the Army troops over the Owen Stanley Range was still primarily to serve the Navy's purpose; that is, a continuation of the Navy's insistence that Port Moresby was next?

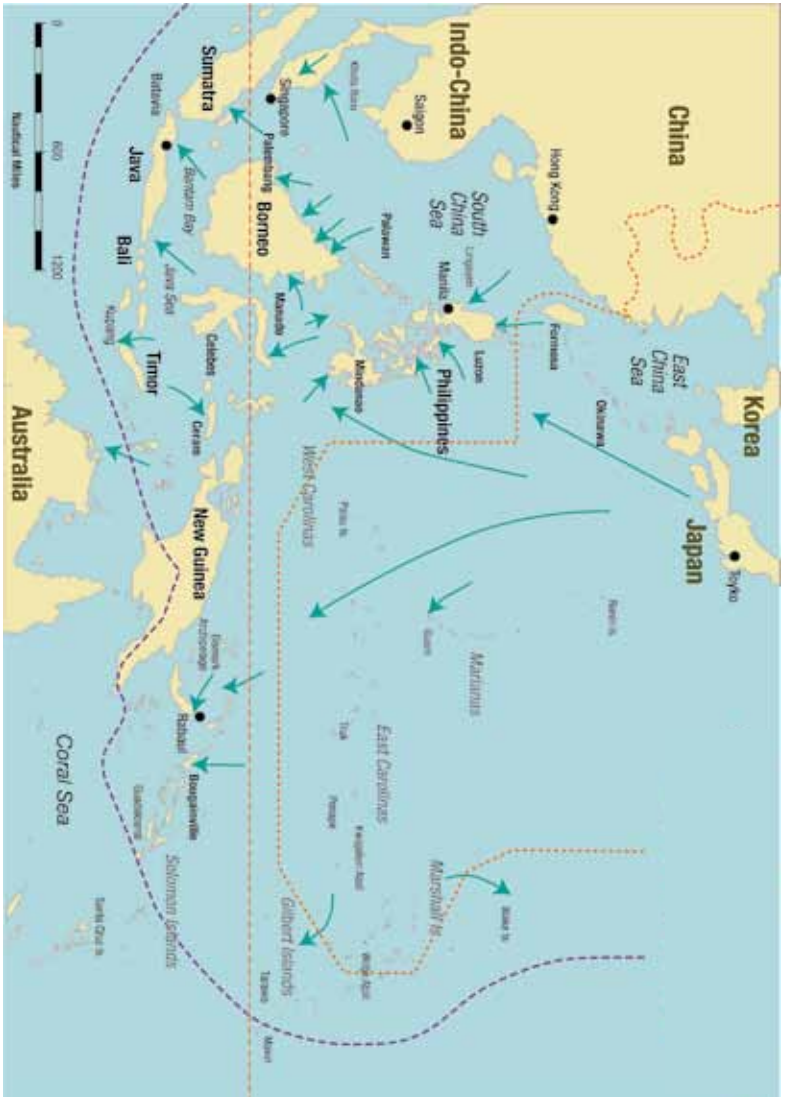
**A.** It was not so much in pursuance of Navy plan as a Joint plan, because, at that time, there was complete agreement between Army and Navy on the southward push. The Army thought that the mountains could be very easily crossed. Back of that thought was an erroneous impression on the part of the Japanese Army that the U.S. Army presented no serious problem; in other words, the Army estimated the U.S. Army much too lightly; that applies also to the Australian Army. Our Army learned this truth only after the reverses at Guadalcanal and the Solomons. This under-estimation of U.S. and Australian Armies led to the belief that even after we had lost Guadalcanal, that that position could be easily recovered with perhaps as small a force as 500 crack troops. The same idea was behind the Army belief that the crossing of the Owen Stanley Range would be a simple operation.

**Q.** When was the decision reached to expand the perimeter to include Midway, and what were the reasons therefore?

**A.** The taking of Midway was a part of the fleet desire. From the outset, the fleet wanted to take Midway even if subsequent developments caused its loss. I believe the idea originated with Admiral Yamamoto that the fleet wished to take it even if subsequent developments should necessitate giving it up again. The Imperial General Staff, however, was opposed to the idea at first because the disadvantages of holding Midway, especially in the way of supply, would outweigh the advantages. It had always been a policy of the Japanese Navy to hold the fleet in waters relatively close to home to meet the enemy there in surface interception operations, the object being to engage the enemy in areas most advantageous for us. But as the operations in the first stage of the war were so successful as to even exceed expectations and as the fleet again submitted its plan for taking Midway with details of the plan, especially with regard to the reasons for the necessity of taking it and the chances of success of the operation, the Imperial Staff at this time gave its support. The Army also fell in line and offered to send troops for occupation. As this was an addition to the original plan of operations it was issued as a new Imperial General Headquarters order. By way of summary, it might be stated the purpose of this operation for taking Midway was to utilize it as a base for future advances, and at the same time to prevent its being used by the enemy as a base. The Chief of the Naval General Staff, Admiral Nagano, had full confidence in Admiral Yamamoto's judgment, and was always willing to trust his judgment in respect to fleet operations. He appeared to have the feeling that if Admiral Yamamoto said that a certain plan promised success he would be willing to let Admiral Yamamoto proceed with its execution. While there was discussion of this plan between the fleet and authorities in the General Staff, what really led to Admiral Nagano giving his final consent to the carrying out of this plan was the fact he always had full confidence in the CinC of the Fleet.

**Q.** About what date was the additional order issued?

**A.** I don't remember the exact date but believe it was just prior to commencement of the operation. Since the fleet had studied this operation very closely, they were in a position to put the plan into operation immediately once it was issued.



*The Japanese offensive in the South-West Pacific,  
December 1941 - February 1942*

**Q.** You made a suggestion of further forward advances. Did the Naval General Staff act on its own initiative or did it receive from Admiral Yamamoto plans to go on beyond Midway? If so, what was the nature of those plans?

**A.** It would probably be more accurate to say that one of the purposes for taking Midway was to use it as a base for subsequent operations rather than for further advance. No doubt the fleet had been studying the possibility for further advances even to Hawaii, but doesn't appear to have been able to draw up a plan that would promise success, and the Imperial General Staff had been opposed from the beginning to extending the line too far. I am certain that there was no definite adoption of a plan, at that time, to go beyond Midway. From some time prior to this, the Naval General Staff had been considering the question of operations toward Hawaii as a problem reserved for a subsequent time, a time when our fleet should have destroyed the American Fleet. However, the General Staff had not transmitted this idea to the fleet yet.

**Q.** What were the effects of the Battle of Midway, 4-6 June 1942, and what new plans, if any, were evolved directly as a result of that action?

**A.** The result of the Midway engagement was a most serious blow to our Navy. Admiral Yamamoto's basic policy had been to engage the enemy in a decisive fleet engagement. He was at the same time an advocate of using air power, including the use of land-based air forces. In undertaking the capture of Midway, he, no doubt, planned to use Midway as a base for just such a fleet engagement; but as a result of this serious set-back at Midway, he was probably forced to give up the hope of holding such a fleet engagement a great distance from home. The effect of the Midway Battle was to greatly restrict the area in which such a fleet engagement could be carried out. The damage we suffered there was so great that the result was concealed from our own public. It is only now that the truth is coming out, and I believe it is giving rise to a considerable problem because of the previous concealment.

**Q.** The concealment was to avoid effects on civilian morale?

**A.** I believe that the real figures were concealed from everybody except those in the Imperial General Staff and the two service ministers; in other words, people who absolutely had to know the truth. The concealment from the rest of the nation was of course to prevent disappointment, loss of hope, etc. That is the purpose. It was domestic rather than exterior.

**Q.** It would appear that a loss so significant would require important changes in over-all plans; was that the case? What was the nature of the changes?

**A.** I believe that, heavy as this loss was, it did not cause any direct change in the basic policy of the Imperial General Staff which had left to the fleet the decision as to the manner and method which its duties were to be performed - said duties being destruction of the enemy fleet and occupation and control of the raw materials area in the south. As already stated, the Midway Operation had the effect of greatly restricting the area in which the decisive engagement with the enemy fleet could be advantageously carried out. In other words, the result of the Midway engagement was to force Admiral Yamamoto to the decision that this decisive battle would have to be fought in waters relatively close to home.



## Coral Sea Battle, 7-8 May 1942

Interrogation Nav No. 8 (USSBS No. 46)

Tokyo: 17 October 1945

Commander Sekino, H., IJN, 20 years in Navy. Communication Officer, Staff 6th Cruiser Squadron at Coral Sea. Commander Okumiya, Masatake, IJN, Staff, Second Flying Squadron. Both officers currently members of General Staff.

**Q.** What was the mission of the *Shoho's* Task Force in the Coral Sea Area, 7-8 May 1942?

**A.** To support the force that planned to capture Port Moresby. The *Shoho's* mission in the Japanese formation was exclusively to guard transports in the Occupation Force against submarines and air raids and not to deliver attack. The *Shoho* was in the Fourth Carrier Division.

**Q.** Why didn't that force continue to Port Moresby?

**A.** Because we couldn't completely destroy the American Task Force. Our carrier-based planes were of little use because of the shortage of fuel on board. Although most of your carriers were all sunk or badly damaged, the remaining surface craft were not damaged. We were not strong enough to try occupation. The main force of our fleet had just completed an operation in the Indian Ocean at Ceylon and returned to Japan. Just a small group was left in the Coral Sea Area.

**Q.** What ships were present in the Coral Sea Battle?

**A**

### MORESBY TASK FORCE

*Shokaku* (CV)

*Zuikaku* (CV)

*Myoko* (CA)

*Haguro* (CA)

and about seven destroyers

### MORESBY OCCUPATION FORCE

*Yubari*

about six destroyers

and five transports

### DIRECT SUPPORT FORCE

*Shoho* (CVE)

*Aoba* (CA)

*Kinugasa* (CA)

*Kako* (CA)

### SEAPLANE TENDER GROUP

*Kokokawa-Maru* (AV)

[sic: *Kamikawa-Maru*]

*Tenryu* (CL)

*Tatsuta* (CL)

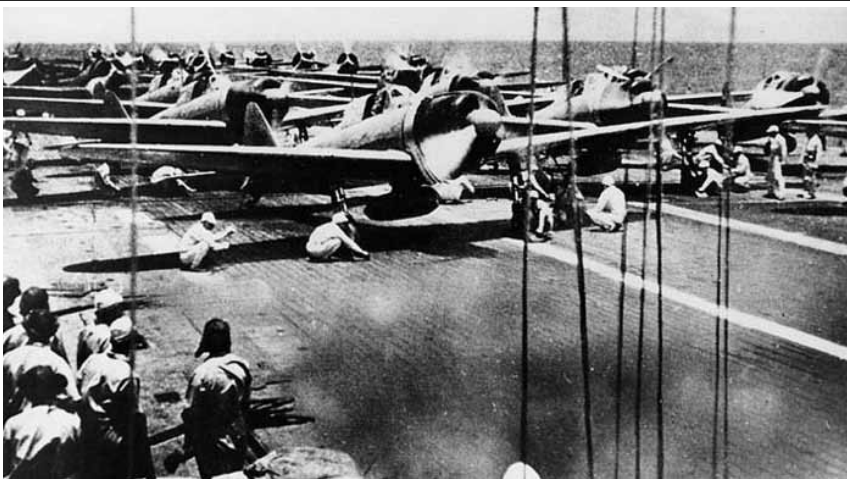
On 7 May, the day when *Shoho* came under American attack, Japan's scout planes made wrong identification and directed the attack of the *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku* planes to American tankers instead of American carriers, thereby seriously up-setting the entire succeeding battle tactics of the Japanese Task Force. After dropping their bombs on the American tankers, the *Zuikaku* and *Shoho* planes were returning to their carriers when they saw the American Carrier Force. Unfortunately they didn't have any bombs to attack. Some planes mistook the American carriers and attempted to land on board. This was at night. It was then reported American Task Force about 30 miles south of Japanese Task Force.

**Q.** Why didn't you make a night attack?

**A.** I am not sure. There was some talk but we received orders to go north.



*Watching flight operations on Shokaku, 1941*



*Aircraft preparing for launch on Shokaku, 1942*

Q. Do you know how many hits were made on the *Shoho*?

A. I think about nine bombs and about four torpedoes. The first bombs broke the steering gear and she couldn't navigate.

Q. Were torpedo hits made with the first attack group?

A. No, only the second group made any hits. When the second wave attacked they made about 9 bomb and 4 torpedo hits.

Q. Did the *Shoho* sink as a result of the bombs and torpedoes?

A. About five minutes after the first hit was made she capsized. It was not necessary for destroyer to sink it.

Q. About how many personnel were lost?

A. About 500 lost out of 1200.

Q. Were the planes aboard the *Shoho* when it was hit?

A. No, very few. Most landed on other carriers, some landed on a small island in the Louisiade Group near a seaplane tender.

Q. Were those pilots recovered?

A. Yes, they were recovered by the seaplane tender.

Q. How many planes were lost?

A. About 21 planes.

Q. Was the *Shokaku* hit?

A. Hit by two bombs only. No torpedoes hit. Dropped too far away, easily dodged.

Q. Was the *Zuikaku* hit?

A. No, no damage received.

Q. How much time was required to repair the *Shokaku*?

A. Somewhere between one and a half to two months.

Q. Were any planes aboard the *Shokaku* when it was hit?

A. About a dozen. No damage. Only bow of flight deck damaged. Some damage to repair room in stern but some planes landed after bombs hit.

Q. What effect did the battle have on the current plan of attacking Port Moresby and on future plans?

A. The damage to the *Shokaku* prevented her from being used in the Battle of Midway operation as was planned. The damage to the two carriers *Shoho* and *Shokaku* was a serious setback to the operations for the occupation of Port Moresby. Due to the delay of operations in that area and American occupation of Guadalcanal, it was finally necessary to give up the plan for the occupation of Port Moresby by sea, forcing the Army to try to occupy by land from Buin [sic: Buna].

## The Battle of Midway

Interrogation Nav No. 1 (USSBS No. 6)

Tokyo: 6 October 1945

Captain Amagi, Takahisa, IJN, Naval Aviator, Air Commander (observer) on CV *Hiryu* at Pearl Harbor, Air Officer on CV *Kaga* at Battle of Midway, 3, 4, 5 June 42.

**Q.** What aircraft carrier divisions were present at Midway?

**A.** The Third Fleet or Third Task Force, commanded by Vice Admiral Nagumo. Rear Admiral Kusaka was Chief of Staff.

**Q.** Who were Captains of the Carriers at Midway?

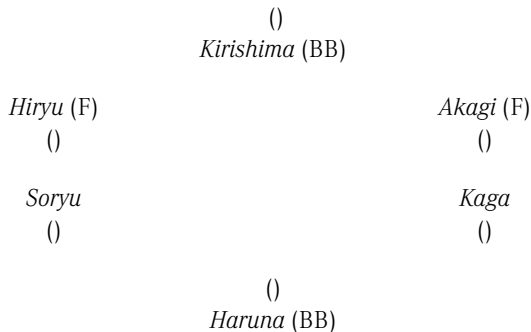
**A.** Captain Okada of the *Kaga*, Captain Kaka of the *Hiryu*, Captain Yanagimoto of the *Soryu* and Captain Aoki of *Akagi*. The first three were killed at Midway.

**Q.** Were there any other forces such as Support Force or Occupation Force?

**A.** Believe there were two other forces for occupation, but am not sure of composition or relative location.

**Q.** Draw a diagram of the cruising disposition of the Aircraft Carriers.

**A.**



In daytime a circular formation was used, but at night a column was formed. Believe the Task Force Commander was on the *Soryu*.

**Q.** What was the composition of the *Kaga's* Air Group?

**A.** It was composed of 21 fighters (0 Type) Type: 27 VB (99 Type); 18 VT (97 Type); same as all other carriers. [editor: VB = dive bomber and VT = torpedo bomber]

**Q.** What was the mission of the Carrier Task Group?

**A.** To attack Midway, to help occupation.

**Q.** During your approach to Midway did you expect to be attacked by American planes?

**A.** We had expected an attack by scouting planes at 1000 miles, and by bombing planes at 700 miles and by small planes at 300 miles.

Q. Did you see any planes during the approach to Midway prior to the battle of 4 June?

A. No, but it was reported that an American plane was heard over the carrier formation at night, one or two days before the battle.

Q. Was the carrier formation attacked by long range bombers about 600 miles from Midway, or were any air attacks made on the carrier force prior to the day of the battle (4 June, plus 12; 5 June, Tokyo time)?

A. No.

Q. Were any submarine attacks made on the carrier force during the approach?

A. No.

Q. When was the *Kaga* first hit?

A. It was hit by dive bombers two or three hours after sunrise, 4 June (5 June Tokyo time).

Q. How many bombs hit the *Kaga*?

A. There were four hits on the *Kaga*. The first bomb hit the forward elevator. The second bomb went through the deck at the starboard side of the after elevator. The third bomb went through the deck on the port side abreast of the island. The fourth bomb hit the port side aft. When the bombs hit, big fires started. Unable to see much because of smoke.

Q. Did any of the American bombers dive into the deck?

A. No, not on *Kaga*. Did not hear that any had dived on other carriers.

Q. Were any other ships hit by bombs at same time?

A. It was hard to see because of smoke, but I believe that the battleship *Hiei* just astern of the *Kaga* was hit by dive bombers and a fire started on the stern of the *Hiei*.

Q. Was the *Kaga* attacked by horizontal bombers?

A. No.

Q. Was the *Kaga* attacked by torpedo planes?

A. I saw torpedo planes but do not think *Kaga* was attacked. No torpedo hits were made. However, while swimming in water several hours after attack saw a torpedo apparently fired from submarine strike side of ship at angle and bounce off. Didn't explode. Torpedo went bad.

Q. Were any other ships attacked by horizontal bombers?

A. Did not see any hit. Saw some pattern of bombs fall in water during day.

Q. Which type of attack most feared - torpedo plane, dive bomber, or horizontal bomber?

A. Dive bomber, cannot dodge.

Q. Were planes on board when ship was hit?

A. Yes, about 30 planes in hangar loaded and fueled, remainder on deck, six VF [fighter aircraft] in the air.

Q. Did bombs sink the ship?

A. Yes, gasoline and bombs caught fire. Ship sank itself, Japanese no need sink with torpedo.

Q. Was *Kaga* strafed by planes?

A. Was done during diving, one or two personnel and planes on deck were injured.

Q. When did it sink?

A. Same afternoon.

Q. What kind of planes made the attack - torpedo planes, dive bombers or horizontal bombers?

A. Dive bombers.

Q. In what order was attack made?

A. I think first high horizontal bombers, no hits. Then torpedo attack. Was dodged, no hits. Then dive bombers, 4 hits. Then more horizontal bombing about 400 meters away. No hits. most attack all the same time.

Q. How many personnel lost when ship sunk?

A. About 800 lost. About 1000 saved.

Q. How many pilots saved?

A. About 40 pilots. About 50% pilots saved.

Q. How were the personnel rescued?

A. By cruisers and destroyers.

Q. How many airplanes did you expect to lose in the attack on Midway?

A. It all depends upon Captain of ship. He expects about 1/3 do not come back.

Q. Were any *Kaga* planes launched to attack Midway?

A. No, all planes on board except six fighters overhead. I heard that they landed on other ships. Other ships had launched planes to attack Midway but *Kaga* planes were waiting for orders to launch and attack.

Q. How many protective fighters (CAP) were over carrier formation?

A. Normally 28. Two carriers supplied eight each, the other two carriers provided six each. This was normal patrol. If attacked, other planes rose to meet opposition.

Q. How long did fighters stay in air, and how were planes in air relieved?

A. Two hours. When the waiting planes get in air up high, then the former patrolling plane comes down and lands.

Q. When the carrier launched the patrol did it turn into the wind alone, or did all ships turn?

A. All turn in same formation. We use 14 meters wind over deck for landing and launching. If only few planes launched individual carrier turns into wind. If many planes launched or landed entire formation turns. When over 300 miles from target, carriers operate independently. When within 300 miles of target, all ships maneuver together.

Q. About how far apart were the ships in the formation?

A. A square formation about 4000 meters apart. When need much speed and wind, distance large. When wind and sea strong, the distance diminishes.

Q. Did the formation zigzag?

A. Yes.

Q. Were destroyers employed with the carriers when operating the planes?

A. Yes, sometimes, one, sometimes two destroyers would come from outside circular screen. They take station about 700 meters astern.



*Allied small amphibious craft head for the beaches during the Leyte Gulf landings, 1944 - a missed opportunity for the Japanese navy*

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## Battle for Leyte Gulf, October 1944

Interrogation Nav No. 55 (USSBS No. 227) Tokyo: 30 October 1945

Vice Admiral Ozawa, Jisaburo, IJN, Commander in Chief of the Japanese Task Force in subject battle.

**Q.** In early October then, before our invasion began, what was the planned function of your fleet in defense of the Philippines; what was its mission as assigned in the plans?

**A.** In early October the repair of the carriers and also the replacement of the pilots was not progressing so smoothly. I thought if the American invasion came before the time of this preparation, that all the air force would be sent out to the land bases instead of using carriers; so evidently there was no particular mission at such an early date in October. After training had progressed satisfactorily and if the invasion came at a later date, they would later use the carriers.

**Q.** In the event the fleets would have been able to make this combination of which we speak, would you have used the carriers in Central Philippine waters to oppose our invasion force?

**A.** Either through the Central Philippines or around northern end of Luzon, we would use the whole Mobile Fleet.

**Q.** After the Marianas Operation in July, was there any discussion among the officers of your fleet regarding possible use of Kamikaze attacks?

**A.** I never heard of them among the officers under me. The first time I heard of Kamikaze attacks was when Kurita's fleet went through San Bernardino Strait. I knew that Kamikaze attack was coming from the Manila Area to oppose the Leyte landing.

**Q.** As I heard the story, one of your carrier commanders volunteered in June or July to organize a Kamikaze unit, and you raised the question with Admiral Toyoda.

**A.** I recall now that such was the case; it was Captain Jo of the *Chiyoda* who suggested to me that he would like to carry out such attacks, and it was recommended to Toyoda. Toyoda said that the time wasn't ripe yet, it was too early to use it.

**Q.** At the time when the operation came, about 24-25 October, was there any intention among your pilots to use Kamikaze tactics?

**A.** There was no case like that among my pilots.

**Q.** How, principally were you to support Kurita's mission; by delivering an air attack with your remaining planes, or by acting as a target, or how?

**A.** Exactly those two ways, sending out what planes I had and also to be a target for your attack. A decoy, that was our first primary mission, to act as a decoy. My fleet could not very well give the direct protection to Kurita's force because we were very weak, so I tried to attack as many American carriers as possible and to be the decoy or target for your attack. I tried to let Kurita's fleet have little attack from you. The main mission was all sacrifice. An attack with a very weak force of planes comes under the heading of sacrifice of planes and ships.

**Q.** What made you feel that you could successfully lure our Task Force in this fashion? The only previous precedent was the battle of the Marianas, and in the Marianas our





The Pacific: 1943-1945: US offensives

Task Force stayed very close to the Invasion Force and did not come forward to attack Japanese forces at an early time; therefore, what made you think you could successfully lure us?

A. I had not much confidence in being a lure, but there was no other way than to try.

Q. When you set forth, is it correct to say that you did not believe this lure would work very well, that you feared our force would concentrate on Kurita despite your presence to the northward?

A. I figured that you might concentrate and attack Kurita or you might concentrate the attack on my carriers, and let events take care of themselves; I just assumed it would be 50-50 chance. I knew that the decoy operation even using regular surface vessel is a very difficult operation, and also that using carriers for decoy would be more difficult than regular surface forces as a decoy.

Q. Why? Did you expect to save any of your carriers?

A. The chief concern was to lure your forces further north; we expected complete destruction.

Q. For what success by Admiral Kurita were you willing to sacrifice all your carriers?

A. I thought if Kurita's fleet ever succeeded in attacking your landing forces I would be satisfied, even though totally destroyed; if they destroyed the transports there in Leyte Gulf I would have been satisfied.

Q. Was Admiral Kurita's mission only to attack the transports and their escorts, or was he to attack any ship he met, or bombard our troops ashore? What was his specific mission?

A. In my opinion Admiral Kurita would doubtless expect to meet some of your covering force on his way to Leyte. If he met them, of course, he would attack them; but if he did not meet them so much the better, and he would go into the Gulf and attack the transports, escorts and other ships. In this way it can be seen that bombardment of the beachhead was only a third or fourth alternative. This question should however be asked of Kurita as he may have a different opinion.

Q. I would like to have your opinion on why Kurita turned north rather than enter the Gulf that day. What caused the change of plan?

A. I do not know the details of the campaign there so I cannot form an opinion of what made them take the northern course.

Q. I was given some information to indicate that one of the reasons Admiral Kurita turned north was that he heard a message from you saying that you planned to attack our task force by torpedo and gunfire and that you requested assistance. Do you remember such a message?

A. I never sent such a message.

Q. After this battle, what general plan for the use of the Navy was attempted for the next operation. Did you confer with Admiral Toyoda?

A. After the battle of October, due to the lack of carriers and their air forces, it was decided to proceed to future operations by using more land-based planes. That was the plan made by the Imperial Headquarters.

**Q.** Was there ever any plan for future operations using the remainder of the fleet?

**A.** With the exception of the few special surface ships, they were relying on the land forces, land-based air power, and special attacks; there was no further use assigned to surface vessels with exception of some special ships. Those exception were *Yamato* and destroyers and submarines and a few cruisers.

**Q.** Was there a plan for the use of those vessels; did you expect to be able to use them?

**A.** We intended to use them, for example, on your attack on Okinawa or the mainland; no specific plan however.

**Q.** Would you say that, to all intents and purposes, the naval war ended with the battle of October?

**A.** After this battle the surface force became strictly auxiliary, so that we relied on land forces, special attack, and air power.

**Q.** In connection with your night surface operations, which were very successful in the early part of the war, what was the reason why you put so much emphasis on night operations? Was it some weakness of our force? What sort of reason?

**A.** Strategically speaking, I think the night battle is a very favorable method for the side which had the weaker force, and so we stressed training on that type of battle from before the war.

**Q.** Now with respect to Japanese submarines, we felt that they were relatively ineffective, much less effective than they could have been. What is your opinion of the basic trouble with the Japanese submarines?

**A.** It is because they did not develop their electrical equipment such as radar, sonic devices, and other equipment to the extent they should have. I think that is the basic reason for our poor showing.

**Q.** In the first year of the war, we had quite a bit of trouble with your submarines - a number of our ships were sunk, a good many damaged; but after the first year of the war, our ships were rarely attacked. We thought possibly in addition to these technical factors you mention, a change in the plans for using them might have been made, is that correct?

**A.** There was no change of plan in using the submarines; but as explained before, the electrical equipment on our submarines or surface vessels was very poor; while on your side the equipment on submarines or surface vessels advanced very quickly; so the difference was very great.

**Q.** In the early phases of the war, say through the Marianas Campaign, what was the principal agent for the loss of Japanese airpower? Was it carrier sweeps, general attrition, or what?

**A.** Carrier Task Force is the biggest cause of their fall, I would say off hand. Of our weaknesses, first was the inefficiency of radar; secondly, the training of the pilots was not enough; third, generally speaking, the total air force was anyway not sufficient. The agent for the actual destruction was the Carrier Task Forces. There was no change after the Marianas.

**Q.** Now concerning shipping losses and the blockade, what do you, feel was the principal cause of losses of merchant shipping?

**A.** I think roughly estimated, the damage by submarine was the worst, and then comes airplane attacks both from carriers and land-based, then by mines. I have no records, but I think submarine damage is about half of the total damage.

**Q.** What was the principal thing which shut off the supply of oil from the south?

**A.** The chief cause of that cutting off of the fuel supply from the south was failure of the Philippines Campaign.

**Q.** But before that, had there been considerable cutting off, primarily by submarines or what?

**A.** The biggest feature was submarines. After the Philippines Campaign, the supply was absolutely cut off; before that, there was some flow from the south although it was interfered with by submarines.

**Q.** About what time during the course of the war was the operation of the fleet or the use of planes for training or operations first seriously inconvenienced by shortage of fuel?

**A.** About two or three months before the Marianas Campaign we felt the shortage very keenly.

**Q.** Up to that time you had been able to operate the fleet in any area, and thoroughly train all pilots; is that correct?

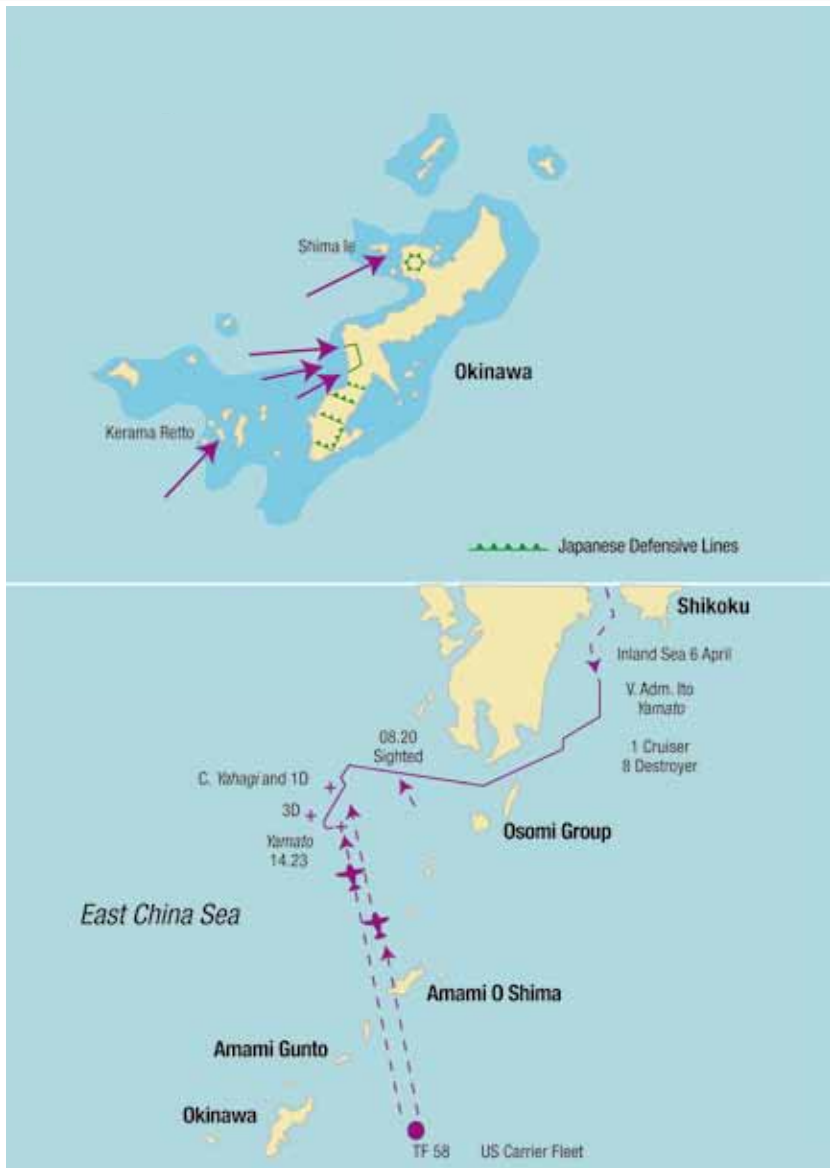
**A.** Yes, up to that time we could manage to move the fleet freely or give the pilots enough training.

**Q.** With the experience of the war, looking back to the beginning of the war, what major changes would you make in basic plans as a result of your experiences if you were to start over again?

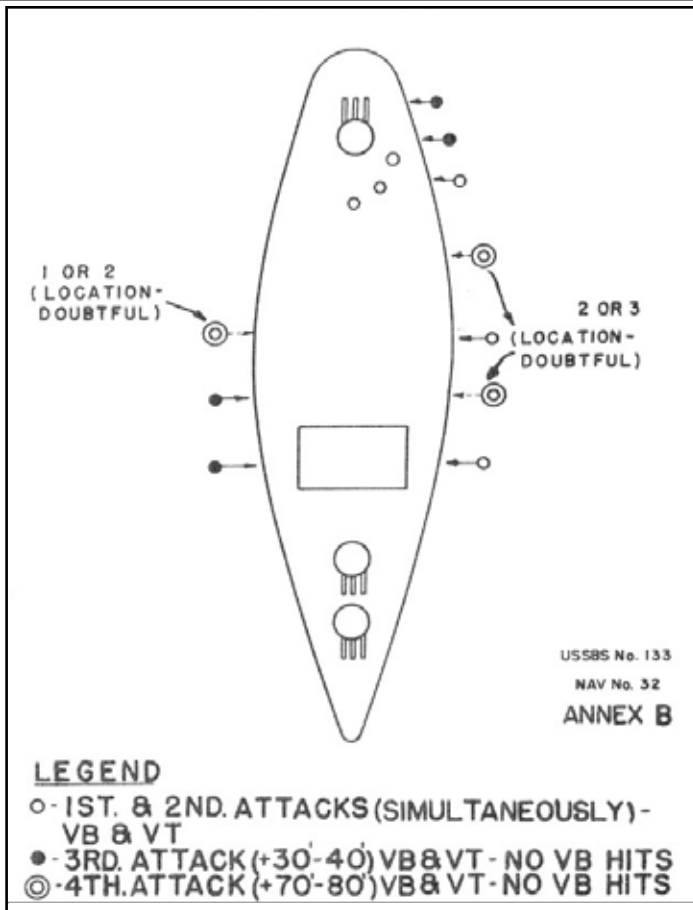
**A.** The major factors which caused defeat and which I would like to have corrected are the lack of reinforcement of airplanes or all war materials concerned, and improvement of electrical devices, for example radar. We didn't have any supplies with which to reinforce. Our production rate was too small. I myself had no experience with the production end of things and couldn't say what should have been done; but as one using the finished product, I felt that production must be lacking. That to me was the biggest fault.

**Q.** Admiral, before we adjourn, is there any observation you would like to make on the course of events, any comment, any statement - anything at all about past, present, or future?

**A.** It is my opinion that this war should never have taken place. The present is greatly confused, spiritually as well as materially; and until things settle down a little more, I cannot make any kind of prediction or estimate as to the future.



*Top: US landings 26 March - 1 April 1945  
Bottom: Yamato's death ride, the last Japanese offensive, April 1945*



*Bomb and torpedo hits incurred by Yamato*

## The Attack on the Yamato Group, 7 April 1945

Interrogation Nav No. 32 (USSBS No. 133) Tokyo: 25 October 1945

Commander Miyamoto, T, Staff Officer of Second Fleet during subject attack.

**Q.** What duties were you performing during this action of the *Yamato* Group?

**A.** I was a Staff Gunnery Officer in the Second Fleet. ... On the *Yamato*.

**Q.** When did initial air attacks occur?

**A.** About noon.

**Q.** What was your estimate of the number of attacking planes?

**A.** Between 1200 and 1430 when she sank, four or five attacks by forty or fifty planes each.

**Q.** Give me in your own words your description of the attack on the *Yamato*.

**A.** The *Yamato* Group proceeded on various courses as indicated on chart. (See accompanying map.) About 1015 we sighted what I took to be an American scout plane crossing our course from port to starboard ahead; and their number increased until, from 1100 onward, 10 to 15 of these scout planes circled the formation at a range of approximately 20 to 30,000 meters until about noon. Until 1000 there were many squalls and the cloud formation was low, but the ceiling lifted and the weather was clearer by noon. By noon there were spaces of clear sky. At approximately noon, to the east an attack formation of forty to fifty American planes was discovered at 30 to 40,000 meters. I am not certain whether this was by radar or by visual means, because at that time there was opinion that visual recognition of attacking planes was quicker. The American formation circled the formation at about 30,000 meters; while circling, increasing their height. The Japanese formation was speeded up to full speed (26 knots). I believe there was three to five meter wind from the west. The formation turned into the wind to starboard in order to make evasive action from bombing easier. During the circling of the American air formation, it is my impression that another group joined the formation of originally 40 to 50 planes, coming from the south. It is my estimate that 15 or 20 minutes after noon the entire American formation attacked the *Yamato* with dive-bombers. The second American formation shortly thereafter attacked with mixture of dive-bombers and torpedo planes with no appreciable interval between the two attacks. During this initial double attack, one destroyer, *Hamakaze*, either from bombs or torpedoes, sank by the stern, and the light cruiser, *Yahagi*, either from bombs or torpedoes, was issuing smoke and stopped. As a result of the first and second attacks there were 3 bomb hits immediately forward of No. 3 main turret, and three torpedo hits along the port side—one forward, one midships and one aft. (See accompanying diagram.) After the initial two attacks, at an interval of 30 to 40 minutes, a third group of planes attacked. In the third attack which followed the first pair by 30 to 40 minutes again, it was a mixture of dive bombers and torpedo planes, and my impression was that the torpedo planes were the greater in number. In this attack the *Yamato* received no bomb hits, but four to five torpedo hits, two by the stern on the port side, one forward on the starboard and one or two slightly forward of amidships on starboard side (See chart). From then on I didn't notice too much of what went on in other ships. At that time the Japanese formation was scattered and the *Yahagi* was left behind with two destroyers, and the formation closed and proceeded on the same course. In approximately thirty minutes, the fourth attack was received. I am doubtful of the number of attacking planes but estimate it was the same as before. As the attacks progressed there seemed

to be a greater proportion of torpedoes. By the end of the fourth attack the *Yamato* had received the original three bombs; and on the port side 6 to 8 torpedoes, and on the starboard side 2 to 3 torpedoes; and there remained in the formation only the *Yamato* and 2 or 3 destroyers of the original formation. The *Yamato* was listing heavily to port and speed was reduced to 20 knots. As I was on the anti-aircraft guns I don't know much of what happened then, but with the reduction in speed and heavy list to port, and damage to screening destroyers, it was apparently concluded not to try to continue on course and course was reversed. It is my opinion that the reason for reversed course was they could not fulfill their mission at Okinawa. There was a possibility of shifting the command to the burning *Yahagi*, the flagship of the second in command. Although the *Yahagi* was stopped, she had not received serious visible damage and there was at least consideration of the possibility of her being able to resume operations.

I think that in the fourth attack there was not more than one torpedo entering from starboard and I am less sure on the port side, but certainly no more than 2 or 3 and these were the last hits before she sank. No more bomb hits. My memory of the action is that the fourth attack was the last, but think possibly there might have been a fifth and sixth wave. With the turn to starboard, the port list increased greatly and she did not come back and ran 10 to 15 minutes on the reversed course. With the increasing list, there were efforts to right the ship which proved unavailing. It was extremely difficult to attempt any gunfire. Sometime between 1400 and 1430, the *Yamato* listed heavily to port and sank. When the ship sank I was sucked below the surface and as I came up the first time there was great disturbance in the water which may have been fragments from explosions. I don't remember for several minutes after that because I was hit on the back of the head. I was picked up by the destroyer *Fukuzuki* and from what I heard afterward on the *Fukuzuki*, I learned that the *Yamato* had turned or listed 120 degrees to port in the process of sinking and that there had been explosions coming out of the starboard side. From that time on I don't remember the course of the battle.

**Q.** To your knowledge, were there any other ships sunk besides the *Yamato* and *Hamakaze*?

**A.** The destroyer *Hamakaze*, the battleship *Yamato*, the cruiser *Yahagi* were sunk in the action. The *Isokaze* and the destroyer *Kasumi* were out of control, unable to navigate and were later sunk by Japanese. Of the *Asa Shimo* I am not certain, but I think it sank. The remaining four destroyers were able to return to Sasebo for repairs.

**Q.** Was there any air cover provided for the *Yamato* group at any time?

**A.** There had been air cover up to 1000 from Kyushu (land-based planes), 3 to 5 fighters.

**Q.** What reliance was placed on radar to pick up planes?

**A.** If it was a group, radar was expected to pick it up at 50 to 70,000 meters.

**Q.** What effect did the three bomb hits have on the anti-aircraft defense of the *Yamato*?

**A.** About four high angle guns were destroyed and ten to fifteen of the battery of machine guns on the after port deckhouse were rendered unserviceable; in fact, every anti-aircraft gun abaft the beam on the port side for one reason or another was relatively useless after those three bomb hits.



**Q.** Was the fire control damaged to any extent by these hits?

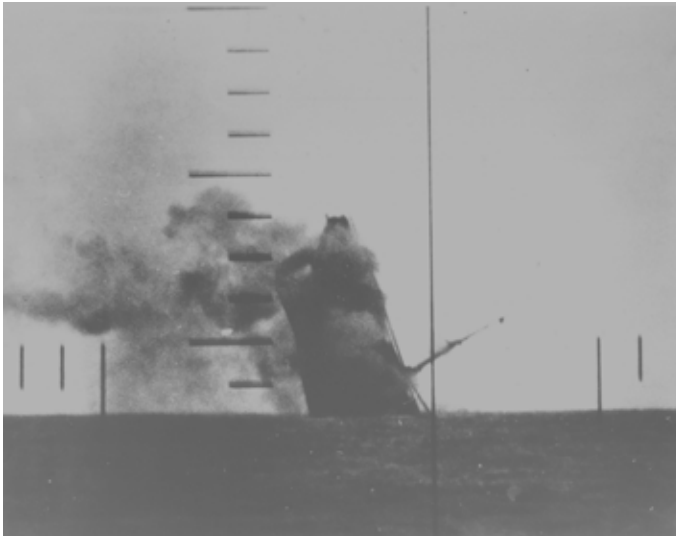
**A.** No effect on the main battery fire control. I had the impression that because of the ineffectiveness of the after port batteries the *Yamato* received more attacks on that quarter.

**Q.** As a gunnery officer what is your opinion as to the relative effectiveness of dive-bombers and torpedo planes in attacking a battleship of the *Yamato* class?

**A.** Individually not very effective, but the mixture is effective because it is impossible to undertake evasive action. It is very difficult to coordinate the defense against that combination of torpedo planes and dive-bombers.

**Q.** Which type of attack did you fear most, torpedo attack or dive-bombing?

**A.** If the torpedo attack is done well, that is the worst.



*The view from a periscope - the Japanese transport Nittsu Maru sinks after a successful torpedo attack by US submarine Wahoo, 1943. The US Navy's unrestricted submarine campaign devastated Japanese seaborne trade during WWII*

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## Mine Warfare

Interrogation Nav No. 65 (USSBS No. 285) Tokyo: 8 November 1945

Captain Tamura, Kyuzo, IJN; head of the Mine Sweeping Section of the Tokyo Ordnance Department during the war.

**Q.** Were any coast defense vessels converted into mine sweepers?

**A.** No, they were too large. They were used only for sweeping moored mines; however, many sub-chasers were removed from escort duty and employed as mine sweepers.

**Q.** After a particular type of mine was discovered, how long would it normally take to work out and put into effect a counter-measure?

**A.** The time required for each type of mine was as follows : Magnetic (needle type) - one month, magnetic (induction type) - two months, acoustic (normal frequency) - two weeks, acoustic: (low frequency) - unable to construct effective counter-measure but research was completed in three months, pressure type mine - unable to construct effective counter-measure but research completed in three months. A very few mines were swept with net type sweepers.

**Q.** Did your research section make a study of underwater damage to ships caused by mines?

**A.** Yes. Although information was available regarding the construction of vessels, in order to protect them against mine explosions, it was of not much use. The steel supply limited construction so that it was impossible to incorporate new ideas in designing.

**Q.** What percentage of ships which struck mines were lost completely?

**A.** Due to the fact that mines normally were laid in shallow water, only about 50% of ships striking mines actually sank. However, the damage is such that in deep water about 70% of these vessels would be lost.

**Q.** What is the general opinion of high ranking Japanese Military leaders and industrialists as to the value of mine warfare such as executed against Japan?

**A.** During the first years of the war little importance was attached to mine warfare. However, in 1945 when mines were used in quantity, they became of great concern to all leaders. As an example, after the use of the pressure-magnetic mine, the problem became so acute that several military activities such as Naval Air Headquarters even made an attempt to assist in countermeasure development, although such work did not come under their department.

**Q.** Did mining effect military strategic plans at any time during the war?

**A.** The mine attacks in area outside of Japan did not effect military strategic planning. This was largely due to the fact that the people were not aware of the extent of the allied mine effort and also were not fully cognizant of the potentialities of mine warfare.

**Q.** What was the reaction of the civilian population in mined areas?

**A.** In view of the fact that the Japanese people were so strictly controlled and consequently did not know what was going on, mine warfare had no effect on civilians. The only agencies that were cognizant of the critical situation caused by the mines were the Shipping Control Board and those agencies that actually came in contact with the results of the mine attacks.

## Japanese Naval Escort of Shipping and Shipping Losses

Interrogation Nav No. 11 (USSBS No. 61) Tokyo: 18 October 1945

Captain Oi, Atsushi, IJN, a permanent officer of the Japanese Navy who has had staff college training. He served as a Staff Officer of the Combined Escort Fleet from its organization in November 1943 until the war's end.

**Q.** Who was responsible for directing the routing of Japanese merchant shipping between the homeland and the Southern Pacific?

**A.** I think no definite person was responsible for shipping. The Navy, the Army, and the Transportation and Communication Department were each responsible, and since the Munitions Department was initiated it also has had a strong voice in the matter. These, together in conference when necessary, decided how to arrange the shipping. Our headquarters, the Combined Escort Fleet, were solely responsible for protection. Under the supervision of the Transportation Department there is an organization - half civil, half governmental - called the Shipping Control Board.

**Q.** Did the Shipping Control Board exist throughout the entire war?

**A.** I don't think so; I think from sometime since 1942 or 1943.

**Q.** The Shipping Control Board and the various other agencies which you mentioned decided where the ships were to be used, is that correct?

**A.** Yes, I think so.

**Q.** After they had decided where the ships were to be employed, who gave the sailing orders from port to port?

**A.** In the case of Army shipping which was principally transport or transport cargo, the local Army headquarters gave the sailing orders. There was an Army headquarters for shipping at Ujina and several sub-headquarters in various outlying areas.

**Q.** In the case of shipping controlled by the Navy, who gave the sailing orders to individual ships or groups of ships?

**A.** We have in the Navy Department a bureau called Naval Transportation Headquarters, which issues shipping orders for all naval supply shipping except ships of the fleet train and naval auxiliaries which are under control of the Combined Fleet.

**Q.** Did the Combined Fleet have sub-headquarters at various important ports?

**A.** In the South Sea Area shipping sub-headquarters were located under the various area fleet headquarters. The Combined Fleet ordered shipping through these headquarters only for fleet operational purposes. The Navy Department Transportation Office exercised control over the shipping sub-headquarters for normal shipping. For the most part this was done directly, but it was also done through the area fleet headquarters.

**Q.** When did the Combined Escort Fleet cease to be independent and become subordinate to the Combined Fleet, and why was that change made?

**A.** It was the 3rd of August 1944. Because your attack was getting so severe that the entire area even in South or East China Seas was dangerous. Without assistance of the Combined Fleet we could not protect sea lanes any more.

**Q.** Prior to August 3, 1944, what resources in escort vessels did the Combined Escort Fleet have?

**A.** The Combined Escort Fleet had under its command at naval bases and sub-naval bases in Japan a certain number of old destroyers, PT boats, and sub-chasers for use as escorts. The First Escort Fleet had a certain number of old destroyers and sea defense vessels. Also under the command of the Combined Escort Fleet there were a number of aircraft which were based at Tateyama, Okinawa, Takao, Manila and for a time at Saigon. The aircraft were largely medium bombers engaged in anti-submarine patrols.

**Q.** After 3 August 1944, what additions were made to the force available for escorting ships?

**A.** The area of responsibility of the First Escort Fleet had been the area from Japan to Singapore, including the Philippines and China Coast. Prior to being placed under the Combined Fleet, the Combined Escort Fleet cooperated with the area and expeditionary fleets in the South Seas for escort work, but this cooperation took place only on the highest echelon between the Combined Escort Fleet headquarters and the Combined Fleet headquarters. Each office was able to issue orders only to fleets specifically under their command. After the third of August 1944, the Combined Escort Fleet issued orders directly to the area and expeditionary fleets in the South Seas as well as to the First Escort Fleet, in matters of convoy escorting.

**Q.** Were the vessels of the expeditionary fleets and area fleets assigned permanently to escort duty or were different ships used from time to time.

**A.** After August 1944, escort vessels belonging to the area and expeditionary fleets were practically always used on orders from the First Escort Fleet. However, they remained attached to units to which they had been previously attached and were serviced and supplied by those same units. The reason for their availability to the First Escort Fleet was largely that other than escort there was no real need for them at all.

**Q.** When was the Combined Escort Fleet created?

**A.** The Combined Escort Fleet was originally organized on the 15th of November 1943 because of the very heavy losses which occurred to shipping in the general area of the Bismarks where escorts had not been adequate or well organized.

**Q.** What caused those losses? Submarines, air or surface action?

**A.** These losses were largely due to submarines. Of course I can't remember exactly. I think, also, air force attacks were most terrible.

**Q.** During the war, what changes in the armament of escort vessels and merchant ships were made to improve their defense?

**A.** The most important change was the fall of 1944 when the best Army transport ships were equipped with radar. At the end of January 1945, 25 mm machine guns were drawn from every possible place on shore and even off merchant ships to increase the armament of tankers running from Singapore to the homeland. The plan to increase the armament of merchant ships had been in existence from the beginning of the war, but production was not sufficient to make it possible to carry out the plan. Escort vessels were equipped with radar as much as possible beginning about September 1944. Previous to that only a few escort ships had radar and radar production was mostly for combatant ships.

**Q.** Did the radar installation include receiving equipment for our radar signals?

**A.** Radar intercept receivers were on most escort vessels by about April 1944, but this was not very effective because there was no way of locating in bearing and distance. This was principally a warning device. Due to rapid improvement and research, there was sufficient radar for most escort vessels by December 1944.

**Q.** What did you consider the most effective weapon against the submarine - aircraft or escort vessel?

**A.** Planes equipped with radar; especially those equipped with MAD [magnetic anomaly detector].

**Q.** How many American submarines did you estimate were sunk?

**A.** It was very difficult to determine, but the Navy's estimate was 16 per month.

**Q.** Were your communications adequate for conducting the business of escort, routing and protection of ships? If not adequate, in what way?

**A.** Communications caused a great deal of trouble. There was great delay due to lack of facilities on most merchant ships, inadequate facilities on escort vessels, and no direct communications between escort vessels and aircraft. Communication among headquarters and commands were also frequently delayed. This was considered a weak point.

**Q.** Before the B-29s dropped the mines in Japan waters in the beginning of April 1946, did the mines we laid in Borneo, Philippines and along China Coast affect merchant ship planning?

**A.** I think we hadn't been affected very much in the South China Sea. We suffered very much at Balikpapan and we abandoned the route from Balikpapan to Singapore.

**Q.** Because of mines only?

**A.** It was abandoned chiefly because of mines, but also because of planes attacking from Morotai. This was about December 1944.

**Q.** Do you know how many ships were lost by mines at Balikpapan? Were the losses so great you were forced to abandon the port?

**A.** We didn't abandon the port just because of mines, because Balikpapan was very important to us. In December 1944, however, due to the combined effect of mines, subs and air attack, Balikpapan was officially abandoned.

**Q.** What losses were suffered at Soerabaja?

**A.** I can't remember the number of vessels lost. Anyway our transportation from Soerabaja was suspended for a long time. We would sweep the channel and one or two ships could get out or go in and then your forces would mine it again. Finally I think only very few small ships could use this port.

**Q.** After the mining campaign was under way in Japan, did conditions get so bad that it was necessary to pass ships through the minefields knowing full well they would be lost?

**A.** Yes. We took this chance, especially in Shimonoseki Strait.

## Japanese War Plans and Peace Moves

Interrogation Nav No. 75 (USSBS No. 378) Tokyo: 13-14 November 1945

Admiral Toyoda, Soemu; September 1941, CinC Kure NavSta; November 1942 appointed Supreme Military Counsellor, residing in Tokyo. May 1943 became CinC Yokosuka NavSta. May 1944 became CinC Combined Fleet succeeding Admiral Koga when latter was killed. May 1945 appointed Chief of Naval General Staff; later post superseded by position of Chief, Naval Combined Forces, September 1945 which he held until dissolution of that organization 15 October 1945.

**Q.** From the standpoint of the United States, what was the principal force you might say that resulted in Japan's inability to carry out her war aims?

**A.** On the American side I should say that it was the fact that you had adequate raw materials, bountiful resources, and tremendous production capacity, and the fact that production plans were carried out very much according to schedule. I recall that when I left Tokyo to take over command of the Combined Fleet I made one request of the Navy Minister, and that was the fact that he should promise that all the ships, all the planes, and other supplies which were promised to the Combined Fleet under the Naval Plan should be carried out to the letter; that if he felt that it was impossible to go through with the number designated in the plan, to change the plan. For instance, if he thought it was going to be difficult to let the Combined Fleet have ten planes, don't put ten planes down but reduce that to five, but be sure to come through with the five planes. But as it turned out, the Navy Minister was not able to carry out that promise, not because of lack of will to do so but because production simply did not keep up with the plan.

**Q.** Then to go a little further along the same line, lack of production has many causes. What would you ascribe the principle reason for the lack of that production?

**A.** It is difficult to point to any one thing as the reason for failure in production because there are many and each, I think operates to affect the others in more or less of a vicious circle, but if I have to name one, I would point out lack of raw materials and natural resources. It was, of course, impossible to supply our production plants with raw materials from Japan proper, China and Manchuria. That was evident from the first, and it was for that reason that our Army and Navy extended their insufficient force over such a broad area, along battle lines all out of proportion to our strength in men, in order to obtain raw materials from the south, but as it turned out, that was simply taking in too much territory with the strength that we had in that area.

**Q.** What was the principal reason why you couldn't get those raw materials to your country from the south?

**A.** The main reason, I think was that we did not have a sufficient number of ships to begin with, and such as we had, we suffered heavy damage owing to your submarines and air action.

**Q.** As major items in the position that you came to, what would you say were the primary causes? Was it the loss of shipping, was it the severe damage to the fleet strength, was it loss of air power, was it blockade by air and submarines, or was it bombing of the homeland?

**A.** Beginning this year, I think the biggest cause of fall in production, especially in aircraft and air material, was the effect of your bombing on the domestic plants - factories - in Japan proper; but as regards the effects on our war strength on the whole, I think the greatest effect was felt after all by the lack of ships and consequent inability

to bring material from the south. Along that line also there were periods in the war when there was not a lack of material in Japan, but they could not be moved from one place to another owing to lack of transportation facilities. In other words, various causes affected one another to bring down the general fall in production level.

**Q.** Now, considering all factors – the lack of production and the condition of the fleet and your position with respect to air strength – at what point in the war did you realize the probability that the war could not be successfully continued? Is there some one point, some action, some operation?

**A.** I felt it was difficult from the very beginning, but I think what might be termed the turning point was the Battle of Midway. Our losses there had a very serious effect upon us, together with the fact that we used very much fuel at that time, more than we had expected would be necessary; and the effect of that was felt right through afterwards. When I came to Central Headquarters as Chief of the Naval Staff this year and was informed of the situation prevailing then with regard to aircraft, aviation fuel, heavy oil for surface units, I realized more than ever, then, that continuation of the war under such conditions was extremely difficult. I believe the turning point, in so far as the fuel situation was concerned – that is, the period after which our fuel situation became extremely acute – was our loss of the Philippines to your forces, because after that you had control of air and sea over South China and completely cut off our shipping lanes to the south.

**Q.** You referred to the rapid depletion of military resources. Do you have an estimate as to what form of force that we were employing against Japan contributed most toward the depletion of Japan's military resources for the continuation of hostilities?

**A.** Cutting off of our supplies from the south, principally through the loss of shipping bottoms and disruption of transportation facilities in general.

**Q.** Did you feel that these air attacks, these fire attacks, were contributing in any degree toward the disruption of the remaining military resources?

**A.** Until this year our main loss in shipping was due to submarine activities; but, especially beginning around April and May of this year, your air raids were the principal cause of our shipping losses.

**Q.** We know that shipping had become interdicted rather effectively, leaving Japan with only the military resources on the homeland with which to conduct her further military operations. What effect was the air attacks, the fire attacks, on the homeland having on the remaining military resources that you had on the homeland proper with which, if you had continued war, you had intended to continue war? How much effect did those operations have on further depleting your resources for continuing war?

**A.** I cannot give even approximate figures as to the extent of damage done to material in Japan proper, but I believe that greater than the effect on the destruction of materials themselves was the destruction of our production equipment by air raids.

**Q.** Production capacity?

**A.** Yes, production capacity.

**Q.** How did you feel that it affected the will of the people to continue to fight? In other words, what effect did these air attacks, these fire attacks, have on the will of the nation to continue war? Did it tend to deteriorate? If so, to what degree?

A. The effect on the people's morale was not as great as we had feared. In other words, while people who lost their homes faced extremely difficult times, it did not develop to the point of wanting to give up the war. To be sure, it had an effect on production because it cut off transportation, and in some cases, no doubt, some factory hands stayed away from factories because of the danger of bombing. That affected production to some extent, but affecting the people's will to fight was not as great as we had feared.

Q. In these conferences leading to the consideration of surrender, what value was put on the air assaults on Japan proper? How did they evaluate that when they were considering the matter of terminating war?

A. I do not believe that the question of air raids came up in the minds of the members as an independent question at all; that is there was no idea that we must give up the war to avoid even a single additional day of bombing. The main consideration that led to the decision to cease hostilities was, after all, the overall weakening of the Nation's production capacity, loss of material, etc. I refer to the statement already made regarding the effect on morale and point out that outside of bombed areas, especially in the country, people appeared to be almost wholly unconcerned about bombing as was evidenced by their failure to dig air raid shelters, etc.; so that, taking the country as a whole, the effect on morale was very light.

Q. We had heard opinions expressed by some of the senior Japanese naval officers that, prior to the war, they felt that the Japanese navy could only operate successfully for perhaps a year or perhaps a year and a half. Would you affirm or deny that opinion?

A. I believe that such was the feeling among high officers, although I know of no changes or expressions of opinion to that effect; each man kept it to himself. I have heard, not directly but through a third person, that Admiral Yamamoto expressed as his opinion that 'we can carry through for one year some way, but after that I don't know.'

Q. Do you think similarly now?

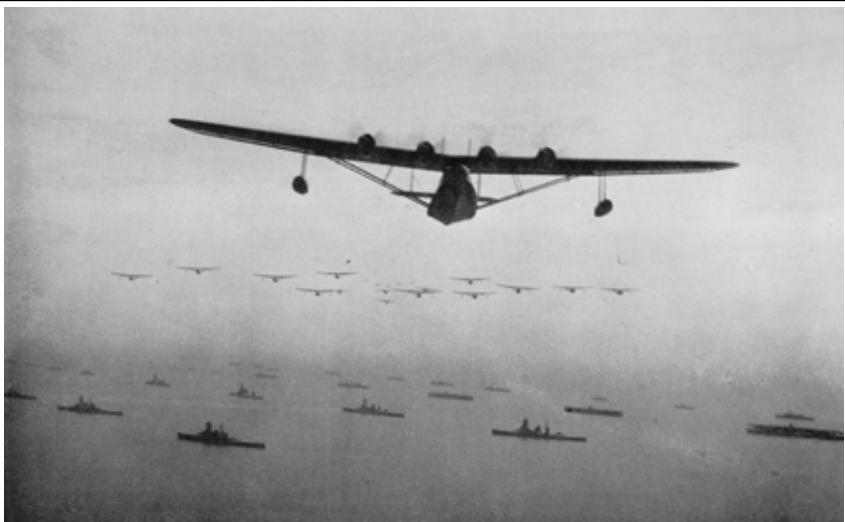
A. Yes, I more or less shared the view that while we might do well enough in the early part of the war for a year or so, after that it would become extremely difficult. It so happened that for two years prior to the beginning of the war I was Chief of the Naval Technical Department at Kenzai Hombu and there was in a position of responsibility regarding the Navy's equipment and ships, and I noticed that there was not always unanimity of opinion regarding the types to be constructed, regarding specifications of ships, difficulty in material. The principal cause of our difficulty in material was our shortage in steel. Our annual supply was about 6,000,000 tons which, as compared with anywhere from 80,000,000 to 100,000,000 tons annually for your country, was an almost negligible quantity, and the difference in our fuel supply was even greater. Our fuel supply was almost out of the question as compared with yours, we being able to produce only around 10% of our annual needs. Going back to shipbuilding, the difference in opinion regarding categories and specifications arose from the fact that under the Washington and London treaties we were subject to quantitative limitations. Emphasis had been laid upon quantity so that during the time that I was head of the Naval Technical Department although we were then no longer under treaty restrictions as to tonnage, the same idea of improving quality remained in the minds of our shipbuilding experts, and we used to receive orders from different sections of the Navy for ships of higher efficiency. I felt at the time that now that we were no longer held down by a quantitative ceiling, we should redirect our attention from quality back to quantity and to increase the number of ships, because we could see from experiences of the Second European War, which had



already started, that one could not expect to keep ships safely for any length of time. In other words, ships were consumption goods and would have to be replaced rapidly to maintain a standard of strength.

**Q.** You stated that one of the lessons learned at Midway by the Japanese Navy was that too much emphasis had been placed on the organization of the fleet, which organization gave too much emphasis on battleships, and that as a result of the Midway battle a reorganization was made to place increasing emphasis on carriers as the major effective weapon of a fleet. Would you give your opinion as to the correctness of such statement?

**A.** Yes, that is true, and the reason for the battleship having held the center of the picture prior to that was the fact that we had the idea there would be important naval engagements, fleet against fleet. But as a result of the Midway engagement, we learned the lesson that battleships as such were not effective weapons unless they had sufficient air support. A similar lesson was learned with regard to destroyers and submarines and methods of construction of those two types were varied after that.



*The fleet review of the Imperial Japanese Navy, 1940.  
Five years later the Navy had effectively ceased to exist.*

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## APPENDIX 14 - THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION OF 1947

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*Promulgated on 3 November 1946. Effective from 3 May 1947.*

We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution. Government is a sacred trust of the people, the authority for which is derived from the people, the powers of which are exercised by the representative of the people, and the benefits of which are enjoyed by the people. This is a universal principle of mankind upon which this Constitution is founded. We reject and revoke all constitutions, laws, ordinances, and rescripts in conflict herewith.

We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.

We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal; and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations who would sustain their own sovereignty and justify their sovereign relationship with other nations.

We, the Japanese people, pledge our national honor to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources.

### CHAPTER I. THE EMPEROR

Article 1. The Emperor shall be the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power.

Article 2. The Imperial Throne shall be dynastic and succeeded to in accordance with the Imperial House law passed by the Diet.

Article 3. The advice and approval of the Cabinet shall be required for all acts of the Emperor in matters of state, and the Cabinet shall be responsible therefor.

Article 4. The Emperor shall perform only such acts in matters of state as are provided for in this Constitution and he shall not have powers related to government  
(2) The Emperor may delegate the performance of his acts in matters of state as may be provided by law.

Article 5. When, in accordance with the Imperial House law, a Regency is established, the Regent shall perform his acts in matters of state in the Emperor's name. In this case, paragraph one of the preceding article will be applicable.

Article 6. The Emperor shall appoint the Prime Minister as designated by the Diet.  
(2) The Emperor shall appoint the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court as designated by the Cabinet.

Article 7. The Emperor, with the advice and approval of the Cabinet, shall perform the following acts in matters of state on behalf of the people:

- (i) Promulgation of amendments of the constitution, laws, cabinet orders and treaties;
- (ii) Convocation of the Diet;
- (iii) Dissolution of the House of Representatives;
- (iv) Proclamation of general election of members of the Diet;
- (v) Attestation of the appointment and dismissal of Ministers of State and other officials as provided for by law, and of full powers and credentials of Ambassadors and Ministers;
- (vi) Attestation of general and special amnesty, commutation of punishment, reprieve, and restoration of rights;
- (vii) Awarding of honors;
- (viii) Attestation of instruments of ratification and other diplomatic documents as provided for by law;
- (ix) Receiving foreign ambassadors and ministers;
- (x) Performance of ceremonial functions.

Article 8. No property can be given to, or received by, the Imperial House, nor can any gifts be made therefrom, without the authorization of the Diet.

## CHAPTER II.

### RENUNCIATION OF WAR

Article 9. Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.  
(2) In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

## CHAPTER III.

### RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PEOPLE

Article 10. The conditions necessary for being a Japanese national shall be determined by law.

Article 11. The people shall not be prevented from enjoying any of the fundamental human rights. These fundamental human rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be conferred upon the people of this and future generations as eternal and inviolate rights.

Article 12. The freedoms and rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be maintained by the constant endeavor of the people, who shall refrain from any abuse of these freedoms and rights and shall always be responsible for utilizing them for the public welfare.

Article 13. All of the people shall be respected as individuals. Their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness shall, to the extent that it does not interfere with the public welfare, be the supreme consideration in legislation and in other governmental affairs.

Article 14. All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin.

(2) Peers and peerage shall not be recognized.

(3) No privilege shall accompany any award of honor, decoration or any distinction, nor shall any such award be valid beyond the lifetime of the individual who now holds or hereafter may receive it.

Article 15. The people have the inalienable right to choose their public officials and to dismiss them.

(2) All public officials are servants of the whole community and not of any group thereof.

(3) Universal adult suffrage is guaranteed with regard to the election of public officials.

(4) In all elections, secrecy of the ballot shall not be violated. A voter shall not be answerable, publicly or privately, for the choice he has made.

Article 16. Every person shall have the right of peaceful petition for the redress of damage, for the removal of public officials, for the enactment, repeal or amendment of laws, ordinances or regulations and for other matters; nor shall any person be in any way discriminated against sponsoring such a petition.

Article 17. Every person may sue for redress as provided by law from the State or a public entity, in case he has suffered damage through illegal act of any public official.

Article 18. No person shall be held in bondage of any kind. Involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, is prohibited.

Article 19. Freedom of thought and conscience shall not be violated.

Article 20. Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority.

(2) No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice.

(3) The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity.

Article 21. Freedom of assembly and association as well as speech, press and all other forms of expression are guaranteed.

(2) No censorship shall be maintained, nor shall the secrecy of any means of communication be violated.

Article 22. Every person shall have freedom to choose and change his residence and to choose his occupation to the extent that it does not interfere with the public welfare.

(2) Freedom of all persons to move to a foreign country and to divest themselves of their nationality shall be inviolate.

Article 23. Academic freedom is guaranteed.

Article 24. Marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and it shall be maintained through mutual cooperation with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis.

(2) With regard to choice of spouse, property rights, inheritance, choice of domicile, divorce and other matters pertaining to marriage and the family, laws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes.

Article 25. All people shall have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living.

(2) In all spheres of life, the State shall use its endeavors for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security, and of public health.

Article 26. All people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability, as provided by law.

(2) All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free.

Article 27. All people shall have the right and the obligation to work.

(2) Standards for wages, hours, rest and other working conditions shall be fixed by law.

(3) Children shall not be exploited.

Article 28. The right of workers to organize and to bargain and act collectively is guaranteed.

Article 29. The right to own or to hold property is inviolable.

(2) Property rights shall be defined by law, in conformity with the public welfare.

(3) Private property may be taken for public use upon just compensation therefor.

Article 30. The people shall be liable to taxation as provided by law.

Article 31. No person shall be deprived of life or liberty, nor shall any other criminal penalty be imposed, except according to procedure established by law.

Article 32. No person shall be denied the right of access to the courts.

Article 33. No person shall be apprehended except upon warrant issued by a competent judicial officer which specifies the offense with which the person is charged, unless he is apprehended, the offense being committed.

Article 34. No person shall be arrested or detained without being at once informed of the charges against him or without the immediate privilege of counsel; nor shall he be detained without adequate cause; and upon demand of any person such cause must be immediately shown in open court in his presence and the presence of his counsel.

Article 35. The right of all persons to be secure in their homes, papers and effects against entries, searches and seizures shall not be impaired except upon warrant issued for adequate cause and particularly describing the place to be searched and things to be seized, or except as provided by Article 33.

(2) Each search or seizure shall be made upon separate warrant issued by a competent judicial officer.

Article 36. The infliction of torture by any public officer and cruel punishments are absolutely forbidden.

Article 37. In all criminal cases the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial tribunal.

(2) He shall be permitted full opportunity to examine all witnesses, and he shall have the right of compulsory process for obtaining witnesses on his behalf at public expense.

(3) At all times the accused shall have the assistance of competent counsel who shall, if the accused is unable to secure the same by his own efforts, be assigned to his use by the State.

Article 38. No person shall be compelled to testify against himself.

(2) Confession made under compulsion, torture or threat, or after prolonged arrest or detention shall not be admitted in evidence.

(3) No person shall be convicted or punished in cases where the only proof against him is his own confession.

Article 39. No person shall be held criminally liable for an act which was lawful at the time it was committed, or of which he has been acquitted, nor shall he be placed in double jeopardy.

Article 40. Any person, in case he is acquitted after he has been arrested or detained, may sue the State for redress as provided by law.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE DIET

Article 41. The Diet shall be the highest organ of state power, and shall be the sole law-making organ of the State.

Article 42. The Diet shall consist of two Houses, namely the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors.

Article 43. Both Houses shall consist of elected members, representative of all the people.

(2) The number of the members of each House shall be fixed by law.

Article 44. The qualifications of members of both Houses and their electors shall be fixed by law. However, there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, sex, social status, family origin, education, property or income.

Article 45. The term of office of members of the House of Representatives shall be four years. However, the term shall be terminated before the full term is up in case the House of Representatives is dissolved.

Article 46. The term of office of members of the House of Councillors shall be six years, and election for half the members shall take place every three years.

Article 47. Electoral districts, method of voting and other matters pertaining to the method of election of members of both Houses shall be fixed by law.

Article 48. No person shall be permitted to be a member of both Houses simultaneously.

Article 49. Members of both Houses shall receive appropriate annual payment from the national treasury in accordance with law.

Article 50. Except in cases provided by law, members of both Houses shall be exempt from apprehension while the Diet is in session, and any members apprehended before the opening of the session shall be freed during the term of the session upon demand of the House.

Article 51. Members of both Houses shall not be held liable outside the House for speeches, debates or votes cast inside the House.

Article 52. An ordinary session of the Diet shall be convoked once per year.

Article 53. The Cabinet may determine to convoke extraordinary sessions of the Diet. When a quarter or more of the total members of either House makes the demand, the Cabinet must determine on such convocation.

Article 54. When the House of Representatives is dissolved, there must be a general election of members of the House of Representatives within forty (40) days from the date of dissolution, and the Diet must be convoked within thirty (30) days from the date of the election.

(2) When the House of Representatives is dissolved, the House of Councillors is closed at the same time. However, the Cabinet may in time of national emergency convoke the House of Councillors in emergency session.

(3) Measures taken at such session as mentioned in the proviso of the preceding paragraph shall be provisional and shall become null and void unless agreed to by the House of Representatives within a period of ten (10) days after the opening of the next session of the Diet.

Article 55. Each House shall judge disputes related to qualifications of its members. However, in order to deny a seat to any member, it is necessary to pass a resolution by a majority of two-thirds or more of the members present.

Article 56. Business cannot be transacted in either House unless one third or more of total membership is present.

(2) All matters shall be decided, in each House, by a majority of those present, except as elsewhere provided in the Constitution, and in case of a tie, the presiding officer shall decide the issue.

Article 57. Deliberation in each House shall be public. However, a secret meeting may be held where a majority of two-thirds or more of those members present passes a resolution therefor.

(2) Each House shall keep a record of proceedings. This record shall be published and given general circulation, excepting such parts of proceedings of secret session as may be deemed to require secrecy.

(3) Upon demand of one-fifth or more of the members present, votes of the members on any matter shall be recorded in the minutes.

Article 58. Each house shall select its own president and other officials.

(2) Each House shall establish its rules pertaining to meetings, proceedings and internal discipline, and may punish members for disorderly conduct. However, in order to expel a member, a majority of two-thirds or more of those members present must pass a resolution thereon.

Article 59. A bill becomes a law on passage by both Houses, except as otherwise provided by the Constitution.

(2) A bill which is passed by the House of Representatives, and upon which the House of Councillors makes a decision different from that of the House of Representatives, becomes a law when passed a second time by the House of Representatives by a majority of two-thirds or more of the members present.

(3) The provision of the preceding paragraph does not preclude the House of Representatives from calling for the meeting of a joint committee of both Houses, provided for by law.

(4) Failure by the House of Councillors to take final action within sixty (60) days after receipt of a bill passed by the House of Representatives, time in recess excepted, may be determined by the House of Representatives to constitute a rejection of the said bill by the House of Councillors.

Article 60. The Budget must first be submitted to the House of Representatives.

(2) Upon consideration of the budget, when the House of Councillors makes a decision different from that of the House of Representatives, and when no agreement can be reached even through a joint committee of both Houses, provided for by law, or in the case of failure by the House of Councillors to take final action within thirty (30) days, the period of recess excluded, after the receipt of the budget passed by the House of Representatives, the decision of the House of Representatives shall be the decision of the Diet.

Article 61. The second paragraph of the preceding article applies also to the Diet approval required for the conclusion of treaties.

Article 62. Each House may conduct investigations in relation to government, and may demand the presence and testimony of witnesses, and the production of records.

Article 63. The Prime Minister and other Ministers of State may, at any time, appear in either House for the purpose of speaking on bills, regardless of whether they are members of the House or not. They must appear when their presence is required in order to give answers or explanations.

Article 64. The Diet shall set up an impeachment court from among the members of both Houses for the purpose of trying those judges against whom removal proceedings have been instituted.

(2) Matters relating to impeachment shall be provided by law.



## CHAPTER V. THE CABINET

Article 65. Executive power shall be vested in the Cabinet.

Article 66. The Cabinet shall consist of the Prime Minister, who shall be its head, and other Ministers of State, as provided for by law.

(2) The Prime Minister and other Ministers of State must be civilians.

(3) The Cabinet, in the exercise of executive power, shall be collectively responsible to the Diet.

Article 67. The Prime Minister shall be designated from among the members of the Diet by a resolution of the Diet. This designation shall precede all other business.

(2) If the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors disagree and if no agreement can be reached even through a joint committee of both Houses, provided for by law, or the House of Councillors fails to make designation within ten (10) days, exclusive of the period of recess, after the House of Representatives has made designation, the decision of the House of Representatives shall be the decision of the Diet.

Article 68. The Prime Minister shall appoint the Ministers of State. However, a majority of their number must be chosen from among the members of the Diet.

(2) The Prime Minister may remove the Ministers of State as he chooses.

Article 69. 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.

Article 70. When there is a vacancy in the post of Prime Minister, or upon the first convocation of the Diet after a general election of members of the House of Representatives, the Cabinet shall resign en masse.

Article 71. In the cases mentioned in the two preceding articles, the Cabinet shall continue its functions until the time when a new Prime Minister is appointed.

Article 72. The Prime Minister, representing the Cabinet, submits bills, reports on general national affairs and foreign relations to the Diet and exercises control and supervision over various administrative branches.

Article 73. The Cabinet, in addition to other general administrative functions, shall perform the following functions:

- (i) Administer the law faithfully; conduct affairs of state;
- (ii) Manage foreign affairs;
- (iii) Conclude treaties. However, it shall obtain prior or, depending on circumstances, subsequent approval of the Diet;
- (iv) Administer the civil service, in accordance with standards established by law;
- (v) Prepare the budget, and present it to the Diet;
- (vi) Enact cabinet orders in order to execute the provisions of this Constitution and of the law. However, it cannot include penal provisions in such cabinet orders unless authorized by such law.

(vii) Decide on general amnesty, special amnesty, commutation of punishment, reprieve, and restoration of rights.

Article 74. All laws and cabinet orders shall be signed by the competent Minister of State and countersigned by the Prime Minister.

Article 75. The Ministers of State, during their tenure of office, shall not be subject to legal action without the consent of the Prime Minister. However, the right to take that action is not impaired hereby.

## CHAPTER VI. JUDICIARY

Article 76. The whole judicial power is vested in a Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as are established by law.

(2) No extraordinary tribunal shall be established, nor shall any organ or agency of the Executive be given final judicial power.

(3) All judges shall be independent in the exercise of their conscience and shall be bound only by this Constitution and the laws.

Article 77. The Supreme Court is vested with the rule-making power under which it determines the rules of procedure and of practice, and of matters relating to attorneys, the internal discipline of the courts and the administration of judicial affairs.

(2) Public procurators shall be subject to the rule-making power of the Supreme Court.

(3) The Supreme Court may delegate the power to make rules for inferior courts to such courts.

Article 78. Judges shall not be removed except by public impeachment unless judicially declared mentally or physically incompetent to perform official duties. No disciplinary action against judges shall be administered by any executive organ or agency.

Article 79. The Supreme Court shall consist of a Chief Judge and such number of judges as may be determined by law; all such judges excepting the Chief Judge shall be appointed by the Cabinet.

(2) The appointment of the judges of the Supreme Court shall be reviewed by the people at the first general election of members of the House of Representatives following their appointment, and shall be reviewed again at the first general election of members of the House of Representatives after a lapse of ten (10) years, and in the same manner thereafter.

(3) In cases mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, when the majority of the voters favors the dismissal of a judge, he shall be dismissed.

(4) Matters pertaining to review shall be prescribed by law.

(5) The judges of the Supreme Court shall be retired upon the attainment of the age as fixed by law.

(6) All such judges shall receive, at regular stated intervals, adequate compensation which shall not be decreased during their terms of office.

Article 80. The judges of the inferior courts shall be appointed by the Cabinet from a list of persons nominated by the Supreme Court. All such judges shall hold office for a term of ten (10) years with privilege of reappointment, provided that they shall be retired upon the attainment of the age as fixed by law.

(2) The judges of the inferior courts shall receive, at regular stated intervals, adequate compensation which shall not be decreased during their terms of office.

Article 81. The Supreme Court is the court of last resort with power to determine the constitutionality of any law, order, regulation or official act.

Article 82. Trials shall be conducted and judgment declared publicly.

(2) Where a court unanimously determines publicity to be dangerous to public order or morals, a trial may be conducted privately, but trials of political offenses, offenses involving the press or cases wherein the rights of people as guaranteed in Chapter III of this Constitution are in question shall always be conducted publicly.

## CHAPTER VII. FINANCE

Article 83. The power to administer national finances shall be exercised as the Diet shall determine.

Article 84. No new taxes shall be imposed or existing ones modified except by law or under such conditions as law may prescribe.

Article 85. No money shall be expended, nor shall the State obligate itself, except as authorized by the Diet.

Article 86. The Cabinet shall prepare and submit to the Diet for its consideration and decision a budget for each fiscal year.

Article 87. In order to provide for unforeseen deficiencies in the budget, a reserve fund may be authorized by the Diet to be expended upon the responsibility of the Cabinet.

(2) The Cabinet must get subsequent approval of the Diet for all payments from the reserve fund.

Article 88. All property of the Imperial Household shall belong to the State. All expenses of the Imperial Household shall be appropriated by the Diet in the budget.

Article 89. No public money or other property shall be expended or appropriated for the use, benefit or maintenance of any religious institution or association, or for any charitable, educational or benevolent enterprises not under the control of public authority.

Article 90. Final accounts of the expenditures and revenues of State shall be audited annually by a Board of Audit and submitted by the Cabinet to the Diet, together with the statement of audit, during the fiscal year immediately following the period covered.

(2) The organization and competency of the Board of Audit shall be determined by law.

Article 91. At regular intervals and at least annually the Cabinet shall report to the Diet and the people on the state of national finances.

## CHAPTER VIII. LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Article 92. Regulations concerning organization and operations of local public entities shall be fixed by law in accordance with the principle of local autonomy.

Article 93. The local public entities shall establish assemblies as their deliberative organs, in accordance with law.

(2) The chief executive officers of all local public entities, the members of their assemblies, and such other local officials as may be determined by law shall be elected by direct popular vote within their several communities.

Article 94. Local public entities shall have the right to manage their property, affairs and administration and to enact their own regulations within law.

Article 95. A special law, applicable only to one local public entity, cannot be enacted by the Diet without the consent of the majority of the voters of the local public entity concerned, obtained in accordance with law.

## CHAPTER IX. AMENDMENTS

Article 96. Amendments to this Constitution shall be initiated by the Diet, through a concurring vote of two-thirds or more of all the members of each House and shall thereupon be submitted to the people for ratification, which shall require the affirmative vote of a majority of all votes cast thereon, at special referendum or at such election as the Diet shall specify.

(2) Amendments when so ratified shall immediately be promulgated by the Emperor in the name of the people, as an integral part of this Constitution.

## CHAPTER X. SUPREME LAW

Article 97. The fundamental human rights by this Constitution guaranteed to the people of Japan are fruits of the age-old struggle of man to be free; they have survived the many exacting tests for durability and are conferred upon this and future generations in trust, to be held for all time inviolate.

Article 98. This Constitution shall be the supreme law of the nation and no law, ordinance, imperial rescript or other act of government, or part thereof, contrary to the provisions hereof, shall have legal force or validity.

(2) The treaties concluded by Japan and established laws of nations shall be faithfully observed.

Article 99. The Emperor or the Regent as well as Ministers of State, members of the Diet, judges, and all other public officials have the obligation to respect and uphold this Constitution.

## CHAPTER XI. SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS

Article 100. This Constitution shall be enforced as from the day when the period of six months will have elapsed counting from the day of its promulgation.

(2) The enactment of laws necessary for the enforcement of this Constitution, the election of members of the House of Councillors and the procedure for the convocation of the Diet and other preparatory procedures necessary for the enforcement of this Constitution may be executed before the day prescribed in the preceding paragraph.

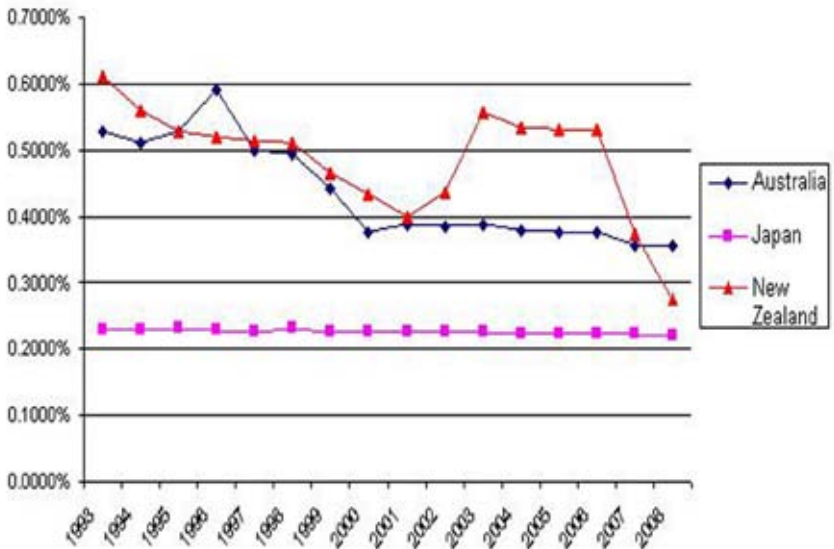
Article 101. If the House of Councillors is not constituted before the effective date of this Constitution, the House of Representatives shall function as the Diet until such time as the House of Councillors shall be constituted.

Article 102. The term of office for half the members of the House of Councillors serving in the first term under this Constitution shall be three years. Members falling under this category shall be determined in accordance with law.

Article 103. The Ministers of State, members of the House of Representatives and judges in office on the effective date of this Constitution, and all other public officials, who occupy positions corresponding to such positions as are recognized by this Constitution shall not forfeit their positions automatically on account of the enforcement of this Constitution unless otherwise specified by law. When, however, successors are elected or appointed under the provisions of this Constitution, they shall forfeit their positions as a matter of course.

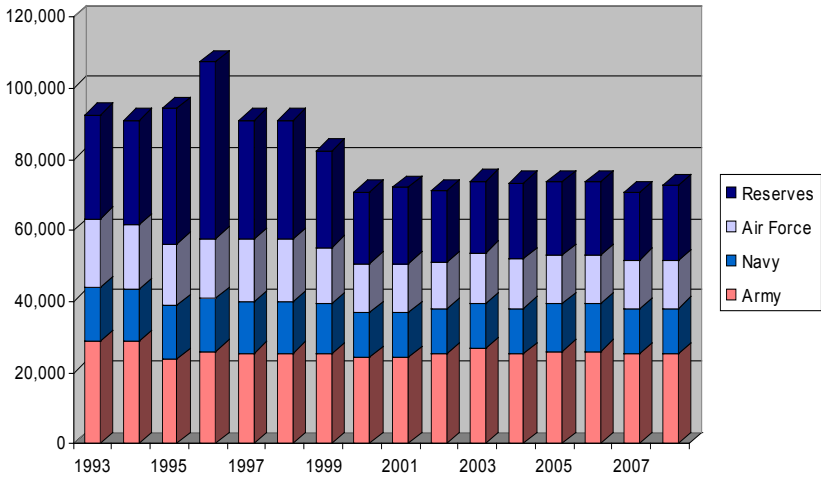
## APPENDIX 15 - RECENT COMPARISONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND ITS FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS

The following comparisons were made using the data published annually in the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) *The Military Balance*, between 1993/1994 and 2008.

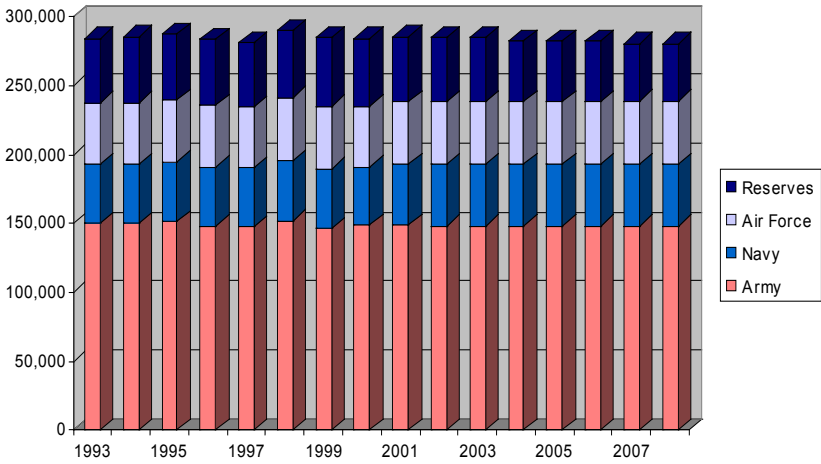


Graph 1: Percentages of military personnel to the population

JAPANESE SEA POWER - A MARITIME NATION'S STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY

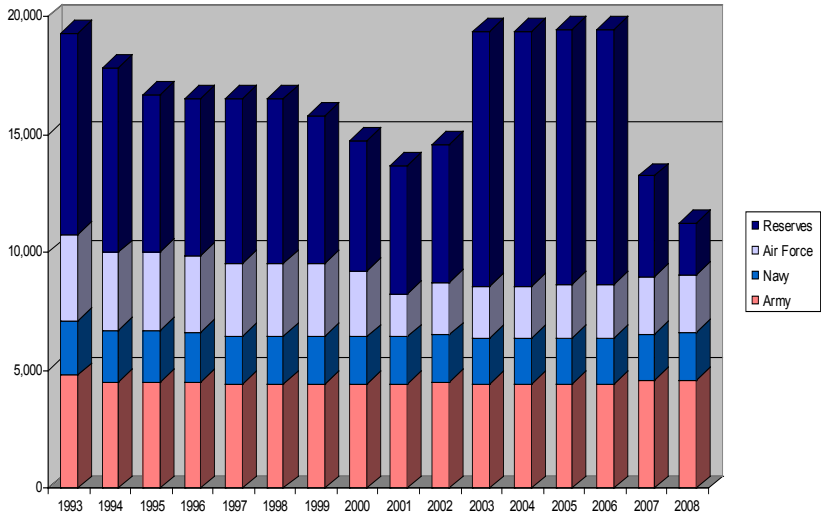


Graph 2 - Defence personnel numbers - Australia

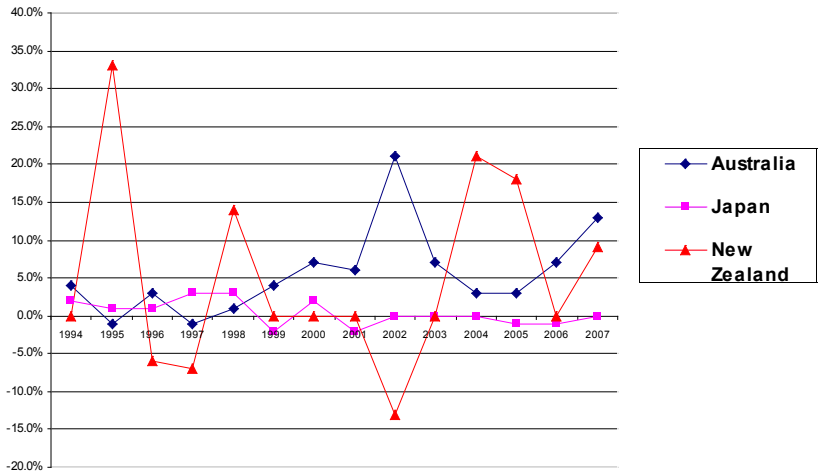


Graph 3 - Defence personnel numbers - Japan

RECENT COMPARISONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND ITS FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS



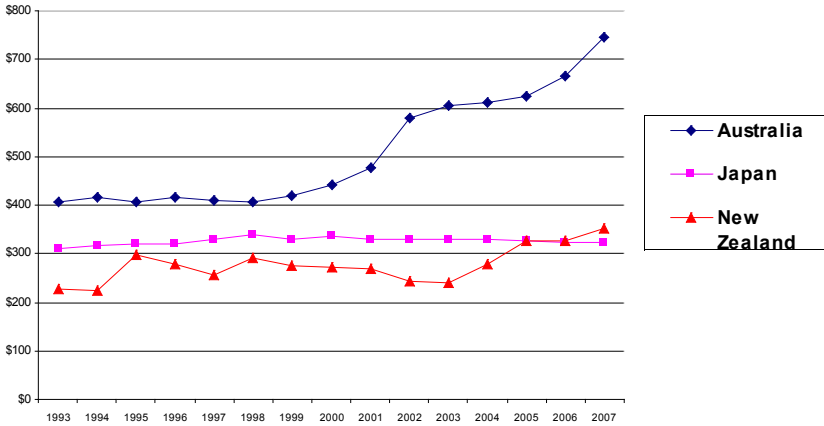
Graph 4 - Defence personnel numbers - New Zealand



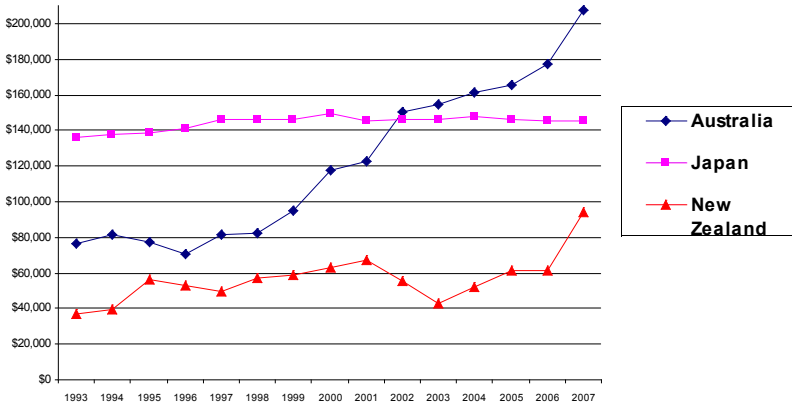
Graph 5 - Defence budgetary growth



JAPANESE SEA POWER - A MARITIME NATION'S STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY



Graph 6 - Defence expenditure per capita (US\$ per person)



Graph 7 - Defence expenditure per military personnel (US\$ per person)



*A Maritime Self-Defense Force MCH-101 helicopter*



*Always on guard - a Maritime Self-Defense Force P-3C flies over the Sea of Japan*

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# JAPANESE SEA POWER - A MARITIME NATION'S STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY



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