

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS & DIPLOMACY (1)

Re-examination of Matsuoka Diplomacy and
his life in Japan and in Oregon [Part 1]
「国際関係-外交論研究(1)：松岡外交の再検討-
その人の日本及びオレゴン時代 [Part 1]」



Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka,
the most misunderstood
& forgotten: Japan's
best known diplomat

By Shoji Mitarai

Forward

This study, which was undertaken in Oregon, is based on anthropological fieldwork which includes a series of interviews, research at libraries, and the author's personal experience and day-to-day observations. The author, in fact, resided in a neighborhood where Yosuke Matsuoka had lived as a youth in the late 1800's. He made a return journey to Oregon this summer and had an opportunity of re-investigating a wide range of irony and myths surrounding former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Yosuke Matsuoka. Portland has been a particularly congenial home base for this research project. Last, but not least, the author should like to take the liberty of adding that much support and cooperation was provided by the City of Portland and International Relations Office at Sapporo City Hall; the Oregonian; the Oregon Japan Study Center at OSU; the Oregon Historical Society; Mr. and Mrs. Elmer Nishimoto; Mrs. Eadyne Yoneko Dozono; Dr. Steve Kohl of the UO; Mr. and Mrs. George Tsugawa; Mr. Kiyoji Tanaka, the political advisor at the American Consulate in Sapporo; the Matsuoka family; the UO library; PSU library; and Stanford University library (Summer, 1985).

Introduction

There had historically been two statesmanlike Japanese who shared common ideals of a global interdependence and international peace based on justice, order, and equality in the early part of the 20th century.

Some other commonalities they shared were that both of them: [1] advocated themselves by saying "I have a dream of becoming a bridge across the Pacific" prior to their departure for the United States; [2] were, when compared with their contemporaries, so distinguished for their fluent use of English as a means of intercultural communication that they could explain Japan's position to the rest of the world, particularly, to the American people with a view to enhancing good will and understanding; [3] became educated in America were often criticized as being unpatriotic for making favorable remarks and statements about close ties between Japan and the United States when they applied their expertise in their fields toward bridging the gap between the two countries; and [4] were, in different capacities, affiliated with the League of Nations.

One was none other than Inazo Nitobe, a northeasterner born in Iwate Prefecture in the late Tokugawa era. The other was Yosuke Matsuoka, a southwesterner born in Yamaguchi Prefecture in the Meiji period. While Nitobe and Matsuoka held the aforementioned similar ideals, Nitobe died in a hospital in Victoria, British Columbia on October 15, 1933, leaving his fame to prosperity both as a scholar and statesman. People still remember his legacy and memories with the vividness of yesterday. As for Matsuoka, although he attained international fame as Japan's most articulate diplomat, statesman, and later as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he died with every circumstance of tragedy because following the Second World War, he was indicted on the grounds that he was one of the chief architects who guided Japan into the Pacific War. However, he passed away at the Tokyo University hospital on June 24, 1946 before the trial was concluded.

What is most ironic of all is that whereas Matsuoka was the man who had, all along through undeclared war, sought to halt military fanatics, during the Far Eastern International Tribunal, the army officer, Akira Muto and some others who had kept rather quiet before Matsuoka's death, but who had wanted to be acquitted from the charge, suddenly made an unsubstantiated assertion after his death by claiming that Matsuoka's blitzkrieg diplomatic decision on the withdrawal from the League of Nations in particular and on the Axis (Tripartite) Pact served

as a springboard for the road to Pearl Harbor. Their testimony at the Tribunal was seriously taken into consideration, and Matsuoka was charged as a war criminal. Although Muto was later excuted as a class-A criminal, some of the defendants who brought the charge against Matsuoka, but who might have been responsible for the Pacific War, were later freed from the charge (Of the twenty five defendants, eighteen were released). By the same token, what is paradoxical lies in the fact that so-called the "Konoe memoir" which prompted the criminal charge against Matsuoka was until after World War II believed to have been written by Premier Fumimaro Konoe himself. However, according to Hagiwara, the memoir had not been written by Mr. Konoe, but by a statesman in the person of "Mr. K" who used to work for the "A" newspaper company a few decades ago (p. 39, 23). While Japan's path to Pearl Harbor poses a number of problems for which there are no definite answers (3, 8 & 22),* the memoir spelled out in effect that Matsuoka's conception of America played the major part in leading Japan into the Pacific War, and further "Mr. K" wrote as if Matsuoka should have taken the rap for Premier Konoe for the criminal charge. In this connection, Trezise, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, addressed the issue :

...(Matsuoka) was a man who believed beyond everything else that he knew and understood the United States and the American people... Matsuoka's conception of America and Americans played a part, but only a part, in the drift to war in the Pacific. On both sides, in Washington as well as in Tokyo, there were numerous and frequent misunderstandings, miscalculations, blunders, even mistranslations of key documents (p. 5, 24).

Re-examination as well as re-evaluation of Matsuoka diplomacy sur-

* Dr. Kohl said, "Before we put the blame on Matsuoka diplomacy, we should look into a number of causes which set Japan on the path of world aggression" (8). Mr. Kiyoji Tanaka, the political advisor at the American Consulate in Sapporo stated, "People in general think that Matsuoka's dramatic action in Geneva was the major cause which led Japan into the Pacific War, but there are other factors contributed to his final decision (22)."

faced very briefly but did not gain academic respectability. Rather the revisionist standpoint was oftentimes dismissed because first, Matsuoka died without leaving his memoir behind; second, many political scientists as well as historians have not yet raised serious doubts about the origin of the Pacific War, and they have allowed what people prefer to call Matsuoka's decision on the withdrawal from the League organization in particular and entry into the Tripartite Pact might have been the main cause of the Pacific War; and third, inasmuch as the publication of books specifically dealing with Matsuoka have not yet been readily available in English, this has deprived foreign scholars of an ample opportunity to identify and re-examine a new range of irony and paradox surrounding Matsuoka's diplomacy and his behavior as well.

The purposes of this article are: to illustrate Matsuoka's life with particular reference to his early days in Japan and in Oregon (before April 7, 1933); and to re-examine his behavioral patterns and the depth of his personal involvement especially during the Geneva Conference as a means of providing some insights and clues in understanding certain aspects of Matsuoka's diplomacy.

Yosuke Matsuoka—Prior To His Departure For America

Yosuke Matsuoka was born on March 4, 1880 in Murozumi, Yamaguchi province (closer to Hikari city and Mitarai Bay). Yosuke's father, Sanjuro, inherited a marine transport store called "Imago" which had a big name among merchants and tycoons throughout the length and breadth of Japan. However, at the time when his wife, Yuhko (a woman of Samurai lineage) gave birth to Yosuke,* his business was on the verge of decline since a seaport town Koshiniigata, geographically close to is-

* Yosuke Matsuoka had three brothers and three sisters respectively. For instance, Sanjuro and his first wife, Yuki, had three children (two sons and one daughter). After Yuki's death, Sanjuro remarried Yuhko who gave birth to two boys and two girls. One of Yosuke's sisters, Fujie, married into the Sato family and gave birth to Hiroko who got married to former Prime Minister Eisaku Sato (a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize a decade ago). Therefore, Mr Eisaku Sato and his brother, Nobusuke Kishi (who was also Prime Minister) are Yosuke's nephews.

land of the Southern Kyushu, became a hub of marine transportation in place of Murozumi. By the time Yosuke turned eleven, Murozumi port could no longer hold back the wheels of better social and economic progress. Furthermore, economic depression hit the Chohshu domain to which Yamaguchi province belonged, and as a result, "Imago" store went into bankruptcy. This prompted Yosuke aged twelve to go to America to gain an education.* His parents tried to talk him out of the trip at first, but later complied with Yosuke's request because their relative, Mr. Fujiyama, at that time, resided in America, and he reported to them that he had made profits from his new business on the West Coast. Additionally, a monk by the name of Mokurai, who traveled around many parts of the world, also persuaded Yosuke's parents to send Yosuke to the land of opportunity. Being accompanied by Motosaburo (Mr. Fujiyama's son), Yosuke got on a ship by saying farewell to his mother. Their ship left Mitarai Bay in November, 1893 for Hiroshima, where they transferred to a train bound for Kobe city.

While it has been reported by many that Yosuke alone started out on a journey from Kobe and had arrived at Portland, Oregon first, both Motosaburo and Yosuke were on board a ship named "Tacoma Maru." The Tacoma Maru sailed out of the Kobe harbor toward Hawaii in March, 1894 and arrived at Vancouver, Canada, a few weeks later. As it was a long voyage, Yosuke had an opportunity of practicing English learned from his principal, Mr. Yanagawa. Yosuke had a smattering of English, but he found that English spoken by American sailors was quite different from English taught by Mr. Yanagawa.** It should be noted here that people are prone to think that Yosuke took lessons in English almost entirely under the guidance of Mr. Yanagawa in Murozumi. Yet in the author's interview with Mr. Elmer Nishimoto, a first generation

* Yosuke was known to be a very naughty and argumentative, but a likable boy. He was very popular among his friends and teachers at elementary school. He was an avid reader of Chinese classics and had a strong liking for reciting Chinese poems in the Japanese style.

** For further information, see the following books written by Toyoda (23); Hagiwara (4); and Kase (7).

Japanese American who has a large amount of information on Yosuke's visit to Portland first hand, it was found that Yosuke also spent time studying English in Kobe. In the same way, Yosuke Matsuoka himself mentioned this in his interview with *The Oregonian*. He stated, "When I was 8 years old I went to Kobe to study English. The facilities were limited, and my text restricted to a copy of *Barnes National Reader*. It was very difficult, but it showed that eager Japanese were willing to learn the language of the West as well as its manners and customs" (16). Nishimoto and Eadyne Dozono also asserted, "Mr. Matsuoka had a big dream of becoming a bridge across the Pacific and the Atlantic in his childhood, particularly, after he became interested in studying English and decided to go to America" (12 & 2). Yosuke also advocated his dream to Motosaburo on the way to America (p. 76, 23).

In April 1894, the Tacoma Maru anchored off Vancouver, Canada, but Yosuke and Motosaburo had to stay in Vancouver for two weeks for a thorough physical checkup because some of the passengers had smallpox. Two weeks later Yosuke separated from Motosaburo and rode on a wagon heading for Portland, Oregon. Upon his arrival, he was to meet one of Mr. Fujiyama's relatives. However, there was no one, to Yosuke's surprise, waiting for his arrival.

Yosuke's Culture Shock and His New Life Began in Portland

By the time Yosuke set foot in Portland, Fujiyama's relative was no longer a resident in Portland; his address was missing. It was a big letdown as well as a great initial culture shock for a thirteen year old Yosuke. Therefore, during the first few months Yosuke was, contrary to popular belief, in the custody of Rv. Tokutaro Nakamura at first, and thereafter he was under the care of Rv. Sadakichi Kawabe at a little Japanese mission dormitory (in the old Methodist church) at North West 9th Avenue and Flanders.*

* While Toyoda's study elaborates on Yosuke's encounter with Rv. Nakamura, Miwa, Lu, and a number of others gave no accounts of Yosuke's relationship with Rv. Nakamura at all.

It was at the old Methodist church that Yosuke got acquainted with a number of Portlanders who later became his lifelong friends. Among them were such prominent people as Dr. and Mrs. C.R. Templeton and Mrs. M.A. Wilson, mother of J. Clyde. More importantly it was there that Yosuke met his benefactress, Mrs. Isabelle D. Beveridge who later took a friendly interest in him. Yosuke used to act as a leader at the mission. His talk at a meeting before the church services, which he did with dignity and poise, impressed many people, including Dr. and Mrs. Templeton and Mrs. Beveridge. At the same time, Yosuke was noted among many for his light heartedness and kindness. He used to extend a helping hand whenever new Japanese boys arrived in Portland. While being involved with a lot of work at the church, he worked his way through Atkinson Grammar School, from where he graduated (The school, at that time, was located at North West 11th between Couch and Davis). One of the pleasant memories Yosuke had at Atkinson was his re-encounter with *the Barnes National Reader* which he used in Kobe. Matsuoka put it, "When I entered Atkinson school they used the *Barnes National Reader*, and it was almost like finding an old friend. I studied hard and worked hard" (20). One job Yosuke did was to sell coffee from door to door. He also visited Japanese restaurants in Portland taking orders for coffee which he delivered early the following morning to pay his way.*

At the Dunbers' and Heading For Oakland

When Yosuke was fourteen, he was taken into the Dunbers' and made his home with William Dunber, a noted merchant and a widower, and his sister Mrs. Beveridge, widow of a Scottish judge who resided in New Zealand. Mr. Dunber had a son named Lambert who was one year older than Yosuke. And Yosuke was treated with the same kindness shown to Lambert. Mrs. Beveridge used to help Yosuke with English. Therefore, by the time Yosuke was sixteen, he was quite adept in English, although he picked up a Scottish accent. Yosuke learned much from her; the American middle-class cultural values and Christian ideals became

* Yosuke also worked part-time at the Grand Restaurant owned by Mr. Shosuke Matsumoto (at South West 3rd).

a part of him. He recalled his happy days at the Dunbers': He remarked, "I came to Portland when I was only 13, and I was very lucky to have been befriended by the family of William Dunber, who was then wealthy but whose riches dwindled down. I was sent to school by them here, to the Atkinson school." He further commented, "I cannot recall her (Mrs. Beveridge's) memory without my heart filling with gratitude and thankfulness... I would call myself a waif if I did not honor Mrs. Beveridge, who was a second mother to me, and Mr. Dunber, who cared for me as kindly as though I had been his son" (16).

Upon graduation from Atkinson Grammar School, Yosuke decided to move to Oakland, California since his elder brother, Kensuke came to California after Sanjuro's death with the hope that he could start out a new business with his relative, Motosaburo. Kensuke promised Yosuke that he could put his younger brother through high school. Although Kensuke and Motosaburo opened a restaurant on Broadway in San Francisco, it lasted only for a short time. Thus, Yosuke had no alternative but to get a job working his way through high school in Oakland. Yosuke was once employed on a part time basis at a newspaper company called "*The Oakland Enquire*." It was there that Yosuke had occasion to meet Mr. William Jennings Bryan who was at that time running for the presidency. Yosuke was so impressed with his campaign speech that he spoke out on his encounter with Bryan in class. His teacher and classmates gave high marks for his persuasive speech. After studying in high school at Oakland for two and a half years, Yosuke made a decision to enter law school in Portland, Oregon (pp. 41-42, 4& pp. 90-91, 23 & 2).

Both As a Law Student And As a Young Lawyer

Although Pement of the Oregon Journal Newspaper and others report that Yosuke enrolled at the University of Oregon law school on the main campus (21), a series of interviews conducted by the author in Portland recently indicated that in 1898 Yosuke Matsuoka entered law school in Portland. The law school was a satellite campus of the University of Oregon that was located in the Goodnough building at South West 5th and Yamhill, and in those days, classes were conducted in the

evening. The school was later moved to the main campus.* The Dean of the school was Prof. Richard Thornton, the only full time faculty; the rest of the faculty consisted of prominent lawyers in the Portland area.

At the law school young Matsuoka was not only a hard working model student, but also a likable fellow among his classmates. His bolts-and-nuts knowledge of American law often saved his friends' hides. One of his classmates, O.L. Price, who later became manager of the Oregonian Newspaper asserted, "He was a brilliant student. And he always was prepared with his lessons. He was bright and sharp as a boy should be, and he was an excellent student of American law in spite of being a foreign race." Price further stated that, "he was a pleasant youth, always a gentleman, a very fine fellow in every way (15). One thing which astounded his faculty and classmates took place one summer when the state bar examination was held before the court in Salem. As Matsuoka gave superb answers, the jurists took his paper and brought into the court. They gave it unstinted praise. According to Mr. Nishimoto, Matsuoka in those days also spent a lot of time reading Japanese juristical books and quarterly magazines on law published at Waseda University. During the daytime Matsuoka worked part-time in the lumber industry, but later he became interpreter for S. Ban Japanese railroad labor contractor. Mr. Sinzaburo Ban was president of the company who hired nearly two thousand employees working on various railroads in the Northwest area. Young Matsuoka was Mr. Ban's right-hand man in every respect, and others working for his company regarded young Matsuoka as the most dependable lawyer rather than just an interpreter. Since Mr. Ban also owned several other stores in the Northwest, Matsuoka was one day offered high wages to manage one of the stores. How-

* Several Portlanders with whom the author interviewed mentioned that the law school also might have been in a way connected with Northwestern school of law at that time (2, 12, & 25).

When Nippon Hōhō Kyōkai (NHK) broadcast a program entitled "Yosuke Matsuoka's College Life" on October 27, 1940, the law school was referred to as "Portland University" (p. 44, 4).

ever, Matsuoka turned down the request as he made up his mind to get into the diplomatic service upon his graduation from the law school. Matsuoka was one of fourteen students in the class of 1900 and ranked second. Those who associated with Matsuoka at that time all remember that Matsuoka might have been the best in the class and might have transferred to Harvard if he had not been working during the day. Matsuoka was known to be a self-made man among many Portlanders. He also had a reputation as the best stud poker player in the class of 1900 (pp. 33-35, 5 & p. 47, 4 and 12).

Matsuoka Entered the Diplomatic Service

With his American degree in law, Matsuoka made a return journey to his hometown. One of the primary reasons for his hurried departure from the United States derived from the fact that he heard news from his brother, Kensuke, that their mother had been critically ill in Murozumi. This news urged Matsuoka to return to Japan in October 1901, and he was reunited with his mother after ten years. Once he resettled in Murozumi, he found his mother (who had been under the care of his elder sister, Fujie) recuperating from an illness. During his stay there, he devoted much time and energy to the studies pertaining to law, political science, and other subjects in hopes of doing more advanced study in law at Tokyo University rather than at Harvard. In his effort to enter the diplomatic service, he also enrolled at Meiji University as an auditor. However, what he discovered at the Japanese universities, according to Mori, were that students attending lectures were writing down in their notebooks, every single and exact word of whatever their professors said, and lectures proceeded very slowly (pp. 171-172, 11). As he was so accustomed to the American style of lectures where a professor moved from one topic to another so quickly that students had to take notes as if they had been fast stenographers, he found the Japanese style of lectures were time consuming. In addition to this, the subject matter professors covered at these universities were nothing new to Matsuoka. Another thing which startled him was that there was a lack of spontaneous discussion and

debate between students and professors. Taken as a whole, it appeared to Matsuoka that what it took him only one year to master a certain subject in America took them (the Japanese students) four years to master it in Japan. Matsuoka at that time did not want to waste his time (pp. 49-50, 4). It is for these reasons that he decided to study on his own. When he took the examination for the diplomatic service, he knew more answers than some of the supervisors sent from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Of the 130 applicants who took the test, only 6 were accepted, and Matsuoka passed the examination with highest honor in 1904. Matsuoka was also offered excellent salary to work for "*The London Times*" in England, but he declined the offer and decided to work for the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"Matsuoka" On Every Diplomat's Tongue & His Encounter With Inazo Nitobe

Matsuoka started his official career as a diplomat at the age of twenty five. His official diplomatic assignments included in such places as Shanghai, Talien, and Peking in China (from 1904 to 1912); and St. Petersburg and Washington, DC (from 1912 to 1916). A decade of training and experiences in the world of diplomacy prepared Matsuoka for his leading role at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. At the Versailles Conference which ended the First World War, he was sent to Paris with Mr. Saionji and Mr. Makino. At first he was in charge of information for the Saionji delegation. However, of the sixty Japanese delegates, no one except Matsuoka could talk *tete-a-tete* with foreign counterparts and foreign newspaper reporters, and in Versailles he turned himself into a chief spokesman on behalf of the Japanese delegation. It holds true that many of the Japanese representatives had a good command of English. Nonetheless, when penetrating questions, which required candid and prompt replies, were raised by their counterparts in question-and-answer sessions, they felt uneasy with the vacillation and did not proceed quickly to the center of the discussion. They were also reluctant to respond to a "yes" and "no" question. As a result, they were looked

upon as "silent partners" by representatives from other countries. Matsuoka, in the words of Kase, was the only Japanese who acquired the know-how of how to deal with foreign counterparts directly in negotiations and in question-and-answer sessions as well (p. 126, 7). On the way back to Japan from Paris, the Makino delegation and Matsuoka stopped at New York and Washington, DC at which Matsuoka read a statement on Japan's foreign policy via the United Press. By the time he returned to Japan en route from San Francisco, the name "Matsuoka" was on the tongues of diplomats and newspaper journalists throughout the world.* He came to be recognized as Japan's most articulate diplomat. For instance, this was also substantiated by Inazo Nitobe who made acquaintance with Matsuoka in 1929 at the Kyoto Conference (Institute of Pacific Relation's Meeting) in which all the participants discussed issues in English and the subject on the growth the Pacific basin. Hagiwara is of the opinion that at the conference Nitobe was extremely impressed with the way Matsuoka thrashed out some of the problems being discussed, and further with the way he presented his clear-cut opinions right off hand in English (p. 83, 10 & 6). Because Nitobe had known no other Japanese who could debate vis-a-vis with foreign counterparts through English. The Kyoto Conference gave them an opportunity to broaden and deepen their acquaintanceship with each other. It was only quite natural that Matsuoka was appointed as chief delegate for the Geneva Conference which started in the winter of 1932 and ended in spring of 1933 (pp. 326-327, 13 & 6).

* Two years later, Matsuoka left the Office of Foreign Affairs because he was named as Director of Japan's own South Manchuria Railway Cooperation, and he worked for the company from 1921 through 1928. In 1927 he was nominated as the vice president of the SMRC. After being elected to the Lower House as a Seiyuhkai candidate in 1930, he started his career as a statesman. In February 1932, Matsuoka was dispatched to Shanghai on behalf of Prime Minister Inukai to settle a military clash called the "Shanghai Incident" between the Japanese army and the Chinese army, and he accomplished what he set out to accomplish. One of the main reasons why the Saito Cabinet chose Matsuoka as the chief delegate for the Geneva Conference was because he completed his Shanghai mission with a note of success.

Matsuoka As the Head of the Japanese Delegation

Matsuoka made international headlines in the 1930's particularly when he led the Japanese delegation in the retirement from the Geneva Conference in March 1933. Because of his dramatic walkout—the action which made history, for never before had one of the major powers of the world withdrawn from the League of Nations, people were (and have been) led to believe that Matsuoka vigorously voted against the League action and turned his back on the League organization at will. Although upon his return to Japan, he was counted as a national hero, a decade later people put the blame on his action in Geneva and despised him on the assumption that his own blitzkrieg diplomatic decision in February 1933 was the major cause that set Japan on the path of world aggression which eventually led to a collision with the United States and to the Second World War. Even foreign observers and newspaper journalists were (and have been) under the impression that Japan's withdrawal from the League organization was directly attributed to Matsuoka's own decision, and that it triggered the outbreak of World War II. Pement, for example, wrote: "When he stalked out of a League of Nations session in March 1933—signifying that Japan was withdrawing from the League—he caused a sensation. The killing for eventual holocaust was being sparked" (21). There are other analysts and writers who maintain that Matsuoka left for Geneva with one only purpose "withdrawing from the League organization." But where is the proof? Studies done by Toyoda and Miwa reveal that Matsuoka was initially (and during the Geneva Conference as well) in favor of remaining in the League because he was fully aware of the fact that the cost of isolation from the League would become incalculable, and Japan would be alienated from the world's major powers. In his consultation with Foreign Minister Kōhsei Uchida before embarking for Geneva, he expressed strongly that he had no intention of withdrawing from the League organization whatsoever (p. 450 & p. 49, 23 and pp. 99–100, 10). While he was in Geneva, he mentioned his desire to remain in the League to the Japanese delegation and others, including Kiyojirō Yosizawa and Shunichi Kase

who accompanied him. What, then, went wrong and what was the cause? In our effort to understand the major implications of Matsuoka diplomacy in Geneva in the perspective of world diplomatic history, it is essential to investigate not only circumstances under which he was sent to Geneva, but also some of the things that happened to him in Geneva.

Started With Sizzle In Geneva

Matsuoka and other delegates left for Geneva on October 21, 1932, but it was first of all when Japan was oscillated with political upheavals after the outbreak of pro-militant violence in the May 15th incident in 1932; second, it was when the Japanese Kanto army, originally assigned to guard southern Manchurian regions after the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–1905 had started military maneuvers extending into Mongolia, and they had also prepared war against the Soviet Union. The Japanese people at large, however, were not well informed about their military activities. And on September 15, 1932, about a month before Matsuoka's departure for Geneva, the Japanese Government recognized Manchukoh, the puppet state, created by the Kanto army; and third, it was when the Lytton Commission made public its result on October 2, 1931 that Japan in effect had been the aggressor in Manchuria, although the Commission first permitted Japanese operations against bandits and other lawless elements. In addition, it should be noted that at the time when Foreign Minister Kōhsei Uchida requested Matsuoka to serve as chief of the Japanese delegation for the first time on July 9, 1931, he turned down the request. But three months later Matsuoka accepted the offer at the request of Prince Saionji. The major reason, according to Lu, was that Saionji was extremely caustic about the military, and he promised Matsuoka that he would restrain the military's growing power and create a kind of political climate in which Japan could remain in the League of Nations. Saionji asserted his contention particularly in the face of global censure of Japanese aggression in Manchuria (p. 130, 9). It was under these circumstances that Matsuoka set off for the Geneva Conference as the head of the Japanese delegation.

Soon after the Japanese delegation arrived in Geneva on November 18, 1932, they started working out their proceedings for a series of negotiations and conferences. Matsuoka gave a series of talks on the course of Japanese foreign policy on November the 21st, the 23rd, and on December the 6th. As he did all these talks off the cuff, so to speak, most of the participants heard his talks with a great deal of interest and understanding. When Matsuoka delivered his historic speech on the eve of December the 8th, 1932 on Japan's Manchurian policy without manuscript, which was quite rare even among European and American representatives, some of the nations such as England, Greece and a few others were not against Japan's Manchurian policy. They appeared to be rather sympathetic toward Japan.* However, it was after December 8, 1932 that there arose a rising tide of protest against Japan's Manchurian policy because by the end of December of the same year the Japanese Kanto army was in possession of most of southern Manchuria—the military strategy initially planned by Colonels Seishiro Itagaki and Kanji Ishikawa—over the expressed concern of civilian leaders, including Matsuoka and the public.

Geneva Infused With Many Meanings

Matsuoka, who envisaged the situation in Geneva with alarm, dispatched a telegram to Foreign Minister Uchida on January 30, 1933 indicating the tide of affairs in Geneva did not turn in Japan's favor, and the Japanese delegation stood at the crossroads. Matsuoka also urged

* Matsuoka's speech lasted an hour and twenty minutes. Inasmuch as he spoke on the issue with vigor and in a succinct manner, it pulled the heartstrings of all the participants representing forty-five nations. Whether all those who listened to his speech roared their approval of Japan's Manchurian policy is not known (particularly, when Matsuoka quoted William Jennings Bryan's address in "Cross of God-Japan stands ready to be crucified"). Nevertheless, since he gave his speech very eloquently without manuscript, the conference hall echoed with great applause after the speech. The minute he ended his speech, not only John Simon, the British diplomat and one of the French representatives, but also others rushed to him. And they referred to Matsuoka as Japan's most eloquent speechmaker and diplomat (pp. 549-550, 23 & p. 460, 4).

Uchida to hand his telegram to Prince Saionji in the hope that the Japanese Government would come up with some type of accommodation in view of the situation in Geneva. In the meantime, he directed his final effort to drawing up a written proposal which could not only convince the Japanese Government to remain in the League organization but also turn the tide of the conferee's opinion against Japan in Geneva. However, no sooner had he sent a telegram to Uchida than he received a telegram (code #24) from Uchida under the date of February 1, 1933. Notwithstanding Matsuoka's repeated attempts and efforts, Uchida's message read that Japan should withdraw from the League if the General Assembly of the League of Nations adopted the Lytton report (pp. 143-144, 9). On top of this, by the beginning of February 1933, the Japanese Kanto army completed the seizure of Jinzhou and the occupation of southern Manchuria down to Shanghaigun. Thus, he called for a special session on February 16, 1933 in which Matsuoka and other Japanese delegates felt that no reasonable prospect for diplomacy, despite their efforts, was discernible and found that there was no choice but to comply with Uchida's proposal. On February 20, 1933, the Japanese Government reached a consensus that Japan would withdraw from the League of Nations, and the result was later reported to the Emperor and then to Matsuoka. The public opinion at that time was in favor of the government policy. The month of February in 1933 witnessed an assassination plot, which was originally set up by radical military officers, against those who were opposed to the government decision. For instance, Admiral Takeshi Takarabe, Kijuro Shidahara, and others (including Matsuoka should he also turn against Uchida's proposal) became the target for assassination. Meanwhile the General Assembly of the League was strongly against Japan's military seizure of Manchuria, and Secretary of State Henry Stimson was ready to apply nonrecognition policy to Manchuria. It was on February 24, 1933 that the Lytton Commission's verdict—Japan's political and military restructuring of Manchuria was unjustifiable—was reviewed by the General Assembly of the League of Nations, and forty-two nations voted for the adoption of the report

whereas only one negative vote was cast by Matsuoka himself on behalf of the Japanese Government. The result was 42 versus 1 with Thailand abstaining, and Matsuoka walked out of the League of Nations session. One thing which must be made crystal clear was the fact that he never used the word "to withdraw from the League of Nations," he stated, rather: "Japan will oppose any attempt at international control of Manchuria." And he continued, "We look into the gloom of light before us" (p. 126, 7 & 21).

With these words behind, Matsuoka left Geneva for Italy, England, and the United States (including, Portland, Oregon) en route to Japan.* For Matsuoka, "Geneva" became a place infused with many meanings; the ups and downs of delicate strains; sentiment in favor of and in disfavor of Japan; miscommunication between Tokyo and Geneva; the Kanto army's military maneuvers in Manchuria; and vague hope of another negotiated settlement on the Manchurian question through the United States because as he later reported publicly, "By the time America joins the League I will try and have my people rejoin the League" (19). The thing that needs to be taken into account is that even if the Japanese Government had sent Jutaro Komura as the head of the Japanese delegation to Geneva, the final result or the outcome might have been the same as it was with Matsuoka. On March 27, 1933, the Japanese Government officially notified the League of Nations of its withdrawal, but its membership did not run out until March 1935. Germany stalked out of the League in October 1933 followed by Italy in 1937, and the Soviet Union joined the League in September 1934.

Matsuoka : Back To America

While Matsuoka was in New York, Miwa holds the opinion that he gave no talks publicly until March 28, 1933 at the Japanese Chamber of Commerce (p. 109, 10). However, in looking into the Associated Press released on March 24, 1933, it spelled out that Matsuoka spoke on the

* When in Rome, Matsuoka met with Benito Mussolini on March 3, 1935. In London he dropped in at BBC to have an interview.

following issue of U.S.-Japan relations in line with the Manchurian question at a press conference before the 28th: "...he expressed the opinion that Japan was misunderstood in this country. He said, however, that he was on no mission in that connection. He also expressed the view that Japanese-American relations might be improved by the withdrawal of the United States fleet from the Pacific." And also, "discussing his country's policies in Manchukou with some 30 interviewers in a carefully guarded Fifth Avenue hotel suite, Matsuoka said he had heard no reports that the new state was building a navy. He made clear at the outset that Japan considers Manchukou autonomous and on that basis he answered the questions put to him for an hour." Before closing the interview, Matsuoka reiterated, "the door to United States in Manchuria would remain open, as it always has been" (1). When Secretary Swanson in Washington stated that he hoped to meet with Matsuoka to discuss all naval angles of American-Japanese relations, Matsuoka mentioned at the press conference that he made no plans to enter into discussions with Swanson or any other official in Washington, but on March 31, there was an informal meeting between Matsuoka and the newly elected Franklin Delano Roosevelt. While they did not delve into issues on U.S.-Japan relations and Japan's Manchurian policy, after the meeting the 32nd President of the United States briefed the reporters on his talk with Matsuoka and characterized the meeting as constructive as well as congenial. Matsuoka was also reported to have engaged in a talk with Secretary of State Cordell Hull later on the same day.

On his way to Portland, Oregon, he stopped over at Boston and Chicago where he gave speeches. His speech in Chicago, which was arranged by Prof. Quincy Wright, was broadcast by CBC and NBC (p. 509, 4 & p. 152, 9).

Matsuoka's Last Visit To His Second Home, Oregon & His Formal Address At His Alma Mater

At 7:35 a.m. on April 6, 1933, Matsuoka and his party, accompanied by T. Nakamura, General Consul of Japan in Portland, arrived at Portland on the Empire Builder. As he stepped out of the train onto the

concourse of the Union Station, several hundred people (most of whom were Americans of Japanese ancestry) gave him round of applause. He was also greeted by representatives of the Chamber of Commerce made up of George Powell, J.C. Hutson, Worth W. Caldwell and others (17). In Mr. Nishitomo's recollection, more than sixty policemen led by L.V. Jankins, Chief of Portland Police, were on duty. The purpose of his visit to Portland was to place a gravestone for his American benefactress, Mrs. Beveridge who died on October 5, 1906. In fact, on his way to the United States from Geneva, he sent a telegram to Consul Nakamura inquiring whether or not the grave of Mrs. Beveridge had a stone at its head. However, the reply was it had not. Therefore, Matsuoka promptly ordered Consul Nakamura that arrangements should be made so that he might look at grave markers on his arrival in Portland and that he could place the marker on her tombstone during his stay in Portland. Nishitomo told the author that Consul Nakamura and his staff drove around the city of Portland to select several gravestones which would satisfy Mr. Matsuoka. Then, Matsuoka spoke to people around him, "I feel as if I were coming back to my home... I came to Portland when I was a boy of 13 in knee pants and spent the formative years of my life here. If I could leave politics in Japan I would love to come back here to live, but I feel I owe a duty to my country and my people. My people insist that I continue to serve" (20). While many Portlanders paid a tribute to Matsuoka, he walked into the park in front of the Union Station and selected a red granite tombstone for Mrs. Beveridge in the Lone Fir cemetery (17 & 18). And twenty-five minutes later Matsuoka left for Eugene on the Klamath escorted by Consul Nakamura, Chief of Police, Mr. Jankins, and his staff members. A staff of agents arranged by Morris Couturre were also on the train. After arriving at the main campus of University of Oregon, he was warmly and enthusiastically welcomed by the faculty and student body. He was the guest of honor at a luncheon of faculty members and student leaders at the men's dormitory, and Vice President Burt Brown Baker was Matsuoka's escort guide. There are interesting episodes which have been untold

by other writers so far. Nishimoto gave his reminiscence of them as follows: "Mr. Matsuoka's alma mater planned to confer a honorary Doctorate degree on him, but what surprised me and to say nothing of Mr. Matsuoka's friends, Mr. Sohgoro Yamasaki and Juhta Yoshii, was the fact that he declined the offer for some reason. Perhaps, he visited Oregon to pay a tribute to Mrs. Beveridge, not to receive the honorary Doctorate degree. He did what Japanese people call '*Enryo*' in the face of the Japanese Government. Anyway, we were with Mr. Matsuoka and enjoyed his wonderful speech at his alma mater. One thing I want you to know is that he prepared his speech on the train, and he delivered it right off hand. He was a linguistic wizard, so to speak, and moreover, he knew the American ethos and culture besides English language. That's what he learned in Oregon, especially at Mr. Dunber's home and at schools. Nowadays Japanese students coming to America to study are financially supported by their parents and some are supported by the government. So they don't know what 'working one's way through school' so-called '*Kugaku*' in Japanese mean. They also return to Japan even without knowing the meaning of 'the American mind and ethos.' But Mr. Matsuoka knew them, and he did almost everything by himself. I've heard that Mr. Inazo Nitobe paid his own way in America, too in the Meiji period. I was born in Meiji—on September 1 in 1901. I worked my way through school here as a school boy. Now getting back to the subject, a capacity crowd of more than three thousand heard his address" (12). Matsuoka touched upon some of the reasons for Japan's China policy and why he was forced to withdraw from the League of Nations in Geneva at the Gerlinger Hall. He started the address by saying "This is a very happy day for me. One of my happiest thoughts, on leaving the League of Nations and standing back to Japan by way of the United States, was that I would like to see again this University which is my alma mater" (14). He emphasized that Japan was working for harmony and peace in Asia, but said that the Soviet Union constituted a definite measure to the posterity of Japan and that the American people had been seduced by Chinese blandishments to a certain ex-

tent. He professed, "In the first place, Manchuria was never Chinese territory. It was never governed by China. It was brought into the vast empire of China by the Manchus, who crossed the great wall and conquered China. After the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1912, China did not conquer Manchuria. It was Chang Tso-lin, a man who had begun his career as an ordinary bandit, who became ruler of the sparsely settled territory... As a result of the Russo-Japanese war, which took place in 1904 and 1905, the Manchu dynasty was given the opportunity to obtain control of Manchuria. But no government of China, neither that of Manchuria dynasty nor that of the republic, which, was proclaimed in 1912, was capable of establishing law and order in Manchuria. No Chinese government has succeeded down to the present time in establishing these primary essentials of administration, even in any part of China proper. And conditions in Manchuria went from bad to worse under the rule of the war lords. Remember, the Japanese nation is still paying off the enormous debt of that war of a quarter of a century ago... There was no interference from Japan against this movement until it began to menace our position in Manchuria. As long as it was confined to China proper, we took no part in opposing it. But we had made it clear to China and to all the world that we regarded the interests we had built up in Manchuria since the Russo-Japanese war as essential to our economic and political security... It is interesting to note that neither China nor any Western country regarded Manchuria as of any importance until Japan's enterprise, investments and sacrifices transformed it from a wild, neglected country to a desirable place to live." Matsuoka also remarked that American people should be open-minded and provide Japan with an opportunity to succeed in her objectives in Asia. He asserted the following: "Japan and the United States together have a mission to perform for the peoples of the Pacific area. We should feel that this is a mission ordained for us by God and dictated by our environment... I firmly believe, however, that this great nation of America has ideals fully as high and noble as ours... If Japan and America vie for leadership in the pursuance of these high ideals, it

will be a worthy competition. Whoever, either among Japanese or among Americans, dares to create misunderstanding or misapprehension between the two great nations facing each other across the Pacific, is committing an unpardonable crime against humanity." Talking about matters concerning the League's aim, he pointed out, "The League's object is, of course, peace, just as Japan is" (14), yet he said that the League far-off Geneva in Switzerland, found it difficult to grasp fully the situation in the far east. He concluded his speech by stressing, "In your hearts, vow before God that you will not let the Pacific Ocean be a wide expanse that separates you from the east; but let it be a waterway that unites you with us; and in this way, let the coming Pacific civilization be in fact what the name of the Ocean indicates" (14). It was Matsuoka's first formal address on American soil. It is interesting to add that Matsuoka already used, almost five decades ago, the phrase "the age of Pacific" which is very fashionable among us today. After the speech, Matsuoka and Vice President Baker headed for Benson Hotel in Portland by automobile. On their way, they extended their trip to the Corvallis campus where Oregon State University is located and he enjoyed the campus tour to his heart's content. In Salem, a crowd of Americans of Japanese ancestry greeted them, and they were, in the words of Nishimoto, buoyed by Matsuoka's words when he said, "Be a good American citizen, and at the same time, be proud of the Japanese tradition and your heritage!" (12 & 2). [© Copyright by Shoji Mitarai]

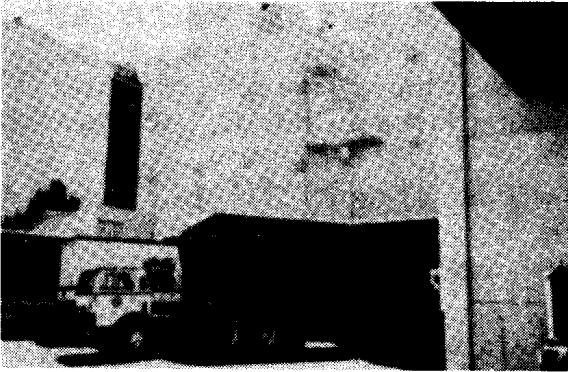
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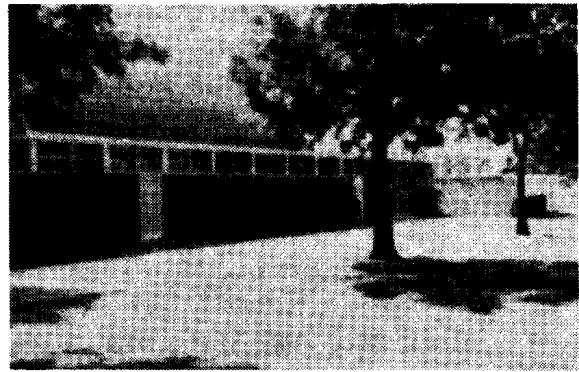
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Appendix



Former Atkinson Grammar School, from where Mr. Matsuoka graduated, is now home of the Henry Weinhard's Brewery Company.



Present Atkinson elementary school is situated very close to Mt. Tabar.



Mr. and Mrs. Elmer Nishimoto at their home in Portland, OR. on July 28, 1985.



Mrs. Eadyne Yoneko Dozono and her son, standing behind Mrs. Beveridge's grave, at the Lone Fir cemetery on July 27, 1985.



Near the place where Mr. Dunber's home was located. This is where Mr. Matsuoka used to reside in the late 1800's.



The former UO law school was located in this vicinity in Portland. Mr. Matsuoka obtained a L. L. B. in 1900.