

END NOTES

1. This paper uses the term "Northern Territories" to describe the islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and the Habomais group, which form the southernmost part of an archipelago stretching from the northwest coast of Hokkaido to the southern tip of the Kamchatka peninsula. Usage of this term does not denote acceptance of Japanese sovereignty, but follows current Western diplomatic practice.
2. The Soviets declared war three months after the cessation of hostilities in Europe, when the atomic bomb had already devastated Hiroshima and, some historians have argued, there was little left for Moscow to do except to collect its territorial reward.
3. Department of External Affairs correspondence reviewed by the author.
4. Roosevelt's lack of background on the territories issue, combined with an understandable preoccupation with the more pressing issue of getting Moscow into the Pacific war, led him to agree to Stalin's demands within five minutes (more, some observers have noted, that it objectively deserved).
5. Article 2, paragraph c.
6. For a detailed history of Russo-Japanese activities and claims see: John J. Stephan, The Kuril Islands, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974, and Gerald Segal, "Normalizing Soviet-Japanese Relations", RIIA Special Paper, 1991.
7. Though the Soviet Union was not a formal signatory to the Cairo Declaration, it did ascribe to the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945 which provided that the articles of the Cairo Declaration were to be fulfilled.
8. While the early focus of Japan's arguments was on the Yalta Agreement, Tokyo did not raise the fact that various other provisions of Yalta had not been implemented. Specifically, since those arrangements which provided for the U.S.S.R. to regain some of its former pre-eminence in Manchuria (including restoration of the Russian lease of the naval base at Port Arthur) had been ignored, Tokyo could well have argued that there was no reason why the "understanding" on the Kuriles should have been honoured.
9. "Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, pour Elle et Ses héritiers cède à Sa Majesté l'Empereur du Japon le groupe des îles dites Kouriles qu'Elle possède actuellement, avec tous les droits de souveraineté découlant de cette possession, en sorte que désormais le dit groupe des Kouriles appartiendra à l'Empire du Japon. Ce groupe comprend les dix-huit îles ci-dessous nommées 1) Choumchou (Shumushu),...18) Ouroup (Uruppu)."
10. On 27 December 1991, to the surprise of many observers, Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev publicly accepted as valid for Russia the 1956 Declaration. (Reported on Russian television news programmes on 29 December 1991.)
11. Established under Public Law No. 34 of 1969.
12. Party positions at time of enactment: