Contents

Preface
    Ambassador James E. Goodby, Vladimir I. Ivanov, and
    Nobuo Shimotomai

Introduction
    Vladimir I. Ivanov

Part I: History of the Territorial Dispute to 1986

1. The Northern Territories/Southern Kuril Islands Dispute
    Saburo Okita and Minoru Takahashi

2. A Diplomatic History of the Dispute
    Ambassador Raymond L. Garthoff

3. From Stalin to Brezhnev
    Ambassador Alexander N. Panov

4. Problems of the Neutrality Period
    Matthew J. Ouimet

5. On the Historiographical Frontier
    John J. Stephan

6. Japanese Perceptions of Russia
    Hiroshi Kimura

7. Russian Perceptions of Japan
    Semiyon I. Verbitskii
Part II: Rethinking the Relationship: 1986–1993

8. From Gorbachev to Yeltsin
   Ambassador Alexander N. Panov
   75
9. Shintaro Abe’s “Creative Diplomacy”
   Junjiro Isomura
   83
10. The Debate before the Summit
    Herbert J. Ellison
    93
11. Continuing Stalemate
    Tsuyoshi Hasegawa
    103
12. Japan’s Russia Policy and the October 1993 Summit
    Nobuo Shimotomai
    119
13. Overcoming the Psychological Impasse
    Konstantin O. Sarkisov
    127

Part III: Beyond the Cold War

14. The Territorial Dispute in the Post-Cold War International Context
    Robert A. Scalapino
    137
15. An Age of Upheaval
    Donald C. Hellmann
    145
16. Paths to Resolution of the Territorial Dispute
    Vasili I. Saplin
    153
17. Natural Resources of the Disputed Area
    Mark J. Valencia and Noel A. Ludwig
    161
18. Environment and History
    Peter J. Poole
    173
19. Russian Economic Reforms and Japan
    Ivan Tselitschev
    183
20. How Japan Should Deal with Russia
    Motohide Saito
    191
21. Toward a New Era of Russian-Japanese Relations
    Susumu Takahashi
    203
### Part IV: Regional Security and the Future of the Trilateral Relationship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Editor</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>New Opportunities for Russian-Japanese Normalization</td>
<td>Ambassador Vladimir P. Lukin</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>New Priorities for Asia-Pacific Security</td>
<td>Sheila A. Smith</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Regional Security Context</td>
<td>Atsushi Shimokobe</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Naval and Other Forces in the Northwest Pacific</td>
<td>James L. George</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Japan, Russia, and Nuclear Nonproliferation</td>
<td>Takehiko Kamo</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Russia and the United States-Japan Partnership</td>
<td>Vladimir I. Ivanov</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Nuclear Disarmament, Nuclear Energy, and Defense Conversion</td>
<td>Takeshi Kondo</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Cooperative Security in Northeast Asia</td>
<td>Ambassador James E. Goodby</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chronology of Events, 1985–1994**

*Robert Valliant*  
313

**Selected Bibliography**

*Frederick A. Williams*  
341

**Index**  
353

**About the Editors and Contributors**  
365