

Japan's Leadership at the G8 Toyako Summit on Climate Change

Tomohito Shinoda
International University of Japan

March 2019

IUJ Research Institute
International University of Japan

These working papers are preliminary research documents published by the IUJ research institute. To facilitate prompt distribution, they have not been formally reviewed and edited. They are circulated in order to stimulate discussion and critical comment and may be revised. The views and interpretations expressed in these papers are those of the author(s). It is expected that the working papers will be published in some other form.

Japan's Leadership at the G8 Toyako Summit on Climate Change

By Tomohito Shinoda
International University of Japan

Abstract

Japan has a very strong attachment to the G7/8 economic summit as a founding member. Especially when the Japanese leaders served as the host in 1979-2000, they spent much energy to ensure a successful conclusion of each summit. In order to serve as an effective host, Japanese leaders tried to establish personal ties with other country participants. At the 2008 Toyako Summit, the Japanese government successfully produced an agreement on climate change by coordinating the conflicting interests of the European members and the United States. Although the heated discussions were exchanged at the sherpa meetings, it required personal involvement and strong determination of Prime Minister Fukuda. Fukuda's relationship with the American and Chinese leaders significantly contributed to concluding an agreement.

Introduction

In November 1975, Japan participated in the first economic summit in Rambouillet, France as one of the G6 members. By then, Japan had become a member of the GATT and the OECD as a developed nation, but was a late-comer to those organizations. But as an economic summit founding member, Japan has a particularly strong attachment (Funabashi 1991: 16). Ambassador Ogura Kazuo, who served as a sherpa (the personal representative of a national leader who prepares for international summits) for the 1996 and 1997 summit meetings, describes this attachment:

Japan is not a permanent member of the UN Security Council like the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom or France. Japan is not a member of the strong regional organization such as the European Union, the NAFTA or the NATO like Germany, Italy and Canada. The summit as a forum to discuss economic and trade policy with the leaders of the major nations is internationally an important opportunity and forum for Japan (Ogura 2009b: 54).

The economic summit, known as the G7 summit after Canada joined in 1976, and as the G8 summit after Russia joined in 1998, has played the key role to manage the international order in the post-Bretton Woods and the post-oil shock eras. At the 1979 Tokyo Summit, for example, the member nations agreed to stabilize the oil price after the second oil shock. At the 1983 Williamsburg Summit, the Western leaders were united to

match Soviet deployment of intermediate-range missiles. At the 1989 Summit of the Arch, the leaders agreed to strengthen the debt strategy for the heavily indebted countries.

John J. Kirton, one of the world's leading summit watchers, describes the summit as follows, "the G7 System of institutions is the late twentieth century global equivalent of the Concert of Europe that helped produce peace among the great powers and prosperity more widely, from 1818-1914." He even argued that "the G7 Summit system has become the effective center of global governance, replacing the order earlier provided by the 1919-1945 [League of Nations and] United Nations and [from] 1947 Atlantic family of institutions, and recurrently creating consensus and inducing compliance among its members and other states and international institutions" (Kirton, 1995: 64-65).

In the post-Cold War period, the summit tried to establish a new international order outside the realm of economic policy. At the 1991 London Summit, for example, the leaders renewed their commitment to strengthen the international order after the Gulf War. At the 1996 Moscow Summit, the leaders discussed international economic aids to the developing world. At the 2002 Kananaskis Summit after the 9-11 incident, the leaders decided to take cooperative action on transport security. At the 2004 Sea Island Summit, the leaders spent a large percentage of time discussing the Mideast peace issue.

Robert Putnam and Nicholas Bayne pointed out that the summit was a response to three fundamental needs for the leaders: 1) to reconcile international economics and domestic politics; 2) to supplement and perhaps supplant hegemonic stability with collective management; and 3) to restore political authority over bureaucratic fragmentation and irresponsibility. They argued that summit participants promoted four types of policy coordination over global issues: 1) Mutual enlightenment, to share information about national policy direction; 2) Mutual reinforcement, to help one another to pursue desirable policies in the face of domestic resistance; 3) Mutual adjustment, to accommodate or ameliorate policy divergences; and 4) Mutual concession, to agree on a joint package of national policies designed to raise the collective welfare (Putnam and Bayne, 1987, 18 and 260).

When the summit produced good outcomes, inevitably it was the host nation, especially its national leader and their personal representatives or the "sherpas" who served pivotal roles in the preparation leading to that successful outcome.

This study examines how Japan exercised leadership at the 2008 Toyako Summit and its prior meetings. Although many issues were discussed at Toyako, including African development, the oil price and food issue, this study focuses on the issue of climate change, which was generally recognized as the most significant issue on the agenda. There was a serious confrontation between the European nations and the United States.

This study analyzes how Japan tried to coordinate different opinions in the days before the summit in order to be able to produce an agreement at the summit itself.

There are a number of academic works which deal with Japan and the economic summit (Utagawa 1978; Funabashi 1991; Watahabe 1999; Takase 2002). However, most of these studies do not analyze Japan's role at the summit. Two major studies were conducted by Saito Shiro (1990) and Hugo Dobson (2004) on Japan's goals and achievements at the summit meetings. This study even more narrowly focuses on Japan's role as a host nation, and provides a detailed account of the negotiations at the sherpa meetings.

First, this study analyzes the characteristics of Japan's role as a host nation at four different summit meetings between 1979 and 2000. Then, it explores how the member nations discussed the issue of climate change at the previous summit meetings and other international conferences. The study shifts attention to the sherpa meetings in the preparation for the Toyako Summit, and examines the prior confrontation and the agreement at the summit. Finally, it looks at the development after the 2008 summit and evaluates the historical importance of Japan's leadership at Toyako.

Japan's Experience as a Host Nation

Since Prime Minister Ōhira Masayoshi served as Japan's first host at the June 1979 Tokyo Summit, Japan experienced three other occasions to host the summit before the Toyako Summit: 1986 Tokyo II; 1993 Tokyo III; and 2000 Okinawa. The following three patterns were observed in Japan's experience as a host: 1) Efforts to build personal ties with other leaders; 2) Outreach to developing nations; and 3) Institutionalization and Leadership.

1) Efforts to Build Personal Ties

When the G6 meeting started in Paris, it was designed to provide "a very private, informal meeting of those who really matter in the world." The founders of the summit, who were portrayed as "The Library Group" because they met at the White House's library, wanted "an intimate fire-side chat" to discuss international economic issues (Putnam 1984:74-76).

The Japanese prime minister had very limited occasion to meet other national leaders, compared with the other summit participants. The first Japanese leader who attended the summit was Miki Takeo. He was the only participant who needed an interpreter. Even with simultaneous interpretation, it was very difficult for Miki to keep up with the conversation (Yoshino 1997). While other leaders used first names with each other, they referred to Miki as "Mr. Miki." The Japanese prime minister was basically an

outsider (Shima 2000: 44-45).

Prime Minister Ōhira, on the other hand, had attended the earlier summits as finance minister, and already knew all the summit participants. As Ōhira was the oldest leader at the summit, he felt confident to lead the conversation at the 1979 Tokyo Summit. (Kawauchi 1982: 138-39). Despite his confidence, Ōhira experienced difficulty to chair the meeting because the second oil shock quickly became the dominant discussion, and Japan was forced to come up with its export ceiling plan. After spontaneous and unscripted discussions with Western leaders, Ōhira felt a kind of culture shock. He reportedly said after the summit, “I felt naked – like a little child” (Putnam and Bayne 1987: 257).

In 1986, Nakasone Yasuhiro became the second Japanese leader to host the economic summit. He had experienced three prior summit meetings hosted by other leaders, and played a very important role to strengthen the unity among the Western nations vis-à-vis the Soviet Union at the 1983 Williamsburg Summit and the 1985 Bonn Summit. Furthermore, Prime Minister Nakasone visited the member nations to establish personal ties with the G7 leaders prior to the summit meeting. He also broke the first name use barrier and earned much credit at home for “Ron-Yasu” relationship with the American President Ronald Reagan. In short, Nakasone was well prepared to serve as a host at the second Tokyo Summit (Sekai Heiwa Kenkyūsho 1996: 602).

Miyazawa Kiichi, the third Japanese prime minister to host the summit in 1993, had many experiences as foreign and finance minister at the previous summits. Throughout his political career, he had developed personal connections with many Western leaders. But when he hosted the summit meeting, he was in the domestic political scene a lame duck. A no-confidence motion had passed against him in the Diet due to his failure to enact the political reform legislation, forcing him to dissolve the lower house. Miyazawa had to host the summit just before the general house election with a low public approval rating of 10.4 percent (*Yomiuri Shimbun* 19-20 June 1993). As a result, Miyazawa could not show strong political leadership at the summit.

Mori Yoshirō, who became the fourth host of the summit in Japan, was known for his highly domestic orientation and was not prepared for the summit as he was suddenly appointed to succeed Obuchi Keizō who fell into a coma. But he well understood that the first major diplomatic goal for his administration was to successfully host the summit. Following Nakasone’s example, Mori visited the G8 countries in order to establish personal ties with the national leaders (Iokibe et al. 2007: 230).

As personal ties with the other summit participants was one of the keys to success in hosting the summit meeting, it was important for a Japanese leader with limited

diplomatic experience, like Mori, to meet with them prior to the summit. Even with a wealth of diplomatic experiences, Nakasone revisited the member nations in order to get understanding his economic policy.

2) Outreach to Developing Nations

Throughout the summit meetings, Japan has tried to reach out to developing nations. At the 1975 Rambouillet Summit, Miki wanted to include the North-South issue in the agenda (Yoshino 1997). In order for Miki to propose this conference, he asked a Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) official to come up with a five-year plan of several hundred million dollars of economic aid to developing nations. However, Miki could not get cooperation from the Ministry of Finance (MOF). As a result, Miki could not propose any concrete plan at the summit (Kikuchi 1996). Instead, Miki directly negotiated with French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to have the North-South issue included in the joint declaration (Nakamura 1981: 135-42). As a result, the declaration stated in the twelfth paragraph that the participating nations would play their part in "making urgent improvements in international arrangements for the stabilization of the export earnings of developing countries and in measures to assist them in financing their deficits."

As the first Asian host of the summit, Prime Minister Ōhira tried to deliver Asian opinions in the Tokyo event. In early May 1979, Ōhira attended the fifth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) meeting in Manila, and contacted many Asia leaders in an attempt to bring up a North-South issue at the Tokyo Summit. Although the issue was included on the agenda, the 1979 second oil shock dominated the discussions at the meeting. As a result, the North-South issue was not as fully discussed at the summit table as Ōhira had hoped (Arai and Morita 1982: 84-88).

Japanese leaders sought to amplify the Asian voice at the summit through the issue of participation. At the 1993 Tokyo Summit, Prime Minister Miyazawa wanted to include Indonesian President Suharto as a chair of the Non-Aligned Movement. Although this international organization had declared neutrality during the Cold War era, it included Cuba and North Korea as members, creating an anti-U.S. and pro-Soviet image. In 1992 when the Indonesian president took over the chair, the organization sought an opportunity to talk with Western countries. At the preparatory meeting by the sherpas, there was strong objection to inviting Suharto to the summit. But Miyazawa invited Suharto outside the framework of the Tokyo Summit, and gave him opportunities to contact U.S. President Bill Clinton and German Chancellor Kohl. The Japanese government was happy to create an opportunity for dialogue between the North and the South.

For the 2000 Okinawa Summit, South African President Thabo Mbeki, who was

a chair of the Non-Aligned Movement, contacted Prime Minister Mori to ask for him to support his visit to Japan like Japan had done for Suharto in 1993. When Mori asked the G8 leaders about Mbeki's visit, the French and American governments expressed opposition. Instead, Mori decided to invite several African leaders to Tokyo just before the summit to offer opportunities to see the G8 leaders (Iokibe et al. 2007: 244-246). In addition to President Mbeki, Nigerian President Olusegun Abasanjo, Algerian President Abdelazis Buteflika, and Thailand Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai came to Tokyo to exchange opinions with the G8 leaders.

3) Institutionalization and Leadership

As mentioned earlier, the summit meeting was originally designed to have an intimate gathering among the leaders. But the summit required an extensive preparatory process even from the beginning. As Putnam and Bayne described, "careful preparation had been crucial for the monetary accord at Rambouillet, and deficiency and follow-up had begun to concern some of the participants at Puerto Rico" (Putnam and Bayne 1987: 49). As the time passed, the summit meetings became more institutionalized with more organized preparatory meetings. With a strong bureaucracy, Japanese leaders preferred institutionalization. As Putnam and Bayne point out, "the idea of spontaneous personal exchanges between leaders was unfamiliar and awkward for them" (Putnam and Bayne 1987: 35).

In today's summit, the process has become quite institutionalized. The central achievement of the summit is the production of the summit documents. Among them the most important document is the formal communiqué, often referred as a "declaration." Much of the summit preparatory activities during the preceding year are consumed with the creation of the declaration. In the previous autumn, the sherpas typically met to share insights about the political priorities and constraints of each leader. At the second meeting in early winter, they discuss the general structure and likely agenda of the summit. The third sherpa meeting dealt with what the declaration might say. At the fourth meeting, they focused on the more precise language for a draft declaration. Finally, the night before the final day of the summit, the sherpas referring to the discussion by the leaders produced the document which the leaders will approve and the host will read in the afternoon. (Kirton 1989, xxxi-xxxii)

Japan's experience as a host nation faced an increasingly institutionalized summit process. The 1979 Tokyo Summit, the first meeting that Japan hosted, was only the fifth annual meeting, and the economic summit was not yet a mature international forum. There was yet very little institutionalization in place. Important issues were still often

discussed outside of the summit framework. Five months before the summit meeting, for example, the U.S. president and the French, German and U.K. national leaders held a meeting in Guadeloupe to discuss national security issues as well as the stability of the dollar, the oil issue, the Mideast and China. As Japan was not invited, there were suspicion among Japanese leaders that these four countries would gang up together to push their agenda at the Tokyo Summit (Arai and Morita 1982: 70-71).

In addition, at this stage of the summit's history, the prior preparation among the sherpas was very limited compared with later meetings, and there were many unexpected developments in the exchanges among the national leaders at the actual summit meetings. The oil crisis of 1979 unexpectedly became the central issue, the prior preparatory meetings did not have a significant impact on the discussion at the summit meeting itself.

By the time of the second Tokyo Summit in 1986, things had become much more institutionalized. The international macroeconomic adjustment became the most important issue as the G5 economies committed to the September 1985 Plaza Accord to coordinate the foreign exchange market intervention to depreciate the U.S dollar. The sherpas met four times to establish common understanding on international economic issues. Based on the common understanding, the sherpas produced a document which was sent by Nakasone to the other G7 national leaders (Tejima 1986: 11).

The only remaining problem was the establishment of a new system to oversee macroeconomic indices for policy coordination. At the summit, it was decided to include all the G7 countries (Tejima 1986: 14). However, the problem was complicated after EC president Jacques Delors demanded that the EC too be included as a member of the new system. As monetary policy was a sovereign issue, the United States, the U.K. and Germany strongly opposed to the participation of the EC as an international organization. Prime Minister Nakasone as a chair intentionally gave Delors many opportunities to express his opinions at the summit meeting in order to vent his frustration (Sekai Heiwa Kenkyūsho 1996: 643). In the end, Nakasone concluded that the new system would be managed by the G7 finance ministers, but that the G7 countries would continue to discuss the possibility of the EC participation. Delors accepted this decision (Nakasone 1996: 562).

The 2000 Okinawa summit also was highly institutionalized and smoothly operated. Prime Minister Mori Yoshirō was known for his highly domestic orientation and not prepared for the summit due to his sudden rise to the premiership. Therefore, as a matter of necessity, most of the decisions at the summit had already been decided in the preparatory meeting by the sherpas. As a result, there were no major controversies over the joint statements, including the main communiqué, the statement on Korean Peninsula

and Regional issues on Mideast and Vulcan Peninsula. Japan's sherpa, Nogami Yoshiji told Prime Minister Mori that he would discuss the details of the issue with other sherpas, and that the national leaders should discuss grand themes (Nogami 2000: 16). The national leaders were satisfied with their free talks among themselves.

As the importance of the summit meeting grew, the sherpas held more frequent meetings, and the summit process was increasingly institutionalized. At the 1985 Bonn Summit, there was a discussion among the G7 leaders that the influence of the preparatory meetings by the sherpas had become very strong. Some leaders were highly critical of the bureaucratization of the summit process.

The summit meetings, however, are not completely controlled by the bureaucrats. There have been cases that the political leaders picked out certain issues or went against what their officials had prepared (Bayne 2001:7). They also moved to react to sudden crises happening just before a summit, as shown in the 1979 oil crisis. The sherpas often could not find a solution for highly political issues, and had to wait for the national leaders to find a political compromise, as seen in the case of macroeconomic coordination in 1986. Even with increasing institutionalization, there had been needs for political reflexes by the leaders.

Meetings Prior to the Toyako Summit

Before starting discussion on Japan's leadership at the Toyako Summit which focused on climate change discussions, this section provides background information on the development of the climate change issue at the previous summit meetings as well as the preparatory meetings by the sherpas and the 2008 Toyako Summit.

1) Summit Meetings before Gleneagles

At the 1979 Tokyo Summit, the energy issue became dominant as the world faced the second oil shock. After the 1973 first oil shock, Japanese and Europeans had basically maintained the same oil import levels, while the United States oil import level continued to increase. French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt requested the U.S. government not to increase its oil import. Japan had its opportunity to follow up on this, and the national leaders agreed on the mid-term goal for 1985 oil imports. However, the national leaders' main concern in 1979 was not environmental, but in terms of oil imports.

The 1985 Bonn Summit took up the energy issue in a general environmental context. Then, from the 1989 Paris to the 1991 London, the summit meetings stimulated much new thinking on the environment and took the issue of climate change into the

preparation for the UN Conference on Environment and Development at Rio in 1992. However, as discussion moved from broad ideas to specific commitments, it became harder to overcome differences between the United States and Europe (Bayne 2001:13). The issue was tabled for several years. The summit took up environment again at Denver 1997 and Okinawa 2000 ahead of the climate change meetings at Kyoto and The Hague, but did not resolve the disagreement.

2) The 2005 Gleneagles Summit

The climate change issue again became a major theme in the summit agenda at the 2005 Gleneagles Summit. At the summit, there was no consensus available among the G8 countries. While the European countries had a strong sense of crisis on the climate change, the U.S. government felt that climate change was not scientifically proven. The Bush administration strongly opposed to any ceiling for CO₂ emission such as the ones imposed by the 1997 Kyoto Protocol.

Despite such difference of opinion, the G8 leaders agreed to make an action plan to cooperate on the development of new clean energy, the technological development of the existing energy, and the improvement of energy efficiency (Gleneagles 2005). The G8 leaders also decided that concrete proposals would be presented in three years at the 2008 Toyako Summit (Yabunaka 2005: 120-21). As a result, Japan as the host nation for that summit would need to initiate negotiations to reach an agreement among the G8 countries.

3) The 2007 Heiligendamm Summit

At the 2006 St. Petersburg Summit, the energy security issue, instead of climate change, was discussed (Yabunaka 2006: 125). The climate change issue again became a major item again at the 2007 Heiligendamm Summit. As the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change declared in its report of February 2007 climate change was caused by fossil energy consumption. The G8 countries, including the United States, accepted this scientific result. In March 2007, European countries agreed to a 20 percent reduction of their CO₂ emission by 2020 at the European Council. With this commitment, European nations requested the United States to come up with a similar goal. The United States, however, was hesitant to set a ceiling which would be an obstacle for economic growth, and argued that an international agreement without including major emitting countries, such as China and India, was not effective.

There were eight sherpa meetings held before the Heiligendamm Summit. Most of the focus of the meetings was not on climate change but on the international regulation on finance, including hedge funds. During the meetings, the sherpas found that it was

impossible to reach an agreement on financial regulations. As a result, all of the sudden the climate change issue leaped to the central issue just six weeks before the summit meeting (Ambassador Tsuruoka Kōji, personal communication, 26 April 2010).

In Europe, people had strong interest in climate change. German Chancellor Angela Merker as a host was eager to reach an agreement on the emission ceiling at the summit (Kōno 2007: 9). Prime Minister Abe Shinzō supported Merker's initiative by announcing the "Cool Earth 50" plan to promise to cut CO₂ emission by 50 percent by 2050, and proposed a new framework to include all the major emitting countries.

At the Heiligendamm Summit, Merker suggested a long-term goal of a CO₂ emission ceiling. French President Nikolas Sarközy urged U.S. President George W. Bush to set the ceiling. But Bush would not agree to present an American ceiling unless China and India would agree to present their own ceilings. At that time, Prime Minister Abe told Bush that Indian Premier Manmohan Singh and Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao supported his Cool Earth 50 plan. This changed Bush's attitude (Kōno 2007: 12). The American government was willing to offer some compromise while refusing to present any numerical target.

The sherpas got together to create a joint statement, entitled "Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy." In the document, the leaders stated "we have agreed today to involve all major emitters. We will consider seriously the decisions made by the European Union, Canada and Japan which include at least a halving of global emissions by 2050" (Heiligendamm, 2007). The U.S. government agreed to "consider seriously" the proposal to halve global emission if the new frame work included India and China. This was as far as the U.S. government could offer at that time.

4) Prior to the 1st Sherpa Meeting for the Toyako Summit

While Abe was deeply involved in the climate change issue with his initiative of "Cool Earth 50" plan, he resigned as prime minister due to health reasons in September 2007. His successor, Fukuda Yasuo, now had to host the 2008 Toyako Summit.

Meanwhile, U.S. President Bush initiated a U.S.-led international discussion by holding a Major Economies Meeting (MEM) on climate change in Washington in September 2007. In addition to the G8 countries, China, India, South Korea, Mexico, South Africa, Indonesia and Brazil participated in the meeting. At the meeting, President Bush announced that by summer 2008 the meeting would finalize a long-term goal for reducing global greenhouse gas emissions (Bush 2007).

Prime Minister Fukuda visited Washington on November 18, 2007 to establish personal relationship with President Bush. Fukuda told Bush that Japan would initiate a

“sector-specific” approach. This was a bottom-up approach to calculate the energy efficiency of each sector based on scientific and transparent measures. President Bush agreed to cooperate on establishing a new effective international framework to deal with climate change (MOFA 2007a).

In early December, Fukuda in order to handle climate change appointed former Toyota CEO Okuda Hiroshi, former Ambassador to OECD Nishimura Rokuzen, Former Director General of the Agency for Natural Resources and Energy Kusaka Kazumasa to be his advisors in addition to Dr. Kurokawa Kiyoshi who served as special advisor on science and technology. Prime Minister Fukuda told the author “these four people did a very good job. Especially Messrs. Toyota and Kusaka who effectively worked to coordinate with the industrial sector.” (Fukuda Yasuo, personal communication, 17 May 2010).

In the same month, the 13th United Nations’ Conference of the Parties (COP13) of the Framework Convention on Climate Change was held in Bali. The COP13 adopted an action plan or “the Bali Roadmap,” which aimed at reaching an agreement for a long-term CO₂ emissions goal at the 2009 COP15 meeting in Copenhagen.

At the end of December, Prime Minister Fukuda visited Beijing to meet President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao, and promised that Japan would cooperate with China on environmental technology. Premier Wen told Fukuda that China would actively participate in the Bali Roadmap and play a constructive role (MOFA 2007b). This visit was important for Fukuda to get Chinese cooperation at the Toyako Summit: China would participate in an outreach meeting associated with the summit as one of the Outreach 5 (O5) countries.

After these events, the first sherpa meeting for the Toyako Summit was held in Roppongi, Tokyo. Japan’s sherpa, Kōno Masaharu had to reach an agreement which would go beyond the expression “seriously consider” that was stated at the Heiligendamm Summit, as the German Chancellor was repeatedly pressuring him to make further progress (Kōno 2008b: 10). However, American Sherpa Daniel Price refused to make any further compromise. He argued that it was more important and realistic to establish a new framework with major emitters, such as China and India. German sherpa, Bernd Pfaffenbach told Price that the United States should not hide behind newly developing nations (NHK 2008). These exchange illustrated the big gap between the United States and Europe in the beginning.

5) Up to the 3rd Sherpa Meeting

On January 26, 2008, Prime Minister Fukuda spoke at the World Economic

Forum to announce Japan's initiative on climate change by applying a sector-specific approach (Fukuda 2008). On February 22, Fukuda established the Council on the Global Warming Issue, chaired by Okuda Hiroshi of Toyota Motor Corporation. Through the Council, Fukuda promoted the sector-specific approach. Prime Minister Fukuda explained, "It is widely known in the international community that Japan's environmental technology is very advanced. In order to deal with global warming, it was a realistic approach to reduce CO₂ emission in each industry modeled after Japan." (Fukuda Yasuo, personal communication, 17 May 2010). The Japanese government aimed for the sector-specific approach to be internationally recognized and to be included in the joint statement at Toyako.

On the other hand, President Bush delivered his last state of the union speech on January 28. In the speech, Bush stated that the agreement on global warming would be "effective only if it includes commitments by every major economy and gives none a free ride." The president argued for the American initiative at the MEM which included the major developing countries of China and India (Bush 2008a).

On March 17-18, the second sherpa meeting was held in Kaga City, Ishikawa. European representatives strongly asked the American sherpa, Price, to present a long-term goal. But Price maintained the U.S. condition of including developing countries, and argued that the U.S. economy would be damaged with a long-term goal without the participation of its trade competitors, China and India. He even expressed that the U.S. government would prefer the breakup of the negotiations otherwise. The Europeans, on the other hand, argued that the advanced nations must lead those developing countries by announcing their own long-term goal. Japan's sherpa Kōno tried to sell the sector-specific approach to the other sherpas, but the European representatives argued that it was just a tool. It was more important to have a top-down decision made by political leaders to set a long-term goal (NHK 2008). There remained a huge gap among the G8 negotiators.

At the third sherpa meeting on April 24-25 in Kyoto, Kōno presented a draft for the joint statement. European representatives this time agreed to include the sector-specific approach, but insisted that they needed to have a long-term goal. The U.S. representative would not agree on it without China and India. Price proposed to hold the MEM summit meeting during the Toyako Summit. Kōno agreed with his proposal on the condition that Prime Minister Fukuda would be the chair of the meeting. European sherpas emphasized the importance of G8, and were at first hesitant to accept the proposal. After Kōno's persuasion, the French sherpa agreed to hold the MEM during the summit (NHK 2008). The American representative was confident that there would be some progress on the creation of a long-term at the June MEM in Seoul prior to the Toyako

Summit.

4) Up to the 4th Sherpa Meeting

Chinese President Hu Jintao visited Japan between May 6 and 12. The Chinese government was hesitant to send its leader to Japan as the poisoned gyoza problem was in the headlines affecting Japan and China relations.¹ But President Hu, who had personal trust with Prime Minister Fukuda, decided to visit Japan anyway. In March, Fukuda wrote a personal letter to Hu. In that letter, Fukuda explained about Japan's experience of becoming a major country after the Tokyo Olympic, and expressed his expectation that China too would behave like a major country vis-à-vis Tibet on the occasion of the Beijing Olympics. Hu told Fukuda that he was moved by the letter (Fukuda Yasuo, personal communication, 17 May 2010). On May 7, Fukuda and Hu released a joint statement on climate change, expressing Chinese support for the sector-specific approach and the determination to solve global warming (MOFA 2008a).

On June 9, the Japanese government announced the "Fukuda vision" at the Japan Press Club. Fukuda came up with Japan's long term goal of reducing 60-80 percent of the current (2005) level of CO₂ emission by 2050. As a mid-term goal, he presented a 20 percent reduction of the 1990 level or 14 percent reduction of the current level by 2020. In order to pursue these goals, Fukuda presented concrete measures, such as the introduction of next-generation automobiles, the replacement of all incandescent light bulbs with energy-efficient ones by 2012, and the introduction of an emission trading schemes (Kantei 2008). One week later, the Council on Global Warming Issues announced its policy recommendation to support the Fukuda vision, and recommended the sector-specific approach to reduce carbon emission to other nations.

On June 21-23, the American representative attended the MEM meeting in Seoul with confidence to include China in the new international environment framework. The U.S. government had proposed to Beijing the transfer of new environmental technologies as well as financial assistance. However, China and India did not change their basic stance that they are developing nations, and therefore, they were not responsible for global warming. The Chinese and Indian representatives refused any mid-term or long-term goal at the MEM.

On June 24-26, Tokyo hosted the fourth sherpa meeting at Toyako. As the Seoul MEM could not produce a concrete result, all the sherpas argued that some long-term goal

¹ In December 2007 and January 2008, ten people in Japan became seriously ill after eating frozen dumplings produced in China that were contaminated with the pesticide methaminophus, a highly toxic organic phosphate pesticide.

should be decided at the Toyako Summit, except the American representative who argued that the G8 countries alone should not commit to such goals. The Head of Cabinet for the European Commission (EC) João Vale de Almeida was upset by the stubborn attitude of the American sherpa and left the negotiation table. In the severe confrontation between the United States and the EC, however, Kōno sensed that all the sherpas would like to reach some agreement since the breakup would be a failure for all the G8 leaders (Kōno 2008a). At this meeting, most of the sherpa seemed satisfied with reaching an agreement with an expression, “we believe it is desirable” to reduce 50 percent of CO₂ by 2050. This would be a further step forward from the expression at the Heiligendamm Summit, “consider seriously.” The sherpas saw a ray of hope of reaching an agreement at the fifth sherpa meeting immediately before the summit.

Developments at the Toyako Summit

During the preparation leading up to the Toyako Summit, Fukuda tried to establish personal connections with the G8 and some O5 leaders. Since he assumed the office in September 2007, he visited the United States (November), China (December), Russia (April 2008), and European countries including Germany, Italy and the U.K. (June), and received European Parliament President Hans-Gert Pöttering (February 2008) and French Premier François Fillon in Tokyo. As Fukuda could not personally meet Canadian Premier Stephen Harper, he made an appointment with him before and after the Toyako Summit. Fukuda strongly felt the importance of personal connections with the G8 leaders in order to smoothly operate as a chairman of the summit meeting.

As the U.S. representative was the strongest opponent to the long-term emission goal, Fukuda set up another occasion to meet President Bush on July 6. At the bilateral summit meeting, Fukuda asked Bush for his cooperation at the summit. Bush’s answer was “I will help you.” (Kōno 2008a) At the press conference after the meeting, Fukuda stated that on climate change he agreed with Bush “to continue to cooperate in the run-up to the G8.” In his response, Bush stated that he was “realistic enough to tell you that if China and India don’t share that same aspiration, that we’re not going to solve the problem.” But at the same time, he said, “I appreciate the prime minister’s leadership on this issue. And the United States will – we are working, working to see if we can come up with a constructive – constructive statement” (Bush 2008b).

On July 7, seven African leaders were invited to meet the G8 leaders. At the meeting, Fukuda brought several global issues to the discussion table. On climate change, the establishment of the Climate Investment Funds was introduced, and the G8 leaders discussed economic assistance to African countries related to this matter.

That evening, while the G8 leaders held a working dinner, the sherpas had their final meeting. Japanese sherpa Kōno was still uncertain if they could reach an agreement on the long-term emission goal (Kōno 2008c: 9). At the meeting, the sherpas were about to make an agreement with the expression, “it is desirable” to halve the carbon emission by 2050. When Prime Minister Fukuda phoned Kōno, and Kōno stated the situation and expressed that “pushing any further may ruin the negotiation.” Fukuda’s response to Kōno was “Try a little more.” Fukuda told the author, “the European leaders would be criticized for the weak expression like ‘it is desirable’ when they went back home. Also the United States would be criticized by Europeans. I believed that a stronger expression eventually would serve positively for President Bush.” (Fukuda Yasuo, personal communication, 17 May 2010)

After this conversation, the sherpas continued their discussion for four more hours. During a coffee break, Kōno talked with the American sherpa, Price. In the conversation, Price suggested a word, “seek.” Kōno said that at this moment, he could “see the light in front of me.”(Kōno 2008a) The sherpas agreed with the expression that “we seek” the long-long term emission goal. Kōno looked back at the conversation with Fukuda, and said, “The prime minister’s determination was so strong that he was willing to personally talk with Bush again. The prime minister’s leadership as chair reflected in the final draft of the joint statement.” (Kōno 2008b: 11)

At the summit meeting, the G8 leaders were well aware of the difficult negotiations by their sherpas. At the luncheon meeting, German Premier Merkel stated that the agreement was great progress, Canadian premier expressed his agreement, and President Bush called it “excellent.” Kōno felt that the leaders avoided further discussion on the matter that might create any new trouble (Kōno 2008b: 11). Fukuda stated in an interview, “Prime Ministers Merkel and Brown as well as EU Chairman José Manuel Barroso personally expressed their appreciation for the agreement to me. Everyone was satisfied. American Representative Price came to directly thank me.” (Fukuda Yasuo, personal communication, 17 May 2010)

In the joint statement, it was declared, “We seek to share with all Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) the vision of, and together with them to consider and adopt in the UNFCCC negotiations, the goal of achieving at least 50% reduction of global emissions by 2050.” (MOFA 2008b) Director John Kirton of G8 Research Group evaluated this agreement as a “full A performance.” (Kirton 2008: 25)

A day after the summit, O5 countries (China, Brazil, India, Mexico and Russia) as well as Australia, Indonesia and South Korea joined the G8 to attend the MEM meeting

to discuss climate change. As all the major emitters participated, this was seen as an important meeting to the future of the post-Kyoto Protocol framework.

Evaluating this meeting is difficult. Japan's sherpa Kōno, for example, highly evaluated this meeting, and stated that "In the MEM process, there had been a confrontation between the North and the South, or between the traditional CO₂ emitters and the others. But at this MEM meeting, there existed a constructive mood on how to cooperate together, and this included China and India." (Kōno 2008c: 10) China, who acted as a leader of the O5, had organized the newly developing nations to oppose to long-term emission goals. But according to John Kirton, China led the O5 countries to "move to help the summit to arrive at a meaningful deal." The MEM reached agreements on many topics including technological development and transfer, forestry, sinks and biodiversity, funding for technology and adaptation, and linkages to the summit's work on development, Africa, food and health (Kirton 2008: 9).

On the other hand, the MEM leaders' declaration did not present any concrete long-term numerical emission goals. It simply stated: "We support a shared vision for long-term cooperative action, including a long-term global goal for emission reduction, that assures growth, prosperity, and other aspects of sustainable development, including major efforts towards sustainable consumption and production, all aimed at achieving a low carbon society." Also in the statement, the developed economies promised to set economy-wide mid-term goals, and the developing economies expressed their commitment to pursue appropriate "mitigation actions" for emissions. But there were no numerical targets (MOFA 2008c). While there existed a constructive mood at the MEM meeting, there still remained a major division between the developed and the developing economies. The O5 nations met in Sapporo just one day before the MEM meeting, and announced the "G5 Political Declaration," which requested developed nations to reduce emission by 80- 95 percent (O5 2008).

As described above, most of the agreements on climate change at the Toyako summit were decided in advance by the sherpas, and the leaders approved them. The process was highly institutionalized as in the several recent summits. However, the sherpa meetings did not make all the decisions. During the summit meeting, French President Nicolas Sarközy complained about the bureaucratization of the summit process, and stated that the leaders were not the puppets of the sherpas. Other leaders also made proposals to revise the joint declaration on the parts related to development, Africa and the global economy. Prime Minister Fukuda as a chair instructed Kōno to come up with a final draft reflecting these opinions, and the sherpas got together in the same room to revise the draft (Kōno 2008b: 15-16). Although the summit process was highly

institutionalized, the national leaders definitely weighed in on the process and the final outcomes.

Conclusion

The Toyako Summit demonstrated much progress from the previous summits on the issue of climate change after the heated discussions at the sherpa meetings. The Toyako Summit was among the most institutionalized summits that Japan hosted. As the climate change issue was highly technical, it was important to have in-depth discussions among policy experts at the sherpa meetings.

The agreement, which set the long-term goal without resulting to a breakup of negotiations, was highly evaluated. But the sherpas alone could not reach the final solution, and it required the strong determination of Prime Minister Fukuda. For the successful conclusion of the summit, Japanese leaders had believed that it was important to establish personal ties and build trust with other summit participants. Following Nakasone's example, Fukuda visited G8 countries as part of the preparations for the summit. Fukuda's relationship with American President Bush was especially important to reach an agreement on the climate change issue. Without the trust at the top level, the American sherpa might not have offered a compromise. In addition, Chinese President Hu's kind consideration for Fukuda was an important ingredient. Fukuda told the author, "I think President Hu truly trusted me, and did not want to make an opposition at the MEM meeting I chaired." (Fukuda Yasuo, personal communication, 17 May 2010) Fukuda's effort to build a bond with the leaders, especially Bush and Hu, worked for the successful conclusion of the meeting.

China became a pivotal country in the discussion of global climate change. Without the involvement of China as well as India, the international framework would not be effective. The United States strongly opposed any international agreement without these countries. It is not too much to argue that the future success of climate change talks would depend on the attitude of China and other developing nations. The issue goes far beyond the G8 framework.

At the Toyako Summit, French President Sarkozy argued that the G8 was a group of the 20th Century, and needed to be expanded, and that decisions without China and India would be meaningless (Kōno 2008b: 15-16). The U.S. government also shifted its attention from the G8 to the G20 framework. At the Pittsburg G20 meeting in September 2009 that President Obama hosted, the G20 was declared to be "the premier forum" for international economic cooperation (Pittsburgh Summit 2009).

As previously described, since Japan chaired the G7 summit in 1979, it had

attempted to include the Asian and other developing nations at the summit table, and to make out the G8 accessible to them. Japan tried hard to invite China to the 2000 Okinawa Summit, and held the expanded meetings with the O5 countries and three other major emitters and with seven African leaders at Toyako. On the other hand, China had expanded its influence by attending the summit as a leading member of the O5 countries and becoming a vocal representative of developing nations in the international community. Ironically, Tokyo's efforts to make the economic summit a more open forum might have lowered the influence of the G8 summit that Japan had cherished.

Reference

- 21seiki Seisaku Kenkyūsho, ed. (2010) *Chikyū Ondanka Seisaku no Shinkyokumen: Post-Kyoto Giteisho no Yukue*, Tokyo: 21seiki Seisaku Kenkyūsho Shinsho, February 17.
- Akazawa Shōichi (1995) 'Maekawa Report: Kokusai Kyōchō no tame no Keizai Kōzō Chōsei Kenkyūkai Hōkoku', in Sekai Heiwa Kenkyūsho (ed) *Nakasone Naikakushi: Rinen to Seisaku*, Tokyo: Sekai Heiwa Kenkyūsho.
- Arai Shunzō and Morita Hajime (1982) *Bunjin Saishō Ōhira Masayoshi*, Tokyo: Shunjūsha.
- Bayne, Nicholas (1977) 'Changing Patterns at the G7 Summit', *G7 Governance* 1, May.
- ____ (2000) *Hungry in There: The G7 and G8 Summit Maturity and Renewal*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- ____ (2001) "Promoting Conflict Prevention and Human Security: What Can the G8 do?" Online. Available: <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/conferences/2001/rome/bayne-conflict.pdf> (accessed June 8, 2012)
- ____ (2005) *Staying Together: The G8 Summit Confronts the 21st Century*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Bush, George (2007) 'President Bush Participates in Major Economies Meeting on Energy Security and Climate Change', 28 September 2007. Online. Available: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2007/09/20070928-2.html> (accessed 9 December 2011).
- ____ (2008a) *State of the Union address*, 28 January 28.
- ____ (2008b) 'President Bush Participates in Joint Press Availability with Prime Minister Fukuda of Japan', 8 July 2008. Online. Available: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/07/20080706.html> (accessed 14 December 2011).
- Copenhagen (2009) 'Copenhagen Accord', <http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2009/cop15/eng/11a01.pdf> (accessed 15 December 2011).
- Dobson, Hugo (2004) *Japan and the G7/G8 Summit: 1975-2002*, London: Routledge.
- ____ (2007) *The Group of 7/8*, London: Routledge.
- ____ (2012) 'Japan's Response to the Changing Global Order: The Case of a "Gaggle of Gs"', *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12:2.
- Fukuda Yasuo (2008) 'Special Address by H.E. Mr. Yasuo Fukuda, Prime Minister of Japan on the Occasion of the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum Congress Center, Davos, Switzerland', 26 January 2008. Online. Available: http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/hukudaspeech/2008/01/26speech_e.html (accessed 9 December 2011).
- Funabashi Yōichi (1991) *Summitcracy*, Tokyo: Asahi Bunko.

- Gleneagles (2005) 'Gleneagles Plan of Action: Climate Change, Clean Energy and Sustainable Development', 8 July 2005. Online. Available: <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/climatechangeplan.pdf> (accessed 8 December 2011).
- Hajnal, Peter I. (2007) *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation*, Hampshire: Ashgate.
- _____. ed. (1989) *The Seven Power Summit: Documents from the Summits of Industrialized Countries, 1975-1989*, Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus International Publications.
- Heiligendamm (2007) 'Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy', 7 June 2007. Online. Available: <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heiligendamm/index.html> (accessed 8 December 2011).
- Hunt, John and Henry Owen (1984) 'Taking Stock of the Seven-Power Summits: Two Views', *International Affairs* 60:4, August.
- Ikenberry, John (1993) 'Salvaging G7', *Foreign Affairs* 72:2.
- Iokibe Makoto, Itō Motoshige, and Yakushiji Katsuyuki ed.(2007) *Mori Yoshirō: Jimintō to Seiken Kōtai*, Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha.
- Kantei (2008) 'In pursuit of Japan as a Low-carbon Society, Speech by H.E. Yasuo Fukuda, Prime Minister at the Japan Press Club', 9 June 2008. Online. Available: http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/hukudaspeech/2008/06/09speech_e.html (accessed 14 December 2011).
- _____. (2009) 'Statement by Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama at the United Nations Summit on Climate Change', 22 September 2008. Online. Available: http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/hatoyama/statement/200909/ehat_0922_e.html (accessed 15 December 2011).
- Kawauchi Issei (1982) *Ōhira Seiken 554 nichi*, Tokyo: Gyoken.
- Kikuchi Kiyooki (1996) 'Oral History Interview Conducted by Akihiko Tanaka', Available on line, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/japan/kikuchiohinterface.htm> (accessed 18 June 2012).
- Kirton, John (1989) 'The Significance of the Seven-Power Summit', in Hajnal, *The Seven Power Summit*.
- _____. (1995) 'The Diplomacy of Cencert: Canada, the G7 and the Halifax Summit', *Canadian Foreign Policy* 3:1.
- _____. (2008) 'A Summit of Substantial Success: The Performance of the 2008 G8', 17 August. Online. Available: <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/scholar/kirton-performance-080817.pdf> (accessed 14 December 2011).
- Kōno Masaharu (2007) 'Heiligendamm Summit no Seika to Nihon', *Sekai Keizai Hyōron*: August.
- _____. (2008a) 'G8 Toyako Summit, Sherpa ga Kataru Shunō Kaigō no Butaiura', 17 July 2008. Online. Available: <http://www.academyhills.com/note/opinion/tqe2it000000dpbx.html> (accessed 14 December 2011).
- _____. (2008b) 'Toyako Summit no Seika to Kadai', *Sekai Keizai Hyōron*: September.
- _____. (2008c) '7gatsu 8nichi Gozen Oji, Sōri no Hitokoto kara Kaigiga Ugoita', *Gaikō Forum*, September.
- Matsuura Kōichirō (1993) 'Tokyo Summit no Zentaizō to Nihon no Tachiba', *Sekai Keizai Hyōron*: September.
- Miliband, Ed (2009) 'The Road from Copenhagen', *The Guardian*, 20 December.
- Miyazaki Hiromichi (1979) 'Tokyo Summit no Shinsō to Nihon', *Sekai Keizai Hyōron*: September.
- Miyazawa Kiichi (1995) *Shin Goken Sengen*, Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha.
- MOFA (1993a) 'Joint Statement on the Japan-United States Framework for a New Economic Partnership', 10 July 1993. Online. Available:

- http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/usa/keizai/framework/pdfs/fw_statement_e.pdf (accessed 7 December 2011).
- (1993b) 'Tokyo Summit Economic Declaration: A Strengthened Commitment to Jobs and Growth', 9 July 1993. Online. Available: http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/summit/2000/past_summit/19/e19_a.html (accessed 7 December 2011).
- (2007a) 'Nichibei Shunō Kaidan no Gaiyō', 16 November 2007. Online. Available: http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/kaidan/s_fukuda/usa_07/gaiyo.html (accessed 9 December 2011).
- (2007b) 'Wen Jinbao Sōri tonō Kaidan Chūshokukai', 28 December 2007. Online. Available: http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/kaidan/s_fukuda/china_07/kaidan2.html (accessed 9 December 2011).
- (2008a) 'Nihonkoku Seifu to Chūka Jinmin Kyōwakoku Seifu tonō Kikō Hendō ni kansuru Kyōdō Seimei', 7 May 2008.
- (2008b) 'G8 Hokkaido Toyako Summit Leaders Declaration', 8 July 2008. Online. Available: http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/summit/2008/doc/doc080714_en.html (accessed 14 December 2011).
- (2008c) 'Declaration of Leaders Meeting of Major Economies on Energy Security and Climate Change', 9 July 2008. Online. Available: http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/summit/2008/doc/doc080709_10_en.html (accessed 15 December 2011).
- Mori Katsuhiko (2009) 'The G8 Summit in the Global Order for Environment and Development', *The Journal of Social Science* 68.
- Nakamura Keiichiro (1981) *Miki Seiken 747 nichi*, Tokyo: Gyoken.
- Nakasone Yasuhiro (1996) *Tenchi Ujō*, Tokyo: Bungei Shunjūsha.
- NHK (2008) *NHK Special Gokuhī Kōshō: Sherpa-tachi no 1800 nichi wo Ou, Toyako Summit*. TV, NHK. 7 July.
- Nogami Yoshiji (2000) 'Okinawa Summit no Seika to Nihon', *Sekai Keizai Hyōron*: October.
- O5 (2008) 'G5 Political Declaration', 8 July 2008, Online. Available: <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=40146> (accessed 15 December 2011).
- Ogura Kazuo (2009a) 'Summit no Seiji Gaikōteki Kinō', *Sekai Keizai Hyōron*: April.
- (2009b) 'Summit to Nihon Gaikō', *Sekai Keizai Hyōron*: June.
- Pittsburgh Summit (2009) 'Leaders' Statement', 24-25 September. Online. Available: http://www.g20.org/Documents/pittsburgh_summit_leaders_statement_250909.pdf (accessed 15 December 2011).
- Putnam, Robert (1984) "Summit Sense," *Foreign Policy* 55, Summer.
- Putnam, Robert and Nicholas Bayne (1987) *Hanging Together: Cooperation and Conflict in the Seven Power Summits*, 2nd ed., London: Sage Publication.
- Reagan, Ronald (1986) 'Remarks Following Discussions with Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone of Japan', *Public Papers of Ronald Reagan*, 14 April. Online. Available: <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1986/86apr.htm> (accessed 6 December 2011).
- Saito, Shiro (1990) *Japan at the Summit: Japan's Role in the Western Alliance and Asian Pacific Cooperation*, London: Routledge.
- Sekai Heiwa Kenkyūsho, ed. (1996) *Nakasone Naikakushi: Hibi no Chōsen*, Tokyo: Sekai Heiwa Kenkyūsho.
- Shima Nobuhiko (2000) *Shunō Gaikō: Senshinkoku Summit no Uramenshi*, Tokyo: Bunshun Shinsho.
- Tejima Reishi (1986) 'Tokyo Summit no Tokushoku to Seika', *Sekai Keizai Hyōron*: July.
- Takase, Junichi (2002) 'The Changing G8 Summit and Japan's Foreign Policy', in John

- J. Kirton and Junichi Takase (eds) *New Direction in Global Political Governance: The G8 and International Order in the Twenty-first Century*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Utagawa Reizō (1978) *Senshinkoku Shunō Kaigi*, Tokyo: Kyōikusha.
- Watanabe, Koji (1999) 'Japan's Summit Contributions and Economic Challenges', in Michael R. Hodges, et al (eds) *The G8's Role in the New Millenium*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Yabunaka Mitoji (2005) 'Gleneagles Summit no Seika to Nihon', *Sekai Keizai Hyōron* : September.
- _____ (2006) 'St. Petersburg Summit no Seika to Nihon', *Sekai Keizai Hyōron*: October.
- Yoshino Bunroku (1997) 'Oral History Interview Conducted by Akihiko Tanaka', Available on line, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/japan/yoshinoohinterview.htm> (accessed 18 June 2012).