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JAPAN'S ROLE IN THE FREE WORLD

A lecture delivered
at the Naval War College
on 10 October 1963

by

Professor Chitoshi Yanaga

I have just recently returned from a ten months' stay in Japan, which gave me a marvelous opportunity to feel the pulse of the nation, so to speak, to meet and speak to leaders in the fields of business, finance, government, and politics, and also to observe at firsthand the great surge of energy and zest of creative talent that is transforming the country. One wonders if this is the same nation that only 18 years ago suffered utter defeat and lay prostrate. I came away more convinced than ever that Japan's tremendous energy, skilled manpower, and scientific-technical know-how constitute a powerful constructive force in the development and regeneration of Asian countries that are struggling desperately to modernize and industrialize themselves, and in counteracting the disruptive forces of communism that are obstructing the peaceful development of their economy and political institutions.

Tokyo, the world's largest metropolis of more than ten million, is now in the throes of a gigantic face-lifting operation unprecedented in the history of Japan and, indeed perhaps in the recent history of the world. The incessant staccato sound of pneumatic drills and hammers reverberates even in the stillness of the night throughout the length and breadth of the city as workmen labor around the clock. Streets are torn up by excavations as new subway lines are being built, and the famous Ginza, which is Tokyo's equivalent of New York's Broadway and 42nd Street, gives the appearance of a city that is being rebuilt anew after a major disaster.

Tokyo reminds one of a young debutante frantically putting on her expensive finery and makeup while her first important date waits impatiently downstairs to take her to a gala coming-out party—a once-in-a-lifetime affair. Everything in Tokyo is geared to the Olympics of next October. Work is going on frantically though methodically on the completion of the Olympic Stadium, high-rise apartment houses, business buildings, luxury hotels,

modern supermarkets, a sewage system, wide avenues, and a monorail, as well as an expressway, linking the airport with the center of Tokyo. Skeptics wonder if the Japanese will ever make it, but the Japanese themselves, and long-time foreign residents, confidently give assurance that everything will be ready.

Japan is sensitively aware that the eyes of the world are on her. She wants to present herself in the best possible light, just as anxiously and expectantly as the nervous debutante who intensely hopes to be the belle of the ball. The Olympic Games, in effect, will be Japan's long-awaited international coming-out party and she wants very badly to show the world the amazing economic comeback, and the incredible industrial growth, she has achieved in the few short years since the end of World War II.

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The ratification by the United States only three days ago of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which has already been signed by 103 nations, and the favorable reception by Russia of President Kennedy's proposal of a joint Soviet-American expedition to the moon, had the effect of easing the cold war tension considerably and have improved the prospects of peace. But as the President pointed out, it is only the first step in a long and difficult road over which we must travel before we can hope for a durable peace.

Trouble spots still continue to plague us, especially in Asia. South Vietnam presents the worst kind of headache for the Free World as the Diem Government resorts to violence and oppressive methods. The situation is going from bad to worse although the Free World has not written it off as a lost cause. The White House statement issued on the 2nd that 'the political situation in South Vietnam remains deeply serious' has a hollow ring and is not at all reassuring. The creation of an independent Malaysia last month has brought in its wake, open and hostile opposition from Indonesia whose ire has been directed at the British, resulting in the burning and destruction of the British Embassy in Jakarta, and completely cutting off trade with Malaysia. President Sukarno has pledged to fight and destroy the new federation and he makes no secret of his desire to drive all British and American influence from the area. The situation in South Korea is far from reassuring for, although the military coup d'etat ousted the corrupt regime, it has not brought political stability or improved economic conditions. In spite of repeated declarations from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the condition of Taiwan does not permit optimism, for its

position of strength does not seem to be improving with the passage of time. If anything, there is evidence that it is deteriorating.

Against this backdrop of turbulence and instability in most of Asia, Japan appears by contrast to be exceedingly composed, tranquil, stable, and vigorously and constructively active and productive. Thus, only 18 years after the most disastrous defeat, and inexorably as the result of world conditions, destiny has forced Japan to become one of the few nations that could play decisive roles in the world.

In recent months, it has become clear that the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union has eased and is no longer as great as it was a year ago, and certainly not as great as that which has since developed between China and the Soviet Union. This situation has led to the enhancement of Japan's position as an ally of the Free World and particularly of the United States, making it possible for her to play her roles more effectively, and to the greater advantage of the Free World as well as herself.

What then are the roles that Japan can and will play? To some observers of the current scene, it appears as though Japan is at present timidly seeking her identity, not knowing exactly what roles she should play. Yet to those who have been following the events of the past few years, it has become increasingly clear that she has chosen the roles of trader, donor-developer, and staunch advocate of peace, for these roles are consistent with her national goals which are the achievement of economic viability that will insure a high standard of living, peaceful existence as a nation that has renounced war as a means of settling international disputes, and rendering technical and economic assistance to the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In working to achieve these goals, Japan has repeatedly reiterated that she is determined to function at all times as a member of the United Nations and within its framework, but particularly in close cooperation and collaboration with the United States. She has adopted trade as an instrument of friendly and peaceful intercourse with all nations. Her proffer of assistance to the developing nations is not made as an act of pure altruism, but rather as a sensible and practical policy of enlightened selfishness, of helping herself by helping others.

What, then, are Japan's capabilities and how well is she equipped to play the roles that have been thrust upon her by internal needs and conditions, as well as international circumstances and requirements?

Ironically, as Japan lay prostrate in 1945 following utter defeat and exhaustion, some high echelon policymakers in the United States were actually planning for the end of Japan's industrial supremacy in Asia by stripping her of her industrial plants. The now all-but-forgotten Pauley Report was a recommendation of this sort which tended to be more vindictive than realistic or statesmanlike. But Japan was spared such a fate, not because she was able to thwart it, but because wisdom, foresight, and realism prevailed. The United States came to realize that a balance of power in Asia and the Pacific must be based on a prosperous, healthy, and defensively strong Japan. The implementation of the Pauley recommendations was never carried out. Instead, Japan's economic recovery was pushed ahead vigorously, beginning in 1948, and Japan was designated the workshop of Asia in the implementation of American policy in the Far East.

The fall of Nationalist China to the communists in 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 underscored the urgency of a revitalized Japan which served effectively as a staging area, base of operations, and supply base for United Nations action. All sorts of services necessary for military operations were rendered by Japan. Without the utilization of Japan's land, skill and productive capacity, successful United Nations action in Korea would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible. Unexpectedly, the Korean War gave tremendous impetus to industrial production and hastened Japan's economic recovery, as United States procurements served as an effective shot in the arm for Japan's economy at a time it was badly needed.

By 1957 economic recovery was complete, and the country enjoyed a boom such as had never before been experienced. In fact, it was hailed as the greatest boom since the beginning of Japan's history. Thus, within a space of slightly over a decade, Japan had risen from the ashes of war and destruction to regain once again her position as one of the foremost industrial and trading nations of the world. Her speedy recovery has been one of the economic miracles of the postwar era.

Japan's annual growth rate in gross national product, which is one of the highest in the world today, reached 15% in 1961.

Alarmed by this spectacular growth, the government has since decided to slow down the growth rate to around nine percent. At the end of the war, Japan's steel industry had come to a virtual standstill. But it has been revived rapidly, and productive capacity has increased fourfold to become the fourth in the world, surpassing both Britain and France. At the present rate of expansion, it is not unlikely that before long it may surpass West Germany to become the world's third producer. Her present annual production of 35 million tons is almost as much as that of the rest of Asia, Latin America, and Africa put together. It is approximately double the capacity of Communist China. By 1970, production is estimated to reach 45-50 million tons, but at the present rate of growth, the 1970 target may well be reached in the 1960's.

This tremendous growth of Japan's steel industry has resulted in exports to the United States and other Western nations. A very high level of technology has been achieved by the Japanese who claim the highest pig iron yield per unit of coke. The steel industry has reached the point where it is able to export steel technology and plants to other parts of the world. The first steel mill in Pakistan is now being built in Chittagong with a \$55 million credit loan and equipment from Japan. On May 23, the Japan Export-Import Bank extended a \$15 million loan to India for the purchase of Japanese equipment for the construction of a special steel and alloy plant in Durgapur. There is a joint Japanese-Brazilian plant in operation, and plans are under way for similar plants in Hong Kong and Singapore.

Before World War II, Japan ranked third in the world as a naval and maritime power. During the war, practically all of her merchant marine, as well as naval ships, were sent to the bottom. But she has rapidly rebuilt her merchant fleet to achieve fifth place in the world, but with a tonnage far in excess of what she had before the war.

Without any question, the most spectacular achievement in the postwar period has been in shipbuilding. In 1956, only 11 years after the defeat, Japan captured the leading position as the world's shipbuilder and has maintained this position ever since. In 1960, she built 1,731,000 tons, or 21% of the total world tonnage of 8,340,000 tons. Since 1958 she has built several huge oil tankers of over 100,000 tons, including the mammoth 130,000-ton *Nissho Maru* of the Idemitsu Oil Co., which is the prime importer of oil from Kuwait. In 1962,

Japanese shipyards had contracts for building freighters, tankers, fishing vessels, patrol boats, etc., for Rumania, Greece, Peru, Kuwait, South Korea, and the Soviet Union, to mention a few. In October 1962, the Mitsubishi Nippon Heavy Industries delivered the world's fastest freighter, the *Yamanashi Maru*, to the NYK Line. This 11,000-ton automated freighter, carrying a crew of only 47, developed a trial run speed of 23.64 knots and will run at a speed of 20.7 knots with a full load, cutting the normal Kobe-Hamburg run of 36 days by three full days.

Japan has gone in for push-button freighters in a big way. The dream of Japanese shipbuilders—operating 10,000-ton freighters by remote control with a complement of from 35 to 40 officers and crewmen—has become a reality. The first of the three ships constructed was the 12,172-ton *Yamatoshi Maru* built at a cost of 1.2 billion yen or \$3.3 million and carrying a complement of only 37.

Japan's bicycle industry now leads the world. In 1962 it produced 3,210,000 units which was equal to the combined output of Great Britain (2 million) and West Germany (1.2 million). The USSR came second with 3 million and the United States third with 2.8 million.

Another field in which Japan leads the world is fishing, with an annual catch in excess of six million tons. Her up-to-date fishing fleets, equipped with sonar and other electronics devices, as well as refrigeration and canning facilities, range far and wide, in the North Pacific, South Pacific, Antarctic, and the Atlantic in the Azores and off the southern tip of Africa. Crab-fishing ships in the North Pacific are actually floating canneries which bring back canned crab ready for the export market.

Speaking before the national Diet in September 1961, Prime Minister Ikeda told the members of the House of Representatives that Japan had reached a point where she must shoulder heavy responsibilities in the securing of world peace, both as a member of the family of free nations and as a member of the Asian-African group. Two years later, on September 13th of this year, he emphasized that Japan would aid the growth of newly developing nations to the fullest extent of her national capacity.

For some time now, Japan has been engaged actively in giving technical assistance to the countries of South and Southeast Asia. Japanese scientists, chemists, engineers, technicians, and

experts of all kinds have been going to Asian countries to assist in building dams, irrigation projects, electric power plants, fertilizer plants, factories, and ships. Latest fishing equipment and methods are being introduced, and agricultural experts are helping to increase production. In India, with the help of Japanese experts in rice culture, the yield has been increased to the point of breaking the record formerly held by Japan.

Through reparations agreements with the countries of South-east Asia, Japan has been offering aid in technology, capital, and joint enterprises. Japan participates in the Colombo Plan and she is the only Asian country participating as a donor nation. All other Asian nations are recipients of aid. She is also one of the influential members of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

As of May 1963, according to Japanese government sources, there were ten major projects in various stages of negotiations—from agreements already concluded to those pending. These were a special steel mill, a fertilizer plant, and a rayon pulp plant for India; a steel mill, a streptomycin plant, and an agricultural chemical plant for Pakistan; a bamboo pulp mill and a fertilizer plant for Indonesia; electrification of 133 kilometers of railroad in Argentina at a cost of \$100 million; and a \$28 million fertilizer plant in Uruguay.

On May 23, an agreement was signed in Ghana whereby Japan will establish a technical training center to give guidance in the manufacture of dyes, cotton textiles, and towels. This joint project is based on the Japan-Ghana economic and technical cooperation agreement of September 1962, and is the first of its kind concluded by Japan with an African nation. Japan will send engineers to help in the training of local personnel and provide cotton fabrics, yarn machinery, and other equipment, free of charge over a period of three years at an estimated cost to Japan of \$361,000.

Japan's overseas investments now are in excess of \$2 billion and include, among others, an oil company in Arabia; shipbuilding, cotton spinning, and a steel mill, all in Brazil; a pulp mill in Alaska, a chemical plant in Pennsylvania, a nickel plant in Rhodesia; and sewing machine and radio-television plants in Ireland.

Japan regards her main role to be in the field of economic development. In this she is giving an ever-increasing emphasis to the contribution she can make toward economic development in other countries, both through the United Nations and outside it. At the same time, the promotion of trade is being pushed vigorously in an effort to find adequate markets for her products, for indeed, Japan literally must trade or perish.

The Flag of the Rising Sun is now seen in the trading ports of the world as Japanese ships ply the seven seas, carrying the products of her factories to the far corners of the earth. Japanese merchandise is a familiar sight in the emporiums of the principal cities of Europe, Asia, Africa, Middle East, Latin America, and the United States. Leading Japanese department stores have established branches overseas to increase outlets for manufactured goods. Here in the United States three department stores are already represented in Honolulu, Los Angeles, and New York. Especially well known of the Japanese products are the electronics products, radio and television sets, especially the transistorized ones, optical instruments, cameras, microscopes, and telescopes. Nikon and Canon cameras, Sony TV's, and National Panasonic transistor radios have become household words in America.

Japan's experience and achievements in industrial modernization are an eloquent testimony to the fact that economic progress can be achieved successfully without the help of communist ideology or techniques and they give the lie to communism's assertion that the communist way is the best, if not the only, way to rapidly develop Asian nations.

Japan today is the most industrialized and modernized nation in Asia. As a matter of fact, economically and industrially, Japan is far in advance of some of the Western nations. Because of this, economists no longer classify Japan as an Asian nation, but place her alongside Western industrialized nations. This places Japan in a uniquely advantageous position as an intermediary in introducing the benefits of modern Western techniques and technology, not directly from the West, but through modifications and adaptations that have been worked out in Japan in the modernization process which has been going on for more than a century.

Naturally, as a partner of Asian and African nations, their aspirations, hopes, fears, and problems resulting from their being catapulted suddenly into a 20th-century world of advanced

technology, are more easily seen, felt, and understood by Japan, for she can look back at her own struggles not so long ago when she resolved to catch up with the West and share the fruits and benefits of modern technology. Consequently, the Japanese are able to mitigate the clash between traditional ways and the technology of the 20th century and harmonize and reconcile the contradictions. Thus, they are in a position to offer modernization and industrialization of the kind more suited psychologically and physically to Asian requirements which have not yet achieved a high degree of sophistication. Asian countries today represent a wide range in stages of development or underdevelopment, all the way from the most primitive type of agricultural production and way of life which have not changed noticeably in the last 1,000 years, to the advanced stages of industrial production such as one sees in some segments of India's economy.

The Japanese can thus serve as a sort of buffer and shock absorber in the transplanting of Western techniques in the transitional stages of economic development much more realistically and successfully than can Americans or, for that matter, Westerners in general. Furthermore they could do this much more imperceptibly or without attracting attention or suspicion, for the Japanese could hardly be made to appear as symbols or agents of Western imperialism.

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One of the major problems of American policy is the defense of Japan. In 1950, Japan became an important part of the United States defense perimeter in the Western Pacific, which extends in an arc from the Aleutians down to the Philippines. In the long-range communist plan of domination and control of Asia, Japan is the primary target. In spite of this danger, Japan has not built up her military strength to the level deemed adequate for her defense, notwithstanding United States assistance and persistent prodding.

Slowly, however, Japan has been building up her defense forces until today her ground, air and maritime self-defense forces total a quarter of a million, comprising 13 ground divisions, 800 American-designed jet fighters, and a navy of two dozen destroyers and six submarines, and plans for helicopter carriers. She possesses no nuclear arms, which she prefers not to own, nor does she permit the United States to bring nuclear warheads into Japan. At the present time, she is capable of a holding action for 30 days

against a conventional invasion force. For her security, she depends on the military might of the United States through the United States-Japan Security Treaty which was signed in January 1960, and she prefers to keep it this way for some time. Nevertheless, Japan remains the Far Eastern bastion against communism, and as such she contributes toward the security plans of the United States.

The Japanese public is in an antimilitary, antirearmament, and antiwar mood, for the disastrous defeat and its consequences, as well as the two nuclear blasts, are still very much in mind. The bad dream of the period of military domination before and during the war still haunts them. Japan has officially disavowed and renounced the use of military force as a means of settling international disputes or achieving national goals. This is unequivocally stated in Article IX of the postwar Constitution.

Japan has become increasingly fearful of involvement in a war, which to her seems almost certainly to be a nuclear war. Consequently, she is hypersensitive about rearmament, which in the minds of the people is equated with war. The people are afraid that the American bases may drag them into Southeast Asia's troubles. As a result, the Japanese government has been unable to push ahead a rearmament program in the face of hostile public opinion led by the socialists, intellectuals, and housewives, even though it recognizes the need for stronger defense.

Because of this deeply imbedded antirearmament attitude, there does not seem to be a possibility of Japan possessing in the near future the kind of military power that would be more than defensive. This should not materially affect, much less negate, the effectiveness of Japan's participation as a partner of the Free World, inasmuch as under present conditions, she will not, and should not, be expected to play a military role for the Free World. It is my opinion that an attempt to build up and use Japan's military strength would backfire and actually work to the detriment of the Free World's cause, particularly if it is undertaken in the face of unfavorable public opinion.

If Communist China is to be contained, it cannot primarily be by military means. It is more important that the methods be economic, that is, through the improvement of economic conditions in those countries of Asia that are vulnerable to communist penetration and subversion. In other words, it should be through the erection of effective economic barriers against communism.

Such economic barriers to forestall communism, however, will have no meaning without the development of an arrangement between the United States and Japan approaching a Pacific Union. If the Japanese are to move vigorously ahead to the risks of developmental responsibilities in Asia, they must have the security of knowing that their major market in the United States is not only stable, but expansive. The United States may even have to lower trade barriers to the point where some of the industries will inevitably suffer, and steps will have to be taken for some kind of division-of-labor production agreements between the two countries.

To enable Japan to move into the arena of risk and responsibility as a partner, her Western allies will have to give her the security of full economic and political partnership rather than a second class partnership. In other words, the Western World has to move over and make a little bit more room for Japan. It is imperative also that Japan's future production, capabilities, inventiveness, and desires for a world role be integrated into the framework of the noncommunist world. Needless to say, the Japanese should be made to believe firmly that they are truly full partners both in name and in fact.

Japan's revulsion against nuclear war is understandable since she is the only nation to actually experience its horrors. Her efforts ever since 1956 when she was admitted to membership in the United Nations have been directed unremittingly toward the banning of nuclear tests. It was therefore with unconcealed satisfaction that on August 14, the 18th anniversary of the surrender in World War II, that Japan signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. At the signing in Washington, the Japanese Ambassador Takeuchi declared that Japan, in cooperation with the other nations of the world, will continue to do her utmost toward the cessation of all nuclear testing.

With regard to the problem of utilizing nuclear energy for purposes other than war, Japan's attitude is enlightened. Japan's favorable attitude in respect to the peaceful use of atomic energy dates back to 1955 when the United States Atomic Energy Commission helped to set up in Tokyo an exhibit demonstrating the many peaceful uses of atomic energy. Japan saw clearly the advantages of this particular type of energy as a solution to her fuel problem, which has been one of the major stumbling blocks in her highly industrialized economy for she has no fuel resources of her own.

Starting with the establishment of the Atomic Energy Commission in 1955, Japan has pushed forward her program of research and development. In 1956, the Atomic Energy Research Institute was set up at a 900-acre research center at Tokai Village some 80 miles northeast of Tokyo, where nuclear scientists and engineers are carrying on their research and development projects to harness the atom for industrial purposes. Sometime this month, electricity generated by nuclear energy is scheduled for use for the first time at the Atomic Energy Research Institute.

Earlier this year, the Atomic Ship Development Agency was set up and plans are now being drawn up for a 6500-ton oceanographic survey ship equipped with a light water-cooled and moderated reactor with a thermal output of 35,000 kilowatts and driving a 10,000 horsepower steam turbine which will power the ship for a year without refueling. The ship, with a speed of 17.75 knots, is expected to be completed in seven years and will be manned by a crew of 125, including 50 scientists and specialists, and will operate in the polar regions. At present Japan is the only Asian country that is putting nuclear energy to peaceful use. According to the Japan Atomic Energy Industrial Congress, radioactive isotopes, the by-products of atomic reactors, are being utilized to an increasing degree in the fields of medicine, agriculture and industry. A total of 951 institutions and industrial plants are now utilizing radioactive isotopes.

From the Japanese point of view, there is not the slightest doubt that trade is the most important cornerstone on which American-Japanese partnership is based. In this connection, it is most encouraging that Japanese exports to the United States in 1962 reached an all-time record of \$1.4 billion, which represented a 31% increase over the preceding year, while imports from the United States reached \$1.8 billion. American-Japanese trade in 1962 conformed to the world trend of rapidly increasing trade among developed nations through the exchange of industrial goods. More than one third of Japan's exports to the United States consisted of machinery, optical equipment, metal products, transistors and other sophisticated industrial products which have replaced textiles as leading exports. Machinery was among the most important categories of United States exports to Japan. There was a 12% increase in United States export of machinery, indicating the extent to which Japanese industry is dependent on United States for capital equipment. Total sales of United States agricultural products amounted to \$482 million. The Japanese apparently developed a sudden and tremendous taste

for American-made instant coffee, for in 1962 they bought \$12.5 million worth, which was a 79% increase over that of the preceding year. Japan was again the American farmers' best market for soybeans in 1962, to the tune of \$104 million. American consumer goods continue to grow in popularity, and even photographic equipment was purchased by Japan to the amount of \$10.8 million.

Prospects are bright for Japanese-American trade for indications are that United States exports are expected to continue to increase. It is predicted that Japan, the second best customer of the United States next to Canada, will be buying about \$3 billion annually by the end of the 1960's, which is more than double the 1962 volume. This will be the result of the government's 10-year income-doubling plan. Increase in Japanese exports to the United States must follow as a matter of course, for she must sell in the American market to earn the dollars needed to pay for the increasing volume of purchases from the United States. This mutually beneficial trade relation, however, can be maintained and promoted only if continual efforts are made by both countries to reduce or eliminate artificial trade restrictions.

That the trade relations between the United States and Japan are of overriding importance in the maintenance of the existing partnership of these two great Pacific powers was demonstrated in the talks between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Ikeda on June 20-21, 1961 in Washington. The upshot of it was the formation of a joint United States-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs in accord with the United States-Japan Treaty signed on January 19, 1960, for the purpose of strengthening the American-Japanese partnership and to seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies, encourage economic collaboration and promote the flow of trade between the two countries.

Accordingly, the United States Secretaries of State, Treasury, Interior, Commerce, and Labor met with their counterparts, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Agriculture and Forestry, International Trade and Industry, Labor and the Director General of Economic Planning at Hakone, Japan in early November. As an editorial of *The New York Times* of November 2, 1961 pointed out, this was 'the first time an American President has sent so many members of his Cabinet abroad on a single mission,' attesting to the importance of trade relations between the two nations.

'In Japanese-American as in world trade relations' *The New York Times* continued, 'the United States-Japan Conference this week can be a milestone of progress.' The work of this unprecedented high cabinet level joint working committee was aided materially by the favorable political background created by the Soviet Union's series of nuclear tests in the atmosphere which had caused great jitters in Japan. The meeting underscored 'the strong ties between the leader of the Western alliance and the strongest industrial power in the Far East.'

The Japanese Government has repeatedly assured her ally, the United States, that it does not intend to develop trade with Communist China at the risk of injuring trade with the free nations. There are some 80 firms presently doing business with China. Why? There are at least three reasons for this: First is the belief that some day China will be a major market for Japan. In the prewar period, Japan had been dependent on the Chinese mainland for most of her raw materials and enjoyed a very profitable trade relationship. Second is the fear that Western European countries will move into the China market and permanently squeeze out Japan. Third is their willingness to take losses and tolerate Peiping's political line in the hope that one day the Communist Government will give whopping orders. There are those who feel, however, that trade with Communist China will never amount to anything substantial and therefore it would not be worth the trouble. But there is a widespread feeling on the part of business that if profitable trade with Communist China could be worked out without any political strings attached, it should certainly be attempted.

Last August, the sale of a \$20 million synthetic textile plant to Communist China on a 5-year-deferred-payment plan was concluded. This deal has been criticized by some foreign critics as a form of economic aid, but Prime Minister Ikeda has stated flatly that it was a business transaction, pure and simple, by a private firm.

While Japan would never tolerate infiltration by international communism, she does not want to neglect the cultivation of friendly relations with the communist nations. The Japanese Government feels that some sort of *modus vivendi* with Communist China ought to be possible and should be worked out eventually. It is convinced that a catastrophic, global, nuclear war would be the height of madness since it would not settle international differences but would result only in total annihilation.

Prime Minister Ikeda believes it would be desirable to gradually improve relations with mainland China through mutual respect for each other's position and on the principle of noninterference in internal affairs.

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Since the end of World War II, Japanese leaders have been aware of the role that their nation can play as a link between the nations of the West and the countries of Asia. For such a role, Japan has a peculiar advantage not possessed by any other Asian nation.

Japan's cultural and traditional attitude has never been that of contempt or hatred of the Westerner or foreigners in general. The Japanese have not developed xenophobia or dislike of foreigners or foreign cultures. On the contrary, they have, through history, been admirers of foreign cultures, always looking to the outside world for something new, something good to emulate. Indeed, her history reflects this at every important turn, for Japan's cultural development and progress have been nurtured and nourished by importations from the outside, both from Asian countries and from the West.

Yet in spite of the strong admiration of the West, Japan has preserved her traditions and is in a position to see and act as an Asian nation. She is therefore able to understand the feelings of Asians and their problems far better than Westerners. Consequently, she is in a more advantageous position to be of effective assistance to the developing nations of Asia and Africa.

One hundred ten summers ago, a native of Newport, Rhode Island, Commodore Matthew Galbraith Perry of the United States Navy, opened the doors of Japan, which had been tightly closed for more than two centuries. And the half century of American-Japanese relations which followed was a most cordial relationship such as seldom seen in the history of intercourse between nations. The United States was, in effect, the guardian and Japan was her ward. Townsend Harris, the first Western diplomatic representative ever to be stationed in Japan, while representing the United States, had the interests of Japan always at heart and protected her whenever other Western nations tried to take advantage of her inexperience in diplomacy. The next half century which covered the first half of the 20th

century was unfortunately marred by suspicion, distrust, and rivalry ending in open hostilities. History has come a full cycle. In the third half century, which has only recently begun, and especially in the last ten years, the relations have never been closer between the two great nations on the opposite shores of the wide expanse of the Pacific Ocean, for they have become close partners in the Free World's efforts to stem communist aggression and encroachments on freedom and giving assistance to the developing nations of Asia. The preservation of peace and freedom and the democratic way of life which we uphold in the Free World in the long run will depend heavily on how well these two partners across the Pacific work in cooperation and collaboration. The feeling of mutual need between the two nations has never been stronger in the 110-year history of American-Japanese relations.

It is one of the most poignant ironies of the 20th century that the two countries that fought so ferociously in the Pacific as enemies have now become such close partners in the preservation of freedom against the threat of communist world revolution led by a former World War II ally of the United States. Japan's roles in Asia and in the Free World are inextricably tied to the goals of the United States and of the Western democracies.

Just how effectively Japan will play her roles will be determined, in the final analysis, by how completely the Western democracies accept her and treat her as a true partner sharing equal rights and equal responsibilities.

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ship, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS:

Instructor in Japanese history and government, University of
California, 1937-42

Director of Japanese Translation and Research, Office of War
Information, 1942-44

Far Eastern Adviser, Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service,
F.C.C., 1944

Chief, Special Research Section, Research and Analysis, Far
East, Office of Strategic Services and Department of State,
1944-45

Yale University since 1945; Fulbright Research Professor,
Tokyo, 1955-56

PUBLICATIONS:

Author: *Japan since Perry*, 1945; *Japanese People and Politics*,
1956

Articles in *Encyclopedia Americana*, *Americana Annual*, *Grolier's
Encyclopedia* and in learned journals

MISCELLANEOUS:

Presently a member, Board of Directors, Association for Asian
Studies. Has lectured at: Naval War College, Army War College,
Royal Canadian National Defence College.