

# The Mita Campus

KEIO UNIVERSITY  
1858

'calamus gladio fortior'

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## Twenty Years With the Mita Campus

Twenty years is a long time. When the first issue of the Mita Campus came out, these students who are running it now must have been babies in their mothers' arms. We cannot expect these young men and women to truly comprehend the circumstance under which the Mita Campus came to be.

It was 1946 when a small group of ambitious Keio English Speaking Society members conceived the idea of a student periodical in English. It was exactly one year after the end of the war when the Japanese people lived on the rationed food which kept them hungry always. A large portion of the city of Tokyo was green with grass which grew over the burned out area. Walking along the streets, I sometimes had an illusion that I was in a pleasant suburb. Then a lone chimney would remind me of the disaster the year before.

In such times any honest work one did had an immediate return. A shred of cloth saved would serve at once for patching our old clothes; any vegetable grown on the backyard improved our food situation. Indeed, anything produced or any work done contributed to our life and comfort. We were full of hopes. For as we saw the change every day, and every little effort of ours producing effects, we felt that there was a great future open to us, or that any ideal would be attainable with our own efforts. If we were cold and hungry, those were happy days for men with hopes and dreams.

The Mita Campus was born under such circumstance. The boys wanted to do something. Though lacking in



(Prof. Eiichi Kiyooka)

experience and funds, they had energy and wreckless enterprise. They said that a student English periodical was called for in order to let the foreigners know the true thoughts of the Japanese youth. Indeed, the foreigners knew so little; very few of them were acquainted with the name of Keio University.

The boys talked their alumni friends in the Japan Times to printing the first issue of the Mita Campus with the promise of payment after the issue was sold. When the boys came to me to inquire what I thought of the enterprise, I said, "Go ahead. I'll help you." I had been caught up in the spirit of the times. And I did help them in touching up their English for every issue in the first several years.

This youthful enterprise of the students fulfilled the need of the times. Keio University had no facilities for public relations and the authority was too occupied in the reconstruction to give their thoughts to PR among the foreigners. For some time, some foreign residents of Tokyo thought of Keio as the school which published the Mita Campus. When the University celebrated its Ninetieth Anniversary of its foundation, and there was to be a great ceremony, the university authority found there was no printed matter to distribute among the foreign guests except the special issue of the Mita Campus which the university purchased in numbers for use at the ceremony as well as for distribution among visitors in the months following. This achievement of the Mita Campus made me realize that in Keio the students take as much interest and responsibility as the faculty in the development of the institution. I value this feature of Keio University as highly as its scholarly achievements.

Those were the good old days. Our life was simple, and there was so little to think about. We ate what there was—no thought of choosing good food or argue about the good restaurant. The school authority, the employees and the students were united in the one thought of reconstructing the school after the disasters of the war

which had reduced the available classroom area to about one third of what there used to be. If there was much work to be done, no one had any question as to what must be done.

Twenty years later, celebrating the "Jubilee" if the Mita Campus, I am induced to think that it is much more difficult to live a full life in peace time than in emergency time. In these days of peace and plenty, an honest work may or may not bring its deserved effect. Hunger no longer is a problem for most people, but there is more unrest in the society than twenty years ago. In the students' extracurricular activities too, it is much more difficult now to create a worthwhile activity.

The Mita Campus has had a long life of twenty years with the fine efforts of many generations of its members. This is truly something to impress anyone who learns its history. I am one of those privileged ones who has watched the history being made and to have touched the spirit of Keio in action. It seems to me that the time has come for the members of the Mita Campus to stop and reconsider their mission. What is the purpose of publishing an English periodical? Is it to give information to the foreigners? Is the paper to be a forum where ideas of the East and the West are to meet? What should be the main features of the paper?—news or discussion? Times are gone when anything done was a service done. Work in peace time calls for refinement and higher ideals. In "developing" time, inspiration is given you, but in a settled time, you must create the inspiration yourself. The Mita Campus, I feel, has reached a point where it should find a new purpose and set a new goal. I am afraid that in the past ten years or so, my relations with the Mita Campus has been less close than it should have been. After all, it had grown strong enough to stand on its own feet without my giving a helping hand. Now writing for the paper after some interval, I find it difficult to write anything but a reminiscence and a sort of preaching which I would have ridiculed as an old man's mumbling when I was actively engaged in the pioneering work of the Mita Campus twenty years ago. After all, I must admit I have passed into the period of life which I would call, for self-assurance, the venerable age. (Prof. Eiichi Kiyooka)

## Twentieth Anniversary Special Edition

### Celebrate 20 Years

"Twenty Years" has past. The Mita Campus is twenty years old. In celebration we, the staff members of the Mita Campus, wish to express our appreciation to our predecessors who made this news paper possible.

We also say, "Thank you." to our readers. Our existence depends upon the basis created by our predecessors and the encouragement of our readers.

It is easy to say "twenty years" but it is important to understand the meaning of twenty years. Twenty years has changed everything, the world situation, social society, people's way of thinking and so on.

Twenty years ago, Japan was in chaos, for we had been defeated in World War II. The Mita Campus was born in such an era through the efforts of our vigorous founders.

Now, twenty years after the war, we live in peace. We think it natural, an undoubted right.

The people in the world seem to be living in external peace except of course in fighting areas. We are acquainted with peace, and we don't feel its importance. We are, so to speak, living an obscure life in peace.

We must construct a better, indeed the best, society. The present peaceful society has a great many contradictions such as poverty and wealth and inequality between nations.

Men who live in 1965, twenty years after World War II, should be aware of these contradictions and work toward their reform for a better world.

Thinking on these things, we publish our 20th Anniversary news paper; we investigate in it the question of true world peace through the "Vietnam war," "Japan-ROK Treaty" and "The Future of Japan."

### Mita Festival, Discuss Hotly

The 8th Mita Festival, a cultural festival of Keio University, was held from Nov. 20 to Nov. 23 '65 at Mita Heights.

The slogan of Mita Festival was "creation through strong will and solidarity through dialogue."

The slogan was intended

to break down old habits and it indicated the fundamental attitude of the students for Mita Festival. Today's world is in strained circumstances and in Japan there is the Japan-ROK Treaty problem. There were a few clubs and discussion groups to discuss current problems directly, but the executive committee of Mita Festival held two Teach-Ins: "the image of today's youth" and "study for the potentials of democracy after the

World War II" as the base of these problems.

It was especially noted that lotteries and dance-parties were abolished or decreased, and the presentation of the result of student research increased.

### Reformation of Curriculum

Examination of reformation of the school regulations expected to be enforced in '66.

Under the new standard of university establishment announced by the government, Keio University organized "the reformation of the school's regulations committee," aiming at enforcement of new curriculum from '66.

3 directors of Educational Bureau, Noboru Yamamoto, Mitsuo Maehara and Yoh Kuno present a written opinion to all the faculty meetings. They say that it should enforce reformation of the school's regulations "by referring to the new reformation plan on the standard of the universities establishment, presupposing today's university institution."

The written opinion points out the transportation between Mita and Hiyoshi, the establishment of the general lecture, reconsideration of methods of foreign languages education, examination system.

Every department intends to control the plan among the department in General Committee after the formation of the tentative plan, and to make original plan at least by next June.

### Railroaded J-ROK Treaty

On November 12, at the beginning of the main session of House of Representatives which was held from 0:18a.m., the Treaty was approved and passed without warning on Chairman Funada's proposal. This means the Treaty was voted in without awaiting the consideration of the House of councilors.

The government make an expression of setting seal to Japan-Korea Treaty with the Korean government. Togakuren and Zengakuren have often struggled hard to prevent the ratification and enactment of the Treaty.

In Keio University, Teach-Ins concerning Japan-Korea problems, student meetings demonstrations against the Treaty have often been held.

Twice in November 12, at 2 p.m., and 6 p.m., about 2,500 students of the Togakuren joined the Socialist Party members of the Japanese Labor Union (So hyo) to object to the H. of Representatives' railroad in the Japan-ROK Treaty.

They shake-danced in a route through Akasaka-mitsuke, Tranomom, Shinbashi, the National railway Labors' Hall, and finally assembled in the platform of Tokyo station where a general strike of the National railway laborers Railway was being held.

After this, they held a meeting voice objection to the forced vote for the Japan-ROK Treaty and to try to block the adoption of the treaty.

Twice on November 13, at 2:00p.m. and 6:00p.m., the So-



cialist Party and the Communist Party jointly held amess assembly consisting of 80,000 participants to voice then oppos. him students joined demonstration J-ROK Treaty and thereby to obstruct the enforcement the Lower House ratification the Treaty. After the assembly they marched the Diet in order to demonstrate to the public and to submit their petition to the Diet members.

The demonstration parades followed two courses, to Shinbashi add to the Diet. 3,000 students of Togakuren marched to the Diet and as usual staged a radical demonstration along the road their process in.

On the other hand, Zengakuren which called together 10,000 students at the Meiji Park marched along the other course leading to Shinbashi Station. No students appeared in the class

worm of Waseda and Hitotsu-bashi and Tokyo University in order to protest instructors and students joined demonstration to Togakuren, whereas 100 students to Zengakuren. They all joined together in the united demonstrations of Togakuren and Zengakuren.

At Keio, 200 students belong to Togakuren, whereas 100 students to Zengakuren. They all joined together in the united demonstrations of Togakuren and Zengakuren.

6:00 p.m. of November 20, the urgent Central Assembly to crush the J-ROK Treaty, to overthrow the Sato Cabinet, and to claim disorganization of the Diet was held by the Central Executive Committee for destruction of the J-U.S. Security Treaty at the Meiji Park.

# Guiding Ideas of Tomorrow's Japan

When the Japanese Constitution was promulgated after World War II, D. MacArthur mentioned that the U.S. desired to Japan to maintain the neutralization. But as the beginning of the Korean War and the threat of the appearance of Communist China Regime, the U.S. Government has converted its policy to make Japan as the breakwater of the Far East.

It was then realized as the Structure of Peace of San Francisco in 1951, and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty was signed in that year. Then ten years passed from that treaty, New U.S.-Japan Security Treaty was signed in 1960. On this Treaty, the serious dispute was caused in Japan (so-called Anpo Struggle). This struggle was one sprout of Japanese Nationalism which splashed as the reaction of 15 years that Japan have had blindly obeyed the U.S. And by the external elements, American spy flight (U2) to the Russian territorial air made Russia enraged and that

caused the destruction of peaceful coexistence of both US-Russia had gave the Japanese people some kind of fear about the alliance with the U.S.

Any how those, and other elements rose a disturbance of President Eisenhower coming to Japan. This event much influenced Japanese about their own security whose mind take the U.S. Forces in Japan as a matter of course. The Anpo Struggle had posed to Japanese to consider earnestly their own Nation's Security by their own mind which had never been posed before to their consciousness.

And now 5 years had passed since that struggle. Though the Treaty itself is still effective, most of the Japanese do not pay attention to this treaty and the Nation's security in spite of that former ardent struggle. They are now beginning to feel some sort of vanity crying out and thinking about Nation's life and security as the Japanese traditional proverb fits their attitude, "Kings have long arms."

Japanese-Korean Talk and it's treaty also posed the proposition which is always old but new, again. It's came again to us in the content of it's treaty which defend Japanese security by the U.S. military or by the neutralization policy. This dispute was exploited by conservative party (Liberal-Democratic) and reformist political party (Socialist Party) and had never comprehended and permeated to the general mass but only made a political issue of both parties.

Now, Japanese-Korean Treaty was ratified by the majority of Liberal-Democratic Party. The essential problem like Japanese Security was again ostracized without complete discussion and it is even beginning to be forgotten among the people. And in 1970 (the term of expiration of US-Japan Security Pact) the problem of Japanese Security will be brought about in a grand scale struggle.

As we have stated above, the Security of Japan, has always been abandoned by the parties, and the general masses have never

deliberated this issue except the position such as Anpo Struggle or J-K Talk. It had never deliberated as a daily way of thinking but only in a sphere of the term problem.

This problem must search in a way of patient, rational not in a emotional field of thinking which Japanese usually lack.

Looking back on the history of twenty years since World War 2, Japan made a hasty and epoch-making change in a word of good or bad sense. In a bad sense we can point out those things. That Japan must force to the splash of many kinds of thought such as democracy, liberalism and communism by a turning point of the Japanese defeat. In such circumstance, of course, instability of economy was other element, most of the Japanese could not afford to think about the Nation or it's direction for they were too busy thinking about their own lives.

So that the idea of democracy or liberalism had spread from the higher authorities such as G.H.Q. (the General Head Quarters) to the people and it had not penetrated to the general mass. These days, the trend of the world is dizzily changing.

From the cold war to peaceful co-existence, the rapid development of Communist China and an increase of its effect to the Afro-Asian, the burning idea of nationalism from the developing countries, the world structure is changing at a great speed. Looking at all these movement, we must urgently establish what is Japanese security and what is essential idea of it, with a cool and rational mind.

For those reasons we, the Members of the Mita Campus, have searched the future of Japan and it's security for coming 1970 structure.

First: We will look through the institution of US-Japan which is important and cannot ignore looking back on the history of twenty years.

Second: The issues of the relation between the US and Japan and that future.

Third: The history of relation between China (include communist regime and Republic of China) and Japan.

Finally: We shall investigate what is the real Japanese figure.

## Japan-U.S.: Its Past and Future

### U.S. Strategy in Far East

The Far East Policy of the United States

We can divide the change of the Far East policy of the United States.

The first stage (1947-1952). During Truman's term of office, the aim of American foreign policy was the containment of communism, and the accompanying military was called "all-out strategy."

The second stage (1953-1959). During Eisenhower's term, the aim of American foreign policy was the roll back of communism, the military strategy used to accomplish this is called "circumferential strategy."

The third stage (1960-Present). In the period spanning Eisenhower's term of office to Johnson's, the aim of American foreign policy has been peaceful coexistence and balance of power, and its military strategy is called "advance strategy and aims at containment of China."

Now, let's explain simply the individual military strategies.

**\*All-out Strategy**

Capitalist states "encircle" communist states, arrange many nuclear attacking forces on the boundaries, compose bombing forces that have been equipped with nuclear military weapons and assume wartime organization. America has the prerogative of deciding to make war or not. All-out strategy is possible only assuming that America is the only country that has the atomic bomb and can directly attack the Soviet Union, but that the Soviet Union cannot make retaliatory bombing to America.

**\*Circumferential Strategy**

America regards the Soviet Union and China as potential enemies. But America does not regard the two nations as potential enemies at the same time, that is, America regards one nation as an enemy and takes care not to fall into war with the other. America emphasizes small nuclear weapons similar to ordinary arms and recognizes limited spot war as a necessary means.

**\*Advance Strategy**

Each capitalist nation equips itself with nuclear military arms and creates self-defense by regional groups. Japan the Federal R. of Germany as countries which are contact with America considers Japan communist nations and which are in need of nuclear military arms. With the present turned of cooperation between America and the Soviet Union, the main force of American policy is directed to word the containment of China.

It has been suggested that the Korean War was a preventive war the strategy of which divided China and the Soviet Union. America attacked China under the colors of a neutral zone between the Soviet Union and China. At that period, the policy of containment of communist nations included not only an aggressive policy against the Soviet Union but also military action in other nations or areas leaning forwards communism.

In 1949, America brought into existence NATO under the pretence of common defense for armed attack against member nations and for a domestic coup d'état. But this was actually one means of achieving the containment of communism.

In the autumn of 1949, the Soviet Union announced its air force was equipped with atomic bombs. Therefore the Soviet Union could make retaliatory bombings on the U.S.; this plus the end of the Korean War, resulted in the collapse of America's all-out strategy. After the end of Korean War, due to the fact that the Soviet Union possessed nuclear military arms and the means to carry them, the U.S. and the Soviet Union ceased battling with each other, they had fought between themselves to the point of damage. America then considered the necessity of suppressing important areas in view of world strategy, and was convinced that the containment of China was necessary. Therefore America continued to create disturbances about China, blockaded the coast of China and isolated China economically, if disturbed the communistic con-

struction of China.

In January 1959, Mikoyan invited America.

In June 1959, the Soviet Union unilaterally broke off the China-Soviet Union agreement connected with a new art national defense.

In September 1959, Khrushchev declared the policy of peaceful coexistence in an American magazine.

In July 1960, the Soviet Union broke off China-Soviet Union agreement of friendship.

In 1961, during the Cuban crisis, when America declared the marine blockable for bringing missiles into Cuba the Soviet Union withdrew its attacking rockets from Cuba.

Judging from these facts the relation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union evolved into

one of peaceful coexistence and balance of power. Here, America concentrated its whole mind upon the containment of China.

But the international governing power of America, diminished the level stood in 1960.

Therefore America began to carry out the scheme of equipping Japan and the Federal R. German, countries which come in contact with communist nations, with nuclear weapons. If Japan and the Federal R. of Germany have nuclear weapons, these then constitute military threat to communist nations. The military power of these communist nations concentrated on circumferential areas and thus their military power against the U.S. is lessened.

## Security of Japan

There are three concrete forms of the security. They are (1) collective defense, (2) separate defense, and (3) neutrality.

First, concerning (2), today it is undesirable and impossible for Japan to defend itself individually, according to the provisions of the Constitution and all our experiences of the past. For example, present day Japan can produce the atomic and hydrogen bombs, but it is almost impossible to arm ourselves with nuclear weapons for defense, in consideration of economical conditions (it is said to at least 100 hundred million dollars to produce the first bomb) and home affairs.

As to (3), there are two forms of neutrality, as you know. One is the neutrality which is secured internationally by the decision of the international conference like that of Switzerland and Austria.

The other is the neutrality which one nation declares one-sidedly, as in Asian and African nations after the War. The only neutrality, which can be appropriated to a nation situated at such a strategic point of East and West relations as Japan, is the efficient one admitted by international conference like that if Switzerland and others. To attain it, first it is necessary, through national unity, to completely leave the struggle of international

politics and not to bring in international oppositions with Japan. Secondly, Powers around Japan must think it is profitable that Japan remains neutralized.

Even if Japan is neutralized under these conditions, this will not always establish her security. For, if powers judge their profit gained by the invasion of neutral nations to be larger than the damages incurred by international reproach and punishment, they will boldly aggress neutral nations. For instance, Switzerland, the neutral nation, was aggressed upon four times by France and Austria, as was Belgium in World War II. Thus it is also necessary for neutral nations to make a military defensive policy against the invaders. Switzerland has rather strong armaments, an army of the strength of 700,000, which can be mobilized in 48 hours. Would the policy of unarmed neutrality, which is partly insisted upon fit in with the reality? Next, concerning collective defense (1), the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty belongs to this category. Nowadays nuclear weapons have been added to the opposition of the East and the West. Would the most realistic and efficient way (but a little unprofitable) to Japan be to join in the collective defense?

(Continued on Page 3)



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# Japan-China in Nuclear Era

## Political Transition

After one country engages in war with an other country, these countries must conclude a treaty of peace. In the case of World War II, Japan signed the peace treaty with the Allied Powers in San Francisco on Sept. 8th 1951. However, our country has not yet concluded such a treaty with Communist China or Soviet Russia. How is it that matters came to such a state?

When we consider the problems lying between Japan and the USA, we must not do so without considering the relation between Japan and China. Therefore we look at the problems between Japan and China, primarily from a historical point of view.

After his first visit to Japan in June, 1950, Mr. Dulles, the adviser to the Secretary of State, returned to the USA. On Sept. 10th, he ordered both the Department of State and the Department of Defense to decide on a policy for the proposed peace treaty with Japan, and asked President Truman for its approval. Truman qualified Dulles as ambassador.

After repeated negotiations with interested nations such as England and China, Dulles drew up the Seven Principles of peace with Japan and in November, distributed them among the nations participating in the Far Eastern Committee, including the Soviet Union. China criticised these principles. This is how the postwar relations between China and Japan began. On Dulles' second visit to Japan in January 1951 after talking with prime minister Yoshida, he decided upon placing the U.S. forces in Japan after the peace was established.

He next visited the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand, held talks with the heads of these countries and soon returned to Washington to make the draft. Again he distributed the draft among the countries concerned; in order to make final arrangement with Japan, he finally made a third visit to this country. In June, he visited England to reach accord on the treaty. The purpose of his visit was to solve the question of which country, Communist China or the Republic of China on Taiwan should be selected

as the country participate in signing the treaty.

The British government held that, "No countries has a greater right to speak than China about taking part in the peace of treaty, as a great deal damage was done to China over an extended period of time, "and insisted that China, which is recognized by England, should participate the peace treaty. As a matter of course, China protested against being lift out of the treaty on Sept. 18th, 1951. But in spite of England's insistence, America refused due to the fact that China was the enemy at the Korean front.

If England did not agree to the Exclusion of China, it meant that three of the four countries which primarily fought with Japan, that is England, China, and the Soviet Union opposed America's stand. Since America suggested to England that the USA and England would not allow both China's to take part in the decided to Conference of Peace, after much consideration, Japan concluded a treaty with each of them separately.

Thus Japan was made to decide with which country she should conclude a treaty, and the famous "Letter From Yoshida" was born. This letter states, "The political power China is named as an aggressor by the United Nations at present... And Japan at this time agrees the U.N. "The Russia-Chinese Treaty of friendship is virtually a Military Alliance against Japan." "Considering these facts, Japan has no intention of concluding a treaty with China." As soon as contents of this letter were known, China protested, saying that the letter was only a promotion of the illegal Treaty of San Francisco." Before a year had passed, the Peace Treaty between Taiwan and Japan was concluded, April 28th, 1952.

As we look at these facts, China has always taken the consistent attitude that since the Treaty of San Francisco in which China did not take part was illegal and invalid, China was not to be recognized.

It goes without saying that the Japan-Taiwan Treaty is the greatest obstacle in re-establish-

ing Japan-China diplomatic relations, but many other problems remained unsolved. First, there is the problem of territory, including the loss of the Kurile Islands and southern Saghalien, and the problems of the trust territory of Ryukyus and the Ogasawara Islands. In fact, the problem of reparation has not really been solved.

Finally, the most important thing is that Japan and China are legally at war. From 1937 to 1945, the Japanese Army killed more than one hundred million people and damaged over fifty billion dollars worth of property. It is true that our country caused damage to China. On hearing these facts, no Japanese, no human being fails to feel deep emotion. I think every Japanese feels this responsibility. It is a problem not concerned with their personal ideologies.

Therefore the problem of reparations should be solved at once, but before it we must recognize China as a country immediately. We must not forget the fact that the whole world will probably soon recognize China. We must not forget China covers vast territory and has the world's largest population, six hundred million.

Without recognizing China as a country, Japan cannot pay any reparations, much less re-establish diplomatic relations. At the same time, there is a wish for China to refrain from Mr. Chinski, making such statements as following." The puppet of imperialism must have been driven from the U.N.

## Change in Private Trade

**1948**  
**Feb.:** The movement to reopen Japan-China trade began.

**Aug.:** The Japan-China Trade Promotion Association was organized, to promote technical co-operation by Japan-China trade and to plan both countries' industrial reconstruction and development. It encouraged goodwill between Japan and China.

**1950**  
**Dec.:** Japan-China Trade interrupted.  
Following American Government's instructions over all export embargoes China was enforced.

**1952**  
**COCOM** (the Coordinating Committee for Export Control) was established.

**CHINCOM** (the China Committee) was established—Japan joined in Nov. (The former organization was abolished and the latter was loosened in 1957.)

With the suspension of hostilities of the Korean war, the business became dull and with the lessening of international strain, the necessity for international trade expansion was recognized.

**Jun.:** The First Japan-China Private Foreign Trade Agreement was signed.

**1953**  
**Oct.:** The Second Japan-China Private Foreign Trade Agreement was signed by the Japan International

	Export for China	Import from China
1930 .....	195,644	115,631
39 .....	(average a year)	
1946 .....	3,552	3,612
47 .....	10,164	5,016
48 .....	4,090	24,828
49 .....	3,144	(- 21)
50 .....	19,632	(+ 524)
51 .....	5,828	(- 70)
52 .....	599	(- 90)
53 .....	4,539	(+ 657)
54 .....	19,097	(+ 321)
55 .....	28,232	(+ 48)
56 .....	67,344	(+ 138)
57 .....	60,485	(- 10)
58 .....	51,113	(- 15)
59 .....	3,648	(- 928)
60 .....	2,726	(- 23)
61 .....	16,639	(+ 510)

From the Finance Ministry  
The figures in brackets are amount of increase or decrease from the previous year.

Trade Promotion Committee League. In this Agreement the following things were decided upon

1) The holding of Trade Fairs.

2) To establish a Trade Representation Department in each country.

Trade Fairs were held in 1955 and 1965 in both Japan and China. But about the second item, the Japanese Government assumed a conservative attitude.

**1957**  
**May:** The Third Japan-China Private Foreign Trade Agreement was signed for a fixed period of time.

**1958**  
**Feb.:** An iron and steel Agreement covering a five year program was signed.

This demonstrated the possibility of long-time and secure trade between Japan and China.

**1960**  
**Aug.:** As terms for reopening of trade between Japan and China. China stated "the following three political rules.

1) Cessation of hostility toward China.

2) Refusal to join in any plan which had as its object the creation of

two Chinas.

3) Reforming from protest against the normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and China.

In addition, China announced "three rules of trade".

1) Agreements between the two governments.

2) Private Contracts.

3) Individual transactions.

**1962**  
**Nov.:** The member of the Liberal Democrats' and the Chinese Government signed "The memorandum to develop long-term composite trade between Japan and China" (L.T. trade).

**1964**  
**Aug.:** Chinese trade mission came to Japan.

**1965**  
**Jan.:** Japanese trade mission left for China. The office in Peking was to be the Private Trading Representation Department. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry decide to change the name of this office into "Japan Trade Encouragement of Trade with Japan" (JETRO).

**Aug.:** The fourth year's Japan-China L.T. trade agreement was signed.

## Three Approaches for China Issues

Though seventeen years have passed after the World War II, war is not finished under the present circumstance between Japan and Communist China (afterwards China means Communist China).

The basis of the relationship is as follows;

A) Economic mutual dependence

B) Moral responsibility to China

C) Political opportunity

We should think that some subjects which we face nowadays and must grapple with the future can have real meaning and that recovery of diplomatic relations can be supported by generative power the same as now.

A) Economic mutual dependence

Economic mutual dependence has been impressed by a symbol, that is, trade between China and Japan. We desire the trade between the two nations whenever we can't improve the Japanese economic conditions under dependence on America.

—Control—

Japanese rapid economic development without depending on the Chinese Government market and China fell against the Japanese market, on that ground, it was a vicious circle that the brains of Japan neglected in breaking the Japan-China relationship.

B) Moral responsibility to China

Japan owed to Chinese Government Cultural benefits for a long time as a culturally advanced nation. But Japan owes nothing to Chinese culture. Japan has a sort of moral burden toward China because of such feeling. But on important account, we feel a responsibility to China. The Japanese government does not make peace with the Chinese and enter into diplomatic relation with China.

At the worst the Japanese government does not make any effort to enter into diplomatic relations. As a Japanese we feel a guilty conscience for our war of aggression.

—Control—

a) How can we explain our war responsibility to the increasing post-war generations?

It becomes hard to explain the moral responsibility toward China to the young generations. There is a gap between the generations who know the War and who do not.

b) The nuclear armament of China

Japan, invading China, morally occupies a subordinate position to China, and at last China morally becomes higher in rank by forgiving the invader.

The leaders of China have a moral sense of their superiority.

The nuclear armament of China has a special meaning to Japan, for if the new nationalism appears in place of the old Japanese Nationalism, it is

a) the consciousness of unconditional responsibility for war,

b) the spirit of unconditional aversion for nuclear weapons,

and it is not until these two factors are adapted that the Japanese racial consciousness is shaped. But Japanese new racial consciousness is in a dilemma due to the armament of China.

On the contrary, in case of China, the moral responsibility is one of Japanese racial consciousness, therefore the breaking of the Chinese moral predominance by the nuclear armament cannot affect the Japanese racial consciousness. The influence on the peace-campaign in Japan beyond ideology is summarized in these points. And the nu-

clear armament of China reverses not only the break of Chinese Government moral predominance but also the powerful predominance between Japan and China.

C) Political Opportunity

From the view point of the political reason for the recovery of intercourse between Japan and China, this armament is a danger to the peace and security of Asia, therefore it is indispensable for peace in Asia to restore the intercourse between Japan and China. Gradually the separation of the security of Japan in Asia and the restoration of intercourse for the international peace began recently. One example occurred when the Security Treaty was improved.

Against the Security Treaty those assert that the Security Treaty will decrease the safety of Japan because it excites Russia and China. If we favor a strong Japan-China relation, we are pleased at the revival of the relationship.

In short, at the point of national security, the revival of relations between Japan and China creates a strong fear of increasing national power and military power and we increase national security by friendship between our two nations because the Japanese government regards the Chinese Government as a hypothetical enemy.

On the contrary, considering international security, regarding China as a hypothetical enemy endangers the safety and peace of the Japanese people. For we seek partners in peace in all countries, either democratic or communist, but Japanese government tries rush into peace by making efforts to change other countries. There should be a theoretical difference between national and international security.

This can be seen in the reform of the Security Treaty. On re-

forming the Security Treaty, Japan made an effort to increase the military and then the Japanese government grew self-consciousness as a military power.

Due to this, we now regard China as a military power, in effect, the military side is emphasized in Japan-China relations. From the point of view of national safety, national and international security have become differentiated and opposed because the Japanese government stressed the military, traditional military power become useless against China. In terms of national security, and Japan, inevitably, should oppose Chinese Government nuclear armament.

From the view point of international peace, all nuclear armament, not only China, should be stopped.

Traditional Japan could take in only a suitable part of Chinese culture.

On the other hand, there is a structure of colonial policy, as is often said, "Material China and industrial Japan", in the economic relations between the two countries.

Thus, it is assumed that the Japanese economy is superior to the Chinese. We necessarily think of post-war Japanese-China trade in this image of the Japan-China relationship. Because Japanese power is superior to Chinese Government, Japan was connected with China by culture, morals and economy.

Moreover the Japanese view of Asia is based on our view of China, and Japan thinks that China is weaker than Japan. Therefore our view of China since the Japan-China war was changed by Chinese Government nuclear armament. As mentioned above, this means not only that the tables are turned between Japan and China, but also that our view of China and Asia will change. Therefore it is important for us to make a decision whether we think on the basis of national security or international security.



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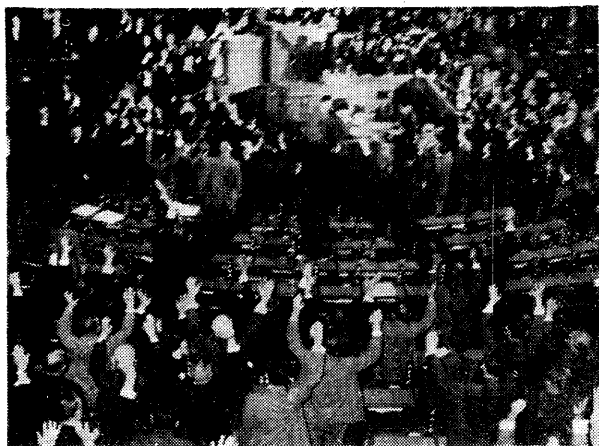
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# Japan-ROK Relation on Trial



Oct. 26 the House of Representatives of Japanese Diet held a special committee of Japan-ROK Treaty and began to discuss the problems of Japan-ROK Treaty.

Nov. 11 the Government enforced to vote the bills of Japan-ROK Treaty though the discussion of the problems was not thoroughgoing enough. It shows that how the Government was eager for succeed and also shows that the importance of the Treaty.

The Japanese, both the supporters and the opposers, raised cry for this measure of the Government.

This picture was the moment that Diet members of Liberal Democratic Party cried Banzai (Bravo) after voting the bills of Japan-ROK Treaty.

*Japan-ROK Treaty has been ratified on November 11th. New relation is beginning between Japan and Korea. Korea is lying just 200 miles beyond the Japan sea from us and the has been playing a very important roll in Japanese history. So it is our hope to renew our friendship. Still we can not ignore the problems on this treaty. Such as military purposes and economical problems.*

*We are afraid lest the treaty should create the crisis of a war again instead of a hope of world peace.*

## Economy of Korea

### Failure of Land Reform

The problem of Korean economy comes mainly from the conditions that came about under the reign of Japan before the war and under the influence of the USA after the war. There are four main problems.

First, the unbalanced development of the economy because of the Japanese policy encouraging heavy industry in the North and light one in the South. Therefore Korea lacks heavy industry which is important for the growth of Korean economy. Of course we can not ignore the scarcity of natural resources, e.g. mineral, coal and oil, in South Korea. Under such conditions, difficulties arise and there remains little hope of developing heavy industry.

Second, the lack of large enterprises organized and owned by Korean capitalists. 97.6% of the Korean enterprises employ less than 100 men and more-over 81.3% employ less than 20 men. On the other hand enterprises which employ more than 200 men are only 0.9%. Among the reasons for the absence of Korean ownership may be cited the atmosphere not inductive to such business activity under the reign of Japan and after the war under the influence of the U.S.

Thirdly, Korean Government spends a huge amount of money in military services amounting to 13.7% of the national income. You can compare with other countries, e.g. on the average 1-5%, Japan, 1.6% the US 9.8%, it can be seen how disproportionately large the Korean military budget is. Even more surprising is that Korea imports \$298 million every year but exports only \$32 million. The USA has been giving nearly \$200 million in aid every year and considering that it is on the decrease, the importance for Korea to get the \$800 million from Japan may be well imagined.

Fourthly, the continuous inflation and unbalanced states of policy. President Rhee carried out an inflationary policy in order to hasten the development of the Korean economy but having demanded too much sacrifice from his policy failed. His follower therefore under-

took a deflationary policy. It eased the harsh living conditions of the people but did not help the development of the economy. As the result, the rate of the national growth dropped to 2.3%. Now President Park has turned once again to inflationary policy but it is obvious that this will make the life of the people much worse unless Korea is given aid by other countries.

Now they are carrying out a new Five Year Plan for the improvement of the conditions of the Korean economy. The outline of the idea is as follows:

1. The percentage of the growth of the national income is to be 7.1% per year and is to increase more than 40% in five years.

2. To stress the development of the industry and the weight of the industry in the national income will become 26.1% from 18.2% that it is today.

3. Export total is to become four times as much as today (137 million dollars) but import will remain 494 million dollars. Other sectors of the economy are also designed to develop rapidly.

The above Five Year Plan, although still in its incipient stages, already seems doomed to failure because of its over-dependence on other nations' aid. Yet it can also be said that under the circumstances it is the only plan that can make Korea independent economically.

Korea is an agricultural country but its agriculture is at present in a depressed state. The greatest reasons for this slump are that the agricultural land reform ended in failure, American surplus crops are flowing into Korea, and the lastly there is a deficiency in technique.

Here we discuss the first two reasons. First of all, before the agricultural land reform, about 70% of all the rice field, 56% of all the fields in Korea were owned by a few landowners. Nearly 52% of all the farmers had no land to cultivate.

This reveals the feudalistic system of Korea.

After the Japanese surrender in 1945, there was a growing pressure to solve the problem among the farmers, due to the fact that a drastic land reform was put into practice in North Korea and the Korean landowners who had been in contact with Japanese rulers were disturbed.

In 1947, the American military administration worked out a land reform plan and placed a bill in the Legislature, but it did not succeed in passing America however pushed forward the plan. In 1949, "The Farmland Law" was promulgated.

Why is it that America took such a strong attitude? It felt it could satisfy the farmer's desire to possess land and that it could also stop the idea of revolution and also peasant movement.

The details of "The Farmland Law" are as follows:

1. The Government will distribute the purchased lands among the farmers up to three 'chobu' in area.

They must make payment in kind 150% of the average harvest for five years.

2. The Government will allow landowners to retain cemetery lands up to two 'chobu' in area.

3. The lands of such recognized social organizations and the public welfare enterprises as schools, hospitals and churches will be exemptful from this redistribution, although there landholding exceeds three 'chobu'.

The land reform was an important movement because it more or less gave tenant farmers their own lands, but there were many defects. First, in spite of the reform for the farmers, the local influential persons, as

(Continued on Page 7)

## Economic Aid to ROK

The Japan-ROK (Republic of Korea) Treaty has been ratified. Japan-ROK economic co-operation has moved on a new stage.

First, let us see the movement of Japanese economic: 1953: Korean War was over. Special procurements from U.S.A. was stopped. Japan had to make inroads into foreign markets by itself. So Japan had to recover its economy rapidly, especially industrial technique.

1956: Technical reform, equipment investment were proclaimed. But the main investments were in the chemical, the steel and the machine industry.

1958: "Nabozokokeiki" — the depression came. But investment continuously increased.

1960: "Policy of income redoubled" was carried out. But the necessary and sufficient condition of this policy was completely overturned beforehand. This policy failed too. But more and more investment increased.

1963: Strains of "Policy of high growth economy" became more and more conspicuous. They were a problem of international payments, labor (especially a shortage of young laborers), productive industry, over-production and so on. To cope with this, "Policy of middle-of-the-way economy" was carried out. This policy was to increase G.N.P. from 19,700 billion yen to 29,200 billion yen in the five years beginning with 1963. And it was to restrain consumers' prices till 2.5%.

1965: But at present, consumers' prices have already increased more than 2.5%. So this policy has already become an unrealistic one. On the other hand, in the past few years the numbers of bankruptcies have been increasing. A large sized budget that includes the national debt would be planned. But inflation would become more and more violently.

At this time, the J-ROK Treaty was ratified. Japanese capitalists thought of the employment of cheap Korean Labour, plans of expansion and forcing sales, that is, to sale overproduced materials.

The J-ROK economic co-operation worked smoothly from the time of the Park Administration power. The Japanese Government considered the feelings of Korean for Japanese. And it took the form of tax-free manufacturing. In the past few years, however, this co-operation has changed in the following ways: Tax-free manufacturing, Technical co-operation, Export of producers' and consumers' goods by a Loans Direct investment into the real intention which is the making of inroads into the foreign market with monopolistic capital.

Then in what direction would the J-ROK economic co-operation move from now on? It would move on the direction of Japanese economy's aggression for Korean economy. On April 22, the joint statement concerning economic co-operation was increased the following:

1. We try co-operation between the two nations' labour force, technical co-operation, promotion of tax-free manufacturing in intensive industry.

2. We promote interchanged of a private capital and try magnification of trade. We combine with Japanese technique and capital and the abundant Korean labour supply and develop foreign markets.

3. We develop Korean manufacturing trade, agriculture, livestock, mining industries and so on. We try development of foreign markets.

Three basic direction seen in this statement: First points; The building up of heavy industry which the Korean economy needs and achieve self-reliance is denied.

Second points; Japanese will hold to change Korean industry into international sub-contracts' factory of Japan.

Third points; Development of the primary industry is emphasized.

Then in what points would the J-ROK economic co-operation grapple with? It would grapple with the point of manufacturing trade. This oppresses Koreans small and medium-size enterprises.

Thus, tax-free manufacturing would become one of the Japanese magnification of markets.

As a result of these things, a part of Korean capitalists might be prospered. But Korean small and mediumsize enterprises would bring labours' own oppression. And Japanese advance make distorted Korean economy more and more distort.

When the situation moves in this direction, the independence of the Korean economy would be disturbed. And then it would take the character of the Japanese labourer, which would be followed by the outbreak of racialism in the ROK.

The fishery problem between Japan and ROK is immediately the Japanese fishery's own one.

The problem of fishery on a small-scaled indeed of all fishery is organizations. The government presented the policy of improvement for the Japanese fishery.

This policy which develops the operation of enterprises causes the small-scaled fishery family to leave their own business—enter the pay roll of the large company.

The problem points causes from the subordination of Japan to the U.S.A.

The subordination of Japan to the U.S.A.

a) Narrowed fishing ground Japan has only the fishing-ground of Kamchatka, East China, and Korea by the Japan-U.S.-Canada Fishery Treaty (1952). Thus America canceled the MacArthur Line and permitted the Japan free fishing up to the Korean waters.

b) Japanese fishery monopoly Introduction of U.S. capital, technical co-operation & joint undertakings with large U.S. fishery enterprises.

Being predominant over Japan in fishery, America attempts to reform this country's fishery centering around the monopoly enterprises and to cause Japan to advance to Asian fishery ground without American direct control. The conclusion of the Japan-U.S.-Canada Fishery Treaty and

the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the cancellation of MacArthur Line and the proposal of the opening of Japan-ROK talks show how the U.S. is trying to exploit Japanese fishery.

Rhea-Line

The president of ROK, Rhea declared the "Peace Line" in 1952 after the abolition of the MacArthur Line. Prevention of communist's invasion and preservation of marine products against Japanese exploitation were the reason.

America are first turned the anti-Japan policy of the Rhea government to her advantage in order to invade Korea as a dominator and to weaken the power of capitalism in Japan. The line, however, has become an inconsistency with the necessity to form the anti-communist co-operation league.

The number of Japanese captured ships was 229 and the amount of the loss was 7,000 million yen. The damage to be realized at the conclusion of the treaty is estimated to be 70,000 ton, or 2,800 million yen. The amount of catch in the fishery ground most affected by the or 12,800 million yen in 1964. Under the treaty the sort of fishing about the Isl. Saishu is limited in amount to 110 thousand ton and the number of ships to 120. Of course the fishing ground where the Japanese ships have been fishing will be cut 60-70%. Japanese fishery must pay too high a price in return

for the safety while fishing.

The competition resulting from limiting of fishing bound will tend to intensify more and more, and it is inevitable that the number of the ships will be cut strict licensing will be required.

Financial co-operation

Japanese financial co-operation for Korea is \$120 million. Although at a glance, no connection with the government fund seems to exist, private companies are constantly seeking government aid in secret.

Influence to Japan

Small-scaled fishing will be put under the economic pressure of the fishing ground and market. And Korean cheap labor power will change Japanese fishing laborer's labor condition for the worse and make their wages lower.

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# Tragedy of Division

Today, it is well-known that there are two countries in the Korean peninsula divided by the 38° NL border line. One is Republic of Korea and the other is Democratic People's Republic of Korea. But those two countries were the only one in 1945.

After the end of the World War II in 1945, Korea was emancipated from the long control of Japan. The U.S. and the USSR Army marched in Korea bordering on 38° NL line. This line was drawn by the U.S. Army, for convenience only.

The U.S. Army advanced in south Korea and established a military government while the USSR Army advanced in north Korea and established the council of Peoples Commission (the Left).

The U.S., the U.K., and the USSR held the Meet at Summit level in Moscow, in 1945. The big three powers talked together about the Korean problems. They passed a resolution: the U.S., the U.K., the USSR and China should establish trusteeship for five years in Korea and make an independent state when the trusteeship is over and make a provisional government under the trusteeship.

The U.S. and the USSR held the Joint Committee meetings two times from 1946 to 1947 to talk about the Korean provisional government. In this meeting the USSR insisted that the party to attend the provisional government must support Moscow's determination that is, the plan of trusteeship.

On the other hand, the U.S. opposed to this because such a measure of the USSR was against freedom of speech. In the interior of Korea at that time the Right and Left Party intended to make an independent government, so the people in Korea opposed to the plan of trusteeship by the U.S., the U.K., the USSR and China.

The struggle for power between the Right and the Left Party was more violent and the Left Party supported the plan of trusteeship, so the Right opposed to the plan of trusteeship. Therefore the USSR wanted to eliminate the undesirable factors of the Right. In this way the Joint Committee by the U.S. and the USSR broke up.

We should not try to understand the confrontation between

the U.S. and the USSR from the viewpoint of Korean treatment but should grasp it in terms of the cold war, what we call, the confrontation between the U.S. and the USSR which was growing more and more intense.

The collapse of the Joint Committee of the U.S. and the USSR did not bring Korea a unity government.

The U.S. gave up direct talks with the USSR and tried to solve the Korean Problems through the United Nations. The U.S. demanded to consider the Korean Problem in the U.N.

On the contrary the USSR offered the following conditions. The U.N. should make the Koreans take part in the consideration of the Korean Problems and the U.S. Army and the USSR Army should withdraw from Korea by the beginning of 1948. The U.S. and the USSR should put the Korean matters in Koreans' hands. The USSR expressed the opposition to the consideration of Korean Problems and the U.S. Army and the USSR Army should withdraw from Korea the beginning of 1948. The U.S. and the USSR should put the Korean matters in Koreans' hands.

The USSR expressed the opposition to the consideration of Korean Problems by the U.N. If the U.N. did not comply with those conditions. But the U.N. General Assembly dared consider the Korean Problems. The U.N. paid no heed to the proposal of the USSR. The U.N. General Assembly decided to make nation wide election in Korea under the observation of the U.N. and according to the above resolution the U.N. established the U.N. Korean Committee, in 1947.

In May 1948, the U.N. put into practice the whole election in South Korea under martial law. North Korea refused the action of the U.N. there. In 1948 Republic of Korea was established in South Korea, while in the North Korea Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea was established in the same year. Hereupon the division of Korea became decisive.

The U.N. General Assembly designated ROK the only legitimate government of Korea. The USSR Army ended the withdrawal from North Korea in

1948. While the U.S. Army withdraw from South Korea by 1949.

In this way, after the emancipation from Japan, Korea was divided into two parts by the U.S. Army and the USSR Army. But at first the U.S. and the USSR tried to unify Korea by direct talks but in vain. After the U.S. tried to unify through the U.N. but failed. The U.N. endeavored to unify Korea and like India, a neutral took part in the Korea Committee, but afterwards the U.S. chose the countries to compose the Korea Committee. This invited the suspicion of the USSR.

But it was clear that the unity of Korea could not occur without the mutual agreement of the U.S. and the USSR. But at that time the cold war between the U.S. and the USSR was growing more intense. In such a situation, it was impossible to attain unity in Korea.

We can see that the U.S. made use of the U.N. for the U.S. needs to maintain its East-Asia policy by blaming the USSR. While the USSR made North



Self-Defence Forces, inspite of doubt of the nation, have developing year by year.

Korea Soviet Sattelite militarily by 1948 and did not plan on losing of this country. In other words the big two powers the U.S. and the USSR wanted to secure the South and North Korea because they were the important places for their military policies.

The division of the South and North entered the critical stage

with the outbreak of the Korean War and became more decisive. Korea had a little industry and agriculture.

We can find in the world three divided states, Germany, Viet Nam and Korea. Above all, the unity of the South and North Korea seems to us more tragic than Germany and Viet Nam. Why? Korea is too poor. North Korea had advanced industry but no agriculture while South and Korea in the Koreans' hands.

Army advanced beyond the 38°N Line on the grounds of UN Resolution 376 (V) which was passed at the Fifth General Meeting on October 7, 1950. This Resolution 376 (V) reaffirmed Resolt. 195 (III) and suggested that the American Army "should have the whole of Korea stabilized." In brief, the Fundamental Agreements of the Japan-ROK Treaty acknowledge the ROK Government according to the UN Resolution, and swear to co-operate with each other intimately, which in reality means to take military action.

What then does "to take the military action" mean? It means to dispatch the Japanese self-defense forces (Jieitai). Mr. Haruo Okada, Socialist, pointed out the Three Arrow Plan in the Japanese Diet, this plan explains such a case. After the Korean War, American President Eisenhower worked out "New Look" military Program. When the Soviet Union succeeded in making ICBM's in 1957, the "New Look" military Program lost its effect. Secretary of the Defense, R. S. McNamara has worked out" the multiple options approach."

This approach consists of three parts. The first is the re-training plan of total war, the method of which is the use of the air force, and enemy is nuclear missiles; the potential enemy is the Soviet Union. The second opinion is settlement on the spot; the method is use of the air force, and enemy is Eastern Europe, the Arabic area, Red China, or North Korea. The third opinion is the "Special Plan," whose method of implementation is guerrilla tactics; the potential enemy in this case is North Vietnam, Laos, Cuba or other under-developed countries. "The Three Arrows Plan" was the result of research on ways to co-operate with these three ways of the American "multiple options approach." On addition, this "Three Arrows Plan" includes research on martial law, superintendence of the Diet, dispatching of the Self-defense Army, and even the law of national mobilization.

In the Japanese Diet, Prime Minister Eisaku Sato said, "The Japan-ROK Treaty is not one of military aims." But, as mentioned above, through the connection among the containment Policy of Red China, the Vietnam War, the dispatch of South Korean troops, the S. Korean-Taiwan Treaty of friendship, military present in Japan (including Okinawa) and "The Three Arrows Plan," we cannot deny the possibility of military infractions occurring between Japan and S. Korea. The fact that Japan took a positive step towards military co-operation with the US, namely, concluding the Japan-ROK Treaty, has the same meaning, as the conclusion of a new J-US Security Treaty five years early. The Security Treaty means mutual defense and economic cooperation between Japan and the US under the direction of the US and mutual defense and economic co-operation between Japan and South Korea, also under the direction of the US.

## Treaty, Its Menace

When discussing Japan-Korea relations, we must first look at the world situation. Today, Kosygin and Bresnev of the Soviet Union declare they will follow in Khrushchev's footsteps, a policy of "peaceful co-existence." We must regard this as a sign that America's enemy has changed from the Soviet Union to Red China. In 1951, when the Korean War broke out, American President Harry Truman dismissed General MacArthur because America was afraid of the Soviet Union's intervention, but not of a head-on collision with Red China. However the U.S. seems now to contemplate a confrontation with Red China. "The containment policy of Red China" shows this background clearly. On September 2, 1947 the Rio Treaty was concluded between the U.S. and South American countries; following this was U.S.-Philippine mutual assistance part in 1951, the ANZUS Treaty in 1951, the Japan-US Security Treaty in 1959, the US-Korean mutual assistance part in 1953, South East Asian Treaties in 1954, US-Republic of China in 1954, CENTO in 1955, and the New Japan-US Security Treaty in 1960. Through them, Pakistan, the Philippines, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan etc. have been tied to the US.

In 1954, the US representative, John Foster Dulles suggested the South East Asian Treaty Organization at the Geneva Conference, and it was established after the Indo-Chinese War. But today, SEATO is confronted with a great crisis as Pakistan and France find fault with this organization and in fact, it has almost broken down. The US needs a new organization in a hurry to take its place. Then, we can easily look over the possibility of organizing NEATO (North East Asian Treaties Organization), among the U.S. These Asian countries are all tied to the U.S. by U.S.-Korean mutual assistance part, U.S.-Republic of China part, Security Treaty each.

Article 7 of the New Japan-US Treaty reads as follows: "This treaty shall not affect any responsibility to the United Nations." Namely, a provision of the UN Charter would hold preference over and one of the Japan-US Security Treaty. Moreover, the official document regarding the enforcement of Article 6 of the Security Treaty states that, if the American Army in Japan takes military action, the US must inform Japan before the action occurs. But when the American Army acts as an agent of the United Nations, it need not comply with this agreement in the treaty.

On March, 17, 1965, the GHQ of the United Nation returned the right of aerial domain to South Korea. In this case, the UN acknowledged South Korea (Republic of Korea) as the only legal Korean Government, the sphere of aerial domain including that of North Korea. South Korea was released from "the Armistice Agreement" of the Korean War, and may invade the North at will; the United Nations need not then be responsible for the South's act, as the UN commands nothing. We must take Article 5 into much consideration. It states as follows: "Each treaty power will acknowledge that armed attack directed against either treaty power will endanger the peace and safety of each power, and will act to cope with this common crisis according to each constitution."

Considering these conditions, we can set up a situation. South Korea invades the North. The North attacks the South. The American Army advances into Korea from Japan as the UN Army. The North may attack the American Base in Japan. And the right of self-defense can put in motion naturally. Thus, Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, which denies the right of belligerency of the state, will be broken. These are the dangers brought by the relationships of the UN, the Security Treaty and Japan, and since the Security Treaty Struggle in 1960, we have been given warning of these dangers repeatedly.

The situation has freether developed with the Japan-ROK Treaty which was ratified this November. The Fundamental Agreement of Japan-ROK Treaty states as follows: "We acknowledge that it is important for the two countries to co-operate intimately according to the UN Charter, and recollect the relative prescriptions of the peace treaty which was signed in San Francisco on Sept. 8, 1951 and the UN Resolution 195 (III) which was passed on December 12 1948..."

In Korean War, the American

## Doubt in Korean War

When we try to comprehend the character and the essence of the Korean War, we must inevitable seek to understand the Far Eastern policy of the United States. That is because the Korean War was an international one produced by the ideological conflict between the camps of the East and the West.

At the end of and after World War II the Far Eastern policy of the United States laid its priority on China. To the United States World War II itself meant the overthrow of the rival imperialist Japan and the monopolistic control over the Chinese market.

The intensification of the diplomatic antagonism from 1946 led to what is called the cold war. The United States supported Chiang Kai-shek and the Koumintang (the Nationalist Party of China) as an anti-Soviet force and endeavored to raise the position of people's Republic of China was established, so that the Far Eastern policy of the United States of the upbringing and the consolidation of the pro-American National Government of China got out of shape. And Japan, in place of China, was placed in a position of importance as a prop and stay of the United

States' system in Asia, together with Lee Sun Man's South Korea and Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa.

In the tense situation of the cold war, before dawn on June 25, 1950, the war broke out near the lat. 38°N line. On June 26, the United States declared its support to the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and on June 27 ordered its Navy and the Air Force to Korea. On June 28, the United States demanded an emergency convocation of the United Nations Security Council, which resolved that the Korean People's Army (the North Korean Army) should evacuate the area up to the lat. 38°N line. And the Council decided to put an aims restraint on North Korea which was regarded as an aggressor. The Soviet Union, in January, had instituted a boycott, protesting the disapproval of Red China's entrance to the United Nations, so did not participated in the Security Council meeting. On July 5, Douglas MacArthur was nominated the Supreme Commander for the United Nations forces. Thus the United States war able to dispatch troops to the intervention war in the Korea Peninsula under the flag of and under the most favorable auspices of the United Nations forces.

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# To Establish Peace in Asia

**Thus, we have now attached that both Korea and Japan are in a sad situation. Then, can't we do anything, but only to belong to the banner of the U.S.? We cannot keep maintaining status-quo?**

**The way to take can be found in the following way. It is to be independent of the U.S. We must make up our minds to take a neutral attitude for the sake of Japan, ourselves; the purposes of the independence are to be free from the menace of the war, brought by the U.N. Charter, Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the newly ratified Japan-ROK Treaty, and to offer our aids to Korea in order to strengthen the ties of the real friendship between Japan and Korea.**

We noted that Japan and Korean relations are established by not only these two countries, but also the by the U.S. A breakdown of Korean agriculture took place because the American surplus farm produce inflow to South Korea competed with domestic agricultural products; the national movement to establish their own independent economy was paralyzed. Korean unbalanced finance is caused by reckoning on the counterpart funds of the American surplus farm produce. Most of the budget is used as a military fund. The unbalanced system of Korean industry, which excessively produces consumer goods increases the unemployed. These persons have no choice but to become soldiers.

S. Korea has become tragic under this circumstance. In

brief, American aid impedes Korean independent, domestic development, and compels S. Korea to be militaristic. Before August, S. Korean students published a slogan "Against J-ROK Treaty". After August 16, both Governments concluded the treaty, the slogan changed to "Against Park, Against American Imperialism." This change explains the situation eloquently. Each example mentioned above shows that the J-ROK Treaty neither promotes amiable relations between our two countries, nor does the U.S. intend to. Also the American enemy is neither S. Korea, nor Japan, but Red China.

On April 17, 1963, Assistant Secretary of Defense, Gill Patrician made a secret speech at Overseas Writers Club in Washington. His speech went as follows; "Washington definitely

expects Japan to have a perfect self-defense power—not attacking power—in order to defend, perhaps, a part of Korean Peninsula in the near future. If Japan has, the Korean need not depend on the reinforcement of American troops when a confrontation happens again in Korea."

The U.S. is now confronted with a dollar crisis. We have already pointed out that the U.S. falls into trouble to help S. Korean finance. The failure of the "five-year plan" show this well. And the organizing NEATO means Japan's transfer of aid to S. Korea.

## Doubt in UN

The newly concluded J-ROK Treaty claims to observe the United Nations. However, the

U.N. is not always fair to both Korea. When the U.N. was started in 1945, it was aimed at facism; and U.N. meant Union of victorious powers. But years passed, and it lost the former purpose. The U.S. regards communism as facism, and intends to change the U.N.'s aim.

In 1947, in the collision between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the Soviet representative Andrei Gromyko insisted that the Korean problem should be left to Korean people, but the U.S. would not listen. The chairman of the U.N. is selected from middle or small countries so that the big countries' interests may not disturb the U.N.'s essential work. However, American troops have been appointed to be the U.N. Forces though it was obvious that the U.S. can take much advantage of the situation. We cannot help doubting the ideals of the U.N., looking through these affairs.

Even though any idealistic system may exist, can it have a right to determine Korean problem, ignoring the Korean people? How can it organize a Korean Committee without any Korean representatives? How can it conclude the North is the aggressor, not listen to any explanation from the Ko-

rean people?

Respect for large countries may have a meaning at any rate. But it goes without saying that we must not make too much of large countries' interest, and ignore small countries. It is a serious affair that the U.N. becomes weaker and the middle and small countries are losing their interest and reliance in the U.N.

## J-K in Future

Then, what shall we do as an Asian country? Let us think about Korea, at first. We have already mentioned that Korean economics is not free because of subordination to the U.S. So long as Korea depends upon the U.S. she cannot escape from this situation. The fundamental line of national independence should be established and economic policy should be founded on it.

It is important to cut down the military expenditure. This is very important. Korea must be independent of the U.S., which wants to keep her as the front of the containment policy of communism (especially Red China). It is not easy for Korea to do this. But if she wants to establish her own sound finance, there is no way but to be a buffer state. However, in fact Korean finance cannot go well by herself without any foreign aid. Therefore if she refuses American aid at

once, many people will be on the verge of starvation.

Meanwhile, Japan can offer some aid to Korea. If the J-ROK Treaty is characteristic of transfer of American aid, though Korea will be depend upon the U.S., there will be no significance.

Well, we cannot discuss these affairs at the point of the third person. We, Japanese are tied by the Security Treaty, J-ROK Treaty and the U.N. Charter; when a collision happens in Korea again, Japanese troops must be dispatched.

Today, the crisis of the cold war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union is gone. What we must look at now is the crisis of "Sino-American War." This war has a possibility to become World War III. We must prevent it at any means. Security Treaty, J-ROK Treaty, the U.N. Charter, these chains of treaties make Japanese connected to the U.S. and when World War III occurs, Japan must play a part which will intensify the war. We must take this into consideration.

Red China has long been a similar country to us. Character, philosophy, religion, customs and many other things were brought from China (Not Taiwan). Therefore, whatever the U.S. says, we do not feel the Chinese menace so greatly, but feel intimacy somewhat. As China exists in the minds of the Japanese. But, however intimate Red China may be for the Japanese, it is not desirable for the J-Korean relations to join the banner of Red China either. We depend on the banner of the U.S. in order to prevent World War III, and there is no significance to belong to the banner of Red China.

We must, therefore, make up our minds to take a neutral attitude for the sake of Japan, ourselves, independent of the U.S. We will recollect again that we are a member of the Asian Group, and that we are responsible for the Asian friendships and peace... and World peace, but neither Red China nor the U.S. When we actualize this idea, Japan can contribute economic aid to Korea, and the J-Korean relations will become really friendly.

(Continued from Page 5)

dominating as before, composed the Farmland Committee. The committee and the mayors managed to retain their former land holdings. Second, farms were disguised as cemetery land, or were incorporated into school foundations.

Third, repayment as described by the Law—150% of the average harvest for five years—was a heavy burden for the tenant farmers, for 30% of the average harvest equals the net income to the small farmers.

Thus, these poor peasants gradually became unable to pay off their debt for the newly acquired land.

Afterwards some people resold their land secretly and again fell into the position of tenants or the hired farm worker.

The second great cause of the present nonproductive state of Korean agriculture is the problem of American surplus crops. Since 1955, America has been supporting Korea by her surplus crops. About 80% of the price of crops is appropriated for the Korean military budget. By the extreme introduction, the price of the farm products in Korea is kept low and domestic agricultural products are stagnant. Judging from the point of view of the short-term policy, it may be beneficial, but from a different standpoint it is harmful.

## Students Express Opinions on Treaty

**Kaoru Yamazaki, Senior**

**(Chairman of S)**



K. Yamazaki

The voting on the J-ROK Treaty has been completed, ignoring the rules of the democracy. This made us quite doubtful about the treaty itself. This ignorance of the customs of the Congress as well as the lack of discussion means the destruction of the parliamentarism. We cannot allow this breaking of the rules and the Liberal Democratic Party who has done this thing.

The treaty will be ratified soon but this is not only a treaty be-

tween Japan and Korea but has great importance in Japanese foreign policy.

This treaty will increase the possibility of a war in South-East Asia. SEATO which is made according to the American containment policy, has failed. So, the US is trying to make a new one, NEATO, including Taiwan, Japan, Korea, and the U.S. The J-ROK Treaty was needed for that.

This fact shows that Japanese foreign policy is entirely subordinated to the U.S., which means against China. We know already the relations between Japan and China are getting cold but this treaty will make the condition worse. We think

that we should strengthen the friendship between China and Japan. But the J-ROK Treaty works against our hope.

The fact that Japan concluded the treaty only with South Korea destroyed the hope of uniting the South and North. Moreover, Japanese Self-Defense Forces are making a plan called "The Three Arrows Plan" preparing for the Korean War II.

Japan is going to give about 800 million dollars. But considering that, the US has already given 12,000 million dollars. We doubt whether it will help the Korean economy or not. There are more doubtful points about J-ROK Treaty. We are afraid that the treaty will force Japan to take part in the cold war and make it impossible for her to live a peaceful life.

This is found in the conclusion of the Peace Treaty in 1952 and if the new J-US Security Treaty in 1960. The J-ROK Treaty was drawn up as one of the steps of this program.

But, the Sato Cabinet drastically voted in "the will of the J-ROK Treaty" in the House of Representatives on Nov. 12, ignoring the doubt and contrary opinions of the people. Another disgraceful matter was added to prewar history on this day. By this drastic division vote, the J-ROK Treaty became ratified spontaneously without the consideration of the House of Councillors. Although a few disturbances may take place both in and out of the Diet, the Sato Cabinet will achieve the prewar reactionary program goals gradually. Hereafter this program will aim at a "determined revision of the Constitution," that is, making it have no authority with itself; "raising the Self-Defense Forces to the status of a ministry," "the revision of the minor electorate system" etc. will be presented one after another while we remain unconscious of them.

In order to prevent the accomplishment of these programs, we, of the young generation should support "peace and democracy." To perform it, we must play a part of the national movement, I believe.

**Hiroshi Nakamura, Senior**

**(Chairman of Political SG)**

A few weeks ago, the Liberal Democratic Party divided "the bill of J-ROK Treaty" drastically at the House of representatives. It is not an important problem whether the bill will be discussed sufficient or not. We must look at the point for the Liberal Democratic Party ignored parliamentarism. They seemed to think, "Journalists may protest against our action. However, they will surely criticize not only us, but Socialist Party."

Meanwhile, the Government gave a General meeting of the chiefs public prosecutor of a local court; Govern't suggested, at the meeting taking a firm measures to maintain the public peace; watch and arrest demonstrations; Govern't forbade the political movement of public officials, and prevented a series of protest against J-ROK Treaty like this way. Besides, they intended the dispatch of Self-Defense Force. The dangerous affairs took place that the S-D Force tried maneuvers actually, supposing the street as the neighborhood of the Diet. Thus, Government grappled with the Treaty under the firm resolution that they must suppress those who are against Government under any circumstance; that is, they grappled with the treaty exercising their all state authority.

However, Socialist Party was satisfied with his success of former elections at the House of Councillors and the Assembly of Tokyo. They wanted to give their image "the party of conscience" to the people, to win the next election again. S. Party tried to defeat the L. D. Party, but journalism did not change the attitude as "Both parties share equally blame for the quarrel." Moreover, they were quite at a loss what to do before the Government's coercive attitude with their state authority. It was all in vain to cry "Let us keep parliamentarism," and "dissolution of House of representatives."

The L. D. Party grappled

with this problem under such a firm resolution because of depression of today. If they do not ratify the treaty soon, the disturbing Korean authority, Paku Administrative Power are full of danger. Meanwhile, Government wants to get Korean labor force which is cheaper and abundant. Adding to above all, the Government intends to make up their L.D. system steadfast at the depression. Today's depression will become more serious extensively, and they must get over the situation, suppressing lives of mass-proletariat. However, the Government has not a power enough to suppress labourers' strike and anti-Government of the people. How about the result of former election of the House of Councillors and the Assembly of Tokyo? There is no doubt that, if the L.D. Party made concessions at this problem, they have been defeated by the Socialist Party. After all, the deliberation of J-ROK Treaty was discussed by the L.D. Party one-sidedly.

Minister of autonomy, Nagayama suggested important problems which will control Japanese history, that is, "raising Self Defense Force to be status of ministry," "the problem of the minor electorate system." Besides, from November prices have risen seriously, for instance, a freight tariff of both National Railways and private lines, sick insurance, postal charge, the price of rice, the price of wire and telegram.

These drastic pricehike are going to be performed with a unilateral structure which the L.D. Party obtained at the deliberation of the Treaty for a background. This large-scaled depression makes not only labourers' movement begin to change, but also political order, praised as being stabilized after the J-US Security Treaty begin to be stirred.

We are now standing at the point to fight to the last in order to maintain a true democracy as a member of the nation.

**Naohito Ohkuma, Junior**

**(Editor of the Keio Press)**



N. Ohkuma

Recently, to my shock, people have been discussing whether the year 1965 means the hundredth year of the Meiji Period or the twentieth year after World War II. I would like to regard these twenty years as the negation of autocracy and war in a negative way and the history of "peace and democracy" in a positive way.

Our young generation have looked upon these things as "boring and hackneyed" and have consciously avoided letting them take in their root to their own lives. Under such circumstances, they are in danger of devoting themselves to "men of thought" who deny the value of these twenty years.

The prewar intellectuals place the starting point at "August 15th" (the day of the war's end of 1945), and make up their own ideas and recompile history. In re-compiling, they are lucky because there have been many experiences in both the reality and the general idea behind many mass-struggle—especial-

ly, "the Anpo Struggle" (the struggle against J-US Security Treaty in 1960.)

Meanwhile, most of our generation knows neither "August 15th", nor "the Anpo Struggle." We have, so to speak, no experience of history, nor have we any starting point of history.

How excited Mr. K. Ohe, the famous writer, was to learn the Constitution at school when the War was over. We have not had a vivid experience such as this in adopting "democracy" as our principle way of life.

Yet, after all, our generation, too will have to deny the prewarautocracy and the history of war make a new history, observing "peace and democracy," and will have to make this a reality. In fact, we still have the possibility of being sensitive to "Image of an Ideal Citizen," "the detrimental revision of the Constitution," "Vietnam War," "J-ROK Treaty." It goes without saying that this sense should be promoted more in both reality and principle.

Prewar history meant "the independence of Japanese monopolized capital" from the economical viewpoint; from the political viewpoint, "the progress of reactionary system is quite opposite to prewar history."

# Viet-Nam is Explosion of Contradiction in

The conflict in Vietnam has become greater contrary to our hopes. All the world watches Vietnam with anxiety for Vietnam is a possible point of origin for World War III.

Often heard are the following arguments; Communist China and North Vietnam are invading South Vietnam, so South Vietnam must be protected from these aggressors.

We, the members of the Mita Campus, consider this problem from following viewpoints.

1. The history of Vietnam

Before the year of 1954, Vietnam was under the French rule. After the battle of Dien Bien Phu and the Geneva Agreement, the U.S. took over the rule of South Vietnam.

2. The essence of National Liberating Front "Viet Cong"

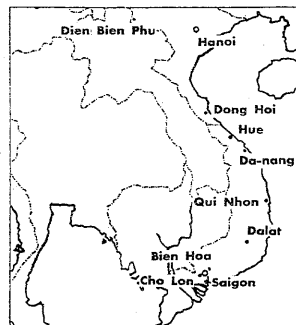
In the "Viet Cong" communist? Is South Vietnam overrun by communism?

3. The economy in North and South Vietnam

What is the standard of living in Vietnam? What kind of aid is being given by the U.S. and the communist countries.

4. World Politics surrounding Vietnam military affairs.

What is the U.S. standpoint to communism? What is the actual function of the United Nations?



## 1. THE COLONIAL FRANCE'S RULE IN INDO-CHINA

France divided and ruled Indo-China: Cochinchina direct control colony in the South, Annam Empire in the Middle, Tongking protected area. Laos and Cambodia were left empires and a border line in Indo-China was delimited artificially. France exploited the colony with the colonial policy of divide and rule, an ignorant-people policy and a treat-Chinese-merchant-favorably policy and made a cat's-paw of the pro-French elements in the upper classes to cultivate lower and middle grade government officials for the purpose of much easier exploitation.

As Indo-China was modernized as the French colony, the independence movements were promoted and after World War I, Viet-Namense formed the Viet-Nam Nationalist Party on the foundation of "the principle of self-determination of peoples."

## 2. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In September, 1940, the Japanese Army was stationed in Tongking, with which the Viet-Nam Nationalist Party cooperated. Over against this the Indo-China Communist Party organized at Hong Kong in 1930 directed an underground movement on the platform of "Anti-Japanese and Independence" formed "Viet-Nam Independence Alliance" under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh in May, 1941.

In August 1945, upon Japan's defeat in World War II, the French puppet Annam Imperial Government of the pro-Japanese Emperor Bao Dai was downed and Ho Chi Minh declared the independence of the Viet-Nam Democratic Republic on September 2nd. But in place of imperialist Japan, imperialist France began to invade Indo-China again.

France had recognized the Viet-Nam Democratic Republic as one independent states of the French-Indo-China Commonwealth of Nations. In December 1946, when the French Army entered into Hanoi, the capital of the Viet-Nam Democratic Republic, an all-out resistance war was declared toward France and the Indo-China War I called "la sale guerre" was broken out.

In February 1950 the United States recognized the Bao Dai Government and in May gave military support to French Army to begin to intervene Indo-China. But it could not influence the progress of the War decisively. In May 1954, the French strong-

## France and U.S. in Viet-Nam

hold at Dien Bien Phu was fallen after the 57-day-long violent fight and the War ended.

### 3. THE GENEVA EASE-FIRE CONFERENCE

The Geneva International Conference on the recovery of the Indo-China's peace was held from on April 26 to on July 21, 1954, and nine countries took part in; the United States, England, France, China, South and North Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. As for Viet-Nam, the conference decided the cessation of hostilities, the provisional partition into the South and the North by the 17 degree north latitude, the prohibition of the introduction into Viet-Nam of any kind of military reinforcement and of the conclusion of the military treaty with any foreign country and the enforcement of the South-North unity election in 1956, two years after the Conference. And the International Control Commission (ICC) was established. The members of the Commission were India, Canada and Poland.

The Geneva Conference aimed for the purpose of neutralization of Indo-China and guaranteed sovereignty, independence, unity and respect of territorial integrity.

The United States thought the neutralization would lead Indo-China to Communist nations. The United States attended the Conference but did not take an active interest in it. The State Secretary John Foster Dulles, the chief representative of the United States, boycotted the Conference to return home a week after the opening and entrusted it to the State Undersecretary Walter Bedell Smith. In the long run, the United States did not signed the final declaration of the Geneva Conference together with South Viet-Nam and on 21 the representative Smith made an independent declaration that the United States would pay deep regard to the Agreement. President Eisenhower also made official comment. "The United States is not the country concerning with the Geneva Agreement and is not restricted by its decision. But we hope peace will be brought by this Agreement into Indo-China."

On the other hand, North Viet-Nam welcomed the Agreement and Ho Chi Minh described determination. "From today we must exert every possible effort to secure peace and to attain unity and independence to enforce democracy all over Viet-Nam."

But Viet-Namense who formed the national consciousness was wholly deceived in their estimation and expectation for the Geneva Agreement. Because the United States organized the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) as an anti-Communist military alliance in Asia in Manila on September 8, less than two months after the conclusion of the Geneva Agreement. Participating nations were eight; the United States, England, France, the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Australia and

New Zealand. The Treaty included Indo-Chinese three nations in its applied area.

Such an intention of the United States, the enclose-communist-nations policy gave mental pressure on the subsequent South-eastern Asia situations, especially on communist nations. At present, however, the SEATO has become a mere scrap of paper.

### 4. THE NEO-COLONIALIST UNITED STATES AGGRESSION ON VIET-NAM

The 20th of July 1955, one year after the conclusion of the Geneva Agreement, was the day when South and North Viet-Nam had to commence a consultation to prepare the unity election. But South Viet-Nam refused to accept the proposal of the Preparation Committee of Unity Election in North Viet-Nam. The reason as follows: "South Viet-Nam did not signed the Geneva Agreement, so it is not binding to South Viet-Nam at all. And besides under the communist Ho Government the referendum can not be conducted fairly." After that South Viet-Nam refused over and over again the proposal for the holding the Preparation Committee of Unity Election from North Viet-Nam and the unity election of July 1956 did not materialize.

As the probability of the unity lessened like this, North Viet-Nam leveled severe criticisms against the Ngo Government. Over against this the Ngo Government adopted oppressive measure against communists. At this time the Ngo Government had been gradually alienated from the people and it came light; the family control by those close to President Ngo, private possession of the Government and corruptions of Government officials.

It was at this time when in South Viet-Nam anti-Ngo elements began guerrilla operations. In 1959, guerrilla operations got more active, the Ngo Government dealt with operations under a kind of the law for Maintenance of the Public Peace.

### 5. THE NATIONAL LIBERATING FRONT OF SOUTH VIET-NAM

The peninsula of Indo-China is the point of contact between land and sea. Indo-China is on the edge of Asia. And the power of the land and the power of the sea collided with each other. Today most of the land belong to the Communist world, and the most of the sea is the part of the "Free world". So Indo-China has great strategic significance. The U.S. considers that if Indo-China accepts communism, communism will expand all over Asia. And if the U.S. is expelled from the Viet-Nam battle field, after that any country cannot trust the promises and protection of the U.S. In such a case, the power of liberalism is weakened in each country and is threatened by the power of communism. If so, the security of the U.S. itself will be lost.

On December 20th 1960, the National Liberating Front of South Viet-Nam was formed. This was the fruit of exalted national consciousness and the unity of anti-Ngo elements, nationalists and communists of every class. The Front adopted it as the first program to down the disguised colonial system of the Imperialist United States and the dictatorial Government of the American puppet Ngo Dinh Diem and to establish the national democratic coalition government. The program of the Front consisted of the spirit of peace, independence, democracy and neutrality. The Front, who claimed that peace without independence was not a real one, have been called "Viet-Cong," namely, Viet-Nam Communist Party by the South Viet-Nam Government.

In April 1961, Ngo Dinh Diem elected again South Viet-Nam President, at the polling rate of 85 per cent. The United States said, "South Viet-Namense people gave President Ngo strong charge" and Vice-President Johnson the Staley investigation commission and the President Military Advisor Taylor visited Saigon one after another to employ the South-Viet-Nam strengthening policy.

Meanwhile, in the National Liberating Front of South Viet-Nam the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party was formed on January of that year and, on February, the first representative conference of the Front was held to strengthen the structure opposing the United States Army and the South Viet-Nam Government Army.

In 1963, the Front stood at military advantage to begin to shake the Ngo Government to its foundation. Besides strong objections rose against the favored treatment for Catholic by the Government and President Ngo proclaimed martial law in all country in August. This repress-Buddhism policy by the Ngo Government was criticized also by the States Department of the United States and became isolated. In November, finally, the coup d'état by General Dong Ban Minh broke out successfully and Ngo brothers were assassinated.

## Thought of Viet-Cong and U.S.

If the U.S. negotiates with the Viet Cong, South Viet-Nam cannot help becoming a part of the communist world. But if through the careful deed and after the proper time, the self-determination of the Vietnamese people is urged, communization of Viet-Nam would be protected.

Dulles did not permit the U.S. to sign the Geneva agreement. This was a grave mistake on the part of the U.S. in two senses. One was that the U.S. lost the opportunity of interdependence, and co-operation, between the U.S. and Red China to be gained by a guarantee of the neutrality and security of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The other is that the U.S. missed the chance to be part of the troublesome political balance in Indo-China, which the U.S.'s taking part in the inter-



national agreement seriously would stop bombing North Viet-Nam, recognize the National Liberating Front or stop invading.

Kennedy chose Viet-Nam as a place of confrontation with China, but it is little different from Dulles' action. Kennedy's judgment was wrong. That the Viet Cong were the national independence movement in South Viet-Nam, he surely knew. But he believed that the Viet Cong received help from China. China does not recognize the "Logic of large countries" of the U.S. and political expulsion from Asia. Originally Viet-Nam was one country, except for a few small nations of the mountain districts. The Vietnamese people who share the same nation, the same language and the same words, cannot be invaded and conquered, the South Viet-Nam by North Viet-Nam.

President Johnson made a speech in Baltimore about "unconditional talks" and "a billion dollar exploitation plan." For those who hope for peace this speech seems very attractive. But this statement was limited by some-conditions which were that under no condition the U.S.

would stop bombing North Viet-Nam, recognize the National Liberating Front or stop invading.

The National Liberating Front has two peculiarities. One is a strong convictions of the fighters in the rebellion action. The other is the silent consent of the populace. These two peculiarities are not created by out-side support. That is to say, the point of problem is not that they are communists with nationalistic style, but that nationalists have accepted the thought of socialism.

After all, the enormous U.S. military assistance has not brought the victory of Viet-namense Government Army immediately. If North Viet-Nam, China and the Soviet Union help South Viet-Nam, Viet Cong will also not gain the victory. The problem is to be decided by movement of the South Viet-namense people, not by the outside support, not by weapons. And we must never forget the influence of the movement of world opinion.

## National Independence and Liberation

The Viet Cong believe that they cannot separate independence, democracy and neutrality from peace. And for them peace without independence is not peace. The Viet Cong think thusly. The Viet Cong intend to gain a complete victory, whatever U.S. and Saigon political power exist, so that they can establish the government including independence, democracy and neutrality.

"Peace without independence is not peace", this sentence is the essence and soul of Viet Cong. The National Liberating Front which posed the relation of independence and peace in such clear form exists. And such thought as the Viet Cong regard as justice the independence from the imperialistic control and colonialistic control, and as they consider gravely on the point of peace has convinced for a long time among president Nguyen Hu Toh of the National Liberating Front and all other leaders.

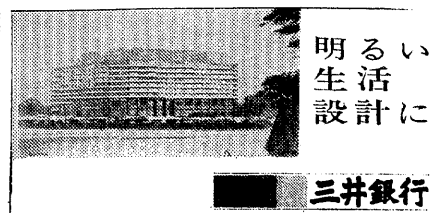
The South Vietnamese people will continue to attack the invading U.S. army and will gain the final victory. The National Liberating Front decided not to negotiate with the U.S. if the U.S. power will not withdraw from South Viet-Nam and if the U.S. does not recognize the existence of the National Liberating Front. The South Viet-Nam people always express their wish for peace, but they would not wish to have the bitter experience which would result from letting U.S. imperialism and it's followers go their own aggressive way in Viet-Nam and oppress the Vietnamese people. from north Viet-Nam come.

The Viet Cong express the clear thinking that death is better than slavery.

The principal of the National Liberating Front is not peace but independence. The National Liberating Front in South Viet-Nam, whether it is recognized internationally or not, has been seeking the principal that is seen in the demand for the withdrawal of U.S. imperialism from South Viet-Nam; This principal has always existed and has been strong since the birth of the National Liberating Front on December 20, 1960. Today without the strong and confident National Liberating Front we cannot find a way to settle the Viet-Nam problem.

The National Liberating Front is thankful for the assistance from North Viet-Nam, but now needs no help. But in fact, there will not be much help action of Viet Cong is near the 17 degree or near the frontier between Viet-Nam and Laos, the Viet Cong might get the help from North Viet-Nam. But the military action and areas of liberation are expanding more and more south. It is clear that the Viet Cong will not receive much help. If it is true that the Viet Cong guerrillas depends on another country's support, why did the Viet Cong guerrillas lay emphasis on destroying the road which is used as the route for the 'help' from North Viet-Nam?

The Viet Cong guerrillas are more skillful and more excellent in technique and knowledge than the superior "Viet-Min." And it is not that technical leaders from north Viet-Nam come.





# World Politics—U.S., U.S.S.R. and Red China

## Economic Situation in Viet-Nam

(a) The era under the French domination 1887-1946

The tropical climate made South Viet Nam suitable for the cultivation of green tea, coffee and rubber. Being sparsely-populated the land was for the taking of anyone who would take the trouble to cultivate it. France colonized this land, Coach-China, and organized rubber and rice plantations.

The principle of French colonization policy was to economically exploit Viet Nam. V.N. was to supply raw materials to France and in turn was to provide a market for French industrial goods. All obstacles to the establishment of such a policy-e.g. resistance movements, revolution-were crushed. As a result of the above policy, the process of industrialization came

about very slowly in Viet Nam. (b) The era of movement of nationalism 1946-1965

The liberation movement against France began during World War II and taking advantage of the vacuum of power which followed the Japanese surrender the Viet Nam Democratic Republic was declared at Hanoi in September, 1945, with Ho-thinh as president.

France wished to wipe out the Liberation Front, but Ho-thinh, having made radical reforms in politics, military power, economy and culture had gained the support of the Viet Name.

## South Viet-Nam Economy

South Viet Nam is an agricultural country and 85% of the total population are engaged in farming. Not having industrialized to a great extent only light industry exists.

The present objective, therefore, is to modernize agriculture and to develop light industry, with the ultimate objective of emerging as an independent economy.

(a) Agriculture

Although landowners are numerous, their individual holdings are small.

Table 1

	small land-owner 0-5 ha	middle land-owner 5-50 ha	large land-owner 50 ha
A	98.2%	1.8%	0.02%
B	40%	40%	20%

A: in ratio to the whole population

B: in ratio to all the land  
We can see following in the table 1.

A small number of large land-owners have 20% of all the land, and large number of small land-owners have 40% of it. The small land-owners' living standard is low, for their productivity is generally inferior to that of the large owner.

Thus many farmers who cannot live by the cultivation of their own land, become tenant-farmers and are subordinate to large landowners. Usurers charge high interests from the farmers and quite often farmers go to ruin and their land becomes the possession of the landowners.

To increase the number of independent farmers is of primary importance in improving the agricultural situation in the U.N.

The Ngo Dinh Diem Regime set to the reform the farm land in 1955, but the fruits of such a reform were not realized.

Like so many underdeveloped countries, South Viet Nam's economic foundation is based on agriculture. The agricultural population is 85% of the entire population, but its products is only 23.5% of G.N.P. This is due not only to the failure of the landreform but also the successive conflicts (from the Indo-China battle to the present national liberation civil war) which decreases workers by conscription.

For the improvement of this condition, "peace" is necessary first of all. Drastic landreform must be conducted, so the tenant-farmers can be self-supporting, and thorough innovation of circulation system must be accomplished. As a second step, agriculture must be modernized, and accumulation of capital be achieved by the farmer, thus breaking away from the old form of agriculture established during the colonization.

(b) Industry

In 1955, industrial revenue occupied only 11% of the G.N.P. (commercial revenue was 23.7%, agricultural revenue was 23.5%). The cause of the lack of industrial development seems to be as follows;

(1) Fundamental synthetic development plan is lacking. South Viet Nam economy depends on the assistance from foreign countries and Viet Nam's economic construction-industrialization-is growing at a slow tempo. Raw materials and electric power are expensive and the productive technique poor, the result being that the price of their manufactured goods are also expensive.

(2) Inefficient and inexperienced bureaucratism run the economy, so private companies are not encouraged to increase.

(c) Commerce, Trade and Others  
French and Chinese merchants residing abroad take an active part in the commerce and trade of Viet Nam. French hold 50-60% of the whole volume of

business, Chinese merchants 20-30%, Indian 10-15% and Vietnamese only 10%. With small capital most Vietnamese are engaged in insignificant business.

With regard to Trade, she exports agricultural products and materials, and imports industrial articles-typical of underdeveloped countries. The agricultural out-put has decreased because of the recent civil war, and the excess of imports over exports have been maintained. The deficit has been covered by the U.S. support.

(d) Foreign relations in Viet Nam  
ICA (International Cooperation Association in Washington) loans necessary funds every year to Viet Nam. She imports by the use of this fund, but a great deal of the fund is spent for military power.

As the U.S. assistance is mainly for military purposes economic aid also emphasizes the military, and true economic development is left abandoned. After World War II, the U.S. gave assistance of over 100 billion to foreign countries. As the commodities of support for foreign countries are produced in the U.S., and dollars are paid to Americans in America, this assistance aids U.S. business, and U.S. workers are given more jobs. This shows that the U.S. support for foreign countries means mostly an assistance to the U.S. economy.

## North Viet-Nam Economy

(a) The construction of economy  
Vietmin succeeded in the national liberation movement and made North Viet Nam independent, and began economic construction under Ho chi min's leadership.

Viet Nam Republic-North Viet Nam-has reformed and developed the national economy according to socialism and are beginning to construct modern industry and agriculture. The fundamental purpose of Viet Nam economic policy is to make higher standard of living and culture possible by developing productive power.

Under this socialistic direction "a three-year plan of economic reconstruction" (1955-1957), "economic development and reform", "a three-year plan of cultural development" (1958-1960), "the first five-year plan" (1961-1965) are being tried out.

(b) Agriculture  
In 1953 "the law of reforming land" was enacted and by this law farms were beginning to be reformed. The era of farm of each person is about middle landowner (5-50 ha) showed in Table 1.

In order to induce higher productivity of land and to solve the problem of lack of food, agricultural collectivizing is most reliable. These collective unions are natural to the establishment of socialism.

(c) Industry  
First of all, handicrafts and workers have been collectivized. State operated industry is the base of the socialistic economy.

## Escalation Strategy in Veit-Nam

In the day of Kennedy, the American military strategy was planned by R. S. McNamara. He gave up the mass retaliation strategy and set up the Multiple Options approach. This strategy had the ability to deal effectively with all kinds of war, an all-over Nuclear War, a limited Nuclear War, a Normal War, a Guerilla Warfare, because a threat of Nuclear war has erased its one-sided deterrence as the Soviet Military strength of Nuclear Weapons has had a great advance.

The Multiple Options approach is formed into a Nuclear Strategy, a local Strategy and a Special War. The nuclear strategy is for the Soviet, a local strategy for Red China and North Korea, and the special war for Vietnam, Laos, the Congo and Panama, etc.

America lost its unilateral nuclear deterrence and the balance of Nuclear Power between America and the Soviets came into existence. So Kennedy shook hands with Khrushchev on the one hand and he must



defend against communist infiltration in Asia by the Local Strategy and a Special War on the other.

America has divided the Vietnamese War into thirteen stage. The thirteenth stage is to attack the industrial installations in Hanoi. This escalation is used to bring the opponent to a negotiation. However the Viet Cong have insisted on the withdraw of the American troops as a major premise and are opposed to negotiations, therefore America is obliged to escalate

the war. But it is politically impossible for America to reach the thirteenth stage even if military possible, because America takes the risk of a war with the Soviet Union and Red China if she attacks Hanoi. America has attacked North Vietnam on the assumption that the Viet Cong are led by the power of North Vietnam. But if it is not so, she will not be able to bring the Viet Cong to a negotiation. Thus the escalation has many contradictory points.

## Domino Theory and Sino-U.S. Relation

The Domino Theory has been used to justify the American policies in Asia by Kennedy and McNamara, etc. McNamara said in Congress that America would be obliged to fall back to Hawaii in a few years if her military force was defeated in Vietnam.

This is the theory that Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, and Philippines will become communist if South Vietnam becomes communist. But many kinds of social reforms are performed because of the domestic cause, for example a corruption in Politics and weakness of a political power, and they are due to objective conditions peculiar to the nation.

A communist revolution is not instigated because of affection from the other countries, a point which can be proved historically. When Russia in 1914, Communist China in 1949 and Czechoslovakia in 1948 became communist, the neighboring countries were not influenced.

It is the same in the case of Poland, Hungary and Cuba, etc. Even if the neighboring countries become communist after America withdraws from South Vietnam, it is not due to the withdraw of America but due to the same conditions that forced America to withdraw from South Vietnam.

That is to say the Domino Theory is realized because of the political and diplomatic failures in Southeast Asia. The Viet Cong were originally the concentration of many kinds of people against Ngo Dinh Diem.

So it consisted of the intellectual class, peasants and religious organizations, etc. America and its puppet government have suppressed this Vietnamese nationalist movement.

If America enforces the same policy in the neighboring countries, it is natural that those countries catch fires of nationalism against America. Why does America try to justify the Domino Theory? It is important to know this theory is closely connected with containment policy against China. This containment began in the Korean War.

It now becomes impossible for America to isolate Red China politically because England and France offer recognition to Red China and many nations approve of Red China's joining the U.N. And it is now impossible to

isolate Red China economically because West Germany, France, England and Japan take up a positive attitude with respect to trade with Red China. So America is now isolating Red China militarily.

America has established the tactical position of attacks against Red China in Okinawa, and located the advance line in Korea, Formosa and South Vietnam and established the military bases for back support in Japan and the Philippines. If South Vietnam becomes communist, the military containment policy of America ends in a failure.

America tried to justify the Domino Theory in the containment policy against Red China. The way left for America is either to drive off Viet Cong or to adjust the relationship between America and Red China.

## Peaceful Coexistence

The basis of Khrushchev's diplomacy was Peaceful Coexistence with America. But it developed the ideological dispute between the Soviets and China and broke up the Communists front in the world. So Khrushchev had to retire.

Two objects are seen in the policy of the new power of the Soviets. One is not to destroy the Peaceful Coexistence.

Another is the unity of the International Communist Movement which was not seen in the policy of Khrushchev and was indifferent to Asia.

For example, Russia was very cautious not to be dragged into the disputes of Southeast Asia which was proved by the Tong King Bay event in 1964. On the contrary, the new power is gradually amending its policies for Southeast Asia and trying to recover the dignity of Russia in Asia. Prime Minister Kosygin visited North Vietnam in February of 1965, and Russia is sending military goods to North Vietnam. There are anti-aircraft guns made in the U.S.S.R. and missile bases.

But Russia at present restricts the help for North Vietnam within the aids of strategic goods and does not wish to stand face with America and to be dragged into an escalatory war. So the peaceful coexistence between Russia and America, which has some elements of collapse, is continuing. Russia is trying to coexist with two ideas

which are incompatible with each other.

## Sino-Soviet Dispute

The new political power of Russia is amending the politics for Southeast Asia and trying to recover the unity of the socialist camp. So it is necessary for Russia to soften the opposition between Russia and China. When Kosygin visited in February of this year, the Airforce of South Vietnam attacked North Vietnam.

This attack stimulated Russia which had tried to settle the problems of Vietnam peacefully, and allowed Russia to go near the ground of China. After criticizing the aggression of American Imperialism, Kosygin promised military aid to North Vietnam and announced the joint communiqué that both countries would try to strengthen the relationship between them.

After the visit to Hanoi, he visited Peiping and the Prime Minister of Russia talked together with Mao Tse-tung after an interval of five years and a half.

And at the fifteenth anniversary of the Soviet-Communist China mutual Amity Assistance Treaty in February this year China stated that the Chinese would firmly stand by Russia and the peoples in the socialist camp whatever events would happen in the world.

When Khrushchev retired, China hoped for a great change in their relationship. But the new powers followed the policy of Conventionalism and Peaceful Coexistence. China stated the new powers succeeding the policy of Khrushchev that had planned to be friendly with American Imperialism, pleased it and given way to it.

And China pointed out that the new power, in spite of shouting that Russia would support the South Vietnamese, actually tried to plot a peaceful negotiation in order to put out the fire of the revolutionary strife. In addition, China pointed out that she was prepared to dispatch troops and to fight if the South Vietnamese claimed.

It is said China is drilling her thirty million of troops to provide for a ground war with America. Thus the opposition between Russia and China may be gradually intensifying. And the opposition is seen in the dispute between India and Pakistan.

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## EDITORIAL

### Let's Think of 'World Peace'

Our Keio Univ. English Press Society, 'The Mita Campus' has attained her twentieth year. Our English Press which first published in 1946, the period of disorder after World War II, has at last reached the year of her adult ceremony.

Our traditional slogan, 'To contribute to World Peace' has been continued to the present time. And in addition we are trying to carry on a campaign for 'World Peace' more powerfully. Of course, also in the future this slogan will be raised. But how can we deal with this hazy and enormous object, 'World Peace'?

As to current international problems, for example, the West-East Problem, the North-South Problem, the Viet Nam War and so on, these are very important. So, naturally we will strongly appeal that these problems will be peacefully settled. But it does not seem to us that what we can do for world peace is only to appeal current international problems among several states to be solved.

In addition to this, we need to think about more essential and longer-sighted problems of world peace.

This is not only our own problem but one which we students will be often confronted with, and also fundamental one of mankind. In addition, an essential and a longer-sighted contemplation of these problems may be a key to solve the question how today's uneasy international situations will change from now on.

When we examine a structure of current international problems, for example, the East-West Problem, the North-South Problem, the Viet Nam War and so on, we find that all these States form a national State as a power unit. What controls its power is with a deep heart of each ideology, Communism, Liberalism, Nationalism and so on. By this ideology, each State comes to justify its behavior and to behave by fair means or foul.

We need to think sufficiently about an essential and a long sighted 'World Peace', namely about what is a right way for mankind and State. We have to speculate philosophically on what makes a good world and a right State.

It is Aristotle's spirit of moderation which accomplishes views of the cosmos, State, and life. And it is to make this spirit of moderation take an active part in modern situations.

Why isn't phenomenon of a many-sided disunion crisis, rather change to stabilization? Because it produces many opportunities for negotiations and discussions, not the antagonism of one armed force to another. This is as the same fact among international relations as among domestic relations.

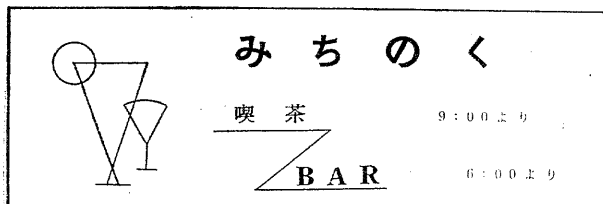
As a domestic peace cannot be preserved by a simple confrontation of the clashes between a capitalist and labor, so in international relations world peace cannot be expected unless confrontations between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and Communist China, an advanced nation and a developing nation, and between Colonialism and racial self-determination disappear, and if there exist trends which promote these confrontations to ideology.

Many-sided dimensional trends dissolve these confrontations and produce a new way. But in order to make such a view held good, there has actually to be made a good use of the spirit of the moderation that shows a way to unity through confrontations of many-sided dimensional world.

It is said that a modern State and mankind devotes itself to extend and defend its own interest than to co-operate each other.

But it seems to us that this is one-sided observation; rather that mankind in the world requires a genuine vital center which will enable his existence and development.

Finally we insist that only by the spirit of moderation, not ideology, is able to be gained 'World Peace', namely, a vital center which the world, State and mankind continually require.



# Can U.N. Settle Viet-Nam War?

## Establishment of U.N.

Throughout the World War II which rolled up the world in fear and despair, people desired peace and wanted not to experience the same pain again. In this international mood, the leaders of the Big Power gathered and seriously discussed organization for peace. Because of the difference of national interests from the beginning, it was difficult to find a consensus among the representatives as to the form and system to maintain peace, namely the U.N. But as the hope for peace was so strong that this obstacle was overcome, and as a result the U.N. was born.

Mr. Churchill, stood firmly on the vested knight of the Commonwealth to defend its' right and benefit having hitherto been derived therefore. He layed stress veto power in the hands of U.S., G.B., U.S.S.R. upon the international peace, he insisted to maintain special right for big states, namely, he hoped for an international organization formed on the power equilibrium among the big nations. Stalin believed that wartime alliance of big states led to the victory one the Air Force and conbuted in bringing peace to the world. Though he agreed to the international organism for peace, he didn't forget to establish safety of his state.

As Roosevelt, he thought that a war preparation of small states was in vain. He thought that big states must take up arms and small states must give up arms and this brought peace. And he thought that the power equilibrium between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. could only realize the peace in the post war period. Only on the basis of private recognition and reliance in each other, the peace comes into being.

The Secretary of State Halu had universalism stand point and he wanted that without distinction of the big or small, every states can enter the U.N., for he was afraid of the formation of power society which consisted of big states.

This four men was leading spirit and Dunberton & Orks conference was held in 1944, and the conference in Yalta was held in 1945. As the result of mutual conversation, they understand

each other and built the basic of the U.N. in which big states' power was recognized. And 1945 April, the U.N. establishing conference began. Small nations didn't accept what big states had decided at their discretion and tried hard to guarantee the right to speak for small states. And though they admitted the right to exercise "veto" left in the hands of big states, yet they succeeded in increasing the power of the General Assembly of establishing the U.N. offered the place of activity for small states.

## Korean War and U.N.

In the opposition between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., the United Nations was taken advantage of by the U.S., for a political object.

The Korean War broke out in 1950 and the U.N. took the action as a co-operator of the U.S. As the negotiation with the U.S.S.R. got into a difficult situation, in 1947 the U.S. offered the Korean problem to the U.N. General Meeting. The U.S. thought that she could take advantage of the situation, if she shared the responsibility for the occupation of Korea with the U.N. The U.S. showed her disgraceful intention to take advantage of the U.N. as the method to condemn the U.S.S.R.

The U.N. General Meeting established the Committee of Korea in the U.N., and decided to watch the Korean Vote. When the U.S.S.R. who occupied the North Korea declared not to co-operate with the vote under the superintendence of the U.N., it is the important matter whether the Vote only in South Korea was right or not. However, the firm opinion of the U.S. passed the General Meeting, and the U.N. admitted S. Korea as the only one-legal Government.

In 1950, the U.N. received the correspondence from the Department of State that the North invaded totally into the South. At once, the U.S. called for the Security Council, and the Committee decided to help the South Korea. This decision took place while the U.S.S.R. was absent and so she could not use her veto, and this council was, from first to end, lead by the U.S.

The American Army dispatched to Korea was consisted of 250,000 soldiers at its maximum. Nevertheless, other 15 nations

sent only 26,000 in all. Namely, is not too much to say that the U.N. Force was the U.S. Army. In 1951, the U.S.S.R. proposed that the Korean War should be over and that both armies should withdraw from the 38 degree Line. The Ceasefire Con-

ference, at once took place and the war was over after 25 months' meeting.

It is a clear fact that the U.N. was from first to last lead by the U.S. and has made up the division of the Korean through this War.

## Attitude of U.N. Toward Viet-Nam War

What does the U.N. solved many other international troubles before, do in order to solve the Viet-Nam issue? But, sorry to say, the answer is "no". Now the U.N. calmly watches the development of the situation in this problem, as U. Thant says that the talks for this problem should be held between Viet-Cong and the U.S., or South Viet-Nam.

Many other members of the U.N. think that they should not be related with the antagonism between the U.S. and the Red China, as antagonism between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. at the Korean War.

The Red China is not a member of the U.N. This is one of the reasons why Viet-Nam problem is not took up in the U.N. The Red China thinks that the U.N. is only the "instrument" of the U.S. As Red China is

not a member of the U.N., the Red China may well think like this way.

The members of the U.N. must examine again about Red China's opinion as one of criticisms for the U.N. and original form of the U.N.

The U.N. held the General Meeting to dissolve the Viet-Nam war. The Viet-Nam War is different from other war.

It was, at first, the war to obtain the independence, but now it turned clearly to the war of ideology. The war of ideology must be made a compromise to be over. The compromise will be brought through talks. The U.N. must do its best to have these talks. The members of the U.N. must make a proposal of peace negation. In order to cease the Vietnam War it is the only a way that this problem must be discussed in the U.N., concluding the Communist China.

## Expectation to U.N.

As we have mentioned above the U.N. can find out a way to solve a certain kind of international troubles and cannot find a way to solve every trouble. Besides, as the ideal that the U.N. can take the originally spontaneous and peaceful solution, in case the person concerned the management has no will, there is no possibility to resolve. In this case, as contribution of the U.N. is, above all, to prevent military collision, to make a chance to have talks, pick essence of trouble must wait for riping chance.

About Vietnam problem, the U.N. have not argued it out. However, lives are lost in practice. The U.N. of which is desiring peace must adopt this problem and dissolve its inconsistency and discuss the problem of Vietnam containing China at once.

A member nation of the U.N. must return to establishment

spirit and must have courage and decision which conquer many obstacles.

The U.N. must overthrow present through in which international peace is broken condition in a part.

Japan, which maintain that U.N. must center of the diplomacy and which admit that she is the first friendly nation of the U.S., as trouble of same Asia, must think standing both situations, as seriously as advocating that the U.N. must have a conversation to resolve the Vietnam problem.

We expect indeed that the U.N. find the clue of resolving the Vietnam problem.

Lastly, we put up Halu's speech and end this chapter. "The greatest contribution for peace is always to make efforts with the U.N. and inside frame of the U.N. And we never lose the chance for raising its authority and its decide being accept fight now."

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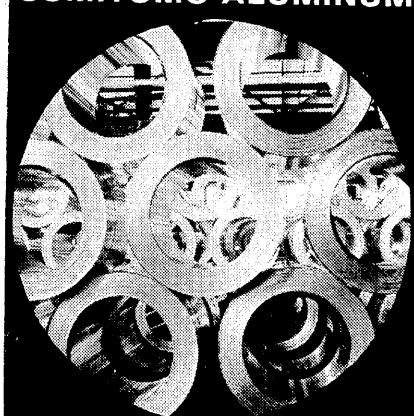
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