

## Civil Movn'ts in Full Swing

Sagami Citizens Starring the Politics

Recently various civil movements are staged in the different places of the country and seems to have increased their effectiveness on the Government policies. On the other hand, according to the expansion of the civil movements, politics which used to be called "politics without citizens," seems to have come to be called "politics reflecting citizens' voice." The civil movements, which are roughly classified into so-called three movements against price-hikes, environmental pollution and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty still, however, have not reached the level of political influence. That is to say, the civil movements are still only in the stage, where mutual relation between each citizen has begun to take shape.

Originally, some of the civil movements came from the inhabitants' egoism. For instance, there is a problem of how to dispose of rubbish and garbage in Tokyo. The people, who live in the wards which are appointed as the places to build incinerators say, "If we have incinerators in our wards, we will be troubled by smell and smoke. This is why we continue the movement against the construction." There also is a problem of apartment complex and so-called mansions. For the reason that the apartment complex and the mansions cause such issues as of hyper-population, sun-shine-shut, the people in the construction-sites are against the project. However, as a matter of fact, these issues must be solved as soon as possible, because there are great amounts of rubbish and garbage being stored up, and there are many homeless people. To demand only the removal of the construction-sites is not constructive. The movements against the U.S. Army base are analogous. The U.S. Army base issue can never be solved without revision or termination of the Security Treaty. It is necessary to make these issues surface in the politics, in order to solve them.

### The Yokohama Case

So how can the citizens raise their movements up to the level of politics? Here we have a good example of a successful movement. It is the anti-M48 military tanks transport movement by the general citizens in Yokohama and other areas around, of which the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) led the van, at the U.S. Army Sagami Supply and Maintenance Facility in Sagami City, Kanagawa Prefecture. Although this movement seemingly looks a kind of struggle against the U.S. Army base, the JSP has the aim of this movement at the revision, and the final abrogation of the Security Treaty.

Besides, the Mayor of Yokohama City appealed to the general citizens to take part in the movement, and submitted the following demands to the Government: 1) To clarify its view on the relation between the Se-

curity Treaty and repair or maintenance of arms in Japan, which the U.S. Army lends to the nations out of the range of the Security Treaty; 2) to give enough attention to the citizens' anti-tanks-transport feelings.

The process of the anti-transport movement in Yokohama is approximately as follows. The movement was begun this May, first by the JSP members. In July, citizens in Yokohama and other areas around, began to participate in the movement one after another. The JSP members and citizen participants blocked the passage of the tanks loaded on the trucks on the Murasame Bridge for the reason that a tank loaded on a truck is beyond the weight limit of that bridge. Meanwhile, the Mayor of Yokohama City, Ichio Asukada required the U.S. Army to observe the Japanese Vehicle Control Ordinance.

On the other hand, the Chief Secretary of JSP had several talks with the Chief Cabinet Secretary about the Sagami issue, while the Mayor suspended the permission of the passage of the trucks. Therefore, the U.S. Army could not convey the tanks from this August till September. Finally the Cabinet was compelled to announce the following statement: 1) Study of the possibility of curtailment or closure within a year or two of the tank division of the Sagami depot; 2) a request that the tanks should not be sent to Vietnam.

Regarding that their efforts bore the fruit of the Government's concession reflected in the statement, the demonstrators removed part of obstruction line, and the Mayor permitted the passage of the trucks. In the wake of the announcement of the statement, however, Foreign Minister clarified a high-handed unified Government interpretation of the connection between the repair of U.S. combat vehicles and the Security Treaty in the Upper House Cabinet Committee.

The summing-up of the unified opinion is as follows: 1) As long as the U.S. forces are themselves repairing U.S. tanks, it is permissible for them to let the South Vietnam forces use the tanks after repair; and 2) if tanks are sent to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) nations after repair, this is mere internal affairs of the U.S. Army, and is therefore consistent with the Security Treaty.

When we compared the former statement with this unified opinion, it is undoubtedly apparent that the former statement made a temporary lip-service, in order to calm the anti-base feelings of the people. Many criticisms of the people are concentrated on the turn-about from the former statement by the Government. This shows how much portion of the people have come to support the blocking movement. What is worse, the Government went so

far as to revise a government regulation in order to permit the passage of U.S. tanks, turning its deaf ears to the protest of the Mayor Asukada.

As for this revision of the Vehicle Control Regulation, the Government takes a stand that this is a responsibility demanded by the Security Treaty. The Tanaka Government which has been honoured with the name, "The Government for the general public" for its achievement of the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations, is now branded as "Pro-Sato" Government.

All that the Government is receiving from the people is only a torrent of bitter criticism. The anti-transport movement no longer remains mere anti-base movement. It has riveted the nation's attention on various political affairs. True, there is scarcely no possibility of reduction in scale or all-out closure of the Sagami depot resulted from the citizens' demonstrative movement. But their movement should be highly evaluated in that it has aroused a great concern over our political problems including the Security Treaty affairs in the general public all over the country.

What is the reason that the anti-transport movement could develop the citizens' struggle into the influential power over the politics? It can be counted as one of the major factors that the movement was "legal," and that since the main members of the demonstrators were general citizens, the police could not easily control them by power. It is also one of the important reasons that the Mayor of Yokohama City is of a progressive descent, because Murasame Bridge was under jurisdiction of that Mayor (the jurisdiction is moved to the Government by the revision of the Vehicle Control Ordinance). If the Mayor were of a conservative descent, the pressure of the Government would force him to permit the passage of trucks at once. Then the blocking movement would surely be finished soon.

### Way To the Politics

Since the contemporary political situation is a great deal centralistic, and the policies of the Government for the local governments are one-sided, civil movements against the Government policies are in a situation hard enough to reflect citizens' voice on the politics. In that political situation, it is absolutely necessary that the local government leaders should take the initiative of the civil movements.

Furthermore, the leaders must serve as a pipe to convey citizens' voices to the Diet. For, even though the local governments and the citizens can object the Government policies, their power can not be influential enough to persuade the Government to change its policies. Only the Opposition parties can do it. This is the limit of the civil movements. The anti-transport movement in

Yokohama is a good model in these respects.

By the way, it goes without saying that the political awareness of the Yokohama citizens made the citizens elect the progressive Mayor, who played a great part in the blocking movement. However as well, the joint campaign of the Opposition parties made them elect him. There are increasing progressive leaders of the local governments over the country. Most of the leaders are supported by the joint campaign of the Opposition parties. Indications are that the joint campaign also fosters political awareness of the people.

A progressive candidate, who is supported by the joint campaign, seems to do something good for the inhabitants, who are tired of the monotonous conservative politics. The election, therefore, becomes an object of the inhabitants' interest. If the progressive candidate is elected, he can criticize the policies of the Government, both because he is back-boned by the inhabitants and because he is out of the Government policies. Then, there comes the furtherance and promotion of the political awareness of the people. The time when a nation makes a progress simply by obeying the Government policies has passed, and the time when the people should watch out the policies has come. Naturally, democracy must be so.

### Politics For People

The Opposition parties must recognize that the joint campaign has played a part to promote the democratic awareness of the people. One way by which the weak Opposition parties can cope with the strong ruling party, is to take up citizens' voices enagically. Then the civil movements grow more constructive, and the Opposition parties can give a sharp blow on the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, which is always in high-handed, forceful, and contemptible attitude in the Diet. The joint campaign of the Opposition parties is a fundamental policy, which makes the political awareness of the people result in good effects in politics, and gives firm basis to the future political movements of the Opposition parties.

It is expected that general elections are held after this extraordinary session of the Diet. We hope that the Opposition parties continue the joint campaign to the maximum extent their circumstances permit.

Meanwhile, "Thesis on the Reconstruction of the Japanese Archipelago" written by the Prime Minister Tanaka, is now one of the best sellers. It is still stressing the importance of the politics for centralism and high economic growth. These policies go against the flow of the time, and makes gap between the people and politics even deeper. First of all, the Prime Minister Tanaka should revise his "Thesis on the Reconstruction of the Japanese Archipelago." This is our proposal.

## On IMF Issue

### The Crisis

The present International Monetary Fund (IMF) system, now on the verge of final break-up because of the lessening value of the dollar, is calling for diversified reformation plans for the whole system of international currency. IMF which was established originally for the execution of multiple currencies system could virtually not avoid functioning only as part of the basic international currency system based on the dollar.

However, the monetary situation of the world is that: the restoration of the convertibility of other currencies, the levelling-off in the value of the major currencies, and the lowering value of the dollar no longer permit international trading activities to be based solely on the dollar henceforth. It is, probably, the natural result that movements towards the promotion of future trade on the basis of multiple currencies system have come to be observed.

Nevertheless, this does not necessarily imply that the present international currency will immediately be replaced by other new ones, because a considerable length of time over several decades is needed for an international currency to come into being of itself. Moreover, we should be aware that behind a bilateral character of a country's currency as of the domestic, as well as of an international, is lying the fact that despite helpful points it offers for the restoration of equilibrium in the country's international balance of payments, burdens well suited to her as the international currency nation, such as sides to foreign countries in the form of monetary investment and military assistance, are weighing heavily on her shoulders.

It is for this reason that even in the creditor nations such as Japan, West Germany, or Switzerland, negative reactions are

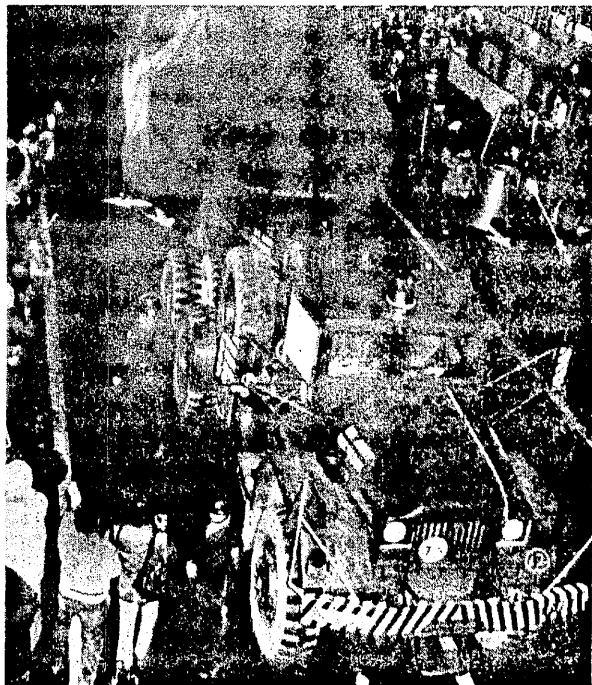
seen as to the use of yen, mark, and Swiss franc in settling their overseas trade. On top of that, there arise various critical voices about the "inconsistency of international liquidity" resulted from the function of multiple currencies system under which a domestic currency is endowed with the function of an international currency as well.

The international monetary crisis can be viewed from three different points—international liquidity, international balance of payments and the credibility of the currencies. Various international monetary plans are based on one of the above three. The floating exchange system, theory on the recovery of gold standard, system of SDR, all have their assets and defects. What makes it more complicated is each nation's national interest.

Not only in economics, but in other matters of foreign policy, national interests has been a major stumbling block to every solution. If there were only one nation on the face of this earth, there would be no problem. Such is the idea that Keynes and Triffin had when they mentioned the Central World Bank plan. Their plan is nothing more than the system of multiple currencies, with the World Bank working as the monetary central nerve system. It is clear enough that international cooperation is necessary in making an international currency work.

### Our Suggestion

World trade has been expanding at a steady rate. The emergence of the EC with its improved monetary system as the final goal, and the UNCTAD consisting of developing nations, have made the task of solving the monetary crisis ever more urgent. Countries with strong currencies should abandon their selfish national interest, and start working for the establishment of the new monetary system.



The furious Sagami citizens swarming around the U.S. tanks to prevent the transport.

# The Bridged Gap Between Japan and China

The restoration of Japan-China diplomatic ties has formed an epoch in the international politics of East Asia. At the same time, this event means a renewed start of independent diplomacy between the two countries. It is, certainly, true that the historic Sino-Japanese rapprochement will contribute a great deal to the peace of the world. But to look only the favorable aspects and to disregard another problematical points behind the appearance

of the peaceful atmosphere is the very beginning of various mistakes. These problematical points are the following three: (1) the war in the past, (2) the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, (3) problems of the expanding SDF. In the following article, we made a brief summary of what has been called "issues between Japan and China," referring to the above three points.

## Normalized Relations

In 1951, six years after the end of the Second World War, when Japan decided to take San Francisco Treaty System as her diplomatic main road, the then Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida predicted that the artificial barrier separating Japan from the Chinese mainland would be overcome by the geography and economics some day in the near future. However, that some day in the near future had not come during the past twenty one years until the "abnormal state of affairs" which had been existing between Tokyo and Peking over the pre-war and post-war periods was officially terminated on September, 29, in 1972. Japan on whose diplomatic neck Washington's rein had been laid for the past two decades became the 79th nation that recognized Peking as the sole legitimate Government representing China.

The Japanese and the Chinese nations long-cherished hope for the restoration of Sino-Japanese diplomatic ties was realized and Japan-Taiwan Peace Treaty had eventually lost its effects. For Japan, this event amounts to the final crumbling of the cold-war structure of the post-war international politics where she had been serving as the largest anti-communists base in the Far-East under the protection of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.

In spite of some disagreement between the Japanese side and the Chinese over several points about the treatment of the Taiwan issue, the Japanese Government's efforts which bore the fruit of the successful Chou-Tanaka joint communique should frankly be appreciated. At the same time, we would like the Government to reflect upon the fact again on this occasion that up to only several months ago, turning a deaf ear to the Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai's proposal that Peking airport is always ready to welcome the Japanese Prime Minister, if only he makes a decision to accept the three principles for the restoration of Sino-Japanese relations, the Japanese Government had been laying the major aim of its diplomacy on the construction of huge barriers on the shortest way to Peking.

With the resumption of the diplomatic ties, we have reached only to the starting point of the future friendly exchanges between Japan and China. There must never be an end to this friendship, which should be maintained and promoted by the two nations incessant efforts based on the "Five Peace Principles." Now that the historic political drama has ended in success, what it urgently required of the Government is not to be in rapture over this favorable outcome, but to take steady forward steps based on a reliable diplomatic vision for the security and friendship of both the Japanese and the Chinese nations.

Needless to say, the success in the resumption of Sino-Japanese relations could not have been made possible without the Chinese Government's understanding of Japan's stand especially in Taiwan issue. In

the joint communique announced on the last day of the Japanese Prime Minister's stay in the capital of the People's Republic of China, renunciation of requisition for the war indemnity from the Japanese Government is clarified by the Chinese. On the other hand, it was regrettable that in Prime Minister Tanaka's statement at the reception dinner on the day of his arrival in Peking, the clear-cut expression of "apology" for the criminal actions committed by the Japanese Army in the Chinese main land during the war is replaced by the incomprehensible, round-about "deep self-examination." Moreover, while the history of the Sino-Japanese relations in this century is described as "unceasing hostilities" by the Chinese Government, "unhappy state of affairs between Japan and China" was the expression used by the Japanese for the same meaning. When we compare Peking's decision of renouncing its natural requisition for the war indemnity with the diplomatic posture of the Japanese Government revealed in the above circuitous expression, we can not help feeling that we have come under a great obligation to the Chinese people this time.

Then, what should we do first of all now, at the start of our friendship with the old neighbour? The normalized Sino-Japanese relations will soon remove any obstacles remaining on the way between Tokyo and Peking. Interchanges and mutual activities in cultural, personnel, and economic fields will also be promoted as many times powerfully as though a sluice suddenly opened lets the interrupted flow of water start going again swiftly through a broad water-way. However, even in the rapidly improving situation between Japan and China, we should always bear it in our mind that the Chinese Government's decision of the war-indemnity from the Japanese has all its aim on the furtherance of "abiding friendship" between the two peoples. It seems, therefore, Japan's first duty we must perform to the Chinese people to reflect on what we had done in the past and to make a strong decision never to bring the restored friendship into rupture again.

## (The Past)

The Chinese people's nightmare began on the night of September, 7, in 1937, when several bullets went past overhead the Japanese Army soldiers in their demonstrative military exercise near Lu-gou-qiao Bridge in the suburb of Peking city. With this incident as the start of the all-out war between Japan and China, the number of persons from Japan to the battle front in the Chinese main land had rapidly increased, and the war expanded by the Japanese Army's unilateral aggression into the Chinese territory had finally performed a ghastly show in Nang King city in December, 1938, where one of the most atrocious criminal actions in the world history was actually carried out by the Japanese soldiers.

It is reported that the num-

ber of deaths including that of non-combatants amounted to nearly 300,000 in this world's famous Nang King Massacre. Bloodthirsty Japanese soldiers with no control over their own murderous instinct stabbed their sharp bayonets even into the bellies of pregnant women. Nearly all the women in the city from 16 to 60 years of age were raped, and the grasses on the river-banks of this city were reportedly dyed red with the greasy blood of the victims.

Also in the battle front of Mid-China, particularly in the areas around Shang-shi Province, as a result of the offensive by 100,000 Japanese soldiers by the well-known genocidal tactics in August, 1941, in addition to the innumerable number of deaths in the non-combatants, more than 150,000 houses were burnt down, some 10,000 domestic animals were taken away for use in the Japanese Army, and 17,000 people were reportedly taken away to Manchuria as coolies. In the same areas, during only one year, the number of the Chinese, slew, arrested, or raped by the Japanese Army exceeded 100,000. During the eight year Sino-Japanese war from 1937 to 1945, the Japanese Army's atrocity is reported to have resulted in the damage of more than 10 million deaths and the loss of properties worthy of over 50 billion dollars on the Chinese side.

These facts in the history of Japan-China relations tell everybody, who considers how the two nations should work together for the furtherance of their friendship in a serious manner, that the crime committed by Japan in the past can never be atoned for by the oral expression of the mere "self-examination." What is required of the Japanese is a severe self-criticism and profound apology to the Chinese People which must be shown in a certain form, whether tangible or intangible, based on the respect to "equality and reciprocity" between the two nations.

## (How To Co-operate)

As a result of the normalization of Japan-China relations, it can naturally be expected that the Chinese demand for economic co-operation from Japan will treble or quadruple from now on. However, on this occasion, we would like the Japanese financial leaders to recollect the following fact in the history of pre-war economics.

In consequence of the dumping of the cheap Japanese export goods in foreign markets, which were produced at the low wages of the pre-war laborers, tariff rates on Japan-made goods were vastly raised so that they could be excluded from the foreign markets. In such a situation, increased demand for the reinforcement of Japan-Manchu economic bloc impelled Japan to put the northern part of the Chinese mainland under an overall economic control. It is widely known that the war in China originated from the Japanese economics which were brought to a standstill in overseas markets.

In some points, the situation

is analogous today. In order never to precipitate into the same pitfall again, the Japanese financial leaders should keep it in mind that China can never be only an outlet for the overflowing energy of the Japanese economy. True, China is still a developing nation in terms of economics, with her Gross National Product (GNP) less than half of that of Japan, while her population is the world's largest, but it is also true that China does not exist solely as the most promising purchasing power for Japan in Asia. For a while from today, we think Japan should promote her economic interchanges with People's Republic by way not of "selling the developed industrial technology" but of "letting herself willingly help the economic growth of the old neighbour."

## (How To Do With The Security System)

Now that the normalized Sino-Japanese relations have added a new chapter to the post-war history of Asia, and a new epoch has been formed in the East Asian political situation, it is, probably, no exaggeration to say that we have advanced many steps closer to the sublime ideal of eternal peace declared in the Japanese Constitution. Judging from the appearance of the latest reconciliatory atmosphere over the North and South Korean issue and from the Sino-American detente actualized by the U.S. President Richard Nixon's Peking visit in this February, the multi-polarized political situation, conspicuous especially in the Far East, can also be said to have started streaming in the direction of the world peace.

From this point of view, the time likewise seems to have arrived when we should officially terminate the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. Even though the restoration of the Sino-Japanese relations with the eventual termination of Japan-Taiwan Peace Treaty is tantamount to the virtual skeletonization of the military treaty between Japan and the U.S., it is apparent that in opening the gate of friendship full to the new friend, we are not permitted to keep

holding the useless, corroded shield facing him forever.

## (How To Do With SDF)

Everything is being forced to change in the flow of the time and history. Besides the skeletonized U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, there remains one more thing which can not avoid being greatly changed as a result of the normalization of Japan-China relations, and this is nothing but the recently drafted Forth Defensive Forces build-up program of the Defense Agency. The Chinese Premier Chou En-lai is admitting the existence of the Japanese Self Defense Forces, and we also agree that as an independent nation, Japan can be permitted to be equipped with self-defensive power within the minimum defensive framework.

Nevertheless, we can not help doubting whether this defensive forces build-up program which was drafted on the basis of the cold-war conception that "Communist China" is the greatest potential threatening power to Japan has acceptable validity, and so it is particularly when we are confronted with the following two facts:

(1) Surprisingly large amount of 4,600,000 million yen nearly double as large as the annual GNP of the neighbour South Korea was decided to be allocated as the military fund, (2); in spite of the total amount of the military spend accounting only for around 0.9% of the GNP in the Fourth Defensive Forces Build-Up Program, Japan's economic power is in the Number Two position in the world of non-Communist nations. In the news cast from Peking, there is no such critical voices blaming the revival of the Japanese militarism in a violent tone as we used to hear until only several months ago.

If the other side of the favourable aspects of Sino-Japanese rapprochement is pervertedly considered, it becomes possible for the Government to take the stand approving the FDFBP that the re-arrangement of defensive forces with its aim not in the preparedness against the attack from China

is rather permissible. Was the re-arrangement of the military power the primary intention, and the realization of friendship between the Japanese and the Chinese peoples only secondary in the Government's "peace diplomacy" with Peking? The normalized Japan-China relations and the reassuring appearance of the symptom of peace in the Korean Peninsula are indicating that we have no need to expand the Self Defense Forces any more.

## (For Peace and Security)

The resumption of Sino-Japanese relations was attained on the basis of the five peace principles of (1), mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2), mutual non-aggression, (3), mutual non-interference with internal affairs, (4), equality and reciprocity, (5), peace co-existence. High ideals reflected in these principles are in accord with the spirit of peace declared in the preface of the Japanese Constitution to a remarkable degree. We dislike war, and, therefore, we should respect the sublime peaceful ideas in the constitution, which have been deliberately disregarded, with all our resources henceforward, while reconsidering the fact that Japan had once invaded China, which has never made any military assault on Japan in the history.

In this article, it was repeatedly emphasized that Japan's apology for its invasion into the Chinese territory is the first step for the furtherance of friendship between the two peoples. Additionally, this apology seems to begin with our constant endeavour to form a diplomatic posture based thoroughly on the observance of the five peace principles. Both the Japanese and the Chinese, with the Japanese Constitution and the five peace principles, are peace-loving nations. As long as we are faithful to our constitution and the five peace principles through mutual respect and trust, the two nations will never get involved in any misery of war again. This is our firm belief.

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## Editorial

### Self Offence Forces

While debates on the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty have been arising since the transport issue of military vehicles destined for Vietnam from the U.S. Army Sagami depot was brought into a sharp relief, the Government made a vast revision on the vehicle control regulation without prior notice to the people in order to give a free pass to the military vehicles of the U.S. Army on October, 16th.

Prior to this, the State Defence Council completed the fourth Defensive Forces Build-up Program for the coming five years (1972-1976) on October, 8th. A huge amount of military expenditure running up to 4,630,000 million yen is imposed on the people under the name of "self-defense" during the five years. Japan is forced to go against the world tendency toward the relaxation of the existing international tension under those policies by the Government, with their top priority to the reinforcement of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the arrangement of the defensive forces. The series of actions observed in the Government after Sino-Japanese rapprochement can not, therefore, be approved.

Concerning the priority of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty over the Japanese domestic policies, the Japanese Government is taking the stand that the security of Japan can be perfectly guaranteed under the protection of the U.S. nuclear umbrella. However it can be asserted that in the latest cataclysm in the international politics caused by such historic events as the U.S.-Soviet and the U.S.-Sino summit talks, the restoration of Sino-Japanese diplomatic ties, and the movements toward peace in Vietnam, the above logic of the Government has already lost its grounds. In other words, there remains no need for Japan to prepare herself against the attack from the communists countries, the old potential enemies.

This is not a mere optimistic view but reality we are actually facing now. From the far-reaching viewpoint over the world peace, we think that some of the politicians and military industrialists are still insisting on the further expansion of the Self Defense Forces and the importance of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty should be first of all exposed to the criticism of the peace-loving nation. The revision on the vehicle control regulation enforced in this situation can be said a most symbolical example resulted from the Government's diplomatic posture placing too much trust on the U.S. nuclear umbrella and the maintenance of Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, with our national supremacy completely entrusted to Washington.

The Government's policies for the further reinforcement of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty were serving as a background for the appearance of the defensive issues posed by the lately adopted fourth defensive forces build-up program on our political stage. In the previous third program, the major defensive aim was placed on (1) dependence on Washington's protection with regard to the danger of nuclear attack from the potential enemies and (2) independent self-defense from enemies' attack at regional scale. Also in the fourth defensive program, the aim is laid on the same two points, and particularly the second one is worthy of our note.

The following three are considerable factors which led the Government to take the independent self-defense policies: (1) the suspension of the U.S. free military aid based on the Japan-U.S. Military Assistant Program as a supplement for the Japanese third defensive forces build-up program (2) so-called Nixon Doctrine which requires Japan to replace U.S. Forces in the Far East (3) the enterprising spirit of the Japanese military industries, about which the situation is becoming more complicated as the surplus in the trade account of the Japanese side grow even greater. Judging from these facts, it is apparent that the fourth defensive forces build-up program has its ground on the Japanese dependence on Washington not only in military but also in economic field.

Nominally, both the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the fourth defensive forces build-up program are announced to exist for the purpose of defending our country. Then, what is defense and for whom does it exist?—through correct analysis on the status quo of the Self Defense Forces with our reference to the Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, we must give appropriate answers to these questions.

In defensive power, the Japanese SDF is ranking the 7th of the world, and it stands on the Number One position

## A Letter From a Reader

### The Normalization—for Whom Is It?

By T. Iwasa

The greatest and the most difficult political problem in our postwar history, the normalization of Japan-China relations, was finally resolved on September 29, in 1972.

On this occasion, Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka himself stated that the best part of this political achievement could be attributed to the power of the Japanese people's public opinion.

However, was it really the people who started in the political drama? I cannot help feeling this simple question arising in my mind. The past few years history of friendship between the Japanese and the Chinese peoples is clarifying the fact that when Peking's entry into the United Nations was officially admitted last fall, the first initiative of the suddenly quickened movements toward the restoration of the diplomatic ties was taken by part of the

financial leaders, and that this was followed by both Opposition and the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party members frequent visits to Peking.

Nevertheless, we should also take notice of another fact remaining in this history: that non-official persons or the ordinary Japanese people were not casted for any part in the political drama, even if difficulty existed at practical level.

Those financial leaders acted only for the sake of their own companies interests, and politicians for gaining advantage in the coming election, as well as for their own and their parties interests. Then, how about tribute the political gains to? tribute the political gains to? Common people are not mere extras. Real friendship and mutual trust can be founded only on the efforts of common people. I was even shocked at the big diplomatic drama, with its

star players nearly all ousted from the stage.

Chairman Mao's China is bigger than Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan. Once this simple theory was learned staunch supporters of the Taiwan Government turned into ardent supporters of the Peking Government. The financial leaders and politicians were branded as big traitors by the Taiwanese. They shifted from polar to polar, and the Japanese people could watch the rapidly changing scenes on the diplomatic stage only from their distant seats.

The Japanese diplomacy has been carried out solely by part of those who are in influential positions in society. What sort of influence will be brought about to the nation by each diplomatic action has always been out of consideration. It is for this reason that I apprehend that diplomacy conducted by those who have only money-making in mind will result in adverse effect to the furtherance of friendship and trust between the Japanese and the Chinese peoples in the future. There is a danger of rupturing the regained friendship again in the Japanese financial circle's over-estimation of China as a reliable trading entity.

What is important and, there-

fore, urgently required is a realization of diplomacy at non-official level. This is where real, ever-lasting friendship and mutual trust can be originated. I wish both the Japanese and the Chinese Governments to take appropriate steps for the future promotion of interchanges, particularly in culture, at non-official level between the two peoples.

Neither subservient nor high-handed attitude of the pre-war fashion is demanded from the Japanese people. In China, the people are not supermen endowed with Chairman Mao's necromantic skill. They are not so-called contemptible "Chinamen," either. They are the people of the People's Republic of China.

Diplomacy based on "equality and reciprocity" is going to start for the first time in the long 2000 years history between Japan and China. However, the gap made by the Japanese Military invasion into the Chinese territory over the past one century is still remaining deep and wide between the two countries. To bridge the gap is a duty imposed on Japan, and that is made possible only when the historic weight of "equality and mutual reciprocity" is fully recognized by the Japanese people.

## Asian Peace

The Japanese have tended to think solely about themselves. From now on we will have to think about others as well. Japan's debut into the international political arena makes this even more important.

While the U.S., with her mighty military power, was the star of an Asian political drama, Japan was able to consider problems in Asia—Sino-Japanese relations, two Koreas, Taiwan Straights, Southeast Asia's security—as of secondary importance. She could, as if, sit in the stands and with indifference look at what other nations were doing. She was the spectator and the other Asian nations the players. But, all of a sudden, without not much preparation, she is being pulled into the fields. Like it or not, Japan has come into the Asian drama. And the Southeast Asian nations have begun to feel its impact.

Although the leaders of Asia have stated that the normalization of relations between Japan and China will lead to lessening of tensions in Asia, it is quite doubtful whether they really mean what they say. Rather, while the U.S., China, Japan and the Soviets are playing the super power game, these Asian

nations are finding it increasingly difficult to adjust to the new situation. They feel left alone and isolated.

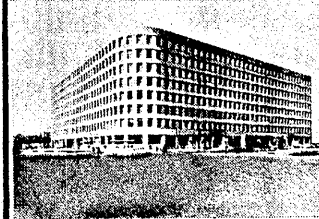
With the Nixon Doctrine, Britain's retreat from East of Suez, Russia's mounting influence in Asia, Sino-American detente and with Japan's recognition of Mao's China, these Asian nations have gone through a tremendous shock. Economically, these nations belong among the underdeveloped nations. Furthermore, their economy is controlled by the Chinese merchants; communist guerrilla activities are ever more present. These and other factors make up for their fear of the Sino-Japanese rapprochement. In spite of what the Asian leaders say on the surface, in truth they did not want this to happen so quick.

Japan's influence in Asia is great. There are those who say that both Japan and China will become rivals in the end, but then no one can predict the future. What Japan needs to do now, instead of becoming overjoyed by the new rapprochement with China, is to understand these fears of the Southeast Asian nations. Until then, rapprochement between China and Japan can never lead to peace in Asia.



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# State and Education

Education is vulnerable against the control of the ruling. This time, we took a general survey on the history of the Japanese education controlled by the governmental authorities.

Textbooks issued under the control of the governmental authority whether in the form of the State's authorization or authorization by other governmental organizations have been solely describing such aspects of affairs as favorable only for those who have been in the ruling positions over the nation. This has been the case particularly with the textbooks of the Japanese history.

The reinforced censorship of the Education Ministry has brought the whole Japanese system of education to a crucial crisis. Taking a brief survey on various changes observed in the government authorities posture to our education is, therefore, a duty imposed on anybody concerned with teaching and instruction.

## Trend of Censorship

The history of the repeated interference by the Education Ministry with the contents of schoolbooks can be divided into the following three periods: (1) the early part of the Meiji era when textbooks were published for the first time, (2) the first few decades of the 20th century when State authorized textbooks appeared, (3) the post-war period, throughout which we had the textbooks issued under the revived authorization system up to the present.

## Beginning of Intervention

For a while after the announcement of the education system in Sept. 1872, the choice of school-books was entirely committed to teachers. In 1881, however, on the proclamation of the "Principles for Instruction at Elementary Schools" by the Education Ministry, descriptions on history in general, except those on the Japanese history, were all eliminated from the pages of schoolbooks. The major aim of those educational principles was placed also on how to stabilize the people's loyalty to the Emperor on the basis of their "ever-lasting patriotism."

When the authorization system for elementary school textbooks was established for the first time in 1886, it was determined that fables such as about the foundation of the state, enthronement of the first Emperor Jimmu, or doings and actions carried out by loyal sages for the sake of their Emperor,

should be treated as indubitable facts in the textbooks of the Japanese history.

Furthermore, the revised text of the above "Principles for Instruction at Elementary School" which was promulgated in 1890 proclaimed descriptions on the following affairs as "unomittable contents" of the history textbooks; the founding of the nation, the eternity of the Imperial lineage, various great imperial achievements done through reigns and reigns of the ancient Emperors in a row, and the brave doings and actions by the loyal sages.

Nevertheless, there remains a notable fact that until the establishment of the State authorization system in 1903, descriptions about the acts of the ancient Emperor had never been carried in all the textbooks.

With top-most care paid on the descriptions about Amaterasu-Omikami (the goddess of the sun), on the first pages, the issue of the Japanese history textbooks was begun in 1903 through the State inspection. In the textbooks of the Japanese history used at this time, more than half of their whole contents covered explanations on the Emperors in almost every detail. For example, in the case of a schoolbook used during 14 years between 1918 and 1932, affairs about Imperial family and the subjects faith to it were treated in nearly two-thirds of the chapters.

On August, 14th, in 1945, Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration, which aimed at the reconstruction and promotion of her democracy. In the wake of this historic event, the Government set about the revision of the textbooks. The announcement of the execution of the authorization system in 1947 was followed by the official decision on the total elimination of the State-authorized textbooks in 1950.

However, even in the re-established post-war authorization system are remaining several problematical points particularly about the legitimacy and validity of the Education Ministry's censorship. Those problematical points were brought into a sharp relief through the latest Ienaga-suit case."

Let us take a look at the inspection by the Education Min-

istry on the "New Japanese history" authored by Prof. Saburo Ienaga, displayed in the box below.

These examples show only part of the frequent interference by the Education Ministry with the nation's education. Amendments demanded by the Education Ministry are in almost 300 places in only one textbook.

The fact mentioned above shows that the textbooks of Japanese history have been always controlled by the Government, for the historical education can be easily used as the means of indoctrinating the people.

And to our great regret, as we can see in the Ienaga case, there is no change in the situation even today. There are two main opinions to support the present authorization system; one is necessity of the unification of the basic culture in the primary and secondary education, the other is the consideration of making the child to understand.

As for the former, however, the unification of the basic culture should be determined not by the Education Ministry but by the consensus of teachers, scholars, parents and other people. The rights of education must be in the hands of the people, but not in the Education Ministry. Furthermore, it is natural that there should exist various views in the textbooks, for their sense of value is all different. In connection with this, some people say if free publication were admitted, textbooks with extreme ideas would appear. There is no worry, for such textbooks would be unlikely to be accepted by the people.

As for the latter, it is apparently reasonable. But for such a reason, if any criticism against today's politics and society is not allowed like now, that is a big problem. Besides, isn't it audacious that only the Education Ministry can give the consideration to it?

Judging from these view points, this system is unapprovable. Particularly as far as the history textbooks are concerned it is harmful. For history can be an object of study only when it is free from political and religious interference of any kind.

# A Foreigner Looks at Japan (2)

## The Original Japanese Peculiarity

By John Orban

(continued from the last issue)

Another characteristic of Japanese behavior that must be very closely related to the efficacy of amicable coexistence is the considerable degree of withdrawal that most Japanese seem to exhibit. For want of a better term, it might be called "reserve," just as this quality seems related in the harmony of Japanese society that foreigners enjoy and appreciate, so it is also a quality so contrary to American behavior, that it often causes consternation or bewilderment among those Americans who encounter it.

Many foreigners feel that it is very difficult to get to "know" Japanese acquaintances on friends. This is not due to any unfriendliness on the part of the Japanese. It is simply an illustration of this reserve which makes it difficult for the foreigner to understand how the Japanese feels, personally, about a given situation or subject.

The effect of this reserve is magnified by the extreme formality and the rigid rule of courtesy that appear to be incorporated into aspects of everyday Japanese life. Many statements or actions seem to be performed not necessarily because of the initiative or desire of the individual, but due to the social requirements of the situation. As well, the pattern of casual conversation that foreigners observe seems to be in general terms, and about topics that are obvious, or so apparent as to allow little room for expression of personal feelings.

In American society, an individual is brought up to freely express his feelings and he is continually encouraged in daily encounters to state an opinion or make a value judgment. Often he is obliged to defend his point of view in debate with someone who might hold an opposite or dissenting viewpoint. Therefore, to some degree, unflattering accusation is to say that a person is "superficial"—meaning that he does or says things without actually believing in them. (Often for some ulterior motive) and his actions are therefore, to some degree, undependable. The term is occasionally used to refer to Japanese behavior.

This is quite an unfair and

erroneous extension of the term to cover behavior outside the cultural frame of reference in which the meaning of the term evolved. Nevertheless, from the point of view of an American who is conditioned to present his personal feelings and opinions to others and to expect that other people will reciprocate in a similar manner, the reaction is understandable.

Japanese hospitality is famous the world over, and certainly contributes to the harmony of Japanese society. The subtleties of this ubiquitous Japanese graciousness constitute an area very confusing to the foreigner and quite susceptible to misinterpretation. Of course people, anywhere, express politeness and hospitality by demonstrations of extraordinary consideration for the other person.

Still the degree of such consideration in Japan far exceeds that which one might expect in America. On the first encounter, this extreme hospitality may be so humbling as to make the foreigner a bit uneasy. This is because the politeness that Americans might expect from, or reserve for, very close friends is commonly exhibited by Japanese toward a recent acquaintance.

## Hard To Understand

After the first several encounters with such overwhelming hospitality, the foreigner may begin to feel that rather than a purely personal expression of friendship or appreciation, it is instead, partly generated by the requirements of Japanese social behavior.

At this point, the foreigner may wonder what part of the hospitality or courtesy he receives is actually attributable to the love or friendship of a Japanese acquaintance, and how much of it is dictated by the regimen of Japanese social custom.

For a case in point, consider a foreigner who knows only three or four words of Japanese. If he were to make the simplest attempt to use the few words in conversation, merely by uttering "arigato" or "sumimasen" a Japanese listener might typically respond by commenting, "Oh, you can speak Japanese," or "You can speak Japanese very well."

The remark is flattering of course, but must be considered excessive in the eyes of the foreigner who knows very well that he can't speak Japanese at all. Let alone speak it well. A general rule of thumb that many Americans are taught to try to follow is, "if you can't say

something nice about someone, you shouldn't say anything at all;" the corollary to this is that one shouldn't become dishonest or insincere by saying something that he doesn't really believe in. Consider a situation where a foreigner is wearing a very unusual, even strange, suit of clothes.

If he were meeting a Japanese for the first time, the Japanese might be likely to make a complimentary or even incoherent remark about the foreigners unusual dress: the foreigner would probably accept the comment as an expression of the Japanese acquaintance's personal feeling about his dress. However, after the two got to know each other better, it might become apparent to the foreigner that his Japanese friend in fact does not care at all for the suit of clothes, and may have a considerable aversion to such dress.

The foreigner then begins to realize that the original comment was not an expression of personal opinion, but rather a form of politeness, called for according to Japanese social behavior. At this point the foreigner probably wonders when the Japanese is expressing his own thoughts or feelings, and when he is acting according to the formal requirements of Japanese civility.

The over-riding impression at which many foreigners arrive, is that although the safe and harmonious Japanese social environment is much enjoyed and appreciated, the individual behavior that seems to contribute to this harmony is difficult to understand and often misinterpreted. The American and Japanese bases for interpersonal relationships and the interpretation of such relationships, are so different as to be merely curious or interesting, but in many cases perplexing and incomprehensible, to individuals conditioned by culture encountering behavior generated by the other.

It becomes apparent that merely acting properly according to the rules of one's own culture is no longer an adequate objective in today's highly mobile and internationally interdependent world. It is only through understanding the peculiarities of different cultures (including one's own) that the thoughts and actions generated by other cultures can be understood, not merely in the clinical, objective sense, but may also be felt and appreciated for their significance in the cultural frame of reference in which they originated.

# Elasticity-Destruction Link In Our Nature

Elasticity is the property of matters which makes them return to their original shapes or conditions when pressure up to a certain degree of intensity is received from outside. Contrary to this, elasticity becomes unable to work when greater pressure over the degree of intensity is received, and it can no longer prevent the whole constitution of the matters from getting disrupted. This is a phenomenon called destruction in physical science.

Once elasticity is lost, destruction comes in a moment, and things break to pieces. Thin sticks which get broken in two, all of a sudden, with a sharp crack, when bent; a sheet of paper that is easily torn in two, when strained on its both sides; and a small crack made by a knife on top of a bamboo which runs straight down before you can say a knife,—these are only part of the phenomena caused

by elasticity-destruction relation. What is horrible is the case of the tragic British Passenger boat, Titanic. A fissure of her bottom is reported to have run across the hull at the speed of 90 meters a second on her collision with a huge iceberg.

National science is one of the major weapons gifted to the human race. Its progress made it possible for man to land on the moon and to attain what seemed to be in the sphere of the impossible only until a few decades ago.

Nevertheless, even though man's knowledge on natural science has advanced thus far, there is one thing which has been remaining unchanged since the ancient times, and that is no other than the regrettable fact that man has never succeeded in producing life. Whales are now on the verge of extinction, and this is the case also with some other spe-

cies of animals. It is one-sided of man to have considered only how to kill, while neglecting to pay sufficient consideration on how to keep other creatures live, and the result is so miserable. The environmental disruption in serious situation has its origin in man's same misconception about nature in general.

To transform raw materials and sell them is all that is done by what is called "industry." This means that petroleum industry is not producing crude oil itself but only selling refined oil. There are industries that can produce steel boards, but there are none to produce iron ore. To learn it afresh that transformation and consumption are within man's ability but reproduction of the product of nature is all beyond it is disappointing.

That man can not produce any of the components of na-

ture, such as air, water, earth, and life is an important fact to be recognized and remembered any time. The rule of nature is not so generous as to allow man to be arrogant forever. Man can not raise the dead. Nobody can produce anything living. This is a nature's revenge for, as well as warning against, man's arrogance.

Our environment is getting disrupted. At present natural environment still continues to provide the human race with necessary materials, because the elasticity of nature is not lost yet. However, if the spreading disruption is left unprevented and the elasticity of the natural environment can no longer function as a shock-absorber to the force from outside, it is nobody but man himself without any resuscitative skill who falls into the same fate as the thin sticks, the sheet of paper, and the hull of Titanic.

## The original

... brilliant works in the field of theoretical science despite the state of war were highly evaluated also after the war.

## E.D.'s demand for revision

More consideration should be given to the point that war is contributing to the progress of science.

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