

70 years have passed since our honorable seniors and our father, Marq. Shigenobu Okkuma, established the English Speaking Society.

And looking back over the history of the past 70 years, our seniors had established great and honored history of the English Speaking Society of Waseda University.

The 70-year anniversary is not an occasion for complacency. Rather we see it as a time when we ask ourselves in all seriousness how the communication should be made in English, what the role of English is and what we can do in the world.

ACE VOL.14

WASEDAを出てから差がつかます!



政治・経済・文化—どんな道に進むにも、英会話の重要性はますます高まっています。「社会に出てからは、なかなか時間がなくて…」先輩諸氏がよく口にする事。未来のために、学生時代にこそ英会話をじっくり学んでおきましょう。旺文社の「カセットLL+テキスト・テープ」は、先生の声を聞きながら、あなた自身の声を吹きこめるLL方式。納得できるまで何回も練習できます。テキストは、日米の英語指導者が綿密に組み立てた理想的な内容です。

新発売

新版 実用英会話

〈英検3～1級程度テキスト5冊テープ8本〉
勉強に、ビジネスに役に立ちます。基礎・中級英会話から実用英語の高度な会話まで、段階的に学べ、応用のきく英語力が養えます。44のLessonに分け、家庭・学校生活・趣味・娯楽など実用にあった内容です。

海外旅行英会話

〈英検4～1級テキスト4冊(別冊1)テープ8本〉
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●各セット 現金価格 39,900円
(器械とテキスト・テープ) 分割払い価格43,500円(12回払い)

●各教材のみ 現金価格 13,100円
(テキストとテープ) 分割払い価格14,000円(5回払い)



旺文社カセットLL 機器製造・日本コロムビア スーパー

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カタログ請求先→☎162 東京都新宿区横手町 旺文社

THE ACE VOL. 14

THE ENGLISH SPEAKING SOCIETY
OF
WASEDA UNIVERSITY

Preface

Toshimitsu Muramatsu
Editor-in-Chief



70 years have passed since our seniors established the English Speaking Society in Waseda University. And looking back over the history of the past 70 years, our seniors have established great and honored history.

But here, we tried to make change from a tradition-based E.S.S. possible with our emergence.

How communication should be made, what the role of English is and what we can do in English are faced with us. We made our every effort to seek for a more suitable answer to those questions under this year's slogan, "Don't Miss the Era of Dialogue."

I really hope this ACE will tell you something what we thought and did in 1972, and that you can get the gist of our idea.

Lastly, here I'd like to give great and hearty thanks to seniors and co-operators from the bottom of my heart.

Greetings

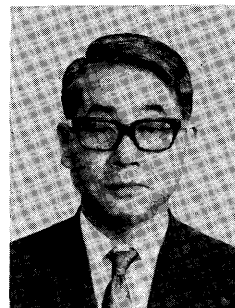
Dear Members of the English Speaking Society:

At the end of a year's activities I should like to ask several questions. Have you taken full advantage of the opportunities that the Society has offered you? Is your English improved? Have you found the satisfaction of discharging your responsibility in an organization? Have you found the satisfaction of competing against worthy rivals with all your might? Have you found the value of co-operation? Have you found the importance of planning and organizing? Have you found how precious it is to talk logically and be understood? Have you learned when to act aggressively and when to control yourself?

The university education as it is now is far from satisfaction, but the E.S.S. has supplied you with every opportunity to make up for what is lacking in the university education. If your answers to the above questions are positive, then, more than half of the education at Waseda is completed. For, a university is the place to mould character, personality and integrity of young men and women who will contribute greatly to the progress of the nation and the peoples of the world.

Though above questions mainly concerns your individual interest, your past activities must be looked at and evaluated from the viewpoint of the Society as a whole. While you lived a part of your own life in the English Speaking Society, you also lived a part of the life of the Society, i.e. you added a new glorious page to the seventy years' history of the English Speaking Society. You must proudly let the succeeding generation know what you have done so that it will guide them to a better and more satisfactory college life.

The "ACE" is not just a sentimental memory of your youthful days but it is a record of the precious works and contributions which will encourage those who will later join the Society, and, above all, it is a part of history.



Katsumi Ito
President

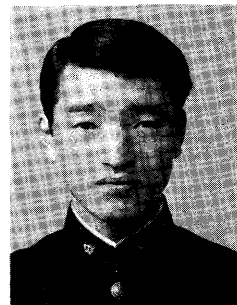
Greetings

"The chimney is choked up with soot which prevents the fire from blazing. No fuel, nor bellows can build up a warm and cheerful fire." I am not sure whether this metaphor is proper or not, but the chimney stands for both our mind and our club, the English Speaking Society of Waseda University. The metaphor has a hidden meaning that we sometimes forget our final purpose and the attitude of mind which we should take toward university and club life. Though we have a longing for something which we regard as best, we can not rouse all our energy because of the bad conditions of the chimney. New ways and systems of organization and activities in the W.E.S.S. can not be carried out successfully without burning energy.

Last year, we pioneered new way of thinking and new plans, but we might have left something more important. I am afraid we didn't refresh our spirit. What is essential for us is recognition of ourselves rather than reform of this society. If we do not feed ourselves with stimulants, who else will be kind enough to do so? If we, the young are not ambitious enough, who else will be ambitious? If we were not courageous enough, and if we were not ambitious enough, we should have to consider the reason together.

Now, I have to leave the chairmanship for 1972 of this society. I sincerely express my heartfelt gratitude to all the members and honorable graduates for their kind co-operation and encouragement. I've tried to build a better society than previous years. I've tried to add another brilliant page to the history of this society which every individual member can share.

Perhaps, I didn't do anything good for you, and wasn't able to help you to paint a fine picture on your canvas of memory as you liked through last year. Now my year is gone and the only thing I can do is to expect the next generation to take further step forward. And these are the words which I can give on this occasion: "The sense of responsibility on the part of each member will make our club more and more active. The successful activities of the W.E.S.S. depends on our untiring energy and ambition. It is our job, and not anybody else's."



Katsumasa Hirano
Chairman

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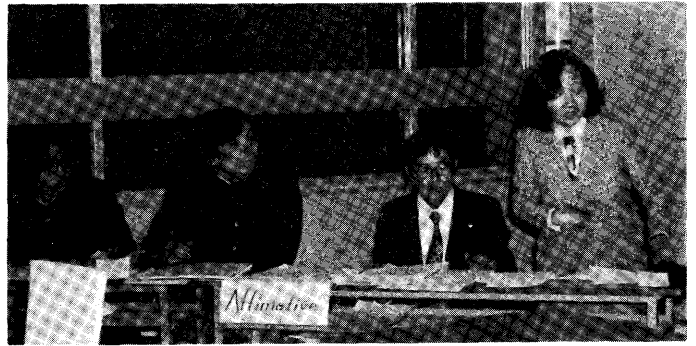
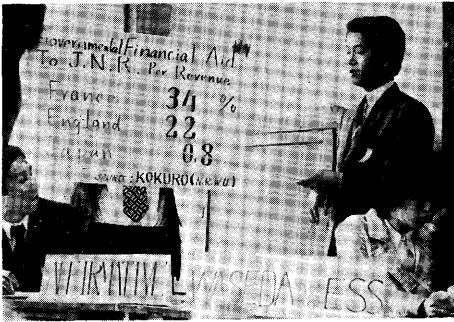
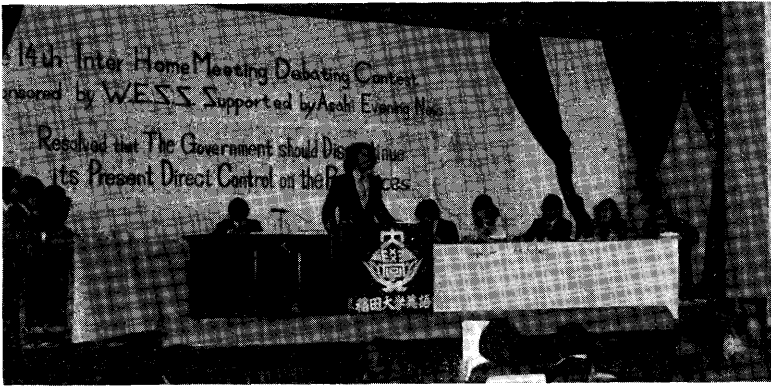
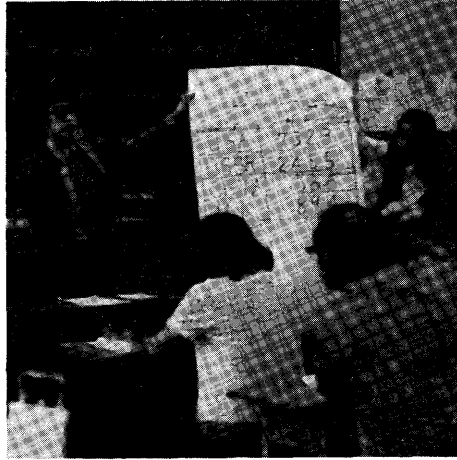
TRACES '72

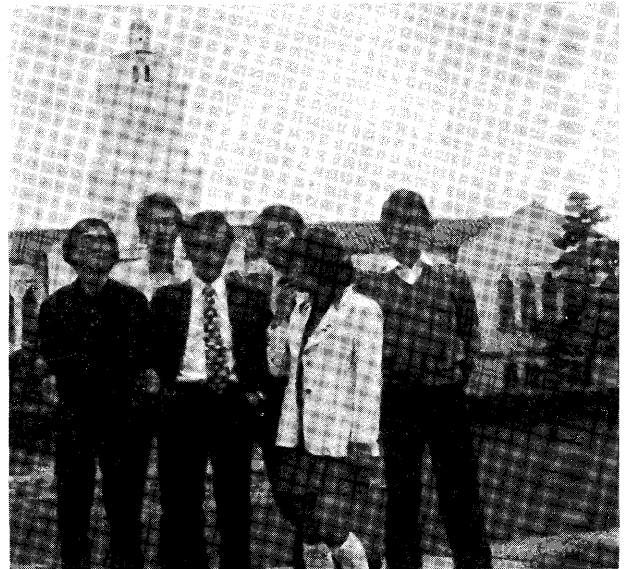
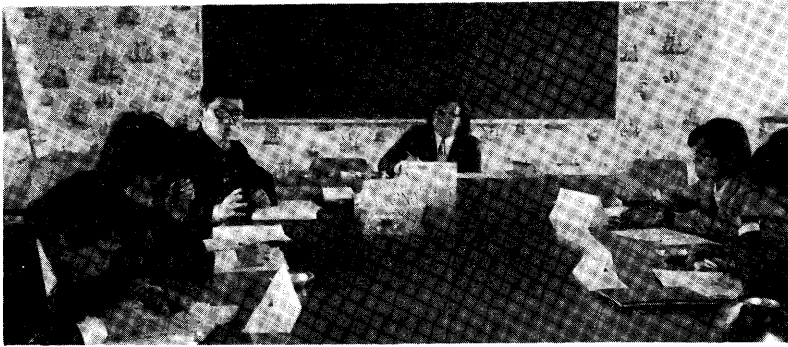
- Apr. 5 T.I.D.L. Home to Home Debating Match (vs. Japan Women's College)
 Title: Resolved; that the veto power in the Security Council of the
 United Nations should be abolished.
 Aff.: Miss Aikawa and Miss Shimizu (won)
 Neg.: Mr. Hamamura and Miss Sato (lost)
- 14 T.I.L.L. Home to Home Debating Match
 (vs. Meiji-Gakuin Univ. E.S.A.)
 Aff.: Miss Takada and Miss Yamanaka (lost)
 Neg.: Mr. Furue and Mr. Nawoi (won)
- 15 Welcome Party
- 20 T.I.D.L. Home to Home Debating Match (vs. Keio Univ.)
 Aff.: Mr. Seki and Mr. Takada (won)
 Neg.: Mr. Kihara and Mr. Kito (lost)
- 22 Discussion with Kansai Univ.
- 29 All Japan Intercollegiate Five-Man Team Debate Contest
 Title: Resolved; that the right to strike should be guaranteed to
 the workers in Public Corporations, etc.
 3rd Prize: Mr. Hisaoka, Mr. Ikegami, Mr. Ishitoya,
 Mr. Sugimoto, Miss Takahashi
- May 4 T.I.D.L. Home to Home Debating Match (vs. W.E.S.A.)
 Aff.: Mr. Kuroiwa and Mr. Okada (draw)
 Neg.: Mr. Nishikiori and Mr. Shingai (won)

- 6 Discussion with Kwansai-Gakuin Univ.
- 11 All Waseda English Interpretation Contest
 - 1st Prize: Seiichi Suzuki
 - 2nd Prize: Yumi Nakajima
 - 3rd Prize: Eiji Suzuki
- 14 K.U.E.L. Freshman Discussion
- 18 General Meeting
- 20 Four University Freshman Discussion
- 21 T.I.D.L. Model Debate
 - Japan Intercollegiate Discussion Meeting
- 23 T.I.D.L. Home to Home Debating Match (vs. Meiji Univ.)
 - Aff.: Mr. Hasenaka and Mr. Karumori (lost)
 - Neg.: Mr. Komatsu and Mr. Shibaguchi (won)
- 24 Junior Speech Contest (Waseda Elimination)
 - |
- 25
- 26 Waseda-Keio Oral Interpretation Contest
 - Society Prize: Waseda Univ.
 - 2nd Prize: Eiji Suzuki
 - 3rd Prize: Masashi Yoshiwara
- 31 Kansai Expedition
 - |
- Jun. 7
- 11 Four University Junior Speech Contest
 - Society Prize: Waseda Univ.
 - 1st Prize: Ichiro Takada
 - 2nd Prize: Tamotsu Sato
 - The 3rd I.F.P. Intercollegiate English Speech Contest
 - 1st Prize: Shingo Enda
- 12 T.I.D.L. Championship Debate (Waseda Elimination)
 - |
- 14
- 17 T.I.D.L. Championship Debate (Final)
 - 1st Prize: Mr. Ikegami and Miss Hamada
- 18
- 24 Junior Discussion with Q.G.S. and J.W.C.
 - All Kanto Speech Contest
 - 2nd Prize: Akira Nishikiori
- Jul. 27 Summer Camp at Lake Nojiri
 - |
- Aug. 1
- 30 I.E.C. Debate Contest (Waseda Elimination; W.E.S.S. vs. W.E.S.A.)
- Oct. 8 Drama Festival
- 16 All Waseda Speech Contest
 - |
- 18

- 1st Prize: Nobuyoshi Kobayashi
 2nd Prize: Ryoko Suzuki
 3rd Prize: Masakazu Sugimoto
- 22 Asia Cup Speech Contest
 3rd Prize: Masayoshi Seki
 All Japan Speech Contest for Amano Trophy
 4th Prize: Nobuyoshi Kobayashi
- 22 Japan Intercollegiate Discussion Meeting
 |
 23
- 28 The 11th Waseda-Keio English Oratorical Contest
 Society Prize: Keio Univ.
 1st Prize: Nobuyoshi Kobayashi
- Nov. 3 Four University English Theatricals
 |
 5
- 14 All Waseda Championship Debate (W.E.S.S. vs. W.E.S.A.)
 18 The 8th East-West 6 University Oratorical Contest
 5th Prize: Ryoko Suzuki
- 25 Inter-Home Meeting Junior Debate Contest
 Title: Resolved; that the Government should discontinue its present direct control on the rice prices.
 Society Prize: Koenji Home Meeting
 The 12th Intercollegiate Speech Contest sponsored Tokyo University of Agriculture
 1st Prize: Kaoru Kaneda
- 26 The 7th Intercollegiate Invitational Debate Tournament (sponsored by Sophia Univ.)
 1st Prize: Mr. Matsuoka and Miss Mikami
 Title: Resolved; that Japan should become a permanent member nation in the Security Council.
- 26 Inter-Home Meeting Debate Contest
 1st Prize: Koenji Team
 Takasaki City Mayor's Cup Speech Contest
 2nd Prize: Ryoko Suzuki
 Chiba E.S.S. League Speech Contest
 2nd Prize: Masami Takeuchi
- Dec. 2 The 20th All Kanto Intercollegiate English Oratorical Contest
 Honorable Mention: Kaoru Kaneda
- 9 All Waseda Discussion
 10 The 2nd K.U.E.L. Day English Oratorical Contest
 5th Prize: Masakazu Sugimoto
- 16 Closing Party
 Feb. 10 Farewell Party

DEBATE

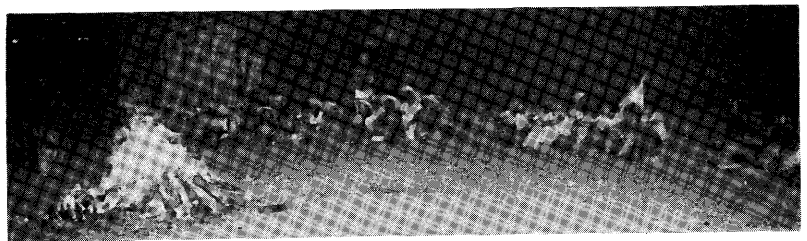
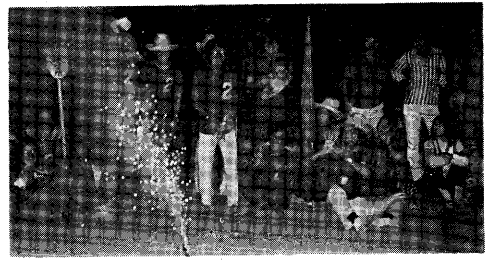




DISCUSSION

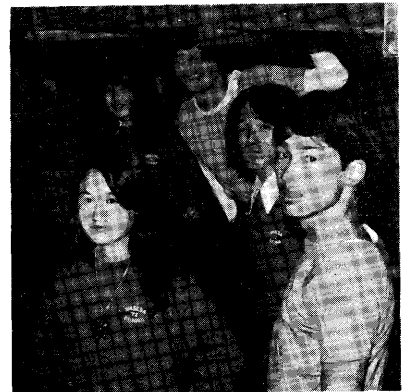
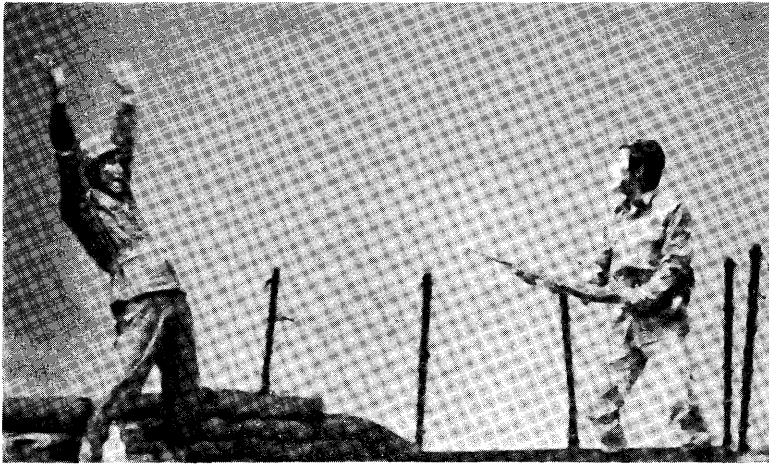
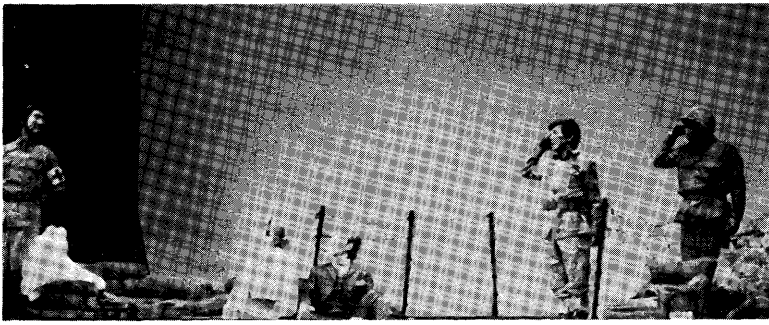
SPEECH

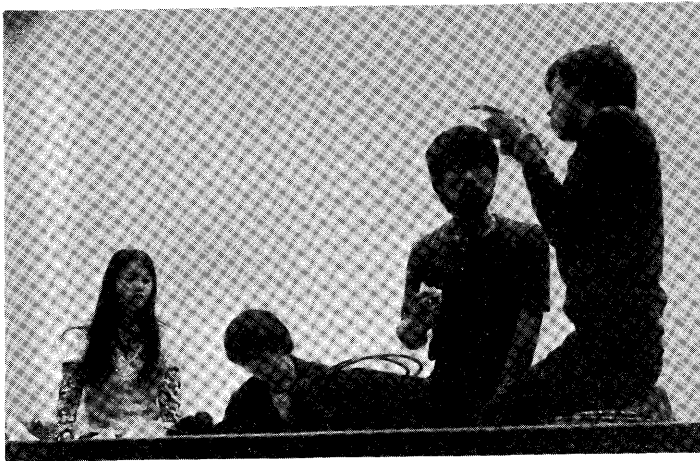
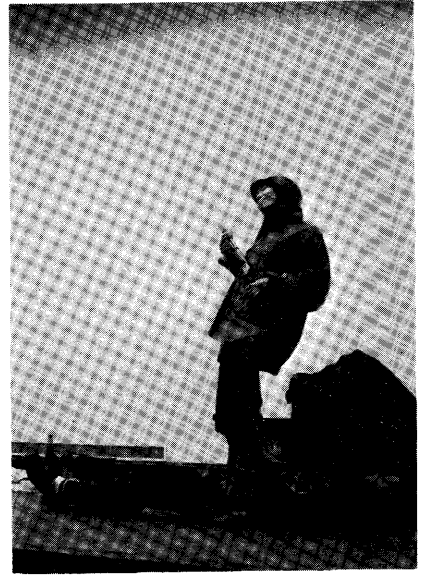




SUMMER CAMP

DRAMA





CLOSING PARTY '72





KOENJI



YOKOHAMA

WESS FAMILIES

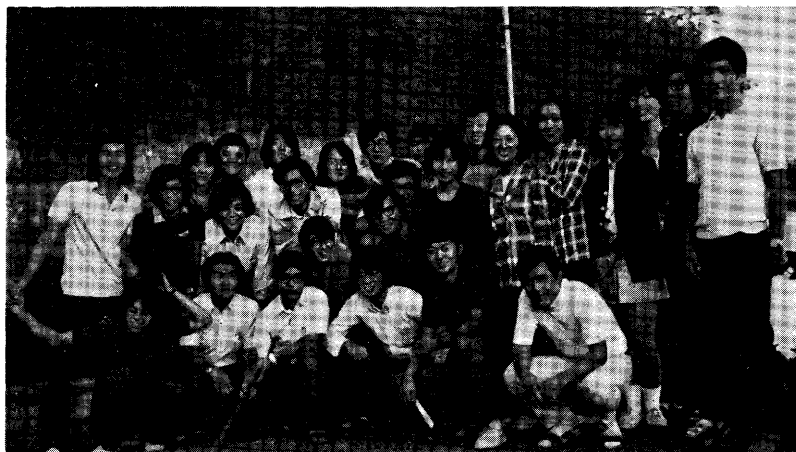


JOHOKU

SHINJUKU



MEJIRO



AKIHABARA



SHIBUYA



Drama '72

PICNIC ON THE BATTLEFIELD

This year we performed "Picnic on the Battlefield" written by a Spanish playwright, Fernand Arrabal. This is a tragedy in the form of a surrealistic joke. Arrabal wanted to write a play in which humor and poetry, panic and love live together, and to take the theater as a festivity or a strictly ordered ceremony—what is called, 'theater of panic.' And says, "In the theater of panic, the festivity of the play will be changed into a universal ceremony just like the fantasy of Don Quixote, the nightmare of Alice in Wonderland, the illusion of 'K' in Franz Kafka or the impossible

dream of IBM dreamt by human beings every night." Yes indeed! This Picnic on the Battlefield is strange, fantastic or even terrible to me.

Zapo, who is enough old to be a soldier, is still as innocent and pureminded like a child, and trembles for fear on the battle field facing the reality of modern warfare. But regardless of his feeling, the horrible noise of the bombing continues scaring him. What is the fighting for? What does the war mean to him? These questions, however, do not make any sense to him, because he is a man who enjoy his free

and happy life according to his desire. He just does what his captain commands him to do. That's OK as far as the war is concerned.

One day his parents who are very proper middle-class people come to visit him on the battlefield and set up a picnic amid the bombs. As he enjoys the picnic, Zapo gradually forgets the war. But the appearance of an enemy soldier breaks the family mood. Soon after Zepo is captured, they are so happy and gay that they can set the prisoner free and ask him to join the picnic.

The characters of this story including two Stretcher Bearers are very innocent

and faithful to their own desire. They have their own way of life, which seems far beyond ours but very close to ours in a sense. The battlefield is not merely a situation of war, but a symbol of modern society. And it forms a striking contrast to the comical speeches or actions of characters. At the end of the play when the dance and the fighting reach the climax, there's a sudden change on the stage. And the sudden curtain helps this play so much to be a tragedy. Anyway it can be said that this play strongly criticize the war and reveals how powerless human beings are before the war.

◇ CASTS ◇

Zapo	Norikatsu Mouri	(4)	Mme. Tépan	Noriko Takagi	(2)
Zépo	Masami Takeuchi	(2)	1st Stretcher Bearr...	Hiroyuki Suzuki	(1)
Mons. Tépan	Ichiro Takada	(2)	2nd Stretcher Bearer..	Nobuhito Tanaka	(1)

◇ STAFF ◇

Producer	Katstumasa Hirano	(3)	Setting	Kiyoshi Soeda	(3)
Director	Yasutoshi Hidekawa	(3)	Lighting	Ikuo Oota	(3)
Assistant D.	Masami Takeuchi	(2)	Sound Effects	Masakazu Sugimoto	(3)
Assistant D.	Kazumi Takei	(1)	Costume	Toshimitsu Muramatsu	(3)
Assistant D.	Yumi Nakajima	(1)	Make-Up	Hiroshi Kobayashi	(3)
Stage Manager ...	Yooichiro Ooba	(3)	Treasurer	Yu'u Fukuda	(3)
Assistant S. M. ...	Yasuhiro Hamamura	(2)			

Picnic on the Stage

Yo'oichiro Ooba

— Scene I —

Theater and W.E.S.S. visit their son, Director to have a picnic on the stage. They start their meal.

Theater: Well, my boy, did you make a good drama?

Director: When?

Theater: In the first few days of November, of course.

Director: Where?

Theater: At Hitotsubashi Auditorium, since you're fighting in a contest.

Director: No, nothing much. I didn't make a good drama. Hardly ever scored a bull.

Theater: Which are you best at directing, stage actions or effects?

Director: No, not effects, there aren't any good effects to remark.

Theater: Well, actions then?

Director: Could be.

Theater: Could be? Aren't you sure?

Director: Well you see..... I direct without taking aim, (*pause*) and at the

same time I say a Pater Noster for the chap I've directed.

Theater: You must be braver than that.
Like your father.

W.E.S.S.: I'm going to put a record on.
She puts a record on the gramophone — a rock'n'roll. All three are sitting on the stage, listening.

Theater: That really is music.
The music continues

— Scene II —

The Four University English Theatricals says good-bye. All for answer them.

The F.U.E.T. goes out.

W.E.S.S.: That's what's so pleasant about spending a Sunday at Hitotsubashi Auditorium. You always meet such nice people. (*pause*) But why are you staffs?
Stage Manager: I don't know, I'm not very well educated.

W.E.S.S.: Was it by birth, or did you become a staff?

S.M.: I don't know, I don't know anything about it.

Theater: Well then, how did you come to be in the drama?

S.M.: One day, at home, I was just studying English, a man came and asked me, "Are you a member of E.S.S.?" "Yes." "Right, you must come to the drama." And so I asked him, "But what drama?" and he said, "Don't you read the ACE then? You are just a peasant!" I told him, "I did read the ACE but not the drama bit."

Director: Just how it was with me—Exactly how it was with me.

Theater: Yes, they came to fetch you, too.

W.E.S.S.: No, it wasn't quite the same; that day you weren't studying English, you were studying Spanish.

Theater: I was talking about the rest of it. (*to S.M.*) Go on, what happened then?

S.M.: Then I told him I had a fiancee and

if I didn't take her to the pictures on Sundays she wouldn't like it. He said that wasn't the least bit important.

Director: Just how it was with me—exactly how it was with me.

S.M.: And then my father came down and he said I couldn't go to the drama because I didn't have an experience.

Director: Just what my father said.

S.M.: The man said you didn't need an experience any more, and I asked him if I could take my fiancee with me. He said no. Then I asked whether I could take my aunt with me so that she could make me one of her chocolate puffs on Thursday; I'm very fond of them.

W.E.S.S.: (*realising that she'd forgotten it*) Oh! The chocolate puff!

S.M.: He said no again.

Director: Same as with me.

S.M.: And ever since then, I've been alone on the stage nearly all the time.

W.E.S.S.: I think you and your distinguished partner might work together this afternoon, as you are so close to each other and so bored.

After this, the Stage Manager and the Director make their efforts to perform till the end of the play.

The four University English Theatricals enters left.

He is carrying the empty prize.

— Sudden Curtain —

DRAMA AT A TURNING POINT

Yo'oichiro Ooba
Stage Manager

Four University English Theatricals has been continuing for thirty-six years. What made it continue for such a long time? I think some students certainly wanted to search what better English drama is, and every other members of the E.S.S. agreed with them and cooperated with each other to make a good play in English. This is what we call a total activity. This way has enabled the W.E.S.S. to overcome every difficulty in doing a lot of activities.

Recently, however, the drama activity is avoided in the W.E.S.S. I don't understand why. Yes, I know the W.E.S.S. itself has been changed as the characteristic of students has changed. Consequently we should change the way of playing the drama activity according to its new interpretation. But it is not good to avoid the drama without examining what is the essence of drama.

One of the merits of drama is above mentioned, namely the drama activity makes us unite. Because there are many factors in producing a play such as casts, setting, lighting, sound-effects, costume, make-up and other requirements. And without good co-operation among these factors, we can hardly expect the better play.

The English drama provides us with true English. This is another merit of drama. By studying English through drama activity, we can acquire lots of expressions, especially emotional expressions and know how to use them freely in our daily life. This is difficult for us to get them when we are engaged in other activities, because

only the English of drama is filled with such kind of expressions.

English drama also enables us to get the feeling or the taste of English language and furthermore, foreigners' way of thinking and their humanity. Trying to know all those things is "studying English" in true sense.

Needless to say it's very, very difficult to get all these merits of drama. But it's more important to try to get one of them. That's why we continued to do the drama activity this year.

After considering how all of us can do the true study of English, we concluded to adopt so-called "all cast system," under which all the members will be casts in order to enjoy the pleasure of acting, and to select a short play (one act play) which is rather short (20-30 minutes), which is easy to understand full of expressions.

If we hold a drama festival in our campus, it's natural to try to compete with other universities or colleges whether its result is perfect or not. It's not good for us to get satisfied with only a drama festival in our campus—our inner world. We must be positive to take the opportunity to show our vigor, energy and spirit. That's why we participated in the Four University English Theatricals this year.

I'll be very happy if this year's drama could do something for the next year's one.

Finally, I'd like to express my hearty thanks to Prof. Ito, graduates, seniors, heads of each section, assistants, casts and staffs of each section.

SPEECH

This year, we sponsored and participated in some speech contests. We learned and studied how to make a speech and what public speaking is about.

Why do we make a speech? This question has been our own problem this year.

Speech is made for complacency and self-satisfaction?

Speech is for improvement of our English ability?

Speech is for getting a prize and presents for winners?

And Speech is for ?

Every answer will be able to be a good and satisfactory one. But, at the same time, every one cannot be.

Because some of you would feel deception when you made speeches; some of you would make speeches about what you didn't really think; some of you would make speeches against your own will.

Then what is the significance of public speaking?

No one can make and give a satisfactory answer to this question. And everyone can. This is all we can say now, though this may seem somewhat inconsistent.

But we should know a fact that all the speakers who can move, impress and hit our heart with their speeches like speech very much. And speech and they are wonderful lovers.

Here for your better understanding of speech, some prize winning speeches are shown. We hope these examples will be of good help to you and will let you think of something useful for us.

A FAREWELL TO ARMS

Kaoru Kaneda

The history of mankind is a history of weapons. Since ancient times, man has been eager to develop weapons, always to extend his territory and in doing so to defend himself. Through all wars, weapons have become more powerful and cruel. Today, even a single attack by nuclear weapon is enough to destroy one nation and its people for a moment.

When I was a little child, I visited "Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Memorial Museum." I had a terrible shock when I found many pictures showing the miserable scenes. Those people in the picture who suffered from keloid stared at me with very reproachful look. A little infant with no cloth on was crying for her mother. And I could not bear the sight of their keloid faces, hands, necks and legs. Even though I was a ten year old boy, I did not hate the pilot who bombed Nagasaki, nor the country which brought about that miserable situation, but I did hate the weapon, atomic bomb. If there had not been the weapon, atomic bomb, then, the tragedy of Nagasaki would not have happened.

Today, day after day, we, Japanese people are enjoying peace and prosperity, and seeking for much more enjoyment. We can get the most delicious foods, gorgeous clothes and houses whenever we want to get them. But, here, I dare to sound one alarm that an international crime is being committed, a big hateful crime is actually being committed by our government under the name of defense. The 4th defense build-up program of Japan is about to be recognized and put into practice against many people's objection and surrounding nation's fear of revival of Japanese militar-

ism. It is reported that the 4th defense build-up program totally amounts to 15 billion dollars. Why must we reinforce our military power at the expense of such a huge amount of money? The Self Defense Forces explain us as follows. "Protect our lands, our parents and our loved things by our own hands. Not to repeat war, Japan should possess weapons. They are effective to deter war. The stronger, the safer." Based on this theory, each nation in the world even now would not stop producing and developing more powerful and terrible weapons, such as atomic, hydrogen bombs, I.C.B.M., or powerful jet-fighters. It seems that the Armed Race will never cease forever. Under this condition, who can assure we are defended safely?

Ladies and gentlemen, suppose I pointed a gun at you like this. You'd think I would shoot you. Thus gun is produced not to protect our lives but to kill others. Cannon is produced not to protect our land but to attack and destroy others' towns and cities. Weapons are produced not to protect ourselves but to kill or injure others. Therefore when we possess weapons, we should notice we are ready to attack others and ready to be attacked by others. By developing weapons we are in more dangerous condition. We may possibly bring about more miserable scenes of Nagasaki all over the world.

Now I'll put you one question. If a person next to you declares he has a gun to defend himself, then do you, too, have a gun? I would never own a gun, because I would never want to kill any person. Nobody, I can say for sure, would want to

kill a person. Then to possess weapons even for defense. Is it right? Never! Thousand times never! However those who have experienced war are about to commit crimes of war again.

Now ladies and gentlemen, we are the generation who do not know war and who have never possessed weapons. Even so our generation may be responsible in the future for the total survival of man as a species. We have never killed others in

war, we have never been criminals in war. But we must bear the burden to find out a new way to attain true peace. We must be responsible for present day crime of developing weapons. It is we of the younger generation who should walk hand in hand with men of good-will from all generations and cry out until the day we attain true peace with no weapon. Truly, a farewell to arms is our generation's duty and responsibility.

KNOW YOUR COUNTRY

Motoko Usuki

Nowadays English inevitably is a common language in the world. Many people of the world speak English. Then, why do many people, especially we, young people in Japan learn English?

As a result of inquiries which a student of Keio Univ. made, more than 30% of the students study English for travelling abroad. When I look at this result, I think it is quite natural. Lately during many vacations, not a few students go abroad to have experience of foreign life and enrich their knowledge of the culture, manners, and customs there. They will attack at foreigners with questions about their country. But, on the other hand, many foreigners will ask them about Japan. Can you explain it in full?

Here, this is a problem. What these foreigners want to learn is not English, but the contents of it, Japanese circumstances. Are you sure you know your country well?

The other day, a foreigner asked me about the arranged marriage system in Japan. It seemed rather strange to her. She thought that a woman first meets a man, and the second time they meet is at

their wedding ceremony. So, I explained they have a date many times, after that, they can decide whether they get married or not. It is easy for you to explain it to a foreigner. Because such a problem is one of daily events or you are interested in it.

But ladies and gentlemen, do you know Japanese culture? Some time ago, our teacher of English asked, "Do you know the Kabuki?", we all answered, "Yes, we know it." Most of us have gone to see the Kabuki at least one time. Then he said, "What is the Kabuki?" Every one could not tell anything about it. Yes, every Japanese knows the Kabuki. But, all the thing we know about it is a kind of play "Kabuki." You have a good reason why you can't explain it. That is, "I am not interested in it."

Well, what about Buddhism in Japan? What about the Japanese language? Aren't you interested in all of these?

Then, how much do we understand our country?

When I asked my pen-pal in France about Christianity and French, she explained in her letter in full about them and said

that French was the pride of her. I regretted that I couldn't explain Buddhism in spite of our religion, moreover, I couldn't think Japanese was the most beautiful language in the world. A French girl confidently can expound French culture, because she studies and understands it. As for us, Japanese young people, it is difficult to do it, for we don't study Japanese culture or religion.

Japanese culture indicates the mind of the Japanese.

Japanese spirit exists in Japanese culture.

Shintoism and Buddhism have much influence on the way of life in Japan. Especially since the sixth century Buddhism has had power over Japanese culture and spirit. Moreover, Japanese language, it is our own language that we speak, hear, read and write day after day. All of these are a part of Japanese life. We can't ignore such facts!

So, we can't say that we know nothing about them, because we are not interested in Japanese culture or religion.

When we would like to understand the spirit of the people of foreign country, it is one of the best ways to know their culture and religion which the people has cultivated there. Because their spirit exists in their culture or religion as I said before. Foreigners often ask us about Japan for this reason. If you have good ability to speak English, but can't explain about Japan, the reason is simply you don't know it, and it is very regrettable, isn't it?

Furthermore, many people think, for peace of the world, it is necessary for people of every country to know and understand each other better. Therefore, we must make people in foreign countries understand our country accurately. And before that, we should have a right understanding on our country.

Now, English is a good means to make many foreigners know Japan. But, before wanting to excel in speaking English, let's try to know much better about our country, as we are Japanese.

The first thing we should do is to know ourselves.

THE SOUND OF DIALECT

Ryoko Suzuki

Last summer, one of my friends and I went to a swimming pool. As it was a very hot day, we enjoyed swimming very much. While we were in the water, suddenly my friend stood up beside me and said, "KOWAI", which means 'I'm afraid.' I was surprised. "What are you afraid of?" For an instant, my friend looked into my eyes and said nothing. Then she began to laugh and said, "I'm sorry, 'KOWAI' means 'I'm tired' in our Hokkaido dialect."

Once we leave our hometowns, we speak

or try to speak Standard Japanese for convenience sake. Because if, for example, a person from Tohoku and one from Kyushu should start a conversation in their own dialects, they would surely have as much difficulty as if they were speaking in German and French. So, it is necessary for us to have Standard Japanese to communicate with each other wherever we may go in Japan. Thanks to the development of mass-communications, Standard Japanese can be heard in every nook and corner

of Japan.

Dialects, on the other hand, are being used less and less. Even the Department of Education directs teachers to speak Standard Japanese in their classes. Also, the people who speak dialects are apt to regard their dialects as humble. I happened to see a local newspaper in Aomori Prefecture which declared, "Let's stop speaking in our dialect. Let's speak in beautiful Standard Japanese." To tell the truth, when I was still in my hometown, Tsuruoka City in Yamagata Prefecture, I myself thought how smart and charming Standard Japanese was! Everything spoken in Standard Japanese seemed to sound poetic.

Actually however, after coming up to Tokyo, and speaking Standard Japanese, I have been surprised to face many occasions when I could have expressed myself much more suitably in the words of my own dialect than in those of Standard Japanese. The sounds of some words of my dialect seem more suitable for expressing feelings, and moreover, some words have quite delicate nuances that can't be translated into Standard Japanese. How many times have I thought, "My dialect would be so useful here!" So when I returned home and listened to the regional dialect, I felt it to be not so smart or charming perhaps, but quite poetic and full of feeling. It sounded so comfortable to my ears. Such picturesque dialects must exist all over Japan. My friend from Hokkaido also told me that "SHIBARERU" signifies a very very cold situation where everything is frozen, a concept which can't be expressed in one word of Standard Japanese. Dialects have unique ways of saying things and are coloured by the character of each district. Ladies and gentlemen, is it really wise to throw away dialects and unify the language even if Standard Japanese is quite necessary and convenient? My answer is "No".

Today strange new words are born one after another. Too many foreign words have been adopted. Our native vocabulary is getting poorer and poorer. We use only 'KIREI' to indicate both 'beauty' and 'cleanliness' without discrimination. 'SU-GOI' is the only word that we now use when we meet an admirably surprising thing. But I can say in English, 'wonderful', 'great', 'excellent', 'beautiful', 'awesome' or 'marvellous' according to the character of the admiration.

We are indifferent and making light of our own language, are we not? I'm afraid the simplification of our language means the mechanization of people's minds in this complicated mechanical world. That's why I believe it's important to support our dialects. It's foolish to throw away our dialects not only because they are the very symbol of one's native place and have nostalgic associations but also because they have rich vocabularies and lyricism, and embody feelings based on the long history and culture of our districts. Yes dialects were born firmly connected with the life of our districts and as long as our regional life exists, I'm sure that dialects will be needed to express the minds of the people.

Ladies and gentlemen, our dialects are being used less and less. The members of the younger generation speak their dialects less and less.

Is it the current of history?

Will dialects be left only as objects of study for linguists?

I'm now firmly determined to speak in our dialect in my hometown and when I talk with the people from my hometown. Even if it's in Tokyo, even if they speak Standard Japanese, I speak our dialect. The determination of one person may not be enough to keep a dialect alive, but I can't help following my path, because our dialect forms a part of myself, and I love the sound of our dialect.

***To
The Better Future
Of Japan
With Friends
Throughout
The World***

Pressure for Yen Upvaluation

Boycotting of "Made in Japan"
Inflation

Capital Liberalization
Trade Liberalization

Industrial Hazards

Orderly Marketing

Fourth Defense Build-up Program

Taiwan Problem
Anti-Japanese Sentiments
Public Welfare First

EC Nations

Soaring Land Prices
Communist Party Gains

Siberian Development

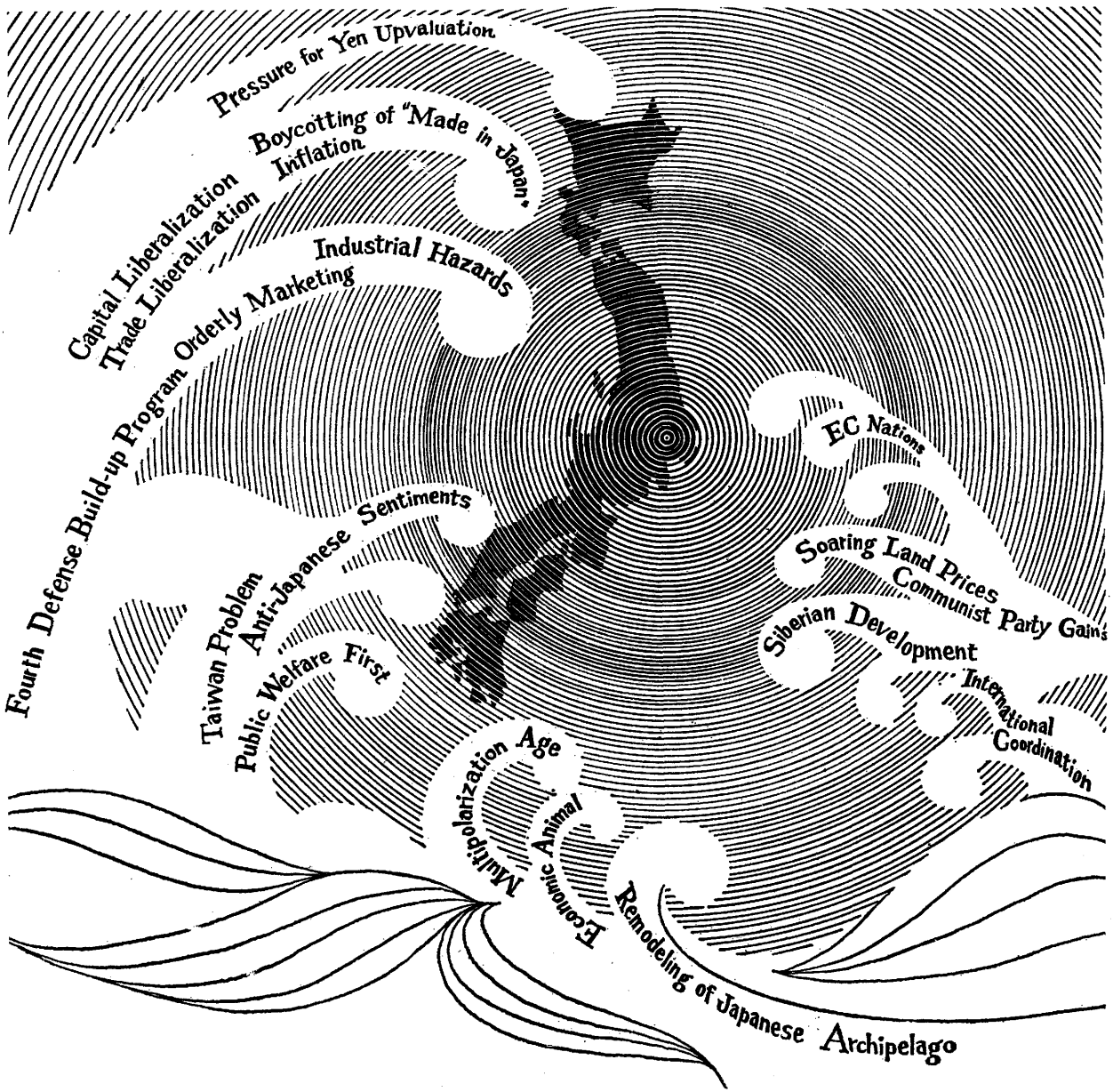
International
Coordination

Multipolarization Age

Economic
Animal

Remodeling of Japanese

Archipelago



The 7th Intercollegiate Invitational Debate Tournament

Resolved; that Japan Should Become
A Permanent Member Nation In The
Security Council

Waseda team won the 1st prize in the Seventh Intercollegiate Invitational Debate Tournament sponsored by Sophia University on Nov. 26th, 1972, under the proposition "Resolved: that Japan should become a permanent member nation of the Security Council." Presented here are the first and second constructive speeches delivered by Sophia team, the Affirmative and our representatives, the Negative in the final match.

The Affirmative's First Constructive Speech

Men, since the dawn of history, have been seeking for peace. Various methods through the ages have been attempted to devise an international process to prevent and to settle disputes between nations. From the very start, workable methods have been found in so far as individual citizens were concerned, but the mechanics of an instrumentality of larger international scope have never been successful. Military alliances, the League of Nations have

all in turn failed, leaving the only path to be by the crucible of war. The utter destructiveness of war now blocks out this alternative. We have our last chance. That is the United Nations which was established in 1945 for saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

First of all let us define the terms of today's proposition. By "the Security Council" we mean, "one of the principal organs of the United Nations, taking the

primary responsibility for the maintenance of the international peace and security." By "the permanent member" we mean, "a member state who keeps the seat in the Security Council permanently." The five permanent members were given the veto power in order to secure the collaboration of the great countries. Because with this collaboration of the great powers the Security Council can work most effectively. And this veto power distinguishes the permanent members from the non-permanent members most clearly.

Today, we of the Affirmative are firmly convinced that Japan should become a permanent member of the Security Council for the following two major reasons.

1. Japan's staying outside of the Security Council Permanent Membership is against the original significance of the Permanent Membership System.

2. Japan's not being a permanent member prevents the Security Council from functioning well.

I will explain No. 1 and Mr. Shigeoka will explain No. 2.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, let us examine these reasons one at a time.

Japan's staying outside of the Security Council Permanent Membership is against the original significance of the Permanent Membership System.

The Security Council should be composed of great powers because the collaboration of the great countries is the key to the function of the Security Council. And the reason why the collaboration of the great countries are indispensable is that the great powers have great influential powers and by using their great influence the Security Council can carry out its duties very smoothly. This is the reason why Permanent Membership System was established.

According to the book entitled "The United Nations" published by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 21, I quote; "the former

Secretary General U Thant says that the activities of the United Nations are determined by the total will of the great powers, and that it is impossible for the United Nations to take an action which is against the will of the influential countries, and to make an action of the United Nations effective, the agreement and co-operation of the great powers are necessary."

So, the effect of the Security Council, stemming from keeping all the great powers as permanent members and giving them the veto powers is that the United Nations can avoid the conflict among the great powers. This is the original significance of Permanent Membership System. Therefore in order to make the function of the Security Council most effectively, all the great powers should be permanent members. However, when we examine the status quo, Japan is one of the great powers, and yet she is not given the permanent seat in the Security Council. This is the problem. If the Security Council must be composed of all the great countries, and if Japan is a great power, then Japan should become a permanent member.

Now let me show you Japan is a great country. In order to prove that Japan is a great country, we have three points to examine.

Firstly, as for her economic power, Japan's development symbolized as it is by the third place in the international G.N.P. ranks, has made her one of the principal powers of the world. Thus, Japan has great economic power.

As for the political power, Japan is now playing an important role in the stage of international politics.

According to the Japan Times, Sep. 1, '72, Dr. Kissinger stated that "We consider out friendship with Japan as the key element in our Asian policy."

According to Nippon Keizai Shimbun, Sep. 27, '72, Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R. stated at the General Assembly

of the United Nations that "the U.S.S.R. will make an effort for the success of concluding a peace treaty between Japan and the U.S.S.R. for the peace and co-operation in Asia."

Thus, Japan is being called upon by the great powers to shoulder her share of responsibilities as a great power in world affairs.

Now, lastly, we'd like to examine the military field. The most convenient way to examine a country's military power is to know how much money that country spends to her military. Now, how much money does Japan spend to her military? Please look at this chart. This chart shows the expenditure on the Self Defense Forces. Consequently, Japan has great military power.

Thus, we've shown you that all the great

powers should be the permanent members and Japan is a great power.

Then, why doesn't Japan become a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations.

So, in order to strengthen the *raison d'etre* of the Security Council, Japan is necessary in the Security Council.

Thus, we've shown you that Japan's staying outside of the Security Council Permanent Membership is against the original significance of the Permanent Membership System.

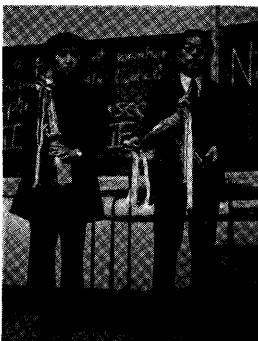
Therefore, based on what we truly consider to be scientific and rational arguments, we of the Affirmative are compelled to conclude that Japan should become a permanent member of the United Nations' Security Council.

The Negative's First Constructive Speech

The Security Council has two purposes; one is the pursuit of peace and the other is the prevention of outbreak and spread

of conflicts. In order to carry out these purposes, the permanent member nations are co-operating with each other. With this in mind, let us examine the case presented by today's affirmative.

Their major contention No.1 is that Japan's staying outside of the Security Council is against the original purpose of the Security Council. In major contention No. 2, they said that this situation prevented the Security Council from functioning well. Now I'd like to examine their argument more in detail. They said that the Security Council had to consist of big powers and concluded that as Japan was



Waseda:
Kyoko Mikami
and
Koichi Matsuoka

already a big power it had to be a permanent member nation of the Security Council.

But under the present situation, five permanent member nations are co-operating with each other. We cannot understand what's wrong with the present situation. If they are not satisfied with it, they should show us some evil resulting from the status quo. Unless they show us any evil, we cannot understand why the present situation is wrong nor why the co-operation among big powers including the co-operation of Japan is necessary. We agree that the co-operation among big powers is important. According to the article 31 of the U.N. Charter, the ordinary member nations can participate in the talks of the Security Council and it can make much of the co-operation among member nations. Therefore, we doubt the necessity of the co-operation of Japan as a permanent member nation under present situation. So I'd like to ask the Affirmative to show us some evils which result from the absence of Japan from the seat of permanent member.

They said Japan had acquired great power in economic, political and military fields, and concluded that Japan was already a big power. Now I'd like to examine these 3 points one by one.

First, they said that economic power of Japan was great. But do you believe that economic power can be a criterion to judge a nation's qualification as a permanent member nation. At present, West Germany ranks third in the Gross National Product and People's Republic of China ranks eighth. The Chinese G.N.P. is half as much as Japan's. If the assertion of the Affirmative is true, West Germany should be qualified as a permanent member nation. No connection is founded between economic power of a nation and the qualification of permanent membership.

As to the second point, they said Japan

has acquired enough political power to be a permanent member nation and in support of this argument they showed us the statement of Mr. Kissinger and that of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. But their evidence doesn't prove that Japan has become a political major power. Unless the actual power of Japan is analysed, it will be impossible to tell how the action of Japan is influential to other countries and how other countries appreciate the political power of Japan. So our second question is, "Please prove that the action of Japan is really influential in international politics."

As to the military power, their analysis was limited to the expenditure. Without comparing it with those of other countries, we cannot judge if Japanese military power is great or not.

Ladies and gentlemen, in this way, today's Affirmative has failed to prove that Japan is qualified to be a permanent member nation. So I'd like to clarify the definite criteria to be a permanent member nation and prove that Japan can not be a permanent member nation of the Security Council.

We'd like to examine the purpose of the Security Council. The first purpose is the pursuit of peace. In order to carry out this purpose, permanent member nations must have *initiative*. The second purpose is the prevention of outbreak and spread of conflicts, and in order to carry it out, *military influential power* is required, i.e. *initiative* and *military influential power* is essential to be a permanent member nation of the Security Council.

Let us compare initiative of Japan with that of permanent member nations. The United States, the Soviet Union and China are so called *three major powers* and they are representatives of their own blocks. France is the member nation of European Community and as you can easily understand from Paris Talks, France takes initia-



tive in the cease fire talks of Viet-Nam War. The United Kingdom represents the Sterling Block. In this way present permanent member nations take initiative in international stages. But how about Japan? As China representation issue clearly shows you policy of the Japanese Government depends upon the United States. As long as the Japanese Government maintains present policy, we cannot expect Japan to play an active role in the Security Council. In order to support this argument I'd like to quote a bit of evidence. According to a book entitled "International Problems" published by Japan International Problem Research Institute, Mr. Ken-

zaburo Matsumoto, professor at Keio Univ., stated as follows:

Quote; As Japan depends upon the United States, the position of Japan is unstable in international stage.

Since the Japanese Government doesn't take an independent policy, we cannot expect Japan to take initiative for the maintenance of international peace and security. Secondly, the permanent member nations must have military influential power to prevent a war. And once war breaks out, they must contribute to deter it. But Japan cannot deal effectively with the situation, because Japanese military influential power is smaller than those of the present permanent member nations. And as to this point, my colleague will further develop this argument in our second constructive speech.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, since the Affirmative didn't clarify any evil resulting from the status quo, and since they failed to prove that Japan is qualified to be a permanent member nation of the Security Council, we urge you to reject their proposal.

The Affirmative's Second Constructive Speech

As the second speaker from the affirmative side, I'd like to let you understand more deeply the assertion of the affirmative side which is to strengthen peace in the world.

We of the Affirmative asserted Japan's staying outside of the Security Council Permanent Membership is against the original purpose of the Security Council, as

reason No. 1, and that Japan's not being a Permanent Member prevents the Security Council from functioning well, as reason No. 2. My colleague proved the first point.

As a rebuttal from the negative side, the first speaker from the Negative said, "At present, in the Security Council, the five permanent members are co-operating with each other, so there is no evil."

However, ladies and gentlemen, let us think again the significance of the Security Council. The significance is to avoid any direct crash of big powers and to prevent any threat to the peace, I mean any dispute which threaten all over the world. And as for this criteria, the Affirmative and the Negative are standing on the same assertion.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the point is that if in the Security Council, the non-permanent member nation which has great influential power is working, it is against the significance of the Security Council. This is very symple logic.

Then, what would be a criteria to become a permanent member? In our theory, that is the economic power, the military power and the political power. But the negative side didn't make clear. So here, we have difference between affirmative side and negative side.

As for the economic power we proved. As for the political power, I'd like to let you know how Japan's political power is great in the world affairs. According to "The View from Japan" in the News Weak, May 1, 1972, President Nixon stated as follows:



Quote; The world affairs are now to be ordered by the intention of five great centers with power balance among them, and the five centers are, of course, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, the Western Europe and Japan.

And according to the Yomiuri Shimbun, dated, Sep. 10, 1972, "the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom welcomed the normalization of relations between Japan and People's Republic of China, and he appreciated the normalization as a important contribution to the peace and stability of the world."

Thus Japan's action in the world affairs has great influence on the peace and stability of Asia and of the world.

Now, as for France: According to the Nippon Keizai Shimbun, Sep. 27, the Foreign Minister of France stated at the General Assembly of the United Nations as follows:

Quote; France appreciate Japan's contribution to the establishment of peace for Asia.

Now, as it is shown that the present five permanent members recognize Japan is playing a great role in the field of international peace and security, and that as Japan has great political power, Japan's action itself has great significance for the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

As for military power, they said that Japan's military power was lower than that of permanent members. But it means nothing. Do you know why permanent member should be always bigger than the United States in military field? We cannot understand. If one country can threaten to other countries by her military power, her military power is big. According to the Asahi Shimbun, October 10, it reported as follows:

Quote; There are strong fears of Japan's military power among South East Asian Countries.

And one authority of the Soviet Union stated in his book, "The problems in the Far East" as follows:

Quote; Japan's National Defence Forces is one of the military powers which influence the South-East Asian area.

Thus we proved that Japan's military power is great. So the assertion of the Negative cannot stand at all.

Then let me explain the second point. We have asserted that Japan's not being a permanent member prevents the Security Council from functioning well.

Now, the Security Council is the responsible organization for the maintenance of international peace and Security, and it is the authority backed by great power. Otherwise, if any other country doesn't follow the decisions made by the Security Council, then the Security Council cannot function well. Then why is it that Japan, one of the great powers is not in the Security Council? Consequently, the Security Council is undermining its authority. And authority means "the back of power and to carry on the security," according to the Dictionary, "Webster."

And the former Secretary General U Thant substantiates the idea by saying that the Security Council is in this period losing its authority. And according to the Mainichi Daily News, Sep. 27, 1972, the U.S. Secretary of the States, William Rogers stated as follows:

Quote; We believe, for the Security Council to maintain its influence of authority, the ways, which must be found, are representation for the states whose influence is of major importance in the world affairs. The absence of Japan is unthinkable in a body whose function is to engage in the responsibilities of world principal powers.

Thus, the Security Council is undermin-



ing its authority by the absence of Japan. And if the Security Council has no authority, then, eventually, it will not be able to function well.

Now, let me take our plan. We will require the chair of the member nations, amount to 23, which don't stick number of the permanent members. And our plan is workable, because it solves contradictions and can restore the authority of the Security Council. Thus we can strengthen the *raison d'être* of the Security Council. And our plan brings us the following merits: The Security Council can achieve its purpose more easily, because it can make the best use of Japan's power: Japan can always contribute to the Security Council for the maintenance of the international peace and security: The United Nations can solve the deficit, because Japan has to pay the economic aid to the United Nations more than before as a permanent member: Japan can reflect opinions of South-East Asian countries, so the geographical distribution of permanent membership will be corrected: As the custom of the United Nations, the permanent members can take leadership in the other problems of the United Nations.

Thus along with these arguments, since there is need for change and since our plan is so reasonable and brings us merits, we urge you to adopt our resolution.

The Negative's Second Constructive Speech

This debate should be based upon the function of the Security Council of the United Nations. From this point of view, we should agree, if the entry of Japan into the Security Council is really necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security. However, ladies and gentlemen, despite the speeches by the Affirmative, we couldn't understand why Japan should become a permanent member nation of the Security Council. So, in order to develop this argumentation, we'd like to examine again the case presented by the Affirmative.

As the first major argument, they said Japan's staying outside of the Security Council was quite against the original meaning of the security Council. However, ladies and gentlemen, we couldn't understand by the absence of Japan from the Security Council, what is going to be brought about; what is evil. They stated Japan cannot have talks with big powers in the Security Council. But as we explained in the first constructive speech, according to the Article 31 of the United Nations' Charter, originally, member nations of the United Nations can take part in the Security Council, if necessary. This means if the talk of Japan is necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security, Japan can take part in the Security Council and she can have talks with big powers. Then, what is the problem?

They stated at present, because of the absence of Japan from the Security Council, the authority of the Security Council of the United Nations was being lost. But,

ladies and gentlemen, can you understand this meaning? Because their assertion and their explanation is quite vague, we can not understand what "authority" is. And they said this means the power to carry out the duty of the Security Council. But they didn't show us any definite fact. By the absence of Japan from the Security Council, from what kind of duty will the Security Council be hampered? We cannot understand at all. So, in this sense, we cannot find out any urgent need to change the present situation.

And they stated, "as the second major argument, Japan's not being a permanent member nation of the Security Council prevents the United Nations from functioning well." But as for this point, we cannot find out any definite example. They just explain by using vague words, so we can not understand why and how the absence of Japan from the Security Council prevents the United Nations from function. And, furthermore, they didn't prove that after adoption of today's proposal, the function of the Security Council would be improved. They didn't prove it at all. If Japan becomes a permanent member nation of the Security Council, can Japan solve the Viet Nam War or the Middle-East War? Never. They didn't touch upon this point.

Then on what point, can you say the function of the Security Council will be improved. They didn't analyse at all. So, in this sense, we cannot find any urgent need to adopt today's proposal.

Now, in order to develop today's argument, we'd like to examine what the

qualification to be a permanent member in the Security Council is. They showed us some statement to prove that there is connection between economic power and the qualification to become a permanent member nation of the Security Council. We could understand someone said there is a connection. But we couldn't hear any theoretical, reasonable explanation on the connection between economic power and the qualification to become a permanent member nation of the Security Council. And as you see in the case of China, China's economic power is as half of that of Japan, but she could be a permanent member nation of the Security Council. Then what is the connection? The economic power of West Germany is quite large which is more than that of China. But they didn't propose that West Germany should become a permanent member nation of the Security Council. So for these reasons, we cannot understand any strong connection between economic power and the qualification to be a permanent member nation of the Security Council.

And as for the political field, they stated Dr. Kissinger or President Nixon stated Japan is a influential country. But can you believe this? Influence means the effect which the action of Japan gives to other countries policy. So, without knowing actual influence on the other country's policy, we cannot conclude that Japan is the influential country. To be sure, Japan opened the diplomatic relation with mainland China, but was it influential? At the same time, Canada opened the diplomatic relation with mainland China. Then, what is the influential power of Japan? What kind of action of Japan gave the great influence, or this kind of influence to that country's policy. If the Affirmative proves this in this way, we can believe that Japan is an influential country. But, unfortunately, today's Affirmative didn't show us any definite fact or

example. So, unfortunately, we cannot say Japan is an influential country. And furthermore, we of the Negative side showed you two definite criteria to become a permanent member nation of the Security Council: One is the initiative power and the other is the military influential power. And as my colleague explained in her first constructive speech, Japan is always depending upon the United States of America. So we cannot find any positive attitude in Japan's co-existence security. Let me see, when we examine the Japan's co-operation with the United Nations, Japan is always following the opinion of the United States by 95 per-cent. Then can we expect the positive attitude in the international society? Never! So from this fact, we conclude Japan has no initiative power. So it is quite meaningless that Japan becomes a permanent member nation of the Security Council.

As for the second point, the military power, unfortunately the Affirmative didn't clarify the comparison between Japan and present permanent member nations of the Security Council in the military field. So we cannot conclude that Japan's military power is enough to be a permanent member nation of the Security Council. They jumped to the conclusion. Furthermore, we said Japan is prohibited to dispatch its troops abroad, because Japan's peaceful constitution prohibits it. So, as one of the important responsibilities as a permanent member nation, Japan can not assume that responsibility. So in this sense, Japan is not qualified to become a permanent member nation of the Security Council.

So, as to the summary. They didn't show us any definite evil or need to change the present situation, and as they didn't clarify the qualifications to be a permanent member nation, we urge you to reject the affirmative position.

Japan's Future At A Turning Point

Discussion Section

"PARTIES TO VIET WAR SIGN PACT"

This is the title at the top of a news paper on Jan. 28, 1973. And on a weekly magazine, the term, "HOW SOLD THE PEACE" is printed on its cover. But unfortunately, that news paper also reported many battles after the Pact was signed, as if it supports the fear on the cover of that weekly magazine.

The world situation is not solid but fluid. Japan is only a small boat on the ocean in a storm. Japan can take any course, but, at the same time, has she any way that is obviously right.

What way shall Japan take?

This is the question examined through the discussion this year.

One answer is here. But this is not definitely right, of course. Someone might agree with this answer, but some might not. But let's think of the "Future Course of Japan" again.

Japan is now still in the traditional era. Dynamic changes in Japan can be foreseen from the political, diplomatic and economic view point. The fluid condition of world politics in this decade engulfs Japan in new confusion and anticipation. That is to say, the Cold War structure in the Far East, which continued long after the end of the World War II, has crumbled, and a new order and system are about to emerge. Big political events—or changes—such as Nixon's trip to Peking and Moscow, China's entry into the United Nations and Sino-Japanese diplomatic recovery exemplified the new trend.

The above also exerted a great influence on Asian nations as well. They are now obliged to reconsider their political posture.

Furthermore, Japan's relations with those nations become serious and significant because of her economic advancement to

Asia. We often hear the severe criticism, "The Revival of Japanese Militarism," from the people in this area today.

Then what are the principles propelling South-East Asians' international society in the new age? In what directions is the course of China's diplomacy moving? How is the U.S. world policy changed in the beginning of the 1970's? And what are the Problems facing Japanese diplomacy in the future?

This year, we studied this dynamic international political area and Japan's desirable diplomacy and economic policies through several discussions given below:

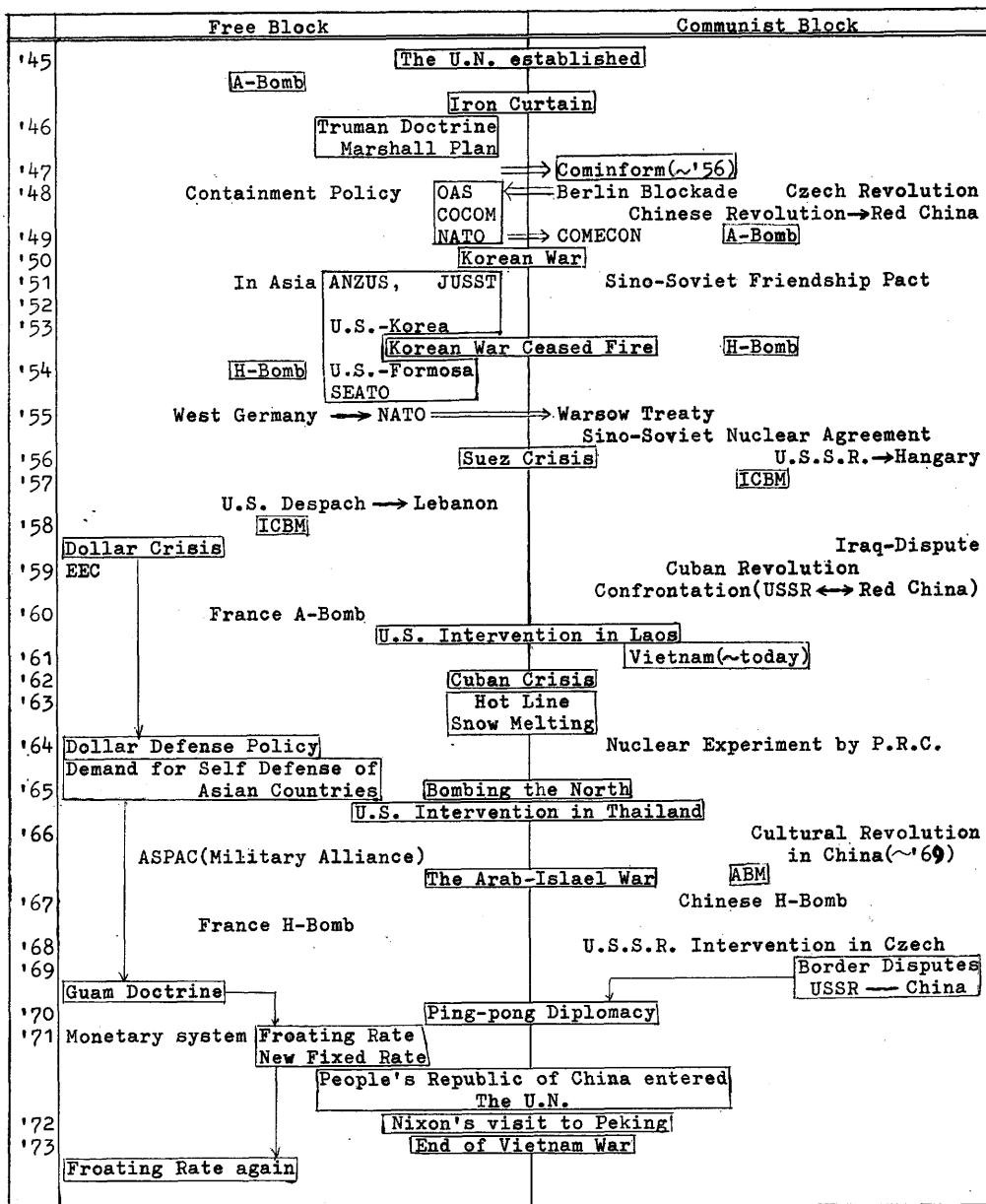
"Ideal Relationships Between Japan And China"

"Japan's Diplomacy In The Multipolar Era"

"Japan's Economic Position In Asia"

"Japan's Future"

Changes Of The International Politics From Bipolar To Multipolar Age



The major current of world history today points to the fact that the world, in many ways, stands at the threshold of a major turning point. This current international political conditions is revealed by the symbolic word "Multipolarization."

Generally speaking, we can explain the

new trend as follows; the East-West confrontation, which had been deeply rooted in ideological differences, has changed. From peaceful relationship of a temporary nature for the prevention of war, which grew solely out of the necessity of avoiding a nuclear war between them, the two

great nuclear super powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—have taken a step forward in the direction of creating more harmonious international relations, cognizant of their respective, practical self-interests.

The next noteworthy trend is the fact that it has become an age in which even the two super powers, by themselves, can no longer control political situations in the world. In other words, with the weakening of the strength and influence of the United States and Soviet Union, especially the former, relaxing confrontation, both in name and fact, in their foreign commitments is being called for; at the same time, with the emergence of Europe, Japan and China, the international political situation has become multipolarized; and the serious confrontation and struggle over divided states which emerged as the result of World War II is now moving in the direction of stabilizing peaceful relations on the basis of recognizing and freezing the status quo, as well as in accordance with a fundamental policy not to change the status quo, through the use of force.

These characteristics, which come to appear in the world stage recently, are the results of the Cold War days' distortions. It can be said, the suspended and fixed situations bursted to move toward the new balance (of power).

In order to understand the background of this change, we need to make the causal relation between present conditions and the "Cold War days'" conditions. Firstly, let me examine the Cold War days' situation.

Cold War Structure

The Cold War was an era in which sharp contrast of ideology had been shown. Tension between East and West reached the highest points and the unification or co-operation of each block occupied the

top importance.

In the early postwar years, Soviet military power, already spread over all Eastern Europe seemed a menace to the war-ravaged lands of Western Europe. There was a nationalistic fear of the unitary threat of the Russian-dominated Communist movement.

The United States and the United Kingdom, amplifying this fear by exaggerated propaganda of the aggressiveness of communism or of the lower living standard in that block, justified their hostile policy against the communist side. From 1946, when George Marshall firstly called this confrontation of the two blocks "Cold War," the United States began to resort to drastic strategy, such as "Containment Policy," "Massive Retaliation Strategy," "Role Back Policy," "Peripheral Policy," "Strategy of Flexible Response," against adversaries. She enforced these policies in the name of the defense against "the expansion of communism."

But these policies didn't end in success because of the quick response of the armed developments on the Communist Side.

In 1957, the Soviet Union succeeded in producing I.C.B.M.—Inter Continental Ballistic Missile—and sending up an artificial satellite, so that the United States was no longer able to keep military superiority. It became clear that the threat of the nuclear weapons not only increased the tension but also heightened the possibility of peoples ruin. This fact was clearly realized in the Cuban Crisis in 1962. In this case, the United States could succeed in making the Soviet Union remove missiles from Cuba by threatening to use nuclear arms in the worst case. But the United States had to be ready for the retaliation of the Soviet Union—i.e. nuclear attack by the Soviet Union.

In Asia, the Chinese revolution broke out and the Revolutionary Government—People's Republic of China—was established



President Nixon and Premier Chou
in China

in 1949. And in 1950, when the Korean War broke out, the Revolutionary Government sent a volunteer army to aid North Korea, and fought against the U.N. Forces—the United States which supported South Korea. Henceforth, the United States adopted a containment policy against China, establishing collective security treaties with Asian allied nations, such as the Japan-U.S. Security treaty, the U.S.-South Korea Treaty, U.S.-Taiwan Treaty and the U.S.-Philippine Treaty, in order to check the *expansion of communism*, and also gave economic and military assistance to those nations to cope with communist influence. As a whole, the United States had been able to maintain this containment because of her economic and military superiority and Chinese domestic difficulties.

Thaw And Multipolarization

The 1960's began with new symptoms which suggested a transitional era from a bipolar to a multipolar age. In 1962, the Cuban Crisis restrained the reinforcement of nuclear arms as well as gave clues for peaceful coexistence. The Hot Line was established between the United States and

the Soviet Union just after this crisis. But at the same time, several political events took place—that stroke heavy blows to the Cold War structure, i.e.—to the domination of the United States and the Soviet Union: Anti-U.S.A. policy can be seen in the French withdrawal from NATO—North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the U.S.S.R.-China confrontation began around 1959 grew worse during the 1960's, the United States intervened to the Viet Nam War with unsuccessful results.

During the 1960's, China came to appear on the international political stage and to take an important role. China, once a friendly partner of the Soviet Union, raised the standard of revolt due to ideological differences and confrontation of national interests. Since the withdrawal of the Russian technical aid to China, debate escalated year by year. China seriously criticized the Soviet Union by attacking it in terms such as *Russian Revisional Socialism*. Further, as a result of the use of armed force by the Soviet Union against Czechoslovakia and the armed clash between the Soviet Union and China, the character of Sino-Soviet confrontation changed from its hitherto conflict of ideologies to interests. As China's security became the most important political problem it faced, the Soviet Union became China's principal enemy.

And the United States, in the latter part of 1960's, was forced to change her strategy in Asia. Since the intervention in South Viet Nam, which they started as a holy war under the name of *defence of freedom*, the United States got herself into *virtual dead-end* because of the persistent resistance by the North Viet-Nameese for Viet-Nameese national liberation. Neither bombing the North nor the U.S. soldiers could defeat the North Viet-Nameese. And the large amount of military expenditure began to exert a bad influence on the U.S. economy. President Johnson resigned his position in

1968 on account of the failure of intervention in Viet Nam, so the next President Richard Nixon, just after his inauguration, had to declare the Nixon Doctrine which emphasized the self-defense of allied nations to reduce the over-extension of American Forces.

These events gave rise to an important change in the current, political situation, namely the Sino-U.S. rapprochement. Nixon's trip to Peking has a significance in the sense that it changed world political common sense. Even enemy nations could compromise with each other for their own national interests. This changes the relationship to each other nations from simple one of just *enemies* or *allies*. And also this comes to create a very complicated political situation in Asia.

The background of this change can be explained as follows; diplomacy of each nation became largely dependent on its own national interests, the economic benefits and the advantageous, political situation which are free from rigid principles or ideology.

In contrast to the ideology, lofty ideas of *freedom* or *world comminization*, by which statesmen of both sides crystallized public opinion and strengthened the unity of each block actual profits such as economic benefits, immediate ceasefire of war and territorial issue, which offer much bargaining power in politics, came to be the standard of their decisions. Take the Nixon's trip to Peking for instance, there were several intentions—benefits or interests—for the two nations.

From the Chinese side, by welcoming the President of the United States, her prestige was raised. And also by the rapprochement with the United States, China can check the movement of the Soviet Union, because the Soviet attack to China, if there is no support from the United States, would isolate herself from world politics. And the Taiwan problem made

the world realize the legitimate government of China was Peking. From the side of the United States, it was very favourable from many view points. A ceasefire in Viet Nam needed the advice of China as she had a great influence on North Viet Nam. And the United States was to have a superiority to the Soviet Union, that is to say, she was to check the Soviet Union, and, to do so, she also needed a détente in relations with China.

Thus, today, three super powers are trying to gain supermacy through flexible diplomacy. There appeared several options for each super power, and each government had to choose some decision considering various factors. Actually, the United States, under Kissinger's strategy, tried to manipulate the four poles, the Soviet Union, China, Europe and Japan, and to gain superiority over them.

Another characteristics is that military power showed its limits and economics gained importance. Military might become not direct political bargaining power and have its significance only for the maintenance of military balance. Actually nuclear attack cannot be realistic because of the fact that the usage of atomic bomb would surely ruin the world. Furthermore even regarding conventional weapons, as the case in Viet Nam shows, the stronger nation in terms of military strength can not be guaranteed to be victorious in war. As the trend of détente among super power, due to the least possibility of war in which super powers are engulfed directly, continues from now on, military power comes to have less effects on international politics except for deterrent effects to maintain the status quo. Super powers, especially the United States and the Soviet Union, tends to freeze the military balance at the present level. Demilitarization talks through the United Nations, S.A.L.T.—Strategic Arms Limitation Talk—or the proposal of European Collective Security

Treaties are put all aimed at achieving this purpose.

On the contrary, economy became a key factor for every nation's interests. Each super power has its own necessities to develop or reinforce its economy. The United States, spending large amounts of money and losing lives of many U.S. soldiers in the Viet Nam War, and with a relative decrease of her international competitiveness, is suffering from the dollar shortage, inflation and unemployment. The International Balance of Payment of the United States, even after devaluation of dollar, shows a large deficit. The United States exhibits the trend to concentrate on her internal affairs, and this isolationism will continue until the solution of these problems.

China, the least developed country among the three, is eager to develop its heavy and high technical industry after the success of the Culultural Revolution. China needs higher techniques to compensate the gap of economic power between it and the United States.

As far as the international economy is concerned, the situation had already turned in to multipolar due to the reconstruction of European economy, which has progressed remarkably, and the economic emergence of Japan.

This trend can be seen in a major thaw in economic relation among the three super powers initiated by the United States. Some sampling of events in recent months shows a rising crescendo of activity. The U.S.-Soviet summit talks in May (1972) was followed by a \$1,000 million deal for imports of grains from the United States by the Soviet Union in early July, (1972) and the first session of the joint U.S.-Soviet economic commission in the latter part of the same month and so forth.

As for China, Nixon's visit in February led subsequently to the export of the U.S.-made ground station for satellite com-

munication to China, the first American business participation in Kwang-Chow Trade Fair and recently the signing of a contract for sale of 10 Boeing jetliners worth \$150 million. Even though the trade between the United States and China is unlikely to rival that between the United States and the Soviet Union in terms of East West trade, it holds a bigger potential for growth.

In Cold War days, security protected by the military strength had been given the top priority. But because of the relative decrease of the instance of ideology and military power, dismemberment of the influential power of the two blocks and the programatic policies of each nation as results of these facts, the international trade came to be the central concern for them.

For these facts we can judge that relations among nations had changed its form, or character from that of enemies to that of rivals.

This means, small and medium nations which had enjoyed the stabilities—political one—under the clear distinction of the group are required to abandon their fully dependence on their suzerain state. Especially, Asian nations—South Koea, Philipin—which had been allied nations of the United States under the containment policy are forced to change their hostile attitude against China.

Neutral movement of ASEAN—the Association of South East Asian Nations—is one of the counter measures to cope with this change.

Thus world conditions will change drastically. It can be predicted that even though the superiority of super powers may remain and they will still try to govern the world, the character of their influence may change in accordance with their movements—their movements might become more selfish. And other nations will be required to adopt amore flexible attitude.

Japan's Foreign Policy In Postwar Days

Japanese Diplomacy Centered On Relations With The United States And China

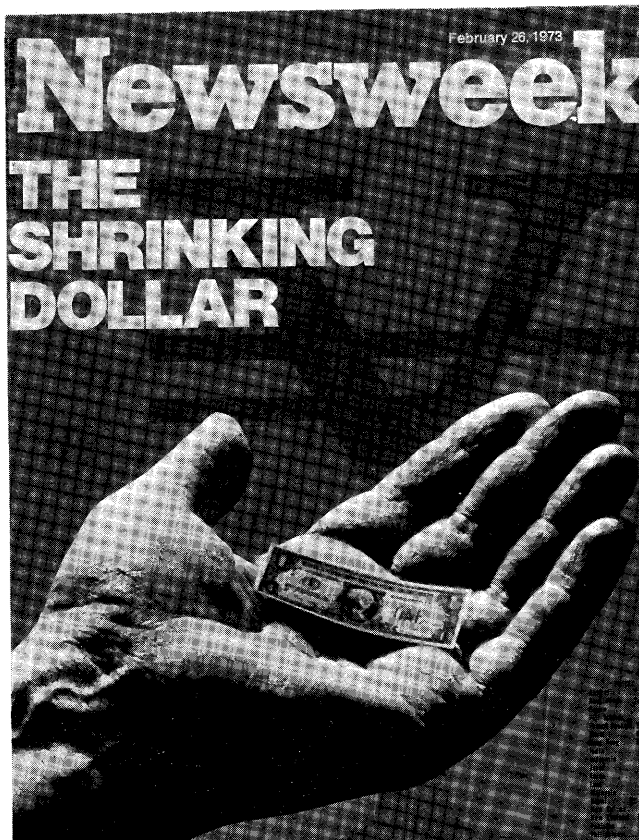
Japanese diplomacy can't be considered apart from U.S. policy toward Asia. The important point was the fact that Japan had been linked as a key stone of the U.S. containment policy. We can find several crucial facts in relation with the United States and its policy.

Japan's military position had changed according to the U.S. strategy. Just after the World War II, Japan was scheduled to be a nation which renounced any war as well as weapons. But since 1948, Japan began to strengthen its military might according to the mandate of the United States. In 1950, when the Korean War took place, the National Police Reserve was established in the name of maintenance of social order. This military organization revised its name—from the N.P.R. to the Security Troops in 1951, and to the Self Defence Forces in 1954, which had been reinforced through four build-up programs. And now the Japanese Self Defense Forces is estimated to be ranked 7th in the world in military strength at the end of the 4th Defense Build-Up Plan—this plan costs ¥5,000 million, more than \$16 million. During the Korean War, the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty was concluded at San Francisco. This treaty was established not only for the defence of Japan but also as one of the military pacts to contain China to cope with the Chinese support for North Korea at the war in the name of the prevention against the expansion of communism. This treaty, with the J.S.D.F., was directed against People's Republic of China and stimulated tension between two blocks.

When we turn our eyes to diplomatic events—which of course are closely connected with military issues, most of them

were also decided by going along with United States Policy.

In 1951, the San Francisco Peace Conference for Japan was attended by neither the representation of Peking nor that of Taipei. It was left to the judgement of Japan as to which regime she should choose to conclude a peace pact with at a proper opportunity after the San Francisco Peace Conference—Peking or Taipei. However, Dulles brought pressure upon the next Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Shigeru Yoshida, and forcibly made him choose Taipei by intimating that the U.S. Senate might refuse to ratify the Peace Pact. Since then, Japan's diplomatic attitude became clearly anti-communists, though she didn't take conspicuous actions and established diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union in 1950's. The



Kishi's Cabinet never recognized the mainland China as a legal government despite the fact that trade of two countries increased year by year and China, People's Republic, showed a positive attitude toward forming diplomatic tie with Japan. In 1957, Mr. Kishi visited Taiwan and expressed his support for Taiwan's counterattack against the mainland. In 1958, at the national flag incident, the Government also showed the negative attitude toward the Chinese.

As a factor behind the attitude, we find the ghost of the late American Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. His specter was still haunting some countries in the Asian Pacific regions, as well as Japan, preaching his anti-communists doctrine. Threat of international communism was circulated, and effectiveness of nuclear powers was insisted on as a deterrent. Therefore, the Japanese government, needed the protection of the U.S. nuclear umbrella. And so long as Japan without nuclear arms, she must rely entirely on the nuclear strength of the United States, it was obligated to follow the dictates of U.S. strategies in the Far-East to a vital extreme.

Besides this, there was a strong desire by the Government to advance the Japa-



nese economy. The recovery of the economy was an urgent need for the reconstruction of Japan. So they preferred political stability under the U.S. influence. This also gave the economic advantage to Japan, on the point of expansion of trade and technical renovation by friendly ties with the United States. After the revision of the Japan-U.S. Security treaty, the Japanese government strengthened its basic political posture simultaneously by turning people's eyes towards the development of economy. Prime Minister Ikeda, proposing the Doubling Income Policy, put emphasis on the advancement of economy—especially heavy and chemical industry. And in 1963, the Japan-U.S. Joint Communique was issued which reaffirmed the friendly relation of the two nations.

Japan's Trace Under The Sato Government

Sato's brand of the foreign policy also hinged on strengthening of Japanese-American relations. He took several important decisions.

In 1965, when Japan concluded the negotiations for the normalization of relations with South Korea, he produced the solution whereby Japan significantly stabilized the South Korean economy. This action can be seen as strengthening of Sato's containment policy against communist countries, such as China, People's Republic, and North Korea. This reinforcement of Japan's co-operation with South Korea was, of course, also a fulfillment of a long-cherished American wish.

In 1969, the Nixon Doctrine was declared at Guam island. This Doctrine called for withdrawal of U.S. Forces from Asia and urged settlement of the Far-East strategies of the United States, which is new pulling out its armed forces from the Asian and Pacific nations. And the Nixon-Sato Joint Communique recognized that the security of South Korea is of vital importance to

the peace and security of Japan, and the security of Taiwan area is important as well.

In 1972, the reversion of Okinawa was ratified, but the striking issue of this reversion treaty was the conduct of U.S. bases in Okinawa. Actually the United States can maintain its right to use the bases on Okinawa in the event that the U.S. Forces are called upon to implement obligations under the U.S. treaty of mutual defense with Taiwan and South Korea. In relation to the Nixon-Sato Joint Communiqué, this issue becomes manifest; the reversion of administrative power over Okinawa will no way impede the effect of performing international commitments of the United States for the defense of Far-East allies, including Japan. That is to say the Japan-U.S. Security Pact was originally intended to enable the U.S. troops to move quickly from their bases in Japan. So such Sato's approach was to appeal to America's good sense and to obtain Americans consent to the reversion of Okinawa for the sake of good Japan-U.S. relations.

But the world trend showed diverse condition towards Sato's policy as we studied before.

In 1971, despite Japan's best efforts to persuade the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt a two-thirds majority vote requirement for the Chinese admission, the attempt failed and Sato's foreign policy suffered as a consequence. And the final blow to Prime Minister Sato was Nixon's trip to Peking. At that time, Japan's direction exposed its deversity against the world trend.

It may be difficult to judge what had been done. One might say, "Whatever the policy of Japan might have been, there are undeniable facts that Japan has not been invaded by other nations by force and that Japan could enlarge her economic scale in these 25 years. So Japan could fully enjoy security and prosperity in postwar days."

But we can also say Japan had taken the policy of deviating from her original purpose as a *peace loving nation* in compensation for the economic prosperity under politically stable condition.

There was injustice and unfairness. We hadn't been able to keep contact with 700 million Chinese, on the contrary, we had been forced to regard them as enemies under the containment policy. We also strengthened and intensified the tension in Asia by taking such an attitude.

The Viet Nam War was not a struggle among Viet-Nameese, but Viet-Nameese were killed in bombing of the North and by weapons bestowed by the Soviet Union and China. Small nations were sacrificed by the interests of super powers. But the Japanese government only supported the United States and its side, and concealed the serious fact that peoples were being killed in the war.

These things are not understandable to the Japanese people's mind. What is the spirit of the Japanese Constitution? Even though we admit some facts that Japan had to follow the U.S. Strategy and though she had to be one of the containment policy nations because of her military weakness and her position as a defeated nation, Japan should not have taken any action that intensified tensions in Asia, but instead should have adopted a positive policy for the mitigation of Asian tensions.

As we retraced the Japanese policy in detail, most of it was based on the dictates of the United States. But are the policies of the United States all righteous from the objective view point? How about Asian people? And is communism so fearful? We cannot draw right answer from the Japanese policies in postwar days. I cannot but think there was a lack of philosophy toward peace. *Peace* was a peace under the severe tension and *prosperity* was a prosperity in terms of GNP.

Now we must seek what Japan should

do through reconsidering these basic problems, the true sense of peace and prosperity.

Now I think Japan's diplomacy needs changes in her posture.

Sino-Japanese Relations

Japan and China took the historic step of normalization of their relations, as Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka and Premier Chou En-lai placed their signatures to a joint statement which marked the end of their confrontation with each other. And the Joint Agreement also terminated their state of war and promised efforts to work out a treaty of peace and friendship. "The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Japan have decided upon the establishment of diplomatic relations as from Sep. 29, 1972," the communique declared.

This phenomena was symbolic start of Japan's new diplomacy which, emerging from the complete political dependence on the United States, leaped out to the new policy which has plural options in decisions. And this event was in touch with the world trend, that is the change of super powers' view on the balance of power in Asia—weighing the stability of Asia by estimating the balance of the four powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan.

The important factor of this change is mainly due to the surprising flexible and elastic attitude of Chinese diplomacy. Several points can be picked up as the background of this Chinese attitude to the normalization of relations with Japan. Since the Sino-Soviet confrontation, the Soviet Union has been the menace or threat to China. There existed great possibility of dispute between the two. So it was an urgent need for China to check the Soviet Union and to have superiority to the Soviet Union. But actually the

Soviet Union, having gained its international voice as a result of the U.S.-Soviet summit talks in Moscow, has achieved great diplomatic successes. West Europe was just shifting the weight of its diplomatic efforts to Asia. China, though the Sino-American summit talks in Peking, is contributing indirectly to the speed up of the withdrawal of the American Forces from Asia, but fears the Soviet Union's advances in Asia as a renewal of a threat, that was once posed by the United States. In order to prevent the growth of Soviet influence in Asia, it is necessary for the Chinese to normalize and stabilize its relations with Japan.

The second factor is an economic reason. It should also not be forgotten that China, hurrying to recover from the confusion of the Cultural Revolution and aiming at rapid national development, improvement of the livelihood of its people for example, looks to Japan for economic and technical aid in the achievement of its objectives. China reportedly expressed its hope to expand trade with Japan. Peking officials also clarified their intention of increasing technical exchanges and signing long-term trade agreements on steel and chemical fertilizers. It is apparent that the technical renovation is now indispensable to China's economic growth. As for necessities, the Chinese side is expected to import machinery and equipment for the construction of airport, railroad and harbor facilities. Maybe, there is some limit, especially in the industrial field in carrying out the *self reliant* policy, as far as the development of economy is concerned. But continuous increase of trade between the two nations will continue from now on.

The third factor is the prestige of China. Japan's recognition of China is the finish in the process of China's appearance to the international stage. It will give a good impression to the world to get Japan's recognition. Because Japan, which is ranked

2nd in terms of the G.N.P., is potentially a big nation and had been the key nation of the containment policy against the Chinese. Diplomatic ties with Japan means nothing but the corruption of the containment policy. And it gives an impression, that the legislative power was handed to Peking, to make Japan abrogate the Japan-Taiwan Treaty.

When we see the motivations of Japan, we can find the enthusiastic desire of the Japanese for normalization, especially after Nixon's trip to Peking. People began to demand that the Government established the diplomatic tie with China and accepted national consensus. Criticism against subordinate diplomacy broke out and soon prevailed in Japan. So the Government, by Tanaka's visit to China, ventured to establish official, diplomatic tie with China to cope with this movement. As a result, this normalization was highly appreciated by Japanese for the mitigation of tension in Asia as well as the first step in Japan's independent diplomacy, even though it can not be denied that the Government was eager to do so in order to catch up with the world trend; and there was, of course,

economic motivation as China is a wide market for Japan.

After this event, the Government has been taking a stiff attitude toward defense problem, indicating Chou's admission of the S.D.F. and the J.U.S.S.T. I cannot but feel this is a dangerous symptom which reminds us of prewar days.

Then, what kind of attitude should Japan take now? As I studied the Chinese intentions, Japan is an important nation for China. So Japan can keep friendly ties with China hereafter. What Japan must do is, I think, to observe the principle agreed by both nations. That is not to seek a position of exerting hegemony in the Asian-Pacific region and not to oppose the ambition of any other nation or group of countries in that direction. And never forget there is a possibility that the two nations will someday compete against each other in the economic field. In order to avoid cut-throat competition, which may intensify the tension in Asia, the two nations should try to broaden their mutual understanding and accumulate experience in their co-operative efforts to promote peace in Asia and in the world.

The Problems Japan Must Solve

— Key Issues Of Present Japan —

A couple of years have passed since Japan's multi-dimensional diplomacy was brought forward. Japan seems to start to alter her political posture gradually to cope with the world trend.

But in what direction will Japan go? What do we seek through multi-dimensional diplomacy? What's our idea? We studied postwar days' policy of Japan and the world to get some hints. The idea which is not backed by the reality is impotent as the idea without reality is apt to fall into confusion.

In multipolar age, less emphasis is placed on ideology and the world can not be divided into enemies and allies, while economy becomes a main concern of each nation. Japan is now reappearing on the international stage with its strong economic power.

These things have brought forth new important problems, such as rapprochement with China and new economic relations with Asian nations, as well as the importance of the Japan-U.S. relations.

Security Problems And Japan-U.S. Relations

As I stated before, the restoration of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relation is very significant. And now the responsibility placed upon Japan and China is to build up the foundation for a lasting Sino-Japanese reconciliation, with the restoration of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relation as a starting point, so that they can contribute to the stability of the Asian-Pacific areas. At this point, the political prerequisite of the two countries for the establishment of lasting relations of co-operation and friendship is to narrow the gap between the views of the two countries concerning the security structure of the Asian-Pacific areas.

The collective security system in Asia, which the United States established in collaboration with countries of *Free Asia*, is the product of the Cold War period and is *destined* to fail to function when the Cold War structure crumbles, and the system itself is undergoing changes. As a result of the Nixon Doctrine, U.S. policy in Asia has made an epochal turn. Although the framework of the collective security system created by the United States still remains, its political and military implications are about to undergo great changes as a result of the enunciation of the Nixon Doctrine. Besides, a relaxation of tensions is also taking place in Asian-Pacific areas.

These changes in the world situation have naturally created a demand for the revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. Adjustments should be made in the military application of the treaty to keeping pace with the relaxing tensions.

First, Article 6 of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, so called *Far East Clause*, should be eliminated. And as next step, a new peaceful treaty should be made to confirm the old friendship and the new relationship between Japan and the United States,

instead of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. This will surely improve the relations with China and contribute to the relaxation of tension in Asia.

In connection with this, Japan should take careful attitude toward the relation with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic. The Sino-Japanese relations must not be allowed to contradict Japanese-Soviet relations. Regrettably we can not disregard the present confrontation in Sino-Soviet relations.

Concrete details of the Soviet Union's concept of Asian Security have not as yet been revealed; but if that concept envisages a state of confrontation with China, it will fail to win Chinese approval. If, on the other hand, China's concept of Asian security includes policies aimed at checking the Soviet Union, it will not be acceptable to the Soviet Union. Japan must take full cognizance of these realities of Sino-Soviet relations and must seek for a path of friendship that does not favor one over the others. In the case of a collective security system for Asia, Japan must examine its relations with China and the Soviet Union separately until the way to a dialogue between the two countries is found.

Relationship With Asian Nations

And also the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations seems to have arisen various reactions in Asia. Those nations in Asia have fears that Japan abandoned the small countries of Asia to join the ranks of greater powers or Japan allied itself with China and plans to dominate Asia.

Japan must solve these anxieties. Japan must approach Asian countries with no arrogance of nation belonging to the ranks of the greater power. Japan must keep its modesty and friendship with any country on the same and equal footing.



Taiwan Students burn photo of Tanaka: New fears of the 'Yellow Peril'

Economic Problems (Development Aid and Adjustment of Japan-U.S. Economic Relations)

Japan is also faced with serious economic problems. One is economic aid to the less developed countries, another is adjustment of Japan-U.S. economic relations.

As for the economic aid, various criticism have been leveled at Japan's development aid to the countries of Asia; that Japan has tied its aid to business and, in the last analysis, is seeking profits; that the ratio of official to private aids is low; and that the conditions imposed on official development aid are too severe; and it is especially necessary for Japan to undertake structural improvements in order to establish a comprehensive aid policy. In brief, Japan should improve the content of its aid in quantity and quality.

The Japan-U.S. economic relations have been made difficult by Japan's export's surplus to the United States. And the United States is showing severe attitude toward Japan to solve this trade imbalance. On this point, Japan needs to reflect

one important thing, though we can find several causes of this problem.

Japan's trade policy since the end of the World War II, which continued through the period of economic expansion, has encouraged exports, checked imports and saved foreign exchange. The goals of that policy have been reached. Now, in keeping with the new situation, Japan must strive to expand imports, place exports on an ordinary basis and seek a balance in its international payments. To achieve this change, the Government is also required to change her domestic economic policies.

In this rapidly changing situation, we are required to examine the basic concept of the Japanese policies.

There can be no Japan without Asia, and no Japan without the world. Japan should make efforts to maintain peace for the eternal happiness of human beings, insisting that any changes must at all times be through peaceful talks and refusing any changes made by means of force.

by **Ryo'oji Miyoshi**

Managing Staff in 1972

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Kanto University E. S. S. League	Yoshiaki Kawamata



BY KIYOSHI SOEDA

REPORT FROM TREASURER

Another revaluation of Yen is anticipated. Despite it, internally, nobody has confidence in Yen, hike of commodity prices has become a serious problem for us. E.S.S. is no exception. Though the source of revenue is limited to small membership fee, E.S.S. registers a large amount of expenditure. Fortunately, this year, E.S.S. registers sound balance of payments under such desperate circumstances, thanks to the support from my wonderful assistant, Miss Yu'u Fukuda. Here, again, I'd like to express my hearty thanks to her and to all the members of E.S.S. for their kind co-operation.

Entrance Fee	¥ 600
Membership Fee	¥ 1,400
<hr/>	
EXPECTED REVENUE	¥1,000,000
<hr/>	
Entrance Fee and Membership Fee of new comers	¥ 480,000
Membership Fee of the present members	160,000
The balance brought forward from the last account	20,000
Financial help from the Cultural Federation	42,000
Financial help from Waseda Festival	8,000
The amount sold of member lists	18,400
The amount sold of pins	19,600
The amount sold of drama scripts	26,800
The amount sold of drama tickets	49,200
Financial help from Mobil Oil Co.	100,000
The amount sold of AKAI Tape Deck	45,000
The amount sold of Webster Dictionary	10,000
Miscellaneous Income	21,000
<hr/>	
EXPECTED EXPENDITURE	¥1,000,000
<hr/>	
Secretary General	¥ 200,000
Discussion Section	53,000
Debate Section	30,000
Speech Section	75,000
Tohmonkai	43,000
Planning and Management Agency	46,000
Public Relations Section	190,000
Four University E.S.S. Association	80,000
K.U.E.L.	20,000
Drama	220,000
Carrying Forward	20,000
Miscellaneous Expenditure	23,000

稲門英語会の欄

昭和46年度 稲門英語会々計報告

収支報告書 (自昭和46年4月1日～至昭和47年3月31日)

収 入 の 部		支 出 の 部	
前期繰金	203,294	S 46年度総会学生補助金	16,610
内 訳		S 46年度幹事会補助金	8,160
{ 現金 932		S45/46 ESS ACE発行補助	40,000
{ 振替 6,555		振替手数料	2,295
{ 預金 215,807		交 通 費	2,010
{ 未払金 △20,000		事 務 通 信 費	31,960
未払金戻し入れ	20,000	支 出 計	101,035
会費収入	69,000	次期繰越金	191,259
内 訳		内 訳	
{ 現金 4,000		{ 現金 51,192	
{ 振替 65,000		{ 振替預金 4,260	
		{ 郵便預金 135,807	
計	292,294	計	297,294

会費収入内訳

S 44年度分	4名	2,000
S 45 "	61名	30,500
S 46 "	73名	36,500
合計	138名	69,000

上記の通りご報告申し上げます。

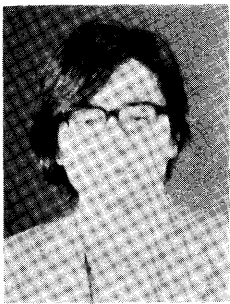
ご協力有難うご座居ました。

会計幹事 大野 功

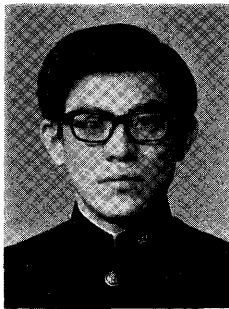
昭和四十七年度卒業生の欄

新井富雄	政経	Dis.	野村総合研究所	鹿間洋治	商		ミノルタカメラ
井口昭	商	Deb.		高野安司	法		
石川富一	理工	K.U.E.L.	ソニー	竜田祥一	政経		
石田明生	政経	T.I.D.L.		戸倉敏夫	教育	副幹事長	シチズン商事
石原哲	理工			鳥飼精一	教育	Sp.	
石原康	法			橋本良介	法	Sp.	日本航空
大須賀秀生	商	Deb.		板野茂久	商		
大友精次	政経	稲門会	三菱商事	土方義紀	商		安田火災海上
尾沢茂	法	H.M.		福田直行	政経		
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小寺強	政経	Drama		山口博久	理工		
佐川健二	商	4Univ.	トヨタ自販	和田晶子	教育	Sp.	
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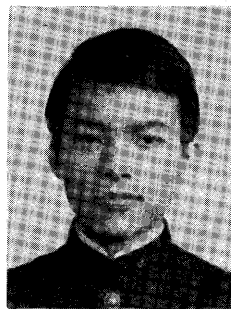

~~~~ 昭和四十六年度卒業生 ~~~~



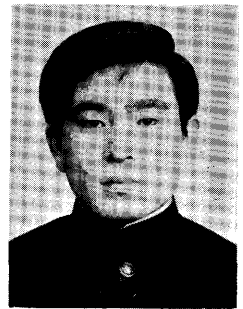
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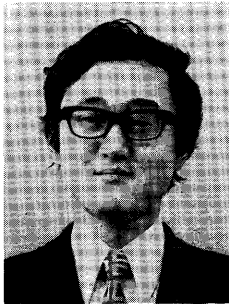
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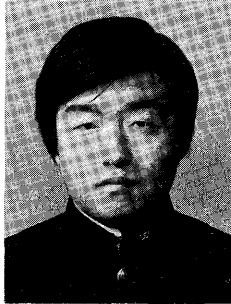
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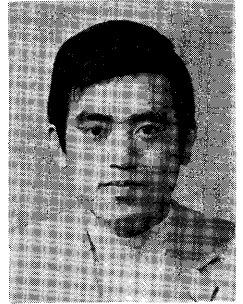
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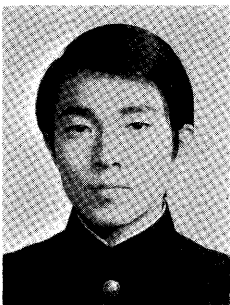
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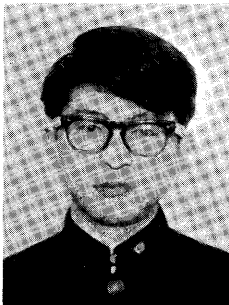
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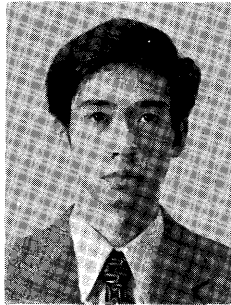
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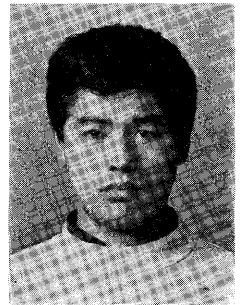
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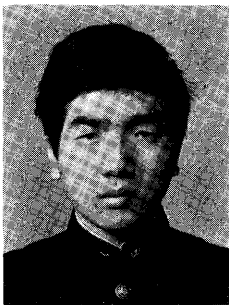
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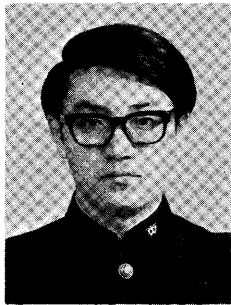
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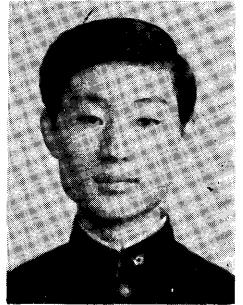
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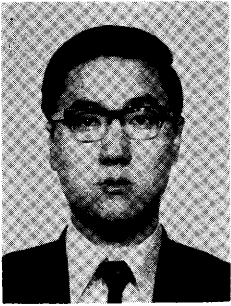
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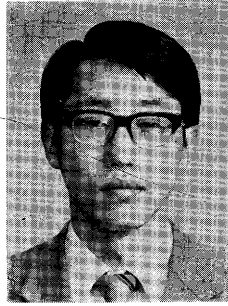
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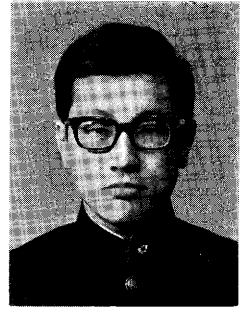
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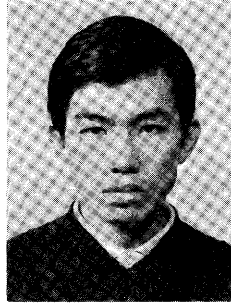
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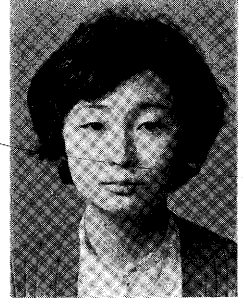
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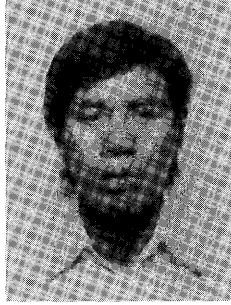
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## THE ACE VOL. 14

Published under the authority of  
The English Speaking Society of Waseda University  
by Public Relations Section  
Printed by Japan Printing Co., Ltd. (Tel. 873-3047)

欧文印刷

JAPAN PRINTING CO., LTD.

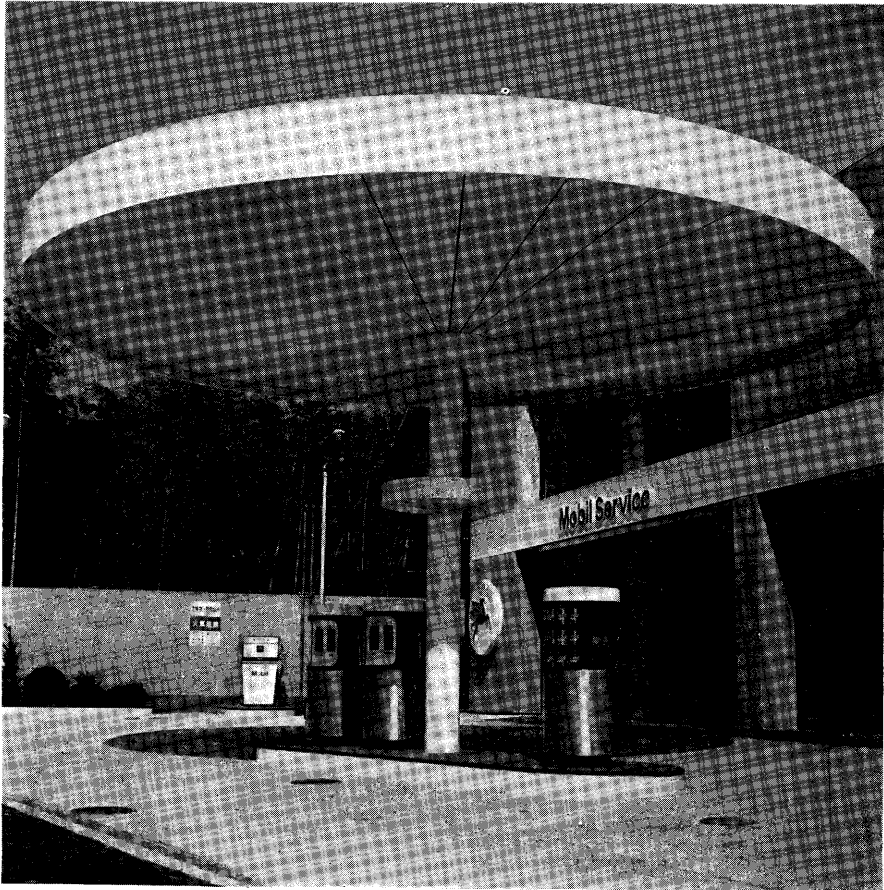


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