

CHAPTER I

Changing Patterns of International Exchange: A Chronology of JCIE's Evolution

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THROUGHOUT THE NEARLY fifty years since the end of World War II, international exchange activities have been an important aspect of Japan's efforts to improve its external relations. They have been designed to promote better cross-cultural communication and understanding, greater human and institutional interactions and linkages, and cooperation on common challenges. The emphasis and modality of exchange activities have undergone significant changes in accordance with the evolving international setting and Japan's relationship with that setting.

Promoting goodwill and friendship or gaining knowledge from abroad were the main purposes of exchange activities immediately after the war. Once Japan's trade overseas brought the country's citizens into closer contact with peoples around the world, explaining characteristics of Japanese society to foreigners became an important element of international exchange. When Japan grew into an acknowledged leading economic power, policy dialogue became a critical added dimension because Japan was increasingly expected to clarify its policies on international issues. At the same time, it became essential to help foreign observers better understand the complex sociopolitical dynamics of Japanese society. In the present era of deepening interdependence among nations, Japan is beginning to recognize the need

to modify some of its behavior in world society and some of its internal political and economic dynamics. Consequently, international exchange activities are today challenged with a new mission of providing an impetus for domestic change.

Concomitant with these transformations, exchange activities once focused on the United States have come to involve countries in many parts of the world, particularly in Asia and Europe. Multinational exchange activities, such as trilateral interchange among Japan and the advanced industrial countries of Europe and North America and programs in the Asia Pacific region, are now significant. The Shimoda Conference, a symbol of postwar Japan-U.S. private-level policy dialogue, was convened again in October 1994, and it invited, for the first time, a large number of participants from Southeast Asian countries, the People's Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, and Australia, in addition to Japan and the United States, the traditional participants. The conference was a dramatic indication of changing patterns of international exchange, and it underscored the need to discuss even the Japan-U.S. relationship in the broader multilateral context of the Asia Pacific region.

Through my involvement in Japan's international exchange activities for more than thirty years, I have witnessed this evolution. As a student in Wisconsin from 1958 through 1962, I was primarily a beneficiary of international exchange. Upon my return to Japan, I worked as the personal aide to Tokusaburo Kosaka, then an emerging industrial leader who was one of the early promoters of private-level international exchange. Under him I organized several exchange programs. I left Kosaka in early 1970, soon after he was elected a member of the Diet, to establish the Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE), one of the few nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations in international affairs in Japan. Since its inception, JCIE has tried to respond to the evolving priorities of international exchange, and, as such, its activities may be said to reflect the changing pattern of Japan's involvement in global affairs.

I

For most Japanese and many Americans, exchange activities in the period

immediately after the war were considered primarily as a means to facilitate and encourage Japan's reconstruction and reconciliation with the United States and the international community. The first organized effort was the Government and Relief in Occupied Areas fund (GARIOA). In 1949, fifty faculty members of Japan's teacher training colleges were invited to the United States as the first GARIOA exchange students. In 1950, through an open competition organized by American occupation authorities, 281 university students and graduates were selected from about 6,000 applicants and sent to U.S. universities. The GARIOA fund continued through 1952, with 521 students studying in the United States in 1951 and 293 in 1952.

The Japan-United States Educational Commission, often referred to as the Fulbright Commission after its architect Senator J. William Fulbright, began its educational and cultural exchange program the year the GARIOA fund ended. From 1953 to 1966, a peak period of the Fulbright program, an annual average of 257 Japanese students went to the United States. Since then, the program has earned a reputation as the most prominent success story of U.S. cultural diplomacy.

Though the Fulbright Commission later introduced a reciprocal exchange program that brought American scholars to Japan, the exchange activities in this early period were basically one-sided. Through the GARIOA fund, the main aim of which was to provide money for economic relief and reconstruction in occupied countries after the war, the Occupation authorities hoped to advance the democratization process of Japan, including its educational system, and to rebuild Japan's national strength so the country could function as part of an effective deterrence against possible totalitarian aggression in Asia. And at that time, Americans considered the Fulbright program to be the most important vehicle for promoting exchange with emerging Japanese intellectuals.

Many of the Japanese selected to participate in the two programs desired to acquire knowledge to help Japan catch up in the areas of science, technology, and industry, where it had fallen behind during the years of isolation and war. It is noteworthy that many of the GARIOA and Fulbright scholars have attained leadership roles in their home country. Fifty-three Fulbrighters from the program's peak period and nineteen GARIOA exchange students have become university or college presidents, and four Fulbrighters have become Supreme Court judges. Before the 1952 San Fran-

cisco Peace Treaty, it was not possible for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to send young diplomats abroad on its own, and seventeen diplomats participated in the first GARIOA group, including Ryozo Sunobe and Kensuke Yanagiya, both of whom later held the position of vice minister for foreign affairs. The second group had fifteen diplomats, including Yoshio Okawara, who later became ambassador to the United States, and Hiroshi Kitamura, who became ambassador to Great Britain.

The establishment of the International House of Japan in November 1952 signified the beginning of a new phase in postwar international exchange for Japan and in Japan-U.S. cultural exchange, partly because it represented the first joint effort among intellectual elites of the two countries who believed intellectual and cultural exchange to be essential in building a strong bilateral relationship. Also, the International House, which today administers exchange programs for intellectuals and scholars, organizes lectures and discussions, and provides accommodations and assistance to visiting scholars and artists, was the first major private, nonprofit organization established specifically for international exchange. Through this organization, too, the hitherto one-sided exchange activities began the transformation to the reciprocal activities predominant today.

It is not happenstance that the International House was founded nine months after the signing of the peace treaty, a time of uncertainty in the Japan-U.S. relationship because Japan's regaining of independence coincided with the communist takeover of mainland China. The journalist Shigeharu Matsumoto (1899–89), who played the pivotal role on the Japanese side in the founding of the organization, and a few other intellectual leaders who had been close to the United States before the war, felt guilty for having failed to prevent the war. They thus felt a strong sense of mission regarding the sustaining of peaceful relations.

The U.S. side was concerned about a possible upsurge of anti-American sentiment among Japanese intellectuals at the end of the Occupation and the start of a stronger U.S. anti-communist foreign policy. Those involved in negotiating the peace treaty felt an urgent need to substantially increase the number of Japanese intellectuals who would be friendly to the United States. The fact that treaty negotiator John Foster Dulles (1888–1959), who later became U.S. secretary of state, brought John D. Rockefeller III with him to Japan in 1951 as a cultural counselor reflected the political motives

of the U.S. government.

Rockefeller, who had been a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation for 15 years, did not, however, share the view of Dulles. Rockefeller valued the importance of international exchange activities in themselves. In his report to Dulles titled "United States-Japanese Cultural Relations" and dated 16 April 1951, Rockefeller wrote:

The long range objectives in cultural interchange between the United States and Japan would appear to be three-fold: to bring our people closer together in their appreciation and understanding of each other and their respective ways of life, to enrich our respective cultures through such interchange and to assist each other in solving mutual problems.¹

Rockefeller strongly emphasized making such cultural interchange a "two-way street" and also recommended "joint Japanese-United States undertakings" that are "privately formed and, as far as possible, privately financed."² "Direct government control or operation of such [intellectual exchange] projects is clearly not desirable," he insisted.³ As a specific means of promoting such activities, Rockefeller proposed the establishment of a "cultural center" and "international houses."⁴

Matsumoto and others responded by forming a committee to establish the International House of Japan. The Rockefeller Foundation contributed ¥250 million and private sources in Japan ¥100 million. Thus, Rockefeller and Matsumoto, who had met each other in 1951 in Japan, turned what obviously was a political initiative into a joint private initiative.

Early in what the International House called its intellectual interchange program, Charles W. Cole, president of Amherst College, former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), Norman Cousins of the *Saturday Review*, and other prominent American intellectuals were invited to Japan. The feminist politician Fusae Ichikawa (1893–1981), leader of the prewar women's suffrage movement and founder of the League of Women Voters of Japan in 1945, was sent to the United States from October 1952 to February 1953. Others also went: Philosopher and educator Yoshishige Abe (1883–1966), a leading figure in the various postwar educational reforms, was sent from November 1952 to February 1953, and social critic and journalist Nyozezan Hasegawa (1875–1969) was sent from March 1956 to May 1956.

Matsumoto worked with John Dickey, then president of Dartmouth College, to organize the 1962 Dartmouth Conference, perhaps the first of the intellectual exchange conferences between Japan and the United States. According to the November 1962 *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, participants discussed “the problem of Communist China, disarmament, economic and trade relations, and the status of democracy in Japan and the United States.”³ Around that time, a few other intellectual or academic exchange programs started, often with funding from U.S. institutions such as the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation. But such activities became less active in the late 1960s with the intensification of the Vietnam War. Matsumoto recalled that leading intellectuals, including economist John Galbraith, hesitated to come to Japan because they were not willing to openly criticize the U.S. government in discussions with the Japanese.

II

My early involvement in international exchange straddled this period when activities evolved from one-sided to reciprocal, when intellectual exchange conferences began to emerge in addition to efforts to introduce Japanese culture and society to foreigners, and when the importance of policy-oriented external dialogue involving opinion leaders was beginning to be recognized. In fact, as soon as I started to work for Kosaka, I began organizing diverse programs, each of which, I see now, reflected a different dimension of international exchange.

One of my first projects sent classroom teachers to the United States for a three-month study program. Called the U.S.-Japan Teachers Exchange Project, its aim was primarily for Japanese teachers to gain an international perspective in developing human resources for Japan’s economic and cultural advancement. Initiated in 1964 under the joint sponsorship of the Teachers College of Columbia University and the Association of International Education (a precursor of JCIE that I helped create and where I served as executive secretary), the program received financial support from the Ford Foundation and a group of business leaders affiliated with the Japan Employers’ Association. The program lasted until 1972.

The second set of activities I participated in took place through the Ja-

pan Council for International Understanding, another precursor of JCIE. The Council was an outgrowth of an informal committee formed by Kosaka at the request of Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer (1910–90) when Senator Robert Kennedy (1925–68) was to visit Japan in 1962. I joined Kosaka after Kennedy's celebrated visit, the first high profile visit after the war by a leading U.S. political figure, and was asked to turn the "R. K. Committee" into an organization to promote exchange with political leaders and other opinion leaders. At the time, no mechanism for international exchange of this kind existed (the International House emphasized exchange of academic and intellectual leaders). The council was a voluntary, informal organization that was not incorporated; it began more formal activities in 1965. Walt W. Rostow, president's national security advisor, was a guest in 1965, as was Senator Edward Kennedy in 1966.

This was the time when Japan's rapid economic development, accompanied by increasing friction with the United States over trade and other policy issues, attracted the attention not only of U.S. intellectual leaders, including Japan specialists, but of opinion leaders, especially those who influenced government policies—policy analysts, politicians, government officials, business leaders, union leaders, and journalists. This trend was demonstrated by a national conference on Japan and the United States organized in October 1965 by the American Assembly, an organization established by former President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969) in 1950 to promote discussion on matters of vital public interest among about sixty leaders from diverse fields in the United States.

Herbert Passin, then professor of sociology at Columbia University and acting consultant to the Ford Foundation, was an editor of the volume of papers written before the American Assembly meeting on Japan to provide background information on issues to be discussed at the meeting. Passin encouraged the American Assembly to stage a follow-up conference in Japan. The first American-Japanese Assembly, which later came to be known as the Shimoda Conference, was organized in September 1967 in Shimoda, a small port town near the southern tip of the Izu Peninsula. Shimoda, in Shizuoka Prefecture, is a historic site in Japan-U.S. relations dating back to 1854, when the Kanagawa Treaty negotiated by Commodore Matthew C. Perry (1794–1858) opened the port after two centuries of Japanese self-imposed isolation and made Shimoda the location of the first U.S. consulate

in Japan. The Japan Council for International Understanding cosponsored this first Shimoda Conference. I was executive secretary of the council and helped organize the conference. JCIE cosponsored the Shimoda Conference from the third meeting in 1972. The Japan Society of New York became an American cosponsor from the fourth meeting in 1977. The 1967 conference was the first major postwar forum for private policy dialogue between leading Americans and Japanese, and it set its own tradition of bilateral policy-oriented intellectual dialogue. It was undoubtedly the first private Japan-U.S. conference to attract wide public attention. About thirty reporters stayed at a hotel near the conference site and gave the conference ample newspaper coverage.

By the late 1960s, the Japan-U.S. relationship had outgrown interaction at the government level alone, and national policies required broader public understanding and support. Private dialogue uninhibited by the policy positions of the two governments allowed conference participants to explore new long-term policy directions for both countries. The final report of the first Shimoda Conference, for example, recommended that China should be recognized as a member of the United Nations, a position not taken by either government. It was becoming clear that while cultural understanding remained important, that alone was insufficient to sustain the bilateral relationship. Recognition was growing that the increasingly complex relationship, which inevitably faced conflicts, required multiple channels of contact and communication such as had been critical in sustaining the relationship between European countries and the United States. The Shimoda Conferences responded to new challenges in exchange between Japan and the United States.

The American participants of the first Shimoda Conference were indicative of the changing bilateral relationship and pattern of international exchange between the two countries. Then Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, who became U.S. ambassador to Japan in 1977, gave a keynote speech, and Senator Edmund Muskie and five members of the House of Representatives were among the thirty-four U.S. participants. The thirty-nine Japanese participants included leading politicians such as Yasuhiro Nakasone, later prime minister of Japan, and Eiichi Nagasue, later chairman of the Japan Democratic Socialist Party. Several emerging business leaders also participated: Akio Morita, chairman of Sony Corp.; Noboru Goto,

then president of Tokyu Railways and the Tokyu department store chain; Rokuro Ishikawa, then vice president of Kajima Construction and now chairman; and Jiro Ushio, then president of Ushio Electric Co. Both Goto and Ishikawa would become chairmen of the Japan Chamber of Commerce, and Ushio was at the time chairman of the Japan Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The Shimoda Conference was a timely initiative that set a new tone for Japan U.S. exchange and dialogue. The conferences of 1967, 1969, and 1972 took place amid growing tensions between the two countries. The divergence of views was becoming more pronounced concerning a number of issues. Japanese opposition was very strong against the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty and U.S. policy toward China and Vietnam. The reversion of Okinawa to Japan, which took place in 1972, was the most controversial issue confronting both countries in the late 1960s. The so-called Nixon shocks of 1971—when former U.S. President Richard M. Nixon (1913–94), without prior notification to the Japanese government, announced his intention to normalize U.S. relations with China and to abandon the gold standard—raised basic questions of trust and confidence. The first and second Shimoda Conferences were besieged by several hundred demonstrators, who taunted me as a “running dog of American imperialists.” Two members of the Japan Socialist Party canceled their participation in the first conference because of a party directive.

Discussions at the Shimoda Conferences on the bilateral trade imbalance and the security relationship and on China and Vietnam clearly demonstrated that a major communication and perception gap existed between Japan and the United States, which, unattended, could undermine the basic fabric of the bilateral relationship. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, several new efforts were made to broaden the policy dialogue among opinion leaders of the two countries to narrow the communication gap. Following up on a recommendation made at the first Shimoda Conference, ICIE and Columbia University sponsored the U.S.-Japan Parliamentary Exchange program, now in its twenty-sixth year. The Japan Society of New York became an American cosponsor from the ninth program held in 1980. This program promotes private unofficial interaction and dialogue between the legislative leaders of Japan and the United States. To date, the program has brought more than 180 members of Congress to Japan and sent more than 130 members of the Diet to the United States. As a similar effort, the Japan-

U.S. Economic Council was established in 1971 to organize the U.S.-Japan Businessmen's Conference gathering more than one hundred corporate leaders to discuss diverse subjects mainly focused on Japan-U.S. economic relations. It has continued meeting alternately in the United States and Japan every year for a plenary session at present attended by more than two hundred participants.

The Shimoda Conferences and related programs were gratifying for those of us involved in their planning and implementation. It was encouraging to see influential leaders from many fields in both countries exchange views and develop personal ties—all of which contributed to an improved Japan-U.S. relationship. Nevertheless, the challenges of promoting such activities were enormous. The language barrier, despite the gallant efforts of simultaneous interpreters, the number of whom was still limited in those years, inhibited the smooth flow of communication. Not much of a tradition existed in Japan for private citizens, including scholars, to discuss policy issues. Only a few qualified Japanese scholars or researchers were available to write the background papers circulated at conferences. These papers are designed to help the deliberations by providing background information on the issues, raising points for discussion, and suggesting future policy directions. Often the participants spoke past each other, and some questions raised by American participants were left unanswered. There were occasional emotional outbursts instead of reasoned and analytical dialogue.

My involvement made me strongly feel the need for a full-fledged professional organization dedicated to promoting and implementing substantive exchange activities between Japan and the United States and with other countries. I had also been deeply impressed by the role played by the American Assembly, the Ford Foundation, and other nongovernmental and non-profit organizations in the external relationships of the United States. With the help of business leaders in Japan and private foundations in the United States and with the encouragement of many friends in Japan and abroad, I established JCIE in early 1970.

III

In the early years, JCIE struggled for survival because of the lack of suffi-

cient financial support within Japan, but an even greater challenge was how to respond effectively to a new pattern of exchange that focused on joint efforts among leading nations to address the salient concerns of the world community. Our attempts to promote dialogue were frustrated by Japan's failure to define and articulate its international role despite its growing international influence. Japan was by then regarded as a major actor in world affairs, and foreign leaders were attentive not so much to how Japan reached decisions as to what Japan decided and less concerned about how Japan proceeded than about where Japan would go. This trend was clearly evident at the Shimoda Conferences of the early 1970s, where discussions gradually became more concentrated on how Japan and the United States should share global responsibilities.

With this shift, it was soon obvious that effective international exchange and dialogue had to be buttressed by substantive policy research and analysis that would provide at least tentative thoughts on Japan's role and positions on major policy issues, whether concerning economics or international security. Japanese conference participants could no longer speak off the top of their heads and needed to make more in-depth preparation before talks with their overseas counterparts. JCIE, in response to this new requirement, organized a study project in 1976 under the theme of "Japan's Role in the International Community—Super Power without Military Power?" with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation. Unlike most of JCIE's earlier projects, intensive policy research was an integral part of this project, and two workshops (one in Tokyo in 1977 and another at the Japan Society in New York in 1978) were organized to discuss research papers. Several Japanese scholars participated, and a report was published and circulated among policy thinkers.

A consequence of Japan's struggle to define its international role was the need for Japan to discuss its relationship with the United States in a broader multilateral context. This meant that international exchange activities had to be expanded to include countries other than the United States. It was not a coincidence, therefore, that in 1973, one year before Japan became a member of the annual economic summit of advanced industrial nations and participated in the first Group of Six gathering at Rambouillet, France, JCIE was asked by David Rockefeller, then chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank and a leader of the philanthropic community in the United States, to help

establish the Trilateral Commission. The Commission is a forum for prominent private citizens from Japan and the advanced industrial democracies of North America and Europe to foster closer cooperation on common international challenges. A basic premise of this initiative was that critical international issues that traditionally had been handled in the context of the Atlantic relationship could no longer be dealt with without Japan's participation. Task forces of experts from the two regions and Japan meet to study and discuss their major problems and concerns and to consider policy recommendations. The draft reports of these task forces are used for broader discussion at the annual plenary meetings held alternately in Europe, Japan, and North America. JCIE has served as the Japanese secretariat of the Trilateral Commission since the Commission's inception.

Our work for the Trilateral Commission made us keenly aware of the lack of contact and dialogue with Europeans, so in cooperation with several European research institutions JCIE in 1975 started the European-Japanese Conferences, also called the Hakone Conferences in reference to the first venue in Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture. This ongoing series aims to bring about close Japan-Europe cooperation in addressing such policy issues as trade and investment or international security as it relates to our joint efforts to deal with the former Soviet Union. Another purpose is to establish contacts between European and Japanese opinion leaders and scholars. These efforts, I think, have strengthened the weak link—namely, Japanese-European ties—in the trilateral relationship.

About the time that we were striving to enhance exchange with Europeans it became apparent that Japan's relationship with neighboring Asian countries had changed. As the Asia Pacific region emerged as a center of dynamic economic growth and increasing importance in international affairs and as Japan's role in promoting regional prosperity and stability grew, it became critical for Japan to develop close cooperative relations with the countries of East and Southeast Asia. In 1977, JCIE, in collaboration with the East-West Seminar in Tokyo, initiated the Asian Dialogue program to promote policy-oriented research and discussion and an interchange of ideas between leading intellectuals and professionals in Japan and Southeast Asia on problems of mutual concern in such areas as trade, investment, economic development, and regional security. The program, which at first held meetings annually, was expanded in 1980 with the involvement of the Insti-

tute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore and the National Institute for Research Advancement in Japan. Sixteen joint meetings have been held, and the program's joint research task forces have generated several publications. Since 1988, two "new face" programs have been convened to bring young and emerging intellectuals into the growing network of opinion leaders of Japan and member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations through study trips and joint seminars. The Asian Dialogue program provided a basis for more recent JCIE activities designed to enhance cooperation in the Asia Pacific region.

Also in 1977, the Korea-Japan Intellectual Exchange Conference series was started in collaboration with the Asiatic Research Center of Korea University. The conference has been convened ten times since then, and several publications have resulted.

Beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, private policy dialogue emphasizing the responsibilities Japan shares with the United States and with other leading nations firmly established itself as a key element in international exchange efforts in Japan. The Japanese government began to realize the importance of private sector contributions to government policy deliberations in the form of analyses and recommendations. Private sector dialogue also forges broader public understanding of policy issues and helps build consensus behind the country's policy directions through active public debate. JCIE was asked by the Japanese government to provide secretariat support for the 1979-81 Japan-U.S. Economic Relations Group and the 1983-84 U.S.-Japan Advisory Commission, jointly appointed by the president and the prime minister. JCIE organized the Japanese component of the research efforts of these commissions, which submitted reports to the heads of the two governments. Similarly, JCIE has been supporting other government-initiated "wisemen's exercises," including the UK-Japan 2000 Group since 1984, the Korea-Japan 21st Century Committee since 1988, the German-Japan Dialogue Forum from 1994, and the Korea-Japan Forum since 1993.

IV

The promotion of mutual understanding has long been considered a main-

stay of international exchange activities, and several Japanese organizations have significantly fostered cross-cultural understanding. The Japan Foundation began as the brainchild of former Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda. When he became minister for foreign affairs in 1971, he instructed the ministry staff to explore the establishment of an endowment to promote international cultural exchange. This led to the establishment of the Japan Foundation in October 1972. The foundation was a major boost to the promotion of Japanese studies and Japanese-language training abroad and was also instrumental in initiating several cultural exchange programs with a number of countries. The birth of the Japan Foundation was epoch making because there had not been much government interest in promoting international exchange. Today, the foundation is reputed for the many cultural exchange programs it has sponsored.

JCIE's activities to foster cross-cultural understanding have involved study and exchange trips for opinion leaders. Our projects include an exchange program with the American Council for Young Political Leaders since 1973, an annual educational tour of leaders of the member organizations of the National Council of World Affairs Organizations to Japan since 1986, an annual visit of Congressional staff since 1982, an exchange program with the Australian Political Exchange Council since 1991, and the Israel-Japan Intellectual Exchange program newly launched in November 1993 that brings Israeli leaders from diverse fields to Japan for one week.

Over the years, though, we came to realize the importance of promoting mutual understanding beyond narrowly defined cultural understanding. The significance of this has been magnified in recent years as nations have grown more interdependent. While in-depth understanding of each other, including such inner workings of society as the causes of social changes, the interaction of different actors in decision making processes, and the intricate government-business relationship, has become essential, the task of promoting such understanding is obviously extremely complex. The emergence of "revisionists" mainly in the United States from the late 1980s into the 1990s who offer their own analyses of the internal dynamics of Japanese society as they relate to Japan's external behaviors and policies has presented a new challenge for promoters of in-depth understanding of Japan and its society. JCIE's response to this greater interest among foreign observers in Japan's internal social, political, and economic dynamics includes compara-

tive studies with the Former Members of Congress on the role of diverse actors in the policy process or the interaction of such actors undertaken in 1981; a comparative study with the Brookings Institution on economic decision making carried out in 1988; a symposium in 1988 with the Council on Foreign Relations on the impact of social changes on Japan-U.S. relations, which resulted in a publication; and an annual week-long seminar for American business people and professionals on government-business relations in Japan started in 1983.

In the same vein, discussion of Japan's international role would not be adequate without appropriate treatment of the connection between the country's choices for international action and its sociopolitical dynamics, which may or may not allow Japan to take a positive international role. This connection was a major focus of a recent JCIE research project, *Japan's International Agenda*. The project, undertaken from 1990 to 1992, was designed to articulate Japan's role in global endeavors to construct a new world order in the post-cold war era. The project emphasized analysis of the relationship between Japan's desired international role and Japanese domestic political and social dynamics. We felt strongly that promoting mutual understanding beyond cultural understanding should focus more on this perspective. This kind of project is particularly fitting for private sector institutions, I think, because they can provide a more candid, objective, and long-term perspective.

V

For those of us promoting international exchange in Japan today, the challenges are enormous. Just as the evolution of exchange activities during the past five decades has reflected the changing international setting and Japan's place in that setting, so must our future endeavors respond to a fluctuating environment. Indeed, major changes in international affairs in the wake of the end of the cold war, the concomitant deepening of economic interdependency among nations, and substantial change in the domestic dynamics of many countries because of growing political diversity in society have generated new agendas for international exchange. Some of the agendas represent an extension of the priorities for exchange evident in recent years and

others represent fundamental changes in Japan's external and domestic environments.

Taken alone, some of the past premises of international exchange activities, such as promoting goodwill among people or introducing traditional Japanese culture to foreigners, are not as convincing as before, though their utility and relevance should not be denied. The fact that Japan has attained the status of a major global power with an increasing influence on international affairs makes even the best of efforts to promote better understanding of the complexities of Japanese society less effective in helping to build really harmonious relationships with other countries. Such exchange efforts must be augmented by credible changes in Japan's domestic political and administrative systems.

Japan cannot be a responsible global power without necessary domestic adjustments that will make it more compatible with the external environment. Under such circumstances, international exchange and communications efforts should play a catalytic role in facilitating the needed change in Japan. In this connection, the term *internationalization*, which has been casually used in Japan over the years, now has a fresh and important connotation of a new agenda for international exchange activities.

One illustration of a clear and conscious relationship between internationalization and international exchange is evident at the prefectural and municipal levels in Japan. A survey on the nongovernmental underpinnings of the Japan-U.S. partnership by JCIE in 1987-89 scrutinized the international exchange activities in fourteen prefectures in Japan and eleven states in the United States. Survey results showed that all fourteen prefectures were pursuing enhanced exchange activities. Local leaders see these activities as means not only to develop the overseas economic activities of their communities but to foster in their citizens more openness to the world.

In local communities today, there is an impressive growth of volunteer groups, women's groups, and international exchange organizations actively working to assist the increasing number of foreign workers, support student foreign exchange programs, and nurture among young people an awareness of cultural diversity. Exchange activities now play an even greater role in reorienting people's mindset so that they become conscious of the need for changes within their own society. This reinforces the importance of bringing into the communication and exchange process more people who have

not previously been sufficiently exposed to other cultures. The need is clearly all the more urgent, considering that those groups that are more domestic-oriented and have little to do with the outside world constitute the mainstream elements of most of our nations.

In this new era of interdependence, the opportunities for exchanges are greater than before and their importance is magnified. Exchange cannot be seen merely as a casual activity or a hobby but must be regarded as indispensable to sustaining and improving Japan's external relations and to making Japan a responsible and constructive member of the global community. Japan's nongovernmental organizations active in international exchange are also expected to be involved in such issues as environmental protection, the alleviation of poverty in developing nations, and human rights. But exchange activities cannot be carried out in an effective and sustained manner without organizations professionally dedicated to promoting and implementing these activities. In particular, nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations play a vital role in fostering international dialogue, joint research, and other collaborative endeavors. Nevertheless, major constraints in developing such independent sector institutions continue to exist in Japan, where traditionally private organizations have not gotten involved in public interest and public policies, particularly concerning international affairs, an area long considered the exclusive domain of government bureaucrats. Only a very limited tax incentive for private contributions to independent institutions is available, and rigorous administrative and legal constraints make it difficult to incorporate organizations. Recent encouraging signs of philanthropic development in Japan notwithstanding, very little funding is available for exchange activities. Human resources are also extremely limited. Given such constraints, only a handful of organizations working in international exchange have sufficient professional staff and expertise to implement programs. Demand for this small number to carry out diverse programs with more and more countries has been growing, and JCIE's workload has been increasing at an alarming rate. I find it heartening, though, that the Japanese government has started paying some attention to the need to encourage the operation of more organizations and to nurture and train more staff. In a recent report, the Prime Minister's Council on International Educational and Cultural Exchange emphasized the need to build an infrastructure to promote and support international exchange.

The urgency of the need is demonstrated in part by the impressive growth of independent sector organizations in countries in the Asia Pacific region. JCIE is convening a major symposium in Osaka in December 1994, in cooperation with the newly established Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium, as the culmination of a major survey project on the nongovernmental underpinnings of the emerging Asia Pacific regional community that JCIE has been conducting during the past two years. The survey underscores the growing trend toward collaboration and network building among independent organizations within the region as well as the glaring underrepresentation of Japanese organizations in the network. The Osaka Symposium is drawing considerable attention from independent organizations in Japan, and it is anticipated that the deliberations based on the survey findings will reinforce our sense of urgency concerning the need to develop a stronger infrastructure in Japan of qualified nongovernmental institutions.

This trend in the Asia Pacific region crystallizes the challenges Japan faces regarding international exchange activities. The growing interdependence in the region, which comprises nations with diverse cultures and languages and at different stages of development, requires greater efforts to develop a deeper understanding of each other's culture and society. There is a clear need for joint analysis and dialogue to address such complex regional issues as trade, investment, and security. These are the areas where independent research institutions can make positive contributions. Also, a number of common problems, such as the environment, human migration and refugees, human rights, and drugs, require collaboration among the governmental as well as the nongovernmental organizations in the region. And as the community-building efforts in the region move forward, governmental negotiations and treaties will have to be underpinned by multiple layers of private interaction.

Despite the formidable constraints in Japan against the development of independent sector institutions capable of effectively participating in these regional collaborative efforts, some new nongovernmental organizations, community-based international exchange organizations, and women's volunteer groups have emerged. These organizations have been expanding contacts mainly with their counterparts in the Asia Pacific region but also increasingly with those in other parts of the world. Such ties have helped them strengthen their capacity to undertake diverse exchange activities.

In my view, Japan's active participation in the nongovernmental network in the Asia Pacific region and beyond will provide the independent institutions in Japan with effective leverage for making a stronger case in the eyes of public- and private-sector leaders that these organizations do make a distinct contribution to Japan's endeavors to become a better and more constructive member of the global community. If there is a single cause that has contributed more than any other to making it possible for JCIE to survive as one of the very few independent institutions in Japan dedicated to promoting international exchange activities, it is our close working relationships with a number of institutions and individuals around the world. Our ties are based on mutual confidence and a sense of solidarity as partners and friends. Above all, we are united in the belief that effective international exchange activities are indispensable in maintaining peaceful and constructive relations among nations.

Notes

1. John D. Rockefeller III, "United States-Japanese Cultural Relations," a report to John Foster Dulles on 16 April 1951, pp. 1–2.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 2 and 5.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 6 and 10.
5. *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* (November 1962), p. 30...