

January 23, 1958

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Since my last letter to you I have refrained from writing again, knowing how very busy you are. But now I am writing to express appreciation for the efforts which have resulted finally in Japan's withdrawal of the Kubota statement and claims to Korean property. I also want to congratulate you on your firm and steady resistance to Soviet imperialism.

Now that the way has been opened for a renewal of negotiations to settle problems between Korea and Japan, I want to assure you of our sincere desire to achieve satisfactory and lasting solutions. We hope that this same sincerity may be manifest in the attitudes and policies of the Japanese.

As you may know, our great concern is the basic question of the role which Japan is coming to play in Asia. American policy during the past few years has been to build up Japan. Now Japan has become such a powerful and industrialized country that her economic wealth and political situation present a serious problem, and, in our opinion, this problem should be carefully considered now. Like the problem of Communism, which it would have been less difficult to have nipped in the bud forty years ago, the problem of a powerful Japan becomes more disturbing as time goes by.

It is not a new problem. Before Pearl Harbor America built up Japan to the point where Japan felt powerful enough to overcome American strength. But Japan miscalculated her strength and went down in defeat. To prove her magnanimity, America could have forgiven Japan's treachery, helped her stand on her own feet, and extended sufficient economic aid for Japan to re-establish her pre-war living standard. America did this and much more. But the Japanese neither understand nor appreciate the generosity of the American people in rebuilding their country. Instead of being grateful and remaining loyal to America, they are turning from the United States to Russia and Communist China and

at the same time are trying to become established as the dominating overlord in Southeast Asia. The reaction of other Asian nations to this is significant. Most of them, suspecting Japan's motives, have refused to welcome Japan's plan or accept Japan as the leading power in a regional security alliance.

→ On our part we are aware of the need for non-Communist security alliances, and we are willing to join together with other countries in an effort to promote collective security. But if Japan wants to be included she should first indicate her willingness to abandon her aggressive ambitions and to stand loyally with her benefactor, the United States, in resisting Communist imperialism. Instead, Japan's Communists are joining with the puppet regime in northern Korea in various attempts to infiltrate this Republic and Japan is entering into various relationships with other Communist regimes. As long as this continues, it is apparent that Japan cannot be counted upon with steadiness and confidence as a truly dependable ally in the period of struggle with which the free world is confronted.

Politically, there is no justification for confidence in either the lasting devotion of Japan to democracy or to the free world alliance. All through history, and especially in recent years, Japanese political philosophy and practice has shown emphasis upon skill in maneuvering to reap immediate advantages, rather than a true belief in democracy. The record on this is so clear that I think it does not need elaboration.

Economically, it is well known that the position of Japan is that her island resources are not sufficient to maintain her rapidly increasing population. The remedy Japan always has sought is expansion, sometimes by outright military conquest, and sometimes by economic means. Currently, as you know, Japan is striving to become a great new economic power not only in the Far East but in the Middle East as well. It is very disturbing to us and I should think to the American people as well.

I realize that the problem is far from simple, and I appreciate the point of view that Japan must be aided to become economically self-sufficient so that she may then solve her problems without recourse to former methods of imperialism. The facts, however, are not comforting. The Japanese standard of living and level of productivity are both higher now than they ever have been before, thanks to the very generous aid extended by the United States. Yet, at this very period, Japan is accentuating anti-Americanism feeling, trying to gain economic domination over her neighbors, and is promoting closer relations with our Communist enemies.

In conclusion, Mr. Dulles, I want to say again that we value the sympathetic understanding which you have always shown of our problems. It is because of this and your devotion to the cause of democracy and international justice that I am expressing our uneasiness in regard to all of these matters and our hope that the policies of your Government will support our determination of other Asian people not to be engulfed by any forces of aggression that operate from Communist China, the Soviet Union, Japan, or from any other place.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable
John Foster Dulles
The Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.