

Introduction

With the escalation of military action in Vietnam the shadow of the People's Republic of China looms large and near. In dealing with her neighbors the Southeast Asian states, China at times adopts an attitude of reasonableness and of willingness to persuade; at other times she reveals the iron fist. Her persuasive influence in the long run must depend upon actual demonstration that the Communist way is best for underdeveloped economies. Professor Ping-chia Kuo suggests that in fact the Chinese Communists have succeeded in embarking upon an industrialization program based upon the commune organizations. The achievements of mainland China, he believes, are substantial and will attract the attention of underdeveloped countries. Professor Kuo's study is his presidential address to the thirteenth annual meeting of the Midwestern Conference on Asian Affairs. Besides his popular book, *China: New Age and New Outlook*, he has contributed "Mao Tse-tung and China's 'Poor Peasants,' 1927-1957," in the 1964 issue of *Studies on Asia*.

On the military front the United States has played the leading role in checking communist expansion. The development of the American containment policy is discussed by Professor Frank N. Trager, and the present crisis in South Vietnam is viewed in the perspective of the larger cold war. Professor Trager's interpretations are noteworthy, not alone for timeliness, but also because they are the views of a veteran scholar and observer of Southeast Asian affairs. Since serving as U.S. Economic Aid Director in Burma, 1951-1953, he has made periodic visits to Southeast Asia, including one in 1964. He is a frequent lecturer for the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, and for the various schools of the Army and Air Force. Among his extensive publications are "The Communist Challenge in Southeast Asia," in *Southeast Asia: Problems of United States Policy*, edited by William Henderson; "The Importance of Laos in Southeast Asia," *Current History* (February, 1964); "What Burma is Like," *Asia* (Spring, 1964); "Burma and China," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (March, 1964); "Three Wars in Vietnam" (with G. K. Tanham), *Army* (May, 1964); "To Guarantee

the Independence of Vietnam," *Christianity and Crisis* (November 2, 1964); and "Vietnam: Military Requirements for Victory," *Orbis* (Fall, 1964).

The severe impact of the West upon traditional Asian societies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries resulted in bitter factional disputes and recourse to violent measures to attain political ends. Such a consequence was produced when Korea was exposed to Japanese and Western pressures. Professor Andrew Nahm closely documents the actions of Korean "progressives" and "conservatives" and their relations with influential Chinese and Japanese. Mr. John H. Boyle analyzes the role of the radical left wing in Japanese politics with particular attention to its gyrating policies toward the suffrage movement in the first quarter of this century. The terms "left" and "right" as applied to factions within the Kuomintang in China are discussed by Professor James Shirley. It is his finding that the leftist label is a foreign importation which is more misleading than appropriate when affixed to a person such as Wang Ching-wei.

Professor Nahm is the author of a useful bibliographic study, *Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1894-1910* (Stanford University: The Hoover Institution of War, Revolution, and Peace, 1959). Mr. Boyle has had four years of experience in government service and is presently studying for his Ph.D. degree at Stanford University. The study of Wang Ching-wei and the Kuomintang left wing by Professor Shirley is based on work at the University of California, Berkeley, and abroad in Tokyo, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Professor Shirley's research was facilitated by a Ford Foundation Research Fellowship.

Kuga Katsunan is the subject of Professor Barbara Teters' article. Kuga she describes as a "liberal nationalist" who wished to preserve the Japanese "national essence" by forming a constitution incorporating the principle of the separation of powers while at the same time denying the validity for Japan of parliamentarism and political party activities. While Kuga's early constitutional ideas failed to materialize, another conservative institution did evolve, not from theory, but from practice. This is the institution of *Genro*, or "Elder Statesmen," consisting of a group of men, never clearly defined, who exerted enormous influence in Japanese politics especially in the first three decades of constitutional government.

Professor Jackson Bailey's careful investigation of the *Genro* is the first in a Western language, and as such, is a valuable contribution to the study of Japanese political history.

Professor Teters' work on Kuga is part of a larger study of *Nihon Shimbun* and those associated with it. She taught in a Japanese women's college in Tokyo, Seishu Joshi Daigaku, 1950-1951, and has returned to Japan for research in 1953-1955 and again in 1963. Professor Bailey has spent several years in Japan including tenure as Associate Executive of International House of Japan. He is a specialist on the last of the *Genro*. Among his writings are "Prince Saionji and the Popular Rights Movement of the 1880's," in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (November, 1961) and "Prince Saionji and the Taisho Political Crisis, 1912-1913" in *Studies on Asia*, 1964.

Compared to the pre-World War II period when extremism and violence punctuated Japanese politics, contemporary parliamentary government in Japan has proceeded in relatively sedate fashion. Recent Japanese experience has led some observers to believe that democracy can be viable in Asia. Two studies of political pressure groups tend to support the belief that this is so in the case of Japan. The case study of the Japan Medical Association by Professor William E. Steslicke shows that the well-organized JMA does not exert an inordinate influence upon political leaders, and Professor James Soukup finds that "the Marxist assumption that business controls government and party leaders must be qualified if not discarded." Professor Steslicke's current research focus includes interest-group politics and social security policy in contemporary Japan. From 1960 to 1963 as Ford Foundation Foreign Area Fellow he studied at the Universities of Kyoto and Keio. Professor Soukup is author of three articles on labor and politics in Japan found in the May, 1960 issue of *Journal of Politics* and in the January, 1960 and March/April, 1962 issues of *Orient/West*. He also has written "Comparative Studies in Political Finance: Japan," in *Journal of Politics*, November, 1963.

Traditional India, as are other areas of the world, is undergoing institutional and ideological modifications, although slowly and sometimes grudgingly. The nature of social change in India is the subject of anthropologist Harold A. Gould. By case studies he seeks to test the thesis that the extended family is dissolved by urban

living and is replaced by nuclear, neolocal units. His limited samples indicate that such a mutation does not necessarily nor automatically come about. Professor Gould's findings, based in part on some three years of research in India, have been reported previously in the 1963 issue of this series.

A brief interpretation of Hindu thought and religiosity is provided by Professor Karl Potter, chairman of the department of philosophy at the University of Minnesota. He suggests that social institutions, such as the family or the castes, exist and are created to protect and preserve certain basic values and beliefs. On the other hand, Professor Winston L. King is interested in the new interpretations of saṃsāra which he detects in Theravada Buddhism, no doubt necessitated by the this-worldly emphasis of contemporary society. Professor Potter is General Editor of the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophy* and is the author of several articles and two books on Indian thought, *The Padārthatattvanirūpanam of Raghunātha Sīromṣi*, and *Prerequisites of India's Philosophies*. Professor King, a frequent contributor to *Studies on Asia* (1962, 1963, 1964), has written extensively on Buddhism including *Buddhism and Christianity* (1962), *In the Hope of Nibbana* (1964), and *A Thousand Lives Away* (for publication in 1965).

With the exceptions of the studies of Mr. Boyle and Professor Nahm, all of the articles in this volume were originally presented at the Midwestern Conference on Asian Affairs which met in October of 1964 at the University of Southern Illinois. It is hoped that the views expressed and the facts presented by the various authors will serve to stimulate and promote interest and scholarship in the various facets of Asian life.

Robert K. Sakai