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History and Prospect of Canada-Japan Relations : Through my Personal Experiences*

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In this article I would take up an immense subject, the history and future of Canada-Japan relations,¹ and yet approach it through my narrow personal experiences. A popular Japanese proverb says "Look at the ceiling through the eye of a needle." (針の穴から天井のぞく) I am a historian of modern Japan and my knowledge of Canada is very limited. As a historian, however, I am inclined to think that even apparently humble episodes in a personal history are in fact sometimes deeply rooted in the greater movements of history, and that the naive images of a country conceived by the ordinary people of another country still reflect some aspects of the former. Therefore this article will be composed of four parts. First I will introduce my encounter with Canadians and my partial images of Canada. Then, in the second part, I will go on to some later events which eventually broadened my viewpoint and enlightened my perception of Canada. In the third part I will analyze my previous encounters with and images of Canada from this broadened point of view. Such analysis of past experiences will naturally lead to some speculation about the future of Canada-Japan relations. This will be the final part.

My first contact with Canadians was in my boyhood. In the mid-1930s my family was living in a provincial town called Kōfu in central Japan and I used to go to the kindergarten attached to the oldest Protestant church there. On Sundays I was sent to Sunday school at the

* This article is based on my lecture at the University of Alberta on 14 January 1985, which was given as an introduction to my lecture series. I wish to thank the Canadian government for giving me the Canadian Studies Faculty Enrichment Award and Department of History of the University of Alberta for taking the initiative in inviting me as a Distinguished Visiting Professor and thoughtfully assisting my research in Canada. These two programs jointly made my visit to Canada possible.

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Church. The church had been established by Canadian Methodist missionaries and the kindergarten was called Cartmell after the first Canadian woman missionary to Japan.² The headmistress Miss Mary Haig herself was a Canadian missionary, who taught Bible to a few of the mothers of children in the school including my own. In my vague recollection, life in the kindergarten was coloured by Christianity. Among happy memories of those days I still remember two trying duties. Long grace said before every meal for a hungry boy and going to Sunday school every week for a playful boy were painful experiences. For this reason I compressed grace into one strange word that sounded like a spell. As for Sunday school, fortunately or unfortunately in 1937, due to Japan's invasion of North China, Britain-Japan relations suddenly became critical. I, a seven year old militarist, was shrewd enough to exploit this international conflict as a means to escape from my personal trouble. The argument I invented in order to dissuade my mother from urging me to go to Sunday school went this way. Britain is Japan's enemy. Therefore Christianity is the religion of an enemy people. Consequently, as a Japanese boy, I shouldn't have to go to Sunday school any longer. This story shows Canada was vaguely related to Britain in my childish world view.

Thus my contact with Canadians was short lived. Nevertheless I still heard people around me sometimes talk about Canadians in a friendly way. Both of my parents were from the countryside around another provincial town called Nagano in the central region of Japan. I noticed a certain Canadian's name often crop up in my relatives' conversation. It was Daniel Norman. He was a Methodist missionary and virtually a life-long citizen of this provincial town. He ministered his church, made circuits throughout the countryside and was loved by the local people.³ In fact one of my relatives had lived next door to Rev. Norman. While Rev. Norman was teaching English at secondary schools in this town, he built a small house adjacent to the parsonage in order to let some school boys experience Christian communal life.⁴ My relative belonged to this small community guided by Rev. Norman. In his reminiscences he talked about Norman's younger son, Herbert a cute boy, and even named his collie dog Grace after Herbert's only sister. In fact, Herbert Norman studied in Canada, the United States and England and got his Ph. D. for his thesis which later became an influential book *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State*. Then in 1940 he returned

to Japan as a promising junior official at the Canadian Legation. I also often heard my parents talking in a friendly manner about another foreigner called 'Kyaputen' McKenzie.⁵ He too, was a Canadian missionary and had baptized another relative of mine. As the Pacific War continued, however, memory of friendship with Canadians became remote.

It was not until after the war that I once again began to learn about Canada and its people. This time my contact with Canada was mostly through books and the mass-media network. Let me introduce stories of three Canadians and one incident which will illustrate images of Canada conceived by some of Japan's intellectuals and young students including myself, especially during the Allied Occupation of Japan and the Cold War years.

A key figure in our re-encounter with Canada was Herbert Norman, a historian and diplomat then in his late thirties.⁶ As a school boy I had no idea of the important role he played in the Allied Occupation in the period from 1945 to 1950, as the section chief of the Counter Intelligence Service, for the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and then as the Canadian deputy delegate to the Far Eastern Commission and the Minister to Japan. Norman was known to Japanese first and foremost as a historian with a broad knowledge of Japan combined with a deep perception of Western culture and history. Japanese translations of his *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State* and *Soldiers and Peasants in Japan* appeared in 1947 as a kind of revelation in war-wasted Japan. Because of his superb combination of sympathy towards the Japanese, in particular the common people, and his penetrating criticism of Japan's militarism and expansionism, Japanese versions of Norman's works immediately won the high respect of the Japanese reading public as well as academics, and enjoyed a great circulation. In retrospect, I am inclined to think that these works assisted readers in an examination of their dark past and helped to find ways for the rebirth of Japan. I remember in the conclusion to my first published article I could not help quoting a passage from Norman's book in my argument concerning Japan's responsibility for the aggressive war.

In the wake of E. H. Norman there appeared another Canadian, Dr. Norman Bethune (1890-1939), who, as an indefatigable member of the Canadian medical aid team attached to Mao Tse-tung's army and dedicated to the liberation of the Chinese people and to the united front against Japanese aggression. He was introduced to Japan posthumously

by Mao Tse-tung's famous article entitled "In Memory of Norman Bethune", the Japanese version of which became popular among the Japanese left-wing throughout the 1950s and 1960s.⁷ I must confess that before we Japanese read Roderick Stewart's sympathetic yet critical biography, our image of Norman Bethune was as of a red saint 'St. Norman' with a halo around his bald head and face, which resembled those of Lenin. It was not until the 1970s with Canada's recognition of the People's Republic of China that Canadians realized Dr. Bethune had been revered in China and recognized his importance by designating in 1972 his Ontario home a national historic site. It can safely be said, however, that the Japanese had, thanks to Mao Tse-tung's ordination of Dr. Bethune to the rank of the red saints, discovered him much earlier than his compatriots.

In 1957 came the unexpected news of the sudden death of Herbert Norman, the then Ambassador to Egypt and Minister to Lebanon. He had stretched himself to the limits of his endurance in the turmoil of the Suez Crisis. Just then the insistent accusation against him of eight long years by the F. B. I. and the Internal Security Subcommittee of the American Senate resumed. Overwhelmed by this persecution Norman killed himself. The more highly we respected him, the greater the shock of this tragic incident.

The background story of the incident, Norman's last strenuous effort to persuade President Nasser to admit United Nations troops into Egypt naturally turned our eyes to another Canadian, Lester Pearson, and his bold plan to interpose a United Nations peace-keeping force between the belligerents, a plan with which Norman closely co-operated. We were impressed by Pearson's active commitment to the international crisis. He seemed to me extremely active, even disproportionately so, considering Canada's relatively modest power. It was only natural that we celebrated the news of Pearson's being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his work. Some years later in 1965 when Pearson as the Canadian prime minister started to criticize bitterly the American war in Vietnam, he was again a focus of our attention. The Canadian people as a whole, too, seemed to us to behave in a similar way; they seemed to have generously accepted the emigration of young American draft-dodgers. This massive flow from the United States across the border reminded me of the flow in the 1860s of negro slaves who had escaped from the southern states to the north through what was then called 'under-ground railroads'. We

had no idea of the unfriendly reception some Canadians had for the American immigration and their complaints about the brain-draining of capable Canadian students to American universities to fill the vacancies caused by American students who had left for Canada. In our eyes, throughout the 1950s and 60s, Canada shone the brighter against this background of an America darkened by McCarthyism and the Cold War. As for me, I was also interested in the existence of a clear line of missionary tradition running through the devotion of the above mentioned people—Herbert Norman was the son of a missionary to Japan, Pearson was the son of a Methodist minister and taught at Victoria College, Toronto, a cradle of Canadian missionaries to Asia, and Norman Bethune was the son of an evangelist of a kind of home mission.⁹

You may feel my knowledge of Canada is personality-oriented, fragmentary and biased — perhaps favourably biased. Indeed, Canada and Japan were born against the same background, yet they have until recently been two solitudes which sat back to back across the Pacific. Before the Pacific War, particularly until the opening of the Canadian Legation in 1929, Canadian missionaries to Japan served as virtually the only source of information about Canada. Even after the war, conditions did not dramatically change. Until recently we had no full-time journalist based in Canada. When our interest turned rather sporadically towards Canada, our reports came from Japanese correspondents who viewed the Canadian scene from Washington or New York, rather than from Ottawa.¹⁰ Thus the figure of Canada for Japanese was an obscure one imposed between the two big powers, Britain and the United States. We gradually shifted our perception of Canada as a component of the British Empire to that as a northern extension of the United States. I am inclined to say that images of Canada conceived by Japanese may have been characterized in rather negative terms. Compared with the British Empire, the United States and other countries which have clear identities, Canada in Japanese eyes seemed to lack its own culture. Yet at the same time, it seemed free from the greed of power politics, arrogance, paternalism and patronizing. While our images of Canada as a nation were obscure, it seemed disinterested, humble, and at least harmless as a neighbour or as an actor in international stage. It was not until Canada's new approach to Japan under the Trudeau administration came about that slight signs of change in the Japanese perception of Canada began to appear. As for me as

an academic, however, even prior to Canada's new approach to Japan, my research and my encounters with Canadian colleagues with whom I shared a common interest had already paved the way to a broadened perception of Canada.

As the second part of the article, let me illustrate three important factors which jointly fostered my understanding of Canada. First, my research in the intellectual history of modern Japan. Second, my encounter with some Japan specialists from Canada. Third, lectures and seminars on Canadian history and politics given by some leading Canadian professors who have visited our faculty in recent years.

As my work on the intellectual history of modern Japan progressed, I gradually came to recognize the significance of cultural contacts with the West in the modernization of Japan. In this sense, I was interested in Christianity in Japan with particular reference to missions from the West. Studies on protestant missionaries to Japan enabled me not only to reinterpret my earlier experiences with Canadian missionaries but eventually led to the realization of Canadian missionaries' contributions to the modernization of Japan.

Furthermore interest in the history of Canadian missionaries to Japan also provided me with an opportunity to get close to some Japan specialists in Canada. Compared with Japan specialists in America, almost none of whom is at present working on Christianity in Japan or missionaries to Japan, it is noteworthy that in Canada some of the leading members of the much smaller community of Japan specialists are involved in studies on Christianity and missionaries.¹¹ Owing to our common interests, I was in time able to get acquainted with some of the Japan specialists, including the late Dr. Caldarola, a sociologist of religion at the Sociology Department of the University of Alberta.¹² My discussions with these specialists on shared interests helped me in tracing the characteristics of Canadian missionaries in Japan to their Canadian backgrounds. In addition as these scholars had been brought up, educated, or were working in Canada, they often talked about Canadian people and society, and in my eyes they seemed to be representative Canadians.

Then, there have been successive visits to our faculty by Canadian specialists on Canadian history and politics. For many years, for most of Japanese academics, access to their Canadian counterparts was mainly through their publications, not so much their books and articles published

in Canada as their works published by British or American publishers. Furthermore, in their indirect contacts with Canadian scholars through their publications, Japanese academics usually showed more interest in those works which dealt with general themes or themes which were related to Britain and the United States rather than in those which concentrated on Canadian subjects. Let me quote a telling example. Among Japanese political scientists including myself, the best known Canadian political scientist was certainly Professor C. B. Mcpherson of the University of Toronto. Almost all of his books, from *Political Theory of Possesive Individualism* (1962) to his *Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval* (1977) are widely accepted among us and have been translated into Japanese. There is, however, one exception. That is *Democracy in Alberta: The Theory and Practice of Quasi-Party System* (1953). This was his first book and the cornerstone to his successive works which followed it. In fact the library of our University first obtained a copy of this book when a mission of the Alberta Government kindly donated in 1984 more than thirty books on Alberta to the library. The reason why most of Professor Mcpherson's works, with the exception of his monograph on Alberta politics, were popular in Japan, I presume, is mainly due to the fact that, while the former dealt with general political theory and were published by the Oxford University Press, the latter concentrated on peculiarly Canadian politics and was published by University of Toronto Press.

Access to Canadian scholarship through personal contact has been even scarcer. As for our faculty, although personnel exchanges with American, British, French and German universities have occurred rather frequently, until 1983, relatively few Canadian academics including Professor Michael Rutter from the Law Faculty of the University of Alberta and Professor Anatol Rappapport of the University of Toronto who presented a stimulating paper on the strategy of disarmament to our faculty seminar, had become affiliated with or visited our faculty.

1983, however, marked the watershed in personnel exchanges with Canada of our faculty. In just one year since autumn 1983, four Canadian professors visited us successively and gave us lectures on Canadian history and politics.¹⁸ All of these lectures were conducted more or less under the auspices of the Canadian federal government. Along with these lectures, our faculty has launched a joint-research program with the Law Faculty at the University of British Columbia for a comparative

study of the legal systems of Canada and Japan and we have held joint seminars in both Vancouver and Sapporo. Discussions with Canadian specialists on Canadian politics, law and history and introduction to the works of Canadian specialists and primary source materials about Canada marked, so to speak, the opening of our scholarly community to the Canadian scholarly world, just like Japan opened herself under the impact of the American 'Black Ship' squadron in 1853. These new trends in our faculty, of course, reflect in part the beginning of an interest in Canada by members of the Japanese academic world as a whole.

Let me cite some significant events which illustrate this rapidly emerging academic interest in Canada. At last, 1976 saw the establishment of the Japanese Association of Canadian Studies, which was more than half a century behind the foundations of its sister societies of Studies on America, Britain and so forth. The emergence of the Canadian Studies Association eventually gave impetus to the publication of academic works on Canada. Until 1977, the only existing account of history in Japanese consisted of a chapter tacked on the end of a history of the United States. Another example of the long established Japanese perception of Canada as merely an extension of the United States! The publication of the Japanese translation of Professor McNaught's *Pelican History of Canada* in 1977, and that of Professors John Saywell and Ian Drummond in 1978 marked a turning point in Japan's academic interest in Canada. Here again I would like to ask you to remember that these three translations were all done at the request of the Canadian federal government. In 1981, at long last, the first single independent volume on Canadian history by a Japanese Canada specialist appeared.¹⁴

Development of my research on modern Japanese history, my co-operation with Canadian Japan specialists, the beginning of Canadian-Japanese academic personnel exchange as well as the publication of Canadian studies in Japan, all helped to broaden my viewpoint and enlighten my perception of Canada. These three factors enabled me to analyze my poor experiences of the Canadian people and my fragmentary images of Canada. So I will go on to the third part of the article and explain what I have obtained through such an analysis in two stages. First, an overview of the development of Canadian-Japanese relations in what is called the age of missionary activity, from 1873 to the 1930s. Second, our perception of Canada's position in the post-war world.

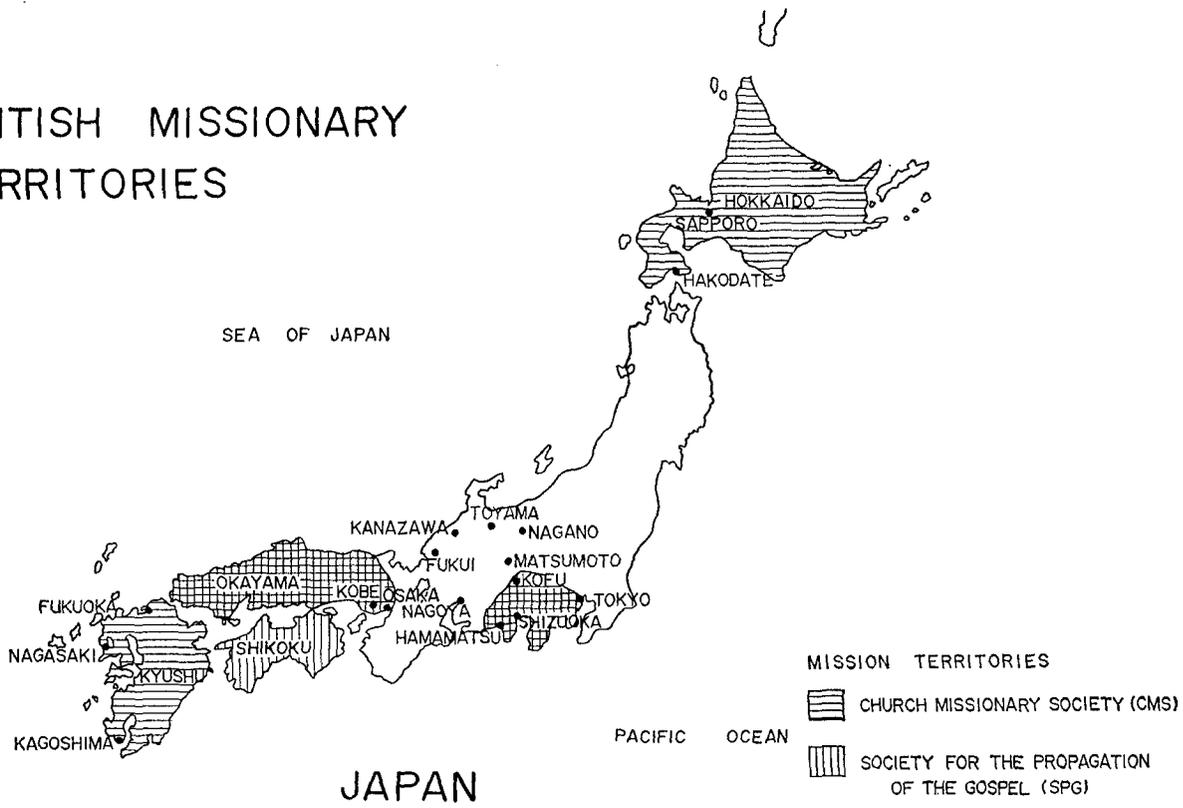
You may remember that my encounter with Canadians before the Pacific War was socially as well as geographically very limited. The contact my family and our relatives had with Canadians was confined to Canadian missionaries. Although my family moved throughout Japan and our relatives lived all around Japan, the theaters for our meetings with Canadian missionaries were mostly provincial towns in central Japan or in Tokyo. Narrow as they were, they reflect the peculiarity of Canadian-Japanese relations and the Canadian contribution towards Japan's modernization.

To begin with, prior to 1941, non-governmental groups of Canadians in Japan, particularly missionaries, were more significant agents of Canadian-Japanese relations than formal governmental agencies.¹⁵ Certainly Canadian-Japanese commercial relations made gradual progress and urged the establishment of the Canadian Legation, yet the significance of commercial relations to both countries was rather peripheral and the opening of the Legation did not occur until 1929. Conversely the flow of Japanese emigrants to Canada was blocked by barriers designed to maintain Canada as a "white man's country". Those emigrants who failed to penetrate Canadian society were unable to serve as a channel of cultural diffusion from Canada to their mother country. Against the background of Canadians' disinterest in and sometimes misunderstanding and hatred towards Japan, Canadian missionaries continued to represent for some time, both in terms of numbers and in familiarity, the most significant Canadian presence in Japan. Furthermore, I wonder if their activity in the pre-war years also provides us with a key to understanding a certain aspect of Canadian foreign policy after 1948.

Canadian missionaries to Japan as the major agents of the Canadian-Japanese relations, successfully established an identity separate from that of their British and American colleagues, and made a unique contribution to Japan's modernization. Though they were late-comers to Japan, in terms of number, during the 1930s some 450 Canadian missionaries of all denominations were actively working in the Japanese Empire, making them the largest single national group of missionaries in the Empire.¹⁶ In addition, their approach towards Japan was unique and reflected their Canadian backgrounds.

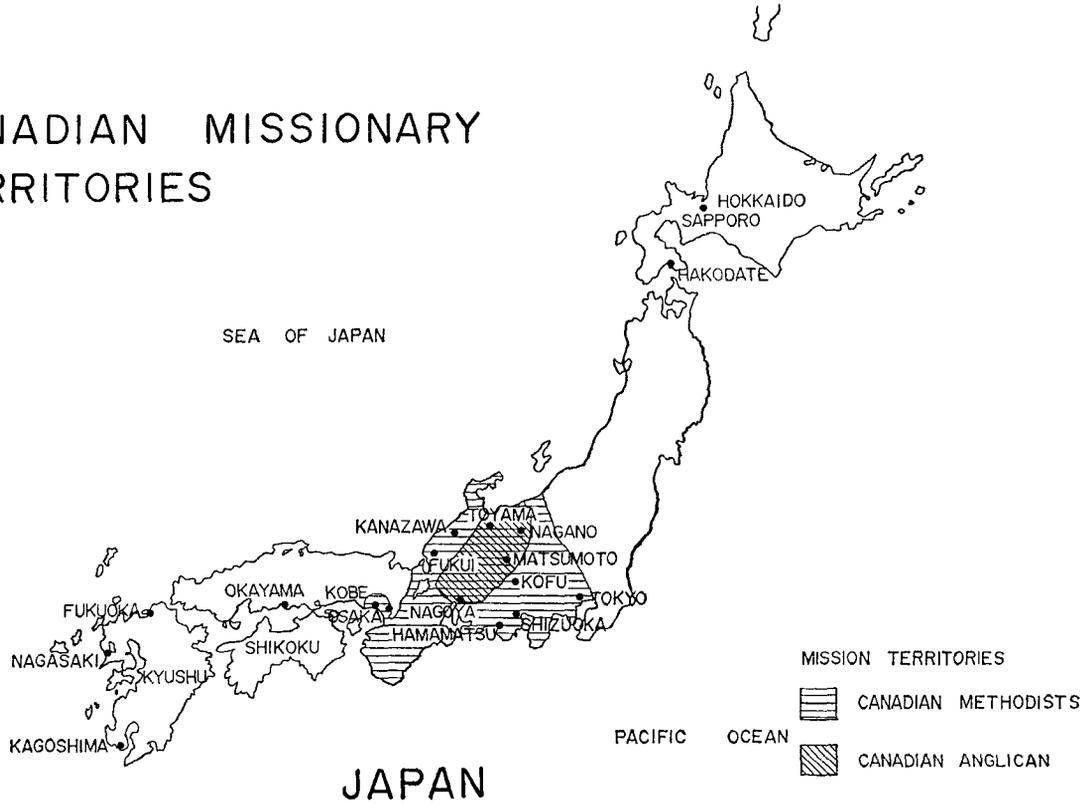
Let me briefly outline four peculiarities of these backgrounds and from that point explain the uniqueness of the Canadian approach to Japan.¹⁷ First, most Canadian missionaries to Japan came from small

BRITISH MISSIONARY TERRITORIES



A. H. Ion, "British and Canadian Missionary Views of Japanese Society and Politics, 1905-1925" p. 40.

CANADIAN MISSIONARY TERRITORIES



JAPAN

Ion, Ibid., p. 41.

farming communities in Ontario or Quebec. Second, the majority of them were graduates of Victoria or Trinity Colleges, Toronto. In other words they were highly educated. The reason Canadian Foreign Missions recruited their members from among highly educated promising youth seems to lie in the fact that in those days the federal governmental service and the business world of the young country were more or less under British and American domination and career for able ambitious young men were not very promising. Third, reflecting their Canadian up-bringing which had emphasized social progress, equality and the building of a new society, Canadian missionaries as a whole tended to be more egalitarian and democratic, more concerned with social justice and more forward looking than their British colleagues. Lastly, consistent with Canada's status in the British Empire and its late appearance on the East Asian international stage, Canadian missionaries were uneasy with the unequal treaty and concession system. Compared with their British comrades their identification with Imperial political and cultural extension took place only second hand. Their support for imperialism was not very strong. On the other hand, while Americans often wanted to see Japan remodelled like them, Canadians did not seem as pressing or patronizing.

The uniqueness of the Canadian missionaries approach and their contribution to Japan can, to a certain degree, be explained by these backgrounds. First, from the outset the Canadian missionaries hated being confined to the westernized metropolitan centres. They strove to penetrate the hinterland, particularly the rural areas and provincial towns. Thus, mission fields for both the Canadian Methodists and Anglicans coincidentally covered the central mountainous region of the Japan mainland as well as Tokyo and Osaka. In the provincial towns they followed the tradition of their circuit-riding forebears, travelling by foot and on bicycles, later by train, bus and automobile. Secondly, most Canadians preferred what is called direct evangelization to an institutional approach. Like their British or American colleagues Canadian too made efforts to found and maintain colleges, schools, kindergartens, hospitals and agencies for social welfare as a means for evangelization.¹⁸ As a whole their work was successful and provided Japan with experts for modernization in various fields. Yet, it is important to note that institutional works was never their strong point. The majority of them chose to work most of their lives in one place—usually a provincial town—

taking part in the life of the local people at the grass roots level. I wrote that our encounter with Canadians was geographically as well as socially limited. It was in fact deep seated in the main currents of Canadian-Japanese relations. Rural central Japan was the most important meeting place for Japanese common people and missionaries with their own grass-roots background who represented Canada virtually alone.

Thirdly, intentionally and unintentionally, Canadian missionaries tended to associate themselves with the politically defeated and the underprivileged. At the outset, the first mission field of the Canadian Methodists, in particular two prefectures of central Japan Shizuoka and Yamanashi, was, coincidentally, the home and stronghold of the former ruler of Japan, the Tokugawa family. As a result, Canadians became close to many of the survivors of the Tokugawa government, who were involved in scholarly and educational activities, through which they intended to join the work of building a new nation. The baptism of their leading members, above all the great Confucian scholar Keiu Nakamura¹⁹ by Canadian Methodists, symbolized the close relationship between the two groups. Young intelligent survivors of the Tokugawa government eventually constituted a powerful group of liberal opposition against the Meiji oligarchy. In this way, Canadian missionaries played an important role in the birth of Japanese liberalism. Throughout the late 19th and the early 20th centuries Canadians were always sympathetic to emerging democratic tendencies in Japanese society and optimistic about their future.

Canadians' assistance to the underprivileged was not confined to those in Japan proper. Indeed their sympathy for the Koreans oppressed under Japanese colonial rule was outstanding in the long history of concern for social justice displayed by Western missionaries to Japan.²⁰ In Korea, Canadian Presbyterians co-operated with British Anglicans. Yet, here too, owing to their different social and denominational backgrounds as well as their geographical location in the peninsula, the difference between them was striking. While the British Anglicans restricted their work to Seoul and its vicinity, the mission field of the Canadian was North East Korea and the adjacent area of Manchuria, Kando where the cause of national independence of Korea was propagated most vehemently. Thus, while the British Anglicans tended to be very sympathetic to the Japanese Government-General, Canadians

criticized the Japanese rule and played an important role in drawing international attentions to the peninsula. When the Koreans organized massive independence demonstrations throughout the peninsula in March 1919, and the Japanese authorities responded with brutal suppression, the Canadians strongly protested and published in the international press. In addition to these missionaries, there were a few Western journalists who reported on the Korean struggle to the Western world. One such journalist was a Canadian by the name of Frederick McKenzie. He got acquainted with Korean farmers and accompanied Korean guerilla troops throughout the countryside. He reported on the Japanese brutality to the worlds through his newspaper correspondence and books based on his field experiences.²¹

While my research in modern Japanese history and my co-operation with Canadian Japan specialists helped me to interpret my previous personal experiences of Canada against the general backgrounds of pre-war Canada-Japan relations, the beginning of academic personnel exchange between two countries and the emergence of Canadian studies in Japan, enabled me to have a clearer idea of Canada's position and its foreign policy in the post-war world. Lectures by Canadian specialists on Canada dealt with Canada's international as well as domestic issues. Yet, after all, what has interested us most is Canada's unique role in the post-war world and its foreign policy. From non-committal isolationism to liberal internationalism impersonified by the foreign policy of Lester Pearson and then to the Foreign Policy Review and the Third Option of the Trudeau administration. The general survey of the history of Canada's foreign policy offered by Canadian specialists helped us to accommodate our sporadic and fragmentary images of Canada into a more consistent and clearer image.²² However, I dare not lecture on Canadian foreign policy as such to a Canadian audience. Instead, I would choose two important endeavours of Canadians which impressed us the most, and explain why we were so impressed by them and what we have learned from them.

They are, first, Lester Pearson's liberal internationalism and Canada's unique role as a 'middle power' and, second, Alberta's active and unique relations with East Asian countries.

Let me begin with Pearson's liberal internationalism. After great economic growth, both Canada and Japan have now joined the rank of what is called 'principal powers'.²³ Yet, I think, Canada's historic ex-

periences of liberal internationalism as a 'middle power' is still of great significance to contemporary Japan. Canada defined her rank in the post-war world as that of a 'middle power' and believed that there were some unique roles on the international stage which only a 'middle power' could and should play. This ambitious role of a 'middle power' seemed to be symbolized by Lester Pearson's liberal internationalism and his role in mediation and peacekeeping, which reflected something of the nature and purpose of the Canadian nation. In our eyes, compared with that of the United States, Canada's noticeably less ideological approach to the question of co-existence during the increasingly intense Cold War was remarkable. Pearson's success as a skilled negotiator at the U. N., particularly during the Suez crisis, and his useful middleman function in the Commonwealth and the special support that he won from the Asian-African members, were all instructive to us. The behaviour of Canada as an honest mediator in a manifoldly divided world, we thought, might be related to its growing inclination to establish in some way its own autonomous foreign policy and independence from American pressure. Despite Canada's membership in the West, despite the proximity and over-whelming power of the United States, Canada declined to join the crusade against Cuba, and was long reluctant to accept nuclear armament.

We tended to find some continuity between Pearson's and Trudeau's foreign policy. I realize there is a striking discrepancy between Japanese and Canadians, particularly those in the western provinces, in their estimate of Trudeau's administration. This is not the place to be deeply involved in this question. However, I would like to explain a Japanese perception of Trudeau's foreign policy.²⁴ When the Trudeau administration proposed in its Third Option a change in the relationship with the United States, we interpreted it as the culmination of a long pursuit for autonomy from the United States throughout Pearson's era. We also thought the Third Option, at the same time, marked a new stage in the Canadian-Japanese relationship as well. While trying to withdraw itself from America, Canada sought new countervailing associations in the Pacific-Rim region, and for the first time began to think somewhat more regionally about the Pacific-Rim. Thus, Japan became a central figure in Canada's new Pacific-Rim program. In fact, the very presence of Canadian specialists on Canada who successively visited our faculty, made us feel the existence and significance of a new phase in Canada's

Japan policy.²⁵

Now I will turn to my next point. That is Alberta's active and unique relations with East Asia. The progress in Canadian studies which was fostered by Canadian scholars threw a new light on the Alberta-Hokkaido relationship. As a citizen in Hokkaido, I have some idea of this sister-provinces relationship. In addition, as a political scientist I have a keen interest in the growing importance in contemporary international politics of what is called 'trans-national relations'. This refers to direct communication between non-state organizations of different nations, including provincial or other local bodies, citizens' groups and so on. In fact, a Japanese political scientist introduced the Alberta-Hokkaido exchange activities as a significant case of trans-national relations in contemporary Japan.²⁶ Then, lectures by Canadian scholars turned our eyes to the uniquely Albertan or west-Canadian backgrounds of this relationship. This is one of the reasons why I wanted to visit the University of Alberta.

Why did these endeavours of Canada so impress us, and what are the lessons which we learned from Canada? I should think Canada's case has shed light on the peculiarities and weaknesses in our world view and, at the same time, it has shown us clues to overcoming these weaknesses. Firstly, Canada's historic experience as a 'middle power' with its own active role on the international stage is in striking contrast with Japan's big-power-orientation. What I call big-power-orientation is one of the basic features of Japan's attitude towards international relations. It is a long standing presumption of the Japanese that the world is mostly moved and determined by the big powers. Even after Japan's return to the international stage with its growing economic influence, it still tends to adhere to this preoccupation. Therefore, on the one hand, Japan's foreign policy is characterized by a profound distaste for independent initiative and by conformism to one of the super-powers. On the other hand, Japan has failed to recognize the contributions of other countries including Canada and has been ignorant of them. In the eyes of those of us, who have long been accustomed to this big-power-orientation, Canada's ambitious role as a 'middle power' and its initiative as an honest mediator in international conflicts has come as a kind of revelation, something we had never thought of before.

Secondly, Alberta's quest for autonomy and initiative on the international, particularly East Asian stage, as well as in domestic politics,

is in striking contrast with what I may call the centre-orientation of the Japanese. The centre-orientation constitutes a basic element of Japanese political culture and appears in various aspects of our world view. In domestic politics, almost all local bodies, including Hokkaidō, tend to be preoccupied with and dependent on the central government. In international politics, it appears as what I call big-power-orientation. Furthermore, even when we try to understand another country, we often look only at the centre of that country and believe we have some idea of that country as a whole. I am afraid the centre-orientation of the Japanese is a stumbling-block in our perception of such a country as Canada. The conspicuous discrepancies between Canadians and Japanese in their judgement of Trudeau's administration may partly be attributable to this idiosyncrasy on our part.

After these considerations, what can be said about the prospects of Canada-Japan relations? On the prospect of the Mulroney administration's foreign policy, the views of academics and commentators seem manifoldly divided. Its Japan policy, too, is in the process of formation. I would, therefore, introduce an argument of a Canadian columnist²⁷ and speculate on the future of Canada-Japan relations depending upon it. The central theme of this argument is that, the Pearson policy is now an established doctrine in foreign affairs, cutting across party lines. Thus, the Honourable Joe Clark and Canadian diplomats are thinking in the following way: Canada, despite its relatively modest size and its military dependence on the United States, can have more influence than its people realize. Canada can enjoy a 'special relationship' with the United States which survives all disputes and which other allies of the United States lack. Therefore, Canada will act in its natural role as an honest broker. It will nudge the American government in the right direction when the opportunity appears, particularly in the area of the acute danger of a nuclear war.

I am not qualified to judge the validity of this argument. However, I do hope Canada, now one of the 'principal powers', performs this unique role. I wish that Japan as another 'principal power', would assist Canada in its friendly persuasion of the United States. It is my dream that, as Canada played an important role in the *détente* of the 1960s, Canada and Japan will co-operate to break through the stalemate of the super-powers in the 1980s. Should this co-operation of Canada and Japan be possible, Japan has much to learn from the historic ex-

periences of Canadian foreign policy. I also hope that Alberta-East Asian relations will develop in the long run in the direction which supports Canada-Japan relations of this type.

NOTES

1. For recent achievements in this field, see Keith A. J. Hay and Peter Price, *Canada, Japan and the Pacific Community* (Ottawa: Canada-Japan Trade Council, Econolynx International, 1981); Michael W. Donnelly and Victor C. Falkenheim, *Canada and the Pacific Community*, Joint Centre on Modern East Asia, University of Toronto-York University, Working Paper No. 4 (Toronto: 1981); Klaus H. Pringsheim, *Neighbours Across the Pacific: The Development of Economic and Political Relations Between Canada and Japan* (Westport [Connecticut] and London [England]: Greenwood Press, 1983). Frank Langdon, *The Politics of Canadian-Japanese Economic Relations 1952-1982* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984). These works deal mainly with economic aspects of Canada-Japan relations. The proceedings of the Japan-Canada Conference in 1979 which was published as *Kanada Kenkyū Nenpō*, Vol. 2. *Ni-kka Gakujutsu Kaigi Tokushū* [*The Annual Review of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 2. *Proceedings of Japan-Canada Conference 1979*] (Tokyo: Nihon Kanada Gakkai [Japan Association of Canadian Studies], 1980) will provide a brief yet more comprehensive picture of the history of relations between these two countries.
2. Miss Martha J. Cartmell (1845-1945) came to Japan from Hamilton, Ontario. She founded the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō in 1844 and became its first principal.
3. Daniel Norman (1864-1941) came to Japan from Ontario in 1897. His oldest son wrote a lively biographical sketch of his father: Howard Norman, 'Norman of Nagano', typescript. I read its Japanese translation, H. Hirabayashi (tr.), *Nagano no Noruman* (Tokyo: Fukuinkan, 1965).
4. The house was named *Shintoku-kan* (進徳館, to literally translate, Virtue Training Hall) and accommodated up to 8 boys. Hirabayashi, *Nagano no Noruman*, pp. 138, 169.
5. Rev. and Lt. Colonel, A. P. McKenzie, like his father Rev. Daniel K. McKenzie belonged to the Japan Mission of the United Churches of Canada. He served in World War II and established and worked for the Canadian Army Japanese Language School in Vancouver.
6. For compilation of E. H. Norman's writings and a comprehensive overview of his life and scholarship in English, see John W. Dower, *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E. H.*

- Norman* (New York: Pantheon Books 1975), a chapter on Norman in Charles Taylor, *Six Journeys: A Canadian Pattern* (Toronto: Anansi 1977), and Roger W. Bowen ed., *E. H. Norman: His Life and Scholarship* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1984). Professor Bowen has undertaken to write the first biography of E. H. Norman. In Japan, the April 1977 issue of the magazine *Shisō* was published as a special issue on Norman. Norman's old friend Genji Ōkubo edited and translated *Habato Nōman Zenshū (The Complete Works of E. H. Norman)*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami 1977-78).
7. A Japanese translation of Mao's article on Dr. Bethune appeared in 1952 in a volume of the Japanese version of the 5 volumes collected works of Mao Tse-tung.
 8. The first biography of Dr. Bethune, Ted Allan and Sydney Gordon *The Scalpel, The Sword* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart) was published in 1952 and in 1964 The National Film Board of Canada made a biographical documentary film entitled *Bethune*. Roderick Stenart's *Bethune* (Toronto: New Press 1973) is a definitive biography of Dr. Bethune in English. Biographies by Allan and Gordon, and Stewart were both translated into Japanese in 1971 and 1978 respectively.
 9. After more than 20 years I realized that those informal links between Canadian missionaries to East Asia and the Department of External Affairs is one of the topics in which Canadian historians are interested. See A. H. Ion "Canada and the Occupation of Japan" *International Studies* 1983-1, p. 59.
 10. For example, the sources for reports and comments in leading Japanese dailies on the general election in September 1984 and the establishment of the new administration are as follows: (The location shows where the correspondents who sent the reports were based. The numbers after that show the number of reports from there. *Kyōdō* and *Jiji* are the two biggest news agencies.)
Asahi: New York 5.
Mainichi: New York 5, New York (*Kyōdō*) 1, Ottawa (*Kyōdō*) 1, Toronto (*Jiji*) 1. In addition, one leading article and a report of Professor Léon Dion's (Université Laval) comment on the election delivered in Tokyo appeared.
Yomiuri: New York 5.
Hokkaidō: Washington D. C. 1, Ottawa (*Kyōdō*) 3, Toronto (*Jiji*) 1, Tokyo 1.
Nihon-Keizai: Toronto 7, Tokyo 1. In addition one leading article and reproduction of an article in the London *Times* appeared.
 11. Professors Y. Ōta at McGill University, Best and Powles at Univer-

- sity of Toronto, A. H. Ion at the Royal Military College of Canada, the late Caldrola at the University of Alberta and Howes at the University of British Columbia. For their works on the history of Japanese Christianity and missionaries to Japan, see Sinh Vinh "Kanada ni okeru Nippon-shi Kenkyū no Genjō" ("Recent Trends in Canadian Studies on Japanese History") *Rekishi-gaku Kenkyū*, no. 518 (July 1983), The Japan Foundation, *Directory of Japan Specialists in Canada (Revised Edition)*, (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 1983), and J. H. Howes "Review of Japanese Studies Abroad (19): Canada", *The Japan Foundation News Letter*, vol. 6, no. 1 (April-May 1978).
12. He died prematurely leaving behind excellent works on Japanese society and religion including *Christianity: The Japanese Way*, Leiden: E. J. Brill 1979).
 13. Professors Kenneth McNaught from the University of Toronto, John Saywell from York University and Léon Dion and Kenneth Courtis from Université Laval.
 14. Y. Ōhara, *Kanada Gendaishi (A Contemporary History of Canada)* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shyuppan-sha).
 15. For Canadian missionary activities in Japan before World War II, I have relied on the following works: Cyril Powles, "The Development of Japanese-Canadian Relations in the Age of Missionary Activity, 1873-1930" *Kanada Kenkyū Nenpō*, vol 2, 1979. A. Hamish Ion, "British and Canadian Missionaries' Attitude to Japanese Colonialism in Korea, 1910-1925", *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies*, Vol. 1, Pt. 1 (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, Centre of Japanese Studies 1976), "British and Canadian Missionary Views of Japanese Society and Politics, 1905-1925", *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies*, Vol. 3, Pt. 1, (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, Centre for Japanese Studies 1978), Nobuya Bamba, "Nikka Bunka Kōshōshi Josetsu; Kanada Mesojisuto Misshyon to Meiji no Shisōkatachi" ["An Introduction to the History of Canadian-Japanese Cultural Relations: The Canadian Methodist Mission and the Meiji Thinkers"] *Kokusaikankeigaku Kenkyū [Studies on International Relations]* no. 3, 1977. Recently the University of Toronto-York University Joint Centre on Modern East Asia has been developing a special innovative program *Canadian Missionaries in East Asia* to probe the roots of early Canadian involvement in East Asia including Japan with particular reference to the effects of this experience on Canadian aid and trade programs after World War II.
 16. Ion, "Canada and the Occupation of Japan", p. 59.
 17. Although I have not given credit to Professor Powles in every specific point, I am greatly indebted to Professor Powles' "The Age

- of Missionary Activity, 1873-1930" for my understanding of Canadian missionaries to Japan.
18. Outstanding examples of educational institutions founded by Canadian Methodist missionaries which are still thriving are Azabu High School and Kansei Gakuin University. The enthusiasm of Canadian women missionaries for training kindergarten teachers has led to the establishment of the present day Tōyō Eiwa Junior College. One of the forerunners of St. Luke's Hospital in Tokyo is a nursing school and clinic *Jikei ikan kangofu gakkō* in Nagano city, which was established by a Canadian Anglican nurse.
 19. For detailed analysis of the missionary activities towards the survivors of the Tokugawa government in Shizuoka from the view point of cultural contact, see A. H. Ion "Edward Warren Clark and Early Meiji Japan: A Case Study of Cultural Contact" *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 11, no. 4 (1977)
 20. For the works of Canadian and British missions in Korea, I have relied on A. H. Ion "British and Canadian Missionaries' attitude to Japanese Colonialism in Korea, 1910-1925".
 21. Frederick McKenzie was born in 1869 in Quebec and died in 1931 in Sydenham, Ontario. He was sent twice to Korea as a special correspondent of London *Daily Mail* and reported on the Japanese invasion of Korea by his correspondence and books such as *The Tragedy of Korea* (New York: E. P. Dutton and London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908) and *Korea's Fight for Freedom* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1920)
 22. On this point I find David B. Dewitt and John J. Kirton, *Canada as a Principal Power* (Toronto: John Wiley & Sons 1983) most enlightening. The references in this book provide an extremely useful bibliography on post-war Canadian foreign policy in terms both of theoretical frameworks and source materials.
 23. For the content of the concept 'principal power', see Dewitt and Kirton, *Canada as a Principal Power*, especially pp. 38-46.
 24. See, for example, N. Bamba's works: "Nippon Kanada Kankei no Tenkai: Sono Kaiko to Tenbō" ["Development of Japan-Canada Relationship: Retrospect and Prospect"] *Kokusai Mondai* (February 1977), "Taikoku Gaikō kara Teikei Gaikō e" ["From Big-Power Diplomacy to Co-operation Diplomacy"] *Chuōkōron* (February 1977), "Jyūzoku Riron kara Rentai Riron e: Ni-kka Syukō 50-nen ni saishite" ["From Dependence Theory to Solidarity Theory: On the Occasion of the Semi-Centenary of the Canada-Japan Relationship"] *Sekai* (October 1979)
 25. In 1976 the Framework on Economic Cooperation between Canada

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and Japan and the Canada Japan Cultural Agreement were concluded. Under the Cultural Agreement, the Department of External Affairs began to actively send visiting professors to Japan.

26. N. Bamba, "Chihō-syugi to Kokusai-seiji: Aidentiti no Mosaku to Kattō" ["Localities in World Politics"], Nihon Seiji Gakkai [Japan Political Science Association] ed., *Gendai Kokka no Isō to Riron* [*The Phases and Theories for Contemporary States*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 1982)
27. Bruce Hutchison, "Foreign Policy: the Mulroney Strategy" *Edmonton Journal* (December 16, 1984). Bruce Hutchison is an editor emeritus of the *Vancouver Sun*.