THE WORLD THEY WANTED: THE JAPANESE DELEGATION IN THE WORLD YOUTH FORUM

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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This thesis introduces the contribution of Japanese teenage diplomats to the discourse of US-Japan relations in the 1950s. This thesis is focused on young Japanese individuals, and how they chose to represent both themselves and their country in the *New York Herald Tribune* World Youth Forum and the televised debates, *The World We Want*.

I explain how Cold War diplomacy was not exclusively directed by veteran diplomats appointed by elected officials, but also by teenagers who took their opportunity to represent Japan with focus and with intention. My research, based on newspaper articles from the *Herald Tribune* covering the event, biographies written by the delegates, and the televised debates, emphasizes how the delegates took an active stake in Japan's post war future while representing Japan on 1950s American television in the process.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It is March 3, 1955, and four teenagers and their host are seated on a CBS soundstage in New York City, ready to participate in the television program, *The World We Want*. These teenagers, who came from three continents and four countries, awaited their chance to introduce themselves to the United States, and the world. Having been in the United States for two months previously, the teenagers were ready to debate the topic for the night: What do we go to high school for? The camera panned to each participant as they gave their opening statements. There was a young man from South Korea in a new Christmas sweater, two young women from Brazil and the United Kingdom in well-appointed cardigans and long skirts, and a young woman from Japan in a kimono patterned with flowers. The host, Helen Hiett Waller, had a brief conversation with the first three students before she got to the Japanese participant, Shimazu Hisako.[1] Waller introduced Shimazu by name and read a letter that she wrote to Waller during her time in the United States. In the letter, Shimazu was appreciative of her time in America, but goes on to note that it had made her appreciate her home country even more. After the introductions finished, the debate began in earnest. This is the *New York Herald Tribune* World Youth Forum.[2]

The World Youth Forum was a significant and enduring program which lasted for a quarter century, from 1947-1972. The World Youth Forum annually hosted students from over thirty countries for three months of homestays, school visits, and televised debates on "*The*

[1] Japanese surnames will appear before given names.

[2] The New York Herald Tribune World Youth Forum will be henceforth referred to as the "World Youth Forum".

World We Want."[34] This program was one of many which supported the United States' effort to create an international community of democratically minded nations. Japan, after regaining independence at the end of the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-1952), sent its first delegate in 1952. In looking at Japanese participation in the World Youth Forum, my main research question is: What contributions did the delegates make to the World Youth Forum as participants and as representatives of their countries? In pursuing this question, I hope to address other issues that arise. For example, how did the delegates' past experiences and current circumstances contribute to their visions for the future of Japan in the Cold War Era? What can we learn about Japan, the United States, and the world through the eyes of Japanese teenagers in the 1950s? How were the Japanese delegates represented, and how did they represent themselves, considering the socio-political and cultural dynamics of the US-Japan relationship in the 1950s?

This thesis moves beyond the scholarly foci of studies of Japan in the 1950s, which often frames Japan as a country that embraced the ideals of democracy set forth by the United States during the Occupation. This scholarship views Japan as a country attempting to gain its footing by focusing its energies on the internal restructuring of Japanese society and on Japan's domestic economic recovery. Additionally, scholarship on US-Japan relations often centers on the negotiations of diplomats, state visits by US Presidents, and the decade-long renegotiation of the US-Japan Security Treaty. While this scholarship highlights the overarching aspects of US-Japan

[3] In total, the World Youth Forum had 810 delegates participating from eighty-five countries over twenty-five years. More comprehensive demographic information will be published in Catherine Bishop's upcoming book on the World Youth Forum.

[4] *The World We Want* television program ran from 1954 to 1959. By 1960, the *World We Want* was not televised due to budget constraints, but the forum still held debates with a rebranded name, "Young Worlds." In 1961, Helen Hiett Waller passed away unexpectedly in a mountaineering accident in the French Alps. This further debilitated the World Youth Forum's ability to maintain the level and frequency of events in the 1960s.

relations, it ignores the role that ordinary citizens, such as the World Youth Forum delegates played in the representation of Japan internationally during the 1950s.

This thesis aims to introduce the contribution of teenage diplomats to the discourse of US-Japan relations in the 1950s. The relative obscurity of the contributions made by those who participated in the World Youth Forum highlights the ease with which larger international systems of diplomacy dominate the historical conversation. An examination of the Japanese delegates who participated in the World Youth Forum can provide the historical record with a new, and youthful voice. This thesis is focused on young Japanese individuals, and how they chose to represent both themselves and their country. It can show that Cold War diplomacy was not exclusively directed by veteran diplomats appointed by elected officials, but also by teenagers who took their opportunity to represent Japan with focus and with intention. Finally, giving more specific attention to the delegates' role as representatives of the Japanese people on American television provides an opportunity to further analyze how, in the wake of World War II (1939-1945), age and gender were key considerations in the formulation of Japan's post war image.

This thesis argues that the Japanese delegates to the World Youth Forum were motivated to take an active stake in Japan's post war future by participating in the World Youth Forum because of the educational and personal experiences they had had during the Pacific War (1941-1945) and the Allied Occupation of Japan. Furthermore, I argue that the delegates viewed the World Youth Forum as an opportunity to gain new experiences which they could use not merely for self-improvement, but to promote world peace at the height of the Cold War. These aspirations made them the perfect candidates to discuss the nuanced and salient topics of the World Youth Forum debates. This thesis also argues that Japanese participation in the World

Youth Forum reflected the emerging presence of Japan, both politically and culturally, in the schema of the Western Bloc in the 1950s. The Japanese delegates used the platform that the World Youth Forum provided to both assert Japan's allegiance to the United States and lend a nuanced and youthful voice to larger Cold War discourses. Finally, this thesis argues that the Japanese delegates provided American viewers of the "*World We Want"* television program with a progressive image of postwar Japan. This progressive image constituted a shift from the masculine and militaristic imagery of the Pacific War to more feminine and peace-loving imagery of post war Japan. I argue that this evolving image was linked to notions of democratic progress and youth in Japan. While the delegates represented, as Naoko Shibusawa argues, a feminine junior ally in democracy, they also rejected key aspects of this imagery through their discourse in the debates. Ultimately, the delegates' participation in the World Youth Forum represented a critical cultural moment in US-Japan relations during the 1950s.

Sources and Methodology

This thesis draws from several main sources of information in examining Japanese participation in the World Youth Forum. The full-length videos of the program, "*The World We Want,"* biographies written by the Japanese delegates, and newspaper articles that cover the World Youth Forum supply the main primary source material for the project. Select secondary sources, which provide the rich context to make connections between the primary source materials, will be discussed in a literature review towards the end of Chapter One. For now, let us look at how each primary source functions within the thesis.

Firstly, the core primary source materials used in this thesis are the videos of the televised program, "*The World We Want*." These videos are at the core of Chapters Three and Four. Over the years that it ran in the 1950s, *"The World We Want"* offered twenty-one young adults from

Japan the opportunity to debate peers from around the world on American television. This program functioned as the capstone event for the World Youth Forum. These videos show the Japanese delegates staking their positions on a variety of topics relevant to the Cold War era. By examining this source, the viewer gains insight into the political and cultural views of the Japanese delegates and how the delegates were represented on the screen. This source, paired with newspaper articles and biographies, presents a full picture of the extent of Japanese participation in the World Youth Forum.

Secondly, a main primary source I use are the biographies written by the Japanese delegates. These biographies, varying from two paragraphs to three pages in length, provide crucial information on the backgrounds of the Japanese delegates before they came to the World Youth Forum. The biographies, which were written by all twenty-one Japanese delegates, also outline the goals and dreams of the delegates. They were provided to the United States Embassy in Japan, Helen Hiett Waller (1914-1961), as well as to the families that hosted the delegates during their time in the United States. By examining these biographies in Chapter two, I illustrate how the background of the delegates informed their participation in the debates.

Thirdly, newspaper articles, written by the *New York Herald Tribune*, covered the annual World Youth Forum with eight-page spreads detailing every facet of the given year's event. The articles introduced the names and faces of the delegates, as well as select conversations that took place during the televised debates. These articles often included pieces about cultural events, college visits, and visits from United States officials in which the delegates participated. These articles also included brief endorsements from the World Youth Forum's main sponsor, Pan American Airlines, as well the televised programs dates and times. The articles often repeated much of the same kinds of information year after year. I use them mainly as sources of general

information about the World Youth Forum and the "*World We Want"* television program, especially within this introductory chapter.

The World Youth Forum in the 1950s

To better understand the context of the World Youth Forum, a discussion of its history and its purpose are necessary. The World Youth Forum was created and managed by the *New York Herald Tribune*, until the newspaper's collapse in 1966, and thereafter by the World Journal Tribune. The first World Youth Forum, held in New York City in 1947, "was established immediately following World War II out of a conviction that the best way to promote world peace was to bring young people, from around the world, together."[5] This conviction was also tied to state interests, as it sought to facilitate the strengthening of bonds between the United States and its key post war allies. In the first two years of the World Youth Forum, only sixteen- to eighteen-year-old students from the United States participated. In 1949, international delegates, mainly from European countries who had received Marshall Plan assistance such as France, Britain, West Germany, were invited to send delegates of their own.[6] In 1951, the World Youth Forum reverted to a United States-only event due to the Korean War, before reconvening in 1952 with countries from Asia and the Middle East added to the roster of annual participants. From 1952 onward, Japan sent twenty-one delegates to the United States to participate in the World Youth Forum.[7]

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[5] NYHTWYF Alumni Association. "New York Herald Tribune World Youth Forum History." Herald Tribune World Youth Forum Alumni Association. Accessed May 20, 2021. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=35&ID_BRANCHES=171.

[6] NYHTWYF Alumni Association. "New York Herald Tribune World Youth Forum History."

[7] The delegates are listed in order: Saito Kayako (1952), Iwasaki Kikuko (1953), Fujii Kimiko (1954), Shimazu Hisako (1955), Konishi Yoriko (1956), Morii Yumiko (1957), Yoshimura Yukiko (1958), Yamakami Yukiko (1959), Kawagoe Midori (1960), Shirai Chisoko (1961), Fujimoto Tomoko (1962), Ohashi Hisako (1963), Sakurauchi Atsuko (1964), Nishimagi Yoko (1965), Mitsumoto Satsuko (1966),

To select the delegates for the World Youth Forum, each participating country's Ministry of Education held a nationwide competition. The selection process for these competitions was rigorous, assuring that the delegates would be well-prepared for the program. The World Youth Forum set five main qualifications for selection. First, the delegates had to show, "an active interest in world affairs, coupled with basic knowledge of the home country and some understanding of its problems."[8] The ability to speak in a cross-cultural context about international issues was paramount. Next, the delegates had to show an "ability to adapt readily to unfamiliar situations and have interest in new experiences for their own sake."[9] The delegates had to bring the requisite knowledge and adaptability to a new environment that was unlike any that many of the delegates had experienced before. The third qualification centered on the delegates' personal appearances, especially based on what sort of first impression they would make.[10] The first three qualifications were in line with the spirit of the World Youth Forum's focus on the delegates being representatives of their country. The World Youth Forum wished that the delegates would serve as worthy "ambassadors of goodwill between their home countries and the American people they encounter."[11] To measure up to this standard, the delegates needed the ability to present and articulate themselves well.

Hase Toshio (1967), Ueno Kazuaki (1968), Hino Takahito (1969), Sakurai Koko (1970), Ishikoso Fuminori (1971), and Yagi Takeshi (1972).

[8] ""The World We Want:" Eighth High School Forum Report." New York Herald Tribune, March 29, 1954, 17.

[9] "Eighth High School Forum Report", 17.

[10] What the qualifications for this first impression consisted of went unexplained by the World Youth Forum.

[11] ""The World We Want:" Eighth High School Forum Report." New York Herald Tribune, March 29, 1954, 17.

Accordingly, the fourth qualification for participation in the World Youth Forum consisted of a 1,500-word essay with the title and topic being, "*The World We Want*."[12] These essays were judged by one designated member of the home country's Ministry of Education, a representative of that country's United States embassy, and a third member picked by these two judges.[13] The fifth qualification was that the winner was to be selected after a personal interview with the judges and the submission of an autobiography written in English. Japan's selection process did not waver from this standard, and oftentimes the delegates had previous experience in English speech contests run by newspapers such as the widely circulated *Yomiuri Shinbun*. Once selected, the Japanese delegates would fly from Tokyo to the United States towards the end of December.

The delegates who traveled to the United States to participate in the World Youth Forum invested three months of their young lives in the program. Over these three months, the delegates participated in a variety of homestays, forums, and experiences which were crafted to promote the internationalist mindset of the World Youth Forum. When the delegates arrived, they were greeted by the event's benefactor, Waller, and whisked to an orientation session which prepared them for life in America.[14] After the conclusion of the orientation, the delegates would arrive at their first of three separate homestays, each lasting for a little over two weeks.[15] These

[12] "Eighth High School Forum Report", 17.

[13] "Eighth High School Forum Report", 17.

[14] "Eighth High School Forum Report", 17.

[15] Digital information on the demographics and backgrounds of the host families are not readily available. More information about the host families, acquired through oral interviews and paper documents, will be presented in Catherine Bishop's forthcoming book on the World Youth Forum.

homestays were located throughout the four adjacent Northeastern states of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania.[16]

The delegates in the World Youth Forum spent the first eight weeks of their adventure living with American families and attending host schools. For the host schools, the arrival of students from around the world was an exciting affair. Before the delegates arrived at their homestays, World Youth Forum planning committees prepared the host schools and host families. This preparation included encouraging neighbors of host families to invite the students over, as well encouraging host schools to welcome their candidates with open arms.[17] When the delegates arrived, they were integrated into everyday American life. Accordingly, the parents of the host families were given license, by the World Youth Forum, to treat the delegates as their own children. As a 1955 New York Herald Tribune column covering the World Youth Forum put it, "The recreation and social life of the visitor closely parallels that of his host, with the host's parents exercising parental authority."[18] That said, sometimes the World Youth Forum set specific guidelines for the hosts which were intended to, "ensure the delegates' safety." One rule states that the "girl delegates, the rules insist, must not be permitted to go out on single dates."[19] The delegates had to conform to the World Youth Forum's standards of behavior, as well as their host families.

[16] The delegates, although spread out through four states during their homestays, were within reasonable driving distance to New York City.

[17] "Entertaining of Visitors Aided by US Students," New York Herald Tribune, March 29, 1954, 18.

[18] "American Family Life Shared With Delegates," New York Herald Tribune, March 28, 1955, 20

[19] "American Family Life Shared With Delegates," 20. No reference is made to the social activity of the boy delegates.

The delegates left their homestays during the day to attend classes with the children of the host families, attend tours of local colleges, and participate in cultural events. This gave them the opportunity to serve as ambassadors of their countries, while also allowing them the chance to attempt to be everyday young adults in America. When the delegates were not in high school classes, they often stayed at Sarah Lawrence College in Yonkers, New York where they had the opportunity to attend college classes of their choice for a week. This opportunity was marketed as, "a glimpse of college life in the United States," which would perhaps lead to the students wanting to enter American universities upon their graduation back home. The school portions of the World Youth Forum facilitated the collection of "American" experiences that the delegates would draw from while comparing their home country to the United States.

Part of the Sarah Lawrence College experience consisted of a non-televised event, "Our International Language."[20] In this event, the delegates would participate in a talent show of sorts, sharing a piece of themselves and their culture to high school students and host families in the attendance. The delegate from Japan almost always performed a traditional dance or a song. One New York Herald Tribune article, "Music From Faraway Lands," shows the delegate from 1956, Konishi Yoriko, dancing alongside pictures of similar acts performed by the delegates from South Korea and Thailand.[21] This cultural event illustrates the World Youth Forum's intention to embrace the differences in national cultures, while folding these differences into a one-world internationalist framework. This so-called international language, although highlighted in the talent show program, was meant, first and foremost, to advance the goals of the televised debates.

[20] "Forum Blues' Feature of Musical Program," New York Herald Tribune, March 24, 1958, 16.

[21] "Music From Faraway Lands," New York Herald Tribune, March 26, 1956, 3.

Like many foreign exchange programs, the delegates' World Youth Forum experience included short periods of sightseeing and travel. The exact locations of the trips varied year to year, but almost every year the delegates traveled to Washington D.C. to meet the current President of the United States.[22] Meeting the president, although not remarkable among diplomatic missions, was a once-in-a-lifetime experience for the young delegates. In addition to these visits, in select years the World Youth Forum received grants from non-profit organizations like the Ford Foundation that allowed it to take its show on the road, bringing the ideals of the program to global audiences. These grants allowed select delegates to take post-World Youth Forum trips to Egypt, Pakistan, Lebanon, India, and the United Kingdom in 1955, and Ghana in 1960.[23]

The eight-week homestays, the cultural events, and domestic travel were important factors in further developing the worldviews of the delegates and providing them with a potentially life-changing experiences. However, these experiences also functioned as preparation for the World Youth Forum's main event, the televised debates on the thirty-minute program, *The World We Want*. This program, which ran on CBS from March 1954 to April 1959, brought the World Youth Forum delegates together for a series of nightly debates over a two-to-three-week period. The program was distributed on the Public Broadcasting Service's predecessor, National Educational Television. The World Youth Forum debates were broadcast

[22] NYHTWYF Alumni Association. "New York Herald Tribune World Youth Forum History." Herald Tribune World Youth Forum Alumni Association. Accessed May 20, 2021. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=35&ID_BRANCHES=171.

[23] "Forum Sessions Abroad Backed by Ford Grant," New York Herald Tribune, March 28, 1955, 20.

internationally and could also be heard on the radio in the United States.[24] *The World We Want* was a television program that was primarily intended for a broad American audience but was also broadcast internationally.

The broadcast of the debates began with the National Educational Television introduction screen. A title screen, accompanied by a jaunty tune, showed delegates from the 1955 World Youth Forum looking at a globe. Waller, the host of every televised debate, started the program by posing the central question of the debate. Whether the question addressed prejudice, high schools around the world, communism, or any number of other topics, it was framed with one-sentence responses by each delegate before the formal debate began. After these introductions, Waller would introduce the sponsors of the program, namely Pan-American World Airways and Pan American-Grace Airways.

In 1954 and 1955, the delegates were seated in a row, with Waller positioned in front of, or in the center of the delegates. From 1956 onward, the delegates stood behind lecterns which had thin placards indicating the country of the delegate. Waller often started by introducing each student by name and making some comment about their time in the United States, or a particularly interesting talent or fact about them. Once the introductions were complete, the debates began. The debates occurred live and often veered in unexpected directions, with Waller often having to recenter the conversation to the topic at hand. The delegates, for the most part, debated with ferocity and tact while drawing from their experiences in the United States and in their home countries.

[24] "Radio and TV Coverage of Forum Set Record," New York Herald Tribune, March 28, 1955, 22. This source indicates that the debates were broadcasted internationally, but the locations and the extent of the broadcast are not mentioned.

This thesis, although focused solely on the participation of the Japanese delegates in the debates, highlights many of the oft-repeated topics of *The World We Want.* In the chapters that follow, I will more thoroughly address the historical and cultural contexts that shaped the formation of these topics, as well as Japanese participation in the World Youth Forum debates. Here, I will briefly outline some of the overarching contexts and themes which connect the World Youth Forum to its historical moment.

Japan in the World Youth Forum

The World Youth Forum occurred during the middle of the Cold War Era, during a time when the geo-political schema of the world was, the non-aligned bloc notwithstanding, divided into Eastern and Western Blocs. Hosted by the United States, it was an event which promoted cultural exchange, and embraced the political and economic goals of the Western Bloc. All the participating countries, besides non-aligned Yugoslavia's participation in the 1960s, were from countries that were not exclusively tied diplomatically with Eastern Bloc powers, the Soviet Union and China. During the period that I examine in the thesis, the mid to late 1950s, countries from around the world who had just regained their independence, like Japan, were seen by the United States as susceptible to communist influence. Thus, a cultural event like the World Youth Forum serves as a prime example of the way cultural diplomacy functioned in the 1950s.

The World Youth Forum was a mix of both private and public interests, cementing it as a project which served the goals of its corporate sponsors, the United States government, and the governments of the different delegates. The *New York Herald Tribune* created the event to bring more readers to the paper through the promotion of democracy and world peace. Pan Am, sponsoring the television program and the event, commented in 1954 that the delegates "contributed much in the way of international relations at a time when the need for such thing is

very great."[25] This event offered Pan Am the opportunity to associate itself with an event that was a worthy and important peace-loving endeavor in the 1950s climate of Cold War division; but supporting an event that advertised international relations and international flights obviously also represented a shrewd business strategy. Meanwhile, the United States government's approval of the World Youth Forum, and its support in facilitating the bringing of the delegates to America, gave it a clear opportunity to bring the participating countries further into its geopolitical orbit.

In this context, Japan's participation should be viewed as fitting the goals of both the United States and Japan. The United States government, led by Presidents Harry S. Truman (1945-1953) and Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-1961) during the 1950s, saw Japan as a junior ally in democracy and a bulwark against communist influence in East Asia. If Japan could show that American-style democracy had been successfully transplanted, then it could both show the efficacy of the Allied Occupation and the future of democracy in East Asia. For the Japanese delegates, this event was a rare, even unparalled, opportunity to represent Japan on the world stage. In the 1950s, Japan, which was still in recovery from the destruction wrought by the conditions and outcomes of WWII, had virtually no other opportunities to send cultural ambassadors overseas. The World Youth Forum is one of the few instances—along with the Hiroshima Maidens in 1955 and Kojima Akiko's Miss Universe victory in 1959—where Japanese people were represented on American television, which in and of itself was an extraordinary and historically significant advance in communication and information technology.

The Japanese delegates lent a youthful voice to many of the issues that Japan was dealing with in the 1950s, addressing such topics as Japan's role in the Pacific War, Japan's continuing

[25] "Air Line's Head Laud the Forum." New York Herald Tribune, March 29, 1954, 25.

adoption of democracy, its relationship to its neighbors, and the way that American culture has influenced post war Japan. Additionally, the experience of early Japanese delegates of being educated in both anti-American wartime settings and pro-American post-surrender settings gave them a nuanced perspective on American-style democracy. The context of the World Youth Forum was set up to elicit pro-American viewpoints, but often the Japanese delegates approached the debates with an almost equal measure of appreciation and skepticism of America's role in Japan. While only sixteen to eighteen years of age, the delegates did not take the platform of the World Youth Forum for granted.

Literature Review

The history of Japan in the 1950s—and, more specifically, of US-Japan relations during the Cold War, has been extensively researched and analyzed. Here, in researching the transnational context of the World Youth Forum and the domestic context of the Japanese delegates' lives in Japan, several key texts emerged as central to this thesis. Below, I highlight some of the key secondary works which provide the historical context to this thesis. Although not representative of the full set of sources which help frame this thesis, these works lent notable contributions in this regard. I finish this literature review with a brief discussion of my primary sources and a scholar who is currently working on a broader history of the World Youth Forum, Dr. Catherine Bishop.

Samuel Yamashita's *Daily Life in Wartime Japan, 1940-1945* uses diaries and educational materials among other sources, to construct the daily lives of the wartime civilian population and internal evacuees during the Pacific War. Yamashita's research centers on the role of mothers and educators in the maintenance of wartime Japan, and the children who grew up in this time. Many of the earliest Japanese delegates in the World Youth Forum grew up in

the conditions that Yamashita describes, and a close examination of his work lends key insights into the environment in which they grew up.

John Dower's *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War* examines the racial ideologies constructed by the United States and Japan during the Pacific War. Dower argues that it was important for both Japan and the United States to create and maintain a racialized image of the other, therefore classifying the Pacific War as a race war. Furthermore, Dower argues that the images and racial consciousness created during the Pacific War was presented to and perpetuated by those at all levels of society, and thus they had far-reaching and long-lasting impacts. These images held significance to those consuming them domestically, as they helped construct views of the other as the enemy. These images lingered into the 1950s for some, especially those who fought in the war, while those that lived into the 1950s were offered new images of both countries.

Naoko Shibusawa's *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* extends the timeline of US-Japan racial and cultural relations into the 1950s. Shibusawa argues that for Japan to be more palatable as a junior ally to the United States, it needed to craft its image as a feminine ally for democracy. This femininity was used as a replacement for masculine images of banzai charges and kamikaze pilots that Dower engages with in *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War*. Movies, exchange programs, and television programs among other mediums provided the United States and Japan with ample opportunities to negotiate these new relationship dynamics in the 1950s. This thesis draws from Shibusawa's work, while also adding another dimension of the U.S-Japan relationship into the historical record. All the Japanese delegates that I discuss in this thesis were young women, with the first young male representative not appearing until 1966. Although I can't speak to the intentionality of the United States and

Japanese embassy officials in selecting only young women in the first fifteen years of Japan's participation in the World Youth Forum, the image of Japan presented to viewers of *The World We Want* was starkly feminine.

How to Reach Japan by Subway: America's Fascination with Japanese Culture, 1945–1965, written by Meghan Mettler, examines how Japanese cultural products and arts took hold in the United States in first decades of the Cold War. Mettler argues that part of the renegotiation of the US-Japan relationship in this period happened through American's paternalistic embrace of Japanese cultural products. When Americans purchased these products, they engaged through a particular form of middlebrow culture, where consumers learned from the product, shared it with others as a form of social capital, and redefined its meaning in the United States through American lenses. Bonsai, ikebana, tea ceremony, and Zen Buddhism were the most prominent products in this regard, and the Japanese delegates have conversations in the debates regarding ikebana and tea ceremony. These conversations were part of a larger transmission of culture which contributed to the redefinition of the dynamics within the US-Japan relationship.

Finally, I would be remiss if I did not mention the many contributions that Dr. Catherine Bishop has lent to this thesis. While researching the World Youth Forum, Dr. Bishop's current work on the topic and her council have been instrumental in the completion of this project. By assisting in the retrieval of, and background information pertaining to, my primary sources Dr. Bishop has had a major influence on the direction of this project as well. I am indebted to her, and I look forward to reading her upcoming work on the World Youth Forum.

The World They Wanted: Thesis Overview

This thesis examines the Japanese delegates' journey from childhood through their participation in the World Youth Forum. The next chapter, Chapter Two examines their

journey from Japan to the debates, and includes information about the delegate's backgrounds, what contributed most to their selection for the program, and the various experiences that informed their worldviews. After considering their journey to the debates, Chapters Three and Four analyze the delegates' participation in the World Youth Forum and the televised debates. These chapters are concerned with both the opinions and performances of the delegates in the debates as well as the images and cultural context which inform their presentations. Chapter Five ties these chapters together to present the larger picture of what it meant for the delegates to represent Japan in the World Youth Forum.

Chapter Two, "Hard Lives and "Favorable Circumstances": The Path to the Debates," is divided into four sections which cover the delegates' journey to the World Youth Forum. The first section, "Delegates by the Numbers," looks at the delegates' backgrounds. The next section, "The Delegates and the Pacific War," provides various accounts of the delegates' lives from 1941 to 1945, and the context they lived in during these years. The section after this, "Education in the Occupation," looks at the educational system the delegates learned in between 1945 and 1951, and their lives during those years. The last section, "The Path to America," presents the aspirations, experiences, and hopes which fueled the delegate's participation in the World Youth Forum.

Chapter Three, "The Delegates on the World Stage," is divided into two major sections which attempt to address the geopolitical context of Japanese participation in the World Youth Forum. I discuss in detail how US-Japan relations, Cold War diplomacy, and the World Youth Forum's mission set the context for the debates in the first section entitled, "Japan and the United States, Japan and the World.". Next, in the section entitled, "The World They Wanted," I analyze the debate participation of Kimiko Fujii (1954), Hisako Shimazu (1955), Yoriko Konishi (1956),

Yumiko Morii (1957), Yukiko Yoshimura (1958), and Yukiko Yamakami (1959). By presenting each debate in chronological order, I attempt to follow threads of conversations and identify larger themes within the debates.

Chapter Four, "The Chrysanthemum, not the Sword: Japanese Students on 1950s American TV," addresses the World Youth Forum primarily as a televised event. This chapter is organized into three sections. The first section, "Japan through American Eyes," sketches a brief overview of US-Japan cultural relations from the 1940s through to the 1950s. This section introduces the history behind many of the American perceptions of Japan and Japanese people before and during the Allied Occupation of Japan. The next section, "The World Youth Forum on TV," discusses where the appearance of the Japanese delegates in the World Youth Forum fits in the larger history of Japanese representation on American TV. This section touches on three important discourses of the 1950s centered around US-Japan relations: the atomic bomb, interracial love and marriage between Japanese women and American GIs, and racial difference. Finally, in the last main section, "The Chrysanthemum, not the Sword," I analyze several key conversations in the debates that highlight key dynamics in the cultural representation of the Japanese delegates in the World Youth Forum. This section looks at how discussions of the traditional Japanese arts and musical performance both conform to and complicate representations of Japan in the 1950s.

Chapter Five concludes with the overall findings of the thesis, chief among them that the Japanese delegates' participation came at a crucial time for US-Japan relations, and for the one-world internationalist ethos that the World Youth Forum promoted. The Japanese delegates of the World Youth Forum represented themselves well, while also representing something larger than themselves.

CHAPTER II

HARD LIVES AND "FAVORABLE CIRCUMSTANCES": THE PATH TO THE DEBATES

Born in 1940, Morii Yumiko came into the world during the height of the Empire of Japan's (1868-1945) wartime engagements in East Asia. Before journeying to the United States to participate in the World Youth Forum, Morii wrote a biography to introduce herself to World Youth Forum officials and to her host families. Morii believed it was most necessary to "give some account of my family, because it would give you some idea of the circumstances, I was brought up in."[1] Morii's assessment of the circumstances of her upbringing was "favorable," as she felt that her parents had given her a happy and healthy life. Despite her favorable circumstances, Morii laments that, "I have never been exposed to the grim realities of the world. And that may be my weak point."[2] Morii captures the duality and complications of growing up in the 1940s and 1950s in Japan. The Japanese delegates lived harsh lives and grew up in a war-torn country during the height of the Pacific War and the subsequent Occupation of Japan. For those delegates who participated in the 1950s and early 1960s, memories of air raid bombings, starvation and the brutal effects of the atomic bomb were close to home.

Before venturing to the United States to participate in the World Youth Forum, the delegates were products of a newly formed and still evolving post war Japanese education system. The delegates' education during these times was turbulent. The early delegates were educated in wartime elementary schools, while all the delegates were educated in Occupation-era middle schools, and newly coeducational high schools. For this select group of students, looking beyond Japan and out at the rest of the world was one avenue that motivated and guided them

[1] Biographies of the Japanese Delegates. "Autobiography," 1957. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=38&ID_BRANCHES=27

[2] "Autobiography," 1957.

through this turbulence. Whether the delegates wanted to become peacemakers, homemakers, or whatever, they felt that traveling to the United States to engage in and work through issues important to the world was in their best interest.

In this chapter, I discuss the varying routes and paths that brought the delegates to the United States, their engagement with the world and the English-language before coming to the United States, and their aspirations for the World Youth Forum. The Japanese delegates' biographies describe a cohort of young students motivated by their personal connections to English education and their experiences in harsh wartime conditions. I argue that the Japanese delegates were motivated to take an active stake in Japan's post war future through the World Youth Forum because of the educational and personal experiences they had had during the Pacific War and the Allied Occupation of Japan. Furthermore, I argue that the delegates viewed the World Youth Forum as an opportunity to gain new experiences that they could use for self-improvement and to promote world peace during the height of the Cold War. Their diverse experiences and commitment to representing Japan on the world stage made them the perfect candidates to discuss the nuanced and salient topics of the World Youth Forum debates.

The Delegates by the Numbers

Before I engage with the particulars of each student's path to the World Youth Forum, it is necessary to paint a general picture of the delegates and their demographics. Although each student had a unique journey to the World Youth Forum, there are patterns which help us better understand the circumstances which brought them there specifically.

Many of the delegates lived in big cities or metropolitan suburbs of cities such as Tokyo, Hiroshima, Osaka, and Kobe before they departed for the United States. Many of the delegates' families had moved back to these cities after their homes were destroyed by American air raids

during the Pacific War. The air raids forced many families in Japan to evacuate the cities and relocate to rural villages or small towns. When the Pacific War concluded, and the Occupation of Japan began, many of the delegate's families returned to the big cities by the time the delegates were in high school. One delegate, Ohashi Hisako who participated in the 1963 World Youth Forum, lived in Nagoya, but due to the events of the Pacific War had moved from a smaller town in Hokkaido shortly after her birth.[3] The ability for many of the delegates to relocate back to larger cities and live in "favorable circumstances" stemmed from the fact that almost all the delegates were self-purportedly upper-middle to upper class.

The economic effects of Japan's surrender in the Pacific War were serious, and for many they were debilitating. According to historian John Dower, hunger and scarcity during the Occupation was the norm for most families.[4] During this time, infant mortality rose, a rampant black market for foodstuffs thrived, and survival was the main goal for many through the early 1950s.[5] Only two of the student delegates in the World Youth Forum, however, directly mention their families starving or struggling for food. The 1963 delegate, Ohashi Hisako, remembers how her family told her stories of food scarcity when she commented that, "As it was soon after the war ended, we were in great want of everything and had had a hard time."[6] The 1964 delegate, Sakurauchi Atsuko, also mentioned that, "my parents often told me of the difficulties they had to bring me up without enough food or clothes," but "of course I don't remember that."[7] Even

[3] "Autobiography," 1963.

[4] Dower, John W., *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II.* (London: Penguin, 2000), 90.

[5] Dower, *Embracing Defeat,* 100-101.

[6] Biographies of the Japanese Delegates. "Autobiography," 1963. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=38&ID_BRANCHES=27.

[7] "Autobiography," 1964.

though most delegates mentioned other painful experiences related to both wartime and the Occupation, food scarcity was mentioned only twice.

The families of the delegates generally seem to have worked in jobs which placed them in the upper strata of Japanese society. Some of the delegates had parents who were university professors, doctors, engineers, or teachers, while others had parents who were business owners or branch managers for national companies. Many of the delegates had mothers who graduated from women's colleges and siblings who were in university or who had already graduated. The education and income-level for the delegates was high compared to the average, and thus the students had access to better educational opportunities than most of the Japanese populace.

Another circumstance which assisted many of the delegates' journeys to the World Youth Forum was their family's faith. Some of the delegates declined to mention their faith in their biographies. For those that did mention it, many indicated that they were brought up in Christian households—indeed, a high percentage for a country whose two major religions were Shinto and Buddhism. Six of the twenty delegates from 1952-1971 identified as Christian, and many commented that it was an important factor in their English education. Saito Kayako, who participated in the debates in 1952, commented that through her affiliation with the Christian church, she was able to spend time in a sort of bible camp with an American missionary teacher.[8] This experience is indicative of the Christian movement in Japan during the Occupation, when many missionaries who had once been barred from the country were now able to set up shop in a climate more hospitable to their interests.[9] There were plenty of Christians already in Japan during the Second World War, with one estimate being that between Protestants and Catholics

[8] "Autobiography," 1952.
[9] Pathak, S.M. "Christianity and Christian Influence in Japan After the Second World War." Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 29 (1967), 284.

around 300,000 were in Japan before the Occupation.[10] However, Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration further cleared the way for Christianity, which already had a presence in the country, to gain in importance. Christian missionaries from the United States brought with them an avenue for families, especially the middle and upper-class families of the delegates, to provide them with the education that made their trip to the United States possible.

It is no surprise that for almost a third of the Japanese delegates in the World Youth Forum, religion was a gateway for their selection. Saito not only spent time speaking English at bible camp, but also at home and in the classroom. Saito's family regularly celebrated Christmas and had prayer meetings before large family decisions.[11] When Saito's family elected for her to go to a local university high school in 1949, she found her place within the English, bible, and piano clubs.[12] Although Saito doesn't mention if she attended a private school or not, the presence of a bible club points to the connection between religion and English-language education. Saito used these connections to improve her English ability sufficiently by the age of seventeen that she was able to read English novels and history books.[13] Saito's connection to English education is indicative of the types of resources and experiences that were required of the Japanese delegates to get to the World Youth Forum. However, before Saito would be able to use her English skills on an international stage, she had to get there in the first place.

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[10] Wittner, Lawrence S. "MacArthur and the Missionaries: God and Man in Occupied Japan." Pacific Historical Review 40, no. 1 (1971), 80.

[11] Biographies of the Japanese Delegates. "Autobiography," 1952. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=38&ID_BRANCHES=27.

[12] "Autobiography," 1952.

[13] "Autobiography," 1952.

The Delegates and the Pacific War

Many of the delegates of the 1950s were in still primary school during the Pacific War, and it was an experience that took hold of the everyday lives of Japanese citizens. During that time, the promotion of total war by the Japanese state forced the families of the Japanese delegates in the World Youth Forum to move their homes, to sacrifice their time and money, and to raise their children in unstable circumstances. In their biographies the delegates shared the details and memories they had of their formative years. Even for delegates of the 1960s, the war changed their families' lives so much that they felt it necessary to comment on those changes. The students took lessons from these experiences and illustrated how it shaped their worldviews.

Making Friends and Singing National Songs

Saito Kayako entered primary school in 1940, spending four years in all-girl wartime schools. During her first four years in primary schools, Saito assuredly learned from textbooks, sang songs, and, in common with many nations at war, interacted with classmates in patterns that were structured to promote subservience to the state. Samuel Yamashita, in his book *Daily Life in Wartime Japan 1940-1945*, outlines some of the ways in which students were educated in Japan in this period. Yamashita mentions that the Ministry of Education's overarching goal with the education plan of the early 1940s centered on creating good Japanese subjects.[14] What did that entail? For one thing, students read from textbooks that touted Japanese cultural and ethical superiority by associating it with images of the Japanese seasons, the rising sun flag, war paraphernalia and the national anthem.[15] Secondly, students were taught to associate these

[14] Yamashita, Samuel Hideo. *Daily Life in Wartime Japan, 1940-1945*. Modern War Studies. (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2015), 68.
[15] Yamashita, *Daily Life in Wartime Japan*, 69.

images with pronouns like "I" and "we" to meld and subsume the individual identity with a national polity.[16] Thirdly, students were asked to sing songs and model for younger students how to best behave based on this education.[17] This educational experience, in the context of this chapter, will not be judged on its merits and I cannot quantify the impact it might have had on Saito. Saito might have found it valuable and fun, might have been bored with her education, or somewhere in between. During Saito's formative years she was raised in an environment that promoted a brand of Japanese nationalism that subsumed individual identity and pitted this new identity against the United States and Allied Forces.

Saito's nationalist education intensified when, in early 1944, she, like 1.3 million other students, was evacuated to the countryside.[18] Saito, uprooted from her family and her home, was sent to preserve her body as well as her mind in times where urban cities experienced an onslaught of air raids through 1944 and 1945. The Japanese delegate in 1956, Konishi Yoriko, lost her family home in Kochi City at the age of six.[19] Like Saito, Konishi was evacuated to the country where she spent at least a year in schools prepared for evacuated children.[20] Saito and Konishi didn't comment on the feeling they had when they were evacuated. However, Saito does say that she made friends and "cherished her time with them in the country."[21] When Saito

[16] Yamashita, *Daily Life in Wartime Japan*, 70.

[17] Yamashita, *Daily Life in Wartime Japan*, 71.

[18] Yamashita, *Daily Life in Wartime Japan*, 61.

[19] Biographies of the Japanese Delegates. "Autobiography," 1956. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=38&ID_BRANCHES=27.

[20] "Autobiography," 1956.

[21] "Autobiography," 1952.

arrived in the country schools, she was introduced to a world that was structured, even more intensely, by and for the reality of war. Saito was inundated with wartime propaganda more than ever. Many examples of this propaganda come from the diaries of wartime students and teachers. Teachers were always with their students in these schools and were able to lead them through exercises which prepared them for war as Japan's victory was waning. If Japan was invaded, the students needed to be ready to defend their country. This preparation assuredly alerted them to the facts of war.

Students like Saito were expected to wake up and engage in activities such as writing war letters to soldiers, and reciting quotations which were written to harden the nationalist resolve of students who recited them.[22] Students were also assigned to keep diaries, which were then monitored by their teachers for any loss of morale.[23] Saito most likely received postcards and other effects, as her parents could muster, from home. These letters, usually sent from mothers, were generally supportive of the war effort and supportive of their children's training.[24] The children of the Empire of Japan were taught to both internalize and express their devotion to the state. These experiences would bubble up in the Japanese delegates' responses during the World Youth Forum, especially in debates which discussed the effects of nationalism.

When these students were done writing letters and reciting quotes, they were moved outside to engage in physical education. The brand of physical education in these schools involved training students such as Saito how to fight if the Allied Forces invaded, as well as

[22] Yamashita, Samuel Hideo. *Daily Life in Wartime Japan, 1940-1945*. Modern War Studies. (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2015). Pg. 74.

[23] Yamashita, *Daily Life in Wartime Japan*, 92.

[24] Yamashita, *Daily Life in Wartime Japan*, 97.

teaching them how to forage for food in case of emergency.[25] Although this work was physical and seemingly a fun adventure full of purpose and spirit, many students suffered from starvation. The diaries of students in this period often mentioned food scarcity, receiving food from generous farmers, and stealing food from local farms.[26] When Saito recalls having a good time with her friends in the country, she is highlighting the ways that the structure of her life brought her closer to her friends through their love of country. Her activities were structured to provide a purpose and effect, through songs and state-centric activities with her friends, which could even assuage the pestering hunger experienced by students like her. I can only speculate about her individual experience, but for many students growing up alongside her this period was both difficult and formative. Saito certainly was affected by her experiences during the Pacific War and brought some of these experiences to the debates as lessons or, at the very least, memories. Like Saito, other delegates had impressions and experiences during the war which shaped them dramatically. The delegates were often asked to describe American high schools and how they compared to schools in Japan. Oftentimes, the delegates used their earliest memories of education to inform their answers.

Memories and Impact of the Pacific War

Many of the delegates, in their acknowledgement of the Pacific War, were focused on the ways in which it affected their families and their day-to-day lives. For some delegates, the memory of air raids, separation of family, and the destruction of their homes formed their earliest

[25] Yamashita, *Daily Life in Wartime Japan*, 76 and 88.

[26] Yamashita, *Daily Life in Wartime Japan*, 119 and 120.

memories. For other delegates, memories of the war itself were nonexistent, yet the impact that it had on their family and their homes lingered throughout their youth.

Morii Yumiko, the delegate from 1957, felt that she had been given a good upbringing, and that there was "not much to be mentioned in my earlier days."[27] What Morii did think was important enough to mention was the moment her father left their home in Niigata Prefecture in December of 1944 to head to the front in Manchuria.[28] Like many fathers of young Japanese girls in the 1940s, Morii's father was sent to Manchuria to protect the Empire of Japan's economic interests in the puppet government of Manchukuo. In 1944, Manchukuo was in Japan's second phase of their Manchukuo Industrial Plan (1942-1946), a plan which sought to build Japan's defenses and industrial power. Morii's father was sent to Manchukuo only half a year before Russian forces took over the puppet-state and sent many of the Kwantung army's soldiers to POW camps. Morii's father was sent to a POW camp in Siberia where he would spend the next three and a half years of his life.[29] For Morii, the moment her father left and didn't come back for four years made a large impression.

Morii's memory of her father's departure was hazy. Maybe "I was smiling and waving my hands in my mother's arms when he left home," she recalled, and was "feeling nothing of the sorrow of parting."[30] Morii was not old enough to be able to process or remember an event as fraught as her father leaving to go to war. To this point, Morii admits that she, "knew nothing of

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[27] Biographies of the Japanese Delegates. "Autobiography," 1957. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=38&ID_BRANCHES=27.

[28] "Autobiography," 1957.

[29] Biographies of the Japanese Delegates. "Autobiography," 1957. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=38&ID_BRANCHES=27.1957.

[30] "Autobiography," 1957.

my mother's troubles during his absence from home," and that, "I do not think I missed him very much, for my mother's love, it seems, was enough for me in those days."[31] For young women like Morii and Saito, those early years of growing up were filled with friends, mothers, school, and the everyday experiences of children. The Japanese delegate in 1959, Yamakami Yukiko, had similar memories to those of Morii. Yamakami remembered going to school to learn arithmetic and to make friends.[32] Unlike Morii, Yamakami's family lived in Sendai, in north-eastern Japan, one of the major cities that the United States had targeted for air raids in 1945. Yamakami's family home, like those of so many other families during this time, was destroyed during an air raid on July 9, 1945.[33] For some, the war lurked in the background, even if it was never too far from view. Yamakami and Morii's families felt the effects of the war during the war, and only later did they register the toll that the war exacted.

In 1948, when Morii was eight years old, the experience of her father coming home was what alerted her to the pain her mother had felt. Morii could not, "forget the day when my father came back from Siberia in 1948; no, never the moment when mother saw him again at our home."[34] Morii saw a revival in her mother's spirits and in her home life after her father's return.[35] Upon reflection, Morii found that her father's return awakened within her a realization of the hardships and troubles her mother had had to endure while she was still an innocent young girl, unaware of the life her father was leading in Siberia. Morii comments that:

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[31] "Autobiography," 1957.

[32] "Autobiography," 1959.

[33] "Autobiography," 1959.

[34] "Autobiography," 1957.

[35] "Autobiography," 1957.

> "And that impression, together with what my mother told me later, when I grew in intelligence, about some-of her troubles and worries she had experienced during father's absence from home, has caused me to hate a war that deprives so many families of their irreplaceable fathers."[36]

Morii connects the atrocities of war with her family life in a way that illustrates the long-lasting effects that the Pacific War had on the delegates to the World Youth Forum. Morii most assuredly brought these memories, or at the very least the influence of them, into her teenage years and beyond. At seventeen years old Morii was finally able to come to the realization that even though she did not have to bear the weight of war when it occurred, its long-term effects lingered for her family and Japan. For other delegates, the experience of war was more visceral in the moment, and it too shaped their worldview.

Like Saito, Yamakami, and Konishi, the 1955 delegate Shimazu Hisako's life was changed forever during the Pacific War. In 1936, at the behest of her family and for her safety, she was relocated from her birthplace of Osaka to live with her grandparents in Ibaraki Prefecture, northeast of Tokyo.[37] In 1942, Shimazu entered elementary school as the wartime education structure solidified and strengthened. Towards the end of the war, Shimazu's family also fled Osaka for the safety of her grandparents' house in Ibaraki, "away from the disastrous air raids."[38] Unlike Saito, who remembered fondly the days of playing with friends in the country, Shimazu had a rather unfavorable view of her time in those same schools. Shimazu comments that, "I spent my unhappy days there and the experience I had on those days were miserable and bitter to me."[39] The bitterness that Shimazu expressed was tied to her dislocation

[36] "Autobiography," 1957.

[37] "Autobiography," 1955.

[38] "Autobiography," 1955.

[39] "Autobiography," 1955.

and the effect that it had on her life in school. Other delegates were dislocated, but their dislocation was tied to the horrific circumstances brought on by the use of the atomic bomb, by the United States, on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945.

Kawagoe Midori, the Japanese delegate in 1960, recalled in detail her relationship to the events of that day. Born in 1941 in Hiroshima, Kawagoe was quickly whisked to the countryside, about 12 miles north of Hiroshima, during the height of the war.[40] Kawagoe's father, like Morii's, was drafted into the military to serve the Empire of Japan. Unlike Morii, however, Kawagoe's father was able to stay close to home and was stationed in Hiroshima.[41] Unfortunately, this meant that on the morning of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, when in Kawagoe's words the city was, "reduced to ashes right after the atomic bomb exploded about the city," her father was stationed in barracks near the site of the explosion.[42] Kawagoe explained that her father, who loved playing Chopin on the piano, stopped to play on his way to the barracks.[43] Miraculously, Kawagoe's father was, "almost unhurt," and managed to scramble to safety.[44] Although Kawagoe was only four years old at the time of this horrific incident, she held a lasting memory of the day's events. Kawagoe mentioned that "I still remember the mushroom cloud and terrific noise which were seen and heard from the village where we lived."[45]

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[40] "Autobiography," 1960.

[41] "Autobiography," 1960.

[42] "Autobiography," 1960.

[43] "Autobiography," 1960.

[44] "Autobiography," 1960.

[45] "Autobiography," 1960.

The 1954 Japanese delegate, Fujii Kimiko, also hailed from Hiroshima and was nine years old when the atomic bomb dropped on her hometown. Unlike Kawagoe, Fujii only mentions that her house was "damaged owing to the war" and that she had to "move to a country place near the city."[46] Fujii does not share more of her experience during wartime, or her feelings about it in detail in her biography. What can account for the disparity in detail between Kawagoe and Fujii? One explanation might be that the events of that day were too painful for Fujii to mention, or perhaps she felt that it was not necessary to write about these experiences in an introduction about herself. I believe that many of the delegates wrote about their experiences during the Pacific War because it was crucial in understanding who they were. Whether it affected their family life, their attitudes towards war in general, or their childhood development, almost every delegate directly mentioned the Pacific War and its effects. For many of the Japanese delegates, the memory of their formative years would forever be linked to the experiences they had during wartime. Some remembered the destruction it brought, and others remembered the new friends and good times. Regardless, as the students moved from wartime to peacetime in Japan, their experiences propelled them to view their education with glasses tinted by their experiences in the war.

Education in the Occupation

A crucial aspect of the perspective that the delegates brought to the World Youth Forum was their experience in the different systems of education—prewar, wartime, and postwar. After the Pacific War ended, and the Occupation of Japan began, the goals and values underpinning the Japanese education system shifted. In 1947, the Japanese Ministry of Education implemented the Fundamental Law of Education, which provided equal opportunity education for boys and

[46] "Autobiography," 1954.

girls in public schools. Before 1947, there was no such law which forced school districts to teach girls and boys in the same educational spaces. There were some opportunities for girls and boys to interact in post-secondary educational spaces, but by and large Japanese society was structured in a way that segregated boys and girls into separate spheres at school.

Following the Allied Occupation of Japan in August 1945, and before the Fundamental Law of Education was enacted in 1947, the United States sent the United States Education Mission of 1946 to assess the state of education. General MacArthur and officials from the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers (SCAP), such as Beate Sirota, saw educational reform as a key aspect of creating democratic citizens in the image of the United States.[47] SCAP succeeded in including a woman's right to vote within the new constitution of Japan. Additionally, Article 24 of the Japanese constitution assured women equal rights in marriage and family matters. With these rights in place, education was seen as one of the main avenues to promote active participation, by both men and women equally, in civil society and in electoral politics. To create an educational system which embodied the democratic values that the Japanese delegates of the World Youth Forum lauded, SCAP had to make an action plan via the Education Mission.

The Education Mission, comprised of over twenty leading academics led by University of Illinois President G. D. Stoddard, set to the task of giving notes on and drawing proposals for these changes in Japanese education. The proposals centered around the Allied Occupation's overarching goal to democratize and demilitarize Japan, along with voting reform. To SCAP, Japan was perceived as in need of reform. Memos written by SCAP officials describe a country

[47] Gordon, Andrew. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. Third ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 234.

impacted by a history of nationalism, sex-segregation, and gender inequality, which were seen as contradictory to the spirit of the Potsdam Declaration.[48]

While Japan was not in fact "backwards" as it was assumed to be, as social, educational, and political progress for women occurred before the Pacific War, in terms of recommendations by the Mission, their perception was their reality. The Education Mission's perceptions of Japan were checked by Japanese educational officials and policy makers to some extent, yet they were not overruled by these officials.[49] Although many of those in the mission had little knowledge of Japan, they drafted a report which set forth certain recommendations which provided the structure for Japanese education to this day.

One of the main recommendations they eventually proposed was that the school system be structured from a 6-5 system to a 6-3-3 system.[50] The mission believed that the system that Saito and Morii initially were schooled in was inherently flawed because it tiered students into higher and lower elementary and secondary tracks.[51] Although high school education was not compulsory during the Occupation, a shift to the 6-3-3 model forced Japan to provide at a minimum nine years of schooling for all children. To foster a truly democratic society, the Education Mission believed that students in public schools had to be schooled in coeducational and equal spaces regardless of sex, class, or religion. If students like Saito were to be able to participate in a newly democratic Japan, they had to be educated in a system with a long-term structure that could produce those outcomes.

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[48] Tsuchimochi, Gary Hoichi. *Education Reform in Postwar Japan: The 1946 U.S. Education Mission.* Tokyo. (University of Tokyo Press, 1993), 7.

[49] Tsuchimochi, *Education Reform in Postwar Japan*, 7.

[50] Tsuchimochi, *Education Reform in Postwar Japan*, 125.

[51] Tsuchimochi, *Education Reform in Postwar Japan*, 130.

Another reform which drastically changed the nature of education in Japan was the sweeping revision of textbooks and educational materials. During the Occupation, history textbooks, morals textbooks, and other educational material were refashioned with recommendations by the First United States Education Mission.[52] Textbook reform was coupled with general censorship, by SCAP, of media, literature, and political propaganda during this period. In the spirit of censorship and change, the main goal of these reforms was to root out nationalism, militarism, and its connection to Shintoism, which permeated wartime textbooks, in favor of "historical fact, cultural, social, and economic history… and critical thinking."[53] With the school structure in place, the provision of textbooks crafted to foster the skills necessary to operate a new democracy was another major shift for students in this period.

When the Fundamental Law of Education was enacted and the school system was transformed, needless to say, this had a profound impact on the education of the delegates. Most of the Japanese delegates of the 1950s spent at least a year or more in sex-segregated wartime schools, which espoused militarist morals and nationalist ethics, and then transitioned to slowly democratizing schools during and after the Occupation. The shift allowed the delegates to gain key experiences with change and adaptation, as well as giving the delegates hope for the progress that they were seeing in their own country. For some, the experience of these varying circumstances provided them with valuable perspectives to draw from in the debates.

[52] Thakur, Yoko H. "History Textbook Reform in Allied Occupied Japan, 1945–52." History of Education Quarterly 35, no. 3 (1995), 267.

[53] Thakur, "History Textbook Reform in Allied Occupied Japan, 1945–52," 267.

Like her mother, Saito Kayako learned from foreign teachers at an all-girls private Christian school and enjoyed it greatly.[54] Unlike her mother, when Saito graduated from junior high school, she elected to attend a coeducational high school which, according to Saito, was, "one of the best schools in Japan."[55] Saito's ability to attend a coeducational school was not a given in this time. In 1954, only 63 percent of secondary schools were coeducational.[56] Although secondary schools were a destination for girls seeking to further their education past the required nine years, it was not a given. Saito also mentioned that the facilities were a step up from her previous school, and that she was happy for the change.[57] Saito's comments on facilities are indicative of a concern among many Japanese communities of the Occupation. The air-raid bombing of major cities in Japan significantly reduced the ability of school districts to provide sex-segregated facilities.[58] In some ways, coeducation was a convenient and efficient way to structure schools in post war Japan. Although not indicative of every student's experience in Japan during this time, Saito's found her shift from an all-girls school to coeducation positive considering the opportunities and facilities it afforded her. Saito's perspective of her school change being better than staying in her segregated school was one of the common reactions to coeducation in the early years of this law.

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[54] Biographies of the Japanese Delegates. "Autobiography," 1952. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=38&ID_BRANCHES=27.

[55] "Autobiography," 1952.

[56] Bullock, Julia C. *Coeds Ruining the Nation: Women, Education, and Social Change in Postwar Japanese Media.* Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies; No. 87. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2019), 153.

[57] Biographies of the Japanese Delegates. "Autobiography," 1952. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=38&ID_BRANCHES=27.

[58] Bullock, Julia C. *Coeds Ruining the Nation: Women, Education, and Social Change in Postwar Japanese Media.* Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies; No. 87. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2019), 55.

Julia Bullock, in *Coeds Ruining the Nation*, highlights the different reactions students had to coeducation during its initial rollout. Bullock concludes that from the late 1940s to 1950s, the general populace of Japan found coeducation generally uncomfortable and undesirable, while students in this same period, "tended to speak positively about the practice [of coeducation], even as they freely discussed the difficulties they experienced adjusting to the new system."[59] Saito falls firmly into the category of students who found their experiences in coeducational spaces to be fulfilling and ultimately superior to her prior experiences. However, other delegates had a more mixed reaction to this change in their education.

Morii Yumiko entered primary school in 1946, the same year that the Mission on Education arrived in Japan. Morii's first few years in school were spent in a sex-segregated classroom, inside a building which housed both boys and girls.[60] When she entered her coeducational high school, whose building was a former boy's middle school, she felt that something was odd about the interactions between the boys and girls. Morii pointed that out that coeducation had its challenges when she remarked, "It seems to me an invisible barrier line between girls and boys."[61] She continued by saying the solution, "will require more effort on both sides if they are to gain a better understanding of each other and thus realize the real aim of coeducation."[62] This statement prompts the question, what was the "real aim" of coeducation?

For the Allied Occupation, democracy and demilitarization were the main objectives. For students and parents, the answer was more complicated. For one, many students and parents of

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[59] Bullock, *Coeds Ruining the Nation*, 128.

[60] Biographies of the Japanese Delegates. "Autobiography," 1957. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=38&ID_BRANCHES=27.

[61] "Autobiography," 1957.

[62] "Autobiography," 1957.

the period saw the academic gap for the girls, the lack of social interaction for boys and girls, and moral hazards as challenges to the success of coeducation. Students who disagreed or were uncomfortable with coeducation often saw the change as producing daily scenarios where girls' active participation in class might confuse boys.[63] To this point, students often saw the need to preserve gendered aspects of school in coeducational spaces, even when inundated with Occupation propaganda which pushed back against these impulses.[64] Morii's statements speak to trends in education which flummoxed students and parents alike. In this new era of coeducation, the social and academic gap between boys and girls made the process difficult to navigate for some.

The underlying tension in the Japanese education system of the 1950s lay in the swiftness with which it was implemented during the Occupation. The pace of reform is indicative of the way it was adopted. In a span of three years, Japanese students transitioned from wartime schools, where they were educated to subsume their individual identity under a collective one associated with the Empire of Japan, to democratically minded schools. Some of the delegates embraced the change, while other delegates found coeducation a flawed system that needed time to achieve its purpose. What the Occupation brought the delegates of the World Youth Form was a wealth of experience interacting with different ways of thought, an opportunity to learn in environments based on US models, and an equal path to English education and the United States.

[63] Bullock, Julia C. *Coeds Ruining the Nation: Women, Education, and Social Change in Postwar Japanese Media.* Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies; No. 87. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2019), 94.

[64] Bullock, *Coeds Ruining the Nation*, 99 and 100.

The Path to America

The most basic requirement for students participating in the World Youth Forum was the ability to communicate and debate in English. Many delegates from countries who participated in the World Youth Forum, such the United Kingdom, held English as their first language. Other countries such as Sweden, Brazil, and India had large communities of English speakers. For Japan, this was not the case. In the 1950s, the number of students who spoke English fluently enough to participate in a televised debate was low. This was primarily because during the Pacific War, "the study of English was discouraged because it was linked to Japan's wartime enemy."[65] When the Occupation reformed Japanese schools and school systems, it heavily encouraged the use of English by adding it as an approved subject of study. In fact, in 1956 English was, "adopted as a subject for the entrance examinations to almost all high schools in Japan."[66] The Occupation brought many things to the students of Japan, one of them being an opportunity to engage in English. However, because the focus on English education in Japan was in its infancy, the delegates had to seek extracurricular opportunities to further practice their English skills. Many delegates used their varied familial connections to engage in English before they traveled to the World Youth Forum.

Some students, like Saito, were able to gain important exposure to English education through the church. Fujimoto Tomoko, the 1962 delegate, wrote that she was interested in learning about American fairytales to get a better understanding of the United States.[67] Many of

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[65] Butler, Yuko, and Masakazu Iino. "Current Japanese Reforms In English Language Education: The 2003 "Action Plan"." Language Policy 4, no. 1 (2005), 28.

[66] Butler and Masakazu, "Current Japanese Reforms," 28.

[67] Biographies of the Japanese Delegates. "Autobiography," 1962. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=38&ID_BRANCHES=27.

the students engaged in deeper ways with English material through English clubs, plays, and the consumption of American movies and music. Konishi Yoriko even took part in an English production of William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*.[68] Other students, like Morii, found English education a new and deeper way to connect to their family.

When Morii decided to learn English, she was changing a family legacy that had treated the language with both reservations and intrigue. When Morii's mother was in school in the 1920's, her grandfather pleaded for her to take English courses.[69] Morii's mother did not listen to Morii's grandfather, but when she realized the value it brought in this new age in Japan, she pushed Morii to study it.[70] Morii took her education and public speaking skills to the *Yomiuri Newspaper English* speech contest in Tokyo and placed second.[71] Morii represented a burgeoning, but still small, sample of students in the 1950s who saw English as a subject, like math or science, in which to excel. Yamakami Yukiko, the 1959 delegate, professed that she won every speech contest she entered and that, "right now there are few talented teachers able to speak good current English."[72] For many of the delegates, English was a favorite subject which they latched onto for the purpose of furthering their own academic development. If they couldn't find the level of education they yearned for in Japan, they could seek it out elsewhere. Whether it was fairy tales, speech contests, or family connections, the delegates were uniquely positioned to take their English skills to America. While some of the delegates identified their use of English

[68] "Autobiography," 1956.

[69] "Autobiography," 1957.

[70] "Autobiography," 1957.

[71] "Autobiography," 1957.

[72] "Autobiography," 1959.

solely with their interests, one delegate had more extensive English training and opportunities for application. Sakurauchi Satsuko, the delegate from 1964, had experiences in the United States before attending the World Youth Forum.

Sakurauchi's father was a businessman and a trader who moved his daughter to Los Angeles for one and a half years while he worked in the United States.[73] Sakurauchi did not like her English education while she was in the United States because she was not good enough at it.[74] When she returned to Japan, she found that she had forgotten or become rusty in many aspects of Japanese history and Japanese language.[75] The displacement made her adjustment back to Japan a difficult one. Sakurauchi's experience in the United States gave her the skills to participate in the debates, but they did not make her love English education for what it was, as much as for the career paths it lent her. Sakurauchi ended her biography by saying that she initially wanted to be a stewardess in Japan when she graduated, but that she remained undecided. Sakurauchi made the choice to use her experience in English to participate in the World Youth Forum, while keeping an eye to the future and her potential job prospects after the event. Sakurauchi's example highlights another important facet of the World Youth Forum. The delegates were generally well-to-do and had received an excellent education, two of the main contributing factors in their selection to the World Youth Forum. Now that they were selected to attend the World Youth Forum, what hopes, and aspirations did they convey in their biographies?

[73] "Autobiography," 1964.

[74] "Autobiography," 1964.

[75] "Autobiography," 1964.

Hopes and Aspirations of the Delegates

The delegates articulated, in their biographies, that they were excited to participate in the World Youth Forum. Many of the delegates expounded on how they saw the World Youth Forum as an opportunity to learn and develop as well. Some students found the event functioning as an opportunity to refine themselves. Others were more interested in the experience of being in America, and the opportunity to make memories in a foreign land that would last a lifetime. A final group of students found that to achieve their goals of world peace, they needed to learn from, and contribute to, the United States and youth from around the world. What connected these different motives was the feeling among all the delegates that they were acting as true representatives of Japan on the world stage.

For Saito Kayako, the debates were an opportunity to better achieve her dream of becoming a schoolteacher. Saito, having been exposed to English at a young age and becoming proficient in it later, saw her career path starting with study in the United States and ending with a job teaching history.[76] As mentioned previously, Yamakami Yukiko wanted to improve her English sufficiently to study English at an American university. Fujimoto Tomoko saw the United States as her preferred location for post-secondary study when she said that "I want to enter a college in the United States, if possible."[77] In a situation where chances for young women in Japan to study in the United States were slim, the World Youth Forum served as a stepping-stone to achieve this dream. At the very least, the students would get the opportunity to judge for themselves whether they wanted to pursue an American college education, chiefly by attending classes at Sarah Lawrence College.

[76] "Autobiography," 1952.

[77] "Autobiography," 1962.

For some delegates, the prospect of being educated in the United States would take them too far from the comfort of Japan. Konishi Yoriko viewed the United States as a "highly civilized and powerful country," one where she could, "live with American people as a member of American family."[78] It appears that Konishi saw the World Youth Forum as an exciting adventure which provided her the opportunity to live an "All-American" life for a short period of time. Konishi was particularly interested in visiting Long Beach, California, and in the "everyday life" of Americans.[79] In terms of cultivation, Ohashi Hisako wanted to use the opportunity to improve herself, regardless of the implications for the world or future employment. Ohashi felt that her life outside of school in Japan was, "a storm" and that, "to be a woman of firm character [I] need to make constant effort to improve myself."[80] Some of the delegates shared this search for self-cultivation while connecting it to larger diplomatic purposes.

Morii Yumiko hated war and the destruction and displacement it brought her and her loved ones. Morii felt that her path would lead her to being a "homely housewife," but that she wanted to take this opportunity to contribute to her society by helping, "the peace of the world."[81] For Morii, the debates were an opportunity, "through which to increase the mutual understanding of various nations and extend our friendship to them."[82] Here, Morii uses the determiner "our" to denote that she is representing Japan, just as many delegates of the World Youth Forum did during the debates. This representation, considering her comments on creating

[78] "Autobiography," 1956.

[79] "Autobiography," 1956.

[80] "Autobiography," 1963.

[81] "Autobiography," 1957.

[82] "Autobiography," 1957.

mutual understanding, clearly shows that the delegates were aware of their roles as representatives of Japan. Morii comments on this representation by saying that, "I do not think I am worthy of being a representative of Japan to any international meeting. But… I will do my best to come near a girl worthy of the true representative of Japan." The opportunity that Morii pursued, to be an ambassador of Japan, was not lost on her in the slightest.

Conclusion

As representatives of Japan, the delegates hold a unique position in the narrative of the US-Japan relationship in the 1950s. As I will discuss in the next two chapters, this relationship was crucial for both countries and was often defined by the socio-political connections that occurred in educational and cultural spaces. The delegates, as both participants and as individuals, represented aspects of the long road Japan and the United States took to the World Youth Forum. Many of the delegates, whether directly or indirectly, had direct experience of the destruction and harsh conditions the Pacific War. Additionally, many of the delegates were educated at a time when the United States was seen as the enemy of their people, their country, and their Emperor.

When the war ended, the delegates' educational experience took a sharp turn towards a system which promoted the democratic ideals of the United States, and thus provided them with the opportunity to use their connection to English. The delegates found that their past experiences propelled them to participate in the World Youth Forum. Whether they wanted to go to university like their siblings, become teachers or business magnates like their parents, or university professors, they felt that this event was in their best personal interest. The delegates found a sense of a purpose which connected a piece of themselves to a larger world mission as well. If they, as representatives of a country transformed and still recovering from the Pacific

War and the Allied Occupation, could help bring world peace, then they had done their jobs. In the next chapter, I will explore the ramifications and context which helped spawn the World Youth Forum as a whole, and how the experiences and opinions held by the Japanese delegates manifested in the televised debates.

CHAPTER III

THE DELEGATES ON THE WORLD STAGE

Starting in 1947, the *New York Herald Tribune* brought thirty delegates per year from around the world to New York City. The first delegates to the World Youth Forum came from the United States and Western Bloc countries like the United Kingdom and France. The year 1952 was a landmark for the World Youth Forum because it brought Japan into the fold, a symbol of its status as a newly independent country. The year after the Treaty of San Francisco was signed in 1951, which formally ended the Allied Occupation of Japan in 1952, Japan sent their first delegate to participate in the World Youth Forum. Although the United States had ended its formal Occupation of Japan, US military bases, educational structures, and women's suffrage among other installations lived on in Japan to this day. With these structures in place, Japan was seen by the United States as a physical and cultural bulwark in East Asia. The debates ran concurrently with the end of the Korean War and the beginning of the Cold War, where the fragmentation of the world into Western and Eastern Blocs was only surpassed in importance by the anxiety of a potential nuclear war.

It is within this context that the delegates took the world stage to debate many of the issues that this historical moment brought forth. This chapter takes a closer look at the historical context of the debates in the 1950s and the Japanese delegates that participated in them. The 1950s were the pinnacle of the World Youth Forum, and a crucial decade for the US-Japan post war relationship, I focus on these earlier years because they are also integral in understanding Japan's evolving relationship to the rest of the world. Japan, once a country hellbent on war in the Pacific and allied with Nazi Germany in World War II, started to take shape as a peace-loving bastion for democracy in the postwar era. This process didn't happen in one day, and

Japan needed to show its progress and continued allegiance to democracy to maintain its stature with the United States. The delegates of World Youth Forum were one piece in the patchwork quilt of Japan's entry into the United States' orbit as a key ally. Additionally, Japan, having regained its independence, had its own story to write outside of the context of the US-Japan relationship. Before 1945, Japan had occupied and wrought destruction on many of its neighbors, such as the Philippines, China, and South Korea, and had been in opposition to the other prominent Western Bloc countries. Japan needed to show a new face to the Free World, and the delegates were just the right faces to show. Intelligent, well-spoken in English, educated in democratic principles, and experienced with the horrors of war, these delegates were up to the task of lending their voices and their minds to the debates. I argue that the delegates' participation in the debates of the 1950s reflected Japan's emerging presence and position, both politically and culturally, in the schema of the Western Bloc during the early Cold War. The Japanese delegates used the platform that the World Youth Forum provided to both assert Japan's allegiance to the United States and lend a nuanced and youthful voice to larger Cold War discourses.

Japan and the United States, Japan and the World

The Japanese delegates did not travel to the United States without a political agenda. They flew to the United States with the explicit purpose to represent Japan in an international debate during the Cold War. How would they represent their country? How would they represent its beliefs and its culture? What would they say about world affairs, race, and their evolution as a country? To better understand the delegates opinions in the debates, it is important to map the geopolitical context from which they are drawing.

The End of the Occupation

During the Allied Occupation of Japan, the United States had almost unilateral control of Japan under SCAP and General MacArthur's leadership. The United States sought to democratize and demilitarize Japan, so that it could act as a physical and cultural bulwark against communism. What did Japan have to achieve to take on this responsibility in the schema of East Asia and the Pacific? For one, Japan had to show a commitment to a form of democratic process laid down by the Potsdam Declaration. To achieve these goals, Japan was forced to delegitimize the ruling power of Emperor Hirohito (1901-1989), while reinstalling him as a bastion for a new democracy.[1] Concurrently in 1946, a series of military tribunals allowed the United States and Japan to place some of the blame for World War II on the shoulders of 920 Japanese military officers and leaders including General Tojo Hideki (1884-1948).[2] Although Japan had not exorcised all of its demons of the war, these steps allowed Japan to start to be viewed as a country seeking peace.

These ideals of peace were further fostered by the new national charter that was the Japanese Constitution, implemented on May 3, 1947. Among other things, the new constitution guaranteed women the right to vote, renounced war as an instrument of national policy, and confirmed the emperor as a constitutional monarch. These laws laid the groundwork for Japan's relationship to the United States, and the world. Historian John Dower comments on this groundwork by acknowledging that, "people were acutely conscious of the need to reinvent their own lives."[3] By 1951, the Japanese government under Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru felt that

[1] Dower, John W. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. (London: Penguin, 2000), 278.

[2] Dower, *Embracing Defeat,* 447.

[3] Dower, *Embracing Defeat,* 121.

the time had come for it to take this initiative fully into its own hands and end the Allied Occupation of Japan.

To further contextualize these dynamics, and to gain a broader understanding of the post war contexts that framed the lives of the delegates, one might consider some key events that occurred in the last years of the Occupation. In East Asia, Mao Zedong (1893-1976) came to power in 1949, the Korean War began in 1950, and the socio-political dynamics of East Asia came into the spotlight. Two countries with delegates who appear in the debates analyzed in this chapter, Indonesia (1949) and India (1947), became independent states during a period of decolonization that swept the world. NATO, formed in 1949 by Western Bloc countries, aimed to provide collective security against another major war in Europe coming off the heels of World War II. The participation of the delegates mirrors these developments.

Delegates from key countries in NATO, South Asia, East Asia, and Africa participated in the debates, symbolizing the various alliances struck in the free world. Before joining NATO countries, and other independent states, Japan had to negotiate for its independence. When Yoshida started talks with the United States in 1950, he asserted to the US State Department negotiator, John Foster Dulles, that he wanted full independence and the ability for Japan to provide its own security.[4] Dulles, under US President Harry Truman's directives, wanted Japan to agree to take its place among the free nations of the world against communism.[5] The United States believed that military bases in Japan, non-neutrality, and a rearmament of self-defense forces would create the right conditions for Japan to serve as a bulwark. For the Japanese government and its public, these conditions initially seemed to be asking too much. Even though

[4] Chapman, William. *Inventing Japan: The Making of a Postwar Civilization*. (Prentice Hall Press, New York, NY, 1991), 76.

[5] Chapman, *Inventing Japan,* 76.

the Occupation had brought a period of peace and an end to war, the Japanese public was not convinced that its future should be singularly tied to American interests. William Chapman, in his book *Inventing Japan: The Making of a Postwar Civilization*, catalogs the different ideologies that the Japanese public held toward the end of the Occupation. In the 1950s, Chapman asserts, Japan was considering staying neutral, or even partially opening itself to working with the Eastern bloc.[6] Public opinion polls show that Japanese support for an iron-clad alliance with the United States, wherein Japan would follow the initial demands the United States set, sat at around 20 to 30 percent.[7] Japan wanted to set its course for a future where it was not dependent on the United States.

Yoshida eventually brokered the Treaty of San Francisco in 1951, which positioned Japan as the key ally that the United States had always wanted. Yoshida achieved an end to occupation, but at the cost of going against public opinion, when he conceded to keeping American soldiers on Japanese soil.[8] Furthermore, Japan agreed to not recognize China, an emerging Soviet force in East Asia. Although this limited Japan, the security that the United States military lent to Japan allowed the government to spend money on their economic recovery. Thus, Japan emerged from the Occupation having confirmed that it was an ally to the United States as they moved into the 1950s.

The first major show of allegiance post-Occupation was Japan's assistance of the United States and South Korea in the Korean War. The Korean War pitted North Korea and its main ally, China, against South Korea and its ally the United States. Initially, the Japanese government

[6] Chapman, *Inventing Japan,* 79.

[7] Chapman, *Inventing Japan,* 79.

[8] Chapman, *Inventing Japan,* 85.

looked skeptically at its position of full allegiance to the United States before the treaty of San Francisco. However, when Japan signed the treaty it pledged its allegiance to the United States, as well as its airspace and shipping lanes. Furthermore, Japan sent military personnel to assist American forces by acting as minesweepers, shipping, and railroad consultants, and by helping American forces safely enter Korean ports.[9] As other historians have postulated, it is too simplistic to say that the Korean War was why Japan allied with the United States. The legacy of the Occupation loomed large, and the United States had a negotiating position which made it hard for Japan to fully assert its independence without an alliance treaty. By 1953, Japan had emerged out of this period of hot warfare tied to the hip with the United States, ready to fight for their place in the cultural Cold War that awaited.

The Debates and Cold War Diplomacy

It is within this context that the World Youth Forum made the decision in 1952 to invite the first Japanese delegate to the United States. Some countries who received invitations did not send delegates, and thus Japan had to determine for itself if they were to participate. What were the benefits for Japan to enter the World Youth Forum? For one, the Japanese Ministry of Education had a say in affording its most qualified young adults some international experience by allowing them to leave the country, a rarity for the time. The delegates had to show that they could articulate themselves, and their positions on world issues with sophistication and with fluency. Japan, in its initial stage of post-occupation, could not afford to send a representative that wasn't ready to handle the rigor of the debates. Although the delegates were not diplomats per se, they were still representatives of Japan. In the Cold War climate, where Japanese allegiance to the United States was constantly evaluated by the United States government

[9] Schaller, Michael. *The Korean War in World History*. (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 169.

because of the resurgence of communist political activity in Japan, the World Youth Forum served as an event that solidified the bonds the United States and Japan shared. Its mission statement made this explicit.

The World Youth Forum stated mission read that it was, "out of a conviction that the best way to promote world peace was to bring young people from around the world together."[10] Additionally, the delegates were chosen in the hopes that, "their common humanity and aspirations for peace and democracy" would help them when they "eventually assumed leadership roles back home."[11] These stated goals by the World Youth Forum are indicative of some of the most important facets of US foreign policy in the 1950s. The United States, under the direction of President Harry Truman pursued a foreign policy that combined elements of containment and one-world internationalism. This dual approach, dubbed the "Cold War Consensus", melded the foreign policy goals of both liberals and conservatives.[12] For the conservative factions, the dreams of Japan as a "bulwark of right-wing internationalism," were bolstered by Japan's adherence to US military presence in Japan. Liberal factions saw economic integration and trade pacts as the way to keep Japan in the proverbial fold. Where did the World Youth Forum fit within this strategy?

The World Youth Forum was a clear attempt by the *Herald Tribune*, on behalf of the United States, to spread democracy and make cultural connections between the host country and

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[10] NYHTWYF Alumni Association. "New York Herald Tribune World Youth Forum History." Herald Tribune World Youth Forum Alumni Association. Accessed May 20, 2021. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=35&ID_BRANCHES=171.

[11] NYHTWYF Alumni Association, "World Youth Forum History."

[12] Klein, Christina. *Cold War Orientalism Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 10.

the countries of its delegates. The delegates were supposed to use their skills, namely peacekeeping and democratic ideals, to help shape and mold the direction of their home countries one day. They were also asked to debate the most pressing topics of the time. In March of 1954, a roundtable with students from newly independent India, divided South Korea, Norway, and the former US colony of the Philippines spent thirty minutes debating, "How to Meet the Threat of Communist Aggression."[13] Students were asked to give their perspectives on how to best handle "Soviet states" and what how they would approach Soviet tactics. The 1954 delegate from India felt that the maintenance of the Free World was difficult because Asian countries, like India, did not want to choose sides because that meant that they would, "feel like they had to join the aggression."[14] This quote shows the level of sophistication with which the students were coming into the debates. It also illustrates the ideological bent of the proceedings. This was an international debate on US soil, and although the delegates could reasonably disagree with an American-centric viewpoint, the framing of the debates could prevent more anti-United States and pro-communist views.

Along with the United States government and the *Herald Tribune*, economic interests played a role in creating and sustaining the event as well. Pan Am paid the way for delegates to come and go to the World Youth Forum. Their sponsorship of the World Youth Forum allowed a great many to attend from far-away countries, as international flights were generally limited in number and cost prohibitive for most people at the time.[15] Many of these countries, such as

[13] "The World We Want." National Educational Television, 1954. https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/IULMIA/exhibits/show/the-world-we-want/full-episodes-gallery.

[14] "The World We Want". 1954.

[15] "The World We Want". 1954.

newly independent Jordan, Japan, and Indonesia were seen as integral to balancing the unstable Cold War world order and the Western Bloc's containment of Soviet countries in the Middle East and East Asia. It was crucial that the World Youth Forum invited these countries during this critical period of the Cold War. Helen Hiett Waller, the benefactor and host for the World Youth Forum, took this challenge head on.

Helen Waller and the World Youth Forum

The World Youth Forum's goals were ambitious, reflecting the ambitions of its benefactor and host, Helen Waller. Before hosting the forum, Waller was a war correspondent during World War II, who had come home after working in Europe.[16] From 1937 to 1940, Waller spent time writing a monthly review of international affairs for the League of Nations, studying Nazi methods of indoctrination in a German girl's labor camp, and reporting on the radio before the fall of Paris and during the bombing of Gibraltar.[17] After returning from Nazi Germany in 1941, Waller gave lectures on international affairs and ran a fifteen minute news program for NBC.[18] Waller was then hired by the *New York Herald Tribune* to run its first World Youth Forum in 1947. Waller ran the event from its inception, integrating several key aspects of her training into the program.

Helen Waller used her skills in foreign relations to act as the director for the World Youth Forum. It took a person who was adept at cross-cultural communication to organize an event that brought together so many young adults from all corners of the globe. Waller then had to arrange

[16] NYHTWYF Alumni Association. "New York Herald Tribune World Youth Forum History." Herald Tribune World Youth Forum Alumni Association. Accessed May 20, 2021. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=35&ID_BRANCHES=171.

[17] NYHTWYF Alumni Association, "World Youth Forum History."

[18] NYHTWYF Alumni Association, "World Youth Forum History."

for them to be shown on television, to be placed in homes in the New York Metropolitan area, and to participate in a myriad of Forum events. The main event, the "*World We Want*", had to be moderated by someone with television experience who could engage the students in discussions that were charged with all the cultural and political weight of the Cold War. Beyond talking about the world in the United States, in select years Helen Waller arranged trips for the delegates to visit London, Paris, Cairo, Beirut, Karachi, Ghana, and New Delhi.[19] For the World Youth Forum delegates, these trips must have been a revelatory experience; but for Waller this was old hat. Helen Waller was the perfect woman for the job, a veteran of international affairs with special expertise in education. With Waller as the moderator of the debates, the Japanese delegates could dig deeper into the specific questions and issues addressed by the program.

Waller, as a veteran of foreign affairs, knew the dynamics that were at play between the countries that sent representatives to the World Youth Forum. Waller selected and moderated debates between countries with topics that were relevant to each country. For example, the Japanese delegates were often placed in debates which centered nationalism, notions of democracy, and gender. Countries outside East Asia, like India, and newly independent African countries such as Ghana were also asked about nationalism. Waller was acutely aware of the world issues that needed to be addressed in the program.

Waller also spent time with the delegates outside of the televised program and the various events of the World Youth Forum. Waller often wrote letters back and forth to the delegates, and even went on international trips with them. Waller was not only the organizer of the event or the moderator of the television program, but she was also the engine that powered the event until her

[19] NYHTWYF Alumni Association, "World Youth Forum History."

untimely death. Waller centered her career during the 1950s empowering teenagers to share with other their ideas of the world they wanted.

"The World They Wanted"

From March 1954 to March 1959, the Japanese delegates took the stage of "*The World We Want"* and shared their thoughts on Japan, the United States, and the world. Their insights into the issues of the time offer us a youthful Japanese perspective on the early Cold War. What were on the minds of the Japanese delegates? How did their experiences show up and inform their views in the debates? What world did they want?

Learning From the Past: Fujii Kimiko

Fujii Kimiko, the Japanese delegate for the 1954 World Youth Forum, spent six weeks in the Tri-State Area and Pennsylvania before attending the World Youth Forum debate, "The Family in America," broadcast on March 1, 1954. The day that Fujii stepped on the debate stage, she was just turning eighteen.[20] Fujii was joined by a girl from New Jersey, a boy from India, and a boy from Jordan. Waller introduced the delegates in order, from left to right. First, introducing the girl from New Jersey, Waller mentioned that her family was hosting the delegate from what was then Siam.[21] Next, Waller asked the boy from India to talk about his educational background. After that, Waller introduced Fujii Kimiko by asking her if she was in Hiroshima "when the bomb dropped."[22] After this comment, Waller asked Fujii to recall memories of that

[20] The World We Want. National Educational Television, 1954. https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/IULMIA/exhibits/show/the-world-we-want/full-episodes-gallery.

[21] "The World We Want". 1954.

[22] "The World We Want". 1954.

day the bomb dropped. Fujii mentioned that her sister's "face was burned," but that, "she is alright now."[23] Fujii then went on to talk about Hiroshima's relationship to the United States.

Fujii, with a slow delivery and measured words, expounded on how the atomic bomb changed Hiroshima's relationship with America. First, Fujii mentioned that "All the people in Hiroshima are very friendly towards Americans people" because "American people taught us democracy."[24] Fujii added that "they are trying very hard to know democracy" and that she had received letters imploring her to learn democracy in the land of Abraham Lincoln.[25] The delegates from New Jersey and India were either introduced with rhetorical questions or asked relatively safe questions. Fujii was asked to relive perhaps the most horrifying day of her life and talk about her sister's disfigurement.

The difference in subject matter of the introduction, as well as Fujii's response is striking and emblematic of the US-Japan relationship. Fujii at once relived her war trauma on national television, because of the venue and the context. Fujii recalled her experience and tied it to American hegemony by connecting the dropping of the bomb to Japan's need for democracy. The people of Hiroshima were cast as suffering, but ultimately grateful for the gift of democracy. What is striking about this interaction is that neither Waller nor Fujii commented on the inherent tension in this complicated history. The atomic bomb dropped, Japan learned democracy, and Fujii took the debate stage and solidified the US-Japan relationship. The United States and Japan moved forward, with the trauma and history of war in the background, but never too far away to bring up. Waller selected the questions and led the debates, and although her intentions are not

[23] "The World We Want". 1954.

[24] "The World We Want". 1954.

[25] "The World We Want". 1954.

known, the question was intentional. By framing Fujii as a victim of the atomic bomb, Waller actively brought this history to the surface.

After the introductions, Helen Waller asked the delegates a series of questions related to their home culture, and cultural stereotypes. Waller asked Fujii what gift from Japan she would give to the American people.[26] Fujii responded, "composure," because, "American people eat very loud."[27] After this brief interaction, the action swung to the boys from India and Jordan, who are asked questions about progress in their home countries. When the attention landed back on Fujii, she was asked if she practiced ikebana.[28] Fujii responded that she didn't like or practice ikebana, but that "those flower arrangements are very simple, a year is enough to learn."[29] Here, Fujii is asked to be an authority on a traditional Japanese art, and not asked more academic and philosophical questions like the state of her home country or her past academic experiences. Fujii has a chance to respond to some of the open-ended questions about cultural differences and the like, but after her strong introduction it was apparent that Fujii took a quiet position in the debate, only being asked to entertain questions about Japanese culture. It is important to note that the first appearance for a Japanese delegates centered squarely on the bombing of Hiroshima and Japanese arts.

When Fujii finished her appearance in the televised debates, she spoke with the other youth delegates at the United Nations. Following a brief introduction and one speaker from Switzerland, Fujii took the stage. Dressed in her kimono and with a more confident tone than in

[26] "The World We Want". 1954.

[27] "The World We Want". 1954.

[28] "The World We Want". 1954.

[29] "The World We Want". 1954.

the debates, Fujii recalled a conversation that she had had with someone during her stay. She said that she was asked if she had ever been to Chinatown because, "It is very much like Japan."[30] She recalled that her retort was, "How did you know?"[31] This was a misdirection, as she implied that this response was sarcastic and followed this anecdote with a warning for those speaking about others from a place of ignorance, "not knowing about another country isn't bad, but if you think you know and you really don't know, that is dangerous."[32] Fujii's story illustrates one of the pitfalls of an international event like this, and how the platform allowed students to speak about the more negative experiences of these events. Fujii had spent weeks with American teenagers, many of whom knew little about her country or its culture. Fujii processed these interactions and framed them as an issue of ignorance that she could learn from and teach about. By associating an experience, she had with a larger observation, Fujii showed that the World Youth Forum was as much a learning experience for her as it was for the viewers at home and the teenagers with whom she interacted. Fujii choose to mention this story above others to the United Nations, and she was able to assume the role of instructor and teacher on the world stage.

Freedom and Introspection: Shimazu Hisako

While Fujii was soft-spoken, the 1955 delegate Shimazu Hisako, was assertive. Shimazu participated in the March 3, 1955, debate, "What do we go to High School for?" Shimazu's introduction in this program was markedly different from Fujii's. Shimazu was in the fourth position in the introduction, following two young women from Brazil and the United Kingdom.

[30] "The World We Want". 1954. This program was broadcasted on "The World We Want" but was filmed at the United Nations.

[31] "The World We Want". 1954.

[32] "The World We Want". 1954.

and Nak Jeun Pak from South Korea. Waller introduced Shimazu by asking her if she could read a letter Shimazu wrote to Helen during her homestay.[33] Shimazu agreed, and Hellen Waller read:

> During these two months, I got used to live in American life over two months. But I never want to live in America long, because I'm a Japanese, and something in my mind do not completely agree with American character. The greatest thing I got through this trip is that I had a chance to look towards our country again and I noticed I'm a real Japanese and proud of it. That's what I didn't think when I was in Japan"[34]

This statement is powerful, because it helps define Shimazu's relationship to the United States, while centering her pride in being Japanese. To this point, Shimazu thought that "Americans don't have too much freedom, but more than we have at home."[35] Here, Shimazu is commenting on the continuing process of democracy in Japan. However, Shimazu is also making a pointed comment that the United States is not necessarily superior, and thus challenging its "junior ally" status.

Next, Shimazu talks about subject choice in school, mentioning that, "We are told to take math and science, don't take much practical subjects or history."[36] Here, Shimazu is hinting about Japanese ownership of educational policy after the end of the Occupation. When the United States occupied Japan, it initially exercised tremendous pressure on Japan to democratize and liberalize schools. However, from 1947 to 1950 Yoshida, General MacArthur, and SCAP implemented a "reverse course" strategy to give the Japanese government more control over its

[33] "The World We Want". 1955.

[34] "The World We Want". 1955.

[35] "The World We Want". 1955.

[36] "The World We Want". 1955.

economy in favor of more liberal democratic policies.[37] This change had to function within the confines of the Fundamental Law of Education and the Japanese Constitution, and resulted in handing the SCAP and the Japanese government more power to break unions and generally go against the spirit of the idealized true liberal democracy in favor of economic recovery. Although this policy shift did not directly impact educational policy, the shift towards a prioritization of economics is reflected by Shimazu's comments on the importance of math and science to the future of Japan's economy. Japan took full control of their educational system after the Occupation, and Shimazu recognized that it was taking its own course to liberal democracy.

After her insightful comment, Shimazu was asked to illuminate the viewers on the basic differences between "Asians" and "Americans."[38] Shimazu explained that the basic difference between these two groups is that American people are "broad and frank," while Asians are more "internal" and forward thinking.[39] Shimazu mentions that this inward-facing demeanor comes from the fact that:

> Our people [the Japanese] have suffered by the war, we know the trouble and sorrow, much difficulty, American people don't know the trouble they didn't experience. Sometimes they [Americans] seem so superficial because the troubles make us strong and think deeply[40]

In this moment Shimazu was in the spotlight. She made specific cultural observations and connected these to war memory, history, and the power dynamics in play between the United

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[37] Shibusawa, Naoko. *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 182.

[38] "The World We Want." National Educational Television, 1955. https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/IULMIA/exhibits/show/the-world-we-want/full-episodes-gallery.

[39] "The World We Want". 1955.

[40] "The World We Want". 1955.

States and Japan. Although only seventeen years of age, Shimazu made a profound statement about the cultural implications of the relationship between the United States and Japan.

Like Fujii, Shimazu had the chance to present at the United Nations on the topic of "The Roots of Prejudice." Following the delegate from Norway, Shimazu started her address to the packed house by building off Fujii's comments when she said, "sometimes when countries are far away, they don't stress the differences enough."[41] She goes on to explain that many people in America think China and Japan are very similar.[42] Shimazu affirmed Fujii's assertion, cementing this cultural observation as one with merit. Next, Shimazu highlights that many lower-class workers in America have cars, while in Japan only rich people have cars.[43] She then ties this to the advancement of women in America. Shimazu was surprised how much women could do after marrying, including using "automatic machines."[44] Shimazu's comments reflected the economic conditions that Japan faced in the years following the Occupation. She warned that if people used too many automatic machines, then they would forget the pleasure and knowledge acquired from using your hands.[45]

After these comments Shimazu finished her stint at the United Nations by highlighting that most American students were not shy, unlike Japanese students who were too polite. Shimazu believed that equality and individualism must be better applied to Japanese education.[46]

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[41] "The World We Want". 1955.

[42] "The World We Want". 1955.

[43] "The World We Want". 1955.

[44] "The World We Want". 1955.

[45] "The World We Want". 1955. (see citation #30).

[46] "The World We Want". 1955.

Here Shimazu reasserts that the Japanese education system is still in need of improvement. Shimazu, being a young woman in the evolving Japanese education system, can see the ways that it has not matured yet—but might mature eventually by looking to its ally. Shimazu went on to say that Japanese people know what individualism is, but "don't practice it," because Japanese people are "introspective, internal."[47] This comment praised and criticized the United States and Japan in equal measure, which was different from Shimazu's more heavily pro-Japan stance in the debate.

Although it is not known whether Shimazu or Fujii communicated, the topics they address as Japanese delegates had some important similarities. Both delegates addressed the role that notions of democracy and progress played into Japan's recovery during the 1950s. Negotiating a new system of government based on American-style democracy, while also recovering from the poverty and destruction that resulted from the Pacific War were the main issues of concern in Japan at the time. Fujii's comments highlighted the importance that mutual cooperation played in strengthening the US-Japan relationship. Meanwhile, Shimazu connected democracy in Japan to a Japanese mentality, and how Japan saw math and science as the key subjects for its youth to embrace. Although Fujii and Shimazu explained different aspects of growth and recovery, they both addressed Japan's domestic goals and progress.

Navigating Race: Konishi Yoriko

In 1956 Konishi Yoriko participated in the first part of a four-part debate on February 24th, 1956, "Where do Prejudices Come From?" This debate featured young women from Indonesia and the United Kingdom, a boy from the Philippines, and Konishi herself. Waller started the line of questioning by asking what prejudices are. Konishi responded by saying that,

[47] "The World We Want". 1955.

"If somebody distinguish between a white man and a colored man it is prejudice."[48] After defining the term, the delegate from the Philippines, Raul, gave the example of prejudice which was most immediate to him—namely, his prejudice against Japanese people. [49] Raul explained this to Konishi:

> I do not [feel prejudice] to the extent that I hate them, but I get this as a result of World War Second. What my relatives and friends were witness to in this fateful occasion, more than justify this fact. It is justified for me to feel this way because my people suffered under that rule. [When] Japan stubbornly refused to pay reparations to us, prejudice begin to brew again.

This statement drew the viewers' attention to Japan's occupation of the Philippines between 1942 and 1945. During this time, the city of Manila was leveled, the Philippines was under harsh Japanese rule, and guerilla militias fought for Filipino independence from Imperial Japan. The United States was well-acquainted with this history, seeing as the Philippine-American War (1899-1902) brought the United States annexation of the island country until 1941, and the US-Philippines Mutual Defense Treaty of 1951 recently solidified their post war alliance. For the American viewer witnessing this exchange, the complexities of the US-Japan-Philippines historical context get brought to the forefront by Raul. Raul was not only expressing a condemnation of Japan but doing so on American soil.

Konishi responded by saying that she didn't have any prejudices against Filipino people, but that she knew many Japanese people who did.[50] Raul explained that he felt, after meeting Konishi, that he cannot blame Japan for not paying reparations yet because Konishi "cannot even

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[48] "The World We Want". 1956.

[49] I could not find records of the spelling of the delegate's full name; therefore, I will only use his first name.

[50] "The World We Want." National Educational Television, 1956. https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/IULMIA/exhibits/show/the-world-we-want/full-episodes-gallery.

go to school in a heated classroom."[51] Here, Raul shows a shift in perspective by looking at the material conditions of Japan and of students like Konishi. Konishi, although a representative for Japan, might not bear the responsibility of war. As a young child, Konishi also struggled with the effects that the Pacific War exacted, even if she was on the side of the occupier. The delegates approached this issue as a matter of present conditions in each country.

After this line of questioning finished, the attention shifted squarely to the United States' racial situation. Raul believed that the United States' racial situation is worse than he thought coming in.[52] The delegate from the U.K. refuted this take because when she lived with a "Negro family" she learned that they, "believed that things were gradually getting better," before mentioning that this was just in non-Southern states.[53] Both of these delegates had contrasting opinions about race that were indicative of the racial tension and questions of the time. The Emmett Till case had hit world news stations only a few months before this, while *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) shined a positive light on racial progress.[54] Evidence of racial progress and racial oppression ran side-by-side throughout the 1950's. In Konishi's answer, this duality was apparent. Konishi replied that, "I have not seen any evidence of racial prejudice in the United States, but I have found that most Negros are laborers and don't have a

[51] "The World We Want". 1956.

[52] "The World We Want". 1956.

[53] "The World We Want". 1956.

[54] Emmett Till (1941-1955) was an African American boy from Chicago who was murdered and lynched in Money, Mississippi. His death sent shockwaves through the American and international communities, and provoked nationwide conversations about segregation and anti-black violence in 1955 and beyond. *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) was a US Supreme Court Ruling which deemed that racial segregation in schools was illegal.

high position."[55] Konishi added that, "I was glad to see a [African American] girl who was Vice President," at a high school in South Orange, NJ. This discussion highlights the multiplicity of experience for the delegates, and that the impressions that gathered were different depending on their situation. Depending on where the delegates were placed, they were likely to encounter a variety of experiences which did not always connect seamlessly with each other. The host families also played a role in this regard, as they assuredly had prejudices and biases of their own. The "American experience" of each delegate was unique to them, and often the delegates also took the platform of the debates as an opportunity to parse out the complexities of race on the world stage.

Before finishing their part of the debate, Konishi was asked by Waller if, "Women are any freer in Japan than before the war?"[56] Konishi answered by saying that women in Japan almost always take a differential stance to men, whether it is in a public or private setting.[57] Konishi tied the issue of freedom to prewar cultural customs and habits of women in Japan, showing how her view of the world is informed by how she is supposed to act. Konishi then connects this statement, as Shimazu did before in 1955, to the influence of democracy in the post war era. Konishi comments that this situation has, "quite changed, women can vote, women have equal opportunity in everything."[58] Konishi, like Shimazu, affirmed that American democracy

[55] The World We Want. National Educational Television, 1956. https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/IULMIA/exhibits/show/the-world-we-want/full-episodes-gallery.

[56] "The World We Want". 1956.

[57] "The World We Want". 1956.

[58] "The World We Want". 1956.

had given women the space and opportunity to allow them greater freedom. Konishi centers women and their progress in Japan.

English Experience for the Future: Morii Yumiko

Morii Yumiko participated in the World Youth Forum as the delegate for Japan in 1957. But, unlike Fujii, Shimazu, and Konishi, Morii did not get an opportunity to share her views in one of the televised debates. Morii does appear in the March 23, 1957, program, "Summary of Three Months in the U.S.A." In this program all the delegates for that year sat together and answered Waller's questions. In this program, Morii had a few words to say about her time in America and her future aspirations. When Waller asked where the delegates might like to travel to, Morii responded by saying that, "I want to go back to America and learn more about America, I like the diversity of American people living together."[59] This statement, like Konishi's comment on racial stratification in labor, touches on how Morii perceived the United States' racial progress in the 1950's. To Morii, the diversity of people in the United States was something to be admired, and a reason for living there. Morii's relationship to English, as indicated in her biography, was complicated. She indicated that she felt unqualified as the representative of Japan, but that she wanted to become worthy during her trip. She indicated that she wanted to use English to promote ideals of friendship and mutual understanding.

Although we don't know whether Morii ultimately achieved her long-term goal, her appearance on the "Summary of Three Months in the U.S.A." gives us an idea of her progress during the World Youth Forum. After Morii made her comment about wanting to come back to America, Waller responded by addressing the entire delegation. Waller told the delegation that,

[59] "The World We Want". 1957.

more than any other student, Morii's English ability improved during the World Youth Forum.[60] Morii, beaming with a big smile after the comment, finished her appearance on the program by declaring that she wanted to go to an American university.[61] Although Morii did not get to broadcast her deeper thoughts on the issues of the world, as the other delegates did, she did get to show her fondness for the United States and her progress through the experience. The goals she stated in her pre-World Youth Forum biography, of increased English level and of mutual understanding, were achieved.

Japanese Expansion Revisited-Yoshimura Yukiko

After Morii's relatively quiet performance in 1957, Yoshimura Yukiko had the opportunity to discuss perhaps the most hot-button topics regarding Japan in 1940s and 1950s, the Second World War and Japanese nationalism. Yoshimura participated in the March 4, 1958, debate, "Is Nationalism a Constructive Force in the World Today?" Yoshimura debated with representatives from Indonesia, the United Kingdom, and Lebanon. The conversation addressed two separate geo-political situations: the postwar Middle East and the post war Pacific. What kicked off the Pacific-focused conversation in this debate was a question by the delegate from the United Kingdom who asked Yoshimura: "Why did you [Japan] try to expand?"[62] This question, certainly provocative and tough, was answered quite thoroughly by Yoshimura in the debate.

Yoshimura began her answer by contextualizing it in terms of its meaning to the country of Japan as a body when she replied: "We have important population problem. Looking for land

[60] "The World We Want". 1957.

[61] "The World We Want". 1957.

[62] "The World We Want". 1958.

to stay in. We don't have much natural resource in Japan, we hoped to get it."[63] This was certainly the stated concern for Imperial Japan, and a real concern for the country's plans for expansion. If Japan wanted to expand as far as they intended, they needed the natural resources colonies like the Dutch East Indies provided. This fact was resented by the delegate from Indonesia. She asked Yoshimura why Japan couldn't have just tried to trade in the Pacific, as opposed to resorting to invasion and colonialism.[64] Yoshimura slightly backtracked here by saying that it is difficult for her to answer the question because she was just a baby and a toddler during those years.[65] Yoshimura, positioned as the representative of Indonesia's former oppressor, was put on the hot seat, and she initially responded with the fact that she is not responsible or wholly representative of that era in Japan.

This exchange shows the diplomatic language and approach that the Japanese delegates employed during the debates. Yoshimura's response to the Indonesian delegate shows her awareness of Japan's history, and of her place within it. The dynamics of the debate afforded the Indonesian delegate the opportunity to voice a complaint on behalf of their country, thereby placing Yoshimura in the position to defend her country. Yoshimura did not wholly affirm the Indonesian delegates' accusations, rather she reframed them and moved past them.

After a few minutes of talk about the Middle East, the attention returned to Yoshimura and Japanese colonialism. The Indonesian delegate was asked by Yoshimura if Indonesia would have been free if Japan didn't colonize it.[66] The Indonesian delegate said that the war helped it

[63] "The World We Want". 1958.

[64] "The World We Want". 1958.

[65] "The World We Want". 1958.

[66] "The World We Want". 1958.

towards independence, but not because of Japan. They continued by saying that "Japan occupied our country for three and a half years, and they killed many Indonesians too," adding, "After second world war victory is not in your hands."[67] This interaction made Yoshimura change her facial expression considerably, now she was on the defensive after asserting that Japan helped Indonesia and being rebuked. The Indonesian delegate pushed the issue further by asking, "What is your opinion of new generation in Japan now? Do you think they want to occupy Indonesia?"[68] Yoshimura laughed somewhat nervously and replied, "certainly not, we [still] have little natural resources and a population problem, but we should like to have trade [with Asian countries]." Here, Yoshimura is trumpeting Japan's stance of non-aggression and of economic cooperation with its neighbors in East Asia. What's key about this discussion is that the United States is not brought up once.

After some more discussion about the Middle East between the delegates from the United Kingdom and Lebanon, Yoshimura was asked to address the presence of communism in her country. This question, certainly prompted by assistance given to the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan's by the CIA, recentered the legacy of the Occupation and Japan's relationship to the United States. Yoshimura answers the question by saying that the communist presence, "is decreasing because we know the dangerous Communist Party."[69] She continued by asserting that, trade with China is not ideal," but that, "we have so much problem in our country, and we need their market [because] it is necessary to trade." [70] Yoshimura managed to combine elements

[67] "The World We Want". 1958.

[68] "The World We Want". 1958.

[69] "The World We Want". 1958.

[70] "The World We Want". 1958.

of foreign policy, international trade with China, as well the anti-communist ire that this trade caused in the 1950s. This dialogue, even for diplomats that are appointed to resolve these issues, was difficult and politically charged. Yet, Yoshimura explained in her own way her opinion that Japan, as an independent country, had the right and the motivation to trade with China. Furthermore, Yoshimura does not disregard the interests of the United States in these discussions, but rather tries to show how they need Chinese trade but not Chinese communism.

When the discussion of communism had hit its end, one final topic was addressed, the atomic bomb. Again, this thought-provoking question came from the delegate from the United Kingdom. He asked rhetorically why Japan had the atomic bomb dropped on them and not Germany.[71] All of the delegates unanimously agreed, rather quickly, that the United States would never actually consider bombing post war Germany.[72] Unlike the previous questions, Yoshimura was not on the defensive. Yoshimura, replied to this question by stating that, "Maybe ten years ago [Japanese] people had prejudice against the US because of it," but "maybe not now."[73]

This statement is indicative of the position in which Yoshimura was placed for the entire debate. Yoshimura was asked to straddle the intersections between Japan's former power in East Asia, its relationship to the United States, and its domestic containment of communism and nationalism. Perhaps more than any of the other Japanese delegates, Yoshimura was challenged to answer for the injustices committed by Japan towards Indonesia and the other countries it colonized and occupied. Yoshimura echoed the narrative of progress through Occupation and American intervention, while also acknowledging the unease that the Japanese public felt

[71] "The World We Want". 1958.

[72] "The World We Want". 1958.

[73] "The World We Want". 1958.

towards the United States during that period. Yoshimura did not back down or crumble, and she did not concede right away that Japan did not have a legitimate reason to occupy the Dutch East Indies. Yoshimura was aware of the historical facts, and historical implications of the questions she answered. Yoshimura used her historical knowledge to show that young people in Japan could both acknowledge Japan's past, while projecting strength and hopefulness for progress and diplomatic relations between Japan and its neighbors in East Asia. Yoshimura represented a new era of progress in Japan that was not ignorant of its history, but not tied to it either. Like Konishi, Yoshimura engaged in a discussion of Japanese expansion in the early 1940s with a deft touch and a nuanced perspective in the late 1950s.

"Loving Wives, Educated Mothers": Yamakami Yukiko

The last delegate of the 1950s, Yamakami Yukiko, took the stage on February 24, 1959, during the debate, "Are Women Really Superior?" Delegates from the Philippines, Finland, and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) joined Yamakami in the debates to discuss the state of women around the world in the 1950s. This debate, contentious from the start, brought together delegates who had four very different visions for women. Yamakami, for the most part, stayed calm and concise in her answers, while also delivering key knowledge about the state of women in Japan in 1959.

Yamakami began her assessment of the topic question by stating, "In Japan, it is said for a woman that when she is a girl, she must obey the parents. When she is the wife, she has to obey her husband. And when she becomes a mother, she has to obey the son in particular."[74] Yamakami also commented that, "Japanese woman [has] put up with it for a long time."[75] Responding to this insight, the young woman from Finland believed that this logic, "hurts

[74] "The World We Want". 1959.

[75] "The World We Want". 1959.

individualism in Oriental countries."[76] Here, the young woman from Finland was connecting Yamakami and Japan to a long lineage of Western Orientalist thought, which Yamakami did not address. When Yamakami failed to offer an immediate response to this question, the delegation moved on to a new topic.

During the middle of the debate, a fierce discussion about the nature of polygamy broke out, prompted by the Philippines' delegate declaring that he would love, "to have fives wives, and love them all."[77] This statement received a loud response from Yamakami, who retorted, "How can you love five women?"[78] The delegation devolved, in a rare moment, into an impassioned disagreement about polygamy, which ended when the Finnish delegate slammed her fist on the table and had to be calmed down by Waller. After this outburst, Waller swiftly redirected the questioning back to Yamakami. Waller asked Yamakami how she reconciled women's perceived position in society and the fact that they had possessed the right to vote for over ten years.[79] Yamakami answered with a wry smile that, "women don't want what their husbands want."[80] Yamakami shows that the perception of women's role in society is not the reality. Women in Japan, in the 1950s, could go to the polls like never before and express their opinion through their vote.

After a long discussion about women in education in which Yamakami was particularly quiet, Waller turned to Yamakami and asked for her thoughts. Yamakami responded by saying,

[76] "The World We Want". 1959.

[77] "The World We Want". 1959.

[78] "The World We Want". 1959.

[79] "The World We Want". 1959.

[80] "The World We Want". 1959.

"Society handicaps [women], not their families," and that if women receive a high education, then they are perceived to not be marriable.[81] This fear, as argued by Julia Bullock, was one that was strong among the older generation of parents in 1950s Japan.[82] The logic was that if Japan were to move forward while keeping their Japanese tradition intact, they couldn't progress too much. Fear of transgression of gender roles was held by many in that generation, but not as much by Yamakami's generation. Yamakami echoed this when she acknowledged that she did not like arranged marriages, and that she loved equal, "love marriages, many people agree with love now."[83] To that point Yamakami believed that a shift in attitude, along with an education, was how women would have a "home where she [I] will be very happy."[84]

In the debate, Yamakami pushed back against what she saw as an outdated way to view marriage and partnership in Japan in the 1950s. Yamakami connected the virtues of democracy, handed down by the United States, with her goal of being in the home and raising her children. Having a marriage based on love, and not arranged marriage, was how Yamakami saw her path to motherhood unfolding. Although the methods for how she wanted to achieve her dreams differed from the older generations' cultural norm, she still felt that she could be a model wife and mother doing it her own way.

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[81] "The World We Want". 1959.

[82] Bullock, Julia C. *Coeds Ruining the Nation: Women, Education, and Social Change in Postwar Japanese Media.* Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies; No. 87. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2019), 7.

[83] The World We Want. National Educational Television, 1959. https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/IULMIA/exhibits/show/the-world-we-want/full-episodes-

[84] "The World We Want". 1959.

Conclusion

The World Youth Forum debates were an opportunity for the Japanese delegation to discuss a myriad of issues that Japan was grappling with at that time. How did they represent these issues, as well as Japan, during the debates? For one, the delegates all seemed to have acknowledged the progress that Japan had made from the mid-1950s to the end of the decade. Japan was presented as a nation that was moving forward with the democratic mission set forth by the United States, and that it had left its militarist preoccupation of the 1940s. However, as was brought up by the Indonesian delegate in 1958, "when you came [during World War II] you said we [Asians] are all the same, then you occupied us."[85] The delegates, when asked questions of this nature, did not back down. They responded, sometimes carefully and sometimes with seemingly more confidence. Delegates from countries such as The Philippines and Indonesia forced the Japanese delegates to address the retributions of war while also acknowledging the complicated situation Japan felt that it was in during the early 1940s. While the United States was the clear hegemonic force in the debates, as they hosted and moderated them, Japan was not too far off the list of countries whose former power was looked down upon by select delegates.

The position of the Japanese delegates was a precarious one. While Japan did have a militarist past, it also had a current situation which was questioned by some of the delegates. The Japanese delegates were asked to answer for Japanese trade relations, gender norms, and racial dynamics. In the backdrop of the debate topics was Japan's position as a key ally of the United States in the Pacific, one that had been wrecked by the destructive force of the atomic bomb. The delegates had to argue on both sides of the debate. On the one hand, they affirmed that Japan did not think it was superior to its Asian neighbors, while also conceding that Japan was an

[85] "The World We Want". 1958.

independent country that was influenced, but not ruled, by the United States. On the other hand, the delegates explicitly tied their progress and emancipation, as young women, to the influence and policies set forth during the Allied Occupation of Japan. These debates were an exhaustive exercise of threading the needle and expressing oneself in a true and articulate manner. The Japanese delegates often vacillated between responses which reflected an individual opinion, and responses which reflected larger views held by the Japanese government. The delegates were both representatives of Japan, and teenagers with views on the world, and they often switched these roles depending on the nature of the current topic of debate.

The delegates had to think about these worldly issues, address the United Nations, navigate the pitfalls of a second language, all the while living as teenagers in a foreign country for a quarter of a year. Some of the delegates from Japan experienced a newfound appreciation for their home country, while others longed for a more extended stay in the United States. The delegates' participation affirmed their commitment to the new world order of peace and democratic governance, while also providing them an opportunity to lend a youthful, sophisticated voice to Cold War discourses of freedom, foreign relations, and cultural connection. The delegates represented Japan with aplomb.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHRYSANTHEMUM, NOT THE SWORD: JAPANESE STUDENTS ON 1950s AMERICAN TV

The Japanese delegates' main purpose in traveling to the United States was to act as youth ambassadors and representatives of Japan on the world stage. The Japanese delegates participated in debates with delegates from other countries, such as the Philippines and Indonesia, with which Japan had complicated and evolving socio-political relationships. In response to Japan's actions in the Pacific War, one aspect of the Japanese delegates' mission was to foster goodwill and peace in the postwar in the debates and during the entire World Youth Forum. The delegates represented these interests with nuanced views in the debates that were indicative of the changed relationship between Japan and the United States, and Japan and the world. But how can we account for the human factors and cultural contexts within which the Japanese delegates operated? How were the Japanese delegates represented on the screen? This chapter looks more closely into the ways in which the American context of the debates played into the representation of the delegates on 1950s television. Additionally, this chapter builds on some of the conversations on race and culture that were introduced in the previous chapter.

To investigate these questions, proper consideration must be made for how Japan and the Japanese people were represented both before and during the World Youth Forum. As a nationally televised broadcast, the debates provided an opportunity for the Japanese delegates to appear on American television, to appear in front of the United Nations, and to give a youthful face to Japan and its new era. Evidence of how the Japanese delegates' appearance was received is mostly relegated to praise issued by the *New York Herald Tribune* during their annual recap of the World Youth Forum. However, by tracing the historical context of US-Japan relations,

especially in terms of cultural contact and exchange, one can view this event as a key cultural event for Japanese representation in the United States during the 1950s.

In this chapter I argue that the Japanese delegates provided American viewers of the *World We Want* television program with a progressive image of postwar Japan. This progressive image constituted a shift from the masculine and militaristic imagery of the Pacific War to more feminine and peace-loving imagery of post war Japan. I argue that this evolving image was linked to notions of democratic progress and youth in Japan. While the delegates represented, as Naoko Shibusawa argues, a feminine junior ally in democracy, they also rejected key aspects of this imagery through their discourse in the debates. Ultimately, the delegates' participation in the World Youth Forum represented a critical cultural moment in US-Japan relations during the 1950s.

Japan Through American Eyes

When the Japanese delegates took the World Youth Forum stage in the 1950s, they were introducing themselves to an American audience. Although the delegates had to make sure they represented themselves and their ideas, they also had to think about how they represented Japan. Each country only sent one delegate per year to the World Youth Forum, and thus the onus was on each and every delegate to represent their country alone. The placards indicating that the Japanese delegates were from Japan signaled to the audience of *The World We Want* that they were going to learn something about Japan during the program. The World Youth Forum was structured as both an educational program, and a cultural event which prompted its audiences to engage in the learning process by watching the debates.

Just as the Japanese delegates brought their own perceptions of the United States and Americans with them to the World Youth Forum, the audience of *The World We Want* also

brought their preconceived notions of Japan and Japanese people. These notions of Japan often took the form of stereotypes and cultural assumptions which were distilled into images. These images, centered around masculine aggression, were produced in large numbers at a time where the American soldiers were fighting Japanese forces in the Pacific. These images shaped cultural beliefs and stereotypes about Japanese people that Americans held prior to World War II, through the war, and into the 1950s.

These images were in the background of the Japanese delegates' participation in the World Youth Forum. As I will detail below, the 1950s were a transformative period for US-Japan relations, and thus the images associated with this relationship evolved accordingly. However, many of the preconceived notions, especially of Japanese inferiority and their "junior ally" status, continued throughout the decade. To better understand the cultural context embedded in the American viewership of the *The World We Want* television program, I will give attention to how certain images of Japan were created in the 1940s and reconstituted in the 1950s.

Japan as the Enemy

When Japan bombed Pearl Harbor on the morning of December 7, 1941, it placed itself as the United States' most fierce and hated enemy. By most accounts, "the Japanese were more despised than the Germans," mostly because they were seen as, "uncommonly treacherous and savage."[1] When the United States mobilized for total war in the Pacific, it also mobilized an offensive to create powerful images of the enemy for Americans to learn from. John Dower's study of this period, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, illustrates the varying ways Americans were taught to view the Japanese in these years. During the Pacific

[1] Dower, John W. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon, 1986), 33.

War, Americans were inundated with propaganda created or financed by the United States government, which described the Japanese people as a race of small, animalistic, primitive, and brutal people.[2] Depictions of Japanese soldiers rushing into banzai charges, and Japanese kamikaze pilots taking out American ships were typical for the period. These depictions were often created out of fear that the American military was dealing with an unfamiliar, and successful enemy. The Japanese military swiftly occupied much of the Pacific by 1942, and its reign of violence was viewed in America as "inherently savage" due to reports of massacres and routinized torture inflicted by Japanese soldiers among other atrocities.[3] These reports, along with a death toll that reached over 300,000 by war's end, prompted a swift and powerful propaganda campaign during the Pacific War.

The depictions of Japanese soldiers in wartime images were drawn both from the lived experiences of American soldiers, and from the imaginations of wartime writers and artists. Films, newspapers, comics, and even morning cartoons were filled with this type of propaganda during the war. Wartime propaganda was not one-sided, as Japan often positioned itself as more virtuous and morally superior to the West during the Pacific War, even if it acknowledged the effect the West had on its economic and political transformation.[4] The racial animosity that both countries propagated coincided with the physical separation of people of Japanese ancestry from the general American populace.

During the war, Japanese Americans, particularly on the West Coast, were often labeled as spies for the Japanese. Accordingly, in February of 1942, Executive Order 9066, signed by

[2] Dower, *War Without Mercy,* 82.

[3] Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 42.

[4] Dower, *War Without Mercy,* 205.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945), sent over 100,000 Japanese Americans to assembly centers and then to internment camps. Japan was one of the major military enemies of the United States in the 1940s, and Japanese Americans were treated as enemies of the United States far more than German Americans and Italian Americans. Surely, not every American shared the views of the most outspokenly racist military officials, politicians, and political commentators of the time. In fact, one of the most decorated American combat units in the European Theatre, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, was made of up Japanese Americans, who enlisted in this regiment as a show of loyalty to the United States.

By and large the pervasiveness of anti-Japanese propaganda in this period of total war seemed to, at the very least, inscribe certain stereotypes of Japanese people into the American consciousness. Wartime stereotypes of simple-minded, animalistic, savage Japanese people were destructive in their racial animosity. The 1950s were not far removed from this period of war and anti-Japanese sentiment, and thus the American viewers of *The World We Want* consumed many of these images. Many of these viewers may have harbored resentment towards the Japanese based on the war and the images associated with it, especially if they served in the war. How then, after the Allied Powers victory and subsequent Occupation, did Americans and Japanese alike reform their views to embrace the new dynamics of the US-Japan relationship? What effect might these new dynamics have had on the perception of the Japanese delegates?

Gendered Democracy

During the occupation of Japan, American soldiers and Occupation officials were the main point of contact for cultural connection between those in Japan and in the United States. A crucial part of the mission of the Occupation was to understand the Japanese beyond the racist stereotypes reinforced by wartime propaganda. To achieve this end, the US government, even

before the end of the Pacific War, started to task its brightest intellectuals with the job of creating frameworks in which to relate to and observe the Japanese. These projects, at once orientalist and earnestly inquisitive, served to inform the cultural relationship between the United States and Japan from 1945 to 1952.

Ruth Benedict, a preeminent anthropologist on the cutting edge of her field after the release of her work, *Patterns of Culture* (1934), was tasked by the US Office of War and Information with examining the Japanese on a cultural level. Benedict's study, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (*1946), attempted to do just that.[5] Benedict never visited Japan during her research, but she worked with Japanese Americans and studied translated Japanese literature and media. Although Benedict had very little previous knowledge of Japan or Japanese culture before the project, "her work had a tremendous influence on SCAP [and] Washington Policymakers."[6] In her work, she established the Japanese national character as a duality between the Chrysanthemum (passive aesthetic beauty), and the Sword (militaristic aggression). Benedict's work examined this supposed duality by looking at the power of obligation and hierarchy embedded in Japanese culture. To Benedict, the chrysanthemum connotation issued from a lack of taboo on erotic pleasure, as well as an appreciation for peaceful arts, such as Zen Buddhism. Conversely, the power of conformity, self-discipline, and shame in Japan spawned the conditions that began its mission to conquer East Asia.[7] Additionally, Benedict characterized

[5] Benedict, Ruth. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946).

[6] Shibusawa, Naoko. *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 60.

[7] Benedict, Ruth. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946), 223.

the Japanese as needing "terribly to be respected in the world."[8] Ruth Benedict's characterization is but one in a line of post war material addressing the "Japanese Mind", but its use as an instructional tool for the US Military, American academics, and even the general populace, shows its importance in the formation of American views on Japanese culture in the 1940s and 1950s.

American soldiers and SCAP officials may have learned something about Japanese culture from works such as Benedict's, but they had to overcome their previous hatred for the Japanese on the ground. In her work, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy,* Naoko Shibusawa expounds on the ways that the US-Japan relationship was reconstituted in postwar America.[9] One of the ways that Americans viewed Japanese people in the late 1940s and 1950s, was as a feminine junior-ally to democracy. The "junior" aspect of this relationship has been previously covered in Chapter Three, but what can we make of Japan as a "feminine ally"?

During the war, the Japanese were mainly seen by the Americans as an enemy, propelled by an adolescent and animalistic urge to dominate militarily. These depictions were obviously detrimental to the changed dynamics of US-Japan relationship in the postwar. The reconstitution of this relationship centered on Japanese women and children. One of the first things SCAP officials and GIs learned while in Japan was that their purpose in "going to Japan was to protect a defenseless nation."[10] These officials and GIs were cast as needing to provide, "strong, manly

[8] Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum, and the Sword*, 173.

[9] Shibusawa, Naoko. *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[10] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally,* 19.

protection, intervention, and guidance," while Japanese people were cast as dependent helpless women and children, "with the potential to grow up into a democracy."[11]

American perceptions of Japanese people, and the increased feminine associations GIs and Occupation officials had with Japan, stemmed from multiple sources. Japanese dolls became a popular cultural product that were exported from Japan to the United States during the Occupation.[12] Corresponding masculine cultural products were not imported during the same time frame. The images of dolls that were produced took a life of their own during the Occupation and started to be associated with Japanese women themselves. Lucy Crockett, a Red Cross official during the Occupation, praised the childlike and girlish manners of Japanese women. Crockett went as far as to characterize Japanese women as subservient, but eagerly seeking to "improve their status" in Japanese society.[13] Increasingly, images of Japan were focused on femininity, via cultural products and the associations created from them by Occupation officials. Gender and progress were increasingly linked in this era, and the Japanese delegates embodied the connections between them. As young women, they represented the feminine Japanese person, while also being youthful faces of Japan's new democratic project.

In this context, Japanese participation in the World Youth Forum was one example of how US diplomatic projects also operated as reminders, to Americans, that the United States thought of themselves as geopolitically and culturally supreme. Harry Truman, the president of the United States from the beginning of the Occupation until the first years of Japanese participation the World Youth Forum, believed that cultural diplomacy and educational exchange

[11] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally,* 5 and 19.

[12] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally,* 23.

[13] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally,* 44.

were crucial for the US foreign policy goals vis-à-vis Japan.[14] Furthermore, Truman's Campaign of Truth promoted various public policy initiatives to root out the potential for communism in Japan.[15] In Truman's eyes, if Japan was to be a proper bulwark for democracy, the United States had to encourage cultural relations and educational development in Japan. The World Youth Forum, in this context, was one prong in a multi-faceted approach to gauge this development.

Many of the Japanese delegates echoed sentiments of progress, and its association with American hegemony, in their pre-World Youth Forum biographies. In 1956, Konishi Yoriki, explained in the lead up to the debates that, "America is a highly civilized and powerful country," and that she was excited to live with "American people as a part of American families."[16] The 1957 delegate, Yumiko Morii, acknowledged that through the debate she wished to "increase the mutual understanding of various nations and extend our friendship to them."[17] At times, the delegates and the hosts of this forum had complementary agendas, predicated on the roles that they played within their relationship. The importance of the US-Japan relationship not only hinged on diplomatic missions and cultural exchange, but also on the cultural representations of the Japanese delegates. During the Pacific War, Japan was associated with immaturity and dangerous soldiers bent on war. Having grown up and progressed through a new Japanese school system predicated on American-style democracy, the delegates were products of a new era in postwar Japan. This era was marked by American paternalism, and a Japanese

[14] Matsuda, Takeshi. "Soft Power and Its Perils: US Cultural Policy in Early Postwar Japan and Permanent Dependency". (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2007), 1.

[15] Matsuda, "Soft Power and Its Perils," 2.

[16] Biographies of the Japanese Delegates. "Autobiography," 1956. http://www.htwyfaa.org/frontblocks/Editos.aspx?ID_EDITOS=38&ID_BRANCHES=27

[17] "Autobiography", 1957.

embrace of democracy and world peace. The delegates were both representatives for, and representative of, the new era of US-Japan relations on 1950s American television.

The World Youth Forum on TV

The World Youth Forum was a three-month long experience for the delegates, one filled with homestays, high school classes, and cultural exchange. Although these activities took up most of their time in the United States, the televised debates were the capstone of their experience. Unlike almost any of their contemporaries at home, the delegates had the rare opportunity to appear on American television. What did it mean for these delegates to appear on 1950s television? For the Japanese delegates, their appearance on television afforded them the opportunity to engage in discussions, directly and indirectly, that involved how Japan was represented in America. The Japanese delegates had the opportunity to put the faces and voices of Japanese people on American television in a way that was rare for the time. Before discussing the delegates' appearance on American television, I will briefly address where the delegates fit into the patchwork of Japan's presence in 1950s American television.

Japanese People on American TV

In the 1950s, the presence of Japanese people on American television often consisted of racist caricatures such Judo Jack, the mouse from the Hanna-Barbera cartoons.[18] These caricatures often "decontextualized and demilitarized images of Japanese soldiers," stripping them of their connection to the war while retaining the stereotypes that maintained racial division.[19] Judo Jack was an animal, but instead of the imagery of monkeys used in wartime

[18] Freedman, Alisa. *Japan on American TV: Screaming Samurai Form Anime Clubs in the Land of the Lost.* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies), 2021, 29.

[19] Freedman, *Japan on American TV*, 29.

aggression, the American creators of Judo Jack cast him as a small but skilled mouse—a proficient martial artist, but one with stereotypical buckteeth. The racism inherent in the caricature of Judo Jack, however, was softened by the dynamics of the postwar. Although caricatures like this were common in the 1950s, televised appearances of Japanese gradually superseded them, adding a human dimension.[20] These depictions on 1950s television advanced the diplomatic agenda of the US while showing Japanese people in a new light.

In 1955, twenty-five young women from Hiroshima, referred to as the Hiroshima Maidens, who were all exhibiting symptoms and physical deformities attributable to the atomic bomb, appeared on American TV. These women, sponsored by religious groups from the US and Japan, were flown to the United States to receive reconstructive surgeries in hopes that their lives would improve.[21] The women were chosen mostly because they photographed well—and because they "furthered the image of a gentle Japan that was eager for American benevolence."[22] Two of the Hiroshima Maidens appeared on the television program, *This is Your Life*, on May 11, 1955 with their benefactor Reverend Tanimoto Kiyoshi.[23] On the program, the two women, obscured behind a screen, were asked about their experiences in wartime and their time in New York; and eventually, the host requested donations from the 40 million viewers that night.[24] Like

[20] Another example of a Japanese caricature on 1950s American television is Professor Rockimoto, also a judo instructor, in the cartoon *The Flintstones*.

[21] Barker, Rodney. *The Hiroshima Maidens: A Story of Courage, Compassion, and Survival*. (New York, N.Y.: Viking Press, 1985), vii.

[22] Freedman, Alisa. *Japan on American TV: Screaming Samurai Form Anime Clubs in the Land of the Lost.* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2021), 26.

[23] Freedman, *Japan on American TV*, 37.

[24] Barker, Rodney. *The Hiroshima Maidens: A Story of Courage, Compassion, and Survival*. (New York, N.Y.: Viking Press, 1985), 1-7.

the delegates in the World Youth Forum, the Hiroshima Maidens stayed in American homes and were in the United States for an extended period of time.[25] This event marked an investment, a small one by the American viewers of the program, and a large one by the women participating, in establishing a cultural connection between the United States and Japan. However, like the World Youth Forum, this event took place in an American context which valued the supremacy of the United States and acceptance of their use of the atomic bomb.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the 1954 World Youth Forum delegate Fujii Kimiko had a personal connection to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Her appearance, although preceding that of the Hiroshima Maidens by a year, also helped give a human face to the bombing. Unlike the Hiroshima Maidens, Fujii was not affected physically by the atomic bomb, and thus she could lend a voice to the disaster without reminding viewers of its horrible effect on human beings. The Hiroshima Maidens and Fujii embodied the journey that Japan had taken from wartime enemy to feminine symbols of democracy. Fujii's characterization of the impact of the bomb on Japanese society provided American viewers with a roadmap which outlined Japan's transformation into a democratically minded country that is openly embracing American guidance. Fujii believed that for Japan to move past the destruction of the bomb, it needed to prioritize democracy and peace-keeping The Hiroshima Maidens, although not given the platform to expound on this issue at the same level as Fujii, provided a more heart-wrenching example of the impact of the bomb.

In the *This is Your Life* telecast, images of the bombing of Hiroshima acted as a prelude to the program's introduction of the Hiroshima Maidens and Reverend Tanimoto.[26] The use of

[25] Barker, *The Hiroshima Maidens*, 91.

[26] Barker, *The Hiroshima Maidens*, 4.

the imagery of the bomb had an important function in the telecast. By showing these images juxtaposed with the Hiroshima Maidens, the television audience had the ability to familiarize themselves with the event and situate themselves as both victor and sympathizer. This production choice reflected a common governmental strategy by the United States in the 1950s, highlighted by Dwight D. Eisenhower's approach which "made sympathy-the ability to feel what another person feels, to share in his or her conditions and experiences-the defining feature of American globalism."[27] If the producers could tap into the sympathies of the American viewers, they could more easily feel empathetic to the difficulties the Hiroshima Maidens faced in Japan. To that end, the broadcast ended with over $55,000 dollars being raised for the Hiroshima Maidens.[28]

The strategy that the *This is Your Life* program employed was at once emotional and targeted. The producers of the program, who were supporting the mission of the Hiroshima Maidens, were promoting donations for these women. In fact, during the *This is Your Life* program, the Hiroshima Maidens were joined by US Captain Robert Lewis of the *Enola Gay*, the plane which dropped the atomic bomb.[29] Whereas Helen Waller and Fujii's 1954 discussion of Fujii's experience during the bombing tiptoed around the horrors, evading the imagery and complicated history of the bomb, *This is Your Life* steered right into it. The publicized nature of the Hiroshima Maidens' recovery both facilitated the operations they needed, while also creating a context where they were seen as a project for Americans to fix. Fujii was not cast as a project in the same way, as she was a participant in an international debate on even footing with the

[27] Klein, Christina. *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961*. (Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 2009), 25.

[28] Freedman, Alisa. *Japan on American TV: Screaming Samurai Form Anime Clubs in the Land of the Lost.* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2021), 37.

[29] Freedman, *Japan on American TV*, 27.

other delegates. However, Fujii was prompted to confirm the power dynamics inherent in the discussion of the atomic bomb in the 1950s. Fujii and the Hiroshima Maidens were symbols of Japanese rebirth and American benevolence, both conforming to the expectations of American audiences. While Fujii's participation solidified these power dynamics, Konishi Yoriko's (1956) discussions of war brides and cultural difference pushed back on these dynamics.

Interracial Marriage and "White People"

As outlined in Chapter Three, Konishi's debate in 1956 centered on questions of racial and national prejudice. Her participation in the debate highlighted the complicated history, and the contemporary geo-political situation of Japan and its neighbors in East Asia. However, this was only one of the two major topics of the program. Konishi also engaged in a discussion of marriage between American GIs and Japanese women, as well as how Japanese people viewed themselves in comparison to Americans. These topics were not foreign to either Konishi or to American viewers, as they were embedded on the small screen of propaganda films, as well as the big screen of Hollywood blockbusters. Konishi's willingness to engage in these topics provided American audiences with a Japanese perspective on a national stage.

The discussion of racial difference and prejudice was prompted with one question from Waller, "Yoriko, do you have any prejudices?"[30] Konishi first talked briefly about the complicated relationship Japanese people had with people from South Korea and the Philippines. After this, Konishi turned her attention to the treatment of the children of Japanese women and American GIs in Japan. Konishi mentioned that half-Japanese girls with American GI fathers were not treated the same as full-blooded Japanese children.[31] Konishi extended this assertion by

[30] "The World We Want". National Educational Television, 1956. https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/IULMIA/exhibits/show/the-world-we-want/full-episodes-gallery.

[31] "The World We Want". 1956.

adding that grown-ups often treated the mothers of these children terribly because they were "married to foreign men."[32] By connecting the treatment of half-Japanese children to the responses of Japanese adults, Konishi presented a story of cultural difference from a Japanese perspective. What Konishi did not address is the fact that some half-Japanese children of American GIs were left by their fathers when they returned to America. Whether the American viewer was aware of this fact or not, Konishi explained some of the negative social ramifications of mothering half-Japanese children in Japan. What was the American perspective in these arrangements?

American depictions of interracial love between GIs and Japanese women in the 1950s were plentiful, and often portrayed tough soldiers softening and learning from Japanese women who affirmed their masculinity. Hollywood films like *Sayonara* (1956), starring Marlon Brando as US Air Force Major Lloyd "Ace" Gruver and Taka Miiko as his love interest, taught audiences that these types of interracial marriages let men "act like a man."[33] Other films like *Three Stripes in the Sun* (1957) endorsed a more affirming and positive view of intermarriage, one centered on the need for American GIs to wholeheartedly marry Japanese women with no reserve.[34] The motivation to produce these films stemmed from an attempt to commercialize the more, "humanized relationship with the Japanese," in the 1950s.[35] Hollywood films were one

[32] "The World We Want". 1956.

[33] Shibusawa, Naoko. *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 267. *Sayonara* also includes a story of interracial love which depicts further complications of relationships between American GIs and Japanese women, which ends in a double-suicide. This movie presents the audience with various views of these relationships.

[34] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally,* 264.

[35] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally,* 259.

avenue for American production companies to depict these changing landscapes. Another source of these narratives was 1950s propaganda films which brought these love stories closer to home.

Gentler views of interracial marriage were necessary in the postwar American landscape, particularly after the racist policies of the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the effects that the war had on American views of the Japanese people. For many American viewers, intermarriage was seen as too far a progression in American life. In 1952, the US Army (CI&E) produced a propaganda film entitled, "Japanese Bride in America," to combat racial intolerance. This film was made after immigration laws for war brides were loosened, and a large group of Japanese women entered the United States in the 1950s.[36] The film depicts the true story of Walter Lutz and Miwako (Mona) Fukui, who moved to Cleveland, Ohio after the war and became bamboo artists.[37] This portrait of interracial marriage paints the practice as one which benefits the Lutz's. Walter and Mona both receive the love they have been searching for, as well as a trade, learned from Mona, that the Lutz's can sustain their home with.

This stream of 1950s media, created to persuade American audiences to see the benefits of US-Japan relations, asked the viewer to accept this new status quo. Even viewers tuning into the debates were prompted to accept that Japanese women were suitable wives for Americans. In Yamakami Yukiko's appearance on the *World We Want* in 1959, Waller made comments to this effect. When a discussion on arranged marriages came up and Yamakami stated she preferred love marriages, Waller ended the line of conversation by saying that "when they say Japanese

[36] Freedman, Alisa. *Japan on American TV: Screaming Samurai Form Anime Clubs in the Land of the Lost.* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2021), 33.

[37] Freedman, *Japan on American TV*, 33.

women are the best wives in the world, they are certainly talking about you."[38] Waller's comments indicate that there was a discourse around Japan that was centered on its ability to produce exceptional wives. In the context of the 1950s, this most likely meant war brides for American GIs.

When viewers tuned into the *World We Want* on the day that Konishi took the stage, they were not presented with affirmations of racial harmony. Konishi, after previously highlighting the Japanese reaction to interracial marriage, was prompted by Waller to affirm her previous comments on the Japanese prejudice regarding intermarriage. Konishi replied by stating that, "Up till 60 years ago, Japanese people thought white people are horrible," adding that, "[Japanese people] thought everything is so big about their bodies, quite a few people still think so."[39] Here, Konishi pushed back against the American narrative of acceptance and tolerance by presenting a Japanese view which depicted white Americans as oddly large. Konishi also slightly challenged the narrative of turning a new leaf, when she stated that Japanese people still held these racial prejudices. Konishi contrasted this view of American size, with the Japanese ideal when she added that, "In Japan we think, to be beautiful, you must be small and delicate."[40] This statement provides a nuanced critique of American size and racial difference. In one aspect, Konishi is intentionally drawing attention to a Japanese perspective which looks down on American traits in favor of Japanese ones. Konishi is also drawing the viewer, perhaps unintentionally, to the fact that Japanese people might very well confirm their own place in the

[38] The World We Want. National Educational Television, 1956. https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/IULMIA/exhibits/show/the-world-we-want/full-episodes-gallery.

[39] "The World We Want". 1956.

[40] "The World We Want". 1956.

gendered dynamics in US-Japan relations. To this end, Waller jokingly affirms Konishi's statement about racial difference when she said that "You could hardly apply the word delicate to some of the soldiers we send to Japan."[41] Both Konishi and Waller are aware of the perception of cultural difference and speak to the potential reality of it as well. They are also aware of the American and Japanese perceptions of American GIs in Japan.

A few moments after Waller's statement about American soldiers in Japan, Konishi continued this conversation with a general observation about American's self-perception in terms of race. Konishi comments that, "I don't know why, but I think that white people think that colored people have dirty skin, and that they don't have progressive culture." Here, Konishi not only brings to the surface the inherent racial tension that was prominent in the 1950s, but names it very clearly as an outsider to the United States. Konishi ended the conversation on race by saying that, "White people think they are the greatest people in the world."[42] In the short duration of the conversation, Konishi summed up both the Japanese and American internal and external views on US-Japan relations. Konishi observed that American GIs brought Japanese people a certain level of unease, especially when they fathered babies with Japanese women. Furthermore, Konishi rather forthrightly admonishes white Americans for what she believed was a superiority complex which was not rooted in truth. Konishi also confirms the American ideal of masculinity, while using it to bring the American ego down to earth. Konishi provided a uniquely Japanese perspective, astutely attuned to its historical moment. Although this debate performance marked Konishi's final participation as a debater, she had one more contribution to the World Youth Forum.

[41] "The World We Want". 1956.

[42] "The World We Want". 1956.

The Chrysanthemum, not the Sword

Konishi Yoriko participated in Part one of *The World We Want's* four-part series on prejudice. Unlike the other delegates in her debate, she would make a return appearance on March 16, 1956, during Part four of the series. When viewers turned their dials to CBS that evening, they were in for a surprise. As always, the title screen flashed the National Educational Television logo while the *World We Want* introduction voice over came through the viewer's television speakers. However, unlike any program in this series before or after, the title screen wiped to focus on a student alone in the center of the sound stage. The viewers of this program didn't know that they would be given an opportunity to view Konishi performing a dance accompanied by a Japanese song. Dressed in a kimono with flower patterns and an ornately fashionable obi sash, Konishi started with her back to the screen, right hand pointed down with a parasol, left hand in the air. Konishi started her dance gracefully moving side to side in the foreground of the stage, while shoji screens stood behind her. Konishi spun the parasol behind her as her face came into view. Konishi then twirled her body and the parasol in time until her, and the music, stopped. The screen went black, the usual title screen of the delegates looking up at the globe appeared as the recognizable flute tune played, and the delegates were introduced.

Konishi's dance in the debates, a singular moment unseen in any of the other televised programs, is indicative of a particular cultural moment for US-Japan relations in the 1950s. Konishi's dance was not an isolated instance of fascination with Japanese culture, or performance in the program. Throughout the years, the Japanese delegates were prompted and expected to be authorities on Japanese culture and to educate the delegates and viewers at home. This educational aspect was not something specific to the Japanese delegates, as delegates from other countries shared various parts of their culture in the television programs as well. However,

more than delegates from other countries, the Japanese delegates were asked to perform culture in addition to explaining it. As young women, the Japanese delegates were the perfect deliverers of cultural knowledge, as they represented the new face of Japan, one marked by progress and femininity. In sharing and performing their culture, the Japanese delegates provided American viewers an accessible entry point to the wider world of Japanese culture in the 1950s.

Explaining Japanese Culture

The 1950s were a time in American culture where Japanese cultural products such as bonsai, ikebana, and Zen Buddhism "boomed." In Meghan Mettler's work, entitled *How to Get to Japan By Subway,* Mettler explains this boom by linking the presence of Japanese culture to Occupation officials, American GIs, and workers in humanitarian organizations like the Red Cross.[43] While authors like Ruth Benedict sought to better understand Japan by working through the psychology of the "Japanese mind," those who were on the ground in Japan brought back consumable culture. Bonsai and ikebana among other products were often reconstituted upon their entry into the States to meet the purpose of their consumers. This need, according to Mettler, was driven by American's need to understand Japanese people in terms of their relationship to the United States.[44] Americans by and large consumed these products with the attitude that they were enjoying something exotic and new, but inferior to their own culture. These products, squarely in what Mettler describes as the middlebrow cultural sphere, were meant to teach the consumer something. This attitude led to a reductive image of the Japanese, through their cultural products as the "chrysanthemum," simple, timeless, and ascetically

[43] Mettler, Meghan Warner. *How to Reach Japan by Subway: America's Fascination with Japanese Culture, 1945-1965*. Studies in Pacific Worlds. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018).

[44] Mettler, *How to Reach Japan by Subway*, 7.

beautiful.[45] Even when Zen monks or bonsai and ikebana practitioners came to the United States, they often added nuance to the American cultural associations with Japanese products but did not overturn their reconstituted cultural meanings.[46] Thus, when the Japanese delegates explained their own associations with Japanese culture, and when they performed culture, they were doing so at a time where there was a considerable interest in what they had to say and show.

The Japanese delegates were often prompted to explain the traditional Japanese arts of tea ceremony and ikebana. Tea ceremony and ikebana were fascinations of American middlebrow consumers during the 1950s. According to Mettler, this middlebrow cultural interest in ikebana and tea ceremony, brought over from "many Orientalists, that of the white observer who 'goes native,'" blossomed in the US by 1955.[47] Part of the mystique of these particular practices was the connection it embodied to "a timeless Orient, the quiet antimodern practice of ikebana could provide respite in the loud and stressful twentieth century."[48] By explaining these cultural arts, the delegates were responding to the American interest in them.

In 1954, Waller asked Fujii about her knowledge of Japanese tea ceremonies. Fujii responded by explaining that these ceremonies, "help us be [in] a very quiet place," and that, "Japanese girls like me learn tea ceremony for two or three years, the regular way to serve tea."[49] With this statement, Fujii taught the audience that all Japanese girls practice this art, and that it

[45] Mettler, *How to Reach Japan by Subway*, 11.

[46] Mettler, *How to Reach Japan by Subway*, 9 and 12.

[47] Mettler, *How to Reach Japan by Subway*, 74.

[48] Mettler, *How to Reach Japan by Subway*, 82.

[49] "The World We Want. National Educational Television", 1954. https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/IULMIA/exhibits/show/the-world-we-want/full-episodes-gallery.

takes years to be good at it. Fujii affirms Waller's inclination that she would know about this art, one that Americans were increasingly becoming aware of during this time. Ironically, this inclination to trust Fujii's cultural experience was partially rebuffed when Fujii replied to her inquiry about ikebana, "Flower arrangement for New Year's Day is very beautiful, but I have not done it myself."[50] Fujii knows about ikebana but has not practiced it. Presumably, some of the viewers of the event dabbled in this Japanese art form more than Fujii had. Fujii does not uphold Waller's presumption that she must have practiced ikebana. Another Japanese delegate, Yamakami Yukiko (1959), took the opportunity in her session to expound on the state of Japanese culture in Japan, thus furthering contextualize Japanese traditions to American viewers.

Yamakami, in her conversation about the progression of women in Japanese society, took a moment to explain the changes Japanese culture had seen since the Occupation began in 1945. Yamakami commented that, "Before World War 2, Japan was completely Oriental," but that, "It is Americanized now, it [has] completely changed."[51] Here, Yamakami is acknowledging the effect American occupation has had on Japan, and how American's have had a clear impact in Japan. Yamakami continued by mentioning that, "Young people want to be Westernized, [but] Old people want to keep their traditions. There is much conflict in Japan now."[52] While many American viewers saw Japan as an aesthetic to incorporate into their lives, Yamakami expresses the inverse, a Japanese impulse to Americanize. Yamakami expressed her position on this shift when she said that "I want to become Westernized, but I don't want to lose my good points about

[50] "The World We Want," 1954.

[51] "The World We Want," 1959.

[52] "The World We Want," 1959.

Japan."[53] Yamakami's comments reveal the feedback loop that Japanese and American cultures were having in the 1950s. Many American consumers wanted to practice ikebana and tea ceremony to increase their cultural and social capital. Meanwhile Japanese youth were looking towards America to fill that same purpose. While Yamakami expresses an affinity for American culture, she also reveals an appreciation for her culture which was exemplified and performed by other Japanese delegates during the World Youth Forum debates.

Performing Japanese Culture

In 1954, after previously being asked about her personal connection to the atomic bomb, Fujii Kimiko was implored by Waller to stand up and show off her, "costume" to the audience at home.[54] Fujii stood up, showed off her elaborate and well-appointed kimono, and separated the fan that was in her hand upon Waller's request.[55] Fujii, at Waller's request, was asked to perform culture in a way that was exclusive to her. The other delegates from the United States, Jordan, and Iran were all dressed in Western-style suits and dresses. In the span of the six years many delegates outside of Japan, especially from East Asia, South Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa wore clothing which did not conform to these standards. However, they were not often asked to stand up and show off their dress and their accessories during the televised debates like Fujii was. Another example of this inclination to single out the Japanese delegates' dress occurred in the next year's debates.

In 1955, Shimazu Hisako participated in the forum along with a girl Brazil, a girl from the U.K., and a boy from South Korea. The two other girls were dressed in dress shirts and skirts,

[53] "The World We Want," 1959.

[54] "The World We Want," 1954.

[55] "The World We Want," 1954.

and the boy from South Korea was dressed in a Christmas sweater given to him by his host-family. As the delegates were introduced, Helen Waller asked the South Korean boy about his host family, the Brazilian girl about speeches she gave to a local high school, and the British girl about her high school experience in the U.K.[56] When it was Shimazu's turn, she was asked to say her name, stand up, show her bifurcated socks, and to twirl around to show off her kimono.[57] In this instance, Waller was preoccupied with the fascinating feminine image that Shimazu presented to the American viewer more than Shimazu herself. After Shimazu sat down, Waller asked the delegates similar questions, and thus began the debate as peers and equals. Yet, the debate is framed through the context of Waller's introduction of Shimazu as the Japanese participant with the beautiful dress. This context did not overshadow the debates, but it did color them in shades that made Shimazu's appearance more palatable to viewers at home. Although Shimazu did get a chance to show her personality, her smarts, and her opinions on world issues, she was also asked to show her "Oriental" aesthetic and thus retain images of Japan throughout the debates.

The final and most overt example of this fascination with the Japanese delegates' dress was Konishi Yoriko's performance in 1956. Unlike the smaller and more subdued performances by the other delegates, which were coupled with their active participation in the intellectually stimulating debates, Konishi was brought to the debate stage a second time solely to perform for the audience. In the previous debate, the delegate from Indonesia was introduced, as Konishi was, with the comment that she had a particular gift for dance. Both young women were given the opportunity to dance at Sarah Lawrence College for high school students. However, only

[56] "The World We Want," 1955.

[57] "The World We Want," 1955.

Konishi was asked to dance on television, which was hinted in the first debate when she said, "We often get Yoriko to sing or dance for us."[58] After Konishi danced in her second appearance, Konishi stood off camera while delegates from Switzerland, Israel, Germany, Finland, and Egypt debated. Before the camera panned away from Konishi, Waller mentioned that "we did want you to see her dance, although very different from Western dances, it may be referred to later in the program, because there is all the same, a bond that it represents."[59] What that bond represented was left a mystery by the end of the debates. Was it a common culture? Or perhaps, was it a common fascination and appreciation for Japanese culture rooted in the historical moment? Regardless of what Waller meant, Konishi's performance highlighted her talent while introducing yet another art, Japanese dance, to the world stage.

Conclusion

The Japanese delegates of the World Youth Forum were a product of their time, while also being representative of it. Whether the Japanese delegates discussed their culture, or performed it, they represented a progressive image of Japan in the 1950s. This image, negotiated in the United States and Japan through American lenses of paternal benevolence, was directly linked to democracy. The Japanese delegates used the debates to discuss geopolitical issues with nuance, highlighting their intelligence and command of the debate space. They held their own views on the future of a democratic Japan, and where they fit within it. Konishi Yoriko also presented a markedly different perspective on the children of Japanese women and GIs than what was produced by American filmmakers. While Konishi acknowledged the reality of American GIs presence in Japan, she alerted the viewer to Japan's collective uneasiness with this presence.

[58] "The World We Want," 1957.

[59] "The World We Want," 1957.

These views, although not wholly different from what many Americans might have thought about interracial marriage at the time, did not shine a good light on the American half of the marriage and parenting equation. The delegates acknowledged the United States' role in bringing democracy, while highlighting the ways many Japanese people felt about additional impacts of its delivery.

The Japanese delegates' physical presence and their on-screen representation provided further proof that Japan was progressing. This image of progression did not preclude the delegates from satiating the appetites of American consumers, who in increasing numbers, started to look at Japanese cultural products as sources of knowledge and entertainment in the 1950s. The delegates educated American audiences on the purpose of tea ceremony, as well on the dances and songs of Japan. Some Japanese arts, such as ikebana, which were supposedly timeless and ubiquitous were not practiced by the delegates.

As much as the World Youth Forum promoted the one-world ethos of the United States and its allies in the 1950s, it couldn't help but to shine a light on cultural difference as well. Helen Waller may have been grasping for a sense of connection in Konishi's dance, yet one can't help noticing how she was represented. Konishi, unlike any of the other delegates, performed for the world. Her performance, steeped in imagery of Japanese femininity and tradition, revealed her talents while accentuating her difference. Konishi may not have felt that she was embodying a newly established image of Japan. She could have simply appreciated the opportunity to show her skills on television. Yet, none of the other delegates were given this opportunity to dance on live television, even when they had the ability to perform. The conditions of the US-Japan relationship in the 1950s provided the avenue to where Konishi's dance represented something

larger than itself. It represented a cultural moment of fascination and negotiation between the benevolent United States, and its junior ally in democracy, Japan.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In the span of two decades, twenty-one teenagers from all over Japan took a leap of faith by flying across the world to attend the World Youth Forum. What connected these delegates was not just the simple fact that they all came from Japan. These teenagers were connected through their willingness to leave the comforts of home and represent Japan in an event that positioned them as cultural ambassadors. While operating as cultural ambassadors in the United States, the delegates were teenagers as well. The Japanese delegates choose to participate in a three-month long program which challenged their ability to adapt to a context that almost none of them had experienced before. Living in American homes and attending American schools, while doing so in the delegates' second language, provided them with transformative experiences. These experiences culminated in an opportunity to exchange ideas and contribute to an international dialogue among peers.

One of the most important contributions that the Japanese delegates made year in and year out was their ability to show their audience that they were intelligent and thoughtful on world matters in their role as diplomats. One example of this is when the Japanese delegates critiqued and praised American influences on Japan in equal measure. Post war Japan was a country tightly linked with the United States, and the delegates effectively weighed the impacts of this influence. Part of their responses show a collective need to hold on to, and promote, Japan's culture and way of being. Whether they used words like composure, delicate, or peace, they described a country with many endearing qualities that they took immense pride in. Conversely, the delegates explained to their audience the wide-ranging effects that American-style democracy and American culture had on Japan in the 1950s.

The Japanese delegates who were on *The World We Want* were also prompted to discuss the past, just as much as the present. For example, In Yoshimura Yukiko's debate in 1958, she fielded questions by delegates from The Philippines and Indonesia which addressed how Japan was to suppress an urge to occupy countries in East Asia. The history of Japan in the Pacific War seemed to be lurking in the background of many of the debates. Some of the delegates were forced to personally answer for the actions of the Empire of Japan as well. Other delegates, like Fujii Kimiko and Shimazu Hisako, fielded questions about issues such as the use of the atomic bomb, which were framed within notions of American paternalism. The delegates could not change how they were represented in the debates, but they represented themselves well considering the heavy topics they had to address. Many of the delegates drew from past experiences in wartime schools, and Occupation-era schools, to reiterate the progression Japan had achieved since 1945. The Japanese delegates of the 1950s articulated how they envisioned these progressions continuing in the future.

A consistent thread of insight by the Japanese delegates highlighted the fact that Japan was not a monolith, and that Japan was comprised of a diverse and complex group of people. Although this seems self-evident, American portrayals of Japanese people on American television often reduced them to one-dimensional caricatures. One way the Japanese delegates expressed this sentiment was by alerting American viewers to the fact that there was a generational gap in Japan, highlighted by debates over gender roles and Westernization. For example, in 1959, Yamakami Yukiko shared how her views on marriage and gender roles did not conform to the societal expectation in Japan at the time. Yamakami felt that the notion of love marriages was tied to her embrace of democracy and the individual freedom it provided. Yamakami acknowledged that love marriages had become more common in Japan, while also

refuting that this practice has been connected to a progression in gender roles throughout Japanese society. Nuanced views like Yamakami's highlight the depth of knowledge and understanding the Japanese delegates displayed in the World Youth Forum.

One of the factors which shaded the Japanese participation in the debates was the propensity for the delegates to project a certain image of post war Japan. This image was shaped around Japan's transition from their masculine wartime image to that of a feminine junior-ally to the United States. The Japanese delegates did not themselves bring this image to the forefront. Oftentimes, the young women who represented Japan were asked to perform and explain Japanese culture. In many of the debates, only the Japanese delegates were asked to dance on television, explain cultural products, or stand up and twirl in their national dress. One reason why the Japanese delegates were asked to do these things sprung out of a larger American moment of fascination with Japanese culture. Another explanation lies in the movies and books of the 1950s which sought to explain the Japanese national character, and package it in ways that promoted mutual friendship with the United States. While the delegates could not fully escape the cultural factors at play in this American context, how they articulated themselves in the debates often transcended these associations. By presenting themselves as knowledgeable and daring debaters, the Japanese delegates represented themselves, and Japan, admirably.

They World They Wanted has examined the Japanese participation in the World Youth Forum, giving particular attention to the delegates of the 1950s. Part of the history of Japanese participation, that of the 1960s and 1970s, is outside the scope of this project. By analyzing the Japanese delegates' participation in the 1960s and 1970s, new dimensions to that participation may be discovered. While I was able to consider some of the biographical information from the delegates of the 1960s and 1970s, much of their participation in the World Youth Forum itself is

buried in the historical record. Catherine Bishop, a historian whose research centers on the history women in business and international contexts, is conducting a comprehensive study of the World Youth Forum and those that participated in it. This project, coupled with further studies like Bishops', can take on increased presence in the discourse of US-Japan relations in the 1950s.

The World They Wanted also attempts to address how Japanese people represented themselves, and were represented, on American television. Further research on Japan's presence on American television, which has most-recently been advanced by studies like Alisa Freedman's *Japan on American TV*, can shine a light on how the dynamics of the US-Japan relationship were articulated on American TV. By using the example of the World Youth Forum delegates, future research can tie in other forms of media representation of Japan in the United States during the 1950s.

The World They Wanted places itself in historical conversations which center cultural acceptance and internationalism as part of a larger Cold War picture. The Japanese delegates, and the World Youth Forum, believed that it was paramount to promote world peace. How do these Cold War ideals match up to the realities of the time? Were the delegates naïve in their visions for a better world, or were their visions indicative of a broader international movement in the 1950s? Further research can build on what is presented here, by tying the Japanese participation in the World Youth Forum to larger peace-centered missions by youth from around the world in the 1950s. The Japanese delegates certainly believed in their visions for the world and held the conviction that the world could be a safer and more harmonious place of we all just talked and listened to each other.

Although the Vietnam War among other major world conflicts in the 1960s and 1970s would prove that the legacy of the Cold War was not one of peace among all nations, the sentiments of the Japanese delegates did not ring hollow. The Japanese delegates furthered international discourses of peace and cultural connections in an era where they were sorely needed. By participating in the World Youth Forum, the Japanese delegates staked their claim as active participants in a movement to improve US-Japan relations, and to improve the world.

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