

CM-3
Frustration and Miscellany

Singapore
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Mr. Richard H. Nolte
Institute of Current World Affairs
366 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dick:

This letter has a name and number but it is so far from any theme I submitted to you that I have no objection if you tear it up.

FRUSTRATION

What an impossible assignment! All the Institute of Current World Affairs asks of its grantees is "every month or so a newsletter on some subject of interest." What could be easier, especially to someone who is not accustomed to a rule of germaneness.

Now, a little late, I have discovered the hooker. The problem is not the subject, but the audience. The audience for these letters is horrendous. The Institute's mailing list for receipt of these "Not for Publication" masterpieces would terrify the most competent political reporters of the AP or the UPI.

The ICWA mailing list sounds so innocuous. 35 newspapermen, 82 educators, 44 foundation types (I forget the word of art), 25 public officials, and a short list of the author's own choice. While the ICWA mailing list gives me trouble enough, the mailing list of my own choosing which I sent to you in all innocence gives me real pain when I sit down to write.

I have discovered that I can't write the first word unless I have a mental image of the audience before me. I firmly try to imagine that the letter is going to Senator Fulbright, but before the page is done, my audience has shifted to the Republican side of my erstwhile bosses, the Committee on Foreign Relations, and there looms the image of Senator Hickenlooper or Senator Aiken, and right on down the Committee list - in order of seniority, of course. But before the last Committee image has faded, there is another of my sister in Bend, Oregon, or my father, or my lawyer brother-in-law.

Confronted by these frustrations, I decided, nevertheless, that I could write something on Japan. My theory was that most of the audience hadn't been there, that few Senators had stayed more than five days, and that with the expertise I had gained in four weeks I could write with considerable authority. So I picked a subject - the "voluntary" control of exports - and shipped off a few pages designed to enlighten everyone a little and leave the impression that I knew much more than I had actually put to paper. What happened?

The next day I got a letter from you mentioning in the most casual way that Messrs. Blakemore, Fahs, and Kishi (Koichi), all real pros on Japan, and resident there, are on your mailing list and therefore would receive my letter. I shudder to think what these men will think of a 30-day wonder - especially Mr. Blakemore, who was an Institute fellow, who is the only U. S. citizen now admitted generally to the practice of law in Japan, and whose knowledge of voluntary controls was so vast I didn't dare raise the subject with him.

At one time in my life (two months ago) I had the impression that it was rather complicated to work for a committee of 17 Senators, including Republicans and Democrats. But it is really much harder to write one of these letters.

In the future I promise to struggle along with my general theme, - what does U. S. foreign policy look like from abroad? -, but for the balance of this letter, I would like to record impressions - something for everybody. And if individual recipients of this letter don't find the first paragraph of interest, try the next.

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MISCELLANY

I. The thirty-two dollar question in Japan is whether in due course that nation will undergo a New Deal type evolution without violence. Will the socialists and labor become responsible by the time a majority of the voting population rejects the continued rule of the conservative parties and factions? Will the opposition, as one labor leader remarked, follow the pattern of British Labor, or the pattern of the Communists? He had no doubt himself that labor - the nation's only natural resource in exportable quantity - would ultimately acquire political control.

The opposite side of the question is whether Japanese business and the controlling conservative elements in Japan will submit their wealth and position to taxation and control, or develop a corporate type of enlightened capitalism rapidly enough to moderate the socialistic tendencies of the left.

The consensus is that by and large leadership on both sides is intelligent, the population sensible, and political stability in Japan will, without undue violence, endure shifts in party control.

II. The sixty-four dollar question, so far as the United States is concerned, is the role of Japan in Asia for the next decade. At the moment, despite great vitality, a thriving economy, a culture in depth and breadth, Japan's influence in Asia is de minimus.

Partly this is a consequence of wartime enmities. Partly it arises out of a transitory characteristic of shyness - the Japanese would rather be quiet than wrong. Perhaps Japan's lack of influence comes from the fact that she is not a military power; economic power does not seem to be enough. Perhaps part of her lack of influence (thank goodness) comes from the fact that Japan isn't a "squeaky wheel", a noisy international troublemaker, of which there are too many.

Japan will not remain without influence for very long. Already there is running through the bureaucracy and the press a growing desire to be consulted, to take a positive role in international relationships, to be something more than a nation of transistor salesmen. Once in this century Japan was the greatest power in Asia. She is likely to be again. Americans must realize this. U. S. policies (which have been uniquely successful since the war) should be shaped to make partnership come naturally.

III. AID. Senate debate of the AID program was an interesting spectator sport to watch from Tokyo, where press coverage wasn't bad. Moreover, it was gratifying to be in a foreign country where the AID mission consisted of only six officers, none above the rank of Class 3, bearing such titles as "accountant" and "excess property utilization officer".

My most profound thought on the subject of AID came the day the Senate whacked \$300 million off the bill. I happened to be enjoying an elaborate Japanese garden, with a fine waterfall. The run of water was not affected by drought or flood. A powerful, hidden pump kept the stream constant. I had watched this constant waterfall for some days and gradually accepted it as a bounty of nature. Only newcomers to the garden commented on its volume, constancy, and beauty.

But this day the waterfall reminded me of the AID program. After the initial impact of realizing the waterfall was a thing of beauty, I had forgotten it. Only when it was cut off, its volume substantially changed, or its course re-directed, was the waterfall impressed on my consciousness. Perhaps the 80 recipients of AID are a bit like those who come to accept the waterfall as a fact of life, not appreciating its source, volume, or generous beauty, until it is destroyed. One wonders if the farmer drawing water from an uncertain source of irrigation isn't more appreciative of water and more conscientious in its use than the farmer who accepts it as a natural bounty. On the other hand, and proving the danger of analogy, I suppose no farmer would invest much time or money tilling the soil if he could not rely on a constant source of water.

Such is the dilemma of AID.

IV. The Test Ban and Wheat. Rather to my surprise there were elements in Japanese circles familiar with international relations who were somewhat lukewarm on the test ban treaty and the projected sale of wheat to the Soviet. On the test ban treaty there was con-

cern about "euphoria" similar to that which bothered some American policy makers. There was fear that the treaty would slow efforts by the Government to revise the Constitution and thus permit budgeting for a more realistic defense program.

On the projected sale of wheat, there was concern that most Japanese don't distinguish between communism in the Soviet Union and communism in China. If anything, Japanese find a greater cultural affinity with, and understanding of, the Chinese than the Russians. If the U. S. can sell wheat to Russia, why can't the Japanese sell steel pipe and textile plants to Communist China? And anyway, the Japanese might wake up some morning and find U. S. policy on trade with China changed and Japan would be left holding the bag. The concern is with the constancy of U. S. policy.

One other reaction to the "detente". The Japanese have viewed the United States as the prime anti-communist force in the world. Political parties of both left and right have thought of themselves as more modern, progressive, and sensible in their attitudes toward communism than the U. S., which is pictured as emotionally irrational on the subject. But now, much to the surprise of the Japanese, the United States has made arrangements with the Communists that the Japanese themselves would have considered free-wheeling and liberal. It is still too early to know the impact of this type of thinking. It may be that the U. S. in its recent dealings with the Russians has cut some of the ground from under the leftist parties not only in Japan, but perhaps in England as well.

V. On desegregation. The Japanese adult population is not much concerned with race relations in the United States. They have minorities of their own, the Koreans and the Etas. The Japanese, though non-white, do not identify themselves with the negro in America. Furthermore, within Asia they have never been discriminated against by colonials, as is the case with most newly developing nations. The Japanese have never been excluded from clubs or discriminated against in "baths" in their own country and hence don't quite know what the word discrimination means.

Questions raised about civil rights strife in the U. S. come for the most part from students - most of whom are motivated in their questions by youthful idealism; but some of whom are posing queries in the communist pattern. One of the latter was publicly silenced recently by a U. S. official who answered a rather nasty series of loaded racial questions by asking his interrogator: "Could the questioner out of his vast experience and background give one example of any nation in all of recorded history that had mobilized 5000 troops to assure the entrance of one minority individual to school?"

And now, Dick, as I count back the preceding lines of text I see that I have come very close to violating, once again, a cardinal rule with which I started this trip, namely, that no letter should exceed four pages in length.

Sincerely yours,