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STAT

# THE ASIA MAIL

"AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES ON ASIA AND THE PACIFIC"

Jan 4,1977

Assistant to the Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington DC 20505

Dear Sir:

I have recently changed my main journalistic affiliation but would like to continue receiving notices of Unclassified CIA Finished Intelligence.

Effective Jan. 1 I am Editor & Publisher of THE ASIA MAIL. I will continue to write my ASIA MEMO column on a syndicated basis for Copley News Service.

I have enclosed a corrected address notation, copies of THE ASIA MAIL and an indication of the recent CIA publications which I would appreciate receiving.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

STAT

Edward Neilan
Editor & Publisher

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Sec. 4.01.1 Asia Mail

*Michael Morrow on U.S. Policy in the Mekong*

*A Look At Japan's Economic Vitality*

*'True Confessions' Of A Foreign Service Wife*


# THE ASIA MAIL

"AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES ON ASIA AND THE PACIFIC" EIGHTY CENTS JANUARY 1977


## *U.S. Position Favorable*

# Jimmy Carter's Asia

**Sen. John Sparkman**

President-elect Jimmy Carter takes office at a time when America's position in Asia and the Pacific is more favorable than at any time prior to World War II.

President Truman was sworn in while World War II was still raging; President Eisenhower assumed office amid the ***burden of the Korean War; Presidents Kennedy*** and Johnson inherited both the beginning of America's deep involvement in Indochina and a policy to contain China which, with time, became counterproductive; President Nixon took office after the Southeast Asian involvement had become a full-scale war; and President Ford was sworn in as America's policy in Indochina was rapidly failing.

Thus, relative to the problems that recent Presidents have faced, President Carter will be confronted by few pressing issues in Asia and the Pacific.

— American forces are not involved in conflict in Asia. Only the 40,000 U.S. troops in Korea remain on the Asian mainland.

— Except for relations with Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and North Korea, which are kept distant by choice, relations with Japan and all other nations in the region are good.

— U.S. policy toward China has changed from containment to one which recognizes reality.

— The dire predictions of a loss of American prestige throughout Asia as a consequence of the collapse of American-supported regimes in Indochina have not materialized.

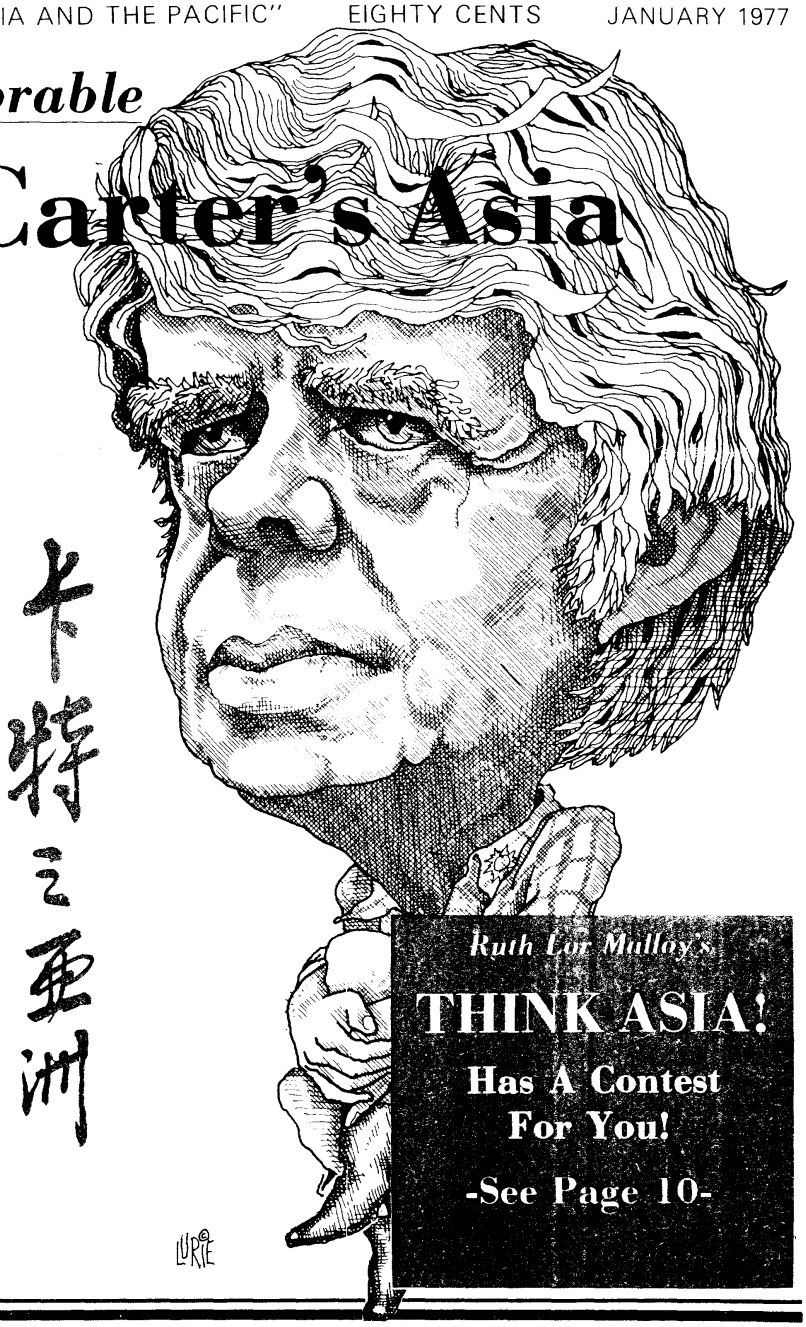
— The Association of Southeast Asian Nations has made promising steps toward regional cooperation.

The factors augur well for President Carter as he begins to plot a course for American policy in Asia. But the slate is not clean. There are potential trouble spots and problems which must be dealt with. Among these are:

1. Of foremost importance is the question of normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China. America's relations with the country that contains one-fourth the population of the globe have been at a stalemate since liaison offices were established in Peking and Washington three and a half years ago. The Taiwan issue is the only obstacle to normalization. I suspect, the U.S. policy of not facing up to this problem has been largely for political reasons relating, first, to President Nixon's Watergate problems and, later, to President Ford's campaign for re-election. Further delay in facing up to the Taiwan issue could make the ultimate decision more difficult and controversial. I believe that a way can be found to protect America's interests in Taiwan.

2. Nearly a quarter century after the end of their war, the basic conflict between North and South Korea remains unresolved. As the last vestige of American military involvement on the Asian mainland, American troops in South Korea maintain units in front-line positions. These United

(See CARTER, Page 7)




*Ruth Lor Mulloy's*

**THINK ASIA!**

**Has A Contest For You!**

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# Letters...

## *Korea Human Rights*

Dear Editor:

I would like to congratulate Mr. Earl Voss for writing such a soothing article on "Human Rights" (THE ASIA MAIL, Nov. 1976). I certainly enjoyed reading the article and I have no doubt that there will be many Koreans as well as our American friends who felt the same way as I did about the article. I do hope that Mr. Voss' thoughts on Korea will reflect in the foreign policy of (the) Carter administration.

Ei Whan Pai, President
Overseas Economic Research Institute
Seoul, Korea

## *Cheers*

Dear Editor:

THE ASIA MAIL is really very good — an impressive job!

Mrs. John W. Pratt
Publicity Director
Harvard University Press

## *On China Ties*

Dear Editor:

Thank you for the interesting copy of THE ASIA MAIL. It will fill a great need and I wish you success.

I certainly subscribe to the belief that our relations with continental China must be adjusted. I do not believe we are justified in sacrificing the interests of the Formosan Chinese as we seem now so ready to do.

Americans seem always so ready to slip back into the old sentimental attachment to China, the patronizing missionary Big Brother approach now transmuted into political terms. Don't let THE ASIA MAIL become a resurrected I.P.R. production. Be sure the hard-liners get a hearing as well as the China-lovers.

What are we to do if Chiang Ching-kuo thanks us one day for our past help and then announces that he has invited Moscow to become his protector and guarantor? I wish one of your proposed symposia could review the alternative courses that may be possible.

Geroge H. Kerr
Honolulu, Hawaii

## *Prophet of Doom*

Dear Editor:

Robert Ichord is a prophet of doom. Unfortunately, he's right!

His article "Nuclear Technology Diffusion in Asia" in the December issue of THE ASIA MAIL certainly gave me pause for considerable reflection.

It's frightening to think that ten years ago no one in Asia had either nuclear power or nuclear weapons. Now, two Asian giants are capable of blowing everybody up and — from the Ichord article — others will soon follow.

Ten years from now, who won't have nuclear weapons in Asia? That's the question that needs answering. What will become of us when the likes of Kim Il-sung, Park Chung-hee, Ferdinand Marcos and Lee Kuan-yew are armed with nuclear weapons?

President Carter, a nuclear technician, has his work cut out for himself.

Arthur Foley
Seattle, Washington

## *Pro-Military Bias*

Dear Editor:

Your December banner-headline "Thailand Seeks Stability" shows the obvious pro-military bias of THE ASIA MAIL. Actually, the October 6 coup was the most destabilizing event to occur in Southeast Asia since the Tonkin Gulf incident of ten years ago.

When Thailand had its democracy, Southeast Asians had a chance at regional cooperation in the aftermath of the Indochina war.

The military coup undermines all possibility of cooperation and makes another Indochina war inevitable . . . hardly a "stabilizing" development.

Stewart Potter
Kansas City


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Editorial contributions are welcome and should be addressed to "The Editor." It is preferable to query before sending a completed manuscript or artwork. Every effort will be made to return manuscripts but The Asia Mail is not responsible for their loss.

THE ASIA MAIL is published monthly by Potomac-Asia Communications, Inc., 128 So. Royal St., Alexandria, Virginia 22314.
Subscription Rates: $11 per year. Students $9. Foreign $18. Canadian subscribers add $1 to the U.S. rates.

Application to mail at controlled circulation rates is pending at Alexandria, Virginia.
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"AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES ON ASIA AND THE PACIFIC"

# THE ASIA MAIL

Vol. 1 No. 4

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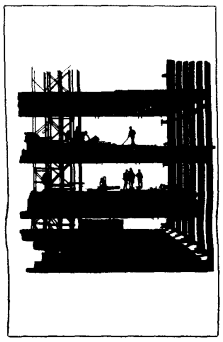
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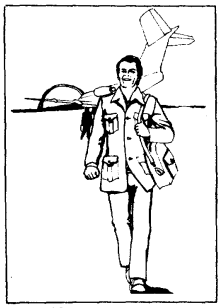
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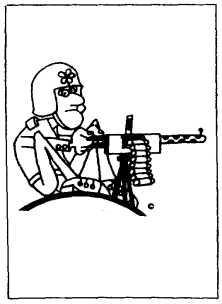
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# On Japan's Economic Vitality

**Scott Runkle**

Economic experts are in general agreement that international economic recovery will be as critical as it will be difficult. The New York Times' leading economic writer, Leonard Silk, even states that: "the most acute economic difficulties that Mr. Carter is likely to face as President will be global".

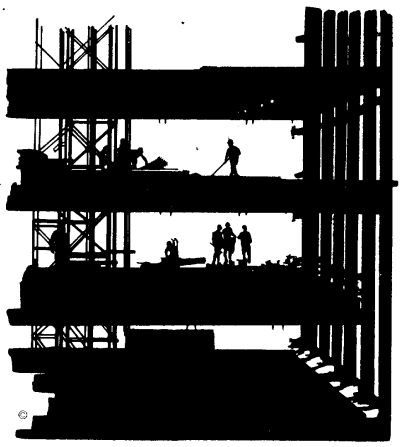
In this global context, there exists a little-understood paradox as regards Japan. On one hand, U.S. steel and electronic manufacturers are increasingly vociferous in their protests about American purchases of competitive Japanese goods. And in Europe, the outcry against Japanese imports becomes ever-louder.

On the other hand, Japan itself is troubled by the fact that its industrial production has slumped for the third month in a row, with consumer spending also down, while its inflation is hovering around 10 per cent.

Therein lies a paradox which is worrisome not only to Japan, but also to the United States. Japan, like the U.S., is one of the "locomotive" economies; the health of its $58 billion market for imports from dozens of nations affects in substantial measure the rate of world recovery. Conversely, when the Japanese economy is in the doldrums, as it appears to be now, international recovery is slowed.

The ever-closer interdependence of the economies of the United States, Japan and Western Europe is one of the critical considerations for the U.S. and Japanese governments. However, the special circumstances of Japan's economy are still little understood in the United States, making it tempting to use Japan (and particularly its export surplus to the U.S.) as a handy "whipping boy".

Far more than any other major, industrial nation, Japan was severely mauled by the oil crisis of 1973 and its aftermath. Japan is almost wholly dependent on imported oil (80 per cent from the Middle East) for its energy, unlike the United States, which not only has domestic oil, but also large supplies of coal and natural gas. Whereas Japan paid $6 billion for its oil imports in 1973, it now pays a staggering $20 billion for a smaller quantity of oil. The oil crisis triggered a devastating inflation in Japan (at a yearly rate of over 30 per cent at one time) and, when the government had to apply the deflationary brakes, caused a severe recession. Moreover, Japan ran a large deficit in its balance of payments in this



difficult period: $10.0 billion in 1973, $6.8 billion in 1974 and $2.7 billion in 1975.

Only in early 1975 did Japan begin to emerge from its long recession. As the U.S. economy picked up steam, the demand for imports of Japanese automobiles, electronic products and steel rose sharply. Japan's world-wide exports increased by 19 per cent through September 1976, with most of this increase reflecting growing demand in the United States and other industrialized nations. U.S. imports from Japan rose 35 per cent over 1975 (when such imports actually dropped 10.4 per cent). Largely on the strength of its buoyant export sector, as well as on the expansion of domestic demand, Japan's real GNP shot up 13.4 per cent in the first quarter of 1976, but grew only 4.5 per cent in the second quarter and, according to Japan's Economic Planning Agency, slumped to 1.3 per cent growth in the third quarter.

Because its recovery was slower and shallower than that of the United States, Japans' overall imports rose only 10.5 per cent in the first three quarters of 1976, making for a considerable global trade surplus during this period. As the year progressed, however, export growth slowed (as predicted) while imports picked up more rapidly.

The most dramatic increase in Japan's imports was from developing nations, and notably those of Asia. Most Asian nations registered a sharp increase in their exports to Japan in 1976, and those of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia were up by 50 per cent to 100 per cent in the first nine months of 1976, greatly stimulating the economic recovery of these nations.

At first glance, Japan's trade position looks enviable. However, Japan imports far more services than it exports and it must therefore export more goods than it imports — an important but inadequately understood factor in its foreign economic relations. This is the reverse of Great Britain, for example, which traditionally has a surplus in "invisible trade" to offset a trade deficit. This "invisible" factor is so important for Japan that "the Japanese economy could not survive without a surplus of trade balance," as explained by the Embassy's Financial Minister, Mr. Fujio Matsumuro, speaking in late 1976 before the National Foreign Trade Council in New York.

In the first nine months of 1976, Japan's invisible trade balance (mostly transportation, insurance, tourism and repatriation of profits) was $4.6 billion in deficit, while its merchandise balance of trade was $6.6 billion in surplus — making a net surplus of $2 billion. Moreover, almost all of Japan's invisible deficit is with the United States and Western European countries. In 1974, for example, its total invisible deficit was $5.8 billion, of which $2.8 billion was with the United States and $1.5 billion with Great Britain.

Thanks to its merchandise trade surplus, Japan showed a modest balance of payments surplus of $2.2 billion during the first 10 months of 1976, after three years in which it suffered an aggregate deficit of $19.6 billion. While this short-term reversal is welcome, it constitutes no bonanza for Japan, which will still show a huge four-year (1972 through 1976) deficit of approximately $17 billion in its balance of payments. This, rather than Japan's current (and possibly short-lived) surplus in its merchandise trade balance, is the salient fact of Japan's international economic position.

In sum, weighing the invisible deficit against the merchandise surplus, Japan is by no means taking advantage of its trading partners, nor is it "getting rich" on its apparent trade surplus.

What about Japan's exports to the United States? Japan does not force its products on American consumers, nor are these products produced by "cheap labor", nor are they "dumped" in the U.S. market. Today, Japanese goods are often more expensive than comparable American-made merchandise, and must compete on the basis of quality and reliability. Typical examples of this are Sony color TV sets, which cost $50 to $100 more than most other sets of comparable size, and Nikon cameras, which are prized for their quality despite high price tags. Likewise, Japanese cars are sought after by American consumers as being high in quality, style and dependability, not necessarily because they are cheap.

American consumers have shown great preference for such Japanese products. During the first 10 months of 1976, although sales of foreign cars in the U.S. decreased to 14.9 per cent of the total U.S. market compared with 19.3 per cent last year, Japanese cars were so popular that they represented 60.5 per cent of total import sales as contrasted with 51.3 per cent in 1975. Toyota and Datsun are the best-selling imports, with Honda now overtaking Volkswagen for third place.

Likewise in electronics, Japanese tape recorders, stereo sets, pocket computers, color TV sets and CB radios are in heavy demand by American consumers (7.7 million Japanese CB sets alone were imported in the first 9 months of 1976).

Steel is another matter, where price is important, but where Japanese mills have no built-in advantage. On the contrary, overall raw material costs of iron ore, coking coal and energy are actually higher in Japan than in the United States, and wages (including fringe benefits) are comparable. Yet Japanese steel is highly competitive in world markets, primarily because of modern equipment, advanced technology and high productivity.

Indeed, production costs of Japan's steel industry soared by 56.3 per cent (mostly in raw material and energy costs) in the period 1970-75, while production costs in the United States were up only 9.3 per cent. Even with this disadvantage, Japan's steel prices for heavy plates and sheets (for example) rose substantially less than comparable U.S. prices, thereby improving the competitive position of Japanese steel in world markets and even in the United States.

A striking illustration of Japan's handicap is coking coal. Japan's coking coal comes mostly from West Virginia — the same source for Pittsburgh's steel mills. But whereas this coal travels only a few dozen miles to Pittsburgh, to get to Japan it must go by train to Newport News, Virginia before making the long sea voyage to Japan. Despite such intrinsic disadvantages, Japan's exports of finished steel were 33 million tons in 1975, of which 9.9 million went to Asia, 6.3 million to the United States, 5 million to the Middle East and 4.1 million to Western Europe. (The United States bought less than 20 per cent of Japan's steel exports in 1975, contrasted with 53 per cent in 1968.) In 1975, moreover, in order to produce this steel, Japan bought $1.7 billion of U.S. coking coal and $277 million of U.S. scrap.

The competitive position of Japanese products in U.S. and world markets has been obtained despite Japan's almost total lack of raw materials and energy, and despite its great distance from most large industrial markets. Basically, Japan must "live on its wits" and its skills as a processing economy, being alert to marketing new products quickly and taking advantage of new techniques for producing them efficiently.

Examples of alert Japanese entrepreneurship are numerous, ranging from the early introduction by Japan of transistorized radios and TV sets to development of relatively pollution-free automobiles well before Detroit. Looking toward the future, Japan has already developed a new electric car which has a range of 300 miles without charging batteries and a top speed of 60 miles per hour.

Not only do Japanese consumer products meet a real demand and need in the United States (and in many other countries) but, in the case of steel, the availability of efficiently-produced and price-competitive Japanese steel is an important deterrent to inflation in an industry which has a long history of inflating prices in the absence of such competition.

Nonetheless, despite high consumer demand for Japanese products, U.S. steel and electronics manufacturers are expected to press for new protectionist barriers against Japanese products in early 1977. They are expected to point to Japan's trade surplus with the United States as evidence

(See JAPAN, Page 17)

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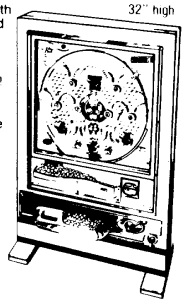

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# On Tokyo's Steel Exports

**Richard P. Simmons**

The U.S. Steel industry is continually being urged to achieve a greater degree of economic efficiency and, indeed, we are committed as an industry to allocate huge sums to this ongoing goal. But domestic industry competitiveness is only one side of the economic equation. Another side is foreign trade policy.

If the U.S. and international trade policies are such that they condone or ignore practices by which other governments through agreements or understandings can manipulate access to the American market — without our knowledge or without our concurrence as a government — then these policies need to be overhauled. Otherwise, the domestic steel industry and its workers are operating under a false premise, namely, that increased productivity and efficiency are the answer to foreign competition.

Our steel industry which provides the country with its supply of steel mill products, is a major industrial component of the U.S. economy. Combined steel company employment approximates 700,000 persons, including those in mining, transportation and other non-steel related operations. In 1975, these workers received almost $10 billion in wages and salaries.

Manufacturing companies and other users requiring steel as their basic raw material, employ millions of workers of the U.S. economy. Before they can allocate capital for expansion, they must have guaranteed access to an assured source of steel for at least a major portion of their requirements. Thus economic growth in the U.S. and growth of industrial job opportunities depend in substantial part on an adequate supply of steel.

But just as the United States can no longer take for granted the adequacy of its national energy supply, neither can it assume that the future supply of steel will always be adequate for our national requirements. Formidable economic barriers to the necessary expansion of steelmaking capacity ***are a major concern of the American steel industry. They are*** also at the heart of the world steel industry's concern.

It is clear our domestic economy needs an expansion of steelmaking capacity if our economy is to continue to grow and if we are to remain strong as a nation.

The current outlook gives us no assurance that the substantial gap between the steel industry's capital requirements and its potential future sources of funds can be bridged. If profitability and capital availability do not improve, the economic consequences are obvious: scarcities of many steel products; fewer new jobs created; fewer existing jobs maintained, slower economic growth and increased dependency on uncertain foreign sources.

Steel expansion must occur in this country, if the U.S. is to have a supply adequate for future growth conditions. And from the viewpoint of real comparative advantage, it makes sense to expand in the U.S., since our industry is now one of the two most efficient low-cost producers in the world, with an ample home supply of raw materials.

Steel, for the past fifteen years, has been a deficit account in the U.S. balance of trade. Last year imports into the United States exceeded exports by $2.2 billion. For the first nine months of this year, the deficit is already $1.9 billion.

Compared to the rest of the world, the American steel industry ranks among a diminishing minority. We operate as a private enterprise industry within a world steel industry directly and indirectly supported by foreign governments. Today an estimated 44% of world raw steel production is under direct government ownership.

Foreign government ownership and subsidies in steelmaking do not necessarily create an efficient steel industry, and are not something we envy. On this score, the American industry's business performance can be compared to that of its leading world competitors. With respect to productivity of capital, although inadequate by any yardstick, the U.S. industry is clearly the world leader in return on assets employed. With respect to the efficiency of labor utilization — that is man hours per ton produced — our industry and Japan's — about equal —are the world leaders.

But foreign government ownership, subsidies, and social policies do affect the international conditions under which we must compete both at home and abroad. Labor is regarded as a fixed cost in many foreign steel industries. In order to maintain employment in their own steel sectors, foreign suppliers come into market on the low side of the cycle with imports at prices not reflecting their full costs of production, and therefore their true comparative advantage. They leave on the high cycles. The cyclical swings for the U.S. producers are thus amplified, resulting in less efficient production, higher costs, and discouraging future investment. The impact on U.S. steel employment is naturally traumatic. We fully understand that if we want our kind of economy to continue, then competition must prevail not only with other economies, but among ourselves. We do not want to cartelize the steel industry and would refuse to participate in any arrangements designed to fix production rates or prices in our own or world markets, even if proferred to us. We do not want trade policy assistance from our government but we do not know how to compete with foreign companies who do not have to earn a profit or generate capital for investment. Nor do we intend to ignore the increasingly blatant violation of U.S. and international law in the trade area.

We shall continue to press for steel sector discussions in GATT, to alleviate the problems inherent in governmental intervention in steel trade and foreign commercial practices which reflect these interventions. Unless a concerted effort is undertaken by the U.S. and other steel producing nations to respond to the need for a truly effective steel sector negotiation, we can only look forward to continued international trade friction in steel. It would be a sad commentary if lack of cooperation among governments were to yield negative rather than positive results in the steel trade sector.

As to the current arrangement between Europe and Japan, unfortunately, the evidence we are presenting here today does not apply just to a one-time agreement through the year 1976. There is clear evidence that steel restraint agreements between Europe and Japan, if allowed, are bound to continue into the future. And the evidence indicates that such agreements will develop between Europe and other countries exporting steel to the EEC.

For our government officials who are concerned about trade liberalization, these developments taking place in the world steel market should be cause for consternation. Let me cite some facts. Imports into most of the developing countries are already controlled, largely to protect their domestic steel industries. Japan is a closed market for imports; only 200,000 metric tons were imported in 1974. The European Economic Community is rapidly becoming a controlled market for imports.

The result: only the United States, and a few smaller extraneous markets remain free and open to imports. Is this what trade liberalization is all about? Should we stand idly by as a government and permit the constriction of world steel trade to take place, while thereby increasing the deflection of steel into the United States market? Let me read from the Industrial Bank of Japan, September, 1976 Quarterly Summary:

"Turning to market geography, the creation of an export cartel within the Japanese steel industry means that a cutback in exports to the expanded EEC market will probably be unavoidable. This phenomenon should be balanced out by major growth in exports both to the United States and those two giants of the Communist world, China and the Soviet Union. For an industry like steel, which had to withstand the cold blast of the 1975 recession, the bright prospects for 1976 exports and the economic recovery they will fuel is a warming sign indeed."

To condone this parceling of the international marketplace, with the U.S. the one major open world market, is to condone the perpetuation of a double standard for steel trade policy. If our industry is efficient and cost competitive, should it be weakened by bilateral actions largely of other nations who seek protection of their home markets and free access to ours? This is what our case is all about.

Let me call your attention to some recent developments which lend support to my contention that we are witnessing only the beginning of trade-deflecting bilateral arrangements.

On July 21, 1976 the European Commission came forward with a document entitled, "The Problems of the Steel Industry". The document is popularly known as the Simonet Plan, referring to Mr. Simonet who is a member of the EC and whose responsibilities include the Steel Directorate. The Simonet Plan consists essentially of three parts:

1. Analysis and continuous statistical monitoring of the steel markets;
2. Improved coordination of investment trends leading eventually to equilibrium between supply and demand; and
3. Initiation of appropriate procedures in the event of a crisis, on the basis of indicators defined in advance.

What concerns us as an industry and should concern the trade officials in the U.S. Government is how under part three the EC intends to regulate imports of steel during periods of self-proclaimed "crisis." As we understand the anti-crisis plan which is to become operational in early 1977, the Commission intends to issue production guidelines and to fix minimum reference prices in a crisis situation. But, for the domestic measures to be effective, the Community plan intends that steel imports will be indexed to production.

How does the Simonet plan propose to regulate imports? Permit me to quote from a recent European report summarizing Mr. Simoneh's statement before a meeting on November 25 of the ECSC Consultative Committee:

". . . it is not a question of fixing import quotas, but by negotiation the Commission will merely try to secure a reasonable attitude from the steel exporting countries who should be able to adapt their deliveries to the Common Market to the production cuts adopted by the Community steel industry."

During the course of the debate on November 25, a representative of the French iron and steel industry reportedly stated that "the fixing of import quotas should be avoided since this is bound to lead to retaliatory measures which would affect other economic sectors of the Community." A representative of the Luxembourg iron and steel industry "stressed," according to the report, that "the success of the anti-crisis plan will largely depend on the extent to which certain third countries agree to limit their exports. The ideal solution would be for these reductions to correspond to the production cuts made by the European industry."

So, here we are confronted with a plan that may become effective in a few weeks in which the European Common Market is emphasizing its intent to encourage restraint arrangements with Japan and other steel exporting countries whenever the European steel market is in a crisis situation.

The European objective is clear: Avoid the imposition of formal import quotas because this may lead to GATT complications and the threat of retaliation; instead, achieve restraint of trade by use of so-called voluntary bilateral restraints which are simply transparent ploys to avoid accusations that such agreements are clear violations of GATT.

It should not come as a surprise to those involved in multilateral trade negotiations that cooperation has not been forthcoming from the EEC or Japan on the issue of steel sector trade negotiations, or on reform of the GATT safeguard procedures. In fact, why should we expect any such cooperation when the European Coal and Steel Community develops bilateral solutions to their problems while continuing their policy of increasing exports to the U.S.?

Moreover, as long as Europe continues to exert voluntary bilateral pressure on Japan and other exporting nations to restrain steel imports, GATT Article XIX dealing with safeguards will be meaningless. Japan may also wish to avoid

**(See STEEL, Page 21)**

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# The Dimensions Of Sufism

**Mystical Dimensions of Islam**
By Annemarie Schimmel
The University of North Carolina Press
1975. 506 pps. $14.95.

## Bernice Williams Foley

In the author's own estimation, writing about Sufism, which succinctly can be defined: "To find joy in the heart when grief comes," is a difficult, almost impossible task. And yet, Annemarie Schimmel, Professor of Indo-Muslim Culture at Harvard University, has accomplished the impossible, as it were, and has reached her goal in her chapters on this religion's theosophic speculations, its history, psychology and its mystical Persian poetry.

Sufism is the accepted name for Islamic mysticism. Its two major facets, scholarly theoretical discourses and popular saint worship, bring to the devotees of Sufism the understanding that they have spiritually reached only what is already within themselves.

Historically, the origin and early development of this mysticism of the East were generated out of Muhammad's own mysticism. Several specific theories attest to the above statement. These, explained by the author, will interest scholarly students. For the general reader, the portion of the book devoted to Persian and Turkish mystical poetry has great appeal. These poetic lines may be interpreted either as mystical or erotic, and the dissension between these two schools of thought is deep. Then — in a brief and surprising statement — the author denigrates both of these theories of interpretation by writing, "Yet both claims are equally wide of the mark."

Professor Schimmel believes that, in the typical lyric poetry of these eastern countries, certain Islamic images taken from the Koran and the Prophetic tradition can turn into symbols of a purely aesthetic character. There is scarcely a poem of the greatest masters of Persian, Turkish and Urdu poetry that does not reflect the religious background of Islamic culture. One must not look, therefore, for either a purely mystical or for a purely profane interpretation of these poems. Their ambiguity is intended. The poetry of Sufism is a hybrid of the mystical and erotic. The author declares that English translations lose much in opalescence. She stresses the importance of poetry in the study of Sufism and she devotes many pages to this study, quoting poetic lines and interpreting their meanings.

The Islamic roots of Sufism are deep. "Sufism is to possess nothing and to be possessed by nothing." In its formative period, Sufism meant mainly an interiorization of Islam and the declaration that God is One. The Sufis have always remained within Islam. They designated Adam as the first Sufi, endowed with God's spirit. After Adam's fall, he did penitence in India for 300 years until he became a true Sufi.

The words of the Koran are the cornerstone of Sufic mysticism. Herein are the beginnings of the Muslim belief in free will and predestination, an unusual combination. Muhammad is the first link in the spiritual chain of Sufism. These mystics equate all earthy governments with evil. They believe in color symbolism, with green being the highest and heavenly color. They have the same spiritual divisions of Heaven which correspond to those named in the Christian Bible, the Terrestial, Telestial and Celestial Kingdoms of God. These are the degrees of Heaven to which the souls proceed after death. The degree is determined by that person's purification achieved while still in his mortal body. Fasting and sleeplessness are important parts of Sufism.

If this author has omitted any important facet of Sufism during its historical development and that of its literature (chiefly poetry), this reviewer is not aware of it.

Professor Schimmel's balanced treatment offers the reader a fine, overall concept of mysterious Sufism. She explores its psychology and its religious orders. Her emphasis on Islamic poetry is justified. The reader is not surprised to learn from the inside jacket that Annemarie Schimmel has had long acquaintance with and personal knowledge of Turkey, Iran and the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. She has published numerous books and translations in German, Arabic and Turkish.

To paraphrase two lines in this book which read, "A man asked Abu Hafs, 'Who is a Sufi?' " — we can say: the reader of this volume will never again ask "who is a Sufi," because he now knows.



Approved For Release 2004/10/28 : CIA-RDP88-01314R000100010076-1

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*Problems for President Carter*

# Future of U.S. Military in Asia

**Stefan H. Leader**

When President Carter takes office on January 20th he will find U.S. military forces in Asia and the Pacific in a state of flux and uncertainty with numerous policy issues in need of early attention. He will have the opportunity to exercise strong leadership and make several important decisions on the future of these "forward deployed" U.S. military units, and by so-doing, put his personal mark on U.S. Asian policy.

There are now about 134,000 U.S. soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines scattered across Asia and the Western Pacific. The bulk of these forces are in Japan (45,000), South Korea (40,000), the Philippines (14,600), Guam (9,600), or aboard the 50 warships of the Navy's Seventh Fleet (18,900). The remainder are scattered among Australia (700), Taiwan (2200), Thailand (1200), Midway and Johnson Islands (about 1,000 total).

The largest U.S. military force in Asia is in South Korea, and consists of about 33,000 soldiers, most with the Second Infantry Division, and about 7,100 airmen supporting three squadrons of F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers. The Navy has only a very small force of about 200 officers and men in South Korea. The U.S. also maintains about 600 nuclear weapons in South Korea and U.S. officials have said they might be used in the event of war.

U.S. ground troops and nuclear weapons in South Korea were significant political issues in the U.S. even before Jimmy Carter raised questions about them in the course of his campaign. Carter's assertion, that if elected he would withdraw U.S. ground forces and nuclear weapons from South Korea, focused public attention on the matter once again. Revelations about the oppressive policies of the Park government and its use of bribery to foster a favorable climate of opinion in the U.S. Congress have eroded support for the U.S. presence in South Korea and could give Carter strong congressional support for a phased reduction of U.S. ground troops in South Korea.

President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger have insisted that no changes be made in U.S. military forces in South Korea on the grounds that any change in the status quo would be destabilizing. They have expressed concern that any withdrawal of U.S. forces might be seen as a sign of weakness and might tempt an attack.

The future of U.S. military forces and bases in the Philippines is also under a cloud as a result of efforts by the Marcos government to alter the terms under which the U.S. makes use of its three bases in the Philippines, the Subic Bay Naval Base, Clark Air Force Base and Cubi Point Naval Air Station. Negotiations have been under way since April 1976 on the future status of these U.S. bases. The Philippinos have demanded that the U.S. acknowledge nominal Philippine sovereignty over the bases by flying the Philippine flag and appointing Philippine commanders. In addition the Marcos government has demanded annual rental payments. This could take the form of cash, additional military aid or both.

The attitude of President-elect Carter on the Philippine base issue is a source of some uncertainty. It is possible that Carter's interest in the moral dimension of foreign policy — particularly human rights issues — could lead the new Administration to take a somewhat more critical look at the Marcos government and U.S. ties to it. If this were to occur it could have major ramifications for the U.S. military presence in the Philippines.

Another area where the future of U.S. ties is uncertain is Taiwan. U.S. military forces on Taiwan have declined steadily since the U.S. and China signed the Shanghai communique in 1972, and will probably continue to decline. However, a substantial number of the 2200 military personnel remaining on Taiwan are involved in mainland oriented intelligence activities and there is some reluctance in the intelligence community to move these activities elsewhere. Assuming a continuing commitment by the new Administration to improved relations with the PRC a solution to this problem will have to be found.

The future of the mutual defense treaty with the Nationalist government of Chiang Ching Kuo, presents a somewhat more difficult problem. Recently Senator Mansfield returned from a trip to the People's Republic and urged immediate termination of the U.S. treaty with Taiwan. Mansfield's statement has already generated opposition from other senators. The future of the U.S. treaty with Taiwan will undoubtedly be a difficult issue for the new Administration even if the withdrawal of U.S. troops is not.

A final issue of some importance involves the future of the Seventh Fleet in the Western Pacific. For years the Seventh Fleet and its powerful aircraft carriers has been the dominant military force in the region. It still is. Navy philosophy has been "keep as much of the fleet deployed as far forward as possible." Recently, however, budgetary restraints and overhaul backlogs have forced the Navy to look at the possibility of reduced forward deployments.

# Carter

(Continued From Page 1)

States forces inevitably will be involved in fighting if there is an outbreak of hostilities. The tree-cutting incident which resulted in the death of two American officers and the subsequent reinforcement of U.S. forces in the area clearly illustrates the dangers inherent in the Korean situation.

Unfortunately, the continued presence of these troops has been made to appear to be the symbol of the American commitment to Koeea. Yet, the commitment to Korea is contained in the mutual security treaty with that country which pledges that, in the event of an armed attack on South Korea, the U.S. will "act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes." That commitment will remain regardless of haw many American troops are on the scene.

During the recent campaign, President-elect Carter stated that he favored withdrawing U.S. ground forces "over a time span to be determined after consultation with both South Korea and Japan." This basic approach was endorsed by former Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird who said in a recent interview: "South Korea doesn't need our ground troops. American manpower is not the important thing; South Korea has a two-to-one edge on the ground." The defusing of the Korean situation will be one of the most sensitive and vexing problems confronting the new Administration.

3. Indochina is an area which also deserves early attention by the President. It is time for American policy toward Southeast Asia to look to the future and not the past. The Ford Administration policy of opposing trade or other elations with Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, of vetoing Vietnam's application for admission to the United Nations and of refusing to send an Ambassador to Laos has not been effective. This policy has not obtained information about America's missing-in-action and it is out of step with the policies being pursued by the non-Communist nations of Southeast Asia. I am now persuaded that unless there is a change in policies by the Vietnamese and Cambodians we are far more likely to obtain information about our missing-in-action through normal relations than through continuation of the existing policy.

4. Although relations with Japan are good, they could be better. In the past, American policy has too often taken Japan for granted. There should be closer consultation and cooperation between the countries than in the past and there should be no more shocks, as in the Nixon Administration.

5. In the Philippines, the negotiations for continuation of the U.S. bases are likely to remain in abeyance until the new Administration has time to assess the situation. With goodwill on both sides and an appreciation of the importance of the bases to both countries and to stability in the Pacific, I am confident that satisfactory arrangements can be worked out.

6. The October military coup in Thailand, which threw out a fledgling parliamentary system, could eventually present the United States with a dilemma. The final departure of American military forces from Thailand last July was in the interest of both countries. Any overture by the new Thai government to turn back the clock in this respect should be examined very carefully. In view of the smouldering insurgency in the northeast, Vietnamese suspicions of the new government, and the existence of the multilateral SEATO treaty which has practical application only to Thailand, the seeds for trouble in Thailand may sprout. I hope that the new Administration will be cautious in this situation.

7. Congressional concern over human rights matters is particularly acute when considering foreign aid provisions for South Korea, the Philippines and Indonesia.

Congress has taken an active interest in foreign policy matters relating to Asia in recent years and I expect that it will continue to do so. President-elect Carter is well aware of Congress' determination to play a more active role in the shaping of foreign policy, as demonstrated by his November 23 meeting with the members of the Senate and House Committees which have primary responsibility for foreign policy matters. The spirit of his meeting with members of the Committee on Foreign Relations is a good omen for future cooperation between the President and the Congress.

In summary, while the Asian scene surveyed by the newly inaugurated President Carter is likely to be basically benign, potential troubles lie ahead, and there is an agenda for action.

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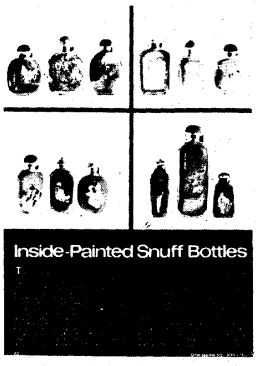


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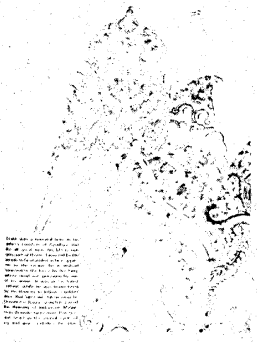

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Well-known interior designer William Pahlmann has traveled extensively in the East. He knows the region well, and he obviously likes it. "If you are in a position to travel, go there," he wrote in a recent, widely-syndicated article. "And if you have already been, or can't go, I recommend that you read as much as you can on the subject. From my standpoint, one of the best things you can read is a magazine called *Orientations* . . . I am hoarding my copies . . . and friends who insist on borrowing them have to sign them out, like in a library."

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# 'True Confessions' of a U.S. Foreign Service Wife...

**Bailey Morris**

In many ways, Nina Hudson's is a tale of survival, the story of a woman who learned to manage as a dependent, as "company baggage" in a bureaucratic system that doesn't bend for individuals.

There are no real villains in Hudson's story, but to women like her, it is a dark and forbidding chronical of loneliness and ultimate frustration.

She speaks of the other side of a life traditionally thought of as glamorous, filled with foreign travel, high-level diplomatic contacts and sparkling functions.

And though it has taken nine years to bring Hudson to the point where she can talk about it, even now, she is a little hesitant. She doesn't want to embarrass anyone, doesn't want to denigrate the life, doesn't want to expose her husband and herself.

She feels strongly, however, that something needs to be said about the frustration, about the spouses of foreign service officers driven to illegal work, to divorce and even to medical evacuation.

Only recently, she says, she heard that the State Department is studying the divorce rate among foreign service employees and "medivacs" (medical evacuations) of women with nervous conditions brought on by their lives in foreign countries. "It has gotten to be quite a problem," she says, "... so many people have been medically evacuated from different posts."

(A State Department medical officer said there is no such study underway although at one time such a study had been considered. "We did have an accumulated list which identified individuals but with the passage of the Privacy Act we either had to declare it or destroy it and we destroyed it," he explained. A meaningful study would have involved the individuals, he said. However, the Department does have "the number" of medical evacuations which have occurred over the past five years because of psychiatric problems, alcoholism or drugs. The rate of medivacs seems relatively stable from year to year, the officer said, and involves less than 100 persons annually.)

Nina Hudson has been back in this country for only a few weeks — after three years overseas — and it is clear that she is a stronger person now than when she left.

Speaking in a soft southern voice, her finely-sculptured mouth pursing and relaxing as she talks, Hudson tells about making it to the mid-career level of foreign service life — but not without great cost.

The life has taken her to three foreign countries where she has gone underground, so to speak, in order to work illegally at two of the three posts.

"There are lots of people who have gone (around) these rules (the work permit and job laws in foreign countries) and solved their individual problems but it's always awkward for them because they have to face the fact that they're breaking the law," she explains.

Once, when offered a job she couldn't bear to turn down, Hudson tried to give up her diplomatic immunity but was advised that she couldn't — not unless she wanted to become a test case.

"Giving up diplomatic immunity often comes up in conversation overseas, but you're always told you can't do it ... that you'll have to give up everything, including commissary privileges," she says.

Unable to cut through the tangle of rules and regulations at her last post, Hudson made an illegal arrangement which allowed her to work professionally as a textile designer. And she feels better for it.

To understand what finally pushed Hudson into accepting a well-paying job and organizing a women's action group at her last post, it is necessary to go back to the beginning.

Leaning forward, pushing a hand through her frosted, brown curls, Hudson speaks of her first years as a foreign service wife.

She, like many others, was "thrilled" by the prospect of the life. When her husband's first assignment turned out to be "a good European post," it seemed even better.

At that time, she thought of herself in the traditional roles of wife and mother. "When we went overseas, I thought that we would have a family ... I thought that I would take on the roles of chief cook and bottle washer and I was happy to do it," she says.

But that didn't happen. "We didn't have a family so it wasn't enough to just sit at home," she explains. Nor was it enough for her to involve herself in the activities which were then required of foreign services spouses.

Chuckling, half with amusement and half with distaste, she describes her first dealings with an ambassador's wife — the chatelaine of the mission.

"She (the ambassador's wife) had written a book on social usage and she was very rigid ... Every month she had a coffee for embassy wives which you were required to attend," Hudson says.

"You had to go unless you were sick and called in to say you couldn't be there ... you had to be there a few minutes before the doors were opened and if you were late, the doors were closed and you weren't allowed in," she explains.

"I was young then and down at the bottom of the totem pole so I just sort of did these things routinely, without questioning," she says.

Still, she remembers being "inwardly horrified" about it all. Specific incidents stand out in her mind. Once, for example, one of Hudson's friends "was called down in public and severely reprimanded for not having attended a coffee."

This sort of thing couldn't happen now, not since 1972 when spouses were declared independent and therefore not required to participate in any foreign service activities. Still, it stands out in Hudon's mind as the incident that spurred her into taking one of the first steps in her quest for personal independence. "Everything ... has been built on top of something else," she says.

Hudson remained active — going to school, learning the language and fighting the work permit problem. She also continued her search for odd jobs, though remaining essentially a "homemaker" in a foreign country.

"Most foreign service people are very resourceful ... if they are not working, they go out and explore the country, learn the language ... The ones who don't do this are the ones who have real problems," she says.

At some point — Hudson's not quite sure when — disillusionment set in.

"The romance of anything new just lasts for so long and then, you want depth," she says. "Suddenly, it's the superficiality of the existence that's disturbing."

For awhile, she says, the entertaining and parties had been fun. But it didn't remain that way.

(See CONFESSIONS, Page 21)


# IF YOU'RE NOT AFRAID OF BEING RIGHT TOO SOON

Five years before the near-bankruptcy of New York, **The Washington Monthly**, the liberal magazine that questions liberal orthodoxy, began its attack on the swollen bureaucracies with articles called "We're All Working for the Penn Central" and "America the Featherbedded." We then questioned the high salaries and pensions enjoyed by civil servants and warned of the growing power of public employees' unions.

**The Washington Monthly** has been ahead of its time in many other ways. It was the first magazine to reveal the political contributions of the dairy lobby, and in an article that won two of journalism's most distinguished awards, the first to tell of the Army's spying on civilian politics.

It was the first to reveal the Nixon impoundments, the first to report why Congress didn't investigate Watergate before the election, and in so doing, became the first monthly magazine to do original reporting about Watergate. In an article that won yet another award, it told "Why the White House Press Didn't Get the Watergate Story."

Our article on the dangers of nuclear hijacking was a year ahead of **The New Yorker**'s. Our case against social security was made two years before **Harper's**. And two years before Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s *The Imperial Presidency*, we published "The Prince and His Courtiers at the White House, the Kremlin, and the Reichschancellery."

**Time** says **The Washington Monthly** is "must reading." **The New York Times** says it's "indispensable." And **The Washington Post** says it "does its specialty—government and politics—better than any other magazine around." If you aren't afraid of being right too soon, give it a try.

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# THINK ASIA!

## Bargains Down Under

### Ruth Lor Malloy

IT'S A GOOD TIME TO BUY A KANGAROO. The recent 17½% decrease in the cost of the Australian dollar means 17½% lower prices there for North American visitors.

For example, the Austrail Pass which used to be $135 for 14 days of first class rail travel in Australia, now is $111.

Air fares to Australia even on QUANTAS, however, are not affected.

KOREAN AIRLINES makes a bid in the cheapest-air-fare-to-Asia department with a $650 round trip fare from Los Angeles to either Seoul, Taipei or Manila. This is still more than the $493 San Francisco to Hong Kong rate of the Asian-American Recreation Club mentioned last month.

There are advantages though. You book only 10 days in advance, not Asian-American's 35. You fly on regularly scheduled flights with no chance of cancellation, the airlines' clerk insisted.

But you do have to stay 30 days — not 29 or 35. For flights to Taipei and Seoul, you have a choice also of 60 or 90 days. There are no stop-overs.

Flights can be booked through any travel agent or phone (800) 421-8200. There are two flights a week.

NEW YORK-KABUL-NEW YORK on a 7 to 120 day excursion is another bargain at $735. Passengers fly Pan-Am, Air India, Lufthansa or British Airways to London or Frankfurt and then change to Ariana.

Ariana Afghan Airlines is at 535 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1609, New York, N.Y. 10017, (212) 697-3660.

AMERICAN EXPRESS TRAVELERS CHEQUES cannot be cashed in the People's Republic of China, says the Liaison Office here.

It's a misinterpretation of American Express' membership in the US-Republic of China Economic Council, says Stephen S. Halsey, a senior vice president of one of the largest travel services in the world.

"This Council is similar to many others which are formed to promote trade between the United States and the other country . . . We are doing everything we can to overcome the misunderstanding . . ."

A HORTICULTURALIST for Bangladesh; a mechanical engineer for Papua New Guinea — these are the current openings in Asia with International Voluntary Services. Do you know anyone?

This Peace Corps-type organization which operates in Africa and Latin America as well as Asia, pays a "modest stipend" ($80 a month) plus expenses for two year terms.

"We differ from the Peace Corps in that we are smaller, non-governmental and hire non-Americans as well as Americans," says Bob Minnich, Recuitment coordinator.

Old Asia hands might remember IVS' work in Laos, and especially in Vietnam in the 60's, directed by Don Luce of "tiger cages" fame.

IVS works mainly in rural development, using volunteers trained in medicine, education, agriculture, management, etc. In Asia, it also has volunteers in Indonesia.

The address is 1555 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) DU7-5533.

INTRIGUED BY PSYCHIC SURGERY? If you're serious about giving it a try, why not contribute your efforts to science?

Pamela de Maigret hopes to take twenty Americans to the Philippines in late spring for treatment by this controversial method of healing.

The results will be studied by a group of doctors at the University of Philippines led by Dr. Leo Lazatin of the Caltraya Foundation, she says.

The Americans must be checked first by their own American doctors, undergo the quick, painless healing ritual under the "trance" of a reputable healer in the Philippines. Then they will return to their own doctors periodically for examinations for five years.

Reports of progress (or lack of it) must be shared with the Philippine doctors to complete the study.

The purpose is to ascertain if healing actually does take place. Ms. de Maigret claims that in many cases it does. She has watched 200 sessions involving hemorrhoids, cancerous tumor remissions, kidney disease, diabetes, cataracts, etc.

An American, Ms. de Maigret encountered psychic healing in Brazil where she was a geologist.

"The healers all unequivocably state that healing takes place magnetically before body entry is made," she says, "but the patient needs the psychological impact of the bloody operation in order to mobolize his own homeostasis or ability to maintain the healing."

"Body entry" is made with the healer's bare hand without instruments.

"The maximum cost for the patient is $1,200 for travel and accommodations," says Ms. de Maigret. "We are hoping to get a subsidy so it might be less. The treatment in the Philippines is free but healers will accept donations."

Inquiries to Pamela de Maigret, sent c/o this column, will be forwarded.

CAN'T GET A CHINA VISA? If you're desperate to go, your chances are excellent if you take the Queen Elizabeth 2's world-circling cruise leaving New York on January 15. But it's not too late!

Cunard has permission to allow 700 passengers entry during March for a 3-day tour of Canton and vicinity, if passengers take any segment that includes Hong Kong.

This means the cheapest possible cost would be the Hong Kong to New York segment which starts at $3,320 plus $225 for the China trip. Then there's the travel to Hong Kong.

Cunard organized a China excursion for 500 passengers in 1975. No passenger who applied was refused permission, it says.

Write Cunard Line Ltd., 555 Fifth Avenue, NYC, NY, 10017 or contact your travel agent.

BUSINESSMEN AND SHOPPERS BEWARE! If you're headed for Asia soon, remember the lunar New Year starts February 18.

If you can believe their representatives here, Hong Kong and Taiwan stores will be closed at least the first day while government offices will be closed through the 21st.

Singapore has a one day holiday. The Chinese Liaison Office said government offices "might" be closed on the 21st as well as the 18th and 19th, but no one could give me a definite answer. The holiday is known as the Spring Festival in China.

While it is not a national holiday in other countries, people of Chinese ancestry will not be working if they can help it. Like Christmas here, it is a time for feasting and family reunions.

Tourists can enjoy the parades too — lion and dragon dances, stilt walkers and acrobats. Macao is probably the only place where fire crackers are not illegal. Let me know if you hear any and where (besides the Chinatowns of North America).

The new year is the Year of the Snake, which if you believe that sort of thing, is supposed to be a good one for lovers, adulterers, diplomats, politicans and intellectuals ("I wonder if there's a relationship").

Among other upcoming holidays, India celebrates Republic Day on January 26 with most businesses and all government offices closed. In New Delhi, ask to see the Beating of the Retreat at the impressive Secretariat — both are relics of the British Raj.

Australia and New Zealand have holidays the last week in January too. Burma has Union Day February 12, and Japan has Adults Day (what a lovely idea!) on January 15 and National Foundations Day on February 11. Stores and offices will be closed.

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CAN ANYONE GIVE ME a good reason why the National Museum in New Delhi is organizing NOW an exhibition in connection with the 2,600th anniversary of the birth of Buddha? At least, that's what India News says.

The anniversary is several decades away!

THINKING OF ADOPTING an Asian child? Here's what some American adoption agencies and volunteers are saying:

– It is best to keep a child in his biological family and the best way to do this is to help the family as a group. Next choice is to place the familyless child in an adoptive home in his own country. If these two cannot be done, then placement in an adoptive family in another country is recommended.

– Most of the adoptable children come from South Korea. One agency, Holt, is also working in the Philippines and expects to be "opening adoptions in Thailand in the foreseeable future." Kathy Sreedhar and Americans for International Aid find homes for Indian children.

– The number of infants needing overseas homes is decreasing in Korea because of increasing adoptions by Korean families. The Korean government is currently planning to lower the number of foreign adoptions by 20 per cent a year with all foreign adoptions ceasing in 1980. Some agencies are skeptical that this will happen, however. South Korea is sensitive to North Korean criticism that it is "selling" its children.

– Eurasian babies, especially girls, are more in demand in Hong Kong, Thailand and the Philippines than children who do not have a caucasian parent. On the black market, some Thai families have paid $10,000 for one Eurasian. A Caucasian-Filipino baby could cost up to $7,000.

If anyone has a theory why this is so, do let me know.

The mothers are usually bar girls who receive little if any of the money, the babies being sold by their pimps or bar owners. In many cases, the mothers must pay back debts incurred while they were in no shape to work.

Such black market children have no legal rights; they could be abandoned if the step-parents die. There is no follow-up, no way to insure that the children are not abused.

– In the past, there have been no legal adoption agencies in Asia. Traditionally, the extended family took care of orphaned relatives.

– A legal adoption of an Asian child in the U.S. costs upwards from about a thousand dollars including transportation. It can take a minimum of 6 months.

– Some agencies will accept single parents, especially for hard-to-place older or handicapped children.

– The Foreign Adoption Resources office has published a book listing all agencies working in all countries and a limited do-it-yourself section for those with the inclination, persistence and fortitude to fight the bureaucratic procedures themselves. (Available for $3.00 plus postage from P.O. Box 774, Boulder, Col. 80302.)

Some agencies and volunteers who say they can process Asian adoptions are listed. Some are better than others but I am in no position to judge.

Americans for International Aid and Adoption
1370 Murdock Road, Marietta, Ga. 30067.

Holt Adoption Program, Inc., P.O. Box 2420,
Eugene, Oregon, 97402

Livingstone Adoption Program
Dillon Family & Youth Services, Inc.,
2547 E. 21st., Tulsa, Ok. 74114

OURS, 3148 Humboldt Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minn. 55408

Kathy Sreedhar, 2562 36th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Rosemary Taylor Agency, Friends of Children
14 Brookside Road, Darien, Conn. 06820
Connecticut/New England only.

Tressler-Lutheran Service Associates
905 S. Beaver St., York, Pa. 17403
Central Pennsylvania only

Welcome House, P.O. Box 836
Doylestown, Pa. 18901

CONTEST NEWS. What is a hotel? For the purpose of our "Favorite Hotel in Asia and Why" Contest announced last month, a hotel is any structure in which a stranger can customarily sleep overnight for a fee.

This eliminates most government bungalows, school dormitories, missionary guest houses (unless they are open to the general public) and Sikh temples. It does include the YMCA and Youth hostels, the Okura, the Oberois, resort cottages and house boats.

Because we're looking for places that other readers can also patronize, we must have names and addresses.

Marks will go for the most interesting reasons: e.g. there's a tiny hotel run by a family in Bali where the old grandmother sits in the lobby, warmly greeting the guests to her "home." If she likes you, she might ask her grandchildren to lend you their bicycles. She might even send a grandson along as a guide — free. You feel she cares . . .

Another example: there's a blue and white houseboat in Kashmir, a favorite because of the mountain setting and the exotic world that comes floating out to you — the vendors each selling fresh flowers, honey, fresh fruit, candy, hot coffee, clothes — a tailor comes too.

A little paddle boat is at your disposal, cushioned, canopied, with curtains drawn at your behest. It has a helpful paddleman, taking you from lake to another, stopping if you wish, to watch the wood-carvers. And in the evening, the owner comes to chat by lantern light and comes to sell his copperware. Bantering with him is fun.

Need more time? We're extending the deadline to the last day of January. Judges will be a panel appointed by the Asia Mail, annonymous because we haven't found volunteers yet. It will be up on the tricks of hotel public relations people (I hope).

Remember, it's 100 words or less, prose or poetry. Asia for us (we never did very well in geography) is Afghanistan east to Hawaii with Australia thrown in as a bonus.

The hotels must be accessible to most people. This eliminates hotels in the People's Republic of China, North Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea because the average tourist cannot visit there.

It does include Samarkand, Bukhara and Tashkent, places in Soviet Asia that are relatively easy to visit.

First prize is a two-year subscription to the Asia Mail; second prize a one-year subscription; third prize — there will be six of them — are Asia Mail T-shirts.

Please send as many entries as you want. Some people have more than one favorite. Think Asia, Box 706, Adelphi, Md. 20783. Send a self-addressed, stamped envelope if you want your entry returned. We regret we cannot acknowledge receipt.

All winning entries become the joint property of the author and THE ASIA MAIL. We'll print some in future issues.


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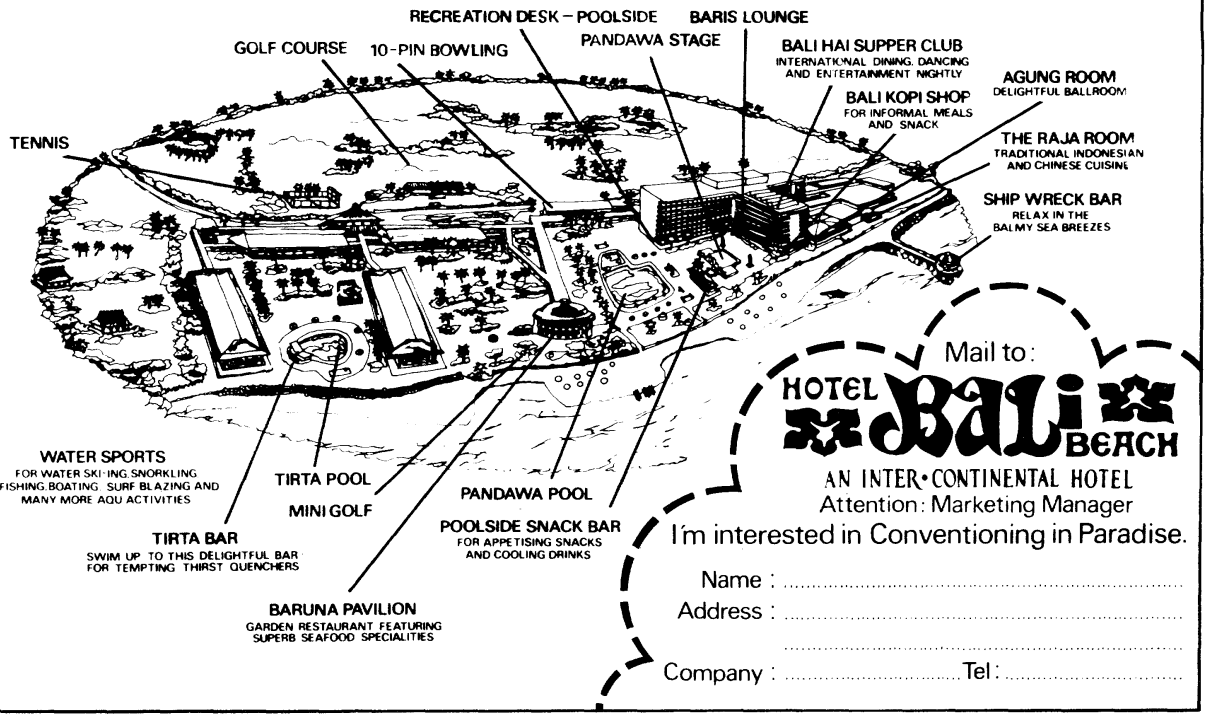


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| China-Taiwan — (new Taiwan dollar) | .0220 | .0260 |
| Fiji — (dollar) | .90 | 1.05 |
| HongKong — (dollar) | .2080 | .2130 |
| India — (rupee) | .09 | .0980 |
| Indonesia — (rupiah) | .0016 | .0019 |
| Japan — (yen) | .00335 | .00375 |
| Korea S. — (won) | .0016 | .0019 |
| Malaysia — (ringgit) | .3920 | .3980 |
| New Zealand — (dollar) | .80 | .95 |
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| Philippines — (piso) | .1227 | .1258 |
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# The Acheson Assumption

# *U.S. Policy in the Mel*

**Michael Morrow**

Beyond the flightline, the straight rows of cement block buildings, the cyclone fencing and the guardposts, Udorn did not wait. A dreary, decadent and often violent town, it had grown like a wart on the backside of the war. Now it shriveled, and only five journalists had stayed the extra day to watch stragglers Lutz and Jones earn their asterisk in the history books.

And so they did at 10:31 on the morning of December 20, 1975. Pilot Joe Lutz and Radar Operator Rich Jones, neither of whom had ever dropped a bomb in anger, eased their ailing Phantom off the Udorn runway. The mottled green image disappeared like a blowfly against the dry season sky of Northeastern Thailand.

In February 1859, the fleet of French Admiral Rigault de Genouilly seized Saigon: an era began. In April 1975, the troops and tanks of NVN General Tran Van Tra re-took the city; an era ended. Be seeing you, Lutz; sorry you missed out, Jones. It is just no longer necessary, desirable, or even very possible to permanently base American combat airplanes in mainland Southeast Asia.

End of story? Not quite. At the 432nd Tactical Fighter Wing's Udorn headquarters, a rusting metal arch was left behind. Attended by a hedge of red "feung fa," the arch bore three words: "And Kill Migs." More than a quarter of a century, but still only a link or two in the chain of command divided that left-over slogan from an historic injunction of former Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

On the eve of communist takeover in China in 1949, Acheson launched a committee to reassess the United States' Asia policy; as he wrote in a memorandum to Philip Jessup, he had just one underlying concern: "You will please take it as your assumption that it is a fundamental decision of American policy that the United States does not intend to permit further extension of communist domination on the continent of Asia or in the Southeast Asia area . . ." And so the United States has fought, and paid others to fight. Every Secretary of State since then has subscribed to the Acheson assumption.

American intelligence knew that from the Yenan period onward, the Chinese communists were receiving little aid from the Soviet Union. Acheson, and many other senior American diplomats, chose nonetheless to envisage a monolithic Communist Block because they saw it assaulting the free market world they believed in.

Given his historical place and time, Acheson at least had the excuse of Stalin for his mistake. But the policy that has followed from his assumption in Southeast Asia, and particularly in the Mekong countries of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, has been, bluntly put, a policy of killing communists, or those poeple so aligned or so described. It has been a policy of opposing drift toward or rapprochement with "the Left" as a matter of principle.

As Professor Hans Morgenthau and others pointed out long ago, it has been a stupid policy; it has been a brutish policy and it has been a failure. However it is still a policy that endures, and now Cyrus Vance, who if not present at the beginning then enough so later on, is Secretary of State.

Do we have any reason to think that the Acheson assumption will be put to rest? Not much, I should think, but Thailand and the Mekong Basin generally is the place to look for an answer. If Mr. Vance, his boss Mr. Carter, and whoever else it is who will count in the new administration's formulation of foreign policy, intend a new strategy for Southeast Asia, they should know that this is the terrain that counts. If they intend just another game of dominos, then they owe Mr. Kissinger and the Republican presidents he has served a debt for doing so little to get American policy out of that rut.

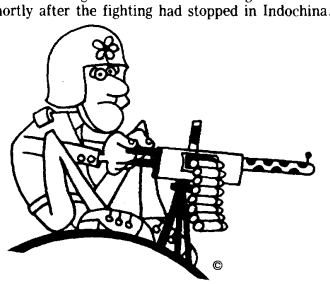
"Fifty-two months and ten days ago, in a moment of tragedy and trauma, the duties of this office fell upon me," President Lyndon Johnson told the American people wearily on March 31, 1968. His address that night not only marked the end of his own political career, but also the beginning of an end to the Vietnam War. Rhetoric aside, it carried promise.

In that March speech Johnson repeated a pledge he had made at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore in April 1965: "that the United States would take part in the great work of developing Southeast Asia, including the Mekong Valley — for all the people of that region . . . (that) North Vietnam could take its place in this common effort just as soon as peace comes."

Well, peace has come. It has not come on American terms because those terms were historically untenable, but it has come nonetheless, and the President's words have more relevance to our time than they did to his: "Over time, a wider framework of peace and security may become possible. The new cooperation of the nations of the area could be a foundation stone . . ."

In announcing his Pacific Doctrine in Honolulu in December 1975, President Ford allowed that "Peace in Asia requires a structure of economic cooperation reflecting the aspirations of all the peoples of the region." The only structure he mentioned, however, was the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. "Americans will be hearing much about the ASEAN organization," the President said. "All its members are friends of the United States." The Indochina countries are not friends of the United States — Vietnam in particular. ASEAN so far has all the makings of another anti-communist club with the Mekong River as its most critical frontier. The notion of Mekong cooperation once suggested by President Johnson has become anathema.

It is indeed ironic that during the period 1957-75 the United States gave $45.6 million to the UN-sponsored Committee for the Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin, the only functional regional body linking Thailand with its Indochina neighbors, but cut off funding of the Committee shortly after the fighting had stopped in Indochina.



Despite signals from Laos and Vietnam that they wanted the Mekong Committee to continue and expand its activites, the $1.3 million American grant for fiscal 1975 was limited by an act of Congress to Thailand's use only, and the Bangkok-based secretariat was told that even Thai-related aid could not be expected in the future. The largely American-controlled United Nations Development Program also cut the Committee's funding. Only the intervention of UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, who visited Bangkok briefly in February 1976 has assured sufficient budget to hold the Committee's secretariat together until mid-1977.

Such information should not come as much surprise. The United States now twice vetoed Vietnam's admission to the United Nations since the war's end, and formal American diplomacy remains in the hands of men (whether they are loyal to Mr. Kissinger or Mr. Vance is of little importance) whose contempt for the Vietnamese is only thinly veiled.

Which calls back to mind the last few days of 1975. As Lieutenants Lutz and Jones were struggling with a fluttery rudder at Udorn air base, and as the anniversary of the Christmas bombing was fast approaching, four American Congressmen journeyed to Hanoi.

Coming when it did, the visit was itself significant. Prime Minister Pham Van Dong told the Representatives that theirs was "a meeting starting peace and friendship between the two countries." Whether history proves him right or not we shall wait and see. The words in any case were accompanied by a gesture. The ashes of three missing American flyers (Navy Commander Jesse Taylor, Air Force Captain Ronald Perry and Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Crosley Fitton) were turned over in a simple ceremony on the tarmac of Gia Long airport.

The Vietnamese took the occasion seriously and handled it with a certain magnanimity, even permitting an American military officer accompanying the Congressmen to change into uniform and to drape American flags over the three small wooden boxes which held the ashes. In dignity, the men began their journey home.

Ambassador Charles Whitehouse, a former aide to Ellsworth Bunker in Saigon and previous to his Bangkok appointment ambassador to Laos, was noticeably missing from the honor guard that removed the remains (now in metal military coffins) from the UN plane that had shuttled the

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Congressional party to and from Hanoi. Only when the coffins had been placed on a waiting air force C-130 did the Ambassador's long black limousine pull up before the small cluster of newsmen and officials. Whitehouse, accompanied by a silver poodle, emerged dressed in a dapper beige lounge suit. "I hope you don't mind a macabre question" he quipped: "how big were the boxes?"

Ambassador Whitehouse remains at his post, last seen in November turning over four American helicopters to Thailand's Border Patrol Police. Since the October 6 coup in Bangkok, Thailand's future is now the macabre question. Out to avenge an alleged (and it would appear fabricated) insult of Thailand's Crown Prince, Royalists, spearheaded by units of the CIA-inspired BPP, burned alive, beat to death, sexually assaulted and hung leftist men and women students from Bangkok's prestigious Thammasat University. As one writer put it, the event marked the beginning of "Southeast Asia's equivalent to the Civil War in Spain."

Despite the denials, it is difficult to believe that the U.S. government did not at the very least have an oblique role in the October 6 coup, and in the carefully orchestrated brownshirt violence leading up to it during the previous two years. In any case Washington finds Bangkok's new radical rightists more to its liking than its old bourgeois democrats, and it was almost obscene how quickly news was leaked that Americans in civilian clothes had been based at reactivated Takhli air base to support military aircraft dropping in to and from the Indian Ocean base on Diego Garcia.

In Thai history October 6 will likely prove the headwaters of a river of no return. It has driven many of Thailand's finest intellectuals into the mountains, or across the Mekong into Laotian exile, and it has locked Thailand's socialists into a life or death struggle with Thai monarchists. The "residual presence" of the American military in Thailand, about which former Defense Secretary Schlesinger was so concerned, has been secured for the time-being, and foreign businessmen may even be able to count on five years of relative stability. But the line has never been drawn like this before, and the ramifications of civil war could well spread far beyond Thailand's borders.

A civil war in Thailand must now be taken as inevitable. If the Acheson assumption holds, then the United States will likely be drawn in on the side of the monarchists, and American influence will go to hardening ASEAN into an anti-communist block. In that event, Indochina countries, Vietnam in particular, will not only be excluded from region-wide plans for economic cooperation, but forced to contend with a gameplan the ultimate result of which would likely be the ongoing bifurcation of their own Mekong Basin community. The domino theory can still be made a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The emerging political and economic potential of the Mekong countries has already established that they themselves can fill much of the "vacuum" left by the retreat of American hegemony on the end of the Second Indochina War. The crucial question — and one over which the United States as the most active outside power still holds influence — has become "how," not "whether" these countries will conduct their own relations, and particularly how Bangkok and Hanoi, epicenters of power in the Mekong Basin, can accommodate one another.

The notion of such an accommodation is not so novel as might first appear. Although it is now all but forgotten history, Ho Chi Minh once lived in a small Thai town not far from the Mekong River, and he once received small arms from the Thai government to fight the French. In 1947, then Thai Prime Minister Pridi Phanomyong, leader of the Thai resistance during World War II and like Ho Chi Minh a recipient of American aid during that period, journeyed to France in an unsuccessful attempt to mediate Indochina's independence. Having failed, in September 1947 he invited the Indochina revolutionaries into a formal association called the Southeast Asian League: somewhat ironically the first attempt at a regional community.

The winds of the Cold War had already begun to blow, and Pridi was soon forced into exile by a coup d'etat that restored to power pro-fascist collaborators of Japan's World War II occupation. For a brief period, however, the Vietnamese and Lao independence movements had actually operated from a wooden house on Bangkok's main street, Silom Road. "I hoped that when these people had regained their independence we could work closely with them," Pridi, who is still in exile, told an interviewer in Paris two years ago.

Pridi not only helped lead the 1932 putsch that ended absolute monarchy in Thailand, but was Thammasat University's first rector, helping to explain the leading role the

(See MEKONG, Page 21)


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# Ring of Fire III

**Polynesia's Sacred Isle**
By Edward Dodd
Dodd, Mead & Company, 1976, 224 pps., $10.00

**Donna Gays**

Edward Dodd's third book in "The Ring of Fire" series on the culture of Polynesia is a personal narrative in which he attempts to lure the romanticist, not the historian or anthropologist. There are few statistics, judgements or evaluations in "Polynesia's Sacred Isle."

As part of the Society Island group, Raiatea is an insignificant island only 20 miles long and some 10 to 12 miles wide, lying some 3000 miles from the nearest continent. It is a hundred miles northeast of the more popularly-known Tahiti. The name "Raiatea" in the old Polynesian language can best be translated to mean "expansive sky."

Dodd first came upon the island in the late 1920's with a group of fellow Yale graduates who were attempting to sail around the world. Although none of them completed the trip, Dodd was so enamored of Raiatea that he returned in the late 1950's with his wife. It was then they met Turo who was to become like a son. Eventually, the two families shared a home.

At Fetuna, on the southern end of the island, the Dodds built their dream house to which they have returned nearly every other year for two to four months at a time for the past dozen years. Turo, his wife, and his ever-growing family occupy the house the remainder of the time.

Raiatea, according to Dodd, is the birthplace of the Polynesian culture. It has been written elsewhere that, while Raiatea was the spiritual center, Tahiti has been the cultural center. It was, however, to Raiatea that the settlers came from Samoa before settling on the other islands.

Dodd attempts to explain Raiatea's significance through chants and recitations that remain from the past.

He explores the geological and botanical history of the island and writes of the "tiare apatahi," a rare flower flourishing some 2,000 feet high atop the sacred mountain of Temehani. This beautiful flower is a botanical wonder that refuses to thrive elsewhere in the world.

Dodd speculates on how the trees, fruits and flowers came to be a part of the legends, superstitions, customs, religion and history of the island.

We learn that Raiatea is the central-Pacific birthplace of the still-practiced art of fire-walking.

It is the origin of the breadfruit. We learn also that the Raiateans are master-builders of the canoe, particularly the great double-canoes which took the islanders to Hawaii, the Cooks and New Zealand.

Dodd writes at length of the Ariori Society who would be regarded by most cultures as obscene, evil entertainers in a tightly organized society free of sexual morals. A greatly respected, or perhaps feared group, they were capable of spreading the gospel of Oro, an ancient diety, in a highly effective manner. It is perhaps because of this that the people accepted Christianity so readily from the missionaries who arrived in the 1800's.


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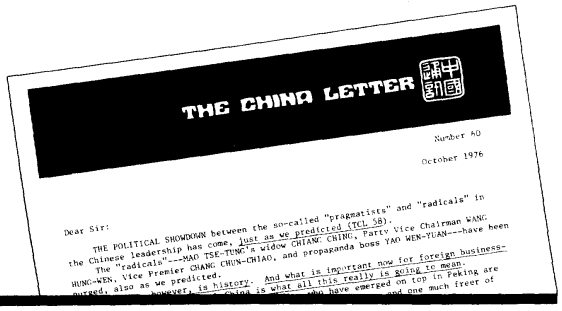
THE CHINA LETTER

Number AO

October 1976

Dear Sir:

THE POLITICAL SHOWDOWN between the so-called "pragmatists" and "radicals" in the Chinese leadership has come, just as we predicted (TCL 58).

The "radicals"---MAO TSE-TUNG's widow CHIANG CHING, Party Vice Chairman WANG HUNG-WEN, Vice Premier CHANG CHUN-CHIAO, and propaganda boss YAO WEN-YUAN---have been purged, also as we predicted.

However, [illegible] is history. And what is important now for foreign business-[illegible] is what all this really is going to mean.

[illegible] who have emerged on top in Peking are [illegible] and one much freer of




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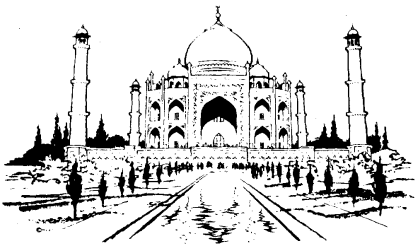
# India: Silent Revolution (II)



**This is the second and concluding part of Jeremiah Novak's "India: Silent Revolution," which began in the December issue of THE ASIA MAIL. If you missed the first installment, write for a free copy of the December issue: Ms. Phyllis Hanlon, THE ASIA MAIL, Box 1044, Alexandria, VA 22313.**

## Jeremiah Novak

It is this situation which the band of economists faced in 1972 which called forth their greatest efforts. The relevance of Dr. Dhar's 1966 paper was that the analysis of the problem which he had given them still applied in 1973. Dr. VKRV Rao and his colleagues updated Dr. Dhar's analysis and prepared the case for presentation to the Prime Minister.

According to men who sat through that first meeting with the Prime Minister in September 1973, the Prime Minister remained relatively quiet but receptive to the arguments and proposals which the small band made. In the discussion Dhar and Rao lead the Prime Minister through the intricacies of what was proposed.

After hearing the economists out she proposed that the men make their proposal to the cabinet. This was arranged by her in October 1973. Prior to the meeting the working paper had been circulated to key members of the cabinet — a group that would later be lablelled as the "Economic Committee."

In addition to the economists, the cabinet ministers who attended this meeting were Y. B. Chavan-External Affairs, C. Subramanian-Finance, T. A. Pai-Industry, and D. P. Dhar-Planning, and J. Ram-Agriculture.

The meeting was a heated one but the six economists won the argument by simply pointing to the chaos that existed in the economy. They pointed out that the drought occured because the irrigation was not in place. They noted that there was no coordination between the central bank and the finance ministry so that money was being created far faster than increases in production. They noted that private business had not expanded its investment and that the public sector was running at an unexplainable deficit.

Although it was not included in the working papers the economists were critical of the fact that, as far as economic policy was concerned, the cabinet did not coordinate its policies. Each ministry did as it chose without any attempt to find out how their policy either meshed with the economic plan or how their actions affected other ministries.

Although the cabinet was far from happy with the criticism it received and by no means convinced that the program being offered would work, the cabinet, at the Prime Minister's prompting, agreed to extend discussion of the working paper. However, there was one key result of this meeting.

Shortly after the meeting the Prime Minister told all ministers that no decision on economic matters could be taken without first being cleared by the inner cabinet committee comprised of the above minishers.

According to V. Ramachandran, P.N. Dhar's assistant, this decision to enforce economic disipline on the cabinet marked the first time in history that the cabinet had to clear every decision to see if it conformed to the five year plan.

"This decision," he said, "created the institutional mechanism to assure coordination at the top. In the past every cabinet member created policies based on his desires. As a result, Indian planning, which had always been praised for its foresight, was frustrated by poor policy implementation. Now all policies must conform to the plan."

Over the next few months, Ramachandran continued, there were repeated cabinet meetings. "We met two or three times a week. There were constant disputes between the cabinet and the economists. Had it not been for P.N. Dhar and the Prime Minister, the working paper would have been shelved."

And C.H. Hanumantha Rao recalled, "Separate meetings had to be held with each minister and his staff. We tried to convince the ministries either to retract old programs or to implement new ones. This went on until the spring of 1974."

As a result, each ministry was told to draft its own proposals, which were reviewed by the cabinet's inner economic committee, and either approved or sent back for revision.

As the months passed a new group emerged in the second echelon of the cabinet, and these men eventually played pivotal roles in the development of a new economic policy. Some of the key figures were: Man Mohan Singh of Finance; S. Chakravorty of Planning; P.N. Haksar of Planning and B. Jaylin of Industries.

Two early symptoms of India's new economic mood were apparent in May 1974. The first was that India had successfully concluded negotiations with the World Bank for a $1.5 billion loan. That the Bank had set conditions on the loan was known at the time. Later it was learned that the Bank had accepted the six economists's working paper as a basis for granting credit.

The second symptom was the government's strong action in crushing the national railroad strike in May 1974, by first securing railroad property and then sending in troops.

And finally the government's policy was made explicit in July 1974, exactly a year before the emergency, when Mrs. Gandhi spoke at the opening ceremonies of the Institute for Economic and Social Change at Bangalore. This Institute had been founded by Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao. And the Prime Minister's speech is recognized as the turning point in the nation's economic policy. The program which she then enunciated, had the full support of her cabinet and was the result of nearly a year's work. Mrs. Gandhi's three major points were that:

—Cost of living allowances to labor were to be impounded in order to check the nation's inflationary spiral;

—One-third of dividends were to be impounded as well, to control corporate spending until the economy cooled off;

—Taxes on windfall gains were to be increased.

One point that Mrs. Gandhi failed to mention, but which was vital to the new policy, was that there would exist a new coordination between the Finance Ministry and Reserve Bank of India; and that henceforth, government spending and money creation were to be limited, taking into consideration actual productivity.

Coming as it did just six weeks after the government crushed the railroad strike, the Prime Minister's speech had an almost immediate effect, as the Finance Ministry took action to see that the new policies were implemented. The result was that over the following 11 months wholesale prices fell by nearly 13 per cent, as the quantity of money in circulation was controlled.

During this same period leading up the declaration of an emergency the government took other actions to stimulate the economy, such as liberalization of imports, regularization of license capacity, and delicensing of some industries. In addition, more funds were allocated for irrigation projects, and incentives were increased to encourage exports and farm procurement programs.

These policies were implemented one at a time, and were never announced as being part of the government's new overall economic schema. Indeed, few noted the changes because this period was one of further deterioration on the political front.

Near anarchy reigned throughout India. A combination of Gandhists, right-wing Hindu nationalists and communists threatened to topple the government. In February 1975 D.P. Mishra, the Minister for Railways, was assasinated. In April 1975 the opposition forces joined to form a loose coalition. The State Government of Gujerat was overthrown. Eighteen million man hours were lost to strikers. Mrs. Gandhi was tried in a lower court and convicted of a minor campaign violation. And it looked as though the gain made against inflation under the new economic program would be lost as a result of the political upheaval.

It was against this background that Mrs. Gandhi declared a state of emergency.

This declaration, backed by the arrest of opposition leaders and muzzling of the nation's media, crippled the divisive forces. Stability soon returned to the political and economic fronts, and over the next year the economy took a major turn upward.

The nation's GNP grew by 10.6 per cent. Agricultural output, aided by a good monsoon, grew by 18 per cent. Exports grew by 10 per cent during a period when world trade, overall, decreased by 6 per cent. And the public sector, under Mrs. Gandhi's dictate that it become more productive, grew by 16 per cent and turned in a handsome profit for the first time.

These results were attributed to the government's new economic program.

To understand what has occurred since the government began its new economic schema it is worth recapping the major policy changes over the past two years:

—Effective control of the money supply was implemented.

—Most industries were delicensed.

—Public enterprises were directed to become more efficient, to increase capacity utilization and to increase profits.

—Export incentives were increased.

—Imports were liberalized.

—A first priority effort was made to increase irrigation projects.

—Taxes were lowered on income and assets, including for corporations.

—Outlays for the private sector were increased by 68 per cent in the final Fifth Plan document issued in 1976.

—Tax incentives for research and development were increased.

—Foreign capital inflows were encouraged.

—Expenditures in power generation were doubled for industrial and farm use.

—Twenty million tons of grain stocks were accumulated as a hedge against drought.

—The government began to actively solicit foreign loans and grants.

—Efficiency was increased in posts, telegraphs and other communications facilites.

Nearly all of the above was taken into account in the first point of Mrs. Gandhi's twenty point program which she issued at the time the emergency was declared:

"The streamlining of production, procurement and distribution of essential commodities, strict economy in government and the continuance of steps to increase productivity."

As one of the economists responsible for India's economic turn-around put it, "That one paragraph in the 20 point program is our paragraph. It summarizes our program."

The working paper provided to the government by the six economists was designed initially only to control the inflationary situation which had arisen during 1972-3. As the working paper said at the outset,

"We would like to make it clear at the outset that we are dealing with the short period problem of inflation and unrest that has overtaken the country today and threatens to bring to a halt the attempt that is being made to combine economic growth with social justice . . ."

Whatever the economists' design the program they initiated in 1974 has more than short run implications. The very concept of combining economic growth with social justice implies that the economic plans of the future must emphasize growth first, followed by social justice, unless the former inflation repeats itself.

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The first indication that the new economic policies were designed for future as well as present situations came when the final Fifth Year document was presented to the public on Sept. 25, 1976. The plan proved important in four respects:

* This plan, which replaces the draft plan issued in 1973, clearly defines agriculture as the leading sector.
* The plan increases private sector outlays by 68 per cent, while increasing public sector outlays by only 13 per cent.
* The plan assumes that all the policy steps listed above remain in effect. According to one member of the Planning Commission, "A further reduction in the regulation of industry can be expected."
* The plan unashamedly calls for more foreign aid, and makes no attempt to emphasize the theme of self-reliance.

And although Indian government officials take pains to emphasize that the new plan's philosophy parallels that of the draft outline of 1973, and that there is only a shift in emphasis, close scrutiny and in-depth talks with Indian Planners leave no doubt that a new development strategy has been launched.

The plan's pivotal aspect concerns the provisions for development of agriculture. As Yoginder K. Alagh of the Planning Ministry put it, "The idea is to vastly expand expenditures on irrigation and power." By so doing India gains two ways. First, better irrigation, through surface water and wells, coupled with the use of high yielding seeds, would give India's biotic revolution a chance to occur at the targeted rate of 4 per cent a year . . . an exponential rate which is achievable considering the fact that Indian agriculture grew by 3.16 per cent a year, compounded, from 1961 to 1972.

According to Alagh, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, "The key to progress is water. Once the water is in place, we can predict the productivity increases based on historical rates of growth in productivity."

The second benefit from agricultural development is that the emphasis on development of power and water supplies creates a demand for industrial goods and a steadily growing market for cement, pumps, electric motors, tractors, fertilizers and other farm products. At the same time, the increase in agricultural production keeps down the price of food and other wage goods, thus making industry more efficient.

A second change in the plan's emphasis calls for higher outlays in the private sector. This, too, has two aspects. The first is, according to the working paper, that the private sector had suffered a net decline in assets in the period from 1966 to 1973 as a result of hostile regulations and confiscatory taxes. This sector had in the past been one of the most vibrant parts of the Indian economy, and the architects of India's new economic system felt that it needed a better atmosphere and easier credit to regain its momentum. Further, when it is realized that most private enterprise in India is conducted by farmers the plan's emphasis on agriculture meshes with the increased outlays to the private sector.

The second aspect of only marginally increasing the public

sector reflects the belief of the six economists that the public sector had been operating well below capacity and was not in need of increased outlays until current capacity was utilized efficiently. Thus the decision to restrict outlays in this sector is part of the long run policy to make the public sector pay its own way.

The third change in the plan is the continued reduction in regulation and control in industry. As one economist in the planning commission put it, "This group of policies helps both the private and the public enterprises because it reduces red tape and decentralizes decision making."

Finally, the acknowledgement in the final fifth plan that overseas loans would be acceptable carries with it the recognition that savings in India are not adequate yet. This is a realistic conclusion that eliminates the need for further rhetoric about economic autarchy.

The planners are aware that they will have to increase exports to pay off foreign loans and also have to increase capital inflows in the form of new investment. As one critic put it, "When you accept foreign loans you have to accept foreign captial."

All four changes in emphasis in the newly completed plan give strength to the thesis that the working paper of the six economists has had a permanent effect on the planning process and that the new plan is following the Tobin Mason Model as used in Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines and Brazil.

While the model has been changed to meet Indian standards, there is little question that the economists responsible for the change are aware of the influence of the model on their thinking. Moreover, they point out, that their model incorporates "many of the best features of the Soviet, Agrarian, and Fabian models while not sacrificing efficiency."

"We are embarked upon a new course that will require five to ten years to bring its best results," said P.N. Dhar. Dhar, a Kashmiri, smiled at this point and said, "But it will bring the kind of results that it has brought elsewhere."

Too modest to predict the economic miracle these policies have brought in other countries, Dhar prefers to say that "development comes in pauses and lurches." Yet many of his colleagues are sure that the new policies will result in growth rates of at least 6% a year from now to the end of the century. Yoginder Alagh, who is responsible for long term prospective planning, said, "India is on its way." And his boss Dr. Shankar Ghose, the financial wizard who straightened out the finances of West Bengal and is now planning minister, said, "You can say that the Indian economy has reached its takeoff at last."

With the change in policy initiated by the six economists and the concretization of their ideas in policy and in the new five year plan, it has become possible to look at projections of India's future with the confidence that the policies are suited to growth and to balance the needs of social justice with the requirements of growth.

It is interesting to note that both the planning commission and an independent study commissioned by the Ford Foundation agree on future projections. Both groups of futurologists are looking for growth rates of nearly 5.6% to 7% per annum between now and the year 2001. At these rates the per capita income of Indians would treble by the end of the century and the GNP will increase to nearly 270 billion dollars in the same period. This will give India, by the end of the century, the same GNP as Japan's in 1970.

F. A. Mehta of the Ford Foundation, who published an overall view of the Indian economy this year in the Ford Foundation's "Second India Series", believes that the above rate of growth is eminently reasonable for the Indian economy and that even if the population of India grows from its current level of 600 million to one billion by the end of the century per capita income will more than triple.

The essential underpinning of the growth projections of both the Ford Foundation and the government planners is the agricultural projection, as agriculture accounts for over half of the total GNP.

It is remarkable, therefore, that both forecasts have chosen a 4% rate of agricultural growth as achievable.

On the industrial side, again both groups are forecasting industrial growth at the rate of between 7 and 9% between now and the end of the century.

Yoginder Alagh of the Prospective Planning Group of the Planning Commission said, "Despite two of the worst


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droughts in history, cereal production increased by 3.10% compound rate between 1961 and 1972. If irrigation continues to expand, we will certainly be able to increase production by 4% per annum on an average between now and the end of the century."

Dr. V.M. Rao in his book in the Ford Foundation Series also posts a 4% rate as attainable, but cautions that the record of the Indian government in carrying out programs in the agricultural sector is anything but encouraging. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the long run implications of irrigation will only be achieved through periods of trial and error. Most economists now warn that the government must manage its surpluses more effectively to provide food supplies during lean years. "Buffer Stock management is crucial to our performance," said Dr. C. H. Hanumantha Rao.

At a press conference on September 25, Dr. S. Chakravorty said that "Fundamental to the planning process is a surplus in the agricultural sector so that wage goods prices will be held down." He stressed that this meant an urgent commitment to increase buffer stocks and to increase the irrigated land in order to increase productivity and to immunize India to the vagaries of the monsoon.

The awareness of the role of agriculture cannot be underestimated in India today. The failures in 1966 and 1972 have thoroughly sensitized the government to the need for insisting on performance in this vital sector. "We will not repeat the mistakes of the past," said Dr. Dhar.

Most observers now agree that the government has firmly made its commitment to agriculture. As a result, Indian's industrial sector now has a solid base upon which to build. According to Dr. B. Jalin, chief economist of the department of industry, the major emphasis now is on productivity, modernization, and technological change.

"We have a great deal of unused or poorly used capacity which we must, through better and more modern management use more productively."

For foreign investors, there is a new set of instructions which was published in April of this year called "Guidelines for Foreign Investors". Although the guidelines are similar to those issued in the past, there is a change in tone in the new booklet. As more than one official in the government says, "We are open to projects that bring in new technology, more jobs, and create exports."

In part, the new atmosphere is due to an awakening in India that foreign savings can best be attracted to India if new capital comes in the form of investment. This is particularly true since the government seems more willing than ever to try the IMF rules, which it has not done in the past. "The government has seen other countries like Brazil and Iran succeed within the western rules and now we want to be one of the success countries."

It is when this whole mood is appreciated that one can see closely the reality of the high projections of the futurologists.

It has to be stressed that India today is following a model that in general has been successful in other countries. There is simply no reason to believe that it will not be successful in India.

# Japan

(Continued from Page 4)

of unfair competition, and to allege that Japan itself deals unfairly with its imports from the United State.

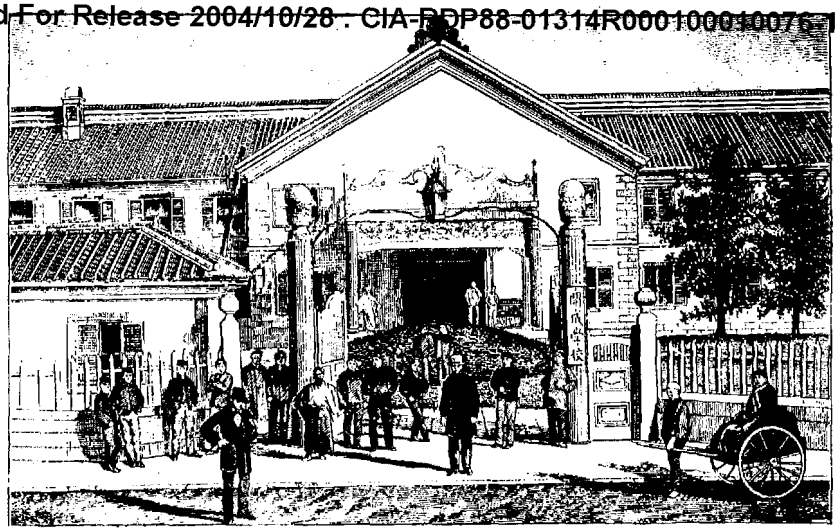
In fact, it has been many years since Japan dismantled the last of its import quotas on foreign manufactured goods, while the United States does have such restrictions today — notably on specially steel products and textiles. Moreover, Japan's tariffs are as low or lower than those of the United States or the EEC.

Some U.S. and European criticism focuses on alleged Japanese "non tariff barriers", notably including Japanese restrictions (until recently) on foreign autos which do not meet Japan's strict standards of emission control. These standards are not imposed to inhibit imports of foreign cars, of course, but because dense population and serious pollution problems make such standards essential. Nonetheless, out of consideration for foreign car producers, Japan will allow them probably at least two years to reach Japanese standards of emission control.

Japanese business and government circles are convinced that any neo-protectionism would not only be wholly unjustified, but would also cause serious harm both to Japan and to the United States (and notably to American consumers) while retarding or even aborting world economic recovery.

Since Japan's recovery seems to have lost its steam, as witnessed by the three-month slump in industrial production and consumer spending, the immediate challenge is to regain economic momentum as rapidly as possible.

Toward that end, Japan's cabinet decided (in November) on a series of business-stimulating measures. These include projects for spending $3.4 billion in public works, private housing and increased financing for smaller businesses, as well as an incentive program to accelerate investment in new plants and equipment.



Entrance to Kai-sei Gak-ko, where William Elliott Griffis taught in Tokyo. From Edward Warren Clark, "Life and Adventures in Japan" (New York American Tract Society, 1878).

# Yankee Teacher In Meiji Japan

**An American Teacher in Early Meiji Japan**
By Edward R. Beauchamp
The University Press of Hawaii
1976. 154 pps. $4.75 paper.

**Earl H. Voss**

This is the 17th publication in a series, Asian Studies at Hawaii, published by The University Press of Hawaii, and gratifying evidence it is of the growing effectiveness of the East-West Center concept, an early Lyndon B. Johnson promotion dating back to his days as Senate Majority Leader in the 1950s.

In this doctoral thesis, now-Professor Beauchamp provides a somewhat misty picture of William Elliot Griffis' brief but important tour as one of the yatoi (employed foreigners) who helped Japan emerge from its long isolation in the Meiji Restoration period. Griffis had the unusual opportunity of working as a teacher both in the remote feudal setting of Fukui and in Tokyo, then a brand new national capital in its early development phase, from 1870 to 1874. Meiji had come to the throne only two years before Griffis' arrival.

Griffis performed scientific experiments in the Emperor Meiji's presence and worked with the Meiji statesmen who helped transform Japan from Feudalism into a modern state.

Beauchamp's picture is somewhat misty because the materials from which he worked were limited, principally letters from Griffis to his family in Philadelphia. Beauchamp draws sparingly from Griffis' many publications, including his most important work, "The Mikado's Empire," considered to have been the most widely read work on Japan in this country up to World War II. Beauchamp provides, nonetheless, an interesting introduction to the formidable tasks the Japanese undertook in bringing their isolated culture into full contact with the outside world. The Japanese reserve in accepting American missionaries is a case in point.

Some of the early American missionaries' activities in the Orient can make some of today's Americans wince, but Griffis' role was apparently less disturbing. For instance he cautioned Japanese Christians in Tokyo and Yokohama against embracing the peculiarities of one particular sect of Christianity, no matter how hard some of the more zealous missionaries pushed. When Christ's apostles spread His word, Griffis wrote in a letter to Japanese Christians, the Christian religion "was greatly influenced by the peculiar kinds of mind in the various nations. Hence Christianity was variously modified, just as the same seed will be modified by various soils and climates." Europeans' versions of Christianity became diverse just as their languages became diverse. Griffis wrote, and since the Japanese were a homogeneous people, there was no need of introducing the various sectarian dimensions of Christianity.

Griffis worked hard to elevate the position of women in Japan, but with only modest success. There was still a good deal to be done when Ethel Weed and her small band of Japanese women went to work on the same problem in MacArthur's occupation.

It is interesting that Beauchamp finds Griffis going along, to the extent that he does, with the traditional Japanese myth that the imperial family descended from the heavens, thus laying the basis for the divinity of the emperor. Griffis could not accept all this as true history, but he did find a certain element of truth in the details of the stories. Griffis concluded that the historical accounts of various ancient rulers' exploits, "though exaggerated in mirage and fable, are in the main, most probably historic." He found many disbelieving Japanese, of course, among them one student explaining simply that "It is my duty to believe in them" (the myths.)

Griffis wrote in 1915 of the dangers that the institution of the emperor might be captured someday by ambitious men for their own manipulations, to the detriment of the Japanese people as a whole. That, of course, happened 20 years later, to the present occupant of the throne, who nonetheless survived to celebrate the 50th anniversary of his reign — stripped, however, of his forefathers' claim to divinity.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# NEW ASIAN IMMIGRANTS

**This is the second and concluding part of Isao Fujimoto's "The New Asian Immigrants," which began in the December issue of THE ASIA MAIL. If you missed the first installment, write for a free copy of the December issue: Ms. Phyllis Hanlon, THE ASIA MAIL, Box 1044, Alexandria, VA 22313.**

## Isao Fujimoto

Under these pressures, there will be a need for a national Asian American networking system for information retrieval, for lobbying, for keeping different community groups informed as to what is happening where. Also need for National level organizations that Asians and communities can turn to for counsel and coordination of efforts will become more critical. For example, the National JACL has encouraged the sponsoring of Vietnamese refugees by individual chapters. But leaving it at this is too parallel to the government's effort to find sponsors for Vietnamese refugees and stopping there. The proposed self-help resources centers elevates the JACL effort beyond such limitations. Sponsoring chapters will be needing advice, if not help in the form of technical assistance, information, workshops or field consulting. As refuge families go through various stages of adjustment and integration into community life, problems and needs will change. Rather than leave the solution to each chapter and draining unnecessary energy in duplicated trials and errors, a pooling of skills in resolving these issues with a field staff will not only provide an efficient use of resources but can contribute also to morale in unifying all these support communities together.

One of the better avenues for recognizing the needs of the Asian American community from a national level is the creation of offices or projects such as the Office of Asian American Affairs, the National Project on Asian and Pacific Island Americans of the US Commission on Civil Rights, the Pacific Asian Coalition, the Asian Studies Programs, not to speak of other possibilities such as a federation of Asian Women or a council of Asian American Churches. For the first time, and when the need becomes most apparent, there is the makings of a nation wide network of similarly concerned efforts that can respond to Asian American communities in their efforts to broaden access, stay in touch with other groups, enable resource sharing and working in concert on problems of mutual concern.

The need to implement such a network linking Asian American communities and groups for the purposes mentioned takes on a sense of urgency. This is influenced by the politics of the Indochinese refugee situation and the complexity of circumstance surrounding the Asian experience in America. On the one hand here is the need to focus attention on the maldistribution of services and the limits to which the resources of the ethnic community can be taxed to resolve problems arising among its own people without the assistance of government funding. At the same time, there is the delicate balance of organizing communities to become more effective political entities without unduly arousing the hositility of a public suspectible to the mention of visible scapegoats, especially at a time of economic depression and continued system breakdown. Asians have been cast in this role all too often in the past.

There is also the problem of enlightening administrators who hunger for examples of success and find it both politically and intellectually convenient to continue to assume that Asian Americans do not have problems and are not about to veer from this myth unless confronted by facts or pressure or both. Among the offices that do respond, as in the case of the Task Force on Refugees, the response can be limited or even counterproductive if based on experiences with Europeans and insensitive to the needs of people from the Eastern Hemisphere.

All this adds up to the continued need for Asian American communities to develop parallel institutions while also widening avenues for greater input into exsisting institutions. This means encouraging and supporting organizing at the local level within specific Asian groups while also pushing ahead nationally on a Pan-Asian basis. In such context, a networking system takes on central relavance.

What then about the specific role of Asian American communities to new immigrants? On the one hand there is apathy or indifference if not some hostility. According to those working on services to new immigrants, some of this inaction can be attributed to the struggles and battles waged in the past without assistance in a Laissez Faire, competitive market system. Then there's the belief that newcomers are no different in their needs or privileges from what the earlier pioneers experienced and hence should have to work out problems themselves. On the other hand, there are those who see in a common Asian identity, a kinship predicated by mutual need for survival — that is if one is in need, then all are needed. For those Asian Americans who see the realities of a society where it is just as common, if not easier, for individual Asians to be judged categorically rather than on individual merit, there is good cause to rally to assist other Asians in need.

Certainly America is a long way from the open society it would like to claim to be with well informed citizens judging everyone on individual merit. Despite the response of military base personnel and their families towards the Indochinese refugees, the latent pools of animosity in many veterans who fought against Asians over the past 40 years does not make matters any easier. Examples of the latter are cases of discrimination both overt and covert involving Asian Americans working with former officers now in administrative positions.

If anything, the influx of immigrants means a rekindling and renewal of each Asian American's identity. Though people may be more scattered and assimilated into different communities, the bond of Asian ethnicity rests more on social nearness than it does on common residence. The fact that Asians are a recognizable minority makes indifference and escape from the issues that much more difficult and unrealistic. Given this reality, what are the roles for Asian and Pacific Island American communities?

For one thing, Asian Americans provide a very vital linkage between the ethnic and dominant community. Many service agencies, staffed by Asian Americans, are as much information clearing houses and conduits matching resources to needs, as brokers and go betweens that prevent the immigrant from being completely isolated from the society he came to be part of.

Secondly there is the matter of meshing the needs of the settled Asian Americans with the needs on the new. Due to the visibility and numbers of the latter, and the apparent visibility of their problems, aid that comes to the Asian American community tends to favor the immigrants as witness language skills centers, manpower services, and immigrant services. In contrast, unbelieving authorities working on the assumption that there are no problems among Asian American born here, are slow to respond. Working in concert can expedite matters.

Then there is the matter of Pacific rim policies that affect old and new Asian and Pacific Island Americans alike. Tied into this is the reality of understanding one's cultural heritage as a basis of understanding more clearly one's identity in the face of larger issues such as the foreign policy of the United States. Just as the youth in the minority community must look beyond elders in the community for the source of his restraints, so the Asian American must see how his life and affairs of his community are affected by larger global issues.

Tied to understanding ethnic and cultural heritage is the stuff of survival. Chances for social improvement are greater, as Kramer has discussed in her book about minority community, when there is a strong family at the core along with a strong cultural heritage. Culture need not instruct one in how to survive but does offer reasons for survial. To survive, the why proceeds the how. When one wants to live, one finds a way.

Lastly the Asian and Pacific Island American can add to the vitality of the minority community, making more clear its function as a way station than a trap. All people in a mobile society are like ships at sea. Some carry cargo of different types and some get battered in storms. We all need places to dock, to rest and to repair, a place to check in. Refugees, immigrants, marginal people and the socially mobile all have needs for safe ports in safe territories. The minority community can be such a vital way station, providing critical resources and psychic support, being nurturing and supportive without suffocating or limiting members in the guise of the security that it provides.

# Style Problem Dims Warrior

**The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts**
By Maxine Hong Kingston
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1976, 209 pps., $7.95

## Arielle Emmett

Maxine Hong Kingston, a Chinese-American who has never seen her homeland, attempts an exorcism in her first work, "The Woman Warrior." She is determined to rid herself of the demons that riddle her Chinese and American past, to sort out the dreams and nightmares of her life in a Chinatown laundry, and to ask, once and for all, "what is Chinese tradition, and what is the movies?"

These are by no means modest goals. Kingston plows into them headlong, wielding her pen in an act of frenetic confession like the sword of the legendary woman warrior, Fa Mulan, whom she longs to emulate. But redress of grievances — and there are many, indeed — is simply not enough. Kingston is writing a memoir, and in doing so she fails to give the reader a coherent framework upon which to fully understand the complexities of her life.

The problem is clearly one of style, not substance. The author begins her story, in fact, with a brilliant idea — her mother's account of a forbidden chapter in the family's past, the history of a disgraced aunt.

"You must not tell anyone . . . what I am about to tell you. In China your father had a sister who killed herself. She jumped into the family well. We say that your father has all brothers because it is as if she had never been born."

Kingston's aunt commits suicide because she bears the child of an anonymous man, not her husband's, incurring the wrath of the starving, ghost-mongering villagers who curse and ransack the family house even prior to the baby's birth. The aunt is thereafter stripped of her name and identity forced to roam the underworld "always hungry," begging food from other ghosts because her own family refuses to feed — and recognize — her. Kingston somehow identifies with this "No Name Woman," who is at once a rebel, a victim, and an outcast, and in writing the memoir she seeks, in a way, to properly avenge the woman's death

Her tool of vengeance, however, is a fantasy. Kingston at an early age is infected by her mother's incessant "talk-stories" about the fabulous dynasty-wrecker, Mu Lan, a swordswoman trained by the immortals for 15 years in the tactics and mind-tricks of monkeys, tigers, and dragons. This warrior woman, the author adds, is the only female with enough power to supplant her own father in battle, and "get even" with anyone who means her family harm. Significantly, Kingston envisions herself as this woman warrior, bearing the names and grievances of her own family carved in blood upon her back.

The grievances are too numerous to be counted. Kingston's family in China, she reports, is gradually and pathetically whittled away by the Communists. Her mother, Brave Orchid, a "scientific" and headstrong woman trained in Canton in medicine, midwifery, and exorcism, is forced to give up her lucrative and honored practice and revert again to a "slave-wife" in the family's Chinese laundries in New York and California; both of which are lost. Her father grows thin and loses hope of returning to his homeland; yet another aunt, Moon Orchid, goes mad after being rejected face-to-face by an affluent, Americanized husband who left her in China thirty years earlier. Maxine herself, a sullen, resentful child, flunks kindergarten and paints all her pictures in black for the first three years of school. Fueled by her mother's fears, she grows up hiding from all the barbarian "ghosts" around her — "Grocery Ghosts," "Social Worker Ghosts," the "Noisy, Red-Mouthed Ghosts" who taunt the family in their laundry. She is tormented by memories of her grandfather equating girls with "maggots"; of her mother force-feeding the family with "blood puddings awobble" and bowls of monkey brains and skunk. And her childhood answer to being tortured is to torture others — which she does, very effectively, in the school lavatory after hours.

We can't argue with Kingston's vision, however dark. The weakness of the memoir is not its truth, but the way in which she records it. Taken individually, many episodes are indeed powerfully and succinctly written. Kingston particularly excels at catching the nuances of an intimate moment: "I helped my parents carry their tools, and they walked ahead

(See WARRIOR, Page 22)



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# Bookshelf...

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ON JAPAN AND KOREA, 1969-1974
A Classified Bibliographical Listing of International Research; compiled and edited by Frank Joseph Shulman; University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106; 1976, free. Nearly 5000 entries for research undertaken at U.S. and foreign universities are contained in this valuable and comprehensive bibliography of East Asia. Entries provide information about the availability and location of published thesis summaries. The volume is the first supplement to Dr. Shulman's, **Japan and Korea: An Annotated Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations in Western Languages, 1877-1969.** The supplement is available free of charge from the publisher. See page 2 for coupon advertisement.

CHINA'S SCIENTIFIC POLICIES
Implications for International Cooperation; by Charles P. Ridley; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1150 17th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036, and Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, 1976, 92 pps., $3 paper. The prospects for future exchange of scientific information between the U.S. and the P.R.C. will offer little for the American scientist involved in new research in his field, according to this new AEI-Hoover policy study. Internal political factors and power struggles within China have resulted in the disruption and shifts away from work in basic medical research, biochemisty and organic chemistry. The Chinese, however, are interested in cooperation tied to utilitarian and applied research in agriculture and medicine which have a direct effect on national development.

THE MAKING OF A PEASANT DOCTOR
By Yang Hsiao; Foreign Language Press, distributed in the U.S. by China Book & Periodicals, 2929 24th St., San Francisco, CA 94110; 1976, 199 pps., $1.50 paper. "Barefoot doctors," a product of the Cultural Revolution, work the fields as well as prevent and cure illnesses for China's peasants. Hung-yu, as one of those educated by Mao Tse-tung Thought is determined to serve his fellow villagers while fighting the class enemy in this short picturesque novel.

SUN YAT-SEN
Frustrated Patriot; by C. Martin Wilbur; Columbia University Press, 562 West 113th St., New York, NY 10025; 1976, 413 pps., $16.50. Dr. Sun's 30-year fundraising efforts among overseas Chinese and foreign investors and his unsuccessful attempts to acquire support from the major foreign powers are the central topics of this new book describing the former Chinese leader's frustrated political life. Strongly devoted to the political reform of his country, he drafted imaginative plans for China's economic development. Impossible to achieve in his own day, they were to become interwoven into plans for international cooperation for the aid of underdeveloped nations.

YENCHING UNIVERSITY AND SINO-WESTERN RELATIONS, 1916-1952
By Philip West; Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1976, 330 pps., $16. Founded by Western missionaries in 1916, Yenching University was an impressive example of Western-Sino cooperation. The ties between Easterners and Westerners at Yenching in the early half of this century were both educational and religious. It was a rising national consciousness, student radicalization and, ultimately, war that stamped out that religious bond by the late 1940s.

RUSSIAN STUDIES OF CHINA
Progress and Problems of Soviet Sinology; by E. Stuart Kirby; Rowman and Littlefield, 81 Adams Dr., Totawa, NJ. 07512; 1976, 209 pps., $20. Soviet concerns in all fields of China studies, including hisotrical, cultural, polticial and economic, are surveyed. While the book is not all-comprehensive, it does provide the reader with an introduction to the formalized studies which have been ongoing for nearly three centuries. Mr. Kirby focuses on present-day ideology and information.

WOMEN IN THE WORLD
A Comparative Study. Lynne B. Iglitzin and Ruth Ross, editors; Clio Books, 1976, 429 pps. The emancipation of Chinese women, changes in China's marriage law, and the effect of industrialization on Hong Kong's women are just three areas covered in this collection of essays expressing women's views and rights. The book, which recognizes that women are developing their own strengths and consciousness of the need for change, was an outgrowth of a 1974 symposium, "Social and Political Change: The Role of Women," sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and the University of California.

THE LONG AND SHORT OF CHINESE COOKING
James Rollband, Crossing Press, Trumansburg, NY 14886, 1976, 223 pps., $9.95 hardcover, $5.95 paper. A complete and comprehensive guide for the novice cook includes information on methods, equipment, ingredients, and menus. Mr. Rollband has simplified the sometimes difficult procedures of the Chinese restaurant into easy-to-follow home methods.

ASIA'S NEW GIANT
How the Japanese Economy Works; edited by Hugh Patrick and Henry Rosovsky; The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave., NW., Washington, DC 20036; 1976, 943 pps., $19.95 cloth, $10.95 paper. How the Japanese have managed their economy over the past two decades and an assessment of present and future economic prospects are examined by a group of leading U.S. social analysts paired with some younger Japanese scholars. This highly recommended book provides a basis for understanding how Japan emerged from devastation following World War II to become the world's third largest industrialized nation in less than a quarter of a century.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION IN JAPAN
By Richard E. Caves and Masu Uekusa; Brookings Institution; 1976, 168 pps., $9.95 cloth, $3.50 paper. The authors set about to disprove the accepted theory that Japan's industrial society differs from those of the West in structure and practices. Caves and Uekusa explain the similarities and differences between the industrial organizations of the U.S. and Japan and conclude that the influence of Japan's institutions on the economy differ little from Western industrial economies.

**From A MEDITATOR'S DIARY by Jane Hamilton-Merritt, Harper and Row Publishers.**

HOW JAPAN'S ECONOMY GREW SO FAST
The Sources of Postwar Expansion; Edward F. Denison and William K. Chung; Brookings Institution; 1976, 265 pps., $10.95 cloth, $4.95 paper. The sources and magnitude of Japan's growing economy are compared to those of the West. According to the authors, Japan's high growth rate resulted from five major areas: Increase in labor, increase in capital, reallocation of labor from agriculture and self-employment, improved technology in production, and economies of scale. Denison and Chung see little decline in the high growth rate for the rest of the 20th century.

JAPAN'S MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISES
By M.Y. Yoshino; Harvard University Press, 79 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138; 1976, 191 pps., $12.50. The rapid growth of Japan's economy, its accomplishments, implications on the rest of the world and the impact on her own culture and society, are significantly examined by Professor Yoshino. Because Japan is seeking multinational development, present cultural practices within the business community must be reexamined and new managerial practices must be adopted. The author proposes that this may weaken Japan's stability and strength.

JAPAN: THE PARADOX OF PROGRESS
Edited by Lewis Austin; Yale University Press, 92A Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520; 1976, 338 pps., $20.00. Japan, center of a paradoxical struggle between tradition and modernity, faces a changing future that holds a certain amount of danger for this nation so dependent on outside sources. Eleven essays examine different facets of Japanese culture and the problems of a society wherein rapid growth generates conflict between traditional values and advanced technology. Such problems as how Japan, the world's third largest economic power yet dependent almost entirely on imports of raw materials, would exist in a world of scarcity and how Japan's nonviolent international policy can survive in a time of nuclear proliferation.

THE NEW ECONOMICS OF GROWTH
A Strategy for India and the Developing World; by John W. Mellor; Cornell University Press; 1976, 335 pps., $11.50. Development strategy is determined by economic factors. Mr. Mellor has determined that increased employment and greater participation of the poor rather than a redistribution of existing output will result in greater economic growth. For both rural and urban development, the author chooses a plan for technological change in agricultural production. India is the blueprint for the underdeveloped world.

PLAIN TALES FROM THE RAJ
Images of British India in the twentieth century; edited by Charles Allen; St. Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010; 1975, 240 pps., $12.95. Experiences varying from the carefree Edwardian childhood to the loss of confidence in Anglo-India, the war, partition, departure and final regrets comprise this transcription of the reminiscences of some 70 ordinary British men and women who went to India over the past 50 years. Mosquito nets and snake charmers come alive in these stories which were once part of a radio series by the same name.

THE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE INDIAN POPULATION
A reconstruction for the states and territories, 1881-1961; Sudhansu Bhusan Mukherjee; East West Center, East West Population Institute, 1777 East-West Road, Honolulu, HI 96822; 1976, 280 pps., $5.00 paper. A book primarily intended for demographers, economists, and planners involved in India's population studies, it is also widely accepted by others as a substantial study of the subject as it pertains to the present and future. India, unique as a developing country having an ongoing series of population reports for more than a century, has made little information available to scholars in the past. The East-West book provides numerous tables and diagrams pertinent to the study.

A MEDITATOR'S DIARY
A Western Woman's Unique Experiences in Thailand Temples; by Jane Hamilton-Merritt; Harper & Row Publishers, 10 East 53rd St., New York, NY 10022; 1976, 157 pps., $6.95. The author's struggles, fears and often-hallucinatory experiences during meditation draw the reader closer to the real world of Buddhist meditation. This personal account of a Western woman's experiences living in Buddhist monasteries in Thailand relates not only the changes in her, but offers a practical introduction to home meditation and tranquility.

PHILIPPINES: THE SILENCED DEMOCRACY
By Raul S. Manglapus; Orbis Books, Mary Knoll, NY 10545; 1976, 205 pps., $7.95. Written by the Philippine's most notable political exile, this book reveals how the needs and desires of Ferdinand Marcos are served by the military and economic leaders in the U.S. He uses the book as an appeal for a return look at America's role in the Philippine's past especially from the time of Teddy Roosevelt and his "Manifest Destiny." The second half of the book is devoted to that period in history as written by Manglapus in 1974 in his musical comedy, "Manifest Destiny"

BALI PROFILE
People, Events, Circumstances, 1001-1976; by Willard A. Hanna; American Universities Field Staff, 4 West Wheelock St., Hanover, NH 03755; 1976, 140 pps., $9.95 paper. A dearth of information is available on the culture of Bali, but little has been written about her historical relationships with Westerners. Willard Hanna has put into chronological order the development of this rapidly growing Pacific Island and the influence Western visitors and rulers, particularly the Danes and the Dutch, have had on colonialism, revolution and modernization.



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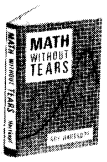


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# 'Confessions'

(Contined from Page 9)

"I realized that people would come to our house and it was just because of John's job . . . People would sit there and never ask me what I was doing, what my interests were . . . I mean whole evenings would go by and not one person would ask me . . . I was just the cook," she says.

One day, Hudson was horrified to discover "a pattern developing in my life." It was a pattern of "learning languages and leaving a country and not having anything to show for it."

It frightened her. "It was a nice experience but I wanted something to build on."

With these seeds of growing discontent, Hudson moved to her husband's third post — An Asian country with one of the largest U.S. missions abroad. It was there that things began to snap into place.

When they first arrived, she says, "I was so wrought up . . . I said to my husband, 'I keep doing these things and it never leads to anything.' "

Along with the "frustration and boredom" Hudson brought to Asia, she felt determined not to learn another language but to pursue her design work, instead.

Early in the first year at her third post, Hudson reached yet another turning point. "When we got married in 1964," she explains, "my mother gave me 'The Feminine Mystique' and a book by Ashley Montague called "The Natural Superiority of the Female' . . . At that time, I said, 'Mother, I don't want to be superior' . . . and I wouldn't read the books."

But, by the time she got to Asia, "I was getting frustrated . . . I didn't really know what was wrong and I didn't know what my feelings were about why I couldn't get the work permit. I just knew I was irritated and something seemed unjust about the whole thing," she recalls.

"I started probing to find out who was in a similar situation . . . and I found lots of them," she says.

Through it all, Hudson says, her husband was "very supportive," even when she was at a low point and the going was rough. The "pressure" she felt not to embarrass him only added to her problems.

"When I'm not very happy . . . I can tell you it affects us all . . . I know it creates a morale problem for my husband and I can't help but believe it does for the State Department, generally," Hudson says.

Other husbands were also supportive, according to Hudson, who says the spouse's action group started quite small but kept growing.

Most of the spouses — in one case, a man — joined the group after a personal experience left them frustrated and hostile, Hudson says.

By this time, Hudson was working illegally in a job that, while not in her field, had been easy to get.

"I taught English in a school that had been hiring diplomat's wives for years . . . No one had ever gotten a work permit . . . Everyone advises you when you get the job just to keep your mouth shut . . . As long as the embassy doesn't know about it, it's okay," she says.

Hudson continued to plug away at design work until she finally received her reward — a small job doing some art work for a magazine. From her magazine designs came an offer from a huge textile firm to do work on a royalty basis. Hudson took it, fully realizing she had broken through a barrier.

"I realized that there was a certain amount of luck involved and I wished that everybody could have the luck," she says.

This time, when Hudson came back to the States, she had something to build on — designs that are still bringing in royalties and which have led to offers from big apparel firms here.

She thinks she now has what she has been looking for — "the personal satisfaction of doing something that someone else wants, of feeling fulfilled . . . of standing on my own."

Still, Hudson feels scarred by the experience and the "needless" difficulty she encountered getting where she is.

She is certain if the State Department took even a slight interest in the problems of spouses — showed a willingness to discuss them and correct the ones that can be solved — everyone would benefit.

And that is why she agreed to tell her story.

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# Steel

(Continued from Page 5)

any discussion in the GATT on bilateral restraints resulting from the flood of steel exports from Japan to other countries. In 1976, Japan's steel exports will total $10 billion — about one-sixth of the dollar value of all Japanese exports — with more than $2 billion routed to the open U.S. market. Rather than face questions in GATT posed by these restraint agreements concerning fair and non-discriminatory rules for the conduct of world trade in steel Japan may prefer to continue quiet bilateral arrangements with Europe when they become necessary.

But where will that leave the United States? I would aver — out in the cold when it comes to fair and equitable rules for international trade in steel.

A postscript to Simmon's statement is this excerpt from the testimony of C. William Verity, Chairman, Armco Steel Corporation, before the Section 301 Committee of the Office of Special Trade Representative for Trade Negotiations in Washington D.C. Dec. 9.:

"Let's say the Japanese can sell steel in our market if they are $30 below our price — even though this price may be well below their total cost. They can get away with this because they are not dependent on profits for their survival. As a key industry and instrument of national policy, they know that the Government will see to it that the steel companies get the money necessary to carry out national economic and social objectives. Therefore, they can afford to export at prices we couldn't touch. The Japanese believe that such financial support to the steel industry is better than putting out $12,000 a year in unemployment benefits to an unemployed steel worker.

"Why not do the same thing in America?

". . . First, American steel companies cannot sell for long at a loss because we neither have nor want government subsidies.

". . . Secondly, steel trade with Japan is a one-way street. Although they have no official restraints on steel imports now, I am convinced that they would never allow substantial tonnages to enter their market in competition with domestic steel. The Government would keep it out through "Administrative Guidance" or other means. In contrast, the U.S. market is virtually wide open — in both good and bad times."

# Mekong

(Continued from Page 13)

young intellectuals of that university have played in bringing change to what is still a semi-feudal country. October 6, which followed a wave of assassinations of left-wing figures, has once again swung the pendulum against such rationalizers. Pichai Rathanakun, Foreign Minister before the coup, and the first Thai Foreign Minister ever to visit Hanoi, is now in exile. Anand Panyarachun, Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs and architect of what was called a new Thai foreign policy of "equidistance" has been removed from his position.

Among those arrested after the coup was Pansak Vinyaratn, editor and publisher of a Thai news weekly, who in 1974 became the first Thai journalist in recent times to openly travel to Vietnam and to report about his experience. Pansak was released on a large bond only after his arrest attracted widespread international attention. Khaisaeng Suksai, an elected Socialist Member of Parliament who less than two years ago led a Parliamentary delegation to Vietnam, fled into exile in Laos even before October 6 after his party's Secretary General was gunned down in Bangkok. Since the coup, he is said to have joined the resistance and to be one of the leaders of a government in exile now forming.

Even before October 6, American attempts to counter a rapprochement between Bangkok and Hanoi so upset one Thai Foreign Ministry spokesman (who has since lost his job) that he remarked: "When a big power does it, you call it detente; when we do it, you call it defeatism . . . We have lived with the Vietnamese more than 400 years. We know perfectly well their mentality. Why can't you (Americans) allow us to live in peace for five years. Then we can show you that we can be a neutral country, or at least play a part in neutralizing the region for the benefit of every superpower."

In May 1975 a Bangkok English-language magazine, Business in Thailand, ran an article describing the Vietnamese as "an aggressive, acquisitive, bellicose and xenophobic race imbued with delusions of superiority and a Messianic sense of manifest destiny. It can be safely concluded that the Vietnamese have not lost the will, the appetite, nor the determination for conquest . . ." The article was inspired — like a similar one in Bangkok's major English-language daily, the Bangkok Post — by an American army study ("External Support to the Thai Insurgency: the 35th PL/95th NVA Combined Command") which quietly — and anonymously — surfaced during the final throes of fighting in Cambodia and Vietnam. The study, which was also circulated among Thai officials, purported a Vietnamese master plan to bring the Western bank of the Mekong, and indeed the entire lower Mekong watershed, under Hanoi's political and economic suzerainty.

Certainly Vietnam emerges from the second Indochina War with unprecedented prestige and strength. Thailand, on the other hand, finds itself wedded to the United States in a downgraded anti-communist alliance, and domestically racked with social upheaval the dimensions of which remain uncertain. Still, there is little or nothing to support the allegation that Vietnam has territorial or political designs on Thailand, that the Thai Communist Party would cooperate with such designs should they exist, or that the Thai Communist Party or any other political group could coopt Thailand's present revolutionary tendencies toward such an end.

Given the political, military and economic realities which pertain, the Mekong River as a new Southeast Asian Maginot Line is folly, regardless of whether one stands on the West Bank or the East bank; to so conceive it is only to serve "bellicose and xenophobic" prophecies like the Acheson assumption.

The Vietnamese appear to have grasped this far better than the Americans. On the war's end, while the United States was busy with the Mayaguez incident and other maneuvers which intentionally or otherwise frustrated Thai efforts at ostpolitik, Vietnam sent two high-level delegations (one led by the deputy foreign minister) to Bangkok, the first dispatched anywhere in the world once the fighting had stopped.

Unfortunately, failure in Indochina appears to have taught the United States more about the erosion of its own political institutions under the weight of superpower than about the myopic and negative way it has played the superpower role. In fiscal year 1975 alone American military assistance to Thailand ($42.5 million) was roughly equivalent to the total 1957-75 American assistance to the Mekong Committee ($45.6 million). In 1976, American military assistance budget for Thailand was nearly doubled (to $81.75 million), while as mentioned earlier, that of the Mekong Committee's was cut entirely.

An argument can be made for destructiveness for its own sake, but international relations of that type have no place in the repertoire of a leading global power if we are all to escape the apocalyptic tendencies of our century. The point remains that if there are to be constructive relations in the Mekong Basin the valencies of the Basin must be promoted. The limitations of American power acknowledged, the United States is in a position to assist with the task.



Approved For Release 2004/10/28 : CIA-RDP88-01314R000100010076-1

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# Bulletin Board

## THE NORTHEAST

**"Masterworks in Wood: China and Japan"**, the winter exhibition at the Asia House Gallery, 112 East 64th St., New York, will be shown January 13 to March 27. Seventy-one works of sculpture and decorative art from 26 museums and private collections in America and England will show the great mastery which was exercised in this medium from the fifth century B.C., in China to the nineteenth century in Japan. Gallery hours are daily, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; Sundays, 1 to 5 p.m.; Thursdays until 8:30 p.m.

**A ten-film retrospective of the work of Tatsuya Nakadai**, Japanese film actor, continues through January 14 at the Japan House. His films include "When a Woman Ascends the Stairs" and "Yojimbo". Admission is $2 for members and $3 for non-members. For further information, contact the Japan Society, 333 East 47th St., New York, NY 10017.

**The Yoki Yamada Retrospective**, a series of eleven films, will begin January 19 at the Japan House. Director Yamada will be present for opening festivities. For further information, contact the Japan Society.

**Chartering for International Shipment**, a three-day course based on the Evening School of the World Trade Center, will be held in New York on January 26-28, 1977. The working-course will offer students information on charter problems, negotiations, and necessary preparations to chartering from the viewpoint of the shipowner, the broker and the charterer. For further information about the program, which is limited to 30 persons, call Eunice Coleman, Program Manager at (212) 466-3170.

**Yoga Study Tour**, an accredited program sponsored by Queens College, CUNY, will emphasize the study of Yoga philosophy during a three-week tour of India. The tour, led by Professor Ananad Mohan, will leave New York on January 14, 1977. For further information: Destination World Ltd., at (212) 371-0600.

**"Chinese Folk Art"** includes over 50 examples of basketry, clothing, pewter, leather goods, and jewelry dating from the early 15th to the early 20th century. The exhibit may be seen at the China House Gallery, New York, through January 30, 1977.

**"Japanese Early Blue and White Export Ware"** is on exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, through June 1977. Included are about 50 pieces of the type of 17th Century porcelain shipped to Holland and remaining Europe by the Dutch East India Company.

**Brushwork of Ch'ing Masters**, 30 paintings and examples of calligraphy by Chinese artists active during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911), may be viewed at the Chung Cheng Art Gallery, St. John's University, Jamaica, NY until January 9, 1977.

**"Hashimoto Kites"**, an exhibition, will be at the Gilbert Luber Gallery, 1921 Walnut St., Philadelphia. Mondays until Saturdays, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., through January 15.

## WASHINGTON AND THE SOUTHEAST

**Gallery Amerasia** (formerly Gallery Asia), a cultural center of fine arts, holds continuous exhibits at the Amerasia Center 2142 F St., NW, Washington, DC from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday thru Friday, and from 2 to 5 p.m., Saturday and Sunday. For information regarding classes, showings or events, call (202) 331-0129. Timothy Chang show, a Chinese watercolor exhibition, continues thru January 12. Helene McCarthy, Oriental watercolors, and Peggy Zee, silkscreens, will exhibit their works January 15 to February 6.

**Jain Minature Paintings**: A New Interpretation, an illustrated lecture by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Curator of Indian and Himalayan Art at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and Professor of South Asian Art at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, will be held Tuesday, January 11, 1977, at 8:30 p.m. in the gallery auditorium of the Smithsonian Institution's Freer Gallery of Art, 12th St. and Jefferson Dr., SE, Washington, DC.

**The National Bonsai Collection**, fifty-three bonsai including plants from the Imperial Japanese Household and Japanese private collections are presented by the Japanese people through the Nippon Bonsai Association in honor on the Bicentennial. They may be seen at the National Arboretum, 24th and R St., NW, Washington, DC daily from 10 to 2:30.

**The 18th Annual Meeting** of the Southeast Regional Conference of the Association for Asian Studies will be held at the University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, January 20-22, 1977. Panel sessions are scheduled for Friday (9 a.m. and 2 p.m.), January 21, and for Saturday (9 a.m.), January 22.

## NEW ORLEANS

**"International Shipping, Financial and Tax Aspects,"** a two-day meeting for shippers, charterers, carriers and tax and financial executives, will be held at the International House in New Orleans, January 25 and 26.

**"Introduction to International Taxation,"** a seminar for attorneys, CPAs and corporate executives in many international areas, will meet January 24 and 25 in New Orleans. The program is designed specifically for those entering the taxation field who have had little or no prior exposure to it.

**"Fundamentals of Foreign Exchange,"** a seminar designed to answer questions of floating exchange rates, soaring energy prices, volatile prices of gold, tax uncertainties and other problems, is scheduled for January 26 and 27 in New Orleans.

**"Foreign Investment in U.S. Real Estate"** is a seminar for owners, brokers, real estate portfolio managers, corporate real estate managers, real estate lawyers, accountants and other professionals concerned over the question of U.S. real estate marketers seeking foreign investors. It will be held January 27 and 28 in New Orleans.

These programs are being sponsored by The World Trade Institute at the World Trade Center in New York in Cooperation with International House — World Trade Center in New Orleans. Further information may be obtained from the program manager in New York at (212) 466-3165. Registration may be made by calling the registrar at (212) 466-4044 or by writing: Registrar, World Trade Institute, One World Trade Center, 55W, New York, NY 10043.

## THE MIDWEST

**"Visions of Courtly India"**, 80 Indian miniatures dating from 1650 to 1850 from the Punjab Hills states have been selected by William G. Archer from his own collection to be shown at the St. Louis Art Museum, December 10 to January 16.

## THE WEST

**"The Future of Taiwan"**, one in a series of seminars sponsored by The World Affairs Council of Northern California, will be presented on January 10 at the World Affairs Council, 406 Sutter St., San Francisco, CA (ph. 982-2541). Another seminar, "Costs, Benefits and Avenues to Normalized Relations" will be presented on January 24. The series, which is limited to 25-30 persons, will formulate a program of recommendations on the question of normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China.

**"The Last Empire: Pictorial Photographs of India,"** an exhibit organized by the Asia House Gallery, may be seen until January 16 at the University Museum, University of California, Berkeley, CA.

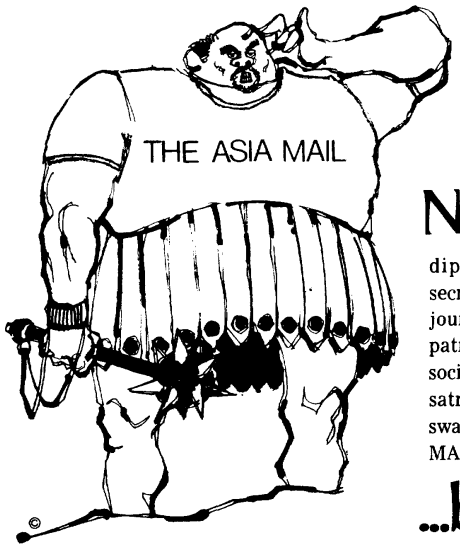
**Chinese Jades from Southern California Collections**, 60 examples of Chinese jade dating back from Neolithic times to the 20th century, are on exhibit at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art through February 6, 1977.

**The International Institute of Protein Food Technology** will present two short courses on Textured Vegetable Proteins and Extrusion Technology: April 4 to April 29 and May 2 to May 25, 1977. The fee for each course is $970, which includes tuition, room and board. For further information, contact: Director of Training, I.P.F.T., P.O. Box 630, Santa Monica, CA 90404.

**"The Art of Toyokuni"**, paintings by Japanese ukiyo-e artist, will be on exhibit December 7 until January 9 at the Spalding House, Honolulu Academy of Arts.

**"Ancient Funerary Art"**, an exhibit of tomb furnishings and funery objects from China, Japan, Southeast Asia, and the Near East continues through February 20 at the Spalding House, Honolulu Academy of Arts.

**Ukiyo-e Art** from the Permanent Collection may be viewed at the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, British Columbia, December 14 to February 27.


Not all...

diplomats, hitch-hikers, ministers, secretaries, figureheads, jewel thieves, journalists, bureaucrats, traders, ex-patriates, scholars, shoguns, brokers, socialists, concubines, cadres, bankers, satraps, barefoot doctors, vagabonds, swagmen and CPA's wear THE ASIA MAIL T-shirt.

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# Warrior

(Continued from Page 18)

of me so straight, each carrying a basket or a hoe not to overburden me, their tears falling privately . . ." Too often, however, she forgets the vital dictum that "less is more," playing with words to the point of absurdity and inflating an image until it practically pops:

"Her forehead and knees against the earth, her body convulsed and then released her onto her back."

(Question — are "her body" and "her" separated in this situation? Can one release the other onto "her back"?)

"The round moon cakes and round doorways, the round tables of graduated size that fit one roundness inside another, round windows and rice bowls . . . The villagers were speeding up the circle of events . . . This roundness had to be made coin-sized so that she would see its circumference . . . People who refused fatalism because they could invent small resources insisted on culpability . . ."

Whatever that means. When Kingston grows erudite she writes kitsch — it's as simple as that. Her habit is to manipulate a reader's impression by carefully interjecting a generality, abstraction, or value judgement into a specific gesture. "My aunt combed individuality into her bob, her body and her complexity seemd to disappear." "Brothers and sisters had to efface their sexual color," and positively the worst — "Concrete pours out of my mouth to cover the forests with freeways and sidewalks."

By far Kingston's biggest mistake is that she devotes so much time to the story of her nameless aunt and the avenging warrior, only to drop them in the remaining narrative like hot potatoes. And though we can infer that the mere reporting of these two spirits is, as the author states, sufficient "vengeance — not the beheading, not the gutting, but the words," we are still left with the hollow feeling that both Mu Lan and No Name Woman were sacrificed for the company of lesser ghosts.



Approved For Release 2004/10/28 : CIA-RDP88-01314R000100010076-1

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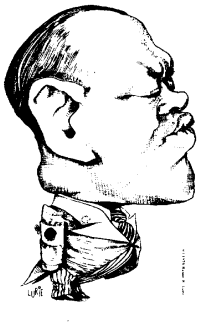
# The Last Word: Faces of Asia

## 'I'll Never Forget Old 'What's-His-Name?' "

If you're as great an authority on Asian affairs as you think you are, you ought to be able to score 100 per cent on this test of providing the names that go with these well-known faces. All have been prominent at one time or another on the Asian political scene. To make the drill a little more difficult we've given you the faces as they strike the imagination of artist Ranan R. Lurie. Check the bottom of the page (upside down) for the answers. Twelve-for-twelve means you are a genuine Asian Affairs Expert. If you get 10 or 11 correct, you're still qualified to be an Ambassador Without Portfolio. Nine correct means you have to start out as Third Secretary at our Embassy in Kathmandu, Nepal. Eight correct means you're eligible to be hired as a stringer in our Tokyo bureau. If you can identify seven of the faces and can also speak and write Burmese, you have a chance at the USIA Director's job in Madrid. Anything less than seven, kid, and you lose your membership in the Association of Asian Studies.

1.....

2.....



3.....

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10.....

11.....

12.....

ANSWERS TO "FACES OF ASIA":

1. Prime Minister Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka.
2. Prince Souvana Phouma, former Premier of Laos.
3. Former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka of Japan.
4. Premier Pham Van Dong of Vietnam.
5. Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia.
6. President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines.
7. Khieu Samphan of Cambodia.
8. Kim Il-sung of North Korea.
9. Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap of North Vietnam.
10. Nationalist China President Yen Chia-kan
11. Former Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping of China.
12. Former President Lon Nol of Cambodia.



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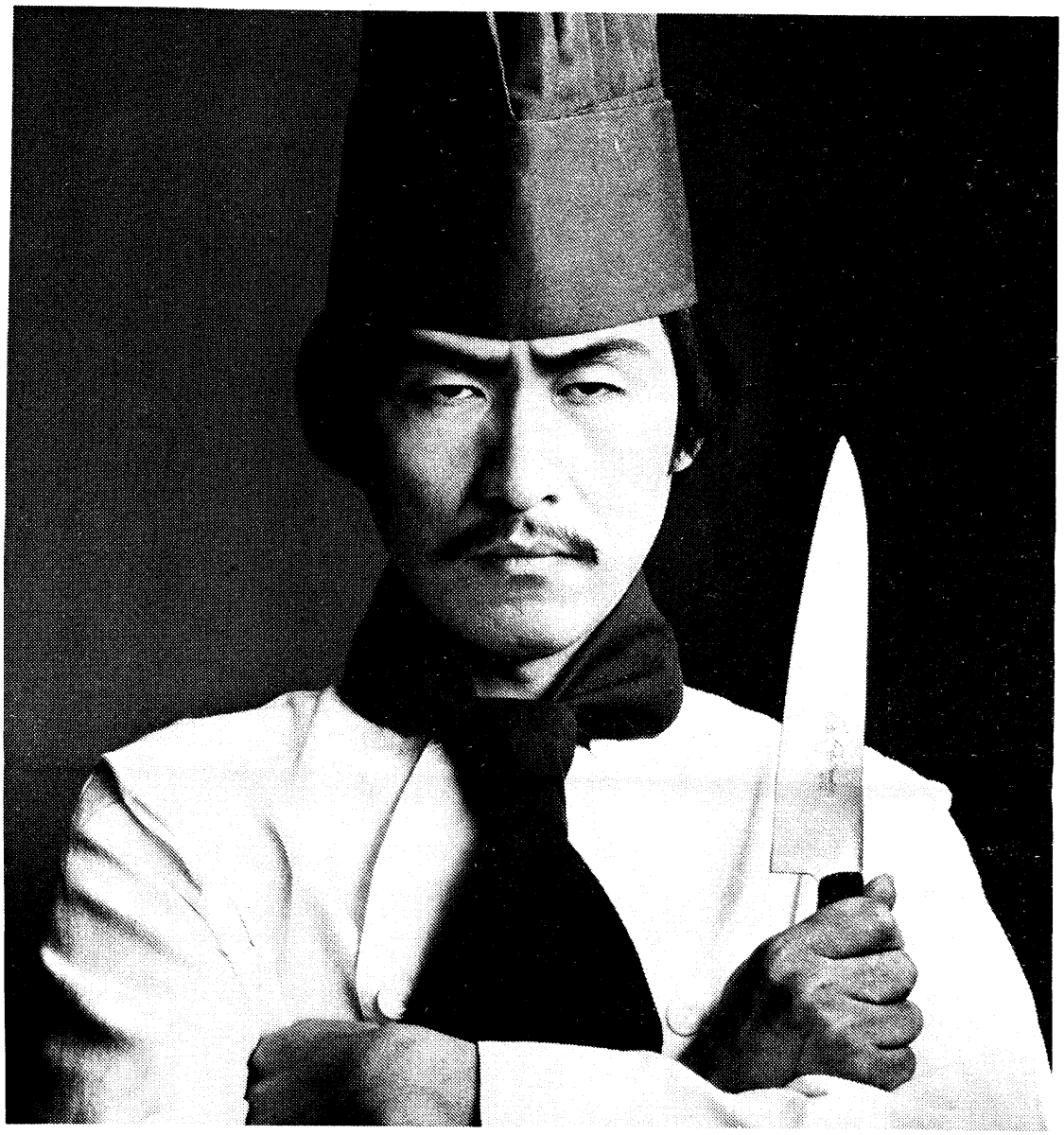

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From your front row seat at the famed hibachi table, you thrill to drama, suspense, incredible sleight-of-hand as your personal chef turns prime steak, succulent shrimp and tender chicken into theatre. There's comedy as the mushrooms fly. High humor as those bean sprouts dance. One bite and you're in heaven.

What other restaurant gives you a show you can enjoy almost as much as the meal itself? Visit Benihana soon, for lunch or dinner. For the fun of it.

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