

## **History of the Commission**

The Japan United States Friendship Commission (JUSFC) was established as an independent agency by the US Congress in 1975 (P.L. 94-118). The Commission administers a US government trust fund that originated in connection with the return to the Japanese government of certain US facilities in Okinawa and for postwar American assistance to Japan. Income from the fund is available for the promotion of scholarly, cultural and public affairs activities between the two countries.

In honor of the 20th anniversary of the Commission, the following written history of the Commission was published in 1995.

**The Japan United States Friendship Commission**  
**A History of the Commission Commemorating the 20th Anniversary, 1975-1995**  
**By Francis B. Tenny**  
**Foreword by Kenneth B. Pyle**

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## **FOREWORD**

I am pleased to present this history of the Japan-United States Friendship Commission on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary. Congress created the Commission in 1975 to strengthen the cultural and intellectual foundations of the Japan-United States relationship, which even then was beginning to take on the strong economic and political characteristics by which we all know it today.

The Commission's earliest programs concentrated on helping Americans and Japanese study and master the language, culture, history, and society of each other's country as the most appropriate way to carry out its mission. It is particularly remarkable to me to reflect on the progress made in advancing Japanese studies in American colleges and universities. The Commission can take pride in the contributions it has made to increasing the level of American expertise on all facets of Japanese society.

In recent years the Commission has added a new dimension: support for research on the critical policy issues faced by the two countries. Applying the expertise the Commission helps generate to the issues of the day is now one of the Commission's most important contributions to maintaining the friendship between Japan and the United States that it was created to preserve.

In addition to the Commission's twentieth anniversary, the year 1995 also marks the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War. During this half century the ties and common interests between our two peoples have grown much deeper. With Japan's new international standing and with the end of the cold war, we are entering a new era in which the bilateral relationship is even more significant than in the past. It will be important that the Commission continue to help produce a high level of proficiency on U.S.-Japan relations and also address this expertise to the challenges of maintaining a strong relationship between our two peoples.

January, 1995

Kenneth B. Pyle, Chairman

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## **HOW DID THE COMMISSION COME TO BE?**

The Japan-United States Friendship Commission was created by an Act of Congress signed by President Ford on October 20, 1975 and was provided by Congress with an initial trust fund of \$18 million plus a Japanese yen amount equivalent to about \$12.5 million at 1975 exchange rates.

The original Congressional initiative for the Commission came from Congressman Marvin L. Esch of Michigan and Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York, who introduced bills to that effect simultaneously in the Senate and the House on August 2, 1972. The Senate bill was supported by a bipartisan group of ten co-sponsors, a list that eventually grew to thirty. The House bill had nine co-sponsors.

This action had been urged by a group of leading American scholars of Japan who had been actively planning and lobbying for some years for support of major Japanese language and area studies programs in the United States. Leaders in this effort were Professors Robert Ward of Stanford, John Hall of Yale, and Edwin Reischauer of Harvard, a former US Ambassador to Japan. When Congress took no action in 1972, the sponsors re-introduced their bills into the new Congress that convened in 1973. Hearings on the proposed Japan-United States Friendship Act were held before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on May 1 and 2, 1974. Scholarly and other witnesses supported the Javits proposal, but Department of State representatives, under the constraint of an Administration position dictated by the Office of Management and Budget, were opposed to those provisions that would establish a trust fund and an independent agency. While sympathetic with the needs expressed in the Javits Bill for greater resources and attention to the area of cultural understanding with Japan, the State representatives proposed the substitution of remaining yen held by the United States under the GARIOA agreement with Japan of January 9, 1962. In addition, they favored the administration of these funds by the Department of State with only an advisory "Commission" of scholars and others.

Under the earlier agreement Japan had promised to repay the United States \$490 million for assistance received during the postwar period of occupation (Government and Relief in Occupied Areas, or GARIOA). Of these payments, \$25 million were paid in yen under agreement to be used by the United States for cultural exchange purposes with Japan. A State Department request to Congress for appropriation of a yen trust fund had failed passage by the Congress in 1964. In the subsequent ten years some of the GARIOA yen had been appropriated and used on an annual basis for cultural programs including Fulbright exchange grants, American schools abroad, and the US pavilion in the Okinawa International Exposition. The Department of State now saw the Javits Bill as an opportunity to fulfill an uncompleted obligation to use the remaining funds as had been agreed with Japan.

The Javits Bill was reported favorably by the Committee on May 21, 1974 and was passed by the Senate on June 7. The House of Representatives took no action in 1974, and the bills were re-introduced in 1975. As the Senate had already passed their bill in 1974, lobbying efforts now focused on the House, where Congressman Wayne Hays of Ohio had taken an interest in the proposal. Under Hays' leadership a different version of the bill emerged which, on passage, had to be reconciled with the Senate text. Several important House revisions were accepted by the Senate. The GARIOA yen fund was added to the proposed dollar trust fund. In place of a new Presidentially-appointed Commission, Congressman Hays insisted on using an existing body, the American panel of the CULCON Committee (as explained below), which had been suggested as available to administer the program. Where the Senate bill had authorized a dollar trust fund of \$32 million and the House bill \$16 million, the two Houses compromised in the middle by authorizing \$24 million (of which \$18 million was subsequently appropriated).

President Ford signed the Javits-Hays Bill on October 20, 1975, coincident with the Japanese Emperor's first visit to the United States and reciprocating a series of Japanese government cultural gifts to the United States.

## COMMISSION MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION

To administer a program of expanded scholarly, artistic, and cultural ventures between the United States and Japan, as President Ford noted, the Japan-United States Friendship Commission was to be composed of the twelve members of the United States panel of the Joint Committee on United States-Japan Cultural and Educational Cooperation (the CULCON Committee), plus the Chairmen of the National Endowments for the Arts and for the Humanities, and two members of the House of Representatives and two Senators to be appointed by the congressional leaders. In view of the US Constitutional provision on the separation of powers, the Ford Administration insisted and the Congress agreed that congressional members on the Commission would serve in a non-voting, advisory capacity.

By agreement with Japan on November 8, 1968 each Government was to appoint twelve of its citizens to a national CULCON panel, with the large majority to come from the private sector, recognized experts in scholarship, politics, business, mass media, the arts, and Japanese and American area studies. Appointments were made for three-year rotating terms. American appointments were made by the Secretary of State; this authority was later transferred by President Carter to the Director of the United States Information Agency. The American panel included Assistant Secretary or above representatives of the Departments of State and Education and of the US Information Agency. A review of Commission meeting minutes over 19 years shows that these government agency representatives along with those of the two National Endowments provided a focus for coordination with other US government programs. It is clear, however, that the dominant leadership in program and policy direction has been argued out by the private citizen members, as Senator Javits had intended. The Chairman of the Commission, an ex-officio position of the Chairman of the United States CULCON panel, is appointed from the private sector, and the five successive Chairmen over the Commission's first twenty years have been scholars of distinction in Japanese studies, policy studies, and economics. Although congressional members did not vote, many have taken a strong interest and have made recommendations. Some, such as Senator Javits and Congressman Zablocki, usually attended in person; others sent senior staff representatives. It seems clear that active Congressional participation has broadened the perspective, reach, and effectiveness of the Commission.

The overlapping membership with CULCON, a US-Japanese joint advisory body with no authority, has been a problem to the Commission. Successive Chairmen and government representatives on the Commission have attempted to explain and to maintain the distinction from the first meeting in 1976 through many subsequent sessions to the present. Separate CULCON meetings with Japanese participation have offered American panel members an opportunity to hear Japanese reactions and priorities, and indeed one Commission meeting was held in Tokyo on July 28, 1978 in connection with a CULCON meeting. Japanese were invited to a joint discussion before the formal Commission business meeting, but the decision-making session itself was limited to American members and staff. The CULCON committees address their recommendations to a world of public and private institutions in both countries. The Friendship Commission, as one such agency, has no more obligation to follow these recommendations than has any other institution. The question has often been confusing, however, and has become a subject of some contention at Commission meetings. It has been suggested that CULCON was a vehicle for too much US agency interference in the Commission's independent decision-making authority. Whether the overlap of Commission and CULCON membership has been an advantage or a disadvantage to the Commission may be left to subjective judgment depending on the vantage point of the observer.

To plan the organization of the new Commission, the Chairman convened a small, ad-hoc group of designated members in New York on December 23, 1975, and the first formal meeting of the whole Commission was held in Washington, D.C. on January 26, 1976. Membership on the Commission had been defined by the Act of Congress, but immediate organizational questions faced the group. First and foremost was the identification of an administrative agency to provide accounting and other housekeeping services. The Act authorized the Commission to receive such services from the Department of State, but it did not require the Commission to do so. The Office of Management and Budget preferred to have the Department of State provide this service, but the Department itself took no position for or against providing such a role. Chairman John Hall recommended the use of the General Services Administration, a policy-neutral agency,

in order to establish the Commission's identity as separate from the diplomatic, foreign policy apparatus of government and from the CULCON mechanism, for which State was then responsible. This position was supported strongly by the congressional and private citizen members who spoke to it, and a motion to that effect was adopted without objection. The arrangement to contract for services on a reimbursable basis from the GSA, similar to GSA services provided to many other small agencies, has continued to the present. In other matters, an executive committee and a search committee for an executive director were appointed. Commission member Carl Gerstacker, Chairman of the Finance Committee of Dow Chemical Company, was named to be the financial advisor to work with Treasury representatives on investment policy. It was stressed that funds now appropriated should be invested immediately to start earning interest as authorized. The need was recognized to draw up Commission rules and regulations along with the appointment of the Executive Director, an appointment requiring the approval of the Commission as a whole. The Chairman and the Executive Committee were authorized to draw such administrative funds as needed in the meantime, and the discussion favored the opening of a Commission office at a neutral, non-political site probably but not necessarily in Washington, D. C.

The second meeting of the Commission was held in Washington, D.C. on May 28, 1976. The main item of business was the selection of an Executive Director. The Commission's first choice, Ambassador David Osborn then in Burma, had turned down the offer. At this meeting the Commission then selected Francis B. Tenny, a Foreign Service Officer of the US Information Agency currently in Tokyo. Mr. Tenny subsequently accepted, retired from the Foreign Service, and began work in Washington on August 1, 1976.

## **PROGRAM PURPOSES AND PRIORITIES**

In September 1976 the Commission opened a small office in government-leased quarters in a commercial office building at 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, in Washington, D.C. In later years the office was moved to similar space on Pennsylvania Avenue, and finally to Vermont Avenue. A regular schedule was established for full Commission meetings twice a year in October (later changed to September) and April for policy decisions and grant approvals. The Executive Committee was authorized to take such actions as might be needed between meetings. Limited authority to make small grants was delegated to the Executive Director, and other regulations of procedure were established governing such issues as abstaining from the vote (later expanded to include absenting from discussion) in conflict of interest cases and defining the role of designated alternates for senior executive branch officials who were on the Commission but unable to attend a meeting. Major attention in the October 1976 and April 1977 meetings was given to the definition of program purposes and the proposed allocation of budget resources among the programs as they were defined. Criteria for grant support were adopted and publicized. To keep the administrative staff and costs of the Commission small, it was determined that the Commission would normally make grants to institutions and would leave the selection of individuals to those institutions.

In defining program purposes the Commission gave primary attention to the language of the Friendship Act, Public Law 94 118, and its legislative history, in which many of the Commission members had participated. The Law states that

"Amounts in the Fund shall be used for the promotion of scholarly, cultural, and artistic activities between Japan and the United States, including

1. support for studies, including language studies, in institutions of higher education or scholarly research in Japan and the United States, designed to foster mutual understanding between Japan and the United States;
2. support for major collections of Japanese books and publications in appropriate libraries located throughout the United States and similar support for collections of American books and publications in appropriate libraries located throughout Japan;
3. support for programs in the arts in association with appropriate institutions in Japan and the United States;

4. support for fellowships and scholarships at the graduate and faculty levels in Japan and the United States in accord with the purposes of this Act;
5. support for visiting professors and lecturers at colleges and universities in Japan and the United States; and
6. support for other Japan-United States cultural and educational activities consistent with the purposes of this Act."

The Act did not limit the Commission to the stated examples, but in the early years the Commission felt obliged to concentrate on these activities. Later as Commission membership changed with incoming administrations and their appointments and with changing perspectives on the critical problems of the Japan-US relationship, new activities and categories were added within the general purposes of the Act. In 1976 four categories were established, and in early 1977 budget allocations for planning purposes were approved as follows:

Japanese Studies in American Education	40 %
American Studies in Japanese Education	20 %
The Arts	12.5 %
Cultural Communication and Public Affairs	12.5 %
Administration of the Program	15 %

The ratios for Japanese Studies, American Studies, The Arts, and Program Administration have remained fairly constant over almost twenty years even with increases and decreases in annual spending and the addition of a new category for Policy-Oriented Research in 1985. A great increase in regional US programs for Public Understanding of Japan was also made possible by generous gifts of \$5 million from the Government of Japan. Total combined dollar-yen expenditures, stated in dollars, and percentages for each category are shown in the following table:

Fiscal Year	\$+¥ Total (in \$US)	Japanese Studies	American Studies	Arts	Public Affairs*	Policy Research	Administration	Culcon
77	\$ 932,500	35%	20%	-	25%	-	20%	-
78	1,859,866	43	16	12%	16	-	12	-
79	2,434,392	48	11	9	22	-	9	-
80	3,078,462	34	18	11	28	-	8	-
81	3,585,796	34	19	11	27	-	8	-
82	3,511,510	28	15	15	31	-	11	-
83	3,837,715	22	20	15	34	-	10	-
84	3,505,042	30	16	15	29	-	10	-
85	4,229,899	31	14	12	22	11	10	-
86	5,376,248	26	11	12	38	4	9	-
87	5,300,401	37	15	13	19	8	9	-
88	4,956,728	29	16	12	27	7	10	-
89	5,311,649	38	15	11	19	10	8	-
90	4,543,784	39	17	5	21	8	10	-
91	3,569,431	41	9	16	18	5	11	-
92	3,353,644	35	7	12	19	12	13	2
93	3,331,373	40	8	15	10	14	12	-
94	3,357,657	38	4	18	17	10	13	-

\*category changed to "Research and Public Education" in 1983

The yen portions of the combined program totals above have been calculated at the different exchange rates in effect each year. The appreciating value of the yen from 288 to 1 in 1976 to 105 to 1 in 1994 is concealed in the dollar totals, which are skewed upward by the rate of exchange. In actual fact, for example, the total expenditure for 1994 was less than that for 1993. However, as yen have been used in all program categories, though least of all in Policy-Oriented Research, these percentages may be considered representative of program reality. Detailed figures in both currencies are contained in the Commission's published annual reports from 1977 to 1984 and biennial reports 1985 to 1992.

The original decision to spend twice as much on Japanese Studies in American Education as on American Studies in Japanese Education has been generally followed. The Arts have been maintained in the range of

12 to 15%, and administrative costs have been kept closer to 10%. The new program of Policy-Oriented Research was set apart in 1983, as discussed below, and regional US programs in public understanding have benefited from generous Japanese gifts of \$2 million in 1981, another \$2 million in 1986, and \$1 million in 1988.

Major activities developed and supported in each of these categories are described below.

Two consistent issues run through almost all Commission discussions from the first to the present. These are first, the choice between elite or specialist programs and popular or "grass-roots" understanding of Japan, its institutions and culture, and second, the question of how fast to spend, that is, whether to draw down principal from the trust fund or to live on interest earnings alone.

## **HOW FAST TO SPEND**

The Friendship Act authorized the Commission to draw down and spend up to 5% of the appropriated trust fund each year. Interest remains with the trust fund and may be reinvested to earn more interest. The interest cannot be spent, however, until it has been duly appropriated by Congress, usually within the annual budget cycle.

The law provides that the Treasury Department will invest funds not immediately needed in US government or government-guaranteed bonds. The Commission each year has advised the Treasury on maturity schedules for investment. With the high interest rates of the late '70s and early '80s Commission bonds were earning well over 8% or around \$1.5 million a year.

Investment of the yen fund presented a more difficult problem since US Treasury bonds could not be purchased with non-convertible yen. By agreement with the Treasury Department it was stipulated that Japanese government bonds might be purchased through the agency of an American bank in Tokyo. The Commission's financial advisor put the offer to several American banks qualified to deal in Japanese government bonds at that time, and he selected the Bank of America, which had agreed to buy, sell, and hold such bonds without fee at Commission direction in return for deposit of the Commission's current account. Japanese government bonds were earning about 5.75%, which yielded the equivalent of about \$1 million per year.

In early 1994 the Bank of America announced that it would begin charging for services. The Commission asked for bids and, receiving a lower bid from the State Street Bank of Boston in Tokyo, transferred its business to the State Street Bank in that year.

Because the Commission devoted 1976 and 1977 to defining priorities and soliciting and screening grant applications, expenditures lagged behind earnings for the first two years. By the beginning of 1978 the dollar fund had built up from \$18 to \$19 million, and the yen fund had increased by about ¥100 million (equivalent to about \$400,000 at 1977 rates of exchange). In the October 1978 meeting Commission members reviewed the choices for future levels of spending. A strong consensus favored spending down the surplus if good programs came along. At the then current rate of inflation the dollar fund would lose half its value in ten years. Although Congress clearly intended the Commission to last at least twenty years, there was a crisis in Japan-US relations and the Commission should not plan to linger on as a permanent bureaucracy. The staff was asked to prepare spending level options for consideration at the April 1979 meeting.

Three spending scenarios were considered at that meeting, and the Commission chose the middle level of \$3.2 million in combined funds with some flexibility to go higher for good projects. This would entail some drawdown of capital but would still leave the fund at the end of 1980 substantially larger in both currencies than at the beginning. Hoarded earnings were subject to inflation too, it was noted. These levels of spending were continued by the Commission for several years until by 1982 the dollar fund had been spent down to its original \$18 million, not counting the recent Japanese gift of \$2 million. The yen fund continued to grow modestly. In the April 1983 meeting the staff again presented three dollar-fund options: to spend interest only; to spend \$400,000 above income or some 2% of capital; or to spend \$900,000 above

income, or 5% of capital, the maximum authorized. It was noted that spending principal would of course reduce future income levels. The Commission voted unanimously for the second, or 2%, option. Members stressed the critical need for action now but asked for a close scrutiny of long-term commitments.

Again in April 1985 the Commission made a detailed review of spending levels and program priorities, and members reaffirmed the policy of 2.3 to 2.5% annual capital drawdown. Senator Javits and others spoke of the need for the Commission to use its resources in constructive ways in view of the greatly increased trade friction with Japan.

By the end of 1989 the appropriated dollar fund of \$18 million had been spent down to \$15 million, and the new Chairman, Dr. John Makin, proposed a stop to the spending of principal. The Commission re-examined priorities and adopted a policy to preserve the remaining dollar trust fund by spending interest only. Treasury bond interest rates had fallen, making things worse, but efforts to switch to other agency bonds with higher yields were not successful. The yen fund remained high, and some yen funds were converted to dollar funds to cover administrative expenses from 1992.

By the end of 1992 Commission dollar-fund grants, not including those financed by the Japanese government gift fund, were running a little over \$1 million a year. The fund balance stood near \$15 million. The Commission calculated it would need another \$50 million in endowment to regain the program level of 1977. The yen fund value, however, remained very near to the original ¥3.5 billion, though its dollar book value had risen from \$12.5 million to \$33 million.

The annual congressional appropriation of interest earnings was made normally without much opposition, due in part to the strong support of the Commission's own congressional members and also to the reputation established for economical administration by one of the smallest staffs in the federal government. In 1977 the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) withheld \$500,000 of interest earnings from the request to Congress. The Commission unanimously protested, congressional members most vigorously, and voted to retain the program level by using principal instead. Since the interest was appropriated in later years, the effect was nil. The same thing happened in 1980, but for 1982 the Commission did accept an OMB reduction of 12% on interest expenditures. Again the Commission asserted its opposition to any limitation on its existing authority to spend 5% of principal.

For 1986 the Congress reduced the interest appropriation by \$700,000, apparently more out of concern at the loss of American factory jobs to Japan than for displeasure at specific Commission grants. (The Commission's image problems in relation to Japan are discussed below.) In this case the Commission followed Congressional guidance and reduced programs by that amount. The missing \$700,000 was appropriated in later years, and the Commission has not suffered a similar cut again.

In February 1981 the OMB proposed to eliminate the trust fund and the Commission entirely. Commission members unanimously mounted a hasty national campaign of appeals to the President, the Secretary of State, and other high administration and congressional leaders. The decision was quickly reversed, and President Reagan wrote on March 21, 1981 to James A. Linen, Vice-Chairman of the Commission and former President of Time, Inc., that "I agree with you about the value of the Commission to us and our relations with Japan. As a result, I have asked the Director of the Office of Management and Budget to fund the Commission in accordance with the budget submission of the previous Administration."

## **PROGRAMS IN JAPANESE STUDIES**

For American study of Japan, the Friendship Act cited higher education and graduate studies in particular. At the Commission's beginning in 1976 members saw an immediate need to support the major national institutions for advanced Japanese language teaching and for the continuing acquisition of Japanese language books and periodicals by the major research libraries. The threat of declining support for these institutions from other sources was a major factor in the lobbying effort by the scholars of Japan for the establishment of the Commission and the trust fund.

The Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies in Tokyo (now in Yokohama) had been recognized for some years as the leading and most effective institution for advanced training of American graduate students in the Japanese language.

Operated by a committee then from twelve North American universities and administered through Stanford University, the Center faced a crisis every year in obtaining partial support from the US Office of Education and the Japan Foundation. The Commission provided some ¥30 million to the Center in 1977 and continued with annual support averaging around ¥50 million up to 1993. The value of grants paid in yen for expenses incurred in Japan has remained fairly constant, although the apparent dollar equivalent has risen two and a half times from \$180,000 to \$450,000 per year. Twenty years ago students at the Center were primarily preparing for teaching careers; they have since come to include future lawyers, economists, engineers, business managers, and scientists. In a 1992 survey of 853 graduates over the years, 95 were found to be employed in business, 24 in government service, 48 in law, 39 in journalism, translation and editorial work, and 179 in university teaching. The balance included smaller numbers in other professions, plus 128 who were still students and 291 with their occupation unreported.

The rising cost and the enormous volume of publications issued in Japan were recognized as a growing burden on American libraries trying to keep their research collections up to date. In 1977 the Commission convened a meeting of librarians of Japanese collections in the United States and asked their help in designing a national program for library acquisitions with minimum duplication and maximum sharing of resources. Several consortiums were organized among ten major university research libraries with Japanese collections, consisting of Columbia, Princeton, Yale, and Harvard in the east, Michigan and Chicago in the midwest, Stanford and Berkeley in California, and separately the Universities of Washington and Hawaii. Starting in 1978 these groups were given yen funds totaling around ¥36 million per year from the late '70s but increasing to ¥47 million by 1990. As a condition at the beginning, these libraries were required to drop interlibrary loan charges and to make access to Japanese materials easy to outside scholars. In 1989 UCLA, U. C. San Diego, and Ohio State University libraries were added to the original ten libraries receiving support. Over the years the Commission supported ad hoc meetings and studies to increase cooperation in bibliographic work, machine-readable access to Chinese-Japanese character materials, and other library topics. Even with this large assistance it became evident that the Commission could not continue to support all of the expressed needs of American libraries for Japanese materials. Discontent was voiced from other libraries not receiving aid, and further efforts were clearly needed to avoid duplication of purchases and to develop a truly national system of bibliography and loan access for all. In 1991 the Commission helped launch a National Coordinating Committee for Japanese Library Resources, and in 1992 it switched from the previous consortium approach to a single grant to this Committee for an open competitive program for acquisition of expensive multivolume sets of Japanese books.

## **PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION**

The Commission early determined to devote a significant part of its Japanese studies resources to professional graduate education in fields such as business administration, economics, law, journalism, and later on to a lesser extent in science and technology and in architecture, urban planning and design. Before 1977 virtually all graduate fellowships for Americans in Japanese studies given by private foundations and the American and Japanese government programs were awarded to students in the traditional disciplines of the social sciences and the humanities. These students were preparing for academic careers in university teaching. It was necessary to replace the older generation of professors who were about to retire and to increase the number of faculty competent on Japan in many colleges and universities outside the big graduate centers. For this purpose the Commission provided continuing support to the competitive Ph.D. research fellowships of the Social Science Research Council. The Commission found, however, that in 1977 almost no attention was given to the study of Japanese cases in American graduate schools of business administration. Between 1961 and 1977 only four Ph.D.s were awarded in economics to Americans competent in the Japanese language and specializing on the Japanese economy. Hardly a handful of American news reporters in Japan or anywhere in the world could conduct an interview in Japanese or read a Japanese newspaper.

The Commission's business school program was started with a project to develop curriculum modules on Japanese business organization and strategies. The program was organized through the Japan Society of New York in cooperation with a number of American business schools, including UCLA, Harvard, Cornell, and Michigan, and a national committee of teachers of business. Starting in 1981 challenge or matching grants were offered to business schools that would establish chairs in the teaching of Japanese business methods or would develop curriculum, faculty expertise and student fellowships for Japanese language and business study. Participating schools included the Universities of Michigan, Columbia, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Stanford, NYU, UCLA, and Hawaii. These programs coincided with the exploding awareness in the American business community of the need to understand the reasons for Japanese business success and to educate Americans in how to compete. The impact on American business schools has been considerable.

Along with these programs the Commission also enabled the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan to conduct training for its members on how to do business in Japan and to publish materials on market access for Americans in Japan.

The program to train economists competent to analyze the Japanese economy has been an even more concentrated success. From 1978 to 1993 the Commission-supported program has produced 36 Ph.D. economists competent in Japanese and knowledgeable on Japanese institutions as well as general economic theory. Twelve of these people are now working in positions in the federal government, including the Federal Reserve, the Council of Economic Advisors, the Departments of State, Treasury, and Energy, and the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment. Twelve are teaching in universities at Harvard, Cornell, Boston, Washington and Lee, and elsewhere. Others are with private banks, investment companies, business corporations, non-profit institutes of analysis, and international agencies. Taken together they represent a significant addition to the nation's capability to analyze and understand the Japanese economy.

Similar success can be found in the Commission's programs in law and journalism education. In journalism the Commission first experimented with internship and language-teaching programs through American media organizations and the journalism schools at the Universities of Missouri and Stanford. Starting in 1981 the Commission initiated a two-year program for two students per year with the Columbia School of Journalism. By 1994 this program had graduated 22 men and women with a combination of journalism and Japanese-language skills. Most are now working for media organizations like the Los Angeles Times, the Wall Street Journal, Business Week, Reuters, United Press International, and others. The American capacity to report the news from Japan first hand and not through interpreters has been significantly improved.

In the field of law the growing trade disputes and the interlocking involvement of American and Japanese businesses have created a much greater need for American lawyers knowledgeable in Japanese law and the Japanese language. Before 1977 a handful of such American lawyers existed, and only the University of Washington offered systematic instruction in Japanese law. The Commission's program of fellowships for post-graduate legal studies of Japanese law and language began with grants to the University of Washington, the University of California at Berkeley, Columbia, and Harvard law schools, and from 1979 through 1982 it was conducted through a nationwide competition of the American Bar Foundation. Law fellowships were discontinued after 1985, but within the nine years a significant number of lawyers had been trained in the Japanese legal system.

In other professional fields the Commission briefly supported a program in environmental design through Ohio State University in 1979-80, and since 1988 it has supported programs in science and technology related to Japan at MIT and briefly at U. C. Santa Barbara. The MIT program provides Japanese language training for American engineering students who are then placed in intern positions in Japanese and American firms and universities within Japan. In 1993-94 alone there were 55 Americans training in Japan on this program, representing a dramatic increase in the number of American engineers able to work in a Japanese environment.

In business administration, economics, journalism, law, and engineering, the Commission's programs have been unique, the only thing of their kind. Where the Commission's other Japanese studies programs in language, library, and graduate study fellowships have preserved, continued, and strengthened existing institutions supported by others, the unique programs in economics, business administration, journalism, engineering, and law may be among the Commission's most significant achievements.

## **OUTREACH, GRASS ROOTS, AND UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION**

Although the Friendship Act specified higher education in graduate studies and the Commission from the beginning emphasized the importance of training American specialists on Japan, there were always some Commission members who advocated a broader approach to strengthen undergraduate and even high school education on Japan. These members argued the importance of "grass roots" American understanding of Japan, and year after year the Commission did support some activities to meet this concern. It was obvious that Commission resources could never reach a majority of all American colleges and high schools, but a number of group programs were tried in the effort to improve textbooks and other teaching materials, to link up American colleges with Japanese counterpart schools, and to enlarge the opportunities for American undergraduates to study in Japan. Especially in the mid-1980s under Commission Chairman Dr. W. Glenn Campbell the number of grants made to geographically-dispersed, non-elite organizations was greatly increased. As funds were gradually depleted by 1990, the number of these grants had to be cut back.

The Commission early supported on a rotating basis a number of organized American college group undergraduate study programs in Japan. These included the Waseda University program in Tokyo in cooperation with the California State Universities and Colleges, the California Private Universities and Colleges, the Oregon State System of Higher Education, the Great Lakes College Association, and the Associated Colleges of the Midwest. Another was the Associated Kyoto Program at Doshisha University sponsored by Amherst, Bucknell, Carleton, Colby, Connecticut, Mount Holyoke, Oberlin, Smith, Wesleyan, Whitman, and Williams Colleges. Still another was the Konan University Year-in-Japan program of the Universities of Colorado, Illinois, Michigan State, and Pittsburgh. A number of individual college faculty or student exchange programs were later added, including City College of New York, the University of Montana, Lansing Community College, and others.

The Commission consistently felt a need to support the isolated American scholar of Japan who taught on a campus without Japan-oriented colleagues and without easy access to needed library materials and stimulating interchange with colleagues. Over the years the Commission has supported the Northeast Asia Council of the Association for Asian Studies in its programs for these scholars, including regional conferences, research travel to libraries, and visiting lecture tours by distinguished Japan specialists. In addition, the Commission has regularly supported the Journal of Japanese Studies, the leading scholarly periodical in the field, which is edited by a national committee and published at the University of Washington. In 1978 the Commission announced an annual Friendship Commission Literary Translation Prize for the best literary translation of the year by a new American translator. This has been continued annually with juries convened originally by the Japan Society of New York and later by the Donald Keene Center of Columbia University.

## **AMERICAN STUDIES IN JAPANESE EDUCATION**

The American Studies component of the Commission's program stems in part from the 1975 action of the House of Representatives in adding the GARIOA yen fund to the Friendship Act and stressing the two-way nature of the program, as had been advocated by the Department of State. The status of American Studies in Japanese education in 1976 was, and even now is, far from a mirror image of Japanese Studies in American education. The English language is widely if rather ineffectively taught throughout the Japanese school system. American popular culture and the western cultural tradition in general were widely appreciated in Japan in 1976, as now. Academic interest tended to focus more on American literature than on American social and political institutions, and more on the 19th than the mid-20th centuries. The Marxist interpretation of political and economic institutions was much more prevalent in Japan than in the

United States, though it has since declined in Japan as elsewhere. Japanese scholars, many of them very good, identified themselves by their discipline as political scientists or literature specialists, for example, rather than as American Studies specialists. Leadership in American Studies and the interpretation of American society and institutions rested on a very few distinguished and dedicated Japanese scholars of the US.

Faced with this analysis of the situation in 1977, the Commission's first policy decision was to support American Studies in Japan at about 50% of the level of the Commission's Japanese Studies program, and to announce a \$1 million program, mostly in yen, over three years, with \$200,000 for the first year and \$400,000 a year thereafter. The program started with support for the two major American Studies institutes in the country -- the Centers at Tokyo University and at Doshisha University in Kyoto. The Commission decided to develop a comprehensive program covering three areas nationally: support for library collections, for faculty research and faculty development, and for undergraduate education through the introduction of courses on the United States. The Tokyo and Doshisha University libraries were supported consistently at levels around ¥8 to ¥12 million each per year, although these amounts declined in the '90s. The reduction at Tokyo University was compensated by an increase in the University's budgeting of its own funds from the Ministry of Education. At both Centers funds went primarily to the purchase of American books and research materials, but some money was used for library operations, bibliographies, publications, seminars, and other activities to make the materials easily accessible to outside scholars. Both places became truly national centers and not single university collections.

With the retirement of the pioneering generation of senior Americanists in Japan, the Commission sought to assist a new and larger generation of American specialists. Several programs for short-term or longer study and research in the United States were aided over the years. One through the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) provided competitive opportunities for research in the United States by established scholars. Two programs for graduate study in the United States were administered by the International House of Japan with Commission funds. One provided for a summer of intensive English language preparation at Cornell University for students proceeding to regular graduate study elsewhere. The second, an International House program named the Nitobe Fellowships, provided for graduate study in the social sciences. As evidence of the change and broadening of American Studies in Japan, the ACLS fellowships, which in 1979 were largely in literature, by 1988 were 50% in the social sciences. In the late 1980s the Commission also added a program for short-term research visits to the United States by Japanese social scientists.

The Commission supported the strong desire of the leaders of the profession in Japan for the "internationalization" of American Studies in Japan. Since Japanese scholars wrote in Japanese, their research, findings, and opinions were neither read nor challenged by scholars outside Japan, in the United States or elsewhere. The Commission supported an agreement reached in 1986 between the US American Studies Association and the Japanese Association for American Studies under which American scholars attend meetings in Japan and Japanese scholars attend American Studies Association meetings, chair panels and present papers in English. Some of the Japanese Association sessions are conducted in English to enable American participation. The arrangement has continued to the present, and topics have included African-American Studies, Popular Culture and Material Culture in the United States, the Power of the Media, and the History of US-Asia Encounters. In addition the Commission has supported the occasional publication of an English-language journal of the Japanese Association.

To give recognition and publicity to sound Japanese scholarship on the United States, the Commission provided book prize awards for the best books annually in Japanese about the United States. Support for the book prizes was discontinued after 1990, at some loss of publicity for the books, but the awards were taken up and continued by the American Studies Foundation of Japan, an organization founded and supported by Japanese business interests.

The Commission took a strong interest in promoting the introduction of courses on the United States in undergraduate colleges and universities throughout Japan. Among the methods tried over the years were: providing funds to send visiting Japanese lecturers from the main centers to teach courses in regional colleges; providing fellowships to train Japanese faculty at graduate schools in the United States; and

providing American books to regional college libraries, in part through the books program of the Asia Foundation. Among universities assisted in one way or another were Keio, Nagoya, Hosei, Tsukuba, Tohoku, Kyushu, Hiroshima, Ritsumeikan, Saitama, Sophia, Kobe, Shiga, Kumamoto, Ryukyu, and Miyazaki. A major support program for teaching, seminars, and visiting American scholars was continued over several years jointly with Osaka University, Kobe University, and Osaka University of Foreign Languages.

To promote interaction among Japanese scholars of America and with visiting Americans, the Commission assisted a number of national and regional American Studies seminars and meetings. The first, the Kyoto American Studies Summer Seminar, was held annually for more than 30 years starting in 1951 and was supported by a number of American and Japanese public and private agencies before the Commission came along. The Commission added its support regularly from 1977 until the seminar was discontinued in 1988. A second national summer seminar was started in Hokkaido in 1979 and was supported by the Commission continuously through 1994. The Commission also encouraged and assisted in the development of regional associations and activities in several areas, including Tohoku (north of Tokyo), Hiroshima (Chugoku-Shikoku), Kyushu, and Okinawa.

After the national Kyoto Seminar was discontinued, leaving Japanese scholars with some sense of lost opportunity for collaboration and contact, the Commission provided regional travel grant money to the Doshisha American Studies Center. In a major new development in 1991 Doshisha University expanded its American Studies program to include M.A. and Ph.D. graduate study with some 30 students regularly in the program. Among the topics for regional seminars in addition to literary, cultural and historical studies have been trade disputes, financial institutions, labor productivity, and gun control.

It is not in the tradition for Japanese universities or professors to apply uninvited for grants, as American institutions are wont to do. Repeated travel, consultation, and discussion by Commission staff in Japan were required to develop mutual confidence and to design these programs in ways to satisfy both the Commission's requirements and the bureaucratic, political, and administrative concerns of a somewhat rigid university structure in Japan. From 1978 until 1988 the Commission maintained an office in Japan and based its Associate Executive Director there for most of the year with primary responsibility for developing Japan-based programs. After that office was closed for understandable cost-saving reasons, programs have been developed by periodic staff visits to Japan with liaison assistance from the International House of Japan. The Commission's American Studies program, which began slowly in 1976, reached its highest level of activity in the late '80s and dropped off rather sharply after 1990.

Although American Studies scholars and courses about the United States taught in Japan are still relatively few, the profession has grown in numbers, in respect and acceptance within the Japanese system, and in diffusion throughout the country. Japanese sources of financing have moved in to replace some of the diminishing American resources. The Commission's support over the years has been and continues to be welcomed by the Japanese in this endeavor.

## **THE ARTS**

The legislative history and early deliberations of the Commission gave importance to the arts as "the heart of a people's creative genius" and as a means for increasing mutual understanding. At the April 1977 meeting Senator Javits urged the early sending of a major American art exhibition to Japan. The Commission confirmed that arts exchanges in both directions would be a program category at a planning level of about 12.5% of the budget per year. This level was maintained quite consistently through the years although proposals were made, considered, and rejected in 1986 and 1991 to reduce or eliminate arts programs.

Unlike the well-trodden academic and scholarly paths between Japan and the United States, there were almost no existing vehicles for artistic exchange between Japan and the United States in 1976. The Commission had to create new mechanisms and new linkages; this took time. It was 1978, therefore, before grants were made in the arts. The Commission established and supported arts programs in three program

areas: for individual creative artists; for theater and dance exchanges; and for the visual arts including exhibitions of painting and sculpture, travel of curators, and support of museum catalogs.

## **THE PROGRAM FOR CREATIVE ARTISTS**

From 1977 the Commission undertook discussions with the US National Endowment for the Arts (whose Chairman is a Commission member) and with the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs to establish a jointly administered and funded two-way exchange for creative artists of accomplishment and promise. This would be one of the first international agreements of its kind for the National Endowment for the Arts, which had recently established a joint exchange program for individual artist fellowships with Great Britain. The British program provided some inspiration and example for a new Japanese program, but the language and cultural differences between Japan and the United States entailed greater support for the artists in their work. Artists who did not speak the other language and who knew little of the other culture could not simply be abandoned to their own devices to find interesting opportunities and counterpart artists. A three-agency agreement of 1978 provided for the exchange of five creative artists each way each year. American artist applicants for Japan would be screened through the existing panels of the Arts Endowment, and the five finalists would be confirmed by a special panel. Fields of art were not specified, but consideration was given to those that offered the best opportunities for Americans without previous exposure to Japan. Winners were committed to a minimum of six months and a maximum of twelve months in Japan on the grant. For financial reasons in later years the maximum stay was cut back to six months. Artists were not required to teach or perform; the obligation was to follow their own creative bent in observing Japanese art and meeting with Japanese artists. Instruction in the Japanese language was offered both before departure and after arrival in Japan. For the American program the National Endowment for the Arts provides stipends of \$15,000 per person, or \$75,000 per year for the five, and the Commission provided other funds for travel, living and language expenses. The Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs provided the necessary formal introductions and affiliations in Japan, and the Commission arranged for the International House of Japan to provide the informal assistance in living and language matters and introduction to counterpart artists. Unlike the scholars in the area studies programs, American and Japanese artists do not speak each other's language but must communicate, often quite effectively, through the language of their art.

The Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs had an existing program for sending young Japanese artists, musicians, and dancers to the United States for study. As part of the joint program it was agreed that the Commission and the National Endowment for the Arts would facilitate the study, accreditation, and reception of these Japanese artists during their American training. The Commission arranged through grants to the Asian Cultural Council of New York for this kind of assistance. These grants were continued through 1986. When they terminated, the Japanese and American programs were in effect separated, but the Japanese program continued. Representatives of the Agency for Cultural Affairs recently expressed their complete satisfaction with the history of this program and the experience of the Japanese artists in the United States. The common American experience of Japanese artists in quite different fields has created an alumni group with a shared feeling of accomplishment.

By 1994 some 80 American artists had participated in the program, spending time in Japan to pursue their interests in a wide range of fields including but not limited to painting, theater, textile design, dance, TV, video and film, music, poetry, and photography. The experience of 1977 grantee Manuel Alum was typical. A Puerto Rican modern dancer and choreographer from New York, he found Japan at first daunting -- a language, a people, an art to which he could not relate. In a few months, however, he had found friends, including a Japanese noh actor with whom he created new dance in common. On his return to the United States Mr. Alum danced his own choreographed Made in Japan performances on the New York stage. Similar experiences can be reported for many of the other Americans, who used the Japan experience in their own creations, in writing books, painting pictures, dyeing textiles, making videos. A separate report is being prepared on the artists in this program; further names will not be included here. This program has been widely seen as one of the Commission's most unique and successful activities.

## **THEATER AND DANCE**

The Commission decided in 1977 to concentrate its group projects in the arts on the theater and the dance. In making this decision the Commission noted that whereas music had become a world art in taste and in its ability to travel, the theater in Japan and in the United States remained national, bound to its culture and language and lacking audience and money for overseas travel. Yet theater says something about people's aspirations, artistic sensibilities, and social way of life.

The Commission arranged for and supported the first American professional drama performances in Japan by the American Conservatory Theatre of San Francisco, presenting plays of Eugene O'Neill and Tad Mosel in Tokyo in 1978. In the spring of 1979 the Commission assisted a Japan performance tour of Albee Directs Albee, a professional company performing several of Edward Albee's one-act plays and accompanied on the tour by the playwright. That autumn the National Theatre of the Deaf was supported in its first tour of Japan, which led to invitations for deaf Japanese actors to train in the United States and to the development of deaf theater in Japan.

A continuing relationship between Japanese and American theater was developed through the Milwaukee Repertory Theater. This included the production of Japanese plays in English by the Milwaukee troupe, and participation with the Brooklyn Center for the Performing Arts in a US nationwide tour by the Waseda Little Theater of Tokyo, directed by Tadashi Suzuki. Through Commission assistance Mr. Suzuki developed a continuing relationship with Milwaukee and the American theater generally. Suzuki became one of the world's leading theater directors, recognized for his method of disciplined actor training developed from traditional methods of kabuki and noh. With Commission assistance he has invited American actors and actresses each year to train at the mountain theater center he built at Toga in Japan. Suzuki and his company, now called SCOT (Suzuki Company of Toga), have repeatedly toured the United States. He has directed American actors and companies in English versions of his plays, and with Commission assistance has invited and collaborated in work with Robert Wilson, Lee Breuer, Meredith Monk, Joanne Akalaitis, Anne Bogart, and others. The mutual influence and the sense of joint creation between Suzuki and American theater have become substantial and continuing.

Over twenty years the Commission has sponsored or assisted many other tours in both directions by performing arts groups in theater and dance. The Commission has fostered joint productions by Japanese and American directors and performers at the Opera Company of St. Louis, the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center in Los Angeles, the Institute of Dramatic Arts in Tokyo, and the Saratoga International Theatre Institute. In addition to return tours to Japan by the American Conservatory Theatre and the Milwaukee Repertory Theater, the Commission has assisted Japan tours and workshops by Mabou Mimes, the Mark Taper Forum, the Denver Center for the Performing Arts, the Circle Repertory Theatre, and the Encore Theatre Company. Modern American dance has been presented in Japan by the companies of Alvin Ailey, Paul Taylor, Merce Cunningham, Twyla Tharp, Laura Dean, the Dance Theater of Harlem, Tandy Beal, the Lewitsky Dance Company, the Elisa Monte Dance Company, Kei Takei, and others. To bring the best of Japanese dance, ancient and modern, to the US, the Commission funded residencies for Japanese troupes at the American Dance Festival in Durham, North Carolina, and assisted in financing tours by the following dance and theater companies, among others: Sankai Juku, Dai Rakuda Kan, the Kita Noh Troupe, the Okinawa Court Dancers, the Abe Kobo Company, the Setsu Asakura Company, Kaze no Ko, and the PUK Puppet Theater. Through these programs have grown relationships and collaboration in new creativity.

Over the past decade the Commission has deemed that the most critical area of support it can offer in the arts is for exchange in contemporary forms and modes, and in collaborative projects that otherwise would have difficulty in raising sufficient funds for their needs. Also, given the infusion of new Japanese funds to bring Japanese arts to the United States, the Commission has recently placed priority on the exchange of American art, both visual and performance, to Japan. For example, at its September 1994 grant-making session the Commission approved grants to help support tours to the 1995 Tokyo International Theater Festival by Ping Chong and the Fiji Theater Company, and by the Bill T. Jones/Arnie Zane Dance Company. It also approved support for a collaborative production of Endo Shusaku's *Silence* by the Milwaukee Repertory Theater and the Institute of Dramatic Arts of Tokyo. The Commission has also

placed priority on help for building an infrastructure for exchanges in the arts such as the Collaborations Project organized by the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Los Angeles.

## **THE VISUAL ARTS**

The visual arts may be easier of comprehension across language barriers; the museums and publications of both countries contain many examples and explanations of the painting, sculpture, and crafts of the other nation. Japanese interest in western art, however, has been focused largely on the rich traditions of Europe with little interest until recently in American art created either in the 20th century or earlier. The first American art exhibition sponsored by the Commission in Japan was presented in 1978 and was devoted to the early work of the New York School of Abstract Expressionists in a show organized by the Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Cornell University. In subsequent years exhibitions were sponsored in Japan of the works of George Segal, Jasper Johns, Keith Sonnier, Jonathan Borofsky, and the photography of Edward Weston and Ansel Adams. The Commission gave priority to exhibitions of contemporary art but did support an exhibition of 150 years of American art from the Columbus, Ohio Museum of Art.

Japanese art exhibitions in the United States assisted by the Commission have included contemporary art by the Smithsonian Traveling Exhibition Services; the Daimyo exhibition by the National Gallery; Tokyo Form and Spirit by the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis; Ten Contemporary Japanese Sculptors by the Hara Museum of Contemporary Art in Tokyo and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; MA, Space/Time in Japan by the architect Arata Isozaki at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York; Japan: Photography 1845-1905 by the American Federation of Arts at museums in Texas, Oregon, Minnesota and Michigan; and Contemporary Japanese Arts and Calligraphy by the Bronx Museum of the Arts. The Commission also supported the exchange of curators and scholars in connection with the Japanese art collections at the Seattle, Boston, and New Orleans Museums of Art. An ongoing program over several years with the Hara Museum in Tokyo provided for an exchange of museum professionals concerned with standards of preservation, sites for exhibition, and observation of new art.

## **PUBLIC AFFAIRS, PUBLIC EDUCATION, AND OUTREACH**

From the beginning the Commission wrestled with the division of priorities between elite programs for the training of specialists and mass appeal activities that might reach a broader public. The program title and descriptions for the latter were changed from time to time, but the activities that were covered included counterpart exchanges, media programs, regional and outreach programs, and the sponsorship of research.

The Commission decided early to support the exchange of American and Japanese counterpart groups in the fields of public education, the mass media, and politics in the hope that better understanding between these leadership groups could improve the content of public education, the media coverage, and the political discussion in each country about the other. From 1977 through 1984 the Commission supported the exchange of delegations of American Chief State School Officers, State Board of Education Chiefs, and State PTA Presidents with their Japanese counterparts. The program created considerable good will and an appreciation of the need for a broader curriculum in international study in elementary and secondary schools. It was not of itself, however, sufficient to effect much change. The Commission continued to believe that elementary and secondary education were beyond its resources. It was also noted that other Japanese government and American private funding organizations, including the United States-Japan Foundation in New York, were providing opportunities in pre-college curriculum development and teacher exchange.

In most years from 1977 through 1989 the Commission supported the short-term exchange of American and Japanese newspaper editors sponsored by the American Committee of the International Press Institute and the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association. The binational sponsors defined this as a program not for specialists or the training of foreign correspondents but for the enlightenment of editors who control the flow and placement of news in the press. News coverage of Japan in the American press has grown greatly over the last twenty years, largely from the newsworthiness of the increasing collisions

on trade issues, but the coverage was no doubt improved by the experience of so many American editors in face-to-face discussions with their Japanese counterparts.

Although the Commission is a non-policymaking agency of the US government, members have repeatedly expressed a desire to assist the level of policy discussions by Americans and Japanese who are interacting from domestic policy concerns outside the designated channels of official negotiation. Since the Commission includes four members of Congress, there has been a consistent interest in finding ways for members of Congress and their staffs to participate in discussion opportunities with Japanese parliamentarians. In most of the last twenty years the Commission has supported some sort of congressional project. Some were organized by the Former Members of Congress, a group that has included sitting members of Congress in discussion meetings and joint study projects and has produced reports on a number of issues, including a comparative study of procedures in the Congress and the Japanese Diet. A comparable study of agricultural policies in both countries for members of Congress and scholars was organized with Commission backing by the Japan Center for International Exchange. Since 1987 a series of annual Japan study tours by senior congressional staff members has been arranged with Commission assistance by the Congressional Economic Leadership Institute. A legislative exchange program was also sponsored each year since 1991 by the George Washington University with Commission assistance.

## **TV AND PRINT MEDIA**

The mass appeal of television attracted Commission interest from the start. Over the years the Commission has contributed to a number of educational documentaries and special programs for American public television. The Commission's general policy was to provide not more than one-third of production costs, but the high cost of television production put even this level beyond the Commission's resources in all but a few cases. In most years, however, the Commission did support some production of an educational, non-political nature about Japan. These included from 1977 the series, *Japan, The Living Tradition*, produced by the University of Mid-America, Lincoln, Nebraska, and another series, *The Japanese*, produced by John Nathan for Hawaii Public TV. Programs in subsequent years included a magazine series by Shinzen Productions of Portland, Oregon, and programs on the changing role of women in Japan by the Boston Film/Video Center, on the Smyrna experience by the Pacific Basin Institute, Santa Barbara, and on labor union issues also by the Pacific Basin Institute and KCET Los Angeles. These and Commission-assisted programs on Japanese artistic performances and other topics were broadcast by stations of the PBS network. In addition, the Commission sponsored a number of conferences of Japanese and American broadcasters to explore possibilities for coproduction and exchange of programs. Given the size of the TV industry in both nations, however, the Commission's modest efforts may have been little noticed.

More recently the Commission has given priority to partial support of program production and broadcast on public affairs issues pertinent to the contemporary bilateral relationship. These have included Hedrick Smith's *Challenge to America*, a three-part series on American trade and economic relations with Japan and Europe that aired on PBS stations nationally in 1994. The Commission also helped Public Radio International develop the Japan desk for its daily business series *Marketplace*, broadcast through many public radio stations.

In CULCON discussions long before the Commission was established, Americans and Japanese alike had agreed that a major problem lay in the unavailability to outsiders of the very lively Japanese internal political dialogue that raged in the serious Japanese press and magazines. None of this material was being translated into English; hence it could not be reprinted, challenged, or commented upon in the west. The information gap contributed to the misperception of Japan as a monolithic, lock-step society lacking an internal political debate. From the United States, however, every contentious statement in print could be quickly repeated in the Japanese press. It was agreed there was need for a translation service in Japan that would select a broad range of articles and make them available to American news services, publications, and the interested public in high-quality English that would meet the standards of American editors. Starting in 1978, therefore, the Commission assisted the Asia Foundation's effort at such a center in Tokyo. Annual grants were made in the ¥8 to ¥12 million range (equivalent to \$50,000 to \$100,000 depending on the exchange rate). Although the Commission strongly supported the goals of the Translation Center, these

grants were among the most difficult and disputed in the Commission's decision-making each year. The quality of the English translations was very high, but so was the cost per article and per placement in an American periodical. The Commission constantly urged stronger distribution efforts. As Commission support declined and ended with the 1992 grant, the Center was receiving more and more Japanese support and was trying to put its service on a paying basis. In the process, a valuable resource institution has been created.

## **REGIONAL PROGRAMS AND THE JAPAN GIFT FUND**

In 1979 the Commission decided to create active regional public affairs programs where the knowledge of American experts on Japan could be made available to interested local leaders in business, government, and society. A committee of regional leaders from many parts of the country was organized under the leadership of former Ambassador to Japan, Robert Ingersoll. Plans were developed in 1980 with the help of this group, and grants in the range of \$50,000 were made to four regions: Atlanta/Southeast, Boston/Northeast, Seattle/Pacific Northwest, and San Francisco/Northern California. Similar regional plans were added for support the next year, including Chicago/Upper Midwest, Southern California, Houston and Dallas, Texas, and in 1982 the Cincinnati tri-state area. Grants were made to a variety of organizations for coordinated activities, including world affairs councils and other international study groups, chambers of commerce, museums and annual festivals, and Japan-America societies where they existed.

The oldest Japan-America societies in Boston, San Francisco, and New York were formed early in the century and had long since developed a comprehensive range of activities with business, cultural, and social interests related to Japan. In more recent years smaller societies had grown up spontaneously elsewhere in California, the Pacific Northwest, Texas, and other areas, but these were oriented mostly toward social or cultural activities of interest to the Japanese-American community and local Americans who had lived in Japan. They lacked the business orientation that could provide a strong financial base for professional staff and office facilities to conduct a range of activities. For a few years the Commission divided its support between these Japan-specific organizations and the larger world-oriented organizations that could include Japan in their menu of international educational activities.

By 1980 the Commission had found sufficient interest in these regional institution-building plans that it decided to solicit major Japanese contributions to the Commission's funds in order to support a dramatic expansion of regional public affairs activities. Senator Javits, Commission Chairmen John Hall and Robert Ward, and Commission staff had already broached the idea to Japanese officials and had found some receptivity. Especially active solicitations were made by three successive Commission Vice-Chairmen over the years: James Linen, Robert Ingersoll, and Garrett Scalera. It was pointed out to the Japanese that funds given to the Commission, a US government agency, would become American money and would be disbursed solely at Commission discretion for regional public affairs activities of American organizations interested in understanding Japan. The first \$2 million from the government of Japan were presented by Prime Minister Suzuki during a visit to the Congress in 1981. A second \$2 million were given in 1986, and another \$1 million in 1988. The Commission has used these funds for the regional program, largely in support of Japan-America societies and other outreach activities without interference from Japan after the funds were received. Japanese gift funds, like US appropriated funds, were invested in US Treasury obligations, and the interest income was added to the program. The balance remaining in the Japan Gift Fund on September 15, 1994 was \$1,580,000.

Using both gift and appropriated funds the Commission pursued a program of support to local Japan-America societies around the country. Funds were usually given in equal amounts (ideally and theoretically \$30,000 annually) for each of three years to provide for staff and administrative costs until the new societies could develop their own community base with a level of programming sufficient for local fund raising. The Commission's policy of "no drawdown" affected this practice in the early 1990s, when the Gift Fund remainder was seen as principal and the members used only the interest, thus resulting in lower amounts. That policy has since been reversed, and the Commission has returned to the \$30,000 figure as a target for support. All Japan-America societies are independent, local, non-profit, non-political organizations. To be successful in raising funds for continued existence they must find activities that are interesting and useful to local business, educational, cultural, and social groups.

The Commission faced the choice whether to concentrate on the emerging Japan-America societies or to stay with the stronger world affairs councils, that lacked Japan-specific interests. By 1986 the Commission went almost completely to Japan-America societies. After the initial three-year period of administrative support had run out most societies managed to keep operating, and the Commission did make later funds available for specific program activities. Over the years the Commission supported the National Association of Japan-America Societies, which provided program services to its member societies. The Commission also assisted the Japan Society of New York in providing outreach services from its strong base of staff and program resources. Currently the Commission supports the National Association of Japan-America Societies in its lecturers' tours for the societies by speakers such as visiting officers of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan and researchers from Commission-supported projects.

By 1994 there were at least 31 local Japan-America societies throughout the United States carrying on a wide range of activities in their communities. They sponsored workshops on how to do business with Japan, how to enjoy Japanese arts, food, and cultural performances, how to learn the Japanese language, travel in Japan, get a teaching job there, or meet local Japanese residents and visitors. The societies do not promote a political line, pro-Japanese or otherwise, but they aim to demonstrate that it helps to know something about Japan. The creation of these societies out of local initiative and Commission encouragement has been called by some observers the Commission's greatest accomplishment.

## **POLICY ORIENTED RESEARCH**

In the first years the Commission concentrated on people and on institutions whose development could assist the Japan-US relationship. Issues in that relationship were not singled out for attention, but it was hoped that more and better-trained people and stronger institutions of communication would help clarify the issues. As economic competition grew and the American trade deficit with Japan worsened, members of the Commission came to feel that a more active program to encourage the study of troublesome issues was called for. Such research could be pertinent to those concerned with Japan in the Congress, various agencies of the executive branch, think-tanks, academia, and the media. In Chairman Robert Ward's first meeting in 1980 the decision was made to support research, preferably binational, that would illuminate pressing issues on which the two nations differed, provided that such support did not compromise the Commission's position to not take policy stands. Two projects approved at that meeting were for a study and discussions on "US-Japanese Competition in the Semiconductor Industry" organized by the Japan Society, New York, and on the "Japan-US Economic Relationship" organized by Stanford University.

Guidelines for policy-oriented research were refined and clarified in 1981 and 1982. In view of the growing resentment in both countries over the trade issues, wide dissemination of study results in both countries was essential. There was a concern that too many proposals would compete for the same few scholars, and it was considered important to enlist the participation of Japanese scholars outside the network of government restraints. Although the new program opportunities were publicized and numerous proposals were received, the Commission by 1983 found almost all proposals to be disappointing. Almost none met the requirements that they be joint research projects with Japanese participation and with matching funds, devoted to issues of central importance to the US-Japan relationship and showing concrete plans for dissemination of results. Two projects were approved in 1983 for study by George Washington University on technology transfer from the United States and Japan to less developed countries, and by the University of Michigan on the effect of laws on US-Japan trade.

In April 1985 Commission Chairman Glenn Campbell convened a special meeting of current and former Commissioners to review the salient aspects of the overall bilateral relationship and the Commission's special role in addressing the most pressing problems. Founder of the Commission and long-time member Senator Jacob K. Javits, by then retired from public life, returned to the Commission to note his concerns about the deterioration in the bilateral relationship and to urge the Commission to bring to bear on those problems all the resources it had cultivated in the previous decade of activity. This concern, shared by the members, was translated into renewed emphasis on identifying and supporting the best of policy-oriented research on Japan and the US-Japan relationship.

Through the mid-1980s under Dr. Campbell's chairmanship the grants for policy-oriented research were greatly expanded, covering topics in two generally construed categories: namely, research to help clarify US interests in the entanglements ensnaring the two countries, and research to help uncover aspects of common interest and applicability from the Japanese experience in broad social and economic issues such as education and health care. Research on the shared leadership of global security and development, the liberalization and deregulation of the Japanese financial markets, alleged restraint of competition in consumer product distribution in Japan, agricultural issues, Japanese investment in the United States, and Japanese management of their US firms marked some of the topics in the first category. Examples of research in the second category are comparative studies of educational policy, nuclear power policy, health care policy, cooperation in space, and the process of policy formulation.

The opening of the 1990s brought a fundamental restructuring of the Commission's financial policies, leading to the indefinite lengthening of the Commission's viability as a grant-making body at the cost of a significant decrease in the amount of annual grants. This entailed a thorough review of Commission programs -- their impact and importance. Long discussions ensued, and different viewpoints were expressed. The Commission should retain its role in preparing area specialists and should concentrate its research support on basic issues such as structural change in the Japanese economy and the nature of political leadership in Japan, while avoiding short-term issues. Others suggested that research should help American competitiveness. In this regard it was proposed that the Commission's name should be changed and the word "Friendship" dropped. The word suggested a pro-Japan advocacy position that was not helpful in the current state of confrontation and competition. In fact one PBS station had turned down a Commission grant on the grounds that the Commission was not a disinterested party, although this had not been a problem to PBS in the earlier years. The informal proposal to change the Commission's name was not accepted by a majority of the members. After long discussion the Commissioners arrived at a consensus that all traditional areas of Commission programs should be maintained, but within highly focused ranges of activity, and that priority should be given to two areas: the development and maintenance of expertise on Japan with special attention to training in professional graduate schools of business, engineering, economics, journalism and other professions, and secondly, policy-oriented research projects. The results of these deliberations were disseminated widely in the winter of 1991.

As part of these deliberations in December 1990, Chairman John Makin and Vice Chairman Kenneth Pyle convened a meeting of leading experts on Japan from academia, think tanks, corporations, the media and government. The active program for policy-oriented research in the 1980s had not always met the highest standards either for research topic or for dissemination. Thirty-two persons who participated in these discussions were asked whether the research programs should be continued and, if so, what areas should be supported, and how.

As a result of this discussion the Commission reaffirmed its policy of support for policy-oriented research but defined its particular role for "basic research" with policy-orientation on the Japanese political economy and US-Japan relations, rather than more immediate, short-term transitory issues. Following this policy in the early 1990s, the Commission supported research in land-use policy in Japan, liberalization in Japanese financial markets, cooperation in non-proliferation export controls, two-way flows in US-Japan technology transfers, and other critical areas. With the Commission's declining income from lower interest rates, members decided to concentrate on creating a critical mass on some basic issue immediate to current policy deliberations. In 1993, therefore, the Commission issued its first-ever notice of request for research proposals on a specific topic: Japanese investment in Asia and its effect on US-Japan trade and economic relations.

Proposals received in response to this notice were considered in April and September, 1994 meetings of the Commission. The proposals were judged to be more impressive than had been anticipated, and support was offered to five projects. An "investment summit" of researchers was proposed in order to disseminate the results. In view of the success of a designated topic approach, the Commission decided to repeat the program in 1995 and defined the topic for the new competition as "Issues in the regulation and deregulation of the domestic Japanese political economy."

In its policy-oriented research program the Commission has thus resolved its earlier difficulties and has met the reality of its reduced financial situation by developing a unique new approach.

## **THE COMMISSION IN THE 90S**

In the early years after World War II cultural and educational exchange and study activities between Japan and the United States were financed largely by American government and private foundation programs. These programs were part of larger worldwide exchange and study programs established in the early years of the cold war, a time when Japan was only beginning to reestablish its economy and standing in the international community. Such programs were geared for the most part to bring foreign students, scholars, intellectuals and artists to the United States. A pattern was set then, at least for Japan, of a preponderantly one-way flow that continues to this day.

The Commission was established at a time when Japan had achieved the basic work of rebuilding its economy and was then poised to emerge as a prominent player in the world market. The last vestige of the American occupation of Japan had ended several years earlier with the reversion of Okinawa to Japanese sovereignty in 1972; in that same year the Japanese government established the Japan Foundation with its mission of disseminating understanding of Japanese culture worldwide through promoting study of Japanese language and culture, the arts and other such programs. Its first year's activities were concentrated on strengthening Japanese studies at leading research centers in American universities. The Commission was established in part at least as a reaction to these historical events, as Congress appropriated a portion of the dollars flowing from the Japanese government into the US Treasury from the Okinawan reversion to establish the Japan-United States Friendship Trust Fund. The example of the Japan Foundation was in Senator Javits' mind when he drafted the Commission's enabling legislation. An important purpose was to help balance the preponderant flow of Japanese academics into the United States and to promote, as the enabling legislation called for, "mutual understanding."

In the twenty years since the Commission's establishment, American public life has witnessed a decline in spending from both public and private sources for international exchange, principally for budgetary reasons. In the past decade, however, new Japanese foundations have entered the field, setting up programs in the United States and donating funds to American institutions. The Japanese government has been particularly active in this regard, contributing generously to binational government programs such as the Fulbright exchange and creating a new foundation, the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership, with a program devoted exclusively to promoting Japan-US grass-roots exchanges and binational efforts in policy-oriented research on global issues. This new foundation alone has resources on the order of ten times the magnitude of those of the Commission. The Japanese are now outspending the Americans in the effort to cultivate the bilateral relationship. This may not be inappropriate. Nevertheless, the Japan-United States Friendship Commission is unique as a fund of American origin devoted exclusively to the relationship with Japan. With resources somewhat depleted after twenty years, and in any case not large, the Commission has faced the choice of priorities for the future with continuing potential.

The Commission has approached this new era prepared. The current set of priorities, debated and adopted from 1989 onward, continues to define the direction of the Commission's activities and the shape of its current programs. The Commission's funds are a precious national resource for research, training, and exchange, that emanated from the US government and are free of any suggestion in the United States of foreign "influence peddling," a charge often made against Japanese sources of funding. Because of their unique and precious nature, therefore, the Commission has determined to preserve them for the long term with the clear implication that annual funding of grants would have to be cut back. This entails a less diffuse, perhaps more elite, approach to grant making. "Outreach to the heartland," a Commission priority of the 1980s, could not be sustained. The Commissioners agreed that divergence between the two nations might be the product not only of "misperceptions" or "cultural misunderstandings," but of competition and difference in national interests. Defining and clarifying the American interest in the bilateral relationship would provide the firmest ground for strengthening that relationship in an era of increased competition and interdependence, and thus needed to be the highest priority of the Commission. This effort, Commission members judged, would contribute greatly to the "friendship" embedded in the Commission's name and purpose. The Commission would therefore stress objective, non-partisan research on policy-related issues

and its dissemination to policymakers in the government and in business, while continuing the Commission's historical task of preparing a new generation of experts on Japan for American business, government and academe. The Commission, they agreed, needed to define what issues in the bilateral relationship are critical and to direct attention to research and education on them through its own resources and those of other foundations.

These decisions made in 1989 and 1990 have continued to guide the Commission and reverberate in its discussions since then. The issue of the Commission's name was given full discussion, as noted above. The term "friendship" was given to the Commission by Congress in 1975; the word was used specifically to memorialize the emergence from the hostility of World War II into peacetime friendship: "one of the most significant developments of the postwar period," Congress said. Ten years later as the effects of the trade imbalances began to spill over from American corporate boardrooms into congressional corridors, Congress itself questioned the validity of the simple solution to bilateral problems that "friendship" appeared to suggest, and the Commission's relations with Congress entered into a more complex mode than had originally been imagined by its founding fathers. By 1990 the members had raised the issue of changing its name to the level of open debate inside the Commission. Those who sought change looked for a less editorial approach to the name; those who resisted the initiative feared a greater reaction from the Japanese should the Commission, a US government agency, drop "friendship" from its name. That could outweigh any benefit from the change. Ultimately the side of continuity won, but the debate sparked a more important discussion inside the Commission, namely, the nature of "friendship" that the Commission was intent on maintaining, whether cited in its name or not. In the eventual consensus the members agreed that "friendship" would be achieved in the new post-cold war era through the clarification of differences and the discussion of their resolution. This, in turn, would entail the clarification of the national interest on each side, a task the Commission pursues to the present.

The second major transition effected by the discussion of priorities that issued with the 1990s and declining income was the move to a program of support more focused on maintenance of higher expertise and less on development of outreach programs. This was perhaps inevitable with the retrenchment of federal and private programs of support for area studies, leaving unique institutions such as the Commission as the sole sources of support for much of the work of maintaining America's capacity to deal with Japan as an intellectual and cultural exercise. This coincided with the move toward greater coordination among previously independent actors - whether funding sources or the institutions they supported. The Commission began to consolidate its programs of support and seek out organizing agents that could provide nationwide coordination of effort and funding. The nurturing of small, niche-oriented institutions became a Commission focus. Two prime examples are the National Coordinating Committee for Japanese Library Resources (NCC), and the Collaborations Project of the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Los Angeles (JACCC).

The National Coordinating Committee was created as the result of a Commission initiative in 1991. The Commission could no longer meet the demands of American libraries for Japanese research materials. Library requirements alone could eventually claim the majority of the Commission's resources, and even then the needs would not be satisfied. The Commission together with the Japan Foundation helped found the NCC in 1991 to devise and implement acquisition and lending plans on a national, not regional, scale in order to provide additional efficiency and to advise the major funding sources on the future directions and needs of libraries and other providers of critical information on Japan. The NCC stands today as the conduit through which the Commission interacts with Japanese collections across North America.

In a similar fashion the Commission, together with the Center for Global Partnership, helped establish the Japan-US Performing Arts Collaboration Project at the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Los Angeles. As with libraries, the field of performing arts exchange has become much more complex and costly since the time of the Commission's establishment. Numerous initiatives to bring more troupes to the United States had been staged in the 1980s, and a good deal of interest among American presenters and promoters in the prospect of presenting these troupes was evident, but the initiatives failed to form a coherent body of presenters equipped to schedule touring Japanese groups with ease. Clearly, more information, education and coordination among the individual presenters were necessary. Thus in 1991 the Commission set about planning with the JACCC on a program to carry out these activities, based on a pilot

program the JACCC had carried out in 1989 with Commission and Japan Foundation support. With additional funding from the Center for Global Partnership the project has \_ established a network of presenters across the country, not only in major urban centers but in rural districts as well, who take part in orientation and education workshops in the United States, educational tours of the performing arts in Japan, and seminars on negotiations, and who pledge to present the performing arts tours that US and Japanese funding sources can help bring to this country. The model has proven extremely successful, with plans now to build a similar network in Japan and to expand the scope of activities to visual arts as well.

The Commission today looks for further opportunities to establish and support other such coordinating agents focused on specific areas and niches of its broad program of support for cultural and educational activities.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, there is the issue of initiative that derived from the Commission's policy discussion of the early 1990s. The immediate impact of these discussions will be found above in "Policy-Oriented Research," which details the Commission's recent move into a program of RFPs, as announcements of "requests for proposals" are known. This is perhaps the most concrete expression of the Commission's interest in helping shape agendas, and not merely reacting to them in a time of reduced resources and increased needs. More fundamental to this interest, however, was the Commission's decision in 1991 to serve as the American secretariat for CULCON.

As this history has shown, the origins of the Commission were ineluctably tied to CULCON, a relationship of much ambiguity and ambivalence. The question of CULCON predominance over the Commission has dogged the latter and continues to do so. At the same time, the ability of CULCON to set agendas of action for improving cultural and educational relations between the two countries, and for devising and implementing solutions, offers a significant potential to the Commission to broaden the scope of its impact. In 1991, as a result of the March CULCON plenary that year, the USIA approached the Commission with the request that it serve as US permanent secretariat. The members of the Commission, with full understanding of the potential for interference in the Commission's authority and intellectual autonomy that such a venture contained, decided to accept the challenge for its even greater potential benefits.

The experiment has worked on the whole to the Commission's benefit. The move brought new personnel to the Commission to serve CULCON needs exclusively but has also increased the workload of the Commission office significantly. The activities of CULCON have brought the members and staff directly into professional contact with Japanese peers, which has greatly expanded the range of information and consultation available to decision-making but has also brought debate once internal to the Commission more into the public fore. Certainly, the move has begun to shape the Commission's programs of support, as CULCON slowly moves into a proactive stance with its major initiative to expand significantly the number of American undergraduates studying in Japan, a project that will undoubtedly last many years and require major financial and human resources to succeed. The Commission, through its guise as CULCON secretariat, has helped design and draft proposals to major funding sources, both public and private, to launch this initiative. The ultimate outcome is yet to be seen, but perhaps more than any other feature of the Commission today, this experiment symbolizes the ideals of the organization. Through its new relationship with CULCON the Commission works to redefine the terms of "friendship" with Japan in the objective conditions of the post-cold war era; it engages directly with Japanese and American counterparts to build new bases of mutual understanding that will create a stronger relationship, not a weaker one; it seeks to clarify an enlightened national self-interest and lay it forth for inspection, discussion and disposition of those at the highest levels of political and intellectual authority in the two countries.

## **AFTER TWENTY YEARS**

For twenty years the Commission with modest funds has strengthened the infrastructure of Japanese studies in American higher education and American studies in Japanese higher education in ways described above. At least four fields of activity have been developed uniquely at the Commission's initiative. Indeed, these might not have occurred, at least not so rapidly and in such concentrated form, without the Commission initiative. These program activities, described above, are:

1. The graduate training of American specialists on Japan in the fields of economics, business, law, journalism, and engineering.
2. The exchange of creative artists that has sent a generation of America's best artists in all fields for a cultural experience in Japan.
3. The explosive growth of community, non-partisan, non-political, non-profit Japan-America societies throughout the nation.
4. The definition of acute policy issues for concentrated study and dissemination for the purpose of better understanding of basic interests in the US-Japan relationship.

In many other ways noted above the Commission has sparked the creation of coordinating organizations in both countries to ease and accelerate the flow of people, cultural materials and presentations, and the kind of thinking that brings understanding between the two countries.

Without the Commission, the wisdom of its founders, its successive generations of Commission members, leaders, and advisors, and the understanding participation of many friends, American and Japanese, these things might not have come to be.

With this history, the current Commission looks with confidence to the future.

## **Appendix 1.**

### **CHAIRMEN OF THE JAPAN-UNITED STATES FRIENDSHIP COMMISSION**

1975-1980	Dr. John Whitney Hall	A. Whitney Griswold Professor of History, Yale University
1980-1983	Dr. Robert E. Ward	Director, Center for Research in International Studies, Stanford University
1983-1989	Dr. W. Glenn Campbell	Director, Hoover Institution, Stanford University
1989-1992	Dr. John H. Makin	Director, Fiscal Policy Studies, American Enterprise Institute
1992- 1995	Dr. Kenneth B. Pyle	Chair, Japan Program, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington
1995-	Dr. Richard J. Wood	Dean, Yale Divinity School

### **VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMISSION**

1976-1981	James A. Linen	Consultant, Time Incorporated
1981-1985	Robert S. Ingersoll	Former US Ambassador to Japan
1985-1987	Garrett N. Scalera	President, Tokyo Institute of Policy Studies
1987-1990	Frank B. Gibney	President, The Pacific Basin Institute
1990-1992	Dr. Kenneth B. Pyle	Chair, Japan Program, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington
1992-1993	Dr. Ellen L. Frost	Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics
1994-	Glen S. Fukushima	Regional Director, AT&T, Japan

### **EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS OF THE COMMISSION**

1976-1981	Francis B. Tenny
1982-1985	Richard A. Ericson, Jr.
1985-1990	Lindley S. Sloan
1991-	Dr. Eric J. Gangloff

### **THE JAPAN-UNITED STATES FRIENDSHIP COMMISSION MEMBERS:**

Congressman John B. ANDERSON	1977-1980
Jane ALEXANDER	1993-present (ex officio, National Endowment for the Arts)
William J. BENNETT	1981-1984 (ex officio, National Endowment for the Humanities)
Ronald S. BERMAN	1976 (ex officio, National Endowment for the Humanities)
Mary BERRY	1977-1979 (ex officio, Department of Health, Education and Welfare)
Livingston L. BIDDLE	1977-1980 (ex officio, National Endowment for the Arts)

Daniel J. BOORSTIN	1978-1983 The Librarian of Congress
Albert H. BOWKER	1980 (ex officio, Department of Education)
Charles W. BRAY, III	1977 (ex officio, US Information Agency)
Richard F. BROWN	1978-1979 Director, Kimball Art Museum, Fort Worth
W. Glenn CAMPBELL	1983-1989 Director, Hoover Institution, Stanford
Henry CATTO	1991-1992 (ex officio, US Information Agency)
Lynne CHENEY	1985-1992 (ex officio, National Endowment for the Humanities)
John CHILDERS	1991-1992 (ex officio, Department of Education)
Burnill F. CLARK	1994-present President and CEO, KCTS, Seattle
William CLARK	1992-1993 (ex officio, Department of State)
Congressman Silvio O. CONTE	1981-1984 (ex officio, National Endowment for the Humanities)
Joseph D. DUFFEY	1977-1981 1993 - present (ex officio, US Information Agency)
Edward ELMENDORF	1983-1984 (ex officio, Department of Education)
Stanley M. ERDREICH, Jr.	1980-1983 Senior Vice-President, First National Bank of Birmingham
Congressman Thomas S. FOLEY	1984-1992
John FROHNMAYER	1989-1992 (ex officio, National Endowment for the Arts)
Ellen L. FROST	1988-1993 Director, International Affairs, United Technology Corporation
Glen S. FUKUSHIMA	1994-present Regional Director, AT&T Japan
Bruce GELB	1989-1990 (ex officio, US Information Agency)
Carl A. GERSTACKER	1976-1980 Chairman, Finance Committee, The Dow Chemical Company
Carol GLUCK	1994-present Professor, Columbia University
Frank B. GIBNEY	1984-1990 President, The Pacific Basin Institute
Stephen A. GRANT	1989-1992 Sullivan and Cromwell
Sheldon HACKNEY	1993-1995 (ex officio, National Endowment for the Humanities)
John W. HALL	1976-1980 Professor, Yale University
Nancy HANKS	1976 (ex officio, National Endowment for the Arts)
Leonard L. HAYNES, III	1989-1991 (ex officio, Department of Education)

David I. HITCHCOCK	1992-1998 Senior Associate, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Francis HODSOLL	1981-1987 (ex officio, National Endowment for the Arts)
James F. HOGE	1978-1984 Publisher, Chicago Sun-Times
Richard C. HOLBROOKE	1977-1981 (ex officio, Department of State)
John H. HOLDRIDGE	1981-1982 (ex officio, Department of State)
Arthur W. HUMMEL	1976-1977 (ex officio, Department of State)
Robert S. INGERSOLL	1980-1985 Former U.S. Ambassador to Japan
Senator Daniel K. INOUE	1976-1986
Senator Jacob K. JAVITS	1976-1984
Marian B. JAVITS	1984-1987
Chalmers JOHNSON	1983-1989 Professor, University of California at San Diego
Robert L. JONES	1976-1977 President (Retired), Copley Newspapers
Lloyd KAISER	1986-1992 President, WQED/TV Pittsburgh
C. Ronald KIMBERLING	1985-1988 (ex officio, Department of Education)
Eugene P. KOPP	1976-1977 (ex officio, US Information Agency)
Jeffrey M. LEPON	1994-present Partner, Lepon, McCarthy, White & Holzworth
James A. LINEN	1976-1981 Consultant, Time Incorporated
David LONGANECKER	1993 - present (ex officio, Department of Education)
Winston LORD	1993-present (ex officio, Department of State)
John MAKIN	1989-1992 Director, Fiscal Policy Studies, American Enterprise Institute
Arch L. MADSEN	1980-1986 President, Bonneville International Corp.
Dorothy Ames MARKS	1987-1989 Freelance Writer
Senator Spark MATSUNAGA	1986-1990
Paul W. McCracken	1984-1987 Professor, University of Michigan
Thomas E. MCLAIN	1994-present Partner, Perkins Coie
Thomas P. MELADY	1981-1982 (ex officio, Department of Education)
Congressman John MILLER	1985-1992
James W. MORLEY	1976-1978 Professor, Columbia University
Senator Frank H. MURKOWSKI	1993-present
Pauline Crowe NAFTZGER	1992-1995 Senior Partner, The Vickers Group
Congressman Thomas PETRI	1993-present

Robert H. PINES	1985-1989 President, R.H. Pines Corporation
Rutherford M. POATS	1987-1990 Consultant on International Development
Kenneth B. PYLE	1989-1995 Chair, Japan Program, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington
John E. REINHARDT	1978-1980 (ex officio, US International Communication Agency)
Roger D. RICE	1976-1980, President, Television Bureau of Advertising
John RICHARDSON, Jr.	1976-1977 (ex officio, Department of State)
Senator John D. ROCKEFELLER	1991-present
Senator William V. ROTH, Jr.	1981-1990
Garrett N. SCALERA	1981-1987 President, Tokyo Institute of Policy Studies
William SCHNEIDER	1987-1993 Former Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology
David SEXTON	1990-1993 Senior Executive Vice President, Yamaichi International America, Inc.
Senator John SEYMOUR	1991-1992
Isaac SHAPIRO	1976-1977 Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy
Gaston SIGUR	1985-1988 (ex officio, Department of State)
Richard SOLOMON	1989-1991 (ex officio, Department of State)
George H. TAKEI	1995-present Actor/Writer
Virginia Y. TROTTER	1976 (ex officio, Department of Health, Education and Welfare)
John B. TSU	1991-1994 Regent, John F. Kennedy University
Evan H. TURNER	1980-1986 Director, Cleveland Museum of Art
Robert Emmitt TYRRELL	1990-1993 Editor-in-Chief, The American Spectator
Durward B. VARNER	1976-1977 Chairman, University of Nebraska Foundation
Robert H. WALKER	1977-1980 Professor, The George Washington University
Robert E. WARD	1980-1983 Director, Center for Research in International Studies, Stanford University
Charles Z. WICK	1981-1988 (ex officio, US Information Agency)
Marc F. WILSON	1987-1988 Director, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art
Robin W. WINKS	1992-1995 Professor, Yale University
Congressman Robert WISE	1993-present
Ira WOLF	1995-present

Paul D. WOLFOWITZ	Director, Japan Relations and Vice President, Eastman Kodak Asia-Pacific, Ltd. 1983-1984 (ex officio, Department of State)
Richard J. WOOD	1995-present Dean, Yale Divinity School
Kozo YAMAMURA	1978-1981 Professor, University of Washington
Congressman Clement J. ZABLOCKI	1977-1983

### STAFF

Norma P. BAUM	1976-1979	Secretary
Richard A. ERICSON, Jr.	1982-1985	Executive Director
<a href="#">Pamela L. FIELDS</a>	1991-1997	CULCON Program Officer
<a href="#">Eric J. GANGLOFF</a>	1998- present	Assistant Executive Director for CULCON
	1985-1991	Associate Executive Director
Ivan P. HALL	1991-present	Executive Director
	1977-1980	Assistant Executive Director
Robert J. MARRA	1981-1984	Associate Executive Director
	1987-1992	Program Officer
	1992	Associate Executive Director
<a href="#">Margaret P. MIHORI</a>	1992-1997	Program Officer
	1997-present	Assistant Executive Director
Geoffrey H. MOORE	1982-1983	Program Officer - Detail from Department of State
Patricia A. PROCTOR	1990	Clerk Typist
Joseph B. SCHREIBER	1984-1986	Program Officer - Detail from Department of State
Lindley S. SLOAN	1985-1990	Executive Director
Roberta S. STEWART	1979-present	Secretary
Francis B. TENNY	1976-1981	Executive Director
George WOODS	1989	Clerk Typist

### INTERNS

Monica BROOKMAN  
 Elissa BROOKS  
 Nathaniel CADWELL  
 Alton HICE  
 Carolyn HILL  
 Laina JONES  
 Kevin MARSHALL  
 Elizabeth MERRION  
 Briana MILLER  
 Phuong PHAM  
 Haelung RHEE  
 Wendy ZWEBEN

## **Appendix 2.**

### **STATEMENT ON SIGNING THE JAPAN-UNITED STATES FRIENDSHIP ACT.**

Almost a year ago, I had the great honor and pleasure to be the first American President in office to visit Japan. My trip convinced me more than ever that we Americans can learn much from Japan's culture which will enrich the quality of our lives.

One week ago the Emperor and Empress of Japan completed a visit to the United States, the first such visit in history.

This exchange of state visits not only symbolizes the importance of our relations but also the value of the exchange of people and ideas between the two countries.

Several years ago, the Government of Japan established a foundation to expand understanding of Japan among universities and other institutions in the United States and elsewhere in the world. Through the foundation, the Government of Japan made a generous gift to 10 American universities to strengthen the study of Japanese history and culture. And this year the Government of Japan announced the gift of an Experimental Theater to the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, as a Bicentennial present to the people of the United States.

Now it is our turn. The people of America genuinely desire to build closer relations with the people of Japan. This requires that we understand each other's arts, society, and history more widely and more deeply.

It was my pleasure to sign into law an act which will effectively further this important goal. Through the distinguished leadership of Senator Jacob Javits and Congressman Wayne Hays and many others in both Houses, the Japan-United States Friendship Act is now the law of the land.

The act provides for the creation of a Japan-United States Friendship Commission to administer a program of expanded scholarly, cultural, and artistic ventures between our two countries. The Commission will be composed of the 12 members of the United States Panel of the Joint Committee on United States-Japan Cultural and Educational Cooperation, the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, two Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, and two Members of the Senate to be appointed by the President pro tempore.

Because of the constitutional provision against Members of Congress serving in any other office of the United States, the Congressional members of the Commission will serve in an advisory capacity, as nonvoting members.

I am confident that the support made available under the act for expanded cultural relations will contribute importantly to the strengthening of understanding between the people of the United States and the people of Japan.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 824), approved October 20, 1975, is Public Law 94-118 (89 Stat. 603).

October 21, 1975

Gerald R. Ford

## **Appendix 3.**

### **PUBLIC LAW 94-118, AS AMENDED**

94th Congress, S. 824, October 20, 1975

An Act

To provide for the use of certain funds to promote scholarly, cultural and artistic activities between Japan and the United States, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That this Act may be cited as the 'Japan-United States Friendship Act'.

### **STATEMENT OF FINDINGS AND PURPOSE**

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress hereby finds that --

1. the post-World War II evolution of the relationship between Japan and the United States to peacetime friendship and partnership is one of the most significant developments of the postwar period;
2. the Agreement Between Japan and the United States of America Concerning the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands, signed at Washington and Tokyo on June 17, 1971, is a major achievement and symbol of the new relationship between the United States and Japan; and
3. the continuation of close United States-Japan friendship and cooperation will make a vital contribution to the prospects for peace, prosperity, and security in Asia and the world.

(b) It is therefore the purpose of this Act to provide for the use of an amount equal to a part of the total sum payable by Japan to the United States in connection with the reversion of Okinawa to Japanese administration and the remaining funds of the amount set aside in 1962 for educational and cultural exchange with Japan (known as the G.A.R.I.O.A. Account) to aid education and culture at the highest level in order to enhance reciprocal people-to-people understanding and to support the close friendship and mutuality of interests between the United States and Japan.

### **ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FUND: EXPENDITURES**

SEC. 3. (a) There is established in the Treasury of the United States a trust fund to be known as the Japan-United States Friendship Trust Fund (hereafter referred to as the "Fund").

(b) Amounts in the Fund shall be used for the promotion of scholarly, cultural, and artistic activities between Japan and the United States, including --

1. support for studies, including language studies, in institutions of higher education or scholarly research in Japan and the United States, designed to foster mutual understanding between Japan and the United States;
2. support for major collections of Japanese books and publications in appropriate libraries located throughout the United States and similar support for collections of American books and publications in appropriate libraries located throughout Japan;
3. support for programs in the arts in association with appropriate institutions in Japan and the United States;
4. support for fellowships and scholarships at the graduate and faculty levels in Japan and the United States in accord with the purposes of this Act;
5. support for visiting professors and lecturers at colleges and universities in Japan and the United States; and
6. support for other Japan-United States cultural and educational activities consistent with the purposes of this Act.

(c) Amounts in the Fund may also be used to pay administrative expenses of the Japan-United States Friendship Commission, established by section 4 of this Act, as directed by that Commission.

(d) There is authorized to be appropriated to the Fund, for fiscal year 1976, an amount equal to 7.5 per centum of the total funds payable to the United States pursuant to the Agreement Between Japan and the United States of America Concerning the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands, signed at Washington and Tokyo, June 17, 1971, including interest and proceeds accruing to the Fund from such funds in accordance with Sections 6(4) and 7 of this Act.

(e)

1. There is authorized to be appropriated to the Fund, for fiscal year 1976, in addition to the amount authorized to be appropriated by subsection (d) of this section, those funds available in United States accounts in Japan and transferred by the Government of Japan to the United States pursuant to the United States request made under article V of the agreement between the United States of America and Japan regarding the settlement of Postwar Economic Assistance to Japan, signed in Tokyo, January 9, 1962, and the exchange of notes of the same date (13 U.S.T. 1957; T.I.A.S. 3154) (the G.A.R.I.O.A. Account), including interest accruing to the G.A.R.I.O.A. Account, and interest and proceeds accruing to the Fund from such funds in accordance with Sections 6(4) and 7 of this Act.
2. The amount authorized to be appropriated by paragraph (I) of this subsection shall not include any amount required by law to be applied to United States participation in the International Ocean Exposition to be held in Okinawa, Japan.
3. Any unappropriated portion of the amount authorized to be appropriated by subsection (d) of this section and paragraph (I) of this subsection for fiscal year 1976 may be appropriated in any subsequent fiscal year.

## **THE JAPAN-UNITED STATES FRIENDSHIP COMMISSION**

SEC. 4. (a) There is established a commission to be known as the Japan-United States Friendship Commission (hereafter referred to as the "Commission"). The Commission shall be composed of - the members of the United States Panel of the Joint Committee on United States-Japan Cultural and Educational Cooperation;

1. two Members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed at the beginning of each Congress or upon the occurrence of a vacancy during a Congress by the Speaker of the House of Representatives;
2. two Members of the Senate, to be appointed at the beginning of each Congress or upon the occurrence of a vacancy during a Congress by the President pro tempore of the Senate;
3. the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts; and
4. the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

(b) Members of the Commission who are not full-time officers or employees of the United States and who are not Members of Congress shall, while serving on business of the Commission, be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the President, but not exceeding the rate specified at the time of such service for grade GS-18 in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, including travel time; and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, all members of the Commission may be allowed travel expenses including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, for persons in Government service employed intermittently.

(c) The Chairman of the United States Panel of the Joint Committee on United States-Japan Cultural and Educational Cooperation shall be the Chairman of the Commission. A majority of the members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum. The Commission shall meet at least twice in each year.

## **FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMISSION**

SEC. 5. (a) The Commission is authorized to -

1. develop and carry out programs at public or private institutions for the promotion of scholarly, cultural, and artistic activities in Japan and the United States consistent with the provisions of section 3(b) of this Act; and
2. make grants to carry out such programs.

(b) The Commission shall submit to the President and to the Congress an annual report of its activities under this Act together with such recommendations as the Commission determines appropriate.

#### **ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS**

SEC. 6. In order to carry out its functions under this Act, the Commission is authorized to -

1. prescribe such regulations as it deems necessary governing the manner in which its functions shall be carried out;
2. receive money and property donated, bequeathed, or devised, without condition or restriction other than that it be used for the purposes of this Act; and to use, sell, or otherwise dispose of such property (including transfer to the Fund) for the purpose of carrying out the purposes of this Act, and any such donation shall be exempt from any Federal income, State, or gift tax;
3. in the discretion of the Commission, receive (and use, sell, or otherwise dispose of, in accordance with paragraph (2)) money and other property donated, bequeathed, or devised to the Commission with a condition or restriction including a condition that the Commission use other funds of the Commission for the purposes of the gift, and any such donation shall be exempt from any Federal income, State, or gift tax;
4. direct the Secretary of the Treasury to make expenditure of the income of the Fund and any amount of the contributions deposited in the Fund from non-appropriated sources pursuant to paragraph (2) or (3) of this Section, and not to exceed 5 per centum annually of the principal of the total amount appropriated to the Fund to carry out the purposes of this Act, including the payment of Commission expenses if needed, except that any amounts expended from amounts appropriated to the Fund under section 3(e)(1) of this Act shall be expended in Japan, or for not more than 50 percent of administrative expenses in the U.S.;
5. appoint an Executive Director, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, who shall be compensated at the rate provided for a GS-18 of the General Schedule of such title;
6. obtain the services of experts and consultants in accordance with the provisions of section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, at rates for individuals not to exceed the rate specified at the time of such service for grade GS-18 in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code;
7. accept and utilize the services of voluntary and non-compensated personnel and reimburse them for travel expenses, including per diem, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code;
8. enter into contracts, grants, or other arrangements, or modifications thereof;
9. make advances, progress, and other payments which the Commission deems necessary under this Act;
10. obtain such administrative support services and personnel as the Commission deems necessary and appropriate to its needs; and
11. transmit its official mail as penalty mail in the same manner and upon the same conditions as an officer of the United States other than a Member of Congress as permitted to transmit official mail as penalty mail under Sec. 32c, Title 39, U.S. Code.

#### **MANAGEMENT OF THE FUND**

SEC. 7. (a) The Fund shall consist of -

1. amounts appropriated under sections 3 (d) and (e)(1) of this Act;
2. any other amounts received by the Fund by way of gifts and donations; and
3. interest and proceeds credited to it under subsection (b) of this section.

(b) It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury (hereafter referred to as the "Secretary") to invest such portion of the Fund as is not, in the judgment of the Commission, required to meet current withdrawals. Such investment of amounts authorized to be appropriated under Section 3(d) of this Act, may be made only in interest-bearing obligations of the United States or in obligations guaranteed as to both principal and interest by the United States. For such purposes, the obligations may be acquired (1) on original issue at the issue price, or (2) by purchase of outstanding obligations at the market price. The purposes for which obligations of the United States may be issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended, are hereby extended to authorize the issuance at par of special obligations exclusively to the Fund. Such special obligations shall bear interest at a rate equal to the average rate of interest, computed as to the end of the calendar month next preceding the date of such issue, borne by all marketable interest-bearing obligations of the United States issued during the preceding two years then forming part of the public debt; except that where such average rate is not a multiple of one-eighth of 1 per centum, the rate of interest of such special obligations shall be the multiple of one-eighth of 1 per centum next lower than such average rate. Such special obligations shall be issued only if the Secretary determines that the purchase of other interest-bearing obligations of the United States, or of obligations guaranteed as to both principal and interest by the United States on original issue or at the market price, is not in the public interest.

(c) Any obligation acquired by the Fund (except special obligations issued exclusively to the Fund) may be sold by the Secretary at the market price, and such special obligations may be redeemed at par plus accrued interest.

(d) The interest on, and the proceeds from the sale or redemption of, any obligations held in the Fund shall be credited to and form a part of the Fund.

(e) In accordance with section 6(4) of this Act, the Secretary shall pay out of the Fund such amounts including expenses of the Commission, as the Commission considers necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act; except that amounts in the Fund, other than amounts which have been appropriated and amounts received (including amounts earned as interest on, and proceeds from the sale or redemption of, obligations purchased with amounts received) by the Commission pursuant to sections 6(2) and 6(3), shall be subject to the appropriation process.

Approved October 20, 1975

#### **LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:**

HOUSE REPORTS: No. 94-503 accompanying H.R. 9667 (Comm. on International Relations) and No. 94-526 (Comm. of Conference). SENATE REPORT: No. 94188 (Comm. on Foreign Relations). CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 121 (1975): June 13, considered and passed Senate. Sept. 26, considered and passed House, amended, in lieu of H.R. 9667. Oct. 7, House and Senate agreed to conference report. WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS, Vol. 11, No. 43: Oct. 21, Presidential statement.

#### **COLOPHON**

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