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COMMITTEE PRINT

VISIT TO JAPAN, INDIA, PAKISTAN,
AFGHANISTAN, AND ISRAEL

REPORT OF SENATE DELEGATION
Named by the Vice President To Respond to Certain Official
Invitations From Foreign Parliamentary
Bodies and Governments

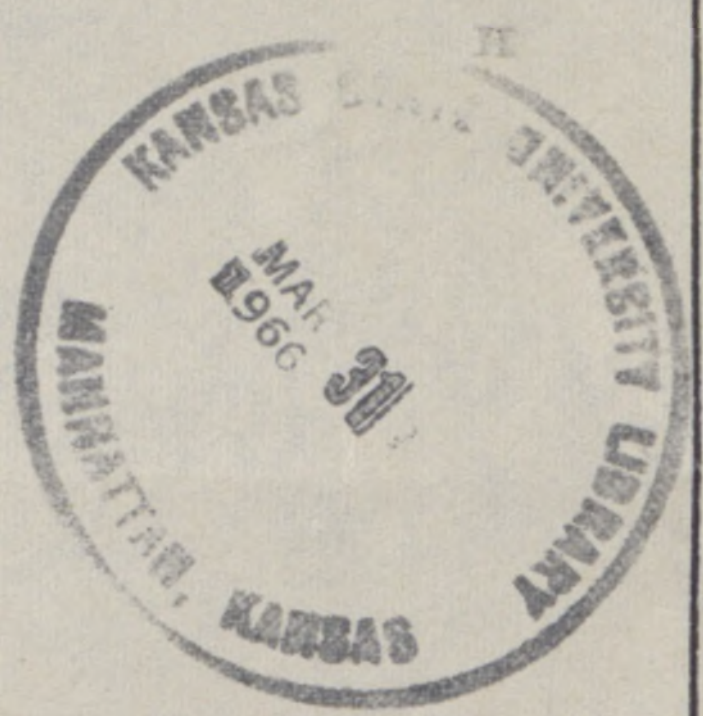
BY

Senator WAYNE MORSE

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SENATE DELEGATION

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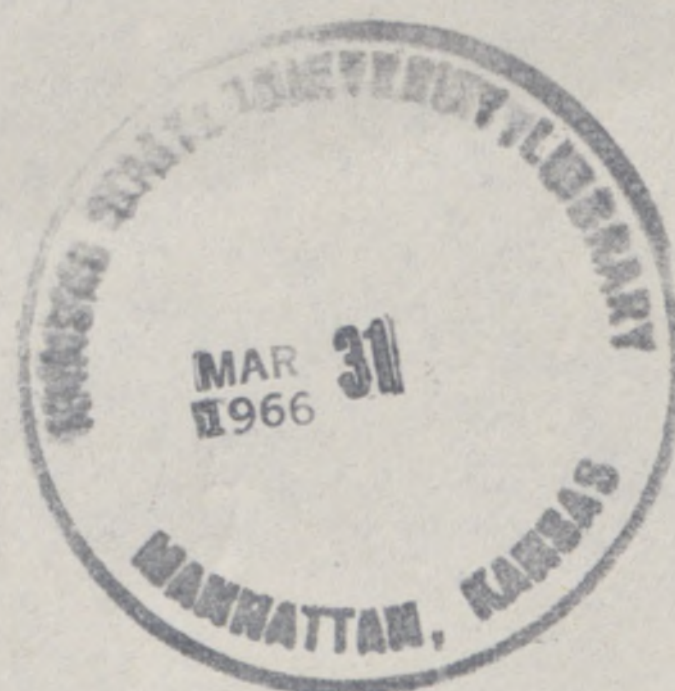
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VISIT TO JAPAN, INDIA, PAKISTAN, AFGHANISTAN, AND ISRAEL

INTRODUCTION

During the past few years, the Senate has received invitations from several parliamentary bodies and foreign governments to visit their countries. Such visits, it was suggested, would offer opportunity to observe their institutions in operation and to exchange views on subjects of mutual concern.

Pursuant to Senate Resolution 145, the President of the Senate named a delegation under the chairmanship of Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, to respond to official invitations from India and Pakistan. Copies of the significant communications relating to these visits are in the appendix.

Response to the official invitations from India and Pakistan provided opportunity for the delegation to visit in other countries. An unofficial invitation from Japan led to an exchange of views with Members of the Diet and the House of Councillors and meetings with Government officials during a week spent in that country. The delegation also met with United States and foreign government officials, in Afghanistan and Israel where the delegation visited briefly.

The delegation was bipartisan in character, but nonpartisan in its public comments on issues of foreign policy. While individual members freely expressed their personal views during discussions with members of other governments and with Members of other Parliaments, they constantly made it clear that these views were personal. Only the President and his representatives abroad can speak officially for the United States on foreign policy abroad. As a regular procedure, the delegation met with U.S. Government representatives prior to meeting with officials of the governments visited. The delegation takes this opportunity to thank en bloc the many U.S. officials and their families who assisted us and to commend them for their devoted service.

The purpose of this brief report is to set forth the general nature of the meetings which took place.

Transportation for the delegation was provided by the Department of Defense. The Department of the Navy provided escort officers to accompany the delegation. Their services were of great assistance and much appreciated.

The delegation is also greatly indebted to Carl Marcy and Arthur Kuhl of the Foreign Relations Committee staff for their outstanding and effective assistance to all members of the delegation.

JAPAN

NOVEMBER 22-30

During the period the delegation (except for Senator Jordan of North Carolina) was in Japan it met with the Prime Minister, Mr. Sato, the President of the House of Councillors, Mr. Shigemune, the Vice Speaker of the Diet, Mr. Tanaka, the American Ambassador, Mr. Reischauer, members of the Embassy staff, and members of the Japanese and American business communities.

Principal discussions, however, were undertaken in off-the-record meetings with officers and members of the three principal parties in the Japanese Parliament—The Japan Socialist Party (JSP), the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), and the majority party, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), reading from left to right in the political spectrum.

Party discipline in Japan is most severed. This seemed especially so to Members of the Senate in which party discipline is at a minimum and virtually nonexistent in foreign policy.

In view of this party discipline, Japanese party viewpoints were conveyed to the Senate delegation in clear terms and very little difference of opinion within the Japanese party groups was apparent. Party discipline of this type tends to harden the lines of disagreement between parties, even though there may be some voices of dissent within the parties. Thus on issues of foreign policy the disagreements between the parties on policies with respect to Vietnam, Communist China, and the Korean treaty were clearly drawn. This, of course, is in marked contrast to the American attitude toward partisanship on issues of foreign policy.

The delegation constantly emphasized to Japanese parliamentarians that differences of opinion in the Senate on foreign policy issues are not in most instances hardened into party policies which Members are bound to follow. Rather, individual Members express their views and cast their votes on foreign policy issues on the basis of their individual judgment and representation of their separate constituencies.

The point was frequently made during these discussions that the American lack of party discipline on foreign policy issues tends to promote a nonpartisan foreign policy whereas Japanese party discipline tends to harden foreign policy differences.

The delegation was not able to meet with representative groups of all political parties in the Diet. It did, however, meet informally in off-the-record meetings with representatives of three of the parties, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), and the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP). The LDP is the Government party of the political right, the JSP is the principal party of the political left, and DSP is made up of rightwing Socialists who broke away from the DSP in the fall of 1959.

The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) which is headed by Prime Minister Eisaku Sato holds 288 of the 476 seats in the Japanese Diet

and 145 seats of the 250 seats in the House of Councillors. Information supplied to the delegation summarized the position of the LDP as follows:

The LDP is pledged to continuation of Japan's alliance with the United States and membership in the free world and to an expanded level of economic development and social welfare within a free economy. They support creation of the Asian Development Bank.

The JSP (Japan Socialist Party) which is the principal party of opposition has 145 seats in the Diet and 65 seats in the House of Councillors. As summarized to the delegation by a non-Japanese source:

The JSP advocates a policy of "positive neutralism" for Japan: abrogation of the United States-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security and elimination of U.S. bases in Japan; withdrawal of U.S. sources from Okinawa and immediate reversion of the Ryukyus to Japan; establishment of diplomatic relations with the Chinese Communist regime and abrogation of Japan's treaty with the Republic of China; opposition to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea and conclusion of a peace treaty with the Soviet Union leaving the return to Japan of the Soviet-occupied islands of Kunashira and Etorofu, if necessary, for subsequent negotiation.

Each of these positions differs substantially from the position of the LDP inasmuch as the JSP is traditionally Marxist in ideology.

Although all of the above points were not covered in the conversations between the delegation and representatives of the JSP, it was clear that there are very basic differences between the views of the JSP and the Japanese Government.

The third party group with which the delegation carried on discussions was the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP). It is an offshoot of the JSP and developed as a result of dissatisfaction with the JSP's continuing acceptance of the concept of class warfare. At the present time the DSP has 23 seats in the Diet and 10 seats in the House of Councillors. Basically, this party is motivated by a desire to create a moderate Socialist Party along the lines of these parties in England and Germany.

Although, as noted above, party discipline in Japan is quite strict in American terms, on several occasions individual members of the above parties privately expressed views at variance with the formal views of their parties. Therefore, the summary party views expressed above should be taken as general expressions of attitudes and not as definitive party views.

As might have been expected, many of the conversations revolved around U.S. policy and actions in Vietnam. Nevertheless, other subjects were dealt with from time to time. Okinawa, for example, was dealt with in a meeting with a group of representatives from Okinawa; trade between the United States and Japan came into discussions a number of times, as well as the limitation on rearmament imposed by article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, balance-of-payments problems, agricultural sales to Japan, and reciprocal aviation rights.

In addition to meetings between the U.S. delegation and Japanese parliamentary groups, individual members of the delegation met with government specialists in such fields as finance and agriculture. There was also opportunity for the delegation to obtain first hand information on the operation of the Hikari Express which operates at speeds of over 120 miles per hour between Tokyo and Osaka.

The Senate delegation emphasized that the voice of the United States on issues of foreign policy is the voice of the American Ambassador speaking for the President and that the views expressed by delegation members were their personal views and not the official views of the U.S. Government.

The delegation believes that as a result of these meetings, its understanding of the Japanese parliamentary system has been greatly increased. But more important, both the Japanese and American participants have obtained a much deeper comprehension of their mutual problems and common interests. The delegation was agreed that in many areas of the national interest of each nation there are elements in which there are common interests. The delegation in admiration of the vitality and drive of the Japanese people believes that Japan and the United States have a common destiny as they work together and in a full and equal partnership to promote peace and security and individual freedom in this part of the world.

This Senate delegation hopes that there may be similar occasions in the future when representatives of our two Parliaments may meet informally to exchange views.

The schedule of the delegation's principal activities in Japan was as follows:

Monday, November 22, 11:30 p.m.: Delegation arrived Tokyo International Airport (Haneda).

Tuesday, November 23:

10-11:30 a.m.: Embassy briefing, Embassy Conference Room:
Ambassador Reischauer.

Mr. Zurhellen, political counselor.

Mr. Christensen, economic counselor.

Mr. Nickel, public affairs counselor.

12 noon: Lunch by Ambassador for delegation.

Wednesday, November 24:

10-11:30 a.m.: Individual calls on various Japanese Government officials.

11:30-12 noon: Call on Mr. Shigemune, President, House of Councillors.

12-2 p.m.: Lunch for delegation hosted by Mr. Shigemune.

3-4:30 p.m.: Meeting with DSP (Democratic Socialist Party) Diet members.

5:30-7 p.m.: Reception by Ambassador Reischauer for delegation to meet Japanese and American officials.

Thursday, November 25 (American Thanksgiving Day):

8 a.m.: Business meeting of delegation.

9:30-10 a.m.: Senators call on Prime Minister Sato.

10:30 a.m.: Leave Tokyo station by train for Yokosuka Naval Base.

11:45 a.m.: Arrive Yokosuka.

12-1:30 p.m.: Thanksgiving dinner with U.S. military patients at hospital dining hall.

1:45-2:45 p.m.: Visit Yokosuka U.S. Naval Hospital.

2:45-3:30 p.m.: Tour of naval base.

3:45 p.m.: Leave Yokosuka for Tokyo.

Friday, November 26:

8 a.m.: Breakfast with private Okinawa delegations.

10-11:30 a.m.: Meeting with JSP (Japan Socialist Party) Diet members.

12:30-2 p.m.: Lunch hosted by Keidanren (Federation of Economic Organizations) and Japan Chamber of Commerce.

2:30-4:30 p.m.: Meeting with Japanese members of Asia Parliamentary Union.

6-7:30 p.m.: Reception hosted by Mr. Koji Kobayashi, president, Nippon Electric Co.

Saturday, November 27: Trip to Kyoto via Hikari super express.

Sunday, November 28: Visits to historic shrines in Kyoto area.

Monday, November 29:

8 a.m.: Meeting with American businessmen.

9:30-10 a.m.: Call on Mr. Tanaka, Vice Speaker, House of Representatives.

10:30-11:50 a.m.: Meeting with LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) Foreign Policy Study Council.

12-2 p.m.: Japan-American Society and American Chamber of Commerce luncheon to welcome delegation. Remarks by Chairman Morse (see appendix).

5:30-7 p.m.: Reception jointly hosted by Upper and Lower Houses of Diet in honor of delegation.

Tuesday, November 30: Depart for Hong Kong and New Delhi.

HONG KONG

NOVEMBER 30-DECEMBER 3, 1965

En route from Japan to India the delegation spent 3 days in Hong Kong where the United States maintains its largest consulate general under the direction of Consul General Edward E. Rice. In addition to providing passport and citizenship services for over 2,000 resident American citizens the consulate general maintains substantial political and economic sections concerned mainly with analyzing the flow of information from Communist China into Hong Kong. The U.S. Information Service serves as a point of collection of information from Communist China and supplies such information to USIA and the Voice of America. Additionally, there are the following Government units represented in Hong Kong: the Bureau of Customs, Foreign Assets Control, the Bureau of Narcotics, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Department of Agriculture, the U.S. Public Health Service, as well as several other specialized units.

While in Hong Kong the delegation visited the border between Communist China and the new territories. Accompanied by Deputy Commissioner Walton, the delegation spent time at one of the border posts where it was possible to observe agricultural activities in China and to obtain information from border officers about the flow of refugees into Hong Kong.

Since 1949, when the Communists took over mainland China, over 1 million refugees have fled to Hong Kong. Thus about 1 out of 4 of the 4 million population are of refugee origin. During the year of 1962 nearly 160,000 refugees arrived in Hong Kong. In 1963 the figure dropped to about 25,000, and in 1964 and 1965 the figures were substantially lower.

This influx of refugees has imposed a heavy burden on the resources of the British Colony and it is estimated that about one-fourth of its budget is devoted to community activities such as housing, education, health, and similar services, attributable largely to the refugees.

In this connection, the delegation had opportunity to visit one of the privately sponsored medical activities which concentrates its services in helping the sick of Kowloon. This project (Project Concern) was developed largely under the auspices of Dr. James Turpin of Coronado, Calif., who left a substantial general practice of medicine to devote himself to this humanitarian program. A former Methodist minister, he has enlisted the support of the junior chamber of commerce and other groups to maintain and develop Project Concern. Project Concern maintains three medical clinics in the Hong Kong area. One is in the Yaumatia typhoon shelter; another in the Jordan Valley of Hong Kong, and the third serves the walled city of Kowloon. The delegation visited the Yaumatia typhoon shelter medical clinic. It serves the medical needs of some 45,000 people who live aboard their junks in the shelter. The Jordan Valley clinic serves thousands of refugees who have come from Communist China and squatted in

the Jordan Valley. The walled city ghetto of Kowloon is served by the third clinic.

Hong Kong, while a British Colony, is of particular interest to the United States because it is a window into Communist China. But windows provide sights in two directions. Thus Communist Chinese coming across the border and returning to China take with them some idea of the vigor of a free society, as Hong Kong, in the words of a non-classified publication, "is a near perfect example of a free market economy" and it is booming despite its problems with refugees and its lack of an agricultural hinterland adequate to supply its food needs.

Communist China exports substantial amounts of goods through Hong Kong. Roughly half its total foreign exchange earnings come as a result of trade in and through Hong Kong. In 1964 mainland China exported about \$342 million worth of goods to Hong Kong while importing only about \$2 million. It has been estimated that the Chinese Communists earn over \$500 million of hard currency per year via their trade with and through Hong Kong. It is these hard currency earnings that enable the Chinese Communists to purchase wheat from Canada and other needed imports from hard currency countries around the world. Two-way trade between the United States and Hong Kong totaled \$384 million in 1964, thus making the United States the most important two-way trading partner with Hong Kong. In that year the United States imported about \$213 million of Hong Kong manufactured products, concentrated largely in textiles and garments but including also toys, plastics, transistor radios, and similar products produced by the low paid, but highly skilled, artisans of Hong Kong. The United States in the same year exported raw cotton, machinery, and plastic molding compounds to Hong Kong with a value of \$171 million.

There are a large number of Chinese operated banks (Communist as well as non-Communist) operating in Hong Kong, one of which members of the delegation were able to visit.

Perhaps the highlight of the delegation visit to Hong Kong was a lengthy and extremely informative briefing session with Consul General Rice and representatives of the political and military sections of the consulate. This briefing was executive in nature and conducted with the greatest of candor. Members of the delegation had opportunity to question the consul general and to pursue matters of particular interest to them. The United States is well served by officers of the ability of Consul General Rice.*

The schedule of the delegation's principal activities in Hong Kong was as follows:

Tuesday, November 30, 5:15 p.m.: Arrival at Kai Tak Airport.

Wednesday, December 1:

9:30 a.m.: American consulate general briefing.

8 p.m.: Proceed to consul general's residence for buffet dinner.

Thursday, December 2:

9 a.m.: Depart for visit to Communist China border.

1 p.m.: Visit to Project Concern and harbor projects.

Friday, December 3, 9 a.m.: Depart for New Delhi.

*Prior to filing this report, the delegation noted statements in a column which allegedly quote verbatim portions of a briefing which Consul General Rice gave this delegation while it was in Hong Kong. The article also ascribes to a member of the delegation a statement urging the bombing of Communist China's atomic installation. These quotations are false. The Senator to whom they are ascribed did not make them.

INDIA

DECEMBER 3-11, 1965

The invitation of the Parliament of India for a delegation of Members of the U.S. Senate to visit India as its guests was the genesis of the visit of this seven-man delegation not only to India, but to Japan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Israel. For several years the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha have urged such a visit. This year, the relatively early adjournment of the Senate made possible acceptance of the invitation.

The delegation is deeply appreciative of the invitation and the opportunity which it provided for members to become more familiar with the institutions, the people, and the progress and problems of India.

The program arranged for the delegation included visits with the President, Dr. Radhakrishnan; the Prime Minister, Mr. Shastri; the Vice President, the Chief Justice, the Minister of External Affairs, other members of the Cabinet, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, and other distinguished members of the Government and the opposition. There was opportunity not only for formal visits to the Houses of Parliament, but for informal exchanges of views on subjects of current interest.

For 2 days, the delegation traveled away from New Delhi, some members visiting the frontier with China in Ladakh, others visited areas of recent conflict between India and Pakistan. Of special interest were visits to agricultural areas near Ludhiana where the Indian Government is engaged in the promotion of agricultural cooperatives and improved farming practices. A half day spent with small farmers, observing their practices and discussing their problems gave the delegation some insight into techniques which may, in time, help India meet its deficit food problem.

During the delegation's visit in India and in its conversations with Indian officials, there were recurrent themes which are mentioned briefly here.

Kashmir.—Invariably, discussions focused on recent hostilities between India and Pakistan and the tenuous cease fire in existence during the period of the delegation's visit. Without going into the equities of that military confrontation, the delegation notes that the view most generally expressed by Indian officials is that there was collusion and collaboration between Pakistan and Communist China designed to force India into a settlement of the Kashmir problem acceptable to the Pakistan Government.

Hostilities created a considerable amount of anti-American feeling within India. This was attributable to the fact that virtually all of the equipment used by the Pakistan Armed Forces against India had been supplied to Pakistan by the United States under the terms of its military assistance program. Although this equipment was supplied with the understanding that it would be used only for self

defense, presumably against Communist attack, the exigencies of the fighting were such that the Pakistan Government utilized this equipment against India. In the words of one commentator, "the sanctity of the Pakistan agreement not to use this equipment was not a very burdensome one."

Members of the delegation visited front line areas with China in Ladakh and the Lahore front area between India and Pakistan. At the latter location, near Amritsar, some members visited what was described as the "graveyard of Patton tanks." Between 50 and 70 General Patton tanks bearing Pakistan colors but clearly identified as of U.S. origin had been brought together at one place. Most of them had been destroyed by recoilless rifle fire and firepower from General Sherman and Centurion tanks of the Indian Armed Forces. In view of this display of American equipment used against India, it was surprising to the delegation that anti-U.S. attitudes were as moderate as they seemed to be.

Some military equipment supplied to India by the United States was also used by the Indian Armed Forces in fighting on this front.

From the point of view of the delegation, it records here, despite its recognition of the extraordinary depth of feelings involved in the Kashmir dispute, its deep distress at finding military equipment supplied these two friendly countries by the taxpayers of the United States used by those countries against each other. Such use (i.e., the Pakistani and Indian use of U.S. military equipment) was completely contrary to the purposes for which such military assistance was supplied to India and Pakistan under the terms of the Foreign Assistance Act. The delegation is all the more distressed when it realizes that military activities of this kind not only weaken these countries militarily but that expenditures for military purposes are at the expense of much needed expenditures for economic growth.

Agricultural and industrial problems.—During its early period of independence, India concentrated largely on the development of heavy industry. Very little effort or money was put into agricultural development. As a result, agricultural production over the past decade has grown at a rate of only about 3 percent per year while population has grown at a rate of about 2½ percent per year. Partially as a result of lack of effort in the field of agriculture, particularly the development of fertilizers, and inability thus far to keep population growth under control, India is now faced with food problems requiring vigorous and sustained effort over a long period of time if they are to be overcome.

India is also confronted by serious problems of growth in the field of industry. A number of industrial plants are not able to operate at efficient levels because of shortages of foreign exchange. Moreover, India is not proving to be an attractive market for foreign capital. Foreign investment in India has been running at a rate of from \$80 to \$90 million per year, whereas it should be three or four times that figure. Although Government officials believe the Indian market should be attractive for foreign investments, this is not the case. Apparently investors are concerned with such things as redtape, a lack of concise guidelines, the repatriation of profits, and the existence of more attractive opportunities elsewhere.

The delegation believes that India is potentially a great market and that increases in its per capita wealth depend largely upon freeing

individuals from Government control of their productive capacity as rapidly as possible. The delegation is aware that the concept of private enterprise is closely associated in the minds of many Indians with abuses during the colonial period. It believes, however, that if Indians with their great analytical ability will examine carefully the economic growth record of other developing societies, they will realize that those which have concentrated upon developing the private sector of their economies have been the societies which have produced the greatest wealth for the greatest number in the shortest period of time.

Vietnam.—Seldom was the subject of the conflict in Vietnam raised on the initiative of our Indian conferees. Despite their concern with the threat which they feel Communist China poses toward them, there was a disposition to believe that Vietnam is "America's problem." About the most vigorous support which the delegation elicited from any official with which it consulted was the hope that "the fighting would stop without the United States being defeated."

Conclusion.—The delegation found its visit to India most informative. American interests are tied closely with those of India, not only because of its strategic location but because it is the most populous nation in the world which chooses its Government by free elections.

The orientation of India in our opinion is primarily toward the West, despite extensive military and economic assistance from the Soviet Union. The delegation believes that recent commitments by the President to supply food to India and continuing U.S. interest in the problems of India will help maintain that orientation.

The schedule of the delegation's principal activities in India was as follows:

Friday, December 3, 8:40 p.m.: Arrive Delhi (Palam Airport).

Saturday, December 4:

9 to 9:15 a.m.: Visit Gandhi Memorial.

9:15 to 9:30 a.m.: Visit Nehru Memorial.

9:40 a.m.: Briefing by Ambassador and staff at American Embassy.

12 m.: Call on the Chairman, Vice President Rajya Sabha.

3 p.m.: Briefing in the Ministry of Defense.

3:45 p.m.: Call on Minister of Defense.

5 p.m.: Call on President Radhakrishnan.

6 to 7 p.m.: Cultural program at India International Center Auditorium.

8 p.m.: Dinner by the U.S. Ambassador.

Sunday, December 5:

8:30 a.m.: Leave Delhi by car for Agra.

12 m.: Leave Delhi (Palam) for Agra by air.

3 to 7:30 p.m.: Visit Red Fort and Taj Mahal.

8 p.m.: Leave Agra for Delhi by air.

9 p.m.: Arrive Delhi.

Monday, December 6:

- 8:50 a.m.: Leave hotel for Speaker's residence.
- 9:00 a.m.: Call on Speaker, Lok Sabha, Sardar Hukam Singh.
- 11:30 a.m. to 12:45 p.m.: Visit Parliament House:
 1. See Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha in session.
 2. See Central Hall and Parliament Library.
- 12:45 p.m.: Call on the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs at Parliament House.
- 1:15 p.m.: Lunch by the Chairman, Rajya Sabha, and the Speaker, Lok Sabha at Parliament House.
- 2:20 p.m.: Discussion with Members of Parliament at Parliament House.
- 4 p.m.: Call on the Minister of External Affairs and discussion with the Foreign Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs.
- 4:45 p.m.: Call on Prime Minister Shastri at Parliament House.
- 6 p.m.: Reception by India International Center.
- 7:30 p.m.: Son et Lumiere (sound and light spectacle) Red Fort.
- 8:45 p.m.: Dinner by Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies.

Tuesday, December 7:

- 9 to 10 a.m.: Additional U.S. Embassy briefing.
- 11:30 a.m.: Call on the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Asoka Mehta.
- 1:15 p.m.: Lunch with Dr. Douglas Ensminger, director of Ford Foundation.
- Afternoon briefing and discussion—Ford Foundation, general discussion on economic development agriculture family planning.
- 6 p.m.: Reception by the U.S. Ambassador at Hauz Khas.
- 8:45 p.m.: Dinner by Foreign Secretary, C. S. Jha.

Wednesday, December 8:

- 9:15 a.m.: Depart Delhi on Indian Air Force plane.
- 10:15 a.m.: Arrive Halawra Air Base.
- 11 a.m. to 4 p.m.: Visit Farmer Cooperatives near Ludhiana, and Agricultural University.
- Overnight at Chandigarh.

Thursday, December 9: Some of the delegation visited the Chinese border in Ladakh; others visited the cease fire line between India and Pakistan, near Amritsar.

Friday, December 10:

- 9 a.m.: Call on Mr. Subramaniam, Minister of Food and Agriculture.
- 10 to 10:30 a.m.: Visit Nehru Memorial Museum.
- 11 a.m.: Call on Mr. Krishnamachari, Finance Minister.
- 1:15 p.m.: Small stag lunches with U.S. Embassy officers and Indian guests.
- 7:30 p.m.: Dinner by the U.S. Ambassador.

Saturday, December 11:

- 10:30 a.m.: Leave hotel for Palam Airport.
- 11 a.m.: Departure for Rawalpindi.

PAKISTAN

DECEMBER 11-15, 1965

On October 19, 1965, the Ambassador of Pakistan, on behalf of his government, invited the delegation to include Pakistan in its visit to Asia. Although the Pakistan Parliament was not in session and although President Ayub Khan and his Foreign Minister were en route to the United States during the period of the delegation's visit in Pakistan, there was opportunity for visits with numerous officials of the Pakistan Government. The delegation met not only with American officials in Rawalpindi but had consultations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Kashmir Affairs Division, the President of Azad Kashmir, the Governor of West Pakistan, the West Pakistan Finance Minister, the Chairman of the Water and Power Development Authority, military officials, and others.

Discussions were wide ranging and candid and the delegation believes that it acquired a better understanding of the problems of Pakistan and that, in turn, Pakistan officials received a better understanding of American attitudes toward Pakistan.

Kashmir.—As might be expected, Pakistan officials at all levels evidenced an all-pervasive concern with Kashmir and recent hostilities between Pakistan and India. Ever since partition, the Pakistan desire to have a plebiscite in Kashmir has been the principal foreign policy concern of that country. Events relating to Kashmir dominate the press.

The delegation expresses no view with respect to the running controversy between India and Pakistan which is focused on Kashmir. It believes, however, on the basis of its conversations and observations that the outbreak of fighting in August 1965 rapidly escalated beyond the expectations of the participants. Thus, the infiltration into Indian-occupied Kashmir of either Pakistan personnel or former residents of Kashmir gave rise to an Indian armed response which the Pakistan Government felt it could not overlook. In its turn, Pakistan armed forces crossed the cease-fire line in an area which quickly threatened to cut the only Indian-controlled route to portions of its frontier with China. Fearing that this route would be cut, and apparently unable to meet that threat with forces in that area, the Indians launched an attack across the well-defined and fixed international frontier between Amritsar in India and Lahore in Pakistan. The purpose of this attack was at a minimum to relieve Pakistan pressure on the Indian route to the China frontier and at a maximum to capture Lahore. This response, in the words of one official, "was not expected." As a consequence, Pakistan armed forces responded to the Indian attack in the Lahore area by the use for the most part of American-supplied armor, much of which was destroyed and observed by this delegation as noted above.

The delegation comments in this detail on recent fighting not for the purpose of judging either aggressor or victor, but only to note that

the use of American military equipment by both parties did not enhance American prestige in either country. The delegation hopes that most serious consideration will be given by the President and by the Congress to the consequences of action of this kind before additional military assistance is supplied to either country.

Economic growth.—The delegation was much impressed with economic growth in Pakistan which, until the outbreak of hostilities, had shown an annual growth rate of about 5 percent. American officials, as well as members of the Pakistan Government, attribute this growth rate to the encouragement which the Pakistan Government has given to private capital investments in that country. The delegation was particularly impressed by work being undertaken by the Water and Power Development Authority in Pakistan. Both the irrigation and power aspects of this program are geared to more than double the amount of food to be produced by 1975. Progress thus far made indicates that this figure may be reached provided too large a proportion of Government budgets is not devoted to military purposes.

PAKISTAN

DECEMBER 11-15

The schedule of the visit of the delegation was as follows:

Saturday, December 11:

1 p.m.: Arrive Rawalpindi from New Delhi. Received by Charge d'Affaires and Deputy Chief of Protocol.

2:45 p.m.: Embassy briefing.

5:45 p.m.: Briefing by Kashmir Affairs Division of Government of Pakistan.

Sunday, December 12:

10 a.m.: Embassy briefing.

1 p.m.: Luncheons by Embassy officers.

4 p.m.: Briefing by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad.

8.30 p.m.: Dinner by Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Monday, December 13:

9 a.m.: Depart Rawalpindi by car.

11 a.m.: Arrive Muzaffarabad.

(a) Call on the President of Azad Kashmir, Abdul Hamid Kahn.

(b) Visit with refugees from Kashmir.

2:30 p.m.: Leave for Rawalpindi via Carhi Habibullah and Abbottabad.

7 p.m.: Arrive Rawalpindi.

Tuesday, December 14:

9 a.m.: Leave for Lahore by special plane.

10 a.m.: Arrive Lahore.

11 a.m.: Briefing by Mr. Ghulam Ishaq, Chairman, Water and Power Development Authority.

1:30 p.m.: Lunch at Hotel Ambassador by West Pakistan Finance Minister.

Military briefing.

3:30 p.m.: Tea with Governor of West Pakistan.

5 p.m.: Depart for Peshawar.

6:30 p.m.: Arrive Peshawar.

Wednesday, December 15:

8 a.m.: Depart for Kabul by road. Coffee at Khyber Rifles mess.

10:30 a.m.: Arrive Afghan border.

KHYBER PASS

The delegation was able to plan its itinerary to enable it to drive by car from Peshawar in Pakistan to Jalalabad and Kabul in Afghanistan by way of the Khyber Pass. There was opportunity to observe the terrain over which so many battles have been fought and to spend some time at the military headquarters of the Khyber Rifles and learn of some of their problems in providing protection in the area.

AFGHANISTAN

DECEMBER 16-17, 1965

After completing consultations in Pakistan, the delegation went to Afghanistan. While there, the delegation was received by His Majesty, Mohammad Zahir Shah, King of Afghanistan, and the Queen. It also held consultations with the Prime Minister, His Excellency, Mohammed Hashim Maiwandwal, various members of the Cabinet, and with Members of the newly constituted Parliament. It visited American projects and consulted with American officials. This was the first visit of a Senate delegation to Afghanistan.

In the words of the American Embassy in Kabul:

Afghanistan maintains a staunch policy of "positive neutralism," conditioned by its history and geographic position, especially its past experience as a buffer state and interference in its affairs by neighboring powers. Its policy basically is to avoid foreign entanglements while welcoming and utilizing the assistance of foreign countries in its economic development.

The Soviet Union is the principal supplier of military assistance to Afghanistan. It is also the principal source of external economic assistance with an aid program about twice the size of that of the United States. Since 1954, it is estimated that Soviet economic aid has totaled about \$600 million; American aid has been approximately \$318 million over the same period.

A major project visited by the delegation was the medical school at Jalalabad which is receiving assistance from several Peace Corps volunteers and a Fulbright professor. Reports from various individuals indicated a high degree of acceptance of the Peace Corps which now is nearly 200 strong after a start 4 years ago.

A major portion of U.S. aid has been in the field of transportation, with lesser amounts going to agriculture and education. The United Nations is providing a substantial amount of technical assistance and some Western European governments are active in development projects in Afghanistan. One impressive project being undertaken by the Federal Republic of Germany is a power station in the Kabul River Gorge which the delegation was able to observe.

The delegation noted two significant differences between Afghanistan on the one hand, and India and Pakistan. First, Afghanistan was never a colony. Thus, while it suffered none of the psychological scars so apparent elsewhere in the subcontinent, neither did it acquire the infrastructure of highways, public buildings, communications systems, and other capital structures of former colonial areas. Second, Afghanistan is the only Asian nation the delegation visited in which there is no population pressure on the land. On the contrary, the estimated population of from 10 to 13 million in an area roughly the size of Texas is one of the lowest in Asia in proportion to usable land and resources.

These factors—lack of a colonial infrastructure and modest population pressure on resources—tend somewhat to cancel each other,

leaving Afghanistan a long distance to travel before it will be economically viable. Nevertheless, the apparent vitality of the people and their government's ability thus far to draw assistance from the Soviet Union, from the United States, from other Western States, and from the United Nations, provides hope that Afghanistan will make steady progress toward economic independence.

In this connection, the delegation expresses the hope that Afghanistan may see the advantages to its own development which will come from further encouragement of the private sector of the economy. As noted in the conclusion to this report, the delegation could not help but contrast the relative speed of economic development in those countries which have emphasized the all-pervasive role of the state, with those countries which have sought to encourage the drive and initiative of individual entrepreneurs.

Afghanistan has the lowest annual per capita GNP (\$70) of any of the countries visited. Nevertheless, the low pressure of population on the land means that the average Afghan is comparatively well fed by Asian standards. Another partial explanation of the low per capita GNP arises from the fact that there is practically no industry in Afghanistan of the kind that tends to contribute in a significant way to the GNP. One consequence of the pastoral nature of Afghan society is that literacy is low and there is little base for meaningful self-government. Nevertheless, the present Government is taking vigorous steps to overcome this difficulty and the rudiments of a system of self-government are taking shape.

The general low level of literacy in Afghanistan has resulted in a serious shortage of medical facilities, including doctors and nurses. The delegation was much impressed by U.S. Government efforts to assist in these fields.

From time to time over the past 15 years relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan have been aggravated by incidents along their common frontier. These incidents have led on occasion to the closing of the frontier and the suspension of diplomatic and consular relations between the two countries. These difficulties stem from disagreements over the border between the two countries which, over the protests of a succession of Afghan rulers and governments, divided territory inhabited by the Pushtun tribes. Although this division took place prior to the creation of Pakistan, that Government claims that the earlier line established by the British is the proper boundary. The Afghan Government does not accept this position and, interestingly enough, asks that the Pakistan Government consent to a plebiscite in the Pushtun tribal area to determine the political allegiance of the inhabitants. The Afghans note that all they ask of Pakistan with respect to the Pushtunistan issue is what Pakistan asks of India with respect to Kashmir.

The delegation's schedule in Afghanistan was as follows:

Wednesday, December 15:

10 a.m.: Arrive Torkham by car from Peshawar. Enter Afghanistan.

11:30 a.m.: Arrive Jalalabad. Met by Afghan officials and Peace Corps Director. Visit Peace Corps medical and educational projects.

1.30 p.m.: Proceed to Kabul.

4:30 p.m.: Arrive Kabul.

8 p.m.: Informal dinner by Ambassador and Mrs. Steeves with principal members of U.S. mission in Afghanistan.

Thursday, December 16:

9 a.m.: Briefing for delegation by the Ambassador with members of U.S. mission staff.

10:15 a.m.: Bus tour of Kabul vicinity for members, led by the Ambassador, to see activities of interest to U.S. Government.

12 noon: Delegation members call on His Excellency, the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, with the Ambassador.

1 p.m.: Lunch in honor of delegation members by His Excellency, the Prime Minister, at Chilsutoon Palace.

3 p.m.: Press conference at the residence.

6:30 p.m.: Audience with His Majesty, the King of Afghanistan.

7:30 p.m.: Separate dinners by selected American hosts in honor of delegation with Afghan and American guests.

Friday, December 17, 9 a.m.: Departure for Tehran and Tel Aviv by special mission aircraft.

ISRAEL

DECEMBER 17-20, 1965

En route to the United States the delegation (except for Senator Dominick) spent 3 days in Israel. During its visit consultations were held with Deputy Prime Minister Abba Eban, Foreign Minister Golda Meir, the Chief of Staff General Yitzhak Rabin, other officials of the Israeli Government, and the American Ambassador and his staff. There was also opportunity for the delegation to observe agricultural developments in the Negev, to visit the new city of Eilat on the Gulf of Aqaba, and to visit a kibbutz and discuss its development with local officials.

Seventeen years after the creation of Israel as an independent state, there is still no peace and no permanent frontier with neighboring Arab States. As a consequence there is a continuing and underlying concern with problems of military security. Frequent border clashes and the geographic vulnerability of Israel (it is only 12 miles wide at one point with a maximum width of about 60 miles) focus attention on the need in terms of the Israeli Government for what is described as "a balance of deterrent strength." Shipment of arms by the Soviet Union and its satellites to the United Arab Republic and the provision of U.S. military assistance to other neighbors of Israel keep the subject of Israeli military defenses constantly before the public.

As a result of its consultations, the delegation did not receive the impression of any rising concern at possible attacks on Israel. Nevertheless, there is an undeniable uneasiness at what the Israelis believe is their vulnerability to attack. Although the Israeli Government has received most of its military equipment from France, there is a strong feeling that the United States should take a more active role in providing military assistance to Israel. The delegation notes, without comment, that if extensive hostilities were to break out in the Middle East the U.S. supply of military equipment would be available not only to Israel which has received it in the past but to Arab countries as well, some of which are currently receiving military equipment from the United States. Thus again the United States would be open to the serious charge of supplying the weapons of war to both sides.

Israel continues to improve its per capita income; the annual figure is now about \$1,000. Continued growth in industry and an expanding population have brought to the forefront the problem of providing fresh water for industrial and agricultural purposes. In the spring of 1964 President Johnson and Israeli Prime Minister Eshkol agreed that the two countries would explore together the feasibility of developing a large-scale nuclear powered desalination plant. Preliminary engineering studies have now been completed looking toward the building of such a plant with a capacity of 100 million gallons of fresh water per day. The cost of building a double-purpose facility which would provide power as well as fresh water would be about \$200 million.

Preliminary figures indicate that such a facility could not be self-liquidating except if capital were provided at a charge lower than that which is currently available in financial markets. It seems likely, therefore, that at some time in the near future a policy decision will be required to determine whether there are political and other considerations which might justify the United States and Israel jointly to finance a desalination plant of this type even though there may be questions as to its economic feasibility because funds would need to be made available at a rate of interest no higher than 2 percent.

The delegation was much impressed with the progress that has been made in Israel over the past decade and a half and the confidence with which the Israeli people have developed their economic and political institutions.

The schedule of the Delegation's activities in Israel was as follows:

Friday, December 17, 7:30 p.m.: Arrived Lod Airport, Tel Aviv.

Saturday, December 18:

9 a.m.: Depart by plane for Eilat.

9:40 a.m.: Arrive Eilat—Visit desalting plant and other points of interest in area.

1:20 p.m.: Depart for Tel Aviv.

2 p.m.: Arrive at Sde Dov Air Force Base for luncheon and briefing by Chief-of-Staff General Yitzhak Rabin.

Sunday, December 19:

9 a.m.: Depart Tel Aviv by car for Jerusalem.

10:30 a.m.: Visit Kibbutz.

11:15 a.m.: Visit Shrine of the Book (Dead Sea Scrolls).

12 m.: Call on Foreign Minister Golda Meir.

1:30 p.m.: Luncheon with Mrs. Meir.

4:30 p.m.: Call on Deputy Prime Minister Abba Eban; briefing by United States and Israel officials on desalting topics.

9 p.m.: Reception hosted by Mr. David Hachon, chairman of the Knesset Committee for Foreign Affairs.

Monday, December 20:

9 a.m.: Visit to Old Jerusalem.

1 p.m.: Informal lunch at consulate general and Mrs. Wilson's Old City quarters.

2:30 p.m.: Depart Jerusalem.

4 p.m.: Arrive Tel Aviv.

4:30-6 p.m.: Briefing at American Embassy.

7:45 p.m.: Dinner at Ambassador's Residence.

12 midnight: Depart for Madrid and Washington.

Preliminary talks indicate that such a treaty could not be reached. The delegation expects it could be reached at a later date. The delegation is currently working on a number of other matters. It is expected that a decision will be reached in the near future. The delegation is currently working on a number of other matters. It is expected that a decision will be reached in the near future. The delegation is currently working on a number of other matters. It is expected that a decision will be reached in the near future.

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SPAIN

The delegation (except for Senators Dominick and Prouty) made a brief stop in Madrid where it had opportunity to meet with U.S. Ambassador Duke and members of his staff. Although it was not possible to meet officials of the Spanish Government, the American Ambassador gave the delegation a full and candid briefing on United States-Spanish relations.

CONCLUSIONS

The nature of the delegation's visit to most of the countries on its itinerary (i.e., as guests of the governments) makes it inappropriate to submit conclusions or recommendations on a country-by-country basis. Nevertheless, there are a few important subjects of [such a nature that the delegation can comment on them without offense to its hosts.

The countries which the delegation visited show wide divergences in per capita gross national product. The figures for 1963 were as follows:

Japan.....	\$509
India.....	83
Pakistan.....	78
Afghanistan.....	70
Israel.....	940

In a broad sense, U.S. aid programs for underdeveloped countries should be designed to help produce the greatest wealth for the greatest number of people in the shortest period of time. The delegation records here its conviction that this requires maximum participation by profit-motivated individuals who will work harder for themselves than for government enterprise.

The delegation believes that foreign aid programs cannot hope to succeed unless they concentrate increasingly on the role of private enterprise and investment in development. The countries visited gave varying degrees of recognition to the need to unshackle individual initiative in order to speed their own development. Often these newer countries have a built-in emotional bias against private enterprise which they associate with their former colonial status. The delegation seriously questions, however, whether American taxpayers should continue unstinting support of governments whose philosophy negates full utilization of available private capital and initiative. While recognizing that the borderline between public and private enterprise is necessarily a shifting one depending upon a number of national factors, the delegation doubts whether the long-range national interests of the United States and recipient nations are served by foreign aid which encourages governmental enterprise in areas of economic activity where private enterprise has proven its value. An examination of the annual growth rates of underdeveloped countries gives conclusive evidence that maximum economic freedom promotes maximum growth. U.S. aid programs should be directed to that end.

The delegation believes that economic freedom of choice for the individual is essential to political freedom of choice for the individual. It would like to see new countries, therefore, encourage a maximum amount of economic freedom in development of their economies.

One cannot visit the countries of Asia without being deeply conscious of the importance of vigorous efforts to control the growth of populations. When statistics show countries which increase their

agricultural output at the rate of 3 percent per year but at the same time their populations increase at a rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent per year, it is hard to see how any effective development can take place. The following table shows the population increase for countries visited by this delegation.

<i>Annual population growth rate (percent)</i>	
Japan.....	1.0
India.....	2.4
Pakistan.....	2.6
Afghanistan.....	2.0
Israel.....	4.0

It will be observed that Japan is the only country which has its population problem under reasonable control. In Afghanistan, where statistics are not particularly reliable, the possible growth problem is not of serious concern because that is one of the few areas in Asia which is underpopulated in terms of arable land and natural resources.

As the delegation moved between India and Pakistan it could not help but note the nationalistic nature of the press of the two countries on the subject of Kashmir. The delegation does not endeavor to assess whether the press in the two countries reflected the feelings of the people, the pressures of the respective Governments, or independent press assessments of the facts as they had been able independently to ascertain them. We do record here, however, that with respect to specific situations the people of India read one thing in their press and the people of Pakistan quite another. Reports of this kind exacerbate emotions and may on occasion force governments to act in ways contrary to a rational judgment of courses of action that might promote the national interest. These characteristics of press reports are to some extent universal. We commend to governments and press associations alike greater consideration of the importance of their role in influencing public attitudes and note that freedom of the press should not be interpreted as license for the press.

In conclusion, the delegation expresses the hope that there may be future exchanges of parliamentary groups, enabling Members of the U.S. Congress as well as members of foreign parliamentary institutions to exchange ideas and acquire more intimate knowledge about their respective countries. It has been said that war is too important to leave to the generals. This delegation suggests that international relations are too important to be left solely to the diplomats. For that reason it encourages exchanges of this kind.

APPENDIX

I

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA,
PARLIAMENT HOUSE,
New Delhi, July 16, 1965.

To His Excellency Mr. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate of the United States, Washington:

You will recall that in August 1963, we had the honor to invite a delegation of the Members of the U.S. Senate to visit India as guests of the Parliament of India. The invitation could not be accepted that year owing to the pressure of congressional business, but your illustrious predecessor was good enough to express the hope that it might be possible for a congressional delegation to visit us at some later time.

We have the honor and privilege now to renew the invitation and to express the hope that it will be possible for it to be accepted this year. The exact dates of the visit and other details may be settled in due course through our Embassy in Washington. The members of the delegation and their wives will be the guests of the Parliament of India and we trust that it will be possible for your delegation to spend some time in this country so as not only to see our Parliament at work, but also to get an idea of the developments that are taking place throughout the country. A visit such as this would help to further strengthen the friendly relations and understanding that exist between our two countries.

We take this opportunity to convey to you the assurances of our high esteem and consideration.

ZAKIR HUSAIN,
Chairman, Rajya Sabha.
HUKAM SINGH,
Speaker, Lok Sabha.

II

EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN,
Washington, D.C., October 19, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am delighted to know that you will be visiting Pakistan as chairman of a group of eight Senators in the course of a parliamentary tour of Asia.

It gives me great pleasure to extend a very cordial invitation, on behalf of my Government, to you and Mrs. Morse as well as to your distinguished colleagues and their ladies and accompanying staff members, to be our guests while you are in Pakistan. I am not sure whether our Parliament would be in session at the time of your visit. But if it is, the Speaker and his colleagues would be very happy to receive you.

We should also be glad to prepare a brief program for you and your group, if so desired, to see some places of interest in my country. It appears from your proposed itinerary that you plan to motor down from Peshawar to Rawalpindi on the afternoon of December 13 and to leave Peshawar for Kabul by road on December 15 morning. This would leave you with little time in Rawalpindi, and if I may be permitted to suggest, at least 1 more day's extension of your stay in Rawalpindi would be well worth while.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,

G. AHMED.

24 VISIT TO JAPAN, INDIA, PAKISTAN, AFGHANISTAN, AND ISRAEL

OCTOBER 27, 1965.

His Excellency G. AHMED,
Ambassador of Pakistan,
Embassy of Pakistan,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I wish to assure you that all of us serving in the Senate who have been selected by the administration to be members of the Senate parliamentary group to go abroad this fall to hold conferences with parliamentarians from other parliaments are very pleased to receive your invitation, on behalf of your Government, to be guests of the Government of Pakistan.

I have discussed your kind invitation with Vice President Humphrey and Secretary of State Rusk. On their behalf, and on behalf of the delegation, we are delighted to accept your invitation. Mr. Carl Marcy, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, will be in touch with your office regarding the itinerary.

Sincerely,

WAYNE MORSE.

III

[S. Res. 145, 89th Cong. 1st sess., Rept. Nos. 700 and 769]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the President of the Senate is authorized to appoint as members of official Senate delegations such Members of the Senate as may be necessary to respond to invitations received officially from foreign governments or parliamentary bodies during the Eighty-ninth Congress, and to designate the chairmen of said delegations.

SEC. 2. The expenses of the delegations, including staff members designated by the chairmen to assist said delegations, shall not exceed \$25,000 for each such delegation, and shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairmen of said delegations.

IV

REMARKS BY U.S. SENATOR WAYNE MORSE BEFORE A JOINT LUNCHEON OF THE JAPAN-AMERICA SOCIETY AND THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN JAPAN, NOVEMBER 29, 1965

On behalf of this delegation of Republican and Democratic Members of the U.S. Senate I want to thank you for this invitation to meet with you today. It is a pleasure and always enlightening to meet Americans who are living and working abroad. It is a special privilege to meet with members of the Japan-America Society who have done so much over the past years to promote better relations between our countries.

Also may I say that wherever I go around the world I find that as a group our American businessmen abroad who form our American chambers of commerce are doing a superb job of exporting our system of private enterprise to foreign lands. By so doing they are, in fact, exporting economic freedom of choice for the individual for the benefit of the indigenous population in the many countries in which Americans maintain their investments and operate their businesses. By so doing our American businessmen abroad teach the lesson that political freedom of choice for the individual is always dependent upon the existence and development of economic freedom of choice for the mass of the people in any country.

As I used to teach my students, "Show me a society in which the people are economically free and I will show you a society in which the people have developed their own system of political self-determination which we call political freedom."

In the conversations dealing with national and international problems which this delegation has had during the past week with a broad spectrum of members of the Japanese Diet and House of Councillors we have had, as in all free societies, some differences of opinion. On the fundamental challenge facing mankind, namely that of seeking universal and permanent world peace, we are of one mind. We recognize that neither war nor unconditional surrender tables offer any hope for a lasting and permanent peace.

At the same time we have learned from history that our self-preservation as freemen dictates that we resist with all our might any attempt of totalitarian

powers to subjugate freemen to the enslavement of political and economic serfdom. We also recognize that we must always be willing, and never hesitate to demonstrate that willingness, to substitute the rules of reason of the international council table for nationalistic military action in our search for a lasting world peace. However such a round approach to world peace through the substitution of the rules of international law for resort to military might calls for a mutuality of peaceful action on the part of all nations and not just the free nations acting alone.

There is one theme that seems to me to have been present throughout our conversations justifying special attention. It is that both our nations labor under what I can only describe as the burdens of power. Our power and strength impose special responsibilities on our nations and peoples.

I need not dwell on the power of the United States, which is manifest in so many ways throughout the world. This power is military. It is economic. It is ideological.

This power is apparent not so much, I believe, because it is flaunted, as because of natural reactions to it. To observant peoples of Asia, movements of the 7th Fleet are as significant as movements of the stock market in New York. The price of American wheat, the launching of space probes, and the speeches of President Johnson, attract attention throughout the world.

Americans did not seek this power. I do not propose to review how we became so powerful. And I certainly do not mean to boast of this power. My only point is that because this power is present we carry a special burden of widespread responsibility.

But Japan is also a great power—and as such bears burdens much as does the United States.

Japanese power is not military, but economic. Her per capita income of nearly \$600 is the highest in Asia. She is already the sixth industrial nation of the world. Her annual rate of growth is among the highest in all the world.

The economic power of Japan imposes burdens and responsibilities on her government and people just as the military and economic power of the United States imposes burdens on us.

The press often refers to the United States and the Soviet Union as "superpowers." My point is that Japan is already the economic "superpower" of Asia and one of the very few great economic powers of the world.

Our basic aims are similar. We seek peace, freedom, security, and economic and cultural growth. We must not let our common interests in these aims be distorted by the use of such emotional words as socialism, communism, imperialism, and colonialism. These are words which too frequently are used by too many in a manifestation of a glandular rather than a cortical response to a disturbing ideological stimulus. When so used they destroy reason and divert attention from our real aims and problems. What we must ask is: What are the instrumentalities—the means by which we can achieve the common aims I have mentioned? What specific things must we do to promote our security, our peace, and maintain our freedom?

Let free nations never forget that their real wealth is not in their materiality. It is not in their industries, their corporate structures, their great economic powerhouses. But rather their real wealth, their true wealth, is in the human values of their people themselves. It is the people as a societal totality which creates the environment in which economic, political, spiritual, geographic, and ideological forces through churning interactions forge a culture, a civilization, a nation.

A free society to remain free must maintain an economic system that provides for the welfare of all of the people of the Nation. It is a historic truism that economic privilege for a selected few in a society and economic privation for the many always produces the human exploitation which sooner or later will always toll the death knell of any form of totalitarian, political, and economic society no matter what name it is known by. Political freedom is built on the foundation stones of high standards of living for the general population; universal education; uniformity of justice; the basic guarantees of individual freedom as are inherent in our American Bill of Rights; and civil liberties and civil rights free of discrimination because of race, color, class, or creed.

Such guarantees of a free society can be preserved, protected and promoted only through the exercise of the controlling right of all of the people, acting through a system of self-government, to legislate those laws and regulations necessary to protect the many from the otherwise unrestricted licenses of the few.

Japan and the United States are such free societies. It is such human rights guarantees that make the Governments of Japan and the United States potential allies in the course of promoting international programs that seek to improve the economic welfare of the mass of the people in the underdeveloped areas of the world. If all of the free nations of the world would join in such a common cause of exporting economic freedom to those who would welcome it, the cause of peace would be advanced more rapidly than by any other means. Given the assistance to become economically free the millions of people in the underdeveloped areas of the world would soon develop their own political self-determination.

In the United States we recognize that the task of protecting and promoting the general welfare of our people will always be a never-ending one. National growth and the ever-expanding dynamics of our society will always bring new societal and governmental challenge and responsibilities in their wake. It is due to the rapid changes that are taking place in our society caused by the industrial revolution of automation that our great President is challenging us in the Congress to join him in meeting a mutual political responsibility owed to the people of our Nation. He has sent to us during the last two sessions of Congress a series of legislative proposals, with more to come, which, along with the Executive orders and regulations, he has labeled "the challenge of the Great Society." We have passed into law most of his proposals.

There is plenty of room for sincere and honest differences of opinion among us as to the most desirable legislative media for attaining President Johnson's inspiring goals of political statesmanship. However, there is little room for disagreement over the view that the preservation of our society of freedom dictates that we should never forget that our free economy must always regulate itself with the assistance of governmental checks and, if necessary, through governmental legislative intervention so as to promote the general welfare of all of the people at all times.

This is an essential part of our system of self-government. It is basic to keeping us free both politically and economically. Put to action it defines what is meant by our constitutional system of checks and balances. This visit has enabled our delegation to observe the political and economic dynamics of Japan. We have seen here both a government and a people dedicated to the inseparable marriage of political and economic freedom of choice for the individual. We must do all we can to strengthen the bonds of close cooperation between the United States and Japan.

One thing we can do, of course, is to increase the number of meetings between all types of people in our two societies. Our business communities have been doing this for many years. Scholars have been exchanged. Our Ambassador Reischauer is a fine example of an American student of Japan who I believe understands Japan and communicates his understanding to our policymakers in Washington.

The semiofficial visit to Japan of this bipartisan delegation of American Senators increases our mutual understanding and I hope next year a representative group of the Japanese Parliament may visit and observe and exchange viewpoints in the United States.

Out of increased exchanges of this kind we can strengthen our economic ties. Dealing with each other in complete equality, there are business and commercial opportunities for Japanese businesses in the United States. There are also opportunities for American business in Japan.

There is a third means by which we can advance our common interests. This is by cooperative endeavors to promote economic development, in Asia in particular. Even as we meet here, experts of Japan and the United States are working together, and with other nations, to bring the Asian Development Bank into being. This will be a means by which Japanese and American technical know-how can be used to help interested nations learn the techniques of development.

I do not wish to leave this subject with undue emphasis on economic freedom as a key to growth. Equally important is political freedom. As I have stressed in this speech one cannot exist without the other.

One needs to be in Japan only a few days to realize that one of the basic characteristics of this society is that of political freedom. The press is a prime example of this freedom. It obviously occupies a position of great power and, as I noted earlier, power imposes a heavy burden of responsibility.

My colleagues and I have noted over the many years of our political lives that a representative government is most difficult to operate. All parts of society including the press must be responsible in exercising their freedom, otherwise representative government cannot work. Indeed, as I believe Winston Churchill

once observed, representative government is the most unsatisfactory form of government that exists, except for every other.

A willingness upon the part of a free press and a free people to discuss their problems and to resolve them by the processes of representative government is as important to economic growth and the well-being of a nation as the concept of free economic enterprise.

In concluding these remarks I take the liberty of paraphrasing a statement which the senior Senator from Ohio, Mr. Lausche, has repeated many times during our conversations of the past week. He has commented that Japan and the United States are mutually dependent on each other.

I believe every member of our delegation agrees with that statement. Certainly the people gathered today at this luncheon bear witness to the mutual interdependence of our two Nations not only in economics but in the nature of our view of the action required to maintain the peace and freedom of our Nations.

This delegation of U.S. Senators will leave Japan tomorrow better enlightened in our understanding of the strength of United States-Japanese relations. We shall leave more proud than ever of the contributions which American business and professional men here in Japan are making to improved economic relations between our two countries.

We shall leave Japan thankful that we of the United States can embrace the Government and people of Japan as partners in the cause of promoting human dignity and human values in the interest of the general welfare of all of the people, not only of our respective countries, but throughout the world wherever people yearn for freedom and for peace.



MAK 29

