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The Asia Foundation's Cold War Influence on Tadao Yanaihara's Educational Research Institute in Japan

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INTRODUCTION

In the last ten years, The Asia Foundation (TAF) has increasingly interested scholars because of its relation to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) during the Cold War period and because of its “philanthropic” aspect. TAF had not been studied as frequently as the Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Ford foundations, which also have engaged in international funding. Previously, Kimberly Gould Ashizawa and Maiko Ichihara provided a historical overview of TAF;¹ while Jun Wada explained the characteristics of TAF’s funding strategy;² and Grace A. Chou, Ichihara, and Sangjoon Lee examined TAF’s funding strategy in specific areas of activities.³ Particularly, Chou focused on TAF’s philanthropic aspects and suggested that TAF’s relation to the CIA did little to affect TAF’s funding strategy because TAF funded educational organizations together with other NGOs. In contrast, Ichihara and Lee note that the CIA affected TAF’s funding strategy, although they argue that the impact of CIA-TAF relations toward TAF’s grantee was limited during the Cold War period.⁴

These previous studies are limited in that they all underestimate the impact of the CIA-TAF connection on TAF’s grantees during the Cold War.

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There is a question as to whether TAF’s funding for education was related to the CIA’s cultural Cold War strategy. How large was the impact of the CIA-TAF relationship on TAF’s grantees in education?

With these questions in mind, I aim to clarify TAF’s direct influence on the establishment, activities, and termination of grantee organizations. I use the case of the Japanese educational research group Gakusei Mondai Kenkyūsho (in English, the Institute of Student Affairs, ISA), a TAF grantee. The ISA engaged in educational research on college and university students in Japan, as well as in student counseling activities, from 1958 to 1962. The Tokyo-based institute was headed by Tadao Yanaihara, a former president of the University of Tokyo and one of the most influential Christian liberal intellectuals at the time.⁵ The ISA was substantially funded by a grant from TAF (fig. 1). It received 3.6 million yen (\$10,000) in fiscal year 1957 for its

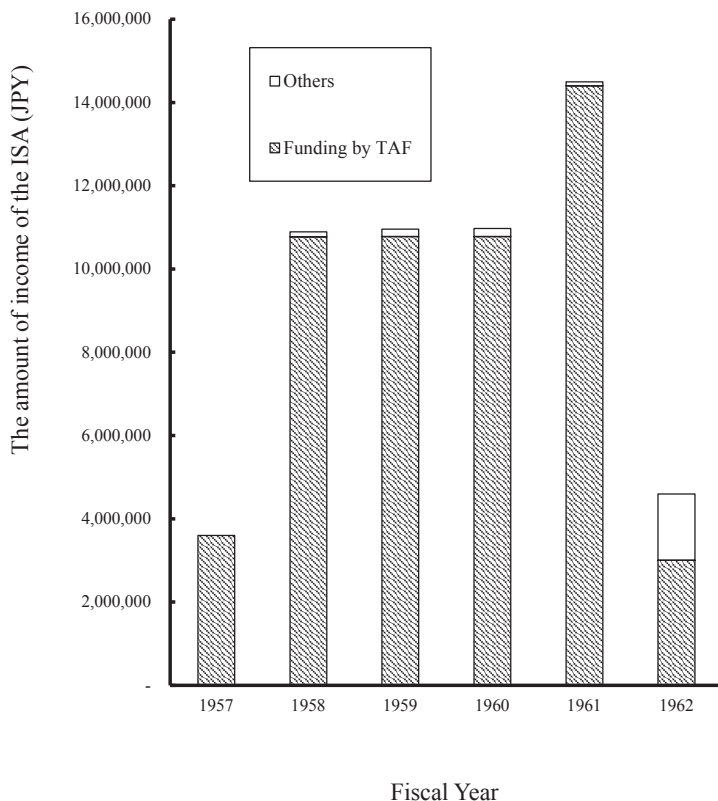


Figure 1. Amount and source of ISA income 1957–62.

institutional establishment,⁶ and around 10.7 million yen (\$30,000) in fiscal years 1958 to 1960 for research.⁷ The research grant reached 5.4 million yen (\$40,000) in fiscal year 1961.⁸ Because TAF decided to terminate the grant for reasons I will discuss later, the ISA was funded only 3 million yen (\$8,330) in fiscal year 1962 to be used for its termination.⁹ The ISA did not cover its operational costs from its own income.

In this article I attempt to shed light on the aspect of public diplomacy in the history of education, which is in line with previous studies by Yuka Tsuchiya on US international information and education policy toward occupied Japan,¹⁰ and by Kenneth A. Osgood on the CIA's propaganda directed at Japanese cultural fields, including education.¹¹ I focus on the CIA's covert operations in education in order to complement Tsuchiya's analysis of US government overt operations.

This article adds new understanding to the relationship between the ISA and Yanaihara, by examining the TAF connection. Previous work has claimed that Yanaihara established the ISA and focused only on Yanaihara's influence on the establishment and activities of the ISA. Muneo Horie pointed out that Yanaihara's educational thought, which was based on his Christian beliefs, influenced the activities of the ISA.¹² In contrast, I focus on TAF's influence as part of US Cold War foreign policy on the ISA.

My research is based on the analysis of three types of archival records. The first consists of The Asia Foundation Records at the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University, which houses folders related to the ISA and its members. These folders comprise TAF's internal memoranda, correspondence, and ISA reports. This archival record was chosen because it directly shows the relationship between TAF and the ISA. The second archival record consists of the CIA Records at the National Archives of Research and Administration.¹³ This was selected to explain TAF's background in relation to the CIA's Cold War strategy, which was responsible for TAF's creation. The third consists of Gakusei Mondai Kenkyūsho Shiryō (ISA Records) at the University of Tokyo Archives. This Japanese source was selected to support the evidence found in the two US archival sources. By examining these materials, I demonstrate how TAF influenced the ISA.

This article is divided into five sections. The first provides a brief overview of the history of TAF's establishment alongside US Cold War strategy and explains why TAF engaged in funding student-related activities in Japan. The second examines how TAF planned to create the ISA. The third analyses how TAF planned the framework for ISA activities. The

fourth presents how TAF observed and evaluated ISA activities, leading it to change its funding strategy. The last section describes why TAF decided to terminate the ISA fund leading to its ending. Since this article focuses on the ISA from the perspective of TAF and US Cold War strategy, a discussion of possible converse influence of ISA activities on TAF and US Cold War strategy is outside its scope. Further data collection will be required to determine exactly how the ISA affected TAF.

I. TAF'S BACKGROUND OF FUNDING STUDENT-RELATED ACTIVITIES IN JAPAN

TAF, originally called the Committee for a Free Asia (CFA), was established in 1951 under the code name DTPLLAR—a project within the Office of Policy Coordination at the CIA.¹⁴ The CFA (and later TAF) presented itself as a nongovernmental organization, hiding its CIA roots. In 1956, TAF's president, Robert Blum, wrote that the CFA was originated as “a private, non-profit corporation . . . created at the height of the Korean War by a group of Californians who believed that a non-governmental American organization primarily focussed [sic] on Asia could help to increase the desire and ability of Asians to resist Communism on their own soil.”¹⁵ The CFA had its headquarters in San Francisco, with a branch office in New York and field offices in “non-Communist countries in Asia,” including Japan, Hong Kong, and the Philippines.¹⁶ In Japan, the CFA established their Tokyo office in 1952, and the staff contacted local Japanese leaders, including intellectuals, politicians, journalists, and business people, with whom they could cooperatively conduct their operations.¹⁷ The CFA's major activity was managing an international broadcasting station—Radio Free Asia (RFA). The CFA hoped that the RFA would “influence, express, and lead Asian opinion” and thus “supplement” the Voice of America, which was established in 1942 to spread US views and culture abroad.¹⁸ The CFA, however, worried that the RFA was received by people in Asia as Cold War propaganda, and so it abolished it in 1953. The CFA also renamed itself The Asia Foundation in 1954,¹⁹ shifting its main activity from managing international radio broadcasting to providing funds for local activities of Asian organizations and individuals.

TAF established target groups and areas for its activities to maximize its influence. For example, in 1955, the target topics were youth, education, women, labor, Chinese expatriates, and media.²⁰ TAF's priority field was different in each country. An examination of Japan's program budget for the

fiscal years 1958–1962, when the ISA was active, shows that the largest amount of funding was allocated to education.²¹ TAF's project for the ISA was classified as a student subject field. The basic TAF's plan for students in Japan was "to attempt to identify democratic student leadership where possible and help its development" to halt the spread of communist ideals among Japanese students.²² To deal with the problem of communism spreading among students, TAF recruited Japanese student leaders and student organizations to participate in international student activities that would oppose the Communist-dominated student organization, Zengakuren. Some TAF staff members wanted to work on "the organization of a national student federation" that would provide Zengakuren with "direct competition," and TAF indeed supported some student organizations, such as the Student Information Federation, the Student Broadcasting Association, and the Student Cultural Association. "The problem of finding leadership" from these organizations, however, remained unsolved.²³ The issues surrounding Japanese students led TAF to consider establishing an institute that would develop student leadership and provide student organizations with advice and funding.

TAF's funding of the ISA is a model sample of TAF's communist containment strategy in Asia, in that it gave grants to pro-American top Japanese intellectuals. The case of the ISA is probably unique in that TAF tried to control students indirectly, principally through professors who could influence them. In the case of the Institute of Student Affairs in the Philippines, faculty and students tried to solve issues of concern to students together.²⁴ Interestingly, TAF's office in the Philippines planned the funding of the Philippine institute in March 1961 when the Japanese institute was still active.²⁵ Future studies might profitably focus on the relationship between these two institutes.

II. HOW TAF PLANNED TO CREATE THE INSTITUTE OF STUDENT AFFAIRS

The plan for building the Japanese Institute of Student Affairs began in January 1958 when TAF's Japan representative, Robert B. Hall, submitted a project proposal to TAF president Robert Blum. Hall explained the reason for the proposal as follows:

The student situation in Japan is, as you know, not too favorable a one. There is still the tendency for students to look to the totalitarian philosophy of the extreme left for the answers to their problems. This is

a matter of considerable concern to those Japanese who wish to see the young leaders of tomorrow engage in a more objective search for truth. It has recently been stated that there is a need for some organization which would devote itself to the study of student affairs and would serve in an advisory capacity to students and to those groups which work with and for students.²⁶

He continued the proposal by stating that such an organization would be called “an Institute for Student Affairs.”²⁷ Because Hall thought that the chairman of this institute should necessarily be “a prominent man respected by students and faculty . . . and . . . by many other elements in Japanese society,” he strongly recommended Tadao Yanaihara as the “perfect choice” for this position. He recognized that he could not say for certain whether Yanaihara would accept the chairmanship. According to Hall, TAF’s Japan office had found, however, through indirectly approaching Yanaihara, that he was seriously concerned about the situation with students.²⁸ To demonstrate Yanaihara’s interest in students, Hall forwarded a series of articles written by Yanaihara,²⁹ titled “Gakusei ni nozomu (Requests to University Students),” which appeared on the front page of the evening edition of the *Asahi* newspaper. In the articles, Yanaihara stated that the student political movement should be led by the spirit and method of “scientific research” that respects objective observation and analysis of facts and that avoids being obedient to dogmatism. He criticized students who instinctively opposed governmental power yet at the same time were blindly obedient to “propaganda” from antigovernmental political parties or organizations.³⁰ He particularly complained about students who used hunger strikes as a means of political struggle,³¹ through which he indirectly criticized the entire leftist student movement.

TAF’s staff at its home office in San Francisco also hoped that Yanaihara would accept the leadership of the institute. Indeed, the program officer Richard E. Jorgensen was convinced that if Yanaihara consented to become involved in the institute, he would provide strong leadership, stating, “It would be hard to imagine, indeed, a finer man for the job.”³²

TAF had alternative plans for the institute in case Yanaihara did not accept TAF’s offer. Hall was prepared to approach other “prominent” educators to head the institute.³³ Also, TAF’s program officer at New York office, Ernest M. Howell, reported to a Japan program officer in the home office that he received a letter from a student who was a member of the Student Information Federation, which was one of TAF’s grant recipients.³⁴

The student wrote that the student organization planned “to establish an institute of student affairs” that would engage in “extensive and intensive research work” and that it planned to work together with another student organization, the Japanese World University Services.³⁵ The two student groups, which received funds from TAF, were preparing to establish a combined institute, one that was quite similar to the institute described in Hall’s project proposal. Howell told TAF’s Japan program officer that he would politely reply to the student in a noncommittal way.³⁶ In response, Jorgensen, advised Howell not to even mention the student proposal in his reply to the student,³⁷ thus extinguishing the idea of the students establishing their own institute of student affairs that would conduct research on student matters.

Despite various contingency plans, Hall primarily hoped Yanaihara would become the planned institute’s chairman and approached him about it through lunch meetings. Hall reported the progress of his negotiations with Yanaihara in detail to TAF’s president. By January 1958, Yanaihara still had not expressed interest in accepting the chairman position although he recognized the need for an institute of student affairs and expressed his desire to work for it.³⁸ In March, Yanaihara asked for the details of TAF’s plan for the institute, including its funding, duration of the fund, and procedures for receiving grants. He promised to help search for possible staff to work with the institute and to consider programs and goals.³⁹ Finally, in April, Hall made a phone call to the San Francisco headquarters in which he announced that Yanaihara has accepted the position of chairman of the institute.⁴⁰ Thus, TAF planned the establishment of the ISA and chose its chairman.

TAF did not, however, select the other members of the ISA. Yanaihara appointed Tokiomi Kaigo, dean of the School of Education at the University of Tokyo, as assistant director, and chose Keisuke Sawada, Kaigo’s colleague in the School of Education, as chief researcher in May 1958.⁴¹ TAF was nevertheless paying close attention to the selection of the major board members of the ISA. For example, TAF’s staff member at the home office, Robert B. Sheeks, asked the Japan representative whether Sawada’s candidacy originated with Hall or Yanaihara.⁴² The Japan office created profiles of some of the major members of the ISA, which it provided to headquarters. The profiles recorded these board members’ history of travel abroad, personality traits, and religion.⁴³ Hall thought the ISA members selected by Yanaihara were very good choices. He reported to Blum that “the Institute should become popular with students overnight” as a result of

the prestigious reputations of Yanaihara and his colleagues.⁴⁴

It should be noted that TAF planned to fund a new institution rather than giving funding to an existing institution, something not reported in previous studies on TAF. The ISA was planned by TAF, rather than by Yanaihara. Although Hall was a Japanologist and a professor of geography at the University of Michigan, and it seems reasonable to view the relationship between Hall and Yanaihara as being established by two intellectuals, the above information indicates that the ISA was planned through TAF-CIA relations and with careful discussions and decision making by TAF staff members in Japan and the United States.

III. HOW TAF AFFECTED ISA ACTIVITIES

TAF's staff members in Japan, at the San Francisco headquarters, and at the New York office carefully outlined what ISA's activities would involve even before Yanaihara accepted the position of chairman of the institute. In response to the activities outlined in Hall's project proposal from the Japan office, TAF's staff in San Francisco and the New York office generated various ideas (table 1). The plans for the institute suggested by TAF's staff can be divided into seven categories: conducting research on student concerns, advising student groups, conducting programs such as leadership training for students, holding seminars for adults interested in student concerns, funding student groups, creating a selecting committee for student scholarships, and working together with another TAF-funded educators' group, Minshu Kyōiku Kyōkai (better known as the Institute of Democratic Education) to promote student welfare.

After considering these ideas, the TAF Tokyo office decided to limit the ISA's activities to the following four: research on student problems, advice to student groups, seminars on student affairs and leadership, and provision of funds for student groups.⁴⁵ Hall modified this plan when he sent a draft agreement to Yanaihara. In this document the ISA was to engage in only two activities: "(1) producing research data which can be useful in offering ways to solve the pressing problems now confronting students and youth in Japan and (2) providing practical counsel and advice to students which will lead to their attaining a more healthy and creative student life."⁴⁶ The first activity was congruent with Hall's original proposal. The second activity was different from the previous plan, which had focused on student groups rather than on individual students. The agreement avoided specifying support for any specific student groups, which coincides with Ernest M. Howell's idea

Table 1. Plans by TAF on the ISA's activities

	Robert B. Hall (Japan office)	Jack E. James (Home office)	Ernest M. Howell (New York office)	Budget Proposal (January 1958)	Statement of Agreement (May 1958)	Activities of the ISA
Research on student affairs	Research on problems that students faces	Research on Japanese student issues	...	Support special research projects	Generate research data useful to solve problems that Japanese students and youth are facing	Research on student issues in Japan
Advice on students	Advise student groups	Advise TAF-supported student groups	...	Advise student groups	Advise students for their healthy and creative student life	Manage a student counseling center
Programs for students	Seminars for student groups; Training programs for democratic student leadership	...	Outstanding students should join the ISA's program individually	Sponsor seminars on student affairs and leadership	...	Hold meetings to discuss student issues
Programs for adults	...	Collaborate with adults interested in youth problems in seminars and discussion groups	...	Sponsor seminars on student affairs and leadership	...	Hold meetings to discuss student issues
Fund for student groups	...	Raise money to fund for anti-Zengakuren student groups	Disagree with acting as a funding agency	Fund for student groups for specific purposes	...	...
Selecting committee for scholarships	...	Act as a selecting committee for scholarships	...	...	...	...
Collaborate with the IDE	...	Collaborate with the IDE in the field of student personnel work	...	...	...	Planned to collaborate with the IDE

(table 1). Howell proposed that the ISA should not work as a funding agency for student organizations and that, instead, outstanding individual students should be encouraged to participate in the ISA's programs.⁴⁷

A staff member in San Francisco, Jack E. James, claimed that Hall was so afraid of scaring off Yanaihara that he did not fully state the ISA's purposes.⁴⁸ Despite James' advice to state the ISA's purposes more concretely, Hall did not change the draft agreement statement of ISA's planned activities. That is, the draft highlighted improving student welfare through academic and personal counseling, rather than supporting specific student organizations, which would suggest a political purpose. Under these conditions, Hall and Yanaihara signed the agreement. Because the ISA's

activities were so broadly defined in the agreement, Yanaihara was able to consider various possible activities; however, he was uncertain what activities he could initiate, according to James.⁴⁹ The vagueness of the agreement may be responsible for the great variety of the ISA's eventual research topics.

In addition to planning the overall framework of the ISA's activities, TAF also determined that the ISA would be "a national student advisory council of eminent senior citizens," which included Yanaihara.⁵⁰ According to Hall, "Yanaihara is perfectly aware, as he has said over and over again, that the Institute is of nation-wide significance and, to be effective, must be recognized as such."⁵¹ The ISA, which was founded in Tokyo, originally planned to establish six regional chapters,⁵² a goal never realized.

From its official opening on October 15, 1958, the ISA engaged in educational research on various topics, including social, economic, and mental problems that Japanese students were facing. Its findings were distributed to Japan's Ministry of Education and to the student welfare divisions of various colleges throughout the nation.⁵³ It managed its own counseling center in which staff, including Yanaihara, advised students in many areas, including their mental health and career choices.⁵⁴ In addition, the ISA held roundtables where its staff members conversed with college students and other guests, including faculty members, on various topics.⁵⁵ For example, they discussed the problems students faced in their college work and daily lives, as well as their views on student movements.⁵⁶ They held discussions on specific topics, including the concerns of female students, international students, and student mothers.⁵⁷ Although the agreement between TAF and the ISA did not mention roundtables or seminars, various TAF members had expressed a desire to have them (table 1). For example, James had suggested that the ISA "work with adults concerned with youth problems, perhaps in seminars and discussion groups on improvement of services to youth."⁵⁸ Howell had proposed that outstanding students should individually join the ISA's programs,⁵⁹ and the budget proposal by TAF Tokyo office also proposed budgeting for "seminars on student affairs and leadership."⁶⁰ Also, as proposed by James, the ISA planned to cooperate with the other TAF-funded educational organization, the Institute of Democratic Education, which was already engaged in research on students and publishing magazines and books on educational issues and interested in research on students.⁶¹

IV. HOW TAF EVALUATED ISA ACTIVITIES

TAF monitored the activities of ISA board members and staff to evaluate funding effects and planned the funding strategy. TAF's Tokyo office required the ISA to submit to it a monthly report on its activities and anything they had published. The Tokyo office translated the monthly reports into English and forwarded them to the TAF home office in San Francisco. Although the ISA was only one of several TAF-supported programs in Japan, the progress of the institute was of great interest to TAF's headquarters and board of trustees, as well as to its Tokyo office. For example, when the Tokyo office once lost touch with Yanaihara, a Japan program officer from TAF headquarters insisted that Hall urge Yanaihara to contact the Tokyo office, because it would be embarrassing vis-a-vis the board of trustees if they did not have updated information on such an important project as the ISA.⁶² Moreover, TAF monitored the ISA's popularity. The ISA's popularity among students was probably considered essential to the success of TAF's work in combatting communist influence on Japanese students. The Tokyo office sent the home office newspaper articles and columns on the ISA's activities and members, as well as reports about the institute's participation in radio and television programs. In addition to the monthly reports, the Tokyo office also translated and sent some of the institute's research papers that they thought were important to headquarters. Although many such papers were not translated,⁶³ the Tokyo office highly valued research reports on student unrest and *rōnin* (students who failed school entrance examinations and were studying for another chance). Such papers could have been useful for TAF to better understand how university students' problems that might incline them toward communism, as well as for strategizing to solve them. Reading ISA's "A Basic Study of Uneasiness of College Students,"⁶⁴ the TAF Japan representative, James L. Stewart, who succeeded Hall in 1960, noticed that student concerns were more about careers and employment than about partisan political questions, war, and social injustice. This led Stewart to conclude that economic growth in Japan would weaken student political activity.⁶⁵ This suggests that the ISA's work might have influenced TAF's strategy in dealing with the problem of Communist students.

These "concerns about careers and employment" were explored in the ISA's research on *rōnin* in their report covering their second year of work and "Career Guidance to High School Student and College Life," which suggested ways in which college entrance examinations could be reformed.

Both research papers were translated and forwarded to the home office. Stewart expected the research and recommendations to improve university entrance examinations, get rid of the *rōnin* problem, and contribute to “Japanese education and the reduction of student anxieties.”⁶⁶ He particularly praised the study on *rōnin*, which first appeared in “the report covering the second year of work” and showed that “students entering the university after more than one try at the entrance examinations have scholastic records that grow poorer in proportion to the length of time spent as *rōnin*.”⁶⁷ He considered *rōnin* a distinctive problem of Japanese education,⁶⁸ which their research might help ameliorate.⁶⁹ He sent the ISA’s paper on a roundtable involving *rōnin* students to TAF president Blum as well as to James Connant, a famous educator in the United States.⁷⁰

TAF attempted to use ISA’s research methods as a reference for TAF-supported educational research groups and individuals in other Asian countries. Impressed by the questionnaire form by which the ISA surveyed students’ concerns in Japan, TAF headquarters planned to send the form to a social science research group supported by TAF’s Hong Kong office.⁷¹ Headquarters also offered ISA pamphlets to the Hong Kong and Taiwan offices for their use in conducting student personnel work, including counseling services at “Chinese colleges and universities.”⁷² In addition, at the request of the Korean office, Tokyo sent four ISA reports to be used by a Korean educator, Chung Bom Mo.⁷³ By using results obtained from the ISA, TAF hoped to prevent the spread of communism among students in US-allied countries throughout in Asia.

ISA’s studies, which were highly regarded by TAF, could have had an indirect influence the student political movement by reducing student stresses. In addition to this indirect approach to influencing students, Stewart also wanted “a direct study of the motivation of students” who engage in political activities.⁷⁴ He expected studies made by the ISA on the student movement to address this, however, he was disappointed with the resulting papers. When the campaign against the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (the Security Treaty) was at its height, Stewart sent President Blum two ISA publications, “Collection of Materials on Student Movements in the Security Pact Struggle, April–June 1960” and “Student Action and Consciousness Relative to the Security Treaty Issue,”⁷⁵ with comments that showed his dissatisfaction with the ISA’s work. With the former article, he was disappointed that “the Institute makes no attempt to interpret the role of students in the demonstration,”⁷⁶ only referring to articles in newspapers and magazines. With the latter, he

strongly objected that it did not probe deeply into students' attitudes and motivations. Finally, Stewart was disappointed with the investigator's sympathetic attitude toward the student demonstrations, regarding them as "legitimate actions in defense of democracy in Japan."⁷⁷ Stewart wanted the ISA to discover the political attitudes of the students in the anti-US demonstrations.⁷⁸

TAF was further dissatisfied with the ISA because it did not give advice to students throughout Japan. When TAF planned for creating the ISA, it expected the institute to advise student organizations and later expected it to create a national student counseling service and manage regional counseling centers. Despite this expectation, the ISA remained a Tokyo-based organization with most of its members belonging to the University of Tokyo. In TAF's headquarters, the review and development department pointed out that the ISA might become merely a research institute of the University of Tokyo.⁷⁹ This concern was expressed only two months after the ISA officially opened. TAF complained that the few students who came to the counseling center did not have direct contact with ISA member advisers.⁸⁰ The implication is that TAF wanted the counseling center to be a place for connecting as many students as possible with non-Communist educators. Two years later, in November 1960, when TAF Tokyo office reported on the ISA to headquarters, these two concerns remained. The University of Tokyo was "disproportionately represented among its staff consultants," while the ISA handled a "very small number" of cases.⁸¹

Although researching student concerns was TAF's principle activity, it expected the ISA to take on national leadership of Japanese education, particularly in student personnel work, by working with scholars from other areas in Japan. TAF thought the ISA was primarily concerned with "the soundness and methodological validity of its research" and less concerned with seeking an active role of national leadership in student personnel work, which was "rather disappointing" to TAF.⁸² The TAF Tokyo office complained to their home office about the scale of the ISA's activities and also about Yanaihara's "aloof" personality, which prevented TAF from maintaining "a close working relationship" with the ISA.⁸³ In response to this complaint, a reviewer in the home office questioned whether TAF Tokyo office had clearly required the ISA to work actively within the sphere of student personnel work, pointing out that there might be a misunderstanding between TAF and the ISA regarding ISA's functions and purposes.⁸⁴

Through studying the ISA's research papers and monthly reports, along

with visiting the ISA office, TAF was able to understand the funding effects and problems lying in the way of the ISA's progress; however, TAF took few actions to improve the ISA's difficulties. TAF expressed their disappointment to the ISA in a restrained way. For instance, Stewart wrote to Yanaihara in regard to the lack of national leadership that they "do hope that at a later date you will make your findings available for the enlightenment of a broader public both in Japan and in other parts of the world."⁸⁵ TAF affected the overall framework of the ISA's activities, but it had limitations in affecting each project in detail. TAF preferred giving instructions indirectly. That is, TAF tried to be a "silent partner" to TAF's grantees.⁸⁶ TAF feared being regarded as a US propaganda organization and wanted to maintain its partnership with Japanese intellectuals and therefore avoided giving detailed instructions to its grantees.

V. HOW TAF AFFECTED THE TERMINATION OF THE ISA

Despite having a low opinion of some aspects of the ISA's work, Stewart planned a three-year extension of its funding. TAF originally planned funding for fiscal years 1957–60, but he decided to extend this to 1963 in part because the Japan office had such a high opinion of the ISA's research and counseling work and in part because they hoped to obtain high status by identification with Yanaihara and ISA.⁸⁷ Requested by Stewart, Yanaihara and his staff submitted a research plan.⁸⁸ Stewart also recommended to the home office that the budget for fiscal year 1961 be increased to \$40,000 "on the basis of these long-range plans."⁸⁹ TAF approved the increase of the budget for fiscal year 1961, apparently with funding expected at least until fiscal year 1963. Unexpected events, however, made TAF begin to consider the termination of the grant at the end of 1961.

On December 25, 1961, Yanaihara died after a long illness, which was reported to TAF's president the next day.⁹⁰ On December 28, 1961, TAF's director of programs, John F. Sullivan, requested information from Stewart in the Japan office, asking "in what way Dr. Yanaihara's passing will influence the work of the Institute and who might be his successor."⁹¹ Sullivan told Stewart on January 5, 1962, that the home office thought that a re-evaluation of the ISA was needed, with "the regrettable passing" of Yanaihara.⁹² Referring to past reports sent by the Japan office, he explained the reason for the re-evaluation: the ISA did not take national leadership in student personnel services and had too many staff members from the University of Tokyo, even though the ISA's reports were read by educators

and officials throughout Japan.⁹³ Also, he noted an “uneven quality” in the ISA’s reports, saying that the report on the *rōnin* was “exceptionally good,” whereas the report on “Student Action and Consciousness Relative to the Security Treaty Issue” was disappointing.⁹⁴

In addition to noticing the ISA’s weak points, TAF could not find as reliable a chairperson for the ISA as Yanaihara had been. Both circumstances influenced its decision to terminate the grant to the ISA. The Japan office did not think that Tokiomi Kaigo, who was the ISA’s acting director and seemed to be “the obvious successor,” was “the right man to carry on the Institute,”⁹⁵ because they thought he would make the ISA “more the creature of the Department of Education” of the University of Tokyo.⁹⁶ They hoped that the ISA would involve scholars from other parts of Japan such as Kyoto and Kyushu.⁹⁷ However, they did not think they could replace Kaigo with “an outstanding professor from another institution without causing bitterness,” which would hinder ISA’s future work, and recommended terminating the ISA project rather than approving Kaigo as the ISA’s new chairman.⁹⁸ Stewart suggested to Blum that “an entirely separate movement to create a national organization of university counselors [could provide] an alternative vehicle for Foundation involvement in student personnel work.”⁹⁹ TAF thus decided to terminate grants to the ISA soon after Yanaihara’s death. The Japan office held a meeting with Kaigo, in which they told him that they had difficulty getting continued support for the ISA.¹⁰⁰ According to Stewart, Kaigo did not relay this information to the other members of the ISA and requested TAF to continue the support. Stewart further reported to Blum that Kaigo dropped by at the Japan office, hoping that TAF would continue supporting the ISA. Despite these efforts by Kaigo, TAF terminated the grant for the ISA, allocating \$8,330 in June 1962 as a final amount to assist in the termination of ISA’s business.¹⁰¹ Because the ISA did not have funding sources other than TAF, it had to terminate its activities on September 1, 1962.¹⁰² Although Kaigo hoped to continue the ISA, there is no evidence that indicates that he managed to rebuild the institute.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Previous research on TAF and the ISA have underestimated TAF’s impact on its grantees. Until now, the ISA has been and designed by Tadao Yanaihara because he wanted to engage in scientific research on students and student counseling to improve student welfare. TAF’s function was

previously regarded as only providing grants to Japanese educators.

In contrast, in this article I make clear the political background and agenda behind TAF's funding of this educational institute. TAF funded the ISA to combat communist influence on students and to support the noncommunist student movement.

Because of anti-US sentiment and movements, as typified by the campaign against the Security Treaty in 1960, the US government expected TAF to conduct a smoothly running anticommunist campaign in Japan. That is, the United States needed a disguised apparatus in which influential Japanese leaders would take on the campaign themselves to better gain general acceptance by the Japanese people. It seems that other US foundations and government organizations, such as the United States Information Service, were not able to do what TAF could in planning and establishing of the ISA. Although TAF's impact had limitations, it complemented the role of these other US organizations in advancing US Cold War objectives in Japan.

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In this article I have clarified how and to what extent TAF influenced the ISA. As can be seen, TAF planned and established this institute of student affairs to counteract the spread of communism among Japanese students. TAF wanted the highly respected Tadao Yanaihara to be the chairman of the institute and approached him with the project proposal for the ISA. TAF carefully designed the framework of the activities of the ISA through discussions among local and US TAF staff members. TAF monitored the ISA's activities and evaluated funding effects, making changes in its funding plan for the institute. Considering the ISA's overall ineffectiveness and the matter of Yanaihara's successor, TAF finally decided to terminate funding, leading directly to the end of the ISA. TAF thus was responsible for the ISA's creation, selection of chairperson, framework of its activities, and termination. Although there were some limitations to its influence—TAF could not control all the research topics initiated by the institute—its grants determined whether the institute could continue to exist.

My research applies to one institute and does not necessarily mean that TAF influenced all their other grantees' activities. In addition, I have not yet assessed the possibility of the ISA's influencing TAF and US government policy. My research indicates that TAF's funding of the ISA is an example of the US Cold War public diplomacy, which had an impact on Japanese

educators and students.

NOTES

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¹ Kimberly Gould Ashizawa, “Amerika no firansoropī wa nihon ni dou mukiatta no ka,” in *Sengo nichibei kankei to firansoropī*, ed. Tadashi Yamamoto (Kyōto-shi: Mineruva Shobō, 2008), 116–22; Maiko Ichihara, “US Anti-Communism Aid in Asia during the Cold War and Its Influence for Post-Cold War Democracy Assistance: The Case of the Committee for Free Asia/the Asia Foundation [Reisenki asia ni okeru beikoku no hankyō shien to reiseigo minshuka shien e no eikyō: Jiyū asia iinkai / asia zaidan wo jirei to shite],” *Cosmopolis*, no. 8 (March 2014): 3–8.

² Jun Wada, “Amerika no firansoropī wa nihon ni nani wo nokoshita no ka,” in Yamamoto, *Sengo nichibei kankei to firansoropī*, 151–52.

³ Grace A. Chou, “Cultural Education as Containment of Communism: The Ambivalent Position of American NGOs in Hong Kong in the 1950s,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 12, no. 2 (2010): 3–28; Maiko Ichihara, “Japan-US Special Relations through the Asia Foundation?: CIA’s Exercise of Soft Power over Contemporary China Studies in Japan [Asia zaidan wo tsūjita nichibei tokushu kankei no keisei?: Nihon no gendai chūgoku kenkū ni taisuru CIA no sofuto pawā kōshi],” *Nagoya Journal of Law and Politics*, no. 260 (February 2015): 308; Sangjoon Lee, “Creating an Anti-Communist Motion Picture Producers’ Network in Asia: The Asia Foundation, Asia Pictures, and the Korean Motion Picture Cultural Association,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 37, no. 3 (July 2017): 521–30.

⁴ Although TAF still exists, its fiscal connection with the CIA stopped in 1968, after the relationship was revealed and criticized in *Ramparts* magazine. For more information, see Maiko Ichihara, “Japan-US Special Relations through the Asia Foundation?: CIA’s Exercise of Soft Power over Contemporary China Studies in Japan,” *Nagoya Journal of Law and Politics*, no. 260 (February 2015): 300. Ichihara explores the CIA’s relation to TAF’s funding of Japanese scholars’ research on modern China at *Tōyō bunko* (the Oriental Library) and argues that TAF had little impact on Japanese scholars’ research topics. Lee describes TAF, with its CIA background, providing funds to various Asian film industries; however, he argues that TAF’s grant did not influence the making of the Asian film industry network.

⁵ Before the war, he specialized in colonial policy and imperialism. In 1937, he was forced to resign his post as a professor at the University of Tokyo because he criticized Japanese militarism. After World War II, he regained his position and became the first president of the Institute of Social Science in 1946. He served as the president of the University of Tokyo from 1951 to 1957.

⁶ Robert B. Hall to Tadao Yanaihara, 21 May 1958, Asia Foundation Records (hereafter cited as AFR), box P-201, folder: Institute for Student Affairs Correspondence General> (hereafter cited as ISA Correspondence), Hoover Institution Archives (hereafter cited as HIA); “Sōsetsuhi shūshi kessan” (Financial Statement of Foundation Cost), image 113, June 1958, folder: Gakusei Mondai Kenkyūsho Shiryō (hereafter cited as ISA Records), F0060/S03/0001, Gakusei Mondai Kenkyūsho Shotsuzuri (hereafter cited as ISA Miscellaneous), University of Tokyo Archives (UTA), <https://uta.u-tokyo.ac.jp/uta/s/da/document/e8808176386b603da97bac2e585356a9>. I used the ISA records because they explain the ISA’s total income and the grant amount; however, because it does not show the grant source, I

double-checked TAF records and found that TAF gave the same grant amount to the ISA.

⁷ “Dai 1 nendo keihi shūshi kessan,” image 114, June 1959; “Dai 2 nendo keihi shūshi kessan,” image 286, June 1960; “Dai 3 nendo shūshi kessan,” image 383, ISA Records, F0060/S03/0001, ISA Miscellaneous, UTA.

⁸ “Dai 4 nendo shūshi kessan,” images 13–14, ISA Records, F0060/S03/0002, ISA Miscellaneous, UTA, <https://uta.u-tokyo.ac.jp/uta/s/da/document/510df23e8eebf97289cddf466df5cb3a>.

⁹ “Shūshi kessan,” images 453–54, 481, ISA Records, F0060/S03/0002, ISA Miscellaneous, UTA.

¹⁰ Yuka Tsuchiya, *Constructing a Pro-US Japan: US Information and Education Policy and the Occupation of Japan* [*Shinbei nihon no kōchiku: Amerika no tainichi jōhō kyōiku seisaku to nihon senryō*] (Tokyo: Akashishoten, 2009).

¹¹ Kenneth A. Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2008).

¹² Muneo Horie, “Yanaihara Tadao no kyōiku shisō to gakusei mondai kenkyūsho no katsudō,” *Journal of the Research Institute of Student Studies Tōkai University*, no. 4 (July 1974): 1–9.

¹³ I reference the online version of this record available at the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act Collection (NWCDA) in the CIA website. The original version is stored at the Records of the Central Intelligence Agency (RG263), vol. 1, box. 33; vol. 2–3, box 34, file DTPILLAR, National Archives at College Park, MD.

¹⁴ “ACFE to CPO,” 13 August 1951, NWCDA, Special Collection Archive, https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DTPILLAR%20%20%20VOL.%201_0045.pdf.

¹⁵ Robert Blum, “The Work of The Asia Foundation,” *Pacific Affairs* 29, no. 1 (March 1956): 47.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁷ Pat Flanagan to the CFA Representative, Tokyo, 5 November 1953, AFR, box P-17, folder: Administration, Public Relations Letters to Japanese Leaders 1953, HIA.

¹⁸ “Consideration with respect to RFA,” 13 August 1951, NWCDA, Special Collection Archive, https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DTPILLAR%20%20%20VOL.%201_0041.pdf.

¹⁹ “CFA Budget for FY1955,” 25 June 1954, NWCDA, Special Collection Archive, https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DTPILLAR%20%20%20VOL.%202_0034.pdf.

²⁰ “Project Outline Clearance Sheet,” 10 March 1955, NWCDA, Special Collection Archive: 2–5, https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DTPILLAR%20%20%20VOL.%202_0029.pdf.

²¹ TAF’s Japan office set its own target activity categories—youth, English education, economics, social science and research, law and government, science and technology, military, civic and community, women, youth, students, Chinese, Koreans, *Ryukyuan*s, writing and publishing, books and libraries, Buddhism, and world affairs—for Japan’s budget in fiscal year 1958. Although these categories changed gradually every year, the field of education kept receiving the largest grant.

²² Robert B. Hall to Robert Blum, 6 January 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

²³ Richard E. Jorgensen to The Record, 10 January 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

²⁴ “Request for Project Renewal,” 4 December 1962, NWCDA, Special Collection Archive: 2, https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DTPILLAR%20%20%20VOL.%203_0028.pdf.

²⁵ Paul P. Judge to The President, 20 March 1961, AFR, box P-298, folder: Institute of

Student Affairs I, HIA.

²⁶ Robert B. Hall to Robert Blum, 6 January 1958, AFR.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Robert B. Hall to Robert Blum, 16 January 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

³⁰ "Requests to University Students 2: 'Hey' Incident and the Spirit of Criticism," 15 December 1957, AFR, box P-201, folder: Institute for Student Affairs Reports General, HIA.

³¹ "Requests to University Students 3: On Hunger Strikes," 16 December 1957, AFR, box P-201, folder: Institute for Student Affairs Reports General, HIA.

³² Richard E. Jorgensen to Jack E. James and John F. Sullivan, 10 January 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

³³ Robert B. Hall to Robert Blum, 17 February 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

³⁴ Ernest M. Howell to Japan Program Officer, 29 January 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

³⁵ Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Howell, 26 January 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

³⁶ Ernest M. Howell to Japan Program Officer, 29 January 1958, AFR.

³⁷ Richard E. Jorgensen to The Representative, New York, 4 February 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

³⁸ Robert B. Hall to Robert Blum, 16 January 1958, AFR.

³⁹ Robert B. Hall to Robert Blum, 19 March 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁴⁰ Jack E. James to the Record, 22 April 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁴¹ Robert B. Hall to Robert Blum, 2 May 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁴² Robert B. Sheeks to Robert B. Hall, 26 June 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁴³ Gaston J. Sigur to Robert Blum, 17 September 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁴⁴ Robert B. Hall to Robert Blum, 5 September 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁴⁵ "Students (Continued)," p. 240, 22 January 1958, AFR, box P-199, folder: Budget Master 1958-59, HIA.

⁴⁶ Robert B. Hall to Tadao Yanaihara, 21 May 1958, AFR.

⁴⁷ Ernest M. Howell to Richard E. Jorgensen, 18 March 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁴⁸ Jack E. James to Robert Blum, 5 May 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Jack E. James to the Record, 10 January 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁵¹ Robert B. Hall to Robert Blum, 2 May 1958, AFR.

⁵² "Gakusei mondai kenkyūsho kikōzu," image 6, ISA Records, F0060/S03/0001, ISA Miscellaneous, UTA.

⁵³ Gaston J. Sigur to Robert Blum, 24 April 1959, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁵⁴ "Gakusei mondai kenkyūsho geppō (10 gatsu bun)" (ISA Monthly Report: October),

images 12–14, October 1958, ISA Records, F0060/S04/0001, Gakusei mondai kenkyūsho geppō No. 1 (ISA Monthly Report), UTA, <https://uta.u-tokyo.ac.jp/uta/s/da/document/ada79f7e1620d84de510c32bc7b64efc>.

⁵⁵ “Geppō,” images 19–20, November 1958, ISA Records, F0060/S04/0001, ISA Monthly Report no. 1, UTA.

⁵⁶ “Geppō,” image 30, December 1958, ISA Records, F0060/S04/0001, ISA Monthly Report no. 1, UTA.

⁵⁷ Institute of Student Affairs to The Asia Foundation, 1961, AFR, box P-201, folder: Institute for Student Affairs Reports General, HIA.

⁵⁸ Jack E. James to John F. Sullivan, 12 March 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁵⁹ Ernest M. Howell to Richard E. Jorgensen, 18 March 1958, AFR.

⁶⁰ “Students (Continued),” p. 240, 22 January 1958, AFR.

⁶¹ “Oboegaki (Sōan),” (Memorandum [Draft]), images 11–13, 30 July 1958, ISA Records, F0060/S01/0001, Gakusei Mondai Kenkyūsho Unei Iinkai Gijiroku no. 1, UTA, <https://uta.u-tokyo.ac.jp/uta/s/da/document/6689d092adaee190a9fc40e2d6b2730c>. Although there is a draft of the agreement between the ISA and the IDE, I did not find data that shows their further cooperation. In the draft, the ISA planned to cooperate with the IDE, avoiding the overlapping of research themes of the two institutes.

⁶² Lin S. Sloan to Robert B. Hall, 13 October 1959, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁶³ Warren F. Phelps to Louis Connick, 10 October 1962, AFR, box P-272, folder: Institute of Student Affairs, HIA.

⁶⁴ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 17 November 1960, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 6 February 1961, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁶⁷ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 22 December 1960, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁶⁸ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 1 September 1961, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁶⁹ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 22 December 1960, AFR.

⁷⁰ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 1 September 1961, AFR.

⁷¹ Robert B. Hall to Robert Blum, 16 March 1959; L. Z. Yuan to Robert B. Hall, 25 February 1959, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁷² L. Z. Yuan to Robert B. Hall, 13 May 1959, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁷³ The Representative, Japan to The Representative, Korea, 10 November 1960, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁷⁴ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 17 November 1960, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁷⁵ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 15 May 1961, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA; James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 31 August 1961, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁷⁶ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 15 May 1961, AFR.

⁷⁷ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 31 August 1961, AFR.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Robert S. Schwantes to Edith S. Coliver, 5 December 1958, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ "The Japan Report for period ending Nov 30, 1960," 30 November 1960, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ James L. Stewart to Tadao Yanaihara, 26 September 1960, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁸⁶ In the case of the CFA/TAF's funding the Institute of Democratic Education, the CFA/TAF planned that they would be "an informal and silent partner" to their grantee. Noel F. Busch to the President, 31 July 1953, AFR, box P-24, folder: Institute of Democratic Education General 1953-55, HIA.

⁸⁷ "Project Data Sheet, Institute of Student Affairs," pp. 65-66, 26 January 1961, AFR, box P-199, folder: Budget (Master) 1961-62, HIA.

⁸⁸ "The Japan Report for period ending May 31, 1961," 31 May 1961, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Klein to Robert Blum and John F. Sullivan, 26 December 1961, AFR, box P-213, folder: Yanaihara Tadao (Kishimoto Prof Hideo), HIA.

⁹¹ John F. Sullivan to James L. Stewart, 28 December 1961, AFR, box P-213, folder: Yanaihara Tadao (Kishimoto Prof Hideo), HIA.

⁹² John F. Sullivan to James L. Stewart, 5 January 1962, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 15 March 1962, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

⁹⁶ "Project Data Sheet, Institute of Student Affairs (ISA)," p. 75, 1962, AFR, box P-268, folder: Budget (Master) 1962/63, HIA.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 15 March 1962, AFR.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ James L. Stewart to Robert Blum, 27 July 1962, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.

¹⁰² Japan Office to Northeast Asia Division, 16 August 1962, AFR, box P-201, folder: ISA Correspondence, HIA.