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The objectives of this conference sponsored by The Asia Foundation were to explore the contributions universities can make to Asian society and development, to identify new opportunities for regional and international educational cooperation, and to gain deeper insights into Asian needs and thus to assure that planning is addressed as effectively as possible to those needs. Texts of the 2 principal addresses, 9 papers delivered by guest participants, statements of the Foundation panel and summaries of the panel discussion make up this volume of Proceedings. The papers deal, both generally and specifically, with patterns and aspects of university cooperation in relation to Asian development. (JS)
UNIVERSITY COOPERATION 
AND 
ASIAN DEVELOPMENT

Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored By
The Asia Foundation

Held at the University of Hong Kong
December 1966
UNIVERSITY COOPERATION

AND

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT

Proceedings of a Conference of University Heads
Organized by The Asia Foundation and Held at the
University of Hong Kong, December 18-21, 1966

Edited by Harry H. Pierson

San Francisco 1967
The Conference on University Cooperation and Asian Development, held at the University of Hong Kong from December 18 to 21, 1966, on the invitation of The Asia Foundation, brought together distinguished educators and leaders in civic affairs from Asia, Australia, and the United States with field representatives and senior executives of The Asia Foundation. The discussions were enhanced by the participation of a representative of The Rockefeller Foundation and the Permanent Representative of the United States to UNESCO.

The Asia Foundation had two objectives in calling the conference: first, to explore the contribution universities can make to Asian society and development and identify new opportunities for regional and international educational cooperation; and, second, to gain deeper insights into Asian needs and thus to assure that its programming is addressed as effectively as possible to those needs. Both these objectives were realized.
The texts of the two principal addresses, the nine papers delivered by guest participants, the statements of the Foundation panel, and the rapporteurs' summaries of the discussions make up this volume of proceedings. Hopefully they will stimulate further thought and action in regard to university cooperation in Asia. The rapidly increasing complexity of international communication and the quickening pace apparent in the removal of barriers impeding such cooperation in Asia reflect the growing awareness of the vital role the universities are called upon to play. This awareness is felt by university leaders, faculty members, and students, as well as by officers and staff members of organizations that are called upon to provide financial assistance to innovation in this field.

Development is more and more seen to have few, if any, disciplinary limits. It must also rely in many cases on the experience of other countries for example and counsel. As the molders of the intellectual leadership, the preservers of traditional values, and the actual or potential source of innovating ideas, the universities in Asia are increasingly seeking ways and means of keeping up with the flow of new ideas and exercising their role of leadership in promoting regional cooperation. The conference clearly demonstrated that this search provides many opportunities for such cooperation.*

In his response to Dr. Romulo's closing address, Dr. Haydn Williams extended appropriate thanks on behalf of the Foundation to the guests from Asia, Australia, and the United States for their participation and for the high quality of their contributions. I should like to reemphasize here our gratitude to Vice-Chancellor Robinson of the University of Hong Kong for graciously providing the venue of the conference. Particular thanks are due to the chairmen who without exception handled their respective sessions skillfully; to the rapporteurs who recorded the highlights of the discussions; to the conference staff who shared the planning and execution of the many complicated details inherent in the organization of an international meeting, and to the staff of the Hong Kong office of The Asia Foundation which is periodically called upon to

*The highlights of the discussions and some comments on the organization of the conference can be found in the Foundation's Program Quarterly of March 1967.
FOREWORD

sacrifice time and space to the needs of our meetings. As Conference Director, I consider it a rare privilege to have been asked to assume responsibility for the organization of the conference and thus to have had the opportunity of working with the outstanding group of men who participated.

Harry H. Pierson
Conference Director
PROGRAM

Conference on

University Cooperation and Asian Development

Sunday, December 18, 1966

8:00 p.m.
Hong Kong Room
Hilton Hotel

OPENING DINNER

Presiding: Russell G. Smith, Chairman,
Board of Trustees, The Asia Foundation

Greetings: H. E. Sir David Trench,
K. C. M. G., M. C., Governor of
Hong Kong

Address: "Personal Observations on
International University Cooperation for
Asian Development"
--Haydn Williams, President,
The Asia Foundation

Monday, December 19, 1966

Senate Room,
University of
Hong Kong

FIRST SESSION, 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

Chairman: Richard G. Heggie,
Representative, India

Rapporteurs: Lindley B. Sloan,
Representative, Afghanistan; William J.
Klausner, Acting Representative,
Thailand

9:00 - 9:10 a.m.
Introduction and Announcements

9:10 - 10:25 a.m.
Paper: "Universities and Development:
Some Problems"
--Kenneth E. Robinson, Vice Chancellor,
University of Hong Kong
PROGRAM

(Monday)

10:25 a.m. Discussion

10:45 - 12:00 noon Coffee break

Paper: "University Development: National Needs and International Cooperation"
--V. K. R. V. Rao, Member, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi; Founder, Delhi School of Economics; former Vice Chancellor, University of Delhi. (Dr. Rao was unable to attend the Conference due to unforeseen circumstances, and Dr. Romulo graciously agreed to speak extemporaneously on the subject: "University Development: Regional Needs and International Cooperation," as recorded on page 32.)

Discussion

12:30 p.m. LUNCHEON

The Lodge (The Vice Chancellor's residence) Vice Chancellor Robinson, host

SECOND SESSION, 2:00 - 5:00 p.m.

Senate Room Chairman, Gaston J. Sigur, Representative, Japan

Rapporteurs: James H. Noyes, Representative, Ceylon; Louis Connick, Representative, Laos

2:00 - 3:15 p.m. Paper: "The Potential Contribution of Universities to Economic Growth in Asia"
--Kazuo Ókōchi, President, The University of Tokyo

Discussion

vi
PROGRAM

(Monday)

Tea break

3:30 - 5:00 p.m.  Paper: "The Experience of American Universities in International Cooperation"
--Grayson L. Kirk, President, Columbia University
Discussion

EVENING FREE

Tuesday, December 20, 1966

Senate Room

THIRD SESSION, 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon
Chairman: Lyman Hoover, Representative, Republic of China
Rapporteurs: Douglas P. Murray, Representative, Singapore; James H. Noyes, Representative, Ceylon

9:00 a.m.  Announcements

9:10 - 10:25 a.m.  Paper: "The Role of Universities in Legal Development in Asia"
--Zelman Cowen, Dean, Faculty of Law, University of Melbourne, Australia; Vice-Chancellor-designate, New England University
Discussion

10:25 a.m.  Coffee break

10:45 a.m.  Paper: "New Patterns of Inter-University Cooperation in the Natural and Physical Sciences"
--Chien Shih-liang, President, National Taiwan University
PROGRAM

(Tuesday)

12:00 noon

12:30 p.m.
Student Union
Senate Room

Discussion

CONFERENCE PHOTOGRAPH

LUNCH--All participants

FOURTH SESSION, 2:00 - 4:45 p.m.

Chairman: Leonard C. Overton
Representative, Vietnam

Rapporteurs: Douglas P. Murray,
Representative, Singapore; Louis
Connick, Representative, Laos

2:00 - 3:15 p.m.

Paper: "The Humanities in Asian
Universities"
--Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, Vice-
Chancellor, University of Karachi

Discussion

Tea break

3:30 - 4:45 p.m.

Paper: "The Role of the University in
Research and Public Service"
--Charles J. Hitch, Vice President for
Administration, University of
California

Discussion

7:30 p.m.
Penthouse, Hang Seng
Bank Building,
Hong Kong

DINNER

Vice-Chancellor Li Choh-ming, host
PROGRAM

Wednesday, December 21, 1966

Senate Room

FIFTH SESSION, 9:00 - 12:00 noon

Chairman: William L. Eilers, Representative, Malaysia

Rapporteurs: William J. Klausner, Acting Representative, Thailand; Stephen Uhalley, Program Specialist, Republic of China Office of The Asia Foundation

9:00 a.m.
Announcements

9:10 - 10:25 a.m.
Paper: "Inter-University Cooperation in Area Programs and the Social Sciences: Asian Problems and Prospects"
--Li Choh-ming, Vice-Chancellor, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Discussion

10:25 a.m.
Coffee break

10:45 - 12:00 noon
Panel Discussion: "Opportunities for Inter-University Cooperation, as seen by Asia Foundation Representatives"
--William L. Eilers, Representative, Malaysia, Chairman
--David I. Steinberg, Representative, Korea; James H. Noyes, Representative, Ceylon; Douglas P. Murray, Representative, Singapore

Discussion

12:00 noon
Adjournment of the regular sessions

1:00 - 3:30 p.m.
LUNCHEON for university presidents and vice chancellors

Mandarin Hotel

Dr. Kirk and Dr. Sterling, co-hosts

ix
PROGRAM

(Wednesday)

After luncheon Dr. Sterling will lead an off-the-record discussion on international university cooperation as seen by a university administrator.

12:30 - 2:30 p.m.
Student Union

LUNCHEON--Other guest participants and The Asia Foundation staff

Mr. Smith, host

A short discussion period will follow.

8:00 p.m.
Peninsula Hotel

CLOSING DINNER

Presiding: Russell G. Smith, Chairman, Board of Trustees, The Asia Foundation

Introduction of Speaker--Raymond V. Johnson, Representative, the Philippines

Address: "The Future of Asian Universities"
--The Honorable Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Education, Republic of the Philippines; concurrently President, University of the Philippines

Response: Haydn Williams
President, The Asia Foundation

Closing of the Conference
--Mr. Smith
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening Address</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Observations on University Cooperation and Asian Development</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haydn Williams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Session</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities and Development: Some Problems</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth E. Robinson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Development: Regional Needs and International Cooperation</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos P. Romulo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Session</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Potential Contributions of Universities to Economic Development</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazuo Okochi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Experience of American Universities in International Cooperation</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayson L. Kirk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Session</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Role of Universities in Legal Development in Asia</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zelman Cowen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Patterns of Inter-University Cooperation in the Natural and Physical Sciences</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. L. Chien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>The Humanities in Asian Universities</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I. H. Qureshi</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Role of the University in Research and Public Service</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles J. Hitch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>Inter-University Cooperation in the Social Sciences: Asian Problems</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Prospects</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Choh-Ming Li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conference Photographs</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opportunities for Inter-University Cooperation, as Seen by Asia</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foundation Representatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panel of Representatives: William L. Eilers,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chairman; David I. Steinberg; James H. Noyes;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Douglas P. Murray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luncheon Meeting for University Heads</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University Administration in International Perspective</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. E. Wallace Sterling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closing</td>
<td>The Future of Asian Universities</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carlos P. Romulo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biographical Data</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conference Participants</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conference Staff</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OPENING ADDRESS

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON UNIVERSITY COOPERATION

AND ASIAN DEVELOPMENT

HAYDN WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

THE ASIA FOUNDATION
OPENING ADDRESS

Your Excellency, Mr. Smith, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Hong Kong has become a traditional gathering place for the Foundation. Since 1954, senior staff members and Trustees from San Francisco and New York, and Representatives from Afghanistan in the northwest, to Japan in the northeast, have met annually in Hong Kong to discuss Foundation affairs and how a small private American organization can make a more meaningful contribution to social, cultural, and educational advancement in Asia. The Foundation appreciates the many courtesies and warm hospitality which we have always been extended and also the privilege of meeting annually in this extraordinary and exciting center of human activity, endeavor, and achievement.

This occasion marks the opening of our conference on "University Cooperation and Asian Development." Again I think it appropriate that we are meeting here, for Hong Kong is the home of an old university which has over the years been contributing to the remarkable growth of Hong Kong. It is also the home of a new university, just born. These two institutions, Hong Kong University and The Chinese University are representative of a heightened interest in higher education throughout Asia and both, because of the vitality of their leadership, hold promise of even greater service to this community and to international scholarship in the years ahead.

I wish to welcome also our many distinguished guests. The Presidents and Vice-Chancellors of some of Asia's most preeminent universities are with us tonight. We are honored by their presence. I think we are also fortunate to have with us Dr. Kenneth Thompson, the Vice President of one of my country's noblest institutions, The Rockefeller Foundation. I had hoped also to welcome my old friend, Dr. Robert Wade, U.S. representative to UNESCO, who has been delayed by bad weather. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the presence of six members of our Board of Trustees, who have travelled to Hong Kong to be with us. They are representative of the strength and depth of our Trustees' interest and involvement in the work of the Foundation, and they reflect the broad character of the Board's composition--bankers, publishers, community and cultural leaders, and ranking university officials and scholars. Three great American universities are represented here by our Trustees: President Kirk of Columbia University, President Sterling of Stanford University, and Vice President Hitch of the University of California. I welcome you all, those from Asia, Australia, and the United States--and their wives who add an element of graciousness, charm, and warmth to the occasion.
OPENING ADDRESS

The conference program states that I am to make an address on "Personal Observations on University Cooperation and Asian Development." I approach this task with great humility as I stand before this distinguished group of educators—ministers, generals, deans and Rhodes scholars. In fact, it is with a certain amount of trepidation that I dare even to embark on such a subject before this august audience. I intend to limit my remarks to a few fundamentals known to you all but worth, in my judgment, repeating and emphasis. I hope that in the process I will not be testing your patience.

First, foundations, unlike universities, whose origins and traditions date back to ancient and medieval days, are a relatively modern invention. Generally, foundations see as their role the discovery and activating of ideas and endeavors in fields and in ways not available to less flexible public and private institutions. With their resources foundations can provide the extra margin which makes innovation and experimentation possible. They can provide a stimulus and be energizers of constructive activity, but the inspiration, the provision of human resources, and the translation of ideas and programs into action are beyond the realm and competence of foundations. And so foundations have traditionally looked to universities to supply the leadership and the vital intellectual ingredient necessary for the advancement of society and the human condition. In the process, foundations have learned and are learning how their own resources might better be utilized in supplementing the tasks of higher education and research.

In our forthcoming meeting our chief discussions are going to focus on how inter-university cooperation at the international level can better contribute to Asian national and regional development. By development I am not speaking only of economic advancement which raises material standards of life but rather of development in its broadest sense—the full release of the human potential in social, cultural, educational, political and intellectual fields—for it is becoming increasingly evident that programs in non-economic fields are decisive and determinant regulators of economic growth.

Our concern with development, therefore, encompasses the efforts of Asian countries to adapt their social institutions to the exigencies of modernization—to apply their physical and human resources to enriching the total lives of their peoples and sharing with each other and the rest of the world the special cultural and spiritual values which they have evolved through the many centuries of their history. In this context, it is the basic premise of this conference that universities have
OPENING ADDRESS

a special contribution to make these pressing developmental tasks--and in particular that their concerted efforts, transcending national boundaries, will be important elements in shaping the future of Asian society and history.

In Asia, progress in the development of higher education since World War II has been remarkable. In concept, and practice, Asian universities have largely abandoned their earlier and limited and primary concern with the perpetuation of an established elite and are now enlisted and engaged in the cause of raising the educational level of a broader spectrum of the population and in serving a fuller range of needs essential to national growth and well being. The closer collaboration between national planning and the academic community in many Asian countries is testimony to a growing understanding of the critical relationships between education and material progress.

Accompanying this realization has been an increasing concern for the quality and pertinence of university education--not just in relation to national manpower projections and resource allocation, but in respect to the responsibility that falls on the university for instilling human values and nurturing the search for an allegiance to truth and transforming raw knowledge into wisdom.

Historically, the university has had a pivotal role in society--whether we speak of the medieval universities of Europe or the great centers of learning in Asia which predate the emergence of Western institutions of higher learning by a thousand years or more. Essentially, the university has been a repository of accumulated knowledge and has had the sacred trust of preserving and transmitting this knowledge to succeeding generations. However, as the structure and values and needs of society have shifted so have universities. At times, some of these institutions have lagged in adapting to changing requirements; while others have been in the vanguard, have discerned societal needs, and have exercised vital leadership in inducing change of broad benefit to the countries which they serve.

Traditionally, from ancient times to the present, the geographical horizon of the University has extended beyond national and regional boundaries, as witnessed by the long pilgrimages of scholars and students to early Asian centers of higher learning and the international migrations of guilds of masters and students of medieval European universities--in a quest for learning and enlightenment and an exchange of ideas and experience. Today we are experiencing a
OPENING ADDRESS

rejuvenation of the traditional international character of the university. Like the monks and priests of old, the contemporary scholar--scientist, technologist, and humanist--is pursuing knowledge wherever it is found, in disregard of national frontiers. As a result we are witnessing today an unprecedented knowledge explosion on a universal scale. No university can now be self-contained or sufficient. Nor can the university system of a single country perform its role in national isolation. The modern university's performance must be enriched by international cooperation. If a university is denied this advantage or if it remains aloof from the international commerce of scholars and students, of research findings, publications, and new ideas, it suffers and cannot partake of and in turn contribute to the growing aggregate of human learning and opportunity.

The evolution of the American university is a case in point. Modelled initially on the British counterpart, it achieved its own integrity and functionality only by adapting to its own uses the ideas, methods, and experiences borrowed from other lands. It mixed these assets with indigenous American ideas, needs, resources and experiences and created the modern American university. Thus, since our early colonial history our own institutions of higher learning have benefitted from international contacts, from the travel of our own educators and scholars abroad, and from the flow of ideas and knowledge into our universities from sister institutions around the world.

Interchange with Asian universities, which has received such impetus in the last twenty years as our own horizons of learning have widened, has enriched American universities in many tangible and intangible ways. Asian scholars have brought to the American campus a greater understanding and appreciation of Asian history, culture, and civilization. The flow of American students to Asian universities and of students from Asian countries to colleges and universities in the United States has added greatly to the diversity, vitality, and interest of American academic life. Certainly contact with Asian universities has added an extra and rich dimension to our knowledge and to the quality of our teaching and research.

Unfortunately, similar exchanges among Asian universities themselves have been on a lesser scale. Asian nations can no longer afford to neglect the need to know more about each other. In this regard, the increasing attention being given by Asian universities to the development of Asian regional studies programs and interchanges is encouraging and noteworthy.
OPENING ADDRESS

It is our hope that American universities will continue to cooperate with Asian universities and the latter with each other, to make essential relationships and the sharing of knowledge more nearly reciprocal. Universities should strive to be more of an intersection traversed equally by other scholars and students, and less of a one-way street from either Asia to America or Europe—or vice versa. Regional traffic between Asian institutions may in fact now be of even more importance to the development of Asia than the more traditional pattern of exchanges between Eastern and Western institutions.

One thing is certain. You cannot crate up, as Professor Harbison of Princeton has said, the educational system of one country and ship it out to another as a package to be uncrated and put to use as is. For Asian universities to take as a model the university system evolved in other parts of the world would be to neglect their own historical roots, their present circumstances, and their projected future—and such I am sure is not their intent. Asian universities, like others in other parts of the world, must find their own balance—borrowing, adapting, and giving as they meet the requirements of the rapidly changing world in which we live.

In meeting the national and regional needs for development, universities everywhere must be a part of the society and responsive to community and public needs. At the same time universities must stand aside in one sense: so that they can, in a climate of objectivity and academic freedom, observe, perceive, and articulate trends and goals so as to minister better to the human condition as they see and interpret it. Cooperation with universities elsewhere can be a means to this end, but importing solutions reached elsewhere is not a viable or desirable recourse. Asian institutions themselves best know their situations and the needs of their society and they seek and should seek their own solutions.

In this never-ending effort Asian nations can help one another through intra-Asian cooperation and collaboration at the university level. Non-Asian countries can help and in the process can better understand themselves and their own problems. Men and nations everywhere are alike confronted with challenges of increasing proportions as the tension arising from the congested, dynamic, and growing impersonal character of modern society mounts with each passing year. Asia and the world look to its universities as well as to other wellsprings of intellectual, moral, and spiritual strength to preserve what is best in the human past and to chart a course for a brighter future.
In closing, I would like to quote a statement of Dr. Charles Frankel, a former Columbia University professor and administrator and now Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs. For me this statement well describes the spirit of this conference.

"... The pursuit of truth, the sharing of cultural achievements, and the effort to bring together knowledge, collective experience, and imagination of mankind to improve the human condition are all enterprises that transcend the particular purposes of particular nations. Free trade in the arts and sciences... and the free association of individuals with one another as individuals, and not as members of different nations, are supreme achievements..."*

FIRST SESSION

December 19, morning

Chairman: Richard G. Heggie, Representative, India
Rapporteurs: Lindley S. Sloan, Representative, Afghanistan
              William J. Klausner, Acting Representative, Thailand

Papers by: Kenneth E. Robinson, Vice-Chancellor, University of Hong Kong

Universities and Development: Some Problems

Carlos P. Romulo, President, University of the Philippines

University Development: Regional Needs and International Cooperation

Dr. Romulo, Mr. Heggie, Mr. Robinson
That our discussions should begin with a paper by a very new and inexperienced head of a small university is the incidental result of a graceful tribute to the elder of the two universities in Hong Kong. What is a more serious deficiency than my limited experience as the head of a University is that my acquaintance with Asia does not extend beyond the fifteen months since I took up my present post, and however much Hong Kong may share many of the problems that confront us all, it does so in a context which is, in several major respects, unique. In this paper, I attempt to draw from the two concepts with which it is concerned some implications, prompted in part by reflection on my own experience of them in other contexts.

I

We constantly speak of economic, social, political, and--although with somewhat less assurance--cultural development, but it is not easy to be clear what we mean. One reason for this is perhaps that development--at least in its historical usage in English--refers at once to a process and the end result of that process. When Marx wrote "The country which is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed, the image of its own future" (1) he was claiming that the process of development in society was one of which the end result was as unambiguously determined as the development of an embryo can be predicted as the fully grown species. "The economic law of motion of modern society" having been laid bare, it followed that a society could not "clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its modern development." But although the end and the process were thus determined, a society could, Marx claimed, "shorten and lessen the birth pangs."

These two issues--the relation of the process to its end, and the extent to which knowledge can shorten or lessen the pains in the process--are at the root of much subsequent discussion. Development, or at least some aspects of it, notably economic growth, is nowadays a declared aim of policy everywhere though it is seen as a contrived rather than an organic process. What is sought might, in the most general

UNIVERSITIES AND DEVELOPMENT: SOME PROBLEMS

sense, be described as a "fuller working out" of the condition of men in society, of their capacity to realize their own potentialities. Students of society may thus see development in terms of process, as an increasing differentiation of roles, an increasing rationality in their allocation to individuals, and an increasing complexity in their articulation in the maintenance of the social fabric. Ordinary people, it would seem, see development rather in terms of the end to be achieved, some glimpse of the greater possibilities of satisfaction which are open either to themselves or others in their own society or to men and women of other societies. (I say "some glimpse" because we have remarkably little systematic knowledge of how these greater possibilities of satisfaction are actually perceived by members of different groups in developing countries, and still less of how the process of development is perceived. Such enquiries demand a sophisticated understanding of the cultures of those countries as well as studies in depth.)

It is an open question how far the process of development entails the equitable morality implied in "a fuller working out" of men's capacity to realize their own potentialities, a progressive enlargement of opportunities to realize those potentialities available to increasing numbers of men. Some of those who have reflected on this problem, greatly concerned to find a validation for values they perceived as central to their own society and, philosophically speaking, pragmatists, seem to me to have affirmed that such an equitable extension of opportunity is at least a long run implication of development. (2)

There are two qualifications of such a thesis which are of immediate practical importance. The first is that it is not contended that what I have called an "equitable morality" is either an essential condition or a necessary consequence of development at any stage but rather that it may be an increasing consequence of relatively late stages and then indeed become a condition of further development. The second is that even at relatively late stages of the process it is at least temporarily possible for rulers to decide not to proceed still further with development if it calls for changes, whether economic, social, political, or cultural, which are considered unacceptable. Such slowing down, or even halting, may indeed be more likely the further development has already proceeded: richer countries, like richer men, may think themselves able to exercise choice to a greater extent than poorer ones. Whether in a longer perspective such halts

(2) See for example the discussion in D. Apter: The Politics of Modernization (Chicago, 1965), especially the last chapter. An unusually lucid presentation of some of the issues that is still of great interest is G. & M. Wilson: Social Change (Cambridge, England, 1945).
can be other than temporary may be doubted in view of the increasing pressure of "demonstration effects" in a world in which communication in all its aspects is so rapidly increasing. But in the more immediate perspective in which we live, such temporary halts may still be quite lengthy and the obstacles, natural or contrived, to communication, to say nothing of the coercive powers which, in favourable conditions, rulers may be able to exert, may still be underestimated.

Quite apart from the obstacles to the development process which may arise in any particular country from its different implications for different individuals, classes, or regions, the composition of the index of what is deemed desirable (an increase in the magnitude of which is one way of approaching the definition of development) must vary greatly in countries whose circumstances differ so considerably as also must the extent of consensus about the nature of the process by which development is to be achieved. And at least in the present state of understanding the ambiguity in the end result is not due merely to lack of clear thinking, of understanding what the implications of a state of "advanced" development may be, or even to the differential effects it may be expected to have on the relative status and wealth of different individuals or regions but to the major choices which it seems to leave open. (3) In all countries (including, of course, some of the most developed) there is a considerable variety of disagreement and conflict about the practical implications of development, although some of the groups involved may be more articulate or more powerful than others. In many countries this state of affairs seems likely to persist for a long time to come.

A political system designed to promote conciliation, or at least ensure a containment of conflicts (both continuing processes), is subject to some measure of instability when confronted with demands which call for large changes rather than marginal adjustments. The most obvious problem of "liberal" or "representative" systems is that

(3) I have in mind not only that "greater equality" or "democracy" are values which we may in principle decide to choose, even at the expense of maximising economic growth, but that it is (to say the least) an open question whether these values can, even in highly developed societies, be shewn to be instrumental either to the maintenance of the existing level of development or to the possibility of further development. Even if it could be shewn that they were, it would not, it seems to me, validate them in the way some writers imply unless greater value is attached to further development (or the maintenance of its existing level) than to inequality or a hierarchical political order.
because in a sense they take the existing pattern of interests as given and seek means of agreement on adjustments rather than transformations of existing positions, they may at best seem slow in grappling with the problems of development and at worst produce an "immobilisme" they are powerless to resolve. Apart from the personalities of leaders or fancied or real foreign pressures, this is what accounts for authoritarian attempts to resolve such conflicts and to substitute for the value which classical liberalism attaches to their peaceful resolution in the political process, values derived from development considered as an end (in a variety of definitions). Such authoritarian systems seek to acquire legitimacy not by what they do now (often justified rather by some immediate "crisis") but by what they will in consequence achieve in the future. The most obvious problems with which such authoritarian systems are confronted is that either they may fail to produce the promised acceleration of development or, if they do, they may prove unable to integrate into the system enough of those who emerge to fulfil the new roles required by development to avoid the problem of a new revolution.

Preoccupied with identifying the political relevance of almost every aspect of development or modernisation, the most influential contemporary students of politics correctly point to their destabilising propensities, explain political instability, and justify the emergence of different types of authoritarian political systems. Some indeed convey the impression that "their own underlying commitment to progress is so overwhelming as to exclude political decay as a possible concept."(4) Others argue that in some countries, some features of modernisation, notably literacy and the influx into cities, have already gone so far in advance of other aspects that there is no possibility of containing their consequences: the demands for development which accompany them may be far beyond anything the society is capable of delivering in the foreseeable future.(5) But their work largely neglects political institutionalisation, perhaps because the evidence suggests that this is a relatively long term process. One of their favourite concepts is "mobilisation": unless, however, there were pre-existing armies of which the mobilised were already part-time members, or whose cadres were designed to absorb and organise them, the results of "mobilisation" would not be the existence of greatly enlarged forces ready for battle but chaos.

(4) S. P. Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay." World Politics, Vol. 17 (1964-65), p. 392. This is a most suggestive discussion of some of these topics.

UNIVERSITIES AND DEVELOPMENT: SOME PROBLEMS

It cannot be assumed that such structures can be improvised in a moment, or that if they are successfully improvised they can stand the strain of integrating still further waves of the newly mobilised. The countries which, in a period of development, show the greatest political stability are, it is suggested, those in which political organisation has been most effectively institutionalised. Modernising pressures may be contained by traditional political institutions (which in the process were themselves gradually transformed) as in Britain when it was the first modern "developing country." Elsewhere modernising pressures may not have been so great as to destroy the capacity to contain them of modern political structures institutionalised in a long period of nationalist development within a colonial system. Unfortunately, the opportunity for an "incubation" of modern political structures was missed in most colonial societies: this, as well as the pressures of development, is a fundamental cause of much existing political instability. In the post independence period some countries may fortunately have achieved some degree of equilibrium between continued development and continued strengthening of the political institutions; in others any such equilibrium may be threatened by the relatively low rate of development achieved and the demonstration effects of increases in communication, or more drastically the relentless pressure of population increases which wipe out the effects of even a comparatively high rate of development. Adding to the pressures by attempting too great an acceleration of development may destroy the possibility of political stability.

Quite apart from the familiar variety of specific conditions, developing countries confront us with very different stages in the process of development, differences in the conception of "development" as the end result of the process, and a varying, but in most cases high, degree of political instability. Although not totally unfounded, the crude model of a passionate consensus about development and some, in principle, easily remediable confusion or disagreement about the means to achieve it, was grossly misleading. As this has become more widely realised by ordinary people in those countries which are substantially involved in problems of aid, there has been a considerable increase in popular scepticism about the case for aid as well as its efficacy. The level of international aid may not actually have fallen but for the last five years its rate of growth has flattened out. That a still greater deterioration has not occurred is in some measure due to the influence of devoted men in strategic positions in policy making in some of these countries. These men have learnt by experience and study in their own careers the meaning of poverty in the greater part of the world and are well aware of the immense complexity of the great range of problems, political, social,
and cultural, as well as economic, involved in the attempt to transform the conditions which entail it. They well understand what one of them has called "the weight of the tragic burden borne by the political leaders of the poor countries," (6) a burden shared by many leading citizens of those countries. The task of increasing understanding of these issues in the aid giving countries is one of great and increasing urgency. This has important implications in relation to cooperation between universities in advanced and developing countries.

I have refrained from enlarging on some of the more specific and difficult choices that the process of development must continually pose, most agonisingly in its earlier stages: choices between consumption and investment, between public and private consumption, between the reduction of regional inequalities and the concentration of resources where returns are likely to be highest, between the improvement of agriculture and the development of industry, between investment in social and more directly economic infrastructure, between the provision of education at different levels, between defence and not opulence but a little less poverty. We are only too painfully aware of them and in any event not much to the point can be said except in relation to specific contexts in particular countries, with, it cannot be too strongly emphasised, a detailed awareness of political and social conditions as well as an acquaintance with increasingly specialised branches of economics. I have been concerned, perhaps unnecessarily, to emphasise that the process of development, of its nature, poses such choices continually in all the aspects of society and that it will be a long time before the levels of development attained are sufficient to make such choices much less stark or the penalties of failure to make the appropriate ones less severe. But most of all I have tried to suggest how crucial for development are the political organisations and structures and how intractable are the problems which their adaptation and increasing modernisation present in many developing countries. Failure to solve these problems in a way consistent with ongoing development may mean not only that such development will run into the sand but also that the maintenance of even its existing level, especially in those countries which have a relatively developed modern sector, may become impossible. This does not mean that these problems will be solved: it does mean that it cannot safely be assumed that concentration on economic development, in its widest connotation, is, always and everywhere, the highest priority.

UNIVERSITIES AND DEVELOPMENT: SOME PROBLEMS

II

A society confronted with such hazards is likely to be an uncomfortable, though perhaps stimulating, environment for universities. This is not merely because, along with all other institutions and individuals, they share those hazards, but because they are likely to be exceptionally vulnerable to many of them and, on the other hand, the successful conduct of their activities requires that they maintain a measure of inviolability.

Universities are exceptionally vulnerable to some of the pressures of development for three reasons. First is the fact that they are to a substantial, though varying, extent derived from foreign models. Although, most notably in the major cultural traditions of Asia, great centres of scholarship and teaching long preceded the earliest of the universities of mediaeval Europe while others were their contemporaries,(7) modern universities in these countries were often established in the colonial period on the model of universities in the colonial rulers' countries, while even in countries which were always independent and where universities were established by the national government, foreign models or foreign advisers were used in their design. Even universities established in the immediate post-independence period in formerly colonial countries, and more evidently representing, in some of their characteristics, a response to the environment in which they have developed, reproduced many of the features of the educational system with which they were familiar. Thus, Silcock reported in 1960:

"One feels a lack of innovation in Indonesian universities because, despite all this expansion, curricula, forms of organisation, and methods of teaching still largely follow the former Dutch pattern except in departments directly under American influence and with American staff."(8)

(7)I am thinking, for example, of the Hindu centres of learning in classical times, the mediaeval universities of the Islamic world, or the Imperial Academy in China.

UNIVERSITIES AND DEVELOPMENT: SOME PROBLEMS

In at least one well known case the transplanted foreign model long out-lived its exemplar. Nearly a hundred years after the foundation of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, the Indian Universities Commission, writing of them and later universities established after the same pattern, was moved to remark:

"It was in our opinion a very unfortunate incident or accident that India should have adopted this type from the model of London University just before London University itself abandoned the type. Most Indian Universities have long ceased to belong to the affiliating type though some, including the oldest, have not moved nearly far enough in the opposite direction."(9)

Commenting on the same point, the Education Commission, reporting this year, said it could "do no better" than to quote some remarks of Sir Eric Ashby:

"Looking at Indian Universities a century after their foundation, one cannot but feel that they have failed to adapt themselves sufficiently to the vast and unique opportunities which surround them; they seem to have lost enthusiasm and initiative under the crushing burdens which have beset them. Despite three major commissions, they have not been able to extricate themselves from their own brief history. With a few notable exceptions, they remain examining bodies and their students naturally regard success in examinations as the sole end of an undergraduate career. As universities multiply in number, their academic standards--relative to those elsewhere--do not improve. And something even more serious than this happens: the universities remain alien implantations not integrated into the new India."(10)

(9) Report of the University Education Commission (Government of India), 1950, p. 414. The idea of the "affiliating university" was that it should be a wholly examining body, teaching being provided in the colleges it "affiliated."

Examples could be multiplied. Let me leave the thought that, although much may have been done to accommodate selected features of universities whose origins were derived from Europe or America to their new environments and indeed to innovate new ones, the tenacity of the original models may owe something not merely to their virtues, or even to academic conservatism, but to those "crushing burdens" of which Ashby rightly speaks, many of which are the result of unbalanced development.

But secondly, universities in developing countries are likely to be vulnerable because they are inevitably engaged in producing what is, and is seen to be, an elite. This is especially so in countries in which the modern sector outside government and the professions is small, or largely monopolised by a particular ethnic group. It is particularly dangerous where there is a very great disparity between rewards in the public service and the market sectors of the economy and those of the agricultural and subsistence sectors, and where the extension of literacy and the influx into cities have outstripped the capacity of the modern sector to absorb the newly "literate" or "urbanised." If the secondary school output is sufficiently large to produce numbers with the minimum qualifications for entry into the universities far in excess of what the universities are capable of providing for, and there is a deficiency of other forms of post-secondary training, universities which try to maintain what they consider adequate standards will be represented as undemocratically denying access to those who merit it. If, on the other hand, universities abandon any such attempt, standards may fall so catastrophically that adequate graduates may no longer be produced in sufficient numbers to meet the actual needs of the society. This is not to say that the true limits on student numbers are necessarily where any particular university may be disposed to set them; but only that, with any given supply of buildings, equipment, and teachers, there is some upper limit. There is thus a fairly wide range within which the accusation of academic snobbery and an undemocratic denial of access in the interests of maintaining "foreign" standards and the convenience of academics can plausibly be levelled.

Even if these tensions can be reduced by better planning of the related levels in the educational pyramid, the values for which a university essentially stands—disinterestedness and objectivity in the transmission, the acquisition, and the application of knowledge—are unlikely for a long time to come to be seen in many developing countries as other than elite values. Many of the conditions thought desirable to promote the most effective discharge of these three basic functions of universities (and increasingly available to university teachers in some
UNIVERSITIES AND DEVELOPMENT: SOME PROBLEMS

of the richer countries) amount indeed to something like the re-creation of the conditions of an aristocracy. Security from dismissal, the ability and character to pursue problems which interest one, the leisure to do so (whether this comes from a relatively low compulsory teaching load, study leave, foundation grants, or long vacations), in short the conditions which make one's work one's hobby, are only tolerable if university teachers, as a whole, exhibit the sense of social responsibility characteristic of successful aristocracies. To do so will, of course, substantially limit the possibilities this analogy suggests. I am not concerned to argue that these are minimum or essential conditions in a university in a poor country. Indeed many university teachers elsewhere who enjoy such conditions only to a limited extent are nonetheless able to do good work and it is a paradox of any university worth the name that the really first rate usually manage to carry the heaviest loads. My object is rather to suggest why it is that to many who know little of what a university is, conditions which fall below or pretty near the minimum, nevertheless appear to be something like those of an aristocratic elite and the more so in a poor country.

There is a third reason why, in many, though not all, developing countries universities are particularly vulnerable to pressures associated with development. By contrast with the two we have been considering, it is more in the nature of a historical incident, but one less easily resolved in practice than in theory. Partly as a result of their origins, direct or derived, in a colonial period, many universities in such countries teach, at least to some extent, not in the national, but in a "world" language. It is unnecessary to enlarge here on the problems of teaching at university level certain subjects in some of the national languages. They are in principle capable of being resolved, but the work required to enlarge the technical vocabulary of the language and to provide adequate teaching materials is often formidable, requires considerable specialist resources, and competes with other needs for those with the necessary technical knowledge. If, meanwhile, the necessary scientific and technical skills are to be taught to a satisfactory level, the use of a world language may be indispensable and the problem of attaining a sufficient knowledge of at least one such language is therefore of special significance to universities. In some developing countries it seems problematic how far this can continue to be provided by the lower levels of the educational system. In future, universities in such countries may accordingly have themselves to provide facilities to enable students at least to improve considerably, and very possibly to acquire, facility in the world language chosen. The problems of transition are unlikely to be quickly solved. Until they are, many universities will continue to be vulnerable on this score.
UNIVERSITIES AND DEVELOPMENT: SOME PROBLEMS

III

To academics, the deficiencies of a university system different from their own are usually more obvious than its virtues. Many of those who work in universities in developing countries, whether foreigners or nationals who received their own training elsewhere, and especially many short term visitors, tend to assess them by the extent to which they resemble the universities with which they are familiar. Instead of the difficult and painful process of trying to rethink the idea of a university in the context in which it actually exists, what is more often proffered is an invitation to adopt either another foreign model or some aspect of it. The new model may indeed be free of the defects it is intended to remedy but—in relation to the environment in which it is being introduced—have other defects all its own.

One of the great costs of many university systems, even in developed countries, is, for example, high wastage rates. The output of graduates in France and Britain is approximately the same but to produce them the French system has an initial enrolment of twice as many. In a rich country, the costs of such high wastage rates may be held to be sufficiently offset by the benefits derived from a larger proportion of the relevant age-group getting some experience of university education. It does not follow that a small and poor country, with a low capacity to absorb graduates, can afford to do the same. But neither does it necessarily follow that in such a country the appropriate solution is the adoption of British methods of selection or the kind of educational structure at lower levels that is associated with it. Moreover, the adoption of such a system may have the effect of maintaining salary differentials (as between graduates and others) which owe their origins to considerations extraneous to present circumstances (such as a high proportion of expatriate employment in a colonial period) and which hinder the development of a more appropriate pattern of utilisation of graduates.

A university cannot, in such circumstances, safely evade or minimise its concern with all the problems of the development of the national educational system as a whole. It will naturally be more directly concerned with third level education of which it is part, and of second level education from which it obtains its students. It may indeed

have to see, and actively support in the community, the expansion of other forms of third level education at the expense of that further expansion of universities which may seem, to many people within the university, obviously necessary. Pressure for university expansion has in many developing countries obscured the need for a wide variety of third level education at levels below that of the university. Even if the opportunities for such other forms of third level education are provided to an adequate extent, expansion of second level education will certainly generate pressure for more university places. If they are not, it will do so to a much greater extent, and the needs for which other forms of third level education should provide will not be efficiently or economically met by graduates of indifferent quality.

This issue should not be confused with the vexed question of what is, or is not, proper to a university. In my view, the answer to that question depends not on subject matter, and certainly not on the extent to which a definitely vocational orientation is required, but rather on the kind of education actually needed for different types and levels of skills, and, more especially, on the extent to which a particular occupation calls for an understanding of fundamental principles and methods of thinking as developed in different disciplines and the capacity to use such an understanding in confronting new situations. How far, in trying to meet the needs of particular occupations which do in fact need such qualities, universities should provide the practically oriented training also needed is, it seems to me, a question of efficiency and economy rather than principle. There may be very considerable feedback effects which involvement in such practical training produces in the design of university education. It is an illusion to suppose that they are always wholly advantageous. But that they are on balance more likely to be advantageous than otherwise I firmly believe. Moreover, in many developing countries, at least in the earlier stages of development, the lack of possibilities of on-the-job training at this level may mean that there is little practical alternative to the specifically vocational aspect of education for such occupations being provided by, or in association with, the university.

Quite apart from the inclusion in the university of these high level but practically oriented forms of education and training, if it is accepted that there are at any rate some occupations which call for post secondary training at a lower level than that with which the university is properly concerned (as, for example, certain levels of technicians, various kinds of mechanics, agricultural assistants, or, perhaps more doubtfully, primary school teachers) there may be advantages in a very
small, sparsely populated and poor country, in spreading the overheads
common (to some extent) to different kinds of third level education by
bringing them together in a single complex or institution. For such
countries, and perhaps for especially remote or backward regions in a
larger country, the idea of a multi-purpose higher educational institu-
tion in which such a variety of forms of post-secondary education may
be offered (the "umbrella" concept as it is sometimes called) may be
the most economic, indeed the only, practicable method of providing
locally the varieties of third level education needed. In larger or
richer countries, where much larger outputs of each type are required,
such advantages may soon be overtaken by those of specialisation or by
certain diseconomies of scale.

Another sector of the national educational system as a whole,
to their role in which universities in developing countries may need to
give special attention, is that of adult education. In such countries, the
case for a variety of forms of adult education to supplement the inevitable
deficiencies of the formal educational system is even greater than in
more developed areas. The provision of part-time courses within the
university for its normal diplomas, of a wide variety of extramural
courses, some of a vocational and some of a more general educational
kind, must be carefully considered in relation to community needs,
what may be available from other sectors of the educational system,
and what the university is especially well suited to provide. By making
its facilities available, by offering specialist administrative support to
mobilise not only its own teachers but people with specialist knowledge
in the community outside, by maintaining a small cadre of travelling
teacher organisers stationed in areas some distance from the univer-
sity, and even permanent centres for adult education (associated per-
haps with field stations or research institutes located away from its main
campus in other cities or in rural areas), the university can make a
special contribution to the deficiencies of the national system of educa-
tion at third level. But it must constantly attempt to focus its efforts on
those parts of adult education to which, as a university, it is especially
qualified to contribute and to relate its activities in this field to its
existing educational resources and its long-term plans for their develop-
ment, as well as to immediate community needs. Its role in pioneering
new experiments or courses designed to meet such needs, which have
later been incorporated in the ordinary work of the university or taken
over by other parts of a more developed educational system has, in some
countries, been particularly significant.

Even if it has no minorities and has a single culture, a
developing country may have very serious problems of national identity
UNIVERSITIES AND DEVELOPMENT: SOME PROBLEMS

and cultural integration, posed, for example, by the relationship of an ancient civilisation to the new society emerging as a result of the modernising forces of development. (Where, as in many countries, there is a number of ethnic groups and a diversity of cultures within a single political unit, such problems have sometimes proved insoluble and the unit has burst apart, while even where this has been avoided, they impose major strains on the polity.) It is no accident, accordingly, that universities have sometimes felt obliged (and on occasion been compelled) to try to promote such integration by required courses for all students intended to increase their awareness of the history and culture of their own country. There is, I believe, an equally strong case for similar courses designed to provide an understanding of the developing society in which students of the university live. These may indeed be regarded as two sides of the same coin. Both impose major tasks of research and scholarship on any university which attempts to offer them but ones in which they should most certainly be engaged.

In recent years, in some of the "developed" countries, distinguished practitioners of the creative arts have been introduced to universities either as special faculty members or as relatively short-term visitors. These developments have provoked a continuing debate on the relationships of universities and the creative arts. There is, I believe, a strong case for more experiments of this kind in universities in developing countries as well as for the provision of greater opportunities to enjoy the fine arts and music. The problems involved in these areas in relation to some of the issues of national integration and identity need much more attention than they currently receive.

All the issues I have touched on have strong political relevance, especially in the very fluid society that for the reasons considered earlier in this paper, is likely to accompany at least some stage of attempts at very rapid development. A university may, therefore, be tempted to avoid any development likely to embroil it in such controversial areas, or even to withdraw from some on which it has embarked. Alternatively, if government are very sympathetic to the claims of universities (as many post-independence governments have been) the university may be tempted to associate itself so closely with government that it may be gravely compromised by an abrupt change of regime. Much can be said, in this context, of the deficiencies of some of the foreign models, on which the legal and internal institutional structure of universities in developing countries have often been based, in promoting, in the very different environments of developing countries, the kind of partnership and mutual understanding between governments and universities, as well
as in safeguarding the degree of university freedom and autonomy, which are requisite to their healthy development and most effective discharge of their essential functions. (12)

I do not intend to take up these topics here but rather to underline some more general points. The first is that, although as Ortega y Gasset put it, universities must be "in the midst of real life and saturated with it," they must also be on constant alert to maintain and strengthen their continuing effort to exemplify objectivity and disinterestedness in teaching, research, and community service. They must be careful to maintain close links not only with the "establishment" in the community but with those outside who may challenge it. Universities need allies but they must, much more actively than many of them do, try to increase, among all the groups and individuals with whom they are so linked, a better understanding of the "idea of a university" as well as an acquaintance with their current activities and interests. Indeed, it is a vital interest of universities to promote both these things in the wider community as well. In countries where there are few other centres or media for the diffusion of information and ideas, the university may itself need to try and fill the gap in the "middle level" popularisation of its own activities and their relationship to current problems. Yet this may well seem a luxury to a struggling university, nor will it necessarily be rich in the specialised skills the job demands merely because it has a good faculty.

Universities are concerned with the "acquisition, the transmission and the application of knowledge,"(13) with research, teaching, and public service. Everywhere the demands made on them are constantly increasing, especially if they are good universities. In all three of their functions, the political implications of such demands are likely to be greater, more controversial, and less easily contained by political institutions, in developing countries than elsewhere. I have tried to analyse why this is likely to be so and to suggest one or two areas in the life of a university in which it may be particularly exemplified: in

(12) See e.g., Silcock, op. cit., p. 81 ff., and the very interesting discussion in E. Ashby and M. Anderson "Autonomy and Academic Freedom in Britain and in English-Speaking Countries of Tropical Africa" (Minerva, IV, 3, pp. 317-364).

(13) See the brilliant discussion of these issues in J. A. Perkins, The University in Transition (Princeton, 1966).
so doing I have, I hope, spelled out a few elements in those "crushing burdens" of which Sir Eric Ashby spoke, especially some which I fear may not receive enough attention if all our emphasis is on manpower resources and the needs of economic development. I have inevitably passed over in silence many others (most notably the whole range of issues involved in student welfare, in the widest sense of those words) in which much of what I have tried to say is also exemplified.

I imagine we would all agree that in confronting these "crushing burdens," universities in developing countries can only observe the admonition of the old man, Stein, in Conrad's novel, Lord Jim:

"The way is to the destructive element submit yourself, and with the exertions of your hands and feet in the water make the deep, deep, sea keep you up."

In developing countries as elsewhere, the university must in that effort try to ensure that its activities in its three functions are mutually coherent and mutually supporting: if it succeeds some kind of balance between them is likely to emerge. Failure to achieve the appropriate relationship between these three functions of a university can be one of the most crushing burdens. To do so calls not only for leadership of a very high order within the university, for a remarkable partnership of intelligence and understanding between academics and laymen in the government of the university and in its relations with the community that supports it, but also for self-discipline. For its own internal healthy growth and development, a university must be ready, on occasion, to restrict the development of some kinds of teaching, some lines of research, and some areas in which its expert help is sought in the application of knowledge to the service of the community. In these tasks, it can, I believe, succeed only in cooperation with other universities whether in its own country, in its immediate region of the world, or in its association with universities in more developed countries.

IV

In the light of the foregoing comments, there are several spheres in which I should like to urge special consideration of the need for university cooperation. The first of these is in the development of a sociology of education--and especially higher education--in developing countries. Most if not all, universities in such countries need much more systematic information about themselves, about their inputs, their processes, and their outputs. For this purpose, besides much
more work on the sociology of education in general and in developing countries in particular, they will need statistical and research units concerned with the systematic collection of data about the processes of selection (where there is selection) and the degree of success with which it is performed, about the social background of students, about the actual, as opposed to the imagined, effect of teaching methods, about the problems of students taught in a second language, about the psychological and practical problems of students during their time in the university, and about the subsequent careers of graduates. In the first place, this calls for a specialist unit in each university and there is an obvious possibility of valuable cooperation in technical assistance in establishing such units from those universities (especially any in other developing countries) which have already made progress in that direction. But, in a wider sense, there is a real need for regional centres or institutes concerned to make relevant materials available throughout the region, to act as a clearing house for the results of such investigations in the universities of the region (whose problems ideally should not be too dissimilar), to attempt to secure greater comparability in basic data, especially of a statistical kind, relating to universities in the region, and to initiate more specialised studies of common problems emerging from the material. Such needs could be met by a Regional Institute of Higher Education with wider responsibilities, as has been proposed for South East Asia. If such an institute were the outcome of cooperation between research units of this kind in the individual universities of the region, much would be gained in the relevance of the work to the universities themselves.

Secondly, in the interests of more widely based thinking about the "idea of a university" in the particular context of one university, or a group of universities in a larger country, it seems to me that, within the limits imposed by the languages of instruction, much more should be done to promote a greater degree of academic intercourse between the universities of a single country or region. My impression is that at present such intercourse is relatively restricted, so far at least as the nationals of the developing countries are concerned. They seem to make such visits only for relatively short periods (and even then at fairly high levels), often at conferences, not for periods long enough to make any adequate study of the university visited, much less to engage in teaching and research there. If they leave their own university for any substantial period, they go to work in a university in one of the more developed countries, and, one is inclined to think, to reinforce their attachment to the existing model of their own university or to another foreign model. Their knowledge of other university systems in the
context of other developing countries is thus likely to be relatively superficial. Exchange arrangements are notoriously difficult to work in practice but an experiment designed to promote greater experience of teaching and research in universities of different types within a large country or in neighbouring countries in a region by academics who were nationals of the country in which they were permanently teaching, would be well worthwhile, especially if it were followed up by some systematic attempt to consider the implications of several such experiences for the conception of university education exemplified in the originating university. I have put this in "one-way" terms but clearly the advantages would, in fact, be "two-way." I am, of course, advocating such an arrangement as a supplement, not a substitute, for any of those which now encourage academic interchange over a wider area.

Thirdly, and more generally, if such academic interchange between universities within a region, or between such universities and those in the highly developed countries is to be of maximum advantage in relation to the social, political, and cultural considerations I have been discussing--as opposed to the individual's scientific or scholarly potential--it is desirable not only that opportunities for longer visits involving teaching and research should be available at other universities in a single country or in neighbouring countries in the same region, but also that many arrangements with universities in advanced countries should take the form of direct and continuous staff interchange links between departments or research centres in two universities, rather than merely haphazard placing, so that some greater stock of knowledge of the actual circumstances and problems of the university in the developing countries can be built up in its counterparts elsewhere.

Similarly, moving to a still wider field, continuing links between a group of universities in a developed country or a particular group in a developing area, are of greater potential in promoting a better informed exchange of ideas and dialogue, on the part of the universities in the more developed country, than very highly generalised associations. This kind of link is exemplified in the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas when it consisted of about half as many British universities as it now does, and was primarily concerned with some half a dozen overseas university colleges, mostly in Africa, or the Africa Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education (which was, in fact, mostly concerned with a particular group of English-speaking universities in Africa). The expertise and understanding of the continuing problems of a small group of universities in
Africa which these associations built up was, I am sure, far greater than could have resulted from a more diffuse link resulting from a more universal association. Existing links of this type can no doubt be criticised as having cut too little across the ties connecting "foreign models" with their own origins. But that does not invalidate the point, and could easily be remedied if other similar links were developed.

Even in the most developed countries, consortia of higher educational institutions are increasingly being used to secure the most economical use of skilled talent, or to provide rather specialised opportunities for students, or to meet the costs of major scientific equipment. The need for a wide variety of such arrangements involving the universities of developing countries is the most general form of the case I have been arguing.

But, however much the universities of developing countries and elsewhere combine to help the former keep afloat in the destructive element of the politics of modernisation, there is one final consideration which I would put to those who are responsible for the major international aid to universities.

"University education is likely to be increasingly biased in two directions: work related to practical needs and studies intended to sharpen the image of the history and culture of the people. It is likely that other branches of learning which have great value in illuminating the condition of man...will go by default." (14)

In my view, one of the major responsibilities falling on the older and better equipped universities of the world, and their supporters among the dispensers of aid, is to promote university cooperation to help universities in developing countries to continue to be universities, not mere instruments of development. Unlimited possibilities lie ahead of them.

UNIVERSITIES AND DEVELOPMENT: SOME PROBLEMS

Mr. Robinson's Presentation

Mr. Robinson set the framework for the opening session discussions by outlining the principal ideas developed in his formal paper. He stressed the need to underline and clarify the interdependence of political, social, and cultural factors with economic factors in the development process and discussed the impact of political values and structure on modernizing efforts. He went on to point out the burden social, cultural, and political pressures—as well as economic ones—place on the university system. Very often such pressures result in a lopsided development of the educational system, which in turn tends to weaken political stability. The special vulnerability of the university in an environment of change was emphasized by the speaker. These pressures arise from the fact that the universities are to a varying extent derived from foreign models; they are inevitably engaged in producing what is viewed as an elite class, and many of them teach in a "world" language as opposed to the national or regional languages.

Mr. Robinson underlined the need to rethink the essential notions of a university in the particular context in which it exists and not to rely on foreign models. While recognizing the need for other forms of third level (higher) education, he pointed out that the university must be careful not to destroy or weaken its basic function of discharging its responsibilities in those areas where it has a unique role and where it is best qualified. The Vice-Chancellor noted that where the university undertakes to assume responsibility for third level education in such fields as adult education, it should concentrate on areas where it can make a significant and unique contribution. The university must make its students understand the problems of the developing country in which they live. He also pointed to the university's role in the creative arts, relating this to the problem of national integration and national identity. He strongly maintained that the university must remain true to its commitment to disinterested teaching and scholarship even while adjusting itself to the needs of national development and public service.

Mr. Robinson noted that there was particular need for cooperation among universities within a country and among universities within a region in intensive study of the field of the sociology of education, in academic exchanges that emphasized teaching and research in universities of different types, and in the development of links and associations in the form of direct and continuous staff interchange between departments or research centers or between groups of universities in a developed country or a particular group in a developing area.
Discussion

Mr. Robinson's paper and his verbal summary sparked a good deal of constructive discussion and debate.

There was general agreement that more research should be carried out and exchanged in the general field of sociology of education. The need for more information concerning the relation of the educational system to society was recognized, and the value of the exchange of such information among universities in both developed and developing societies was emphasized. Mr. Robinson stated that it was vital to the effective functioning of a university in a developing country to have basic data on such matters as the social background and economic condition of its students, the effects on the students of being taught in a language not their own, and the effects on the students of residence on the campus or outside.

DR. LI stated that too much emphasis was given to economic factors in thinking about development, and that more consideration must be given to the political, social, and cultural factors outlined by Mr. Robinson if the role and function of the university is to be intelligently appraised. He asked the participants to ponder the question of whether too much human capital was being produced by the universities in response to the demands of economic development, saying that the pressures of which Mr. Robinson spoke had in some instances resulted in premature educational specialization. Dr. Li indicated that if we view development as a totality of political, cultural, and social, as well as economic, factors, then perhaps the universities, in responding to the pressures of the economic development planners, may be providing too many professional technicians. In this context, research in the field of the sociology of education is vital. The social, as well as the economic, needs must be determined. The need for an educated graduate with a general liberal education should not be dismissed. The stress on premature specialization should be re-examined. Dr. Li felt that studies in this important area should be shared so that the countries in the region would benefit from the experience and problem-solving techniques used elsewhere.

The issue of whether universities are to be conceived as instruments of national development planning was discussed at some length. DR. STERLING said that it was his impression that the leadership in many developing countries felt that a general liberal education did not meet the specialized needs of a developing society. Dr. Li agreed
that the government leadership in developing societies tended toward a short-term view of the country's needs and therefore stressed the application of specialized technical knowledge to immediate problems.

Several Asian university officials stated that short-term and long-term needs had to be balanced. DR. ROMULO said that a few years ago in the Philippines he felt that the emphasis on professional specialization had reached the point of saturation, and had consequently pioneered a change in orientation towards more emphasis on the humanities. In order better to balance the educational system by giving greater emphasis to the humanities and liberal arts education, various techniques, such as controlled enrollment, were used. Dr. Romulo said that it was important to produce more graduates with a liberal and generalized humanities education in order to assure political stability. Dr. Sterling raised the question as to the goals of the Asian students and whether they favored more broadly based education or specialized professional training. Several Asian educators stressed that the students' primary motivation concerned job placement and they were influenced by the job opportunities available and the qualifications required to fill those jobs.

It was pointed out that a principal problem in developing societies was the restricted role professionally trained people defined for themselves. The elite traditions of many developing societies served as a barrier to viewing one's role in a broad interdisciplinary context. It was suggested, therefore, that the issue was not one of oversupply of professional technicians but rather of the narrow conception on the part of these specialists of the innovative role they could play in a developing society.

In this context, DR. KIRK stated that certain professions had greater status and an imbalance of trained graduates in certain areas resulted. He said he felt the universities could help redress this imbalance by placing limitations on access to education in certain fields and by giving inducements to education in neglected areas. He stressed the negative effect on national development of certain professions being accorded high status based on prestige factors rather than on national long-term needs. Both DR. CHIEN and DR. OKOCHI believed that there was an imbalance between the natural and social sciences in the production of graduates. Although the phenomenon of fast expanding economic development was recognized, the problem of the oversupply of specialists in certain categories could not be ignored. The need was affirmed of striking a balance to serve both short- and long-term needs of a developing society.
DR. THOMPSON said that one of the fundamental problems was how to estimate needs in a given society. New technological discoveries often resulted in unrealistic estimates of manpower needs. He went on to say that there was a constant need to reexamine the output of the educational system in relation to permanent versus changeable short-term requirements. He further pointed out that in preparing leadership elements for their role in technological fields, a general liberal arts and humanities education was necessary if they were to play an imaginative and innovative role and relate their specialities to the overall needs of their society.

The consensus seemed to be that there was a need to evaluate carefully the role of institutions of higher learning in the context of the changing society in which they existed. Continuing studies were recommended on the short- and long-range manpower needs of a society and on the university's role in meeting these needs while still maintaining its academic integrity. Also emphasized was the obligation to influence in a constructive way the conception of requirements on the part of leadership. The university must share the responsibility for producing a balance of graduates to best meet the needs of society. At the same time, the universities have a role to play in broadening the vistas of their students so that they will conceive their role in society in the broadest sense and carry out their technical, specialized responsibilities in an innovative, constructive fashion with due regard to a wide range of interdisciplinary knowledge.

The sharing of the experiences and knowledge gained in this area through regional cooperative efforts will be vital to a measured non-disruptive response to the challenges presented.
UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT: REGIONAL NEEDS AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Carlos P. Romulo

Dr. Romulo prefaced his remarks by mentioning that he had participated over the past three weeks in three international educational conferences; viz., the Tenth General Assembly of UNESCO in Paris, the conference of Southeast Asian Ministers of Education in Manila, and the meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning (ASAIHL) in Bangkok.

Referring first to the UNESCO conference, Dr. Romulo said that a proposal had been made to establish a regional institute of higher learning in Southeast Asia but, when he later attended the ASAIHL meeting in Bangkok, he discovered that ASAIHL had not been consulted on the proposal. He cited this lapse as an example of the lack of coordination which has often led to duplication and otherwise hindered cooperative regional efforts in education in Asia. Speaking on the accomplishments of ASAIHL, Dr. Romulo stated that the organization now had been in existence nine years and had thirty-six participating university members from nine countries. He illustrated the contribution of ASAIHL to educational cooperation in the area by citing the six general conferences and numerous specialized seminars sponsored by the Association. Despite this record, Dr. Romulo felt that ASAIHL's budget of $7,000 was pathetically small to carry out its high purposes. However, the organization was increasingly determined to rely on its own resources to carry forward its activities. He mentioned the Association's lack of a published history as an additional handicap but said that steps were being taken to remedy this situation. Furthermore, member universities are being asked to evaluate ASAIHL's contribution to them and to report on the results of previous projects and recommendations. In this connection, Dr. Romulo stressed the importance of "follow through" after international conferences and said that rapporteurs at ASAIHL conferences are now instructed to distill the essence of the papers presented and write the authors regarding implementation of recommendations, to determine which ideas are useful and what concrete action is being taken. The next general conference of ASAIHL will then review the

*Dr. Romulo graciously agreed to speak on this subject extemporaneously when it was learned that Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao of India would be unable to attend the conference.
results. Dr. Romulo added that he hoped the present conference would not overlook the importance of follow-up activity.

Dr. Romulo expressed the view that Asian regional cooperation was in its initial stages but that the time was now ripe to take more effective action to overcome the legacy of many years during which Asian states have been separated. He cited the current movement toward European integration, which followed centuries of intra-European wars, as an example of what can and should take place in Asia. Intellectuals should take the lead in promoting Asian unity. As evidence of the interest of the Philippines in promoting closer educational cooperation in the region, Dr. Romulo mentioned that 1600 foreign students were now enrolled at the University of the Philippines; that the Philippines had signed cultural agreements with Indonesia, India, Pakistan and Thailand in 1963, and that specialized institutes in such fields as teacher training, labor, public administration, population statistics, and agriculture had been established to train Asians from countries lacking such facilities. He particularly called attention to the International Rice Research Institute as an institution which is doing outstanding work toward solving Asia's food problem and he thanked the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations for their support of the Institute. In discussing the various regional training opportunities in the Philippines, Dr. Romulo pointed out that training in Asia is often more valuable than in the developed countries because it is more pertinent and applicable to the local conditions in which the trainee will work. He indicated that another reason that Asian students were attracted to the Philippines was the high caliber of the Filipino and foreign professors. In the latter connection, he gave due credit to "sister" institutional relationships with such universities as Cornell and Wisconsin and to the assistance of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. He went on to say that it is important to concentrate on building up strength in one important field; e.g., agriculture in the Philippines, in order to attract good students.

Dr. Romulo was of the opinion that the meeting of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education had been of historic importance inasmuch as it was the first time that Southeast Asian ministers of education had met with a strong determination to cooperate---including the willingness to set aside counterpart funds. The ministers decided to create a permanent Council and to establish regional institutes for engineering, tropical medicine, agriculture, higher education, science and mathematics, English language, book development, radio and television, and instructional materials. In addition, the Council will sponsor a seminar on manpower planning and assessment. Dr. Romulo expressed confidence
in the Council's future, particularly as Mr. Eugene Black, President Johnson's Special Adviser on Southeast Asian Development, had indicated that substantial funds would be made available immediately and that a long-range commitment in support of regional education programs would be sought from the U.S. Congress.

Dr. Romulo concluded his remarks by calling attention to The Asia Foundation's assistance to ASAIHL and educational institutions in the Asian area and by stating that the work of all the foundations, as pace-setters, was vital to educational development in Asia.

Discussion

In the general discussion which followed, MR. PIERSON said that The Asia Foundation's support of ASAIHL had been relatively modest as the Foundation had been careful to respond only to the initiatives of the officials involved and was understanding of the desire of these educators to rely on their own resources to the fullest possible extent. In many cases, small grants for such purposes as travel to seminars had enabled the Association to develop its own organizational and professional capacities.

DR. OKOCHI commented on the success of the Fourth International Conference of the International Association of Universities (IAU) held in Tokyo in August, 1965, and said that it had had the effect of awakening Japanese interest in regional educational cooperation. Several participants agreed that this result was evidence that outside organizations can often create more favorable attitudes within a country through conferences and similar activities. DR. STERLING commented that the IAU Conference had been very well organized and managed by the Japanese hosts but that the substance of the proceedings had not been first-rate, perhaps, he felt, because the meeting had been too large and the primary goal of the working committees had seemed to be to write reports which would receive the unanimous support of the participants. In further discussion, there appeared to be a consensus that the IAU was not an effective instrument with which to carry out regional educational programs.

DR. ROMULO declared that regional efforts should be small at first, concentrate on excellence, and avoid competition with national institutions in the same field. He felt the new Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Council, which is composed of only seven nations, was an appropriate size for maximum regional effectiveness.
DEAN COWEN observed that recruitment of adequate staff for regional institutes was difficult and places a strain on local resources. Many times it might not be necessary to create a new institution, especially when existing facilities could be adapted to regional use.

DR. KIRK advocated the establishment of close ties between regional institutes and the local educational institutions with which they are affiliated.

DR. LI felt that training abroad was best done at the graduate level and that regional institutes could serve as useful vehicles for faculty development. In addition, he urged that the emphasis in developing regional cooperation should be on the universities themselves, not the governments concerned. Regional institutes should not be created if the base of the new organization could not be at a university.

In summing up, the Chairman stated that there was an obvious thrust toward Asian regional cooperation in education, the success of which will depend upon Asian intellectuals.

He also observed that there appeared to be a consensus that regional institutes should be based on existing institutions where possible to ensure excellence and the pertinence of their activities to the development needs of the Asian societies they were serving.
SECOND SESSION
December 19, afternoon

Chairman: Gaston J. Sigur, Representative, Japan
Rapporteurs: James H. Noyes, Representative, Ceylon
Louis Connick, Representative, Laos

Papers by: Kazuo Ōkōchi, President, The University of Tokyo

The Potential Contribution of Universities to Economic Growth in Asia

Grayson L. Kirk, President, Columbia University

The Experience of American Universities in International Cooperation

Dr. Williams, Dr. Romulo, Dr. Okochi
Dr. Sigur, Dr. Kirk, Mr. Noyes
THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF UNIVERSITIES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ASIA

Kazuo Okochi

I

In discussing what possible contributions universities can make toward economic growth, we must first clarify the basic nature of contributions universities are prepared to make to society as a whole. The reason I stress this point is that in Japan, particularly during the last ten years or so, universities have been under heavy pressure of demand for greater, more positive contributions to the industrial development of the country. During the same period Japanese universities have also been severely criticized for their inclination to stand aloof from "social needs" and shut themselves up within their "ivory tower." I think it is entirely legitimate to argue that universities must be receptive to the social needs of our time and must make a conscious effort to meet those needs. No university, regardless of the country of its location, can claim a meaningful existence if it is completely isolated from the people of that country and their everyday lives. It is unthinkable, indeed, that any university would not wish to serve the ultimate well-being of the society of which it is an integral part. The problem here, however, is not so much whether universities should be concerned about social needs in general, but rather precisely what constitutes such needs and who has the authority to define them for the universities. Neither of these points has really been clarified by those who criticize our universities for lack of interest in meeting the needs of society.

When people say that universities should be more concerned about social needs, do they mean that universities must be ready to respond immediately to whatever demand is made upon them by industry or government? Do they expect from the universities an instant supply of practical knowledge and technical know-how to meet society's immediate needs? If they do, then I must say that they certainly have a wrong idea of the basic function of the university. A university is in no way analogous to a store which can satisfy the demands of its customers simply by keeping at their disposal a wide choice of goods. I have the definite impression, however, that both government and industry are inclined to make unnecessarily hasty demands upon the universities and to evaluate the social contributions of universities only by short-term results. This is a very unfortunate situation
THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF UNIVERSITIES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ASIA

because universities, after all, contribute primarily that which is meaningful to a society from a long-term point of view.

It is convenient to discuss the potential contributions of universities in terms of their two basic functions: education and research. First, universities as institutions of higher education graduate every year a large number of young men of talent. Universities have not educated these young men as specialists who, immediately upon graduation, can start applying their specialized knowledge for the benefit of the employer. From the point of view of the universities, these young men are "talented" only in the sense that they are well aware of what fundamental problems exist in their respective fields of specialization, whether in engineering or law or medical science. During their years in school not only have these young men learned to tackle those problems on their own initiative, but also have gained a remarkable insight into how such problems should be solved and what ideals their efforts must serve in the future. It is these young men of talent who, in their respective professions or places of employment, will display the ability to analyze the status quo critically, as well as the desire to effect changes in the status quo toward the realization of their ideals. It is also in these people that we find the leadership potential for future change. Universities must, and universities alone can, produce such men of growing potential. No other institutions really have this ability or privilege.

Universities as educational institutions had significantly contributed to society before World War II and, of course, they have continued to do so after the war. But in all industrialized countries today, universities have assumed an even greater responsibility for the training of talented youth, largely because of rapid advances being made in technology. The kind of university graduates needed today in both the industrial and governmental sectors of society must be equipped with far deeper and broader knowledge than their predecessors had. They are also expected to have attained a higher level of technical competence and intellectual maturity than that which was previously deemed necessary. This does not mean, however, that postwar technological innovation has simply created a greater demand for those university graduates who possess specialized knowledge in technology. The impact of technological innovation has been so deep and wide that many of the problems arising therefrom are more social and political in nature.

40
THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF UNIVERSITIES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ASIA

It is precisely for this reason that every industrialized society feels a special need for people who have a deep insight into, a broad feel for, and a critical awareness of problems affecting their own fields of specialization. For example, industrial society is presently confronted with serious social problems which have been caused by growth of newly developed industries. Another problem of equal seriousness concerns man's self-alienation which has become an even more conspicuous phenomenon following the introduction of computers and various other means of technological innovation into business and industrial organizations. Both of these problems arise where industrial development and economic growth become the supreme objectives of society and are pushed forward without consideration of social welfare. In order to cope effectively with the complexity of its problems, modern industrial society needs the kind of young men who can approach them with new insight and clear vision. Because these problems of industrial society transcend the narrow limits of specialty and technicality, people who deal with them must, above all, be creative thinkers as well as critical observers of social realities. And, needless to say, it is precisely the responsibility of universities to train such people. In order to better fulfill this responsibility, most major universities today have clearly shifted the emphasis of their educational activity from the undergraduate to the graduate level. In Japan as well, the new postwar system of post-graduate education has quickly gained great importance, at least in well-established national universities.

I would next like to discuss the potential contributions of universities to social development through their research efforts. We have noted in the above that industrial society often imposes hasty demands on universities in the area of education. Likewise, in the area of research, industrial society always asks for that which will be of immediate use to its productive activity. This frequently means that the research function of universities is valued only in terms of the direct bearing it has on specific business objectives of large enterprises or on specific policies of the government. It is quite possible, of course, that some of the research projects universities undertake, particularly those in areas of applied science such as naval architecture and erosion-control engineering, directly contribute to the economic growth of a society. It is also true that some individuals and research teams within universities undertake projects which have specific industrial or business objectives. In Japan this sort of tie between universities and business interests is often called for under the slogan of "academic-industrial cooperation" (sangaku kyōdō).
THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF UNIVERSITIES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ASIA

Even if all this is true and possible, however, it reflects just a small fraction of the huge body of research being carried out within the universities. The research in applied science which groups within universities undertake on contracts with industry differs on one significant point from that carried out within industries themselves. That is to say, regardless of what connections they have with outside interests, all of such applied-science researches are inseparably related to, and based on, hundreds of other research projects that are more basic or theoretical, hence not directly applicable in any industrial process. A similar situation also exists in various fields of the humanities and the social sciences. Occasionally, some practical studies in economics or law, for example, will prove to be of direct use to industries or government offices. But here again, such practical studies could not have been produced without the support of numerous other academic accomplishments of a basic or theoretical nature. The results of these basic or theoretical studies probably have little meaning or value, as far as industries and government offices are concerned. But, it is through these studies that applied science fields are provided with a solid intellectual foundation and a meaningful theoretical framework with which to operate.

The real importance of basic research is not sufficiently recognized when society evaluates the contributions of universities to economic growth or social needs. Attention is always focused upon such tangible, direct contributions as are provided through applied science and practical studies. Whereas, it is frequently overlooked that beneath those surface contributions are the untiring efforts of so many scholars and researchers working in less spectacular but perhaps more important areas of basic and theoretical studies. In order for universities to become able to make even greater, more lasting contributions to economic growth, it is essential to strengthen research efforts in basic science. It is especially important to give greater encouragement and support to young scholars and researchers devoted to basic and theoretical studies. Such support and encouragement will in the long run facilitate advances in applied science fields, and will thereby help enrich the potential contributions of universities to economic growth and the prosperity of individual enterprises. The developing societies of Asia are well advised to render such support and encouragement to basic studies in order that their universities may make continuous contributions to economic growth. Of course, this is not to deny the importance of applied science fields for economic development. However, universities in Asia must maintain autonomy
in their research efforts and thereby contribute as much as possible to the autonomous development of their countries. To maintain this autonomy they must expend even greater efforts for the improvement of research facilities as well as for the training of researchers in basic science and theoretical studies.

II

I have confined my discussion so far to the nature and form of the contribution universities are prepared to make through their educational and research activities. I shall now proceed to a discussion of some of the unique problems universities in Asia are currently faced with in making further contributions to society.

The most notable contribution of Asian universities since World War II has been made in the area of economic development. This has led to an emphasis on those fields dealing with industrial technology or production technique. Consequently, universities have most rapidly expanded their facilities for the study of such subjects as engineering, agriculture and other fields of the natural sciences. In Japan this tendency has been particularly conspicuous among the national universities; that is, the institutions financially supported by the central government. Postwar Japan has concentrated its efforts on the rebuilding of the industrial order from the war devastation, the normalization and growth of the economy, and the "modernization" of the economic structure.

These urgent problems seem to have warranted the emphasis on technical facilities. This emphasis has in turn enabled the university in Japan to make tremendous contributions to society in terms of economic growth and the development of individual enterprises. However, such a one-sided emphasis has created growing imbalances between the technical fields and all the other areas of study. It is only within the last few years that Japanese universities have begun to reflect on a restoration of an appropriate balance between these two types of academic pursuits.

In this process of reflection, particular attention has been drawn to the following two points. The first point relates to what I have already suggested above, namely, that the balanced growth of the universities has been greatly impaired due to the over-concentration
THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF UNIVERSITIES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ASIA

in the technical fields which are directly useful to industrial development. In contrast with these favored areas, most other fields have been largely ignored simply because they do not contribute to economic growth. Even modest demands for expansion of facilities and training of young researchers in these areas have been met by only a negligible response from the authorities concerned.

The second point relates to the various adverse effects on society of the rapid industrial and technological development in postwar Japan. The postwar technological revolution, in which the universities have acted as the chief contributors of technical know-how, has had a destructive influence on the welfare of the people. It has given rise to many new social problems involving air and water pollution, traffic congestion, and various other social costs. The rapid advances in industrial technology have also frequently resulted in an increased feeling of insecurity over employment status in new as well as traditional industries. These huge social costs of industrial development have naturally led the university people to reflect on the disharmony between social welfare and the kind of economic growth achieved on the sole basis of technological advance. There is a growing feeling among the university people in Japan that they must now undertake cooperative research on the broad subject of the overall effects of industrial development on social life in general, and on man's welfare in particular.

In order to carry out such cooperative studies, research in technology and other areas of the natural sciences, as well as the humanities and the social sciences, will have to be effectively coordinated. This will mean that our scholars must join hands with one another across the various boundaries of university, of university department, and of fields of specialization within each department. Only when these divisions isolating individual scholars from one another are removed, will the universities become able to integrate and coordinate their research efforts. If the universities should fail to do this, their research efforts will only be detrimental to the welfare of the working people as well as to the harmonious development of society.

Universities in Asia must be especially aware of the importance of a balanced contribution of technical know-how and social knowledge. This is because the problems of the economically underdeveloped countries of Asia are inseparably tied to the cultural, social
A discussion on the potential contribution of the universities in Asia cannot be concluded without some reference to the need for inter-university cooperation within the region. All Asian countries share certain common "problems" lying in the path of their economic development. This fact alone seems to offer sufficient ground for emphasizing such cooperation. An active exchange of scholars and researchers should be planned between various universities throughout Asia. If possible, such an exchange program should also include young university graduates who have acquired the new technical skills as well as the insight into the common problems of the region.

However, this type of regional cooperation on the university level will not materialize unless Asian universities themselves change some of their basic attitudes. That is to say, many universities in Asia look to American or European universities for guidance or assistance. Many able students are sent to these universities for advanced training. I do not deny that such training abroad will be useful to the economic development of their home countries. But as long as this remains the dominant source of knowledge, Asia is never likely to take the initiative for its own economic development. In order for Asian universities to make truly meaningful contributions to the economic growth of their respective countries, they must first shift their attention away from areas outside of Asia, and seek ways to cooperate with each other within the region.

In this connection, it will be most helpful if the universities in the advanced countries of Europe and America will fully appreciate and support such efforts of the Asian universities toward greater autonomy and intra-regional cooperation. Mutual cooperation and assistance between Asian universities are the prerequisites for autonomous economic development in Asia. Only in this way will the countries of Asia be able to ultimately liberate themselves from colonialism and hope for a speedy accumulation of national capital, a steady growth of national income, and an increase in the welfare of the people.

Academic exchange and cooperation in Asia will not be an easy task to carry out because there are many obstacles to any form
of regional cooperation. First, there are wide language barriers and enormous differences in social, cultural, and religious norms. These cultural barriers alone could prohibit communication and mutual understanding among the peoples of Asia. Second, the stages of economic development at which the countries of Asia have arrived vary greatly—a factor which often hampers cooperative efforts. Third, differences in political systems and ideology are so large that they often give rise to conflicts and hostilities between Asian nations.

Notwithstanding these differences and barriers, the countries of Asia must cooperate because they all share a common destiny. Asian countries have been destined to be the late starters in economic growth, to have their standard of living kept extremely low, and to be deprived of their autonomy in economic development. To combat this Asiatic stagnation and poverty is today the common and supreme goal of all Asian nations. It is, therefore, extremely important for major universities to rise above all the differences and barriers in order to defeat this stagnation and poverty which is our foremost adversary.

Cooperation of major Asian universities must be developed into concrete programs. For example, joint research centers could be set up at several strategic points in the region for the development of technical know-how aimed primarily at the "modernization" of agriculture. Another program of a similar sort would be to create medical service centers to combat local diseases and disseminate medical knowledge among the people. It is essential that the governments of the respective Asian countries render active support to such programs. It is equally important that specialists in the humanities and social sciences should participate in these programs, together with specialists in the technical fields. The enormous complexity of problems confronting Asian societies is far beyond the control of specialists in just a few practical areas of study.

Asian universities must cooperate in still another direction. We must plan an active exchange of students and young scholars between the various universities of Asia. The funds necessary for executing such an exchange program must be furnished by the governments concerned. I would again like to stress that the opportunity to participate in this exchange must not be limited to those persons specializing in applied science fields. This program must be carefully designed to provide young Asians in both basic and applied science with the opportunity to equip themselves with a broad perspective and with a spirit of self-reliance which will enable them to contribute their technical skill and their knowledge to the economic growth of Asia.
THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF UNIVERSITIES
TO ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ASIA

Dr. Okochi's Presentation

In his introduction, Dr. Okochi stressed that his presentation necessarily excluded many problems confronting national universities today: student problems, for instance, that were not at the moment pressing in Tokyo University, but had in the past been intruded from outside by political movements. Dr. Okochi offered to provide a supplementary paper on any aspect not covered in his presentation. He then read his paper.

Discussion

The Chairman complimented Dr. Okochi for his emphasis on the needs of the whole man.* He also noted the speaker's positive recognition of the value of regional cooperation, but also his realistic appraisal of the basic problems inherent in the realization of such cooperation.

An American participant stated the important continuing need to consider the question of liberal arts vis-a-vis more technical subjects, and in this context, asked Dr. Okochi for comment on the remarkable development of Japan in relation to its universities. Japan, he noted, is clearly the most developed country in Asia and has a technology and agriculture with productivity far ahead of the rest of Asia. What, therefore, was the role of Japan's universities in fostering this development? In agriculture, for instance, did the universities make a contribution, and if so, are the lessons transferrable to the rest of Asia?

Dr. Okochi replied that the universities contributed to agricultural development, but that there was also an important government effort through agricultural institutes that had played a seminal role. Characteristically, he said, university staff had participated in these government institutes either formally or on a personal basis. The greatest agricultural contribution benefited the large farmers who could utilize advanced machinery, fertilizer and other technological benefits. Progress among smaller farmers had been delayed until after the war when cooperatives were established, and gradually, with the accumulation of some political leverage, benefits accrued to the smaller farmer.

*Dr. Okochi later clarified "the whole man" as "not a specialist, whose interests cover only a small area or some specific subject, but a non-specialist who has a broader view, a man with broader mental vistas, a man of large calibre."
Dr. Okochi made a supplementary comment on the general scope of higher education in Japan that he had not touched upon in his paper. At the end of the 1965 fiscal year Japan had 346 universities of which only 74 were national. There were 235 private universities and 37 under the supervision of local governments. If one included junior colleges, the number of universities swelled to 759. Many of these bodies served research and industrial development by means of a major involvement with private industry. But many are weak in teaching staff and laboratory facilities. With such quantity and financing problems it was natural to see the kind of overproduction of law, political science, economics, and other humanities and social sciences graduates earlier cited by Dr. Romulo. Without the investment in laboratories or technical facilities, many of these smaller universities could only expand their humanities and social science faculties. Therefore, approximately 70% of the students in the latter fields are in private universities and the problems of rational manpower planning and utilization have consequently become acute. Ways are being considered in both the private and public sectors to prevent a growing unemployment problem from this imbalance in higher education.

DR. ROMULO asked if Japan could join in regional efforts in order to share the advanced technology that had made it a leading nation.

Dr. Okochi replied that such a step was the honest desire and concern of many professors, particularly in agriculture, engineering, and medical science. The Ministry of Education, however, looks mainly to Europe and the U.S. and it might take some time for this new emphasis to filter upwards and affect official policy. Japan's interest at the professional level is matched by other Asian countries, Dr. Okochi said, and the kind of outgoing philosophy exemplified by Dr. Romulo might well serve in Japan's official ranks.

DR. QURESHI mentioned the appreciative awareness by Asians of Japan's great progress, but cited the considerable hurdle of language for the visiting student or professor going to that country.

Dr. Okochi commented that the difficulty of Japanese language had been perhaps overestimated. The key, he said, was one of attitude and willingness to live with Japanese families rather than in hotels where one mixed only with foreigners or Japanese who spoke English. In terms of exchange professors from Japan, many of the younger men could speak English well, but while the more senior professors could read and write English with no difficulty, they often were not sufficiently fluent in conversation to serve abroad.
THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF UNIVERSITIES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ASIA

DR. CHIEN, on the point of professorial exchange problems, noted that while his university followed the American academic semester system, many other Asian universities did not. This posed a real barrier to professorial and student exchanges. The Chairman concluded by expressing appreciation for Dr. Okochi's provocative and illuminating remarks.
Before one can undertake to examine the experience of American universities in international cooperation, it is necessary to look briefly at the domestic background out of which this international cooperation grew. In no country in the entire world is there such a vast number of domestic organizations and associations related to higher education. The most recent Educational Directory published by the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare lists nearly 600 national, regional and functional organizations concerned with American higher education. If it is difficult for a foreign educator to understand what all of these organizations do, he may find comfort in realizing that it is almost as difficult for an American university administrator to keep abreast of all these different, sometimes overlapping, organizations and their various functions.

Why have so many such associations, councils, and societies developed in the United States? At least four separate purposes may be identified, but it must be remembered that many organizations have been created for reasons that cover more than one of these purposes and some organizations have an operating relationship to all four. Even so, it may be useful to educators from abroad if brief attention is paid to each of these purposes in turn.

The first purpose is to fix and to improve standards of education. In the United States we have more than 2,600 different colleges, universities and other institutions of higher learning. Some are publicly supported and some are private. Some are general and some are specialized in function. Some are very large, numbering scores of thousands of students, while others are small. Some are wealthy, in terms of institutional assets; others are desperately poor. Some have educational standards as high as may be found anywhere in the world, but some have disgracefully low standards of admission and instruction. There is no system of American higher education; only a vast, chaotic array of independent institutions. One writer has characterized the administration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt by the term, "productive disorder." In American higher education we have the disorder and we can only hope that it is productive.
This disorder developed, of course, because of the vast size of the United States and because all control of education in our federal system rests with the individual states, not the federal government. Since these states impose educational standards of vastly different degrees of rigor and excellence, the results in terms of institutional levels of quality were bound to be uneven. Yet, despite these differences, each college and university chartered or otherwise authorized by the state government to be a degree-granting institution may give what is ostensibly the same bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees.

In such a situation, voluntary action by the institutions themselves, and in particular by those of high standards, was inevitable. In America many students transfer credits from one institution to another even before completing a first degree. It is common practice, also, to take a first degree at one institution and then to seek admission for higher degrees at another university. Therefore, regional accrediting organizations were set up by the institutions themselves. Teams of scholars visit an institution and examine its facilities and standards. Upon their reports, institutions make decisions concerning their willingness to accept credits earned elsewhere. Finally, seventeen years ago a National Commission on Accrediting was established. It is a purely voluntary, inter-institutional Commission, but it has helped to bring some order out of the chaos.

A few other illustrations may be useful to show how voluntary action has helped to fix standards. In 1900 a group of the leading universities with the highest quality of graduate instruction established the Association of American Universities. The term is misleading because even today it numbers only forty American institutions—and two from Canada—in its membership. But it has had much influence in maintaining and improving standards for the entire country in graduate education. Another organization, the American Association of University Professors, which is national in scope and membership, has helped to fix standards of academic freedom and, to a lesser extent, standards of professorial responsibility.

Some inter-institutional organizations deal with specific purposes. Thus, there are many regional associations to regulate, by common consent, conditions of eligibility and recruiting practices.
for inter-collegiate athletic contests. Nationally, there are institutionally supported organizations to set up examinations for applicants for admission to colleges. I refer, of course, to the Educational Testing Service and the College Entrance Examination Board. Through the Association of American Universities and the Association of Graduate Schools, efforts have been made to reach common agreement on such matters as the time in the year when fellowship offers may be made to graduate students, and the deadline after which an institution may not offer an appointment to a scholar teaching in another university.

A second reason for inter-institutional organization comes from the need to present, on occasion, a common front with respect to governmental agencies. Thus within each state there is usually an association of all institutions, public and private, and in many states there is also an association of the privately supported colleges and universities. When state legislative or administrative action threatens to have adverse effects upon the institutions, the association leaders attempt to persuade the decision-makers to abandon or modify their proposed actions. One such perennial problem, for example, is caused by the efforts of organized labor to secure governmental action requiring all educational institutions to be subject to the same state laws as are applied to profit-making corporations with respect to such matters as unemployment compensation and collective bargaining.

This need for collective representation now has been extended to the national government. As you know, the national government now provides certain forms of aid to higher education. Large sums are made available for the support of research, chiefly in scientific fields, by many federal agencies. Others provide funds for scholarships and student loans in certain designated fields. Finally, there is federal aid for certain educational programs and for the construction of new physical facilities. Governmental agencies administering these programs occasionally adopt undesirably vexatious and time-consuming regulations, and the recipient institutions find it useful to use their collective influence in an effort to bring about some improvement in the situation. Further, when national legislation concerning higher education is pending the associations can and do offer advice to the legislators by appearances at committee hearings.

The third objective of organization is to reduce or eliminate duplication of effort. For example, twenty years ago sixteen of the
southern states created the Southern Regional Education Board to coordinate activities in higher education so as to avoid unnecessary duplication of activities. A group of universities in the Middle West has set up an Inter-Library Center. To this Center, they have transferred some of their little-used research library collections and each institution has access to all the volumes which it houses. In this way, expensive duplication of library resources is reduced.

Another illustration is provided by the recently established Committee on Institutional Cooperation. This was created by eleven Middle Western universities to pool certain resources and to identify certain specialized areas of activity in which inter-institutional cooperation could provide greater educational strength and opportunity. Thus when one institution of the group has faculty strength in some highly specialized field, the other universities may send advanced graduate students to take courses in that university without requiring the student to become officially enrolled in it. This device has been useful with respect to certain new fields such as Mathematical Biology and to some foreign language fields for which there is not enough student demand to warrant the development of strength in each institution.

Still another illustration may be found in the grouping of institutions to operate certain costly research facilities. When the federal government agreed to supply the funds for the construction and maintenance of the Brookhaven National Laboratory, devoted chiefly to High Energy Physics and to Radio Astronomy, a group of Eastern universities, called the Associated Universities, Inc., was formed with governmental approval to supervise the operation of the laboratories. A still larger group of universities has now been created to administer the proposed 250 Bev accelerator which it is hoped the federal government will finance in the near future.

The fourth, and perhaps the principal, objective of interinstitutional organization in the United States is to provide means whereby individual officers of colleges and universities may share their experiences and problems. Some of the organizations for this purpose are national in scope and general in their interests. Among these are the American Council on Education, the Association of American Colleges, and the Association of American Universities. Others are regional in scope, such as the Great Lakes College Association and the Southern University Conference.
Scores of organizations, either regional or national or both, have been set up for specific fields of activity. Some are administrative, such as the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Administrative Officers and the National Association of College and University Business Officers; others are professional in the academic sense of the term, and among them are such organizations as American Association of Law Libraries, the American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business, and the American Association of Colleges of Pharmacy.

In this brief survey I shall not attempt to deal with the vast number of associations and councils representing individual fields of scholarly activity. They are formed by individual scholars and not by the institutions. They range over the whole field of scholarship; they hold annual national and regional meetings and they publish hundreds of scholarly journals. To give you an idea of the degree of specialization which they have achieved, I need only refer to the Society of Women Geographers.

To sum up, the United States has an immense variety and array of educational organizations. They have come into being because of the recognized needs which I have just outlined. In the aggregate they perform services of great utility to education, but they are undoubtedly too numerous, and their areas of concern overlap too greatly. The result is that, with the exception of the American Council on Education, there is no mechanism through which higher education in the United States can speak with a single voice to anyone.

With this background of domestic experience in the development of group activity, it was wholly natural that United States colleges and universities should have become involved in international cooperative ventures. This is largely a phenomenon of the years since the end of the last war. The reasons for it are not difficult to discover. With the exception of a few countries that have sealed themselves off from outside contacts, the community of scholars is indeed worldwide today. As these scholars have developed their international associations, they have drawn their institutions into more and more official involvement. Their modern mobility is such that they can assemble anywhere in the world easily and quickly to discuss matters of their professional concern.
THE EXPERIENCE OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES
IN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The internationalization of scholarship has been matched by an unprecedented migration of students across national boundaries. Year by year the total grows. Six years ago there were 53,000 foreign students in the United States. Last year the number had increased to nearly 94,000, and 35 per cent of these came from the Far East, which is by far the largest regional contingent. It is also the region from which the growth in student numbers has been most dramatic, having grown by a factor of more than three in the past fifteen years.

Of this huge group of migrating students, approximately 40 per cent were self-supporting, while the others had aid from their own governments, from American universities, American foundations, and the United States Government. They are about evenly divided between graduates and undergraduates, but the proportion of graduates to undergraduates is much larger among those from the Far East than from any other region of the world.

While figures for American students abroad are difficult to assemble, it is probable that the total currently is approximately 20,000 and it grows year by year. More than half of them are in European institutions, but the percentage in Far Eastern universities, now about 11 per cent, has been growing more rapidly than anywhere else. As host countries to American students, Japan and the Philippines lead the other Asian countries.

In these days, professors go abroad for other purposes than to attend scholarly conferences. Last year there were approximately 4,000 American faculty members abroad on educational exchange missions and there were more than 9,000 foreign professors and scholars in American institutions.

Perhaps it will be useful to examine for a moment the various forms which these international cooperative ventures, in which American institutions have become involved, have taken.

First, there are the periodic international meetings of university heads. For many years, delegations of British Vice Chancellors and American university presidents have been meeting together at intervals of two to three years to discuss common problems. Annually for some years a delegation of American presidents has been meeting with an equal number of Latin American university rectors.
THE EXPERIENCE OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES
IN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

for the same purpose. Two such meetings have been held between American university heads and the members of the West German Rectors Conference. Also, American representatives now are invited regularly to take part in the quinquennial conferences of the Association of Commonwealth Universities, and as most of you know from the recent Tokyo conference, American presidents have taken an active part in the quinquennial meetings of the International Association of Universities.

Next, we must take note of the many bi-lateral relationships between individual American and foreign universities. These are so varied that it is difficult to classify them. Some are historic arrangements for the exchange of professors, but these are not numerous or quantitatively important. More recently, however, and partly as a consequence of the American foreign aid program, individual American institutions have developed special relationships with foreign universities, particularly those in new and developing countries. There have been hundreds of these exchange programs in recent years. Some have had the objective of building a new university, an example being the role of Michigan State University in developing an entirely new institution at Nsukka in Nigeria. Others undertake to develop a desired new program of study and research in an existing host institution. An example of this is the effort by Columbia to develop modern business education at the National University in Buenos Aires.

A third field of activity is a consequence of the student migration. In addition to the provision of special offices and programs for foreign students on our own campuses, most of the leading American colleges and universities help to support and participate in the activity of American organizations that have been set up to facilitate student exchange. Of these, the leading one is, of course, the Institute of International Education which has its headquarters in New York, regional offices elsewhere in the United States, and branch offices in Asia, Latin America, and Europe. To supplement its work there are special organizations to deal with foreign students coming from such regions as Africa and the Middle East.

While many American students abroad are following individual programs, not sponsored by any American institution, some United States institutions have set up formal programs of foreign study for
their students. The oldest of these, in existence for about forty years, is the Junior Year Abroad. In this program, a selected group of students studies in a foreign country for a full year under the guidance of faculty personnel sent with them from the American college in which they are enrolled.

Another and more recent development is the foreign satellite or branch established permanently in another country by an American university. Students who have the proper linguistic and other qualifications are authorized to go abroad to live for a period of time in the foreign branch of the university, to follow regular courses of study, and then to return to complete their degree requirements at home. I shall not venture to discuss this new development any further because my colleague, President Sterling, has had more experience with this type of venture than any other American university president, and I will defer to him to answer any questions which you may have.

By now I have said enough to make my point, which is that American colleges and universities and their faculty members have become involved during the past twenty years in a vast network of international cooperative arrangements. Some of these include large groups of institutions, some are purely bi-lateral, some deal only with faculty members, and some with students. This involvement grows year by year and it probably will continue at an accelerated rate.

The important question for Americans at least is: What lessons can be derived from this experience? Or, to put the matter in another way: What is the balance-sheet in terms of assets and liabilities both for the Americans and the non-Americans who have been involved in these interlocking activities?

Obviously, it is important to know how the foreigners feel about this venture in academic cooperation, but I would not undertake to speak for them. This they must do for themselves, and I have the uncomfortable feeling that, in any case, their own tendencies, whether from feelings of ambivalence or politeness, are to be much too reticent. Hence, I can speak only in terms of my impressions of the lessons that can, or ought to be, drawn by those of us in the United States from our experiences of the past two decades.
My first impression is that American educators have learned a great deal about the world of scholarship beyond our shores. Even so, it was still possible for one commentator to write only last year that "it is demonstrable today that government agencies, businesses, and non-governmental organizations know more about their opposite numbers in other nations than do our universities and colleges. American educational institutions generally lack an intimate knowledge of their counterparts abroad, especially of the requirements and standards their diplomas and degrees represent..."\(^1\)

We must remember that, prior to the past twenty years, most American educators had only a fragmentary knowledge about higher education anywhere outside Western Europe, and for most of them their knowledge of Europe was limited chiefly to Britain and Germany. It is a regrettable fact of human nature that what one does not know about a foreign culture one is likely to dismiss as being inferior to one's own. It is an equally regrettable fact that if one culture has achieved recognized distinction in one part of its intellectual activity, whether it be technology, philosophy or art, its people tend to downgrade other cultures which have failed to make comparable progress in that single phase of their cultural life.

Therefore, I fear that many Americans have embarked upon cross-cultural enterprises with grossly insufficient intellectual baggage. They have assumed that their task in the intellectual field was like that of the Christian missionaries of the past century in the field of religion. In other words they have sought to uproot some of the ideas and organizations that have worked well in the United States and to transplant them virtually without adaptation to a foreign soil. When they have failed in their efforts, their natural tendency has been to blame the failure upon the foreigners and not upon their own insufficient grasp of the complexities of older and different cultures.

To put the matter in another way, it is my judgment that Americans now are beginning to learn a great deal more about the

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world than they knew before. Naivete is being replaced gradually by sympathy and understanding. Sophistication, in the true sense of the term, begins to replace crude and nationalistic assumptions, and this is an asset of great value for us, and since one must assume that the process is reciprocal, it is of value for everyone concerned.

Now let me turn for a moment to a few specific lessons which we have learned from our experience in international educational cooperation. First, we have learned that simple faculty exchange is useful but only within rather narrow limits. It is a difficult process to fit a faculty man for a time into an entirely different educational system. His standards of living are different. The amenities of life and work are different. His relationship with academic administrators and with government authorities may be entirely different from those to which he has been accustomed. Even faculty-student relationships are likely to be different. He may learn a great deal as an individual from his experience but he is not likely to make any significant contribution to the life of the host institution. There are exceptions, splendid ones, but the general rule is, I fear, much as I have described it above. Hence, while we should not brush aside the value of direct faculty exchange, we should not expect too much from it.

Student exchange falls into an entirely different category. The flood of foreign students in the United States has been a splendid asset to us. It has contributed enormously to the education of American students, and I am gratified over the fact that more than ten per cent of all the students in my own university are of foreign nationality.

There are, however, pitfalls in this process and we must not overlook them. The initial culture-shock of foreign study is always great. This is why I may differ to some extent from my colleague, President Sterling, in my own strong conviction that the time for foreign study is most advantageous after a student has taken his first degree at home. He is more mature, more oriented toward a profession, less likely to be overwhelmed by loneliness, and less likely to come to the United States with unrealistic and unrealizable expectations.

Moreover, the graduate student will return home less uprooted culturally than a youth who has been abroad too long and who

59
may, in consequence, have difficulty in readjusting himself to the different conditions of life at home. There is, however, an area of danger for the graduate student which we must not overlook. If he has been trained abroad, particularly as a scientist, he may experience serious frustrations when he returns home. He may not have access to the scientific equipment to which he has become accustomed; he may not find the familiar scientific journals in the library, and he may not find among his colleagues the stimulation that comes from intellectual dialogue with others who have reached the same level of expertise in the specialty he has chosen for himself. In my travels I have encountered many such former Columbia students. Some of them have lost their intellectual zest and others have allowed their sense of frustration to grow to the point that they are prepared to leave their own country and to migrate permanently elsewhere. Insofar as is humanly possible, it is important that foreign students, particularly at the graduate level, be guided into fields of professional interest that they will be able to exploit fully and in a satisfying fashion after their return home. This is not an easy task, but it is one whose importance should not be overlooked.

Within the American university we have learned that institutional activities abroad, though satisfying and gratifying intellectually and socially, do have hidden costs to the institution that may be serious. When faculty members are sent abroad on a mission, they must be replaced by temporary appointees, usually on a visiting basis from other institutions. Thus the initial release of men for foreign work may have a chain reaction, and a disruptive one, in many institutions at home. Moreover, most of these men will be senior scholars a large part of whose university service will consist not of formal classes, but the supervision of individual research projects and the guidance of doctoral candidates in the preparation of their dissertations. A temporary visiting professor simply cannot pick up this kind of load effectively, and so it happens that much of the burden caused by the departure of a senior man will fall upon others of his permanent colleagues in the same department.

The obvious answer to this problem would be to staff a department so fully that some men could be away for periods of time without causing an undue burden upon their colleagues. But American universities simply do not have the resources as yet to "stockpile" faculty members in this fashion.
Some American universities have tried to solve the staff problem involved in foreign commitments by assembling a group of scholars from other institutions and sending them abroad under contract appointment from the sponsor institution. This, of course, is disruptive to the other institutions, but it also has a risk of another sort to the sponsor. If the project fails because of unfortunate choice of men, it is the sponsoring institution that must shoulder the responsibility. It is my belief that an American university ought not undertake foreign commitments unless it can manage to staff the necessary task-force largely from the ranks of its own scholars.

I have been talking about some of the specific problems involved in student exchange and in the assumption by American universities of project commitments abroad. Now let me return to some more general conclusions and lessons from our experience in international cooperation.

A first lesson which we have learned is that university problems throughout the world differ more in degree than in kind. We all face the problems of inadequate staff, inadequate facilities, and inadequate funds to deal with hordes of students that descend upon us. The upsurge of demand for higher education is world-wide and everywhere it has strained human and fiscal resources to the utmost. Second, we all face the perennial problem of university autonomy. Traditions and legal arrangements in this respect differ widely from country to country, but the struggle between the desire for university autonomy and the assertion of governmental controls over the university is almost universal. It is difficult in any country to bring the people to realize that a university can serve its society best if it is left free from political domination, and the problem is peculiarly difficult where the university conceives of its task as the encouragement of basic political and social change. Autonomy can be secured only if the university itself is responsible in its determination to be a forum in which all doctrines may be examined, but in which there is no institutional commitment to any single path to social salvation. Somehow we must make our students realize that the shores of history are littered with the wreckage of the fighting faiths of the past.

Because our problems are so similar, we all stand to gain from organized inter-institutional contacts. Though I have talked at some length about some of the difficulties and problems involved in
such a development, I would not wish you to conclude that I am in any way unenthusiastic about the importance of international cooperation. Just as in the United States we have learned much from the exchange of views and problems in our domestic associations, so we now have much to learn from each other in international contacts. What Lady Jackson has called the "Spaceship-Earth" is now too small to be guided safely into the future unless all of us are more aware of our similarities as well as of our differences. And the basic similarities grow while the differences diminish.

In this process of developing understanding, the universities of the world have a role of growing significance. Within each society they now occupy a position of importance unprecedented in human history. Our universities are now, as never before, at the heart and center of society. Upon them, social progress now largely depends.

But the uniqueness of their role within each society is matched by the uniqueness of their opportunities in international affairs. The differences of political doctrine that divide the governments of the world are less apparent and less relevant when university scholars and administrators gather to talk over their problems. I have noted that students in universities, who have demonstrated vigorously against the appearance of foreign government officials, are willing, even eager, to listen to scholars and university administrators from the same countries. There is still a rapport in the world of the intellect that offers channels of communication frequently denied to those who have governmental responsibilities. We must make the fullest use of it.

Thus it is that, whatever the costs and difficulties, whatever the problems that may be involved, we all have an obligation, in the common interest, to push ahead with our plans and programs for international cooperation in the university world. That is why we are here and that is why we must meet again and again.
Dr. Kirk's Presentation

In a brief summary of his paper Dr. Kirk first outlined the *raisons d'être* for the six hundred or so national, regional, and functional organizations concerned with higher education in the United States. Since state control of education results in varying standards, these organizations serve to standardize and improve university curricula. They give the universities some solidarity in their relationships with governmental agencies. They minimize duplication of effort by, for example, the development of library systems with central book depositories which provide for the needs of a cluster of institutions and reduce individual library expenditures. They encourage inter-university cooperation, making it possible for students of one institution to take courses at another, and they facilitate the sharing of experiences and problems.

Referring to the activities of American universities in foreign exchange, Dr. Kirk pointed out the extensive experience of the United States in hosting foreign students and professors. He noted a marked annual growth and said he expected the flow to increase for some time to come. Although the expansion has not been nearly so dramatic, there has also been an increase in the number of American students and professors studying and teaching abroad.

Programs of international exchange have included meetings between American university heads with their counterparts in the United Kingdom, West Germany, and Latin America, the Junior Year Abroad and satellite programs for American undergraduates, scholarship programs for foreign students at American universities, and a variety of contractual relationships between American and foreign institutions. Although the results of these exchanges must be studied to determine the exact benefits derived, there is no question that they have broadened the horizons of both American and foreign students and professors. Dr. Kirk expressed his belief that for reasons of personal and academic maturity and career direction student exchange is more valuable on the graduate than on the undergraduate level, and he cautioned against the view of international exchange as a general panacea.

In closing, Dr. Kirk said one of the basic problems is how to make the best use of the United States' accumulated experience in higher education in order to best serve the educational needs of developing countries. He stressed the importance of meetings like the present Foundation conference in establishing dialogues in the international educational community. The exchange of ideas and the establishment of
accords is easier, he said, at the academic than at the political level, and it is not unrealistic to suppose the influence of educators could reach beyond the academic community to influence national attitudes and foreign policies.

Discussion

DEAN COWEN opened the discussion by raising some of the difficulties involved in student exchange. Australia's foreign students, he pointed out, are for the most part Asian undergraduates who have come to Australia because of a shortage of facilities at home. The greatest difficulty is the disorientation that frequently results in a student's unwillingness to return home. The so-called "brain drain," Mr. Cowen said, is more serious in Asia than elsewhere in the world and should be minimized by more effective remedies.

The successful programs at The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Stanford University, and the University of California were reviewed in support of undergraduate exchange and DR. LI stressed the need to integrate visiting undergraduates with the rest of the student body to insure the maximum benefit for both.

Several reasons were offered for the unwillingness of graduate students to return home. It was pointed out that frequently students reach such a high degree of specialization in their work abroad that they cannot be accommodated at home because of a lack of equipment, research funds, and library facilities. In such cases they can only expect fulfillment abroad. It was also suggested that bright, well-trained graduate students are often considered a threat by less well-trained senior faculty members who have the power, because of the archaic organization of many Asian universities, to thwart a student's advancement. The University of the Philippines' solution to this problem, DR. ROMULO said, was to give an automatic promotion and salary increase to all graduate students returning with Ph.D. degrees.

Turning to faculty exchange, Dr. Li spoke of the important contribution the program at The Chinese University had made to the elevation of standards at the three constituent institutions during the past three years. He stressed the need to give credit to faculty members teaching abroad. Dr. Kirk commented on the disruptive effect on a department of the departure of one of its members for a one- or two-year teaching assignment abroad. A temporary replacement must be
found for him and the burden of supervising the work of his research scholars must be assumed by other members of the department. The only solution to this problem, Dr. Kirk suggested, was to stockpile or overstaff the faculty, an expensive solution which Dean Cowen felt would be practicable only in American universities.

DR. THOMPSON criticized American institutions for not giving sufficient support to the international exchange of faculty, although he noted an increasing number of institutions, particularly the land grant colleges, that recognized the need to wed service and scholarship for the benefit of institutions in developing countries. The situation would not be improved, he felt, until university heads took a personal detailed interest in faculty exchange and made it possible for a professor to spend a year or so abroad without jeopardizing his professional career. There is also a need, he felt, for organizations, like the Institute of International Education at the student level, which would be exclusively concerned with international faculty exchange.

MR. STEWART agreed that the greater difficulties in faculty as opposed to student exchange underscored the need for more extensive discussions and planning.

In closing, the Chairman noted the certainty of increased student and faculty exchange and emphasized the need for further study of the problems involved in order to insure the benefit for all concerned.
THIRD SESSION

December 20, morning

Chairman: Lyman Hoover, Representative, Republic of China
Rapporteurs: Douglas P. Murray, Representative, Singapore
James H. Noyes, Representative, Ceylon

Papers by:
Zelman Cowen, Dean, Faculty of Law, University of Melbourne; Vice-Chancellor-designate, New England University

The Role of Universities in Legal Development in Asia

S. L. Chien, President, National Taiwan University

New Patterns of Inter-University Cooperation in the Natural and Physical Sciences

Dean Cowen, Mr. Hoover, Dr. Chien, Mr. Noyes
In February 1965, a conference of more than 100 jurists, practising lawyers, judges and academic lawyers, drawn from the South East Asian and Pacific regions met at Bangkok under the auspices of the International Commission of Jurists. A main theme of the meeting was the Role of the Lawyer in a Development Country. The third Committee of the Conference which specifically considered this matter reported in these terms:

"The law is not negative and unchanging. It should not be a yoke, but a light harness holding society loosely but firmly together, so that it may move freely forward. Order is important, but it must be an evolving order; the law must be firm yet flexible, and capable of adapting itself to a changing world. This is especially so in a developing country.

"Poverty, lack of opportunity and gross inequality in the Region require leaders who understand the need for evolutionary change, so that every citizen may look to a future in which each may realise his full potential as an individual in a free society. The great need of the peoples of the Region requires action, lest freedom be utterly forfeited. Beset by threats from the right or left, the statesman must find means to advance the economic and social development of his country and countrymen, whilst preserving or establishing the institutions and the freedoms which are the cornerstones of a free society under the Rule of Law.

"These problems require the lawyer to play a vital role in their solution. They cannot be solved by lawyers alone. But the life of man in society and his relationships with others are the lawyer's special knowledge and study; in many parts of the Region lawyers are particularly well equipped to see these problems in perspective and to devise solutions.

"The lawyer must look beyond the narrower confines of the law, and gain understanding of the society in which he lives, so that he may play his part in its advancement."
More precisely, the Committee formulated the obligations of lawyers, particularly in developing Asian societies. The lawyer has a strong moral obligation to uphold and advance the "Rule of Law" even if "it brings him into disfavour with authority or is contrary to current political pressures." Lawyers must be available to serve all individuals who have need of their services and must "take an active part in implementing and making effective schemes of legal aid for the poor and destitute." It was the responsibility of lawyers to endeavour to bring the law into a form which will enable a developing society to advance and its members to attain their full dignity as human beings, to cut away deadwood, to achieve clarity where previously there was obscurity in the law. The lawyer must assist in the complex task of administration in a developing society, and in so doing "he should insist...that it be executed with respect for the rights of the individual and otherwise according to law, and strive to assure judicial review of all administrative acts which affect human rights."

The achievement of all this, it was said, vitally depended on legal education. The Committee called on lawyers "to be actively concerned with legal education and the provision of adequate incentives for teachers of law and to do their utmost to implement the principles enunciated in those conclusions. The Rule of Law, as a dynamic concept, requires that legal education should bear a realistic relation to the social and economic conditions obtaining in developing societies so that future lawyers in the Region may be better equipped to perform their role in a constructive manner."

It is clear that for many developing Asian countries, this was a statement of norms, and that actual performance fell far short. In 1964, a distinguished Committee under the Chairmanship of the Chief Justice of India reported on the Reorganisation of Legal Education in the University of Delhi. The Committee explicitly formulated its view of the appropriate role of the law and lawyers in Indian society. It observed that its recommendations "proceed on the main and basic assumption that law has to play a dynamic role and those who follow the profession of law must be intellectually equipped with a proper function of its role." That role was quite explicitly defined. "It is obvious that in a democratic country, the achievement of the ideal of the Welfare State is substantially assisted by the process of law, and in that sense law becomes a mighty weapon in the armory of democracy by which socio-economic revolution is brought about...the roles of the lawyer, of advocate and agent have changed and the lawyer has emerged as the..."
architect of modern economy and governmental, organisational and regulatory process. In this context law has ceased to be merely a command of the legislature or the monarch... it is a social institution democratically evolved for achieving the object of making social adjustments to meet the challenge which incessantly flows from unsatisfied legitimate human desires and ambitions. Today, the basic difficulty which is experienced in the public life of the country (India) is an absence of a proper intellectual conception and attitude towards the function of law. The old notion that the law is static has not yielded place to the progressive notion that law is dynamic; and so, the failure to approach the problems of law functionally introduces a serious weakness in the body politic of India."

This was the critical self judgment of an expert and sophisticated Indian committee. As pointed out, much of the law of India, as it stood, took the form of rules whose authority simply depended upon the existence, the sanctity, and the antiquity of the rules: their relevance to the needs of Indian development was not questioned. In the case of India there have also been superimposed upon the indigenous law, Western legal doctrines and influences in the shape of the English common law. Elsewhere in Asia there have been comparable Western superimpositions whether in the form of common law or the European civil law systems. This too adds to the difficulties of fashioning a law relevant to the needs of developing communities, for the imported law, to quote the words of Arthur von Mehren, an able and acute American observer of Asian legal systems, "inevitably neither fits well the traditional values and attitudes of the adopting society, nor is it fully appropriate for the kind of economic and social development that the society is undertaking."

A Korean lawyer has recently looked at these matters in the context of his own country. In a very perceptive article he points out that concepts like the rule of law have little meaning for Koreans. They view the law with hostility and mistrust; it is seen as something imposed from outside, as the dictate of a ruler, and a hated foreign ruler at that, to be used against the citizen and to oppress him. Thus the law was seen simply in terms of penal sanctions, and it became a virtuous thing to evade it and to "hoodwink" the law and law enforcement officers. The notion of obligation has traditionally not depended on legal rules but rather on family or community ties. All of this has been very damaging to the pervasive acceptance of a functional notion of law. History and oppression have produced the result that the fear of and
the disrespect for the law has become a very definite national attitude. So he concludes that "the people do not have a valuable heritage of legality to be proud of. The present legal system has been transplanted on Korean soil from Europe. It has yet to take root in this alien land. It is clearly one of the most modern and scientific legal systems of the world. But it is regarded as neither urgent nor important to the daily lives of the ordinary people. The law is intended to be for the benefit of the people, but the people do not know how to take advantage of it. It gives a legal right to a Korean, but he is reluctant to exercise it, because traditionally it was not a 'virtuous' thing to resort to the law."

No doubt the judgments of the Indian Committee and the Korean lawyer have very real relevance to other areas of Asia. Their observations and criticisms teach that there are formidable difficulties in the path of willing acceptance and recognition of a dynamic functional role for law and lawyers. Because law is viewed as a static, received body of rules, because it is viewed as the assertion of arbitrary and often cruel authority, there is little respect for those who work and serve the legal processes, so that lawyers are seen—and see themselves—primarily as manipulators of the system, whose view of their own role is very limited. As Arthur von Mehren, who has had considerable opportunity to study the Indian legal system and was a member of the Chief Justice of India's Committee, puts it:

"Individuals turn to law and to lawyers when their behaviour and values are not those that are generally accepted. The law and the lawyer provide official sanction and support for such deviant behaviour. Perhaps in developing societies in which law is being used consciously and pervasively as an instrument of social change, this negative evaluation of law and of the legal profession can be overcome by the contributions to the new order. But, in most developing societies, law is not today, nor was it in the past, widely and pervasively so used. As in India, the politician, the economist, and the engineer are charged with remaking the society. The law may assist in the form of public law and administrative law, but the private law seems to play only a small role in social change. And so, the lawyer tends to be looked upon as a kind of manipulator or fixer, who fails, in many ways, to represent the society's basic values and attitudes."
THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES
IN LEGAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

More than this, in many developing societies, including India, the economic basis of the profession is poor: in a traditional rural society, the lawyer generally has a low income, although, of course, in the cities there are rich commercial practitioners. For the most part the lawyer is seen not only as a fixer, but also as a rather seedy character of rather low economic and social status. And the functions which he performs, and regards as appropriate to a lawyer, give him little encouragement to play any creative role in the society.

The observations of the Korean lawyer on lawyers in Korea are not very much more encouraging. He too says that the legal profession is not held in high regard, that the Korean Bar which grew up under the Japanese rule was regarded with suspicion because its members were mostly Japanese trained and cooperated closely with the Japanese colonial administration. That distrust survives, and the profession in general has done little to abate it. The people have shown an unwillingness to approach lawyers. "This unwillingness of the people to take advantage of the services of lawyers," he writes, "is in part due to the lack of effort on the part of the legal profession to establish a better and more effective relationship with the public. But this reluctance of the people can best be explained in terms of the traditional hostility of the Korean people toward the law and any one connected with the law. The people must be made to come to the lawyers for advice and help. The people must be made to appreciate the value of their professional services. The general attitude of the people towards the law colours their attitude towards the legal practitioner. Therefore before practitioners can do effective work towards building the Rule of Law, the Rule of Law must be secured so that the people may be able to view the law as something for their benefit. Now we are again back in the vicious circle. How can we break the circle and make the people trust the law and the lawyers?"

The problems, whether viewed in the Indian or the Korean terms, are tough ones. If Asian societies, however different from another, agree, as we hope they may agree, on common goals of furnishing progressively better standards of life for their peoples within the framework of free institutions, we have to contemplate the generation of something like a revolution in their attitudes to law. For the law will be of critical importance in the formulation and implementation of the plans and programmes which are necessary to tackle the problems of poverty, social backwardness, and underdevelopment generally. There will be great demands on lawyers if these plans and
THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES
IN LEGAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

programmes are to be clearly and intelligently drafted and articulated. That is an immense task. Economists, planners, and engineers are vital, but the framing of the structure within which they work will, if that work is to be done properly, inevitably be the task and work of lawyers who must have the capacity to draft clearly and with breadth of understanding. Moreover, the implementation of the plans calls for high legal skills in the broadest sense. Otherwise there is a very real danger that the whole complex administrative structure will bog down in inertia and delay, in corruption, and in arbitrariness. All these difficult problems are familiar enough to Western lawyers, brought face to face with the working of complex administrative machines, and they have the advantages of high technical skills, a broadly based legal education and pride in a professional tradition. It is much more difficult when the problems of development are so much greater, and when the resources, including the resources of human talent, are so much less.

There is a great mass of work to be done by lawyers, properly trained, in the public sector. In the private sector too, there will also be in Asian societies, as elsewhere, a great and important role for properly trained lawyers. Inevitably, as in the case of the developed societies, their role will in a sense be a "manipulative" one; but this will not be the end of the matter. Necessarily they must develop the social and professional responsibility which is characteristic of great Western legal professional organisations: a concern for law reform, for high standards of ethical practice, an acceptance of the obligation to furnish legal aid through properly organised services for those who cannot otherwise afford it. And the poor will be found in very large numbers in Asia.

The role of the universities in promoting legal development in Asia is beyond doubt a very important, indeed a critical one. Von Mehren's judgment on the Indian situation is very definite on this point:

"In my judgment," he writes, "the most promising--indeed probably the only potentially decisive--key to the problem is legal education. The fundamental difficulty is, after all, one of intellectual attitude and conception--the failure to approach legal problems functionally, and its corollary, a static conception of law. Conceivably social and economic change, particularly as expressed through a great speeding-up of the rate of change, will in time engender
a functional approach to legal analysis and a dynamic conception of law. But a long time will be required; legal education, by shaping the men and minds that will address themselves to the problems of law, offers the best--probably the only substantial--hope of accelerating, and consciously assisting, the process."

I agree without qualification with this assessment. But, of course, the system of legal education must be carefully and properly designed. No problem is solved simply by setting up an indigenous law school in a place where none existed before, because lawyers were sent abroad to England or Europe, or were, in a colonial pattern, required to acquire an English or other overseas qualification. An indigenous school and an indigenous qualification may fail to provide an adequate legal education and, in fact, in many cases the indigenous schools have failed. This is notably the case in the Indian schools. They are many in number and many of them have been long established. Their failure in performance is recorded in a series of reports on legal education of which the 1964 Delhi report is the latest. Dean Anandjee of Benares Law School--a very able man who did graduate work at Yale--in his 1962 Dean's report described the tasks for legal education in India as "stupendous." He pointed to what he called the generally low standard of legal education in India.

"During recent years," he wrote, "the role of law graduates has been much misunderstood, criticized and even maligned. While there is some truth in the assertions that the lawyers-of-the-day are obstructionists, technical interpretationists and impediments in the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society, it has rarely been realized that the remedy lies not in decrying the profession, but in providing a system of legal education that will produce men adept in tailoring traditional legal prescriptions to the needs of present-day India and making our law a tool of social engineering.

"Moreover if we are to have a successful democracy or even to achieve our socio-politico-economic objectives within the framework of our Constitution, the importance of legal education cannot be minimized. (It is certainly no less important than the study of scientific and technological subjects.) Indeed, the need of adequately trained law graduates was at no time in the history of human civilization greater than it is in the case of a colonial country which has, on independence,
adopted a parliamentary form of government, guaranteed
certain fundamental rights, and pooled all her resources for
the economic emancipation of her people."

This is strongly endorsed by the Chief Justice's Report on
Legal Education and Delhi University in 1964. The faults in Indian
legal education are many and they are set out in the 1964 report, and
in other reports. These faults are particularized as the woeful inade-
quacies of staffing of Indian law schools, the comparatively low standards
of large numbers of students, inadequate libraries and research, the
"rote" system of instruction, the external, unsearching examination
system which stresses rote learning, and the shortness of the courses.
There is particular stress on the staffing deficiencies; for the most part,
law teachers are poorly paid and are frustrated by a hierarchical struc-
ture with extremely limited promotion prospects, so that with distin-
guished exceptions, many of the teachers are men of poor calibre who,
working with the most inadequate resources, cannot hope to work any
change in the system whose woeful inadequacies have been the subject of
repeated report. Many of the teachers are part-time instructors, who
have come to law teaching with no higher aim than the supplementation
of meagre income.

The hope, and the only hope, is for the universities to break
out of this wretched, vicious circle. In the Indian context, the view of
the Delhi Committee and other experienced observers is that the only
proper course is to strengthen and greatly strengthen a very small
number of law schools which would thereby become "national schools"
and would, it is hoped, provide examples and stimulus for other schools.
It is obvious that the task of getting the selected schools right is difficult
enough; and it is also obvious that the force of example, for a complex
of reasons, will work slowly. But in my view it is not possible to envisage
any alternative plan. I am satisfied that it is only through a revolution in
legal education which must come through the universities—for in the
nature of things it cannot come through the existing professional bodies—that stated and desired objectives so well articulated by Dean Anandjee
and the Chief Justice's Committee can be effected. It will call for the
commitment of substantial local resources which are already scarce and
it therefore makes great demands on the imagination of governments in
fixing their priorities, when there is already such great demand on such
resources as exist. Government has to be persuaded to look beyond the
existing poor state of the legal profession to the importance of a regenera-
tion of the profession, and to realize the role it may perform. It calls
also for external support, and it is notable that there has been American foundation interest in a number of Asian law schools, and particularly in India, in encouraging "trail-blazing" national schools in Delhi and Benares. This support should and indeed does include the provision and financing of manpower in the form of visiting professors who should be men of mature experience and judgment, who are prepared to stay long enough to exercise a significant influence on the development of the Asian school. It is not for a visitor to come with the object of making over an Asian school in the likeness of his own, for that is almost certainly doomed to failure. It is for him to serve as exemplar, stimulator, and generator of standards and enthusiasm. I have said elsewhere that I regard it as a mistake for the foundations who have committed resources to such programmes to rely exclusively on American professors to participate in this work. In this area there are men from Australia, Canada, and other developed countries who can well be called into service and the broadening of the base of experience and outlook in this way can only be beneficial.

In some parts of Asia, in India and Pakistan for example, it is likely that the staffing of the university law schools will be overwhelmingly indigenous in character, for there are men of talent, with horizons widened and standards strengthened by experience abroad, who, given the appropriate rewards, facilities, and encouragement, can do a very fine job. Elsewhere, where schools are being built up from scratch, because they are being established for the first time, it may be necessary to rely heavily in the first place and for some time to come on the expatriate teachers. This has been the case in Malaya; it will certainly be the case in Hong Kong when it establishes its law school. There are problems here, and the University of Malaya serves as an example and a warning. It was very fortunate in the recruitment of its first Dean, L. A. Sheridan, who came from Belfast. With great determination and with high ability, and with support from the University and from foundations, he built up a very fine, indeed a remarkable school measured by staff, library, and academic standards. But strong political pressures were brought to bear upon the school, and the discomfort and uncertainty led to the departure of many of its able people. For a time it found itself in a parlous position, and threatened with the loss of much that it had achieved. It needs little demonstration to show that a good expatriate staff will not stay if conditions are uncomfortable and oppressive, and I do not speak only of material conditions. There are too many good opportunities for employment of good academic lawyers all over the world. The Malaya problem has its echoes elsewhere in the world, and could easily arise elsewhere in Asia. Government indifference and
parsimony are almost as great an evil as government pressure. University administrations have to face tough problems: they have to protect their staffs against the pressures and threats of impatient, irritated, and sometimes xenophobic governments. The faults are not always on one side, but if law schools crumble and fall away through the resignation of good academic staffs, the outlook is poor.

I have very little doubt of the importance of the role of universities in Asian legal development. In the case of the Indian subcontinent I am wholly in agreement with the views of those who say that the greatest hope in generating sound and appropriate legal development lies in legal education. Whereas in a country like Korea there is, in effect, a gulf between the law and the people, it can only be bridged by effecting a revolution in the minds of men, and this can only come through the creation of a new view of the law. To wait for this to come from the people at large is absurd and it must in the first place be brought to the people through the character, the values and the activities of the lawyers who by their example and community role will give the people a new view of the law. This in turn lays great stress on the education which the lawyers themselves receive, and once again we return to the responsibilities of the universities.

I have not spoken of other university responsibilities in the field of legal development. In many parts of Asia, there has been little systematic study of and writing on the local law. The existing profession is not equipped and qualified to do this, and a prime responsibility for such research activities, which are of obvious importance in legal development, will necessarily fall on the universities.

It seems to me that initiatives will necessarily have to come in the first place from the universities themselves and from the governments which will have to support them. The support and encouragement of the foundations will continue to be very important. It is not likely that local professions and professional associations will generate a demand for better legal education in the universities. This is so for various reasons: lawyers who are themselves the product of a poor legal education, with poor professional standards, are not--except for the most enlightened--likely to demand any better. In some cases, for quite base reasons--specifically an apprehension that their privileged position will be threatened by an influx of locally trained men--professional bodies will resist the establishment of local university schools of law, though the reasons they may give will be couched in other and
THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN LEGAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

loftier, though quite bogus, terms. This is not to argue that the support of the profession should not be enlisted: if it can be obtained the tasks are easier. But the organized profession must not be allowed to interpose a veto upon the establishment of schools whose creation and establishment may be indispensable to the furtherance of legal development.

In some parts of Asia, as I see it, the problem of legal education lies in dealing with long established indigenous schools of law, and in remaking them, for the task cannot be described in terms of a smaller magnitude. In other parts, the task is one of starting from scratch, and this, it may be, is easier, though it is full of problems. It is for the universities of Asia, in their faculties of law, to maintain close contacts with the great established law schools of the world. Men who, as graduate students, see excellence elsewhere, will want to battle against woeful inadequacy at home, at least if they are given some encouragement. What is required all over developing Asia is the acceptance of a dynamic, functional view of the law and of the need for a legal profession which has a strong sense of responsibility to the society in which it exists. In the task of building this essentially new view of law and lawyers, there is no doubt that the universities have a decisive role.
THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES
IN LEGAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

Dean Cowen's Presentation

Before outlining the main points of his paper, DEAN COWEN noted that he had had experience with legal education in India, Africa, to a degree in Malaysia, and most recently in Hong Kong. He consequently felt "a measure of commitment, not to say a measure of frustration" toward the matter.

In summarizing his paper, Dean Cowen stressed the dangers of generalizing about Asian countries, where cultures differed so widely and where legal systems could be based upon civil, common, or indigenous law traditions. Following upon Dr. Romulo's comments about the over-supply of lawyers, and the need to reshape educational systems to local requirements, Dean Cowen suggested that quality was of equally great importance on the Asian scene: legal education generally is weak, particularly in India, where it is "as bad as it could be." The questions of quality, appropriateness, and supply all are critical in relation to the "generally unsatisfactory state...of legal education, in Asia."

Dean Cowen stressed that the tasks imposed on the lawyer in the development process were terribly testing. This relates, among other things, to the increasing complexity of the administrative machinery; the need to instill a concern for the rule of law as an orderly and just process; and the need to uphold and espouse just but unpopular causes where necessary.

To prepare the law and lawyers for this vital role through the machinery of legal education, the universities clearly are responsible for making the principal effort. The law in Asian countries, exemplified in India and Korea, is customarily seen as a symbol of tyranny, an authority to be employed in order to "fix" problems and difficulties. Rather than being a lofty recourse and aid, the law is simply a tool to be used for one's own ends. Consequently, the legal profession and lawyers have fallen into contempt, being seen as sources of authority and power rather than as active participants in "the whole development process." Yet without properly trained, liberal lawyers, Dean Cowen argued that "the whole development process is likely to go bad."

The low state of the law and the legal profession in India is well recognized by Indian intellectuals themselves. It is not the biased judgment of an outside observer, but a problem of intense local concern. Yet how can an entire system of law and legal education be reviewed and upgraded to suit the development process? Dean Cowen suggested that
there is no other possible cure in India except the establishment of several model "National Schools," as examples of excellence to be emulated gradually by other institutions throughout the country. For this, the resources of foreign foundations definitely are needed, and visiting professors are required to stimulate new ideas and departures. However, this should not be an exclusively American operation; the resources of Australasia, Canada, and other countries with developed legal systems should be employed as well.

Regardless of the wisdom of their conception and organization, new legal education programs face many difficulties in Asia. In Singapore, for example, where a very good start was made years ago, government pressures and an element of local xenophobia almost destroyed the effort; only courage and perseverance sustained the law school program to its present more healthy state. Also, there will be professional resistance to improvements in legal education from within the profession itself; e.g., by those whose own training was inferior and who would feel threatened by a well-trained incoming generation.

Professor Cowen concluded by stressing again that legal education is vital to the development process, yet in general is in a weak state in Asian countries. It must be the universities who take the lead in developing legal education for its broadest contribution.

Discussion

DR. WILLIAMS opened discussion by endorsing Dean Cowen's comments about the potential role of foundations, and cited The Asia Foundation's recent support of the new Regional Law Association for Asia and the Western Pacific. This new Association, comprised of leading lawyers, members of the judiciary, professors, and Bar Association officers, has clearly stated that one of its main concerns is with the role of law in national development. Over the years the Foundation has supported legal research, training, and the development of bar associations, and has identified itself with the kind of development which Dean Cowen felt was so necessary.

DR. ROMULO particularly appreciated the speaker's comment that legal education should primarily be the province of universities. This view is shared in the Philippines, and the University of the Philippines College of Law is one of Asia's finest. Similarly, a Legal Research Center at the University is undertaking a wide range of studies, and through its current efforts to revise the Administrative Code, is in fact "reorganizing
THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES
IN LEGAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

the Philippine Government." Dr. Romulo expressed his gratitude to The Asia Foundation for help given both to the College of Law and the Legal Research Center. He added that while the Philippines had indeed reached the saturation point in the supply of lawyers, they had not experienced the same difficulty of low quality as in other Asian countries.

DR. STERLING agreed with previously stated opinions about the importance of law as an agent of social change and reorganization, but observed that in most nations this process has been "directed inward," concerned with national problems rather than international conditions. He wondered whether the demands on legal education in the national cause were not so severe as to require considerably more and longer formal training in producing lawyers able to contribute to the overall development effort.

Dean Cowen replied, "Definitely, yes." He suggested that the British system itself, where law is an undergraduate study, is inadequate, and that such a system is even less adequate for a developing society. It makes no sense, he suggested, to believe that a high school graduate can be transformed into a socially aware and responsible lawyer in three years. It may be quite a different thing for engineers, agronomists, and other technicians, but lawyers certainly need a substantial base of liberal education in government, politics, etc. If the seven-year programs of the United States are too long, at least four or perhaps even five years is a sensible training period in developing Asian countries.

In this connection, MR. STEINBERG noted the importance of Korea's Graduate School of Law. This program is required of all lawyers, judges, etc., before their professional participation in society. One of the School's important intentions is to bring the Korean legal system into contact with other legal systems through the exchange of personnel, publications, and advanced courses. The School has been supported by the Korean Government and in part by The Asia Foundation. He suggested that both Korean officials and the Foundation took a broad view of the law and legal training, seeing them as part of the development of society as a whole--in Max Weber's terms, the movement from a traditional social system to a rationalized, bureaucratic system.

Mr. Steinberg cited the new Asian Law Librarians Association, recently formed at a conference in the Philippines, as a good example of regional cooperation in the field of law. He also mentioned the work of several American organizations, including the Continuing Education of
THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES
IN LEGAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

the Bar and its cooperation with the Japan Bar Association, as further examples of beneficial international cooperation in law.

In response to a question of the relevance of legal training to economic development programs, Dean Cowen agreed that legal education should include a wide range of subject matters. However, he warned against the assumption that "a few courses" in law could be of use to non-lawyers. Proper legal education cannot be gotten in "little bits." Such piecemeal training, or general "panoramic" courses for persons going into public administration, government service, etc., could be both pernicious and dangerous. If legal education is to be undertaken at all, it should be deep, rigorous, and extensive.

DR. LI stated his agreement with Dean Cowen's general thesis about the common Asian perception of the law as hostile and authoritarian. He stressed that institutionalized law is an alien phenomenon in Asia, imported from the West. Chinese society, for example, had long been ruled by ethical codes rather than formalized law. The codified law of twentieth century China became simply a patchwork of parts from various European and American sources. Very few persons, including intellectuals, understood what the law was on any particular point. Dr. Li suggested that in Japan, despite its high level of industrial development, the rule of law in rural areas is still weak. Tradition and family ties probably are still dominant. Consequently, he suggested that a fundamental factor in legal education in Asia should be "education of the masses"--an attempt to instil broad knowledge of what the law is about, what it demands, and what it bestows. Dr. Li suggested that the recent cultural upheaval in China exemplifies how a government, through comprehensive, all-permeating organizations, attempts to change attitudes at the popular level.

From the top of the system, in the law schools, Dr. Li stressed the importance of research as a basis for legal reform and rejuvenation. This involves a need for top Asian intellectuals to undertake creative work, ground-breaking investigations on legal needs and the relationship of legal systems to social institutions and development. In this connection, Dr. Li stressed that the research and training programs at the University of the Philippines are of special importance, and that legal education represents one of the most fruitful potential fields for inter-university cooperation, through the coordination of research and cross-generation of new ideas in training programs.
THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN LEGAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

Dean Cowen responded by suggesting that Dr. Li was using the "rule of law" in a broader sense than he had first intended; his paper dealt with only the technical aspects of the law and legal training, the legal guarantees and methods included in any training program in this field. He added that Professor Li's discussion of the "common acceptance" of law within a society was "an important corrective" to his argument. However, what is really meant by "educating the masses" in terms of the law? How is it done? Dean Cowen suggested that the best method was simply to provide proper legal education through the universities, thereby producing lawyers and legal scholars who can gain the confidence of the common man, and "build bridges" to the people. In this connection, the initiative must come from the universities, with their pre-eminent concern with high standards rather than mere techniques.

Dean Cowen drew the dichotomy between the extremes of general principles and techniques--either one can dominate in a legal education program. What is needed, he suggested, was mutual interdependence, a deep concern with broad general issues infused with a demand for attainment of technical skills. To do this, a broad general education is needed, and "teaching the boys" in college about the great issues of society is a prerequisite for later professional training.

A question was raised by MR. KLAUSNER about the most effective mechanisms for encouraging lawyers to recognize and take up their role as agents of social change. How was it possible to establish a more constructive dialogue between the lawyer and those involved in the problems of economic and social development? What types of pressures and resources can be brought to bear upon them in this effort--local, bilateral, or regional cooperative mechanisms?

MR. ROBINSON raised the corollary problem, the continuing need for legal educators to remain true to their profession and not become too preoccupied with social change and social development issues. In establishing a program of legal education, a university "must carry the profession with us," in order to assure the acceptance of their graduates by the local legal profession. The professional, "technical training" aspects of legal education cannot be overlooked. Even in the United Kingdom, it is difficult to assure the acceptability of university law graduates in their profession. He suggested that nothing better than a "somewhat unsatisfactory compromise" seemed possible for Asian law schools; namely, starting on a more narrow, professional basis.
than ideally would be desirable. At the same time, however, preparation can always be made for research, library development, etc., as steps toward an eventually broader role.

MR. JOHNSON suggested that perhaps General Romulo had been too modest in not mentioning one important program by the University of the Philippines toward gaining acceptance of the law throughout society, while simultaneously raising professional standards. For the last three years, the UP law school has had a program of "continuing legal education" in various provincial centers, where local lawyers, judges, etc., have participated in week-long seminars for in-service refresher training and discussion of issues. These programs also provide feed-back to the UP law school about the problems and interests of the legal profession throughout the Philippines.

Dean Cowen acknowledged the importance of this UP program, but suggested that it is the structure of the initial legal education program which is crucial. He acknowledged the importance of Mr. Robinson's comments about the need for the goodwill of legal professionals, since a university "cannot achieve much without it"; he agreed that while in the early days a legal education program probably must compromise toward technical training, it can be increasingly broadened and improved as it grows.

Commenting further on the relationship of legal practitioners and legal education, Dean Cowen suggested that at the level of continuing education programs, such as had been described for the Philippines, there was a role for the practitioner to play. But in the undergraduate schools providing initial education, it is incumbent upon a university to obtain the best possible professional teachers who can sort out intellectual issues, inspire and challenge students, and not simply provide "how to do it" courses. Like most things, starting a law school requires a "judicious and appropriate admixture" of the practical and the scholarly approaches.

Speaking to the issue of regional, multilateral, or even bilateral cooperation, Dean Cowen suggested the need to be very careful about encouraging too much of it during the early stages of legal training programs; the diverse local traditions and problems of Asian countries mean that the original issues to be considered must be local, national issues. Eventually, there certainly will be a need for bilateral and multilateral assistance among Asian countries, but to start too
THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN LEGAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

soon with regional cooperation could be "to generalize the problems of Asian countries out of existence."

DR. QURESHI commented briefly on Pakistan's experience in legal education. He suggested that it has been as bad as, or perhaps even worse than, India's. Personally, he strongly wished to avoid producing mere legal practitioners, but the pressures within Pakistan society today are that education must pay immediate economic dividends, and only practitioners get this kind of pay-off. He endorsed Dr. Li's point that, as in China, the legal systems of Pakistan and India had come from outside. The law was seen simply as a means for obtaining certain particular ends, to be manipulated and used rather than to guide and provide justice. This, he believes, is primarily because the law "is not rooted in the morality of the people themselves," and this fundamental problem is of major concern in Pakistan.

Dr. Williams took up Dean Cowen's point about the importance of "educating the boys" as the basic step in developing a proper legal education system, but suggested that perhaps the problem begins not with the boys themselves, but with the deans. Is the right view of the function and nature of the law being generated and the proper inspiration given at the professorial level? Dean Cowen agreed with the importance of such concern.

The closing comment was offered by DR. THOMPSON, who spoke of the need for both general awareness and popular appreciation of the law in Asia, and for early inspiration regarding the law among youth and undergraduates. Is there not, he asked, an important role for "the grand simplifier," the person who can write on legal matters for the general public, who can inspire youthful interest in the law among young men as did Pound, Holmes, and Cardozo?
NEW PATTERNS OF INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION
IN THE NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

S. L. Chien

The subject on which I am going to speak this morning is "New Patterns of Inter-University Cooperation in the Natural and Physical Sciences." During the past two and half years, two new patterns of inter-university cooperation, namely, the joint summer science seminars program and the science research centers program, have been worked out by several leading universities in Taiwan with the assistance of Academia Sinica and financial support from the National Council on Science Development (NCSD), The Asia Foundation, the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, and the Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development (CIECD). The main objective of the summer science seminars is to upgrade the quality of university faculty members while that of the science research centers is to promote research and strengthen the graduate training program. In the following paragraphs I shall describe to you: (1) the problems of education in Taiwan; (2) the role played by the National Council on Science Development in the long range development of science in Taiwan; (3) the summer science seminars jointly sponsored by the universities, and (4) the science research centers formed through the cooperation of universities.

Right after the restoration of Taiwan to China following the second World War, there were only one university and three junior colleges with a total enrollment of slightly over two thousand students. Today we have 31 universities, colleges, and junior colleges with a total enrollment of nearly eighty thousand. During a period of 21 years the enrollment has increased 40 times. This rapid expansion in higher education has brought with it the familiar problems of teaching staff shortages and lack of physical facilities. In certain fields, such as mathematics, physics, and biology, to mention but a few, there are simply not enough trained persons of the right caliber to fill the vacant academic posts. In other disciplines, such as agriculture and engineering, the demand of other governmental and private institutions has taken away many competent persons who would otherwise be available for academic appointments. Also to be noted is the annual loss of about 2,000 university graduates who go abroad for advanced study and do not come back. The low scale of salaries has made it difficult for the universities and colleges to recruit faculty members, and, to a less serious extent, to retain the old ones.
NEW PATTERNS OF INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION
IN THE NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

With a view to improving this situation, the late Dr. Hu Shih, then President of the Academia Sinica, proposed to the Chinese Government in 1958 a plan for the establishment of a "National Council on Science Development." His proposal was accepted by the Government and the National Council on Science Development was established in February, 1959. The main aim of the Council is the financing of long-range projects for the development of science in the Republic of China. The word "science" is used here in its broadest sense to include also social sciences and humanities. The members of the council consist of representatives of the Academia Sinica and the Ministry of Education. The President of the Academia Sinica is the Chairman of the Council and the Minister of Education is its Vice Chairman. The Council's financial resources are derived from the government and supplemented by funds made available from other sources. The Asia Foundation is one of its strong supporters. The regular budget of the Council for the current fiscal year is NT$60,000,000.00 which is equivalent to US$1,500,000.00.

Up to the year 1964, the main undertakings of the Council had been along the following lines:

(1) Establishment of National Research Chairs and Visiting Professorships at leading universities and colleges;

(2) Grant of research subsidies to competent faculty members and research workers;

(3) Fellowship programs for faculty and research staff members;

(4) Institutional grants to universities and research institutions for the improvement of their physical facilities;

(5) Institutional grants for faculty housing, and

(6) Financing the publication of technical journals.

During the 5-year period 1959-1964 the Council made total appropriations of NT$312,000,000.00 which is equivalent to US$7,800,000.00. Because of the broad scope of its work, there perhaps have been but limited visible results. However, it is also certain that this program has improved teaching and research conditions to some degree, and has at least relieved the rather pressing difficulties arising from the
disparity between salary and cost of living. It has therefore achieved a good stabilizing effect on the morale of the learned professors.

Over the years the universities and colleges have tried various means to solve the problem of teaching staff shortages, or at least to alleviate the situation. The methods employed consisted of: (1) sending faculty members abroad for research and study; (2) inviting visiting professors from abroad; (3) recruiting new faculty members from abroad, and (4) providing graduate training in our own universities. The first two methods have been very successful. With financial support from various sources, we have sent large numbers of faculty members abroad to further their studies. National Taiwan University alone has sent nearly 400 over the years. With few exceptions, they all returned with fruitful results. For the current year, we have enlisted the services of forty-odd visiting professors. The third method has not been as successful. Only a small number of our graduates return from abroad to join our faculty each year. The average number per year is 12 for National Taiwan University. During the past few years we have concentrated our efforts on the fourth method, namely, the expansion and strengthening of our graduate schools. Special emphasis has been laid on the natural and physical sciences, as they are basic for the study of agriculture, engineering, and medicine. In order to make maximum use of equipment and to share the services of faculty members and research workers, cooperation among universities and between universities and research institutions is especially desirable.

In the summer of 1964, a new pattern of inter-university cooperation in the natural and physical sciences was initiated. With financial aid from The Asia Foundation and the National Council on Science Development, three educational and research institutions--the Academia Sinica, National Taiwan University, and National Tsinghua University--jointly sponsored a program of summer seminars on mathematics, physics, and biology. Twelve visiting lecturers were invited from the United States to lecture and to lead in the discussions in the seminars. They came from American universities and research institutions and all are scholars of Chinese origin. A selected group of 169 faculty members and 50 graduate students from universities and colleges all over the island participated in the seminars. The mathematics seminar was held on the campus of National Taiwan University; the physics seminar on the campus of National Tsinghua University; and the biology seminar at the Institute of Botany of the Academia Sinica. The host institutions provided living quarters for both the visiting...
NEW PATTERNS OF INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION
IN THE NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

lecturers and the participants. In addition to discussions on special
topics, lectures on fundamental concepts and recent developments
were also given. In a short period of 8 weeks (July 1 - Aug. 31, 1964),
the participants had the opportunity of consolidating their understand-
ing of the basic concepts as well as bringing up to date their knowledge
in a special field of interest. A number of public lectures were also
given for the general audience. These seminars and lectures were
received with great enthusiasm and proved to be a success. The pro-
gram not only benefited the graduate students but also served as a
refresher course for the faculty members. During the summertime,
there are better chances for securing the services of Chinese scholars
who teach at universities abroad. It is also the ideal time for faculty
members and graduate students of the universities and colleges in
Taiwan to participate in these seminars and to attend lectures. The
sponsoring institutions, therefore, resolved that their cooperative
efforts should be continued and the scope of the summer seminars for
the succeeding years should be enlarged to include other disciplines as
well.

In the summer of 1965, five science seminars were jointly
organized by the three sponsoring institutions. The two new disciplines
added were chemistry and engineering science. In the 1964 program,
chemistry was not included because the U. S. Educational Foundation in
the Republic of China (USEF/C) operated a summer institute in chemistry
at that time. In 1965 the U. S. Educational Foundation discontinued its
summer science institute program and shifted its financial support to
the joint summer science seminar program of the Academia Sinica and
the two national universities. The 1965 Summer Science Seminars were
therefore financially supported by The Asia Foundation, the National
Council on Science Development, and the U. S. Educational Foundation.
With the exception of the physics seminar, which was held on the campus
of National Tsinghua University, all the seminars were held on the
campus of National Taiwan University. A large number of applicants
applied for participation, but only 378, which consisted of 269 faculty
members and 109 graduate students, were accepted because of lack of
space. The number of visiting lecturers increased to twenty-six, of
whom two were Americans. For the current year, 1966, five summer
science seminars were also conducted. The number of visiting lecturers
invited and the number of participants accepted were approximately the
same as in the previous year but the biology seminar was replaced by one
on economics. The biology seminar will be restored next summer. In
the future we are going to incorporate these summer science seminars
NEW PATTERNS OF INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION
IN THE NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

into our regular summer sessions to make it possible for the participants to earn some credits.

The summer science seminars described in the preceding paragraphs laid their emphasis on the natural and physical sciences. They were, and will be, conducted jointly by the Academia Sinica and the two national universities. They represent, therefore, a new pattern of inter-university cooperation in the natural and physical sciences. I do hope that, in due course, these seminars will develop into international seminars so that scientists from different countries may get together and discuss subjects of common interest.

Now, I shall present another new pattern of inter-university cooperation in the natural and physical sciences; namely, the science research centers. With the idea of further improving the quality of our teaching and research programs, the National Council on Science Development mapped out, in January 1965, a four-year scientific manpower development program which led to the establishment of five research centers in science and engineering and a sixth one in agriculture.

The main objectives of the scientific manpower development program proposed by the National Council on Science Development are:

(1) To provide the country with a steady supply of competent scientists and highly trained technological manpower;

(2) To reduce the exodus of talented youths and scientists from the country.

In order to achieve these objectives, the following measures were taken:

(1) Establishment of five Science Research Centers:

Five science research centers were set up in July 1965. They are:

(a) The Mathematics Research Center:

Sponsored by National Taiwan University, in cooperation with the Academia Sinica and National Tsinghua University;
NEW PATTERNS OF INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN THE NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

(b) The Physics Research Center:

Sponsored by National Tsinghua University in cooperation with the Academia Sinica and National Taiwan University;

(c) The Chemistry Research Center:

Sponsored by National Taiwan University in cooperation with the Academia Sinica;

(d) The Biology Research Center:

Sponsored by the Academia Sinica in cooperation with National Taiwan University;

(e) The Engineering Science Research Center:

Sponsored by Provincial Cheng Kung University in cooperation with National Taiwan University and National Chiaotung University.

In each center there is a director to take overall charge of the center's operations and a program committee of five to seven members responsible for the planning of research and training programs and the selection of research personnel. Each center also has a number of advisors.

The budget needed for the establishment of these five centers and their related activities was estimated at a total of NT$125,000,000 (US$3,125,000) for the first four years. Of this amount, 80% (NT$100,000,000--US$2,500,000) are grants from the Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development and 20% is from the National Council on Science Development. Through the National Council, The Asia Foundation and the China Foundation also helped in the program by providing visiting professorships. These five centers have a total of 220 graduate students.

(2) The Establishment of the Agricultural Research Center:
The Agricultural Research Center was established in January 1966 with National Taiwan University as its sponsoring institution. The cooperating institutions are Taiwan Provincial Agricultural Research Institute and Provincial Chung Hsing University. Its annual budget is set at NT$12,500,000 (US$312,500), of which NT$10,000,000 (US$250,000) or 80% are grants from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) and NT$2,500,000 (US$62,500) or 20% is from the National Council. The center has at present 68 graduate students.

The idea of setting up these research centers was first suggested by Dr. S. S. Chern, member of Academia Sinica, member of the U. S. National Academy of Sciences, and Professor of Mathematics at the University of California. It received strong support from members attending the first and the second joint meetings of the Chinese and American Committees on Sino-American Science Cooperation. These meetings were sponsored by the U. S. National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council and the Academia Sinica for deliberation on ways and means of promoting science cooperation between the two countries. The first joint meeting was held at the Academia Sinica in April, 1964 and the second was held at the American Academy of Sciences-National Research Council in February 1965.

(3) Sino-American Cooperation in the Field of Humanities and Social Sciences:

The third meeting of the Chinese and American Committees on Science Cooperation was held at Taipei in June, 1966. The American Delegation was headed by Dr. Frederick Burkhardt, President of the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS). In a four-day conference, both delegations agreed on a number of general and specific resolutions. These resolutions may be classified into four categories:

(a) Initiating joint research programs from which ultimately a joint institute will be formed to serve as a center for the collaboration of scholars.

(b) Exchange of junior and senior scholars in order to strengthen training in relevant fields in Taiwan as well as
NEW PATTERNS OF INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION
IN THE NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

to provide a better environment for study by American sociologists.

(c) Joint effort to improve teaching and research conditions in Taiwan.

(d) Exchange of materials.

Immediately after the meeting, a number of Chinese scholars were invited by President Wang Shih-chieh of Academia Sinica to form a Council. An Executive Committee with thirteen members was then formed to carry out the above-mentioned resolutions. For the first year, the National Council on Science Development has appropriated NT$5,000,000 (US$125,000) for the development of humanistic studies and social sciences.

The establishment of the above-mentioned research centers has several advantages. Firstly, the participating institutions pool their resources, both manpower and physical facilities. Secondly, duplication in the procurement of expensive equipment is avoided. Thirdly, the graduate students may do their thesis work at a research institution and take their courses at one of the universities. In this way, the Chemistry Research Center started its Ph.D. program last fall; the Physics Research Center will start its Ph.D. program next spring; and the Biology Research Center and the Mathematics Research Center are also contemplating the starting of their Ph.D. programs in the near future. If these programs prove to be successful, we shall have a new source of supply of faculty members. Since these science research centers are formed through cooperation among the universities they represent another new pattern of inter-university cooperation in the natural and physical sciences.

These two patterns of inter-university cooperation in the natural and physical sciences described in the preceding paragraphs are new attempts made by the universities in my country. Similar patterns may have been employed by universities in other countries at other times; if this is the case, I would be most appreciative of being so informed. Their experience will be most helpful to us.

In the next few years, we shall concentrate our efforts on improving these programs and at the same time continue to send our
NEW PATTERNS OF INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN THE NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

faculty members abroad for further studies. If our efforts are successful, our science faculties will be greatly strengthened by the addition of new faculty members and new laboratories, procurement of new equipment and a budgetary increase for research. The improved conditions for teaching and research will in turn attract more of our graduates who have completed their studies abroad to return and join our faculties. Then we shall be able to turn out more and better graduates in science to meet, at least in part, the growing demand of our industries.

A recent manpower resources study of Taiwan made by the Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development indicated that over the period from 1965 to 1969 there will be a serious shortage of university graduates in the disciplines of science, engineering, and medicine. If we succeed in the discipline of science, it will be easier for us to tackle the problems of medicine and engineering.

Before I conclude, I wish to take this opportunity to thank The Asia Foundation for its continued interest in our program and for the privilege of making this report. Your comments and advice will be greatly appreciated.
NEW PATTERNS OF INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION
IN THE NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Dr. Chien's Presentation

Following his introduction by the Chairman, Dr. Chien read the text of his paper.

Discussion

The Chairman (Mr. Hoover) explained that the Council on International Cooperation and Development of which Dr. Chien spoke is not international in the usual sense, but was set up by the National Government in order to channel and coordinate international assistance and investment. Dr. Chien's comments have brought out the particular binational relationships with the U. S. under these programs and perhaps it would now be interesting to examine the pattern with reference to potential regional programs within and between Asian countries.

MR. EILERS commented that the example of science development exemplified in the Taiwan experience had influenced developments elsewhere. At a recent meeting in Malaysia to consider establishment of a Penang Center for Science and Mathematics under SEAMES, as earlier mentioned by Dr. Romulo, the model of binational cooperation in Taiwan was a most useful example that may be transferable to the Southeast Asian area. As regards science curriculum revision, the Nuffield, the United States, and the Australian approaches were considered, along with the fundamental question of whether any outside system or combination of systems could be superimposed. The conclusion was positive. Through training and retraining of teachers, research, summer seminars, and other programs over a long period, science development could be achieved in the Southeast Asia area along lines similar to the Taiwan model.

DR. QURESHI noted that the shocking aspect of the high percentage of Taiwan students not returning after foreign study should be examined. The figures seem much higher than for other Asian countries, certainly as compared with Pakistan, and it is pertinent to ask the cause.

Dr. Chien replied that the answer is complex, as is the problem. Low pay scales compared to U. S. standards decidedly influence returnees considering the alternatives between government or teaching jobs in Taiwan or a position in the United States. The other major aspect is the availability of jobs in Taiwan. If all the several thousands who have finished graduate training abroad were to return...
NEW PATTERNS OF INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION
IN THE NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

to Taiwan perhaps only half of them could be provided jobs. Of this one-half, moreover, a significant number could not be absorbed so as to utilize fully their foreign training. The complexity of the problem is exemplified further by the frequent lack of specialized laboratory or library facilities adequate for the highly specialized returnee who wishes to pursue his work among colleagues similarly engaged.

DR. ROMULO, sharing the concern for the large numbers of Chinese students remaining in the United States, asked why the salary scale should be so low in a country like Taiwan which is exhibiting such marked and admirable economic development.

Dr. Chien replied that in Taiwan the salary scales of the public universities, both national and provincial, are linked to civil service grades and it is most difficult to argue for exceptional treatment for the academics.

DR. WILLIAMS commented that perhaps we should honestly recognize the fault of the United States, where salaries are rising and where Chinese students have so often performed brilliantly. Despite this brainpower loss, however, we might also note that Taiwan is still able to contribute outstandingly to regional needs elsewhere. There is even a Taiwan center servicing African development needs, with twelve or more African countries represented in the student body specializing in land reform and agricultural development.

MR. HITCH indicated the great importance of fixing salary scales for academic people distinctly separate from civil servants. The University of California is a public institution, he said, "but we could not begin to staff our campuses were it not for an entirely separate salary system from State grades of pay." Dr. Chien responded that the government has taken steps to improve university salaries. The research grant of 1200 Taiwan dollars monthly for all faculty without need for application or competition is an example. The difficulty is psychological. Professors do not consider these grants as part of their salary, and the feeling of being underpaid continues.

MR. PIKE pointed out that in Taiwan there is difficulty in creating specialized incentives for it is a society strongly committed to egalitarian and uniform salary treatment. But many incentives come from the outside, so to speak. Fringe benefits are provided through special housing, research grants, and other factors that
alleviate the apparent stringency of the Taiwan academic scale. It should also be noted that the non-returning Chinese scholars from the U.S. are making short-term contributions through one year, one semester, or even summer assignments in Taiwan. In some cases these brief experiences lead to a more continuing interest. Part of the solution to these problems undoubtedly relates to the creation of good graduate facilities and certainly the key to this process lies in involving government and all sectors of society so that the value of research is evident from the outset. In this stage the universities cannot act alone; they must join with many other national units.

DR. THOMPSON said that perhaps this subject could benefit from regional study on a comparative basis between those countries struggling with the difficult problem and those who have partially solved it. Thailand certainly has similar problems. A study could examine the feasibility of separating university salaries from other government salaries and the influence of different age groups in the problem, and would logically explore the U.S. experience where fringe benefits have also been found not psychologically satisfying. The Latin American situation should also be relevant and could be included in a world study of the question, as pointed to the Asian problem.

Referring to the Japanese situation, DR. OKOCHI pointed out that many young scholars have wanted to stay in the United States after their study terms expire, usually bringing their families from Japan if they make the major decision to stay in the United States permanently. Although this is one form of international cooperation, problems arise from the standpoint of the Japanese universities affected. Shortages occur in teaching staff. While salary considerations are important, a more basic reason is influential in the decisions of many of the more specialized people. In such fields as biochemistry or solid state physics, returnees cannot develop their research easily in Japan. Such specialists must be grouped and in some instances this is only feasible now in the United States. It is natural and, in fact, important that such groups be formed and these scholarly needs of young people must be appreciated.

Dr. Romulo noted that the Philippines' experience shows that a continuing fight must be made to achieve and retain the distinctiveness between academic and civil service salary scales. In 1962 it was necessary to obtain the intervention of the President of the Philippines on this matter. Reverting, however, to Dr. Chien's description of binational relationships can we not ask that Japan now establish
similar links in Asia so that the affluence and technological advancement of Japan may be shared in the area?

In response to Dr. Romulo's repeated suggestion for increased Japanese participation in regional cooperation Dr. Okochi explained that "In principle, of course, Japan would respond positively." Traditionally, however, he said that Japanese links have been to the United States, England, Germany, and France. In historical context, Japanese scholarly drive comes partly from these countries and this tradition stands as a temporary barrier to development of formal regional cooperation with our Asian neighbors. Among Japanese scholars the interest in regional cooperation is strong, but the formalities of finance and other details have not been evolved. Gradually, the thinking of high officials will become more receptive so that in the near future Japan will undoubtedly set up binational regional cooperation in Asia. If American universities and foundations can assist such cooperation it would help greatly. At this time many German universities have ambitious individual programs in which they wish to involve Japan, but Japan should consider as foremost the possibility of developing cooperative relationships in Asia itself.

DR. KIRK noted that the question of salary scales may lead one astray, when it is probably the questions of availability of research facilities, like-minded colleagues, and recognition that are paramount. In one sense, all universities are paying the necessary price for shifting emphasis from teaching to research.

In response to the question of the regional benefits of the research centers of Taiwan, Dr. Chien stated that they can be shared by others, often on an expense sharing basis. This is now being done in some fields.

MR. HOOVER noted that the modest scale of the Taiwan nuclear facility at Tsing Hua University, for instance, is an example of an installation with more direct relevance to most Asian needs than the elaborate facilities in the U.S.

Another participant said that exchanges should not be thought of as flowing in only one direction, from the United States. There are many examples of mutual benefit, such as the bamboo research and tropical diseases projects in Taiwan, which obviously aided the professional enrichment of the American personnel involved.

99
NEW PATTERNS OF INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION
IN THE NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

MR. FLEISHHACKER indicated that the 50% figure of the Taiwan students who could not be adequately employed even if they did return is impressive. It suggests the need for a study of controls or a reevaluation of the scholarship programs. Dr. Chien replied that this subject has received serious consideration, but that the government has so far decided that it would not be desirable to limit the number of students going abroad.
FOURTH SESSION

December 20, afternoon

Chairman: Leonard C. Overton, Representative, Vietnam
Rapporteurs: Douglas P. Murray, Representative, Singapore
            Louis Connick, Representative, Laos

Papers by: I. H. Qureshi, Vice-Chancellor,
           University of Karachi

The Humanities in Asian Universities

Charles J. Hitch, Vice President for Administration,
University of California

The Role of the University in Research and
Public Service

(l. to r.) Mr. Hitch, Mr. Overton, Dr. Qureshi
I owe it to you to say right in the beginning that my experience in Asia is limited to only two countries, India and Pakistan. Even in these two countries conditions have changed so rapidly since independence that it would be wrong on my part to presume that my conclusions arrived at through my experience in Pakistan should also be valid in India. So far as other countries in Asia are concerned, they differ so widely that any attempt at generalisation would be futile. My remarks, therefore, relate mainly to Pakistan. If there are other Asian countries where conditions are somewhat similar, even then differences in outlook and tradition could play a sufficiently significant role to vitiate the validity of my remarks.

The position of the humanities in a university is closely related to the functions that are assigned to it in a society. When learning was tied to the apron strings of religion, the place of pride was given to theological studies. With greater secularization of the society universities shed some of their monastic outlook and began to become strongholds of liberal thought and philosophy. It was indeed during this period that the humanities had the pride of place in the curricula of universities. During those days, even though education was not without its mundane rewards, it was considered that the widening of the horizon of human knowledge and vision was in itself a goal worthy of pursuit. Scholarship, therefore, was devoted to the unravelling of philosophic mysteries and the discovery of the beauties of ideas, imagery, and expression in literature.

The dedication with which scholars worked to achieve these goals was still a legacy of the monastic past of the university when religion had created emotional ties with the effort to pursue truth that would lead to human salvation. It is true that during the period of liberal education the goal was no longer the salvation of the soul but the enlightenment of the mind. Nevertheless, the traditions of dedication were not lost. Indeed, they still persist, because the advancement of scientific knowledge is a part of the enlightenment of the human mind.

The unravelling of the mysteries of nature through science has enlarged man's capacity to exploit them for his material benefit. Scientific research has, therefore, developed two interrelated branches. The first in point of time is the discovery of the principles, but the
second, which follows inevitably, is the application of this knowledge to the creation of a technology for the advancement of material comfort and power.

This progress has been continuous in the West, but it has been interrupted in most of the Asian countries. Today university education in Asia does not deal with ideas or even disciplines which have evolved naturally out of the older volume of knowledge as they did in Europe. The ancient Asian places of learning, their methods, and the content of their knowledge were all pushed into the background. Instead, new institutions came into existence which dealt with the new knowledge gained in the West. They also borrowed the methodology evolved in the West. In many countries like mine own, there was, in the beginning, resistance to these ideas and methods.

This resistance was neither totally unexpected nor irrational. There was a system of education existing which had been satisfying the demands of the soul, the heart, and the mind in a satisfactory manner. In many countries, particularly once again in mine, this old system at that stage was not so diametrically opposed or alien to the new knowledge as is sometimes believed. After all, apart from theology, the disciplines that were taught in the Muslim colleges and universities were logic, philosophy, medicine, and mathematics. Essentially, these were based upon the works of some of the famous Greek authors. Aristotle and Plato, Euclid and Ptolemy were as familiar to Muslim scholars as they were to their European counterparts. Indeed, it was initially through the Arab translations of the classical philosophers, mathematicians, astronomers, and physicians that the West began to understand the importance of Greece. Even theology has certain points of contact because of the common Semitic origin of Islam and Christianity. So far as legal thinking was concerned, which in Islam was basically rooted in religion, it had evolved a methodology which was by no means illogical or unintelligible from the point of view of the West.

Therefore, if it were simply the question of the impact of Western knowledge upon Islamic thinking and if there had been a gradual assimilation of Western knowledge and consequent transformation of Islamic learning, the results perhaps would have been different from what they have been in actual fact because of the manner in which modern knowledge was introduced by the British in the subcontinent. This impact did not come through contacts between scholars of the West and those of the Muslim East. In the subcontinent the Western system was introduced as something quite different and alien. No efforts
THE HUMANITIES IN ASIAN UNIVERSITIES

were made in the direction of assimilation. Indeed, Macaulay, who was responsible for the introduction of the English language and Western knowledge in the subcontinent, had a thorough contempt both for Hindu and Islamic learning without being familiar with either of them. Under his scheme, therefore, there could be no question of assimilation. He was so certain of the superiority of Western knowledge and culture that he expressed the hope that not one idolator would remain in Bengal within thirty years after the introduction of the new system of education. Simultaneously with the introduction of this system there was an intensification of missionary effort which used the new concepts in astronomy as a major argument against the traditional Hindu notions of cosmology and the Muslim ideas of the universe initially derived from Greek philosophers.

The new education, therefore, created an aversion in the minds of the people who gradually took to it mainly because of the opportunities of employment which it created. As English became the official language, a person who devoted himself to the older system of education had to be content with extreme poverty throughout his life. The fact that many did choose this poverty deliberately with full knowledge of the sacrifice that their choice entailed is a remarkable tribute to their loyalty to learning and culture.

Gradually the benefits of the new education became greater and more students were attracted to the new institutions. It must, however, be remembered that the main motivation came from a desire for economic benefit. In other words, the new education was a means to an end, the end being a comfortable position, maybe a clerkship or a subordinate government post, not a love of knowledge for its own sake, and this attitude became so deeply engrained in the minds of the intelligentsia that no room was left for an emotional attachment to knowledge for its own sake.

With this background it is not difficult to understand the situation as it exists today in Pakistan. This tendency to look upon education as a mere instrument for material advancement has found a fillip in the rapid economic development of several Asian countries; particularly if there has been a divorce with the past traditions of learning. With perhaps the sole exception of Japan, Asian economies are in a process of development. Similarly almost everywhere in Asia there has been a sudden break from the past at the time of the adoption of the new knowledge. Therefore, one should not expect to find in institutions imparting new education much altruistic love of knowledge.
THE HUMANITIES IN ASIAN UNIVERSITIES

In these countries, modern knowledge is merely an instrument for material betterment and is generally acquired solely for that purpose. And because a developing economy creates demands for personnel equipped with modern techniques useful in the building up of a viable and prosperous economy, attention is naturally turned towards the acquisition of these techniques rather than liberal education, and the faster an economy develops the greater is the need of personnel and, therefore, the more lucrative are the positions which are available for properly trained men and women.

In such a situation only the demands created by rapid economic development tend to be met and attention remains rivetted to avenues leading to acquisition of technical training. In an atmosphere like this the humanities are neglected and there is little attraction left in them for those who have the natural desire of establishing themselves well in life. The entire society cultivates a purely utilitarian outlook on education and governments tend to adopt policies which may not directly run counter to the cause of humanities but which seldom help the promotion of interest in disciplines not directly and immediately concerned with economic growth. The environment thus gets saturated with a bias in favour of applied sciences and technology, but, because pure sciences are looked upon as accessories to technology, they do not suffer so greatly. The requirements of development also create a market for the social scientist, especially the economist, the sociologist, and, to a smaller degree, the political scientist. So far as disciplines which have only a humanistic value, like literature and philosophy, are concerned, students begin to lose interest in them and even begin to question their utility. One cannot blame young men and women for their indifference to the humanities when the general craze in a developing economy is for securing the amenities of life and material advancement.

The result of all this is that the teaching of humanities receives little public or private support. The departments in humanities are numerically the weakest in the universities of Pakistan because they starve for students. This turns into a vicious circle. The universities bravely go on maintaining a cadre of teachers for some of the unpopular subjects, if popularity is to be judged by the number of students who study it. At the time of the disbursement of grants, greater importance is attached to the training of technical personnel than to providing a really liberal education through the teaching of humanities. It is true that in the West the better and more equipped technical institutions insist upon a modicum of knowledge in the
humanities. It is not so in many countries of Asia. It certainly is not true of Pakistan where our technical and professional colleges are concerned mainly with the production of technicians. It has not yet been realized in my country that even technicians have to work in a society and, therefore, they should understand it before they apply their knowledge to social needs. This shortcoming is getting more and more apparent as time passes and unless the public and the government alike come to realize that even though the refinement of the human mind may no longer be the basic ideal of education, no society can make real progress or find avenues of self-expression without cultivating the softer graces of life as well as developing a humanist understanding of society. The students in my country are so conscious of employment opportunities that they tend to flock first to institutions of technical training. Their preferences for other disciplines are in the same order as the demand for various categories of techniques in the market.

At present it is not realized by developing countries that apart from material prosperity a country does need wisdom. A nation may have all the resources and may also possess the means and know-how for their utilization and it may even succeed, through its knowledge, in building up a high level of prosperity, yet material prosperity alone will not make it great or come to its help in times of crisis. A people has to discover its soul and the soul cannot be discovered merely by cultivating the techniques of production which almost invariably lead to the discovery of instruments of destruction and the temptation to press them into service against one's enemies. The technician very often cultivates the view that if something can be done it should be done and does not wait to assess the moral responsibility of examining the rights and wrongs of the utilisation of power. It is one of the most depressing facts of our age that in the fortunate societies the rise in the standard of living and material comfort has not led to a fall in crime or increase in public or private morality.

The reason for this malaise is that if education fails to give a moral flavour to a person's character and thinking, it can only be destructive. It is a matter of grave concern that there has been a serious decline in attachment to the higher values and verities of life. One of the most devastating developments in advanced and powerful countries is that the liberalism which moulded the thinking of the intellectuals during the second, third, and fourth decades of this century has begun to lose ground since the Second World War. The period after the Second World War has seen an astonishing development of technology
and a woeful undermining of loyalty to human values. Of course, the
development of technology alone cannot be held responsible for
the decline of morality but, perhaps, in the extremely complex
phenomenon of the breakdown of liberalism and human values, the
importance attached to economic and technical development alone
without an equal emphasis on the acquisition of an appreciation
of the values enshrined in the humanities has played an important
role.

In countries where material resources are easily available,
studies in humanities may have declined in importance but they have
not been completely starved. In Asia where resources, except in one
or two fortunate countries, are severely limited the first consideration
in the minds of the people and the governments is the removal of poverty
and ignorance. Economic development, therefore, has become the
creed of these nations and their attention has been so greatly diverted
from the refinement and enlightenment of the mind that there has been
real deterioration not only in the moral fibre of the society but also
in its capacity to think out a philosophy of life and existence. It is
generally not realised that the richest nations can be poor without this
refinement and wisdom.

The fault does not lie entirely with the peoples or the gov-
ernments. The universities in my country are poorer in humanities
because of the distorted attitude towards education which is the crea-
tion of history because, as I said earlier, the links with the earlier
education were cut off and the new education never came to command
the affection or the loyalty that alone could have enshrined it in the
hearts of the people. There has been no real attachment to knowledge
as such or to enlightenment and, therefore, when thinking is warped in
this manner, the teaching of humanities cannot prosper. Another
reason for the decline of interest in the humanities is that, unlike
technology and pure science, some of the basic principles of Western
social sciences, philosophy, and literature have no roots in the genius
and consciousness of the people. They cannot flourish so long as their
basic assumptions remain totally alien.

There would be a future for the humanities in my country and
perhaps in other Asian countries as well, if they were brought back to
their moorings lying embedded in the subconscious of the people. The
cultivation of interest in an alien literature or philosophy is like an
exotic plant which withers when the artificial climate created for it
begins to change because of the impact of the surrounding weather. To grow in an alien soil with full vigour a plant must acclimatize itself over a long period of time so that it attains its fullest vigour under the open sky surrounded by the free air.

Perhaps I have been too pessimistic and I should not lose faith in the future of the humanities in a country like Pakistan, because, after all, we are witnessing only a period of transition. The contacts with Western knowledge will be of use when they cease to domineer. Opportunities should be created for the growth of ideas emerging from the genius of our people. Then interest will revive and humanities may not become the craze of the multitudes of students seeking entrance to our portals but there may grow up a healthy and vigorous interest in them which may not be limited only to the students and teachers but also to the people at large, including the technicians whom we train. Only then could we talk in terms of a pervading culture and moral consciousness which strike roots in the hearts of the people. When the shackles of illiteracy are broken and education no longer remains the privilege of a few, the people will assert themselves in the expression of ideas and will bring about a revolution leading to the discovery of the national soul. There are already heartening indications. For instance, the number of students in the leading universities of West Pakistan studying the national literature has increased manyfold and the departments of Urdu literature tend to be overcrowded. There is growing interest in history which is more related to the discovery of our own past than with a disproportionate involvement in the history of the West. Of course, so far as history is concerned, like any other discipline it cannot be studied in isolation, and developments in our life and the historical events shaping the thinking and destiny of our nation have to be related to the events of the world. Similarly, to the extent that our literature and philosophy have points of contact with other literatures and philosophies, the study of these contacts will bring about a better understanding of the growth of our own genius than is perhaps available today.
Dr. Qureshi's Presentation

In summarizing his paper, Dr. Qureshi emphasized several points:

We must ask whether Asian universities are seats of education, or simply training centers for the skilled personnel needed by a developing economy. He personally belongs to a generation which feels that basic values are being lost, both to the universities and to their countries. The emphasis upon development has become so strong that the concern for wisdom is sacrificed.

The greatest problem for the humanities is the general Asian attitude toward education itself. In many Asian countries, education is not seen as a spontaneous, indigenous creation, an end in itself, but rather as a foreign import with a specific instrumental purpose—a means of filling jobs. This type of education permits the obtaining of insights into specific subjects but not into their periphery or social context. In Pakistan, the humanities are always last in the choice of courses, after the sciences, engineering, and other professional programs. The continued low enrollment in arts subjects is occurring despite the relatively large number of teaching staff for these fields; and since 96% of his university's income is from the Pakistan Government, the university is constantly asked why they maintain these staffing ratios despite the continued low enrollment. Dr. Qureshi said he was committed to supporting the humanities, despite the pressures to reduce the staff in these fields. He stressed that Asian universities need to relate their humanities teaching increasingly to their countries' own tradition, culture, and genius. They should be able to make a contribution of their own to the humanistic thought of the world, and not simply be recipients of ideas and influences.

Dr. Qureshi added some remarks on specific examples of regional cooperation related to the humanities and social sciences. He noted two developments:

(1) In 1961, in Karachi, SEATO passed a resolution concerning the equivalence of university degrees between Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines. This "convention" on equivalences, now in effect, has stimulated considerable student exchange among the three countries. There is relatively greater exchange between the Philippines and Pakistan because of the common English heritage; Thai "is not an easy language."
THE HUMANITIES IN ASIAN UNIVERSITIES

(2) A program of university cooperation and exchange between Pakistan, Turkey, and Iran also has been in effect, with the most frequent exchanges occurring between Pakistan and Iran. Similarly, there have been large numbers of students in Pakistan from Arab countries, particularly Saudi Arabia and Jordan. The flow of students has been more toward Pakistan than vice versa. Dr. Qureshi himself is now serving as consultant to a committee considering the establishment of a second university in Saudi Arabia.

Discussion

MR. HITCH opened the general discussion by noting that both Dr. Okochi and Vice-Chancellor Robinson had mentioned the de-emphasis of the humanities in the Asian university tradition, but suggested that Dr. Qureshi had struck the heart of the matter: Asian universities must make their own contributions to original thought. In science and mathematics, there are standard and precise formulas with universal applicability, but both the humanities and the social sciences deal with phenomena which differ fundamentally from case to case; that is, societies and cultures themselves. Consequently, each country's contribution in these fields can be original and unique. It is not simply a matter of establishing priorities as between sciences and humanities, etc., but rather a question of unique capabilities. There is much with regard to the exposition and analysis of traditions in each country which can be done only by local scholars and institutions.

DR. THOMPSON noted that in the United States, as well as in Asia, there has been a traditional weakness in the humanities, as exemplified by the difficulties of finding top people who can relate themselves to the moral, ethical dilemmas of their times. He suggested that the general breakdown in moral liberalism following World War II was fundamental, and that perhaps the world, as a whole, was still looking for a replacement. Philosophically, the demolition has been done, but the architecture remains to be accomplished. In the developed as well as the developing countries, a great deal is required before we can expect any "quantum leap" in this area.

The Chairman (Mr. Overton) suggested that Dr. Qureshi's paper had been rather bleak in tone, and perhaps categorical about the responsibility of imposed Western forms for the unfortunate condition of the humanities in Asia; he wondered whether Dr. Qureshi believed a synthesis of cultures was possible in Asian institutions. Dr. Qureshi
replied that he did not mean to be categorical, nor to imply a basic incompatibility between Asian and Western institutions, values, etc.; rather he wished to suggest that the methods by which Western institutions and values had been imposed were wrong. Western education had come "not as a gift but really as a punishment." He agreed with Dr. Thompson that humanistic thinking must be based upon the fundamentals of human nature, not on the particular historical circumstances of any one country or civilization, either as donor or as recipient.

In reply to the Chairman's inquiry about the experience of the Chinese in Hong Kong with regard to the melding of traditional and Western cultural forms, MR. ROBINSON noted the extraordinary attention given by Chinese scholars to their long historical and cultural heritage. He suggested that there was a need for fruitful exchanges between the more "traditional" scholars of Asian countries, particularly those from China, Japan, and India with long, rich traditions. There has been considerable preoccupation with exchange of ideas between scholars of modern outlook interested in the problems of development, but relatively little between analysts of traditional societies; the gap between the young modern scholar and the older traditional scholar is great, and presents a significant problem for the creative arts.

DR. LI also noted the universal neglect of the humanities, yet pointed to the unusually deep concern of Chinese scholars for their own cultural heritage; within the Chinese University of Hong Kong there is much attention to traditional studies. In this connection, Dr. Li questioned the extent to which Dr. Qureshi's point about the state of the humanities was valid. The emphasis upon education for employment rather than knowledge and wisdom perhaps was entirely understandable. Without surrendering entirely to a system of government allocation of personnel among subject fields and positions, is there any alternative to basic "market forces"? Given this perhaps necessary situation, Dr. Li wondered whether the real issue was not the production of increasing numbers of specialists in the humanities—philosophers, literateurs, etc.—but rather development of basic liberal, humanistic education for all students, so that specialists as well as laymen would be attuned to the cultural and moral conditions of their time.

Dr. Qureshi fully endorsed this analysis; the developing societies of Asia are in such a hurry, that this humanistic groundwork is bypassed, which is a great tragedy. There are ways, through
literature, for example, that a society can create a demand for the humanities, just as a demand for technical specialists is created in the job market. Without this demand, and an appropriate cultural response, who will provide the wisdom with which to use the specialized techniques in which the universities already are providing training?

DR. CHIEN volunteered that in Taiwan, unlike Pakistan, the humanities had not experienced the problem of a declining number of arts students; there continued to be larger numbers of students choosing arts and humanities than the medical, engineering, and natural sciences; the problem is not of numbers but of quality, since it is the weaker students who tend to enroll in the humanistic fields.

Dr. Qureshi inquired whether this Taiwan situation related to the limited number of places available in the sciences. Dr. Chien responded that it was not, but rather arose from the unfortunate problem of early specialization in the high schools, where students must decide which of the three basic fields they will pursue long in advance of university entrance. The basic allocation of students among academic fields is not dictated by the seats available, but by career decisions made too early in life.

MR. HEGGIE observed that in Indian and Ceylonese universities there are large numbers of excellent students in the humanities, but that a high proportion tended to be women. Given the historical importance of the wife and mother in the transmission of cultural values, and given the new position of Asian women in modern society, the impact of this phenomenon should not be underestimated. He added that the traditional values and attitudes on which Dr. Qureshi placed such importance are frequently seen by students as static, and irrelevant to modern circumstances. There is much to be done, perhaps, not simply in returning to traditional values but in adapting and modifying them to new circumstances. In other words, the universities' approach to the humanities depends very much upon their interpretation—upon identifying within them the basis for a new and modern culture.
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY
IN RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE

Charles J. Hitch

The last few decades have seen a phenomenal increase in the sum of Man's knowledge. A knowledge explosion has occurred. Space exploration has become almost commonplace, yet it was less than ten years ago that the first man-made satellite was orbited. Medical research has eliminated polio and offers the hope of feasible artificial organs. Nuclear physicists are approaching the very essence of matter. The expanding list of achievements is long and impressive.

The pace of the quest for knowledge shows no signs of slowing. The more we know, the more we want to know. As the frontiers of knowledge are pushed ever farther away, increasing numbers of educated persons are necessary. Indeed, those who possess specialized knowledge have come to be regarded as units of national and regional wealth, much as oil fields or hydroelectric power. An international incident may arise from the charges of one country that another country is pirating its scientists. Similar accusations abound within the United States: my own state of California is charged with receiving far more than its share of money and talent for research and development purposes; there is talk of a brain drain to each coast which has allegedly created an intellectual desert in the middle of the country. These arguments, although sometimes stated humorously, are based on the serious fact that there is a shortage of qualified persons. Regardless of how many Ph. D. 's are annually trained, demand outstrips supply.

The university contributes to both the increasing supply and the swelling demand. It, too, is caught up in the knowledge revolution. It is profoundly involved as society's major vehicle for the advancement of knowledge. I will examine some basic aspects of the university and relate them to modern requirements. I hope to reveal the university as a powerful agent of change, a prime factor in the knowledge explosion.

There are three major missions of the modern university: research, teaching, and public service. While each has its separate life they are, as President James Perkins of Cornell has shown so persuasively in The University in Transition, interdependent and mutually reinforcing. No university can afford to stress one aspect to the detriment of the others without weakening the whole. It was such imbalance which characterized many universities of the past and
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY
IN RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE

prevented them from realizing their full potential. Static while alone, dynamic in combination, these missions give the modern university its unique strength.

Research seeks new truths. It has its roots in the classic Greek idea that knowledge can be acquired through logical reasoning, but its flowering has resulted from the combination of that idea with the thrust of modern empiricism. Research pursues not only what is but also, more importantly, what can be. It includes the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake—basic research—as well as efforts directed toward the solution of some particular, practical problem—applied research. In practice, the line artificially drawn between basic and applied research disappears. Society has materially benefitted from the efforts of men whose desire to know had no immediate practical spur. The importance of research cannot be overstated.

Teaching is the oldest mission of the university. It ensures that knowledge is transmitted from one generation to the next. Teaching correctly assumes that the communication of new ideas is essential for their continued life. This is as true today, in the use of closed-circuit television in the classrooms of American Samoa, as it was in the dialogues of Socrates. Teaching is the communication of ideas and in its many forms is closely related to research. The knowledge uncovered by research would die with its discoverer were it to remain outside the teaching process. Knowledge, once acquired, must be transmitted or education becomes static.

The third major mission of the modern university is public service. This mission rests on the concept that knowledge, once acquired and transmitted, can be of use. It assumes that the university has a responsibility to the society in which it exists. Today's university recognizes that the world requires it to provide fertile and dynamic ideas; unapplied knowledge becomes sterile and inert. Public service requires the application of relevant knowledge to the problems of society. It requires involvement in place of detachment and participation rather than scholastic aloofness. It seeks to extend the benefits of the community of learning to the wider community.

These, then, are the three missions of the modern university. When they are balanced within a university, their combination provides for great strength; there is provision for the discovery, communication, and application of knowledge. It is this combination of missions which makes today's university a great and unique institution.
I want to discuss two of these missions—research and public service—in somewhat greater depth. Let me assure my listeners that, despite my previous service in the teaching profession, I have no prejudice against the teaching mission of the university. I choose to speak on the role of the university in research and public service because I believe that these missions are less well understood. I hope to show that, perhaps particularly within the field of agriculture, the combination of research and public service with teaching offers significant promise in the developing areas of the world. While there are many exciting new developments in teaching, such as the experiments in programmed learning, the teaching mission is traditional. No one is inclined to quarrel with the proposition that schools, including universities, should engage in instruction.

Research has become a very large undertaking in the United States. Federal expenditures supporting scientific research and development have increased 450 per cent since 1955, some 58 per cent between 1961 and 1964 alone. The percentage comparison between the years preceding 1941 and the present is so great that it becomes meaningless. Pre-1941 Federal support consisted mainly of comparatively small allotments for teaching and applied research in agriculture. The annual Federal outlay for all research and development now approaches $16 billion. While it is true that Federal interest was initially sparked by the requirements of the Second World War, Federally sponsored research (as contrasted with the development of hardware) is no longer directed primarily in support of national defense. National policy now sustains a substantial program of support for basic and applied research in essentially all fields of science. For instance, over 40 per cent of the Federal funds received by the University of California are for research in public health.

Such a massive program of support has increased the research role of the university to the point where one speaks of the knowledge business and the industry of discovery. In America it has even been suggested that there may be a danger point of over-support, in terms of balance and university autonomy. If so, that point has yet to be reached even in my own institution, the University of California which, if one combined the nine campuses, is the country's largest

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1See tables in Appendix A.
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE

recipient of Federal research funds. Although there have been some minor stresses and strains, we have found the effects of Federal support highly beneficial. It has produced new standards of excellence in the natural sciences and engineering. The recent Federal interest in the social sciences and in the arts promises advances in these areas as well. When added to the already significant support of research by the several states and by private industry and foundations, Federal funds have spurred a research revolution the effects of which are manifest throughout the world.

Public service is the newest and most nebulous of university missions; it is difficult to speak of "x" number of dollars devoted to public service, and its results are usually less tangible than research breakthroughs. Public service consists of the interchange of ideas between the university and the community. Such exchanges take many forms and have proved to be particularly significant in publicly supported institutions such as the University of California.

One activity that directly serves the public is University Extension. Extension exists because of the increasing need for the transmission of new knowledge to practitioners in many professional and technical fields and to persons outside or beyond the formal classroom. A largely self-supporting arm of the university, Extension serves as a highly effective administrative device for linking campus and community in the further pursuit of knowledge.

It has been estimated that a modern engineer's knowledge has a "half-life" of ten years. Professional and technical men in California, recognizing that their knowledge is becoming obsolescent, have taken advantage of Extension's opportunities. Over one-half of California's lawyers, one-fifth of the dentists, one-sixth of the doctors, and one-eighth of the engineers are currently enrolled in Extension programs. For example, in October and November, 1966, University Extension's Continuing Education of the Bar enrolled 9,265 lawyers in a new Evidence Code Program. This may be the highest total of a practicing professional group that has ever enrolled for a single educational program anywhere. Their participation makes "lifelong learning" more than just a slogan.

2The importance of Federal research funds in the University of California budget is shown in Appendix B.
University Extension uses many forms in presenting diverse subjects: credit and noncredit courses, conferences, field trips, theater groups, television, and publications are used for such subjects as city planning, nuclear technology, political science, drama, and natural history. In the international field Extension has helped to train Peace Corps volunteers, public health workers, and others for international development. Fifty-five Extension-trained Peace Corps volunteers are now working on food production problems in India. They were assigned to the Punjab and Rajasthan following eight weeks of training last summer at California's Berkeley campus. Freer of regulations and established procedures than regular university academic departments, Extension units can respond quickly and in a variety of patterns to meet particular needs for information and training.

One of the significant indicators of the success of university extension activities is found in enrollment figures. In California alone, some 230,000 persons, roughly three times the number of regular, full-time students, are currently registered in an extension program. This vigorous interest in education strengthens both the university and the public which it serves, for public service is a two-way street. The interests and requirements of society must make themselves felt on the university campus; they must elicit some response. The university which tries to maintain itself as an island of learning in a sea of ignorance runs the great risk of becoming irrelevant.

The public service mission is not restricted to a narrowly construed local public; it also includes international university assistance and cooperation. An interesting example of service to the world public is found in the cosmic ray exploration of the Egyptian pyramids. The basis for the experiment is the deception theory which holds that Egyptian monarchs, wary of grave robbers and anxious to preserve their bodies for immortality, ingeniously planned their pyramids in such a way as to mislead future generations into believing that the tombs had already been plundered. This theory has led to the widely held suspicion that the real burial chambers of the pharoahs have remained hidden in the pyramids for some 4,500 years. This archaeological riddle may soon be solved by a team of Egyptian and University of California scientists led by Berkeley professor Luis Alvarez. Using cosmic ray particles--muons--and a technique developed in research at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory of the University of California, the scientists will photograph the pyramids in much the same manner as X-rays are used to reveal the human body. Hidden chambers—if they exist—will be identified by
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY
IN RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE

particle detectors through measurement of pyramid density; heavier concentrations of muons will pass through the open chambers than will pass through the solid limestone of the pyramid itself. If the international university team proves the existence of previously hidden chambers, knowledge of the remarkable early Egyptian civilization could be considerably enhanced.

Another aspect of public service concerns the citizens of the university community. As students and scholars, they are called upon to contribute their special talents to society. Scientists, economists, and political scientists are in constant demand as consultants to all levels of government. City planners and sociologists are asked to help solve the problems of an increasingly urban civilization. As participants in local political processes, faculty members lend sophistication and expertise to government not readily found in cities without universities. Students, too, contribute to serving the community: volunteering for local service in blighted sections of cities and participating in the Peace Corps after graduation are but two examples. In addition, many students prepare in their formal studies for a career of public service.

There is in the United States an extensive movement of individuals among the academic, business, and government worlds. This movement goes beyond the consultation just mentioned and beyond the part-time teaching activities of government officials and businessmen; it involves a change of roles. The interchange of individuals and ideas challenges the assumptions of narrowly conceived viewpoints. This mobility brings together the creative knowledge of the university, the efficient pragmatism of industry, and the responsible authority of government. Each world is enriched and invigorated by the contributions of these men. Not surprisingly, the most mobile individuals have many talents. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, once a university teacher, became president of one of the world's largest companies, The Ford Motor Company. Former professor Dean Rusk served with the U.S. State Department before he became head of the Rockefeller Foundation; he then returned to State as its Secretary. President Eisenhower and Senator J. W. Fulbright are former university presidents. The Asian service of former ambassadors John Kenneth Galbraith and Edwin O. Reischauer, both Harvard professors, is particularly relevant to this Conference. The movement of such men from campus to business to government is public service of the highest order.

Another contribution the university can make to the wider community is cultural leadership. The university, through the talents
of its faculty, is frequently able to provide development, refinement, and fulfillment of esthetic needs, and a flow of creative ideas. The university, conscious of its potential for cultural leadership, can provide a center of esthetic creativity which enriches the life of the community.

The ultimate measure of a university's public service rests on the quality of its research and instruction; it cannot stand alone. Researchers must be provided sufficient funds and autonomy so that ideas continue to flow from the laboratory. The caliber of teaching must provide the student, both undergraduate and graduate, with the best possible education. A university's total value to society will be determined by its products, ideas, and graduates, and also by its willingness to serve. Today's university must stand on three legs for proper balance.

I would now like to discuss one particular example of the successful synthesis of the research, teaching, and public service functions of the university: the remarkable growth and productivity of California agriculture. Although I will be speaking about my own university and my own state, I believe this story to be of much wider significance. The state of California, with nearly 20 million persons, is larger than many countries. The University of California is composed of nine semi-autonomous campuses. Its Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses are each larger (27,500 students) than many universities. Coordination of the activities of this nine-campus system frequently involves problems and opportunities similar to those found in interuniversity cooperation. In many ways, California and California agriculture can serve as a basic model for university-aided development.

It is reasonably safe to say that modern industrial development is almost impossible unless farm productivity can be raised, the farming population reduced, and those freed from the soil made available for industry. In the United States today, six per cent of the working population is involved in agricultural production. This six per cent, however, is producing more and better food than the 17 per cent so employed as recently as 1940. This rise in efficiency and productivity is a direct result of the application to the farm of university-developed science and technology, and this combination of agricultural research and public service has contributed much toward making California the leading agricultural state in the United States.

3See Appendix C for statistics of farm output, employment and productivity.
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE

Three Federal acts facilitated the development of California agriculture. The Morrill Land Grant Act, signed by President Lincoln in 1862, granted public lands to each participating state, the sale of which would provide funds for the endowment and maintenance of at least one college "where the leading object shall be...to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanical arts." The University of California, established in 1868, is such a Land Grant college; the College of Agriculture was its first academic unit.

The Hatch Act of 1887 provided Federal support for Agricultural Experiment Stations. The California Experiment Station, founded in 1874 to engage in applied agricultural research, benefitted from the Act.

In 1914, President Woodrow Wilson signed the Smith-Lever Act into law. Its purpose was to "aid in diffusing among the people useful and practical information relating to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage its application." The California Agricultural Extension Service was established under Smith-Lever provisions.

These beginnings have developed into the University of California's Division of Agricultural Sciences. The Division now includes the Colleges of Agriculture, the Schools of Forestry and Veterinary Medicine, the Agricultural Experiment Station with its statewide research facilities, and the Agricultural Extension Service which makes the results of research available to the people of the state. California's is not a unique system; there is no magic in its organization. Any organization in any country can function successfully as long as it recognizes the importance of both research and the application of research in the field.

The Colleges of Agriculture and the Schools of Forestry and Veterinary Medicine are campus-based, traditional academic institutions, with responsibility for instruction and research. These colleges and schools produce the highly trained graduates that are increasingly necessary in today's agriculture.

The Agriculture Experiment Station concentrates on both basic and applied research with no teaching responsibilities. It operates on the several University campuses, in ten established field stations, and in additional experimental areas. The field stations are purposely located in differing climatic and crop zones so that a wide range of research is possible. One such field station, Hopland, is located on
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE

5,307 acres in a northern California county. Established in 1951, its grass, woodland, and brush provide a location for experiments on range improvement and livestock management. A flock of sheep is maintained for animal husbandry experiments. Scientists at Hopland also conduct hydrological experiments on watershed units, wildlife investigations, and research on control of range weeds, brush, and trees. The nearly 1000-mile length of California contains almost every type of climate and topography, and optimal use of this varied landscape is aided by the extensive and varied program of Experiment Station research.

The California Agricultural Extension Service, like the regular University Extension already mentioned, considers the entire state its campus. It is a cooperative venture of the University, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the county governments of California to offer out-of-school learning in agricultural communities. The Department of Agriculture and the counties provide about 40 per cent of its funds with the University contributing the balance. There are 53 offices located throughout California staffed with from one to 20 professional persons.

A large measure of Agricultural Extension's strength lies in its links with the research facilities of the University, particularly those of the Experiment Station. Extension serves as the field arm of the Agricultural Experiment Station, often becoming part of the applied research effort. The two units work together, the Station conducting research and the Extension Service refining and adapting the research to meet local conditions.

Agricultural Extension is involved in many fields connected with California agriculture. Among these are nutrition and dietetic advice for farm families, economics counsel for the businesses which supply and process farm products, and development of agriculture-based youth programs. Other areas of Extension interest include the increasing urbanization of California (375 acres of open land become urban every day), water resources, and air pollution.

The staff members of the Agricultural Extension Service receive academic appointments at the University and are full-fledged members of the academic community. In serving California agriculture, they use individual consultations, field demonstrations, radio, television, and newspapers, and short, non-credit courses. One of Agricultural Extension's basic tenets is that there must be local initiative, receptivity, and cooperation in the farm community; the Service does not try to
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE

force-feed scientific agriculture to farmers. Knowledge can rarely be imposed on any group and Agricultural Extension does not attempt to do so. Extension staff members live and work in farm communities throughout the state. This helps to assure that programs are locally relevant and facilitates the flow of information back to the University. The Agricultural Extension Service must be a two-way channel; it must inform the people of recent advances in agricultural science and technology and it must make the needs and desires of the farmer known to the researcher.

The Extension Service's role is educational; it has no regulatory authority, no money to lend or disburse, and no laws to enforce. It may demonstrate new pruning techniques, but it does not prune the entire orchard. It may recommend a nutritious diet, but it neither sells nor provides the food for it. It serves as an off-campus educational arm of the University, linking the farmer with the research facilities of both the University and the Department of Agriculture. The California Agricultural Extension Service provides public service in the form of teaching.

The statewide nature of our Division of Agricultural Sciences has made possible progress unattainable in a piecemeal approach to problems. Agricultural engineers and economists, plant pathologists, biochemists, irrigation and soil scientists are able to attack a problem as a team. The whole University can present a concentration of scientific power capable of bringing knowledge and technical skill from several disciplines, colleges, and campuses to focus on a single research need.

The development of harvesting machines offers an example. Such machines can revolutionize harvesting and have been extremely valuable in reducing labor requirements. A harvesting machine is more than just another machine, however. Before the engineers build a machine, the chemists and plant pathologists are brought in to discover how a particular fruit can be loosened so that it will come off the tree without resistance. Horticulturalists may have to change the configuration of the tree itself before a picking machine becomes feasible. In the case of the tomato harvester developed by the University, it was necessary to change the shape of the tomato. This was done, and this year about half of all California-canned tomatoes, in their new shapes, were harvested by machine.

It has been estimated that the value of University research to California farmers, processors, and food distributors each year far

123
exceeds what the State has invested in such research since it began almost a century ago.

To cite a few examples: By 1956, the spotted alfalfa aphid had infested 96 per cent of a crop valued at nearly $150 million annually. Using three Middle Eastern parasites of the wasp family, selective insecticides, and a new aphid-resistant variety of alfalfa, University scientists and Extension personnel eradicated the pest. Such a system of integrated measures for pest control has proved itself far superior to heavy use of insecticide. The dollar savings amount to over $13 million per year. The collection and employment of the Middle Eastern parasites provides an interesting example of international university cooperation. Reasoning from the Arabian origin of the spotted alfalfa aphid, the University sent entomologist Robert Van Den Bosch to the Middle East to search for biological control agents in the aphid's natural habitat. After consulting with agricultural faculties in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Israel, and the United Arab Republic, Professor Van Den Bosch chose three wasp varieties which prey on alfalfa aphids by stinging them to death. The wasps then lay their eggs in the dead aphid which ironically sustains a new generation of aphid-killers. The wasps were brought back to California, bred, and placed in the field where they played an important role in the integrated control of the spotted alfalfa aphid.

The University has developed the nation's broadest research program on the problem of nematodes, the tiny soil worms that feed on roots of almost all plants. Methods of soil fumigation were developed that have resulted in 30 per cent increases in citrus crop yields on nematode-infested land.

Great advances have been made in chemical fertilization. Research which identified phosphorus deficiencies and determined optimum rates for the addition of nitrogen to the soil has increased southern California's potato crop in many fields by 100 per cent. Use of radioactive tracer chemicals has established the essential need of alfalfa for cobalt. As little as five-billionths of a gram of cobalt has increased alfalfa yields twenty-fold. A drastic change in strawberry planting times has increased yields by over 300 per cent.

There is no question that in California the vigorous combination of agricultural research and Agricultural Extension has proved immensely successful. Research is translated into hardier grains, healthier animals, and more scientifically oriented farmers. In turn,
the farmers' problems and requirements promote new research. As the number of farms and farmers decreases, the pressure to apply more advanced technology mounts. The results are almost magical: more and better food produced by fewer farmers using less labor on less land.

I believe the California experience to be dramatic proof of the value of the modern university. The most recent mission of the university--public service--has increased the demand for research even as it has applied the benefits of previous research. Public service has made the university a more useful member of society while it has raised the standards of that society. The missions of research and public service, combined with quality instruction, have immeasurably increased the potential of the university as an agent of change and development.
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1

Federal Government Support for Research, by Field of Science
(in millions of dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field of Science</th>
<th>1955-56</th>
<th>1959-60</th>
<th>1963-64</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Research</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>1,927</td>
<td>5,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Sciences:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biological</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Sciences</td>
<td>n. a.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Sciences:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Science Proper</td>
<td>n. a.</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>1,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>n. a.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>n. a.</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>2,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>n. a.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n. a. Not Available
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY
IN RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE

APPENDIX A

TABLE 2

Funds for Research and Development, by Source
(in millions of dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Federal Government</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Colleges and Universities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>3,670</td>
<td>2,510</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>8,320</td>
<td>4,060</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>10,995</td>
<td>4,995</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>est. 1967</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>7,700</td>
<td>n. a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Approximately $5.5 billion of the $16 billion of Federal funds for fiscal 1967 is for basic and applied research, carried on mainly by educational institutions.)
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY
IN RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE

APPENDIX B

Current Fund Expenditures - University of California

1964-65

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total (in thousands)</th>
<th>Percent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instruction and departmental research</td>
<td>$ 97,093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organized activities:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitals and clinics</td>
<td>23,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organized research</td>
<td>102,746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries</td>
<td>12,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension and public service</td>
<td>27,770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance and operation of plant</td>
<td>16,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General administration</td>
<td>10,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student services</td>
<td>11,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff benefits</td>
<td>14,954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General institutional services and expenses</td>
<td>5,803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliary enterprises</td>
<td>20,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student aid</td>
<td>11,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$ 358,227</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total expenditures for current operations for the 1964-65 fiscal year, exclusive of Special Federal Research Operations, were $358,227,080 of which $95,811,709 or 26.7 was financed from extramural sources. The extramural funds were used principally to finance organized research. Expenditures for this purpose totaled $102,745,770 (28.7% of total expenditures) of which $70 million or 68.6% was provided from extramural sources. The Federal Government provided the greatest proportion of the extramural funds, $83,383,941 or 87.0% and accounted for 61% of funds expended for Organized Research.
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY
IN RESEARCH AND PUBLIC SERVICE

APPENDIX C

TABLE 1
Index of Farm Output (1957-59 = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1963</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm Output</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Measures annual volume of farm production available for eventual human use.)

TABLE 2
Index of Farm Output per Man-hour (1957-59 = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1963</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Output per Man-hour</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3
Annual Yield per Acre, Selected Crops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1931-35 Average</th>
<th>1963</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat (in bushels)</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice (in pounds)</td>
<td>2,135</td>
<td>3,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn for grain (bushels)</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>67.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton (in pounds)</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco (in pounds)</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>1,933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

129
## APPENDIX C

### TABLE 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Farm Population (in thousands)</th>
<th>Farm Population as a Percent of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>31,974</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>30,529</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>30,547</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>23,048</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>15,635</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>13,367</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number (in thousands)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>8,894</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>6,858</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>4,085</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The role of the University in research and public service

Discussion

After Mr. Hitch had summarized the highlights of his paper, the Chairman (Mr. Overton) asked how many of the Asian universities represented performed a public service role similar to the University of California. The participants granted the importance of this university function and indicated various areas in which their institutions catered for public needs. At the same time, they stressed the financial and staffing limitations which prevented large-scale development of this type of contribution. As Dr. Okochi pointed out, professors in tightly staffed departments do not have the time and energy to assume responsibility for public service in addition to their teaching and research.

For some departments, such as education, medicine, psychology, and social work, public service is a natural extension of the regular work being done. Many departments find it possible to provide public lectures. But the development of large-scale public service programs in agriculture, economics, and public health makes demands that most Asian universities find it difficult to afford. Outside agencies, like The Asia Foundation, it was pointed out, can demonstrate the usefulness of research and public service by funding projects in their initial stages and thereby attracting capital from governments and private industry.

The provision of foreign research scholars was considered the best means of temporarily relieving the staffing problem and permitting more Asian scholars to participate in research and public service. Mr. Hitch had mentioned the recent establishment at the University of California of an International Service Faculty which will be composed of scholars with regular faculty appointments who will work exclusively on research projects abroad. Dr. Williams mentioned the International Education Act recently passed by Congress which will grant funds to American universities to permit the stockpiling of faculty in certain departments, allowing more scholars to serve abroad. Both these developments, it was agreed, would increase the flow of American scholars to Asian universities and thereby assist the development of research and public service programs.

The need to encourage research was recognized by the participants. It was felt to be not solely a problem of finance and limited staff but of motivation. Mr. Hitch felt it was important that
scholars exclusively concerned with basic and applied research be given the same rank and salary as their counterparts on the regular teaching faculty. Many of the institutions represented promote their faculty on the basis of their research and publications as well as on their performance as teachers. This was considered justifiable but a motivational requirement that should not be too rigidly enforced.
FIFTH SESSION

December 21, morning

Chairman: William L. Eilers, Representative, Malaysia
Rapporteurs: William J. Klausner, Acting Representative, Thailand
Stephen Uhalley, Program Specialist, Republic of China Office

Papers by: Choh-Ming Li, Vice-Chancellor, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Inter-University Cooperation in Area Programs and the Social Sciences: Asian Problems and Prospects

Panel of Representatives: William L. Eilers (Malaysia), Chairman; David I. Steinberg (Korea); James H. Noyes (Ceylon); Douglas P. Murray (Singapore)

Opportunities for Inter-University Cooperation, as Seen by Asia Foundation Representatives

(clockwise from below) Dr. Li, Dr. Sterling Mr. Murray, Mr. Steinberg, Mr. Eilers, Mr. Noyes, Mr. Uhalley

133
INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN AREA PROGRAMS AND
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: ASIAN PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS*

Choh-Ming Li

When I was asked to speak about inter-university cooperation in area study programs, I asked myself the following questions:

What do we mean by area studies?

What disciplines are we to include in area study programs?

What is the present state of area studies in Asian universities?

What conditions seem to be favorable to the development of these programs?

What are the forms of inter-university cooperation involving social sciences in Asian universities?

And, finally, what are some of the goals that we might set for inter-university cooperation in area studies?

Since Asia has such a wide diversity of countries, cultures, and universities, I frankly was quite reluctant to talk in general terms about these questions. Even a cursory view of Asian diversity is sufficient warning that one must avoid sweeping statements about the area. However, since there are many problems and characteristics that are shared by universities throughout Asia, I felt there was at least sufficient evidence to provide our distinguished visitors here today with some guidelines and thoughts for discussion.

Therefore, with the appropriate reservations and qualifications in mind, let me move cautiously to my questions.

* I am indebted to Dr. Robert Mitchell, Director of the Social Survey Research Centre of The Chinese University, for his assistance in preparation of this paper.
WHAT ARE AREA STUDY PROGRAMS?

My first question asked "What do we mean by area study programs?" Rather than give an immediate answer to this, let me place area study programs within the larger context of social science research institutes found in universities around the world. Universities have a wide variety of social science centres and institutes, but for present purposes we might point to four kinds. First, there are centres organized around well-established disciplines and departments—for example, economic research centres and educational research centres. The faculty, teaching, and research of these centres are not necessarily oriented to an understanding of any particular country, although this, in fact, is the normal situation. For the most part, these centres use the tools of only one discipline in analysing a traditional range of issues relating to a single nation.

Second, there are centres organized around particular methods that are used in several disciplines. Survey research centres are the best and perhaps only example of this kind of organization. Since they are usually designed to facilitate the research efforts of faculty by means of providing sampling, interviewing, and tabulation services, their focus is almost exclusively on the home country where it is possible to develop these resources.

Third, there are a number of institutes that are beginning to focus primarily but not exclusively on overseas countries, especially countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. There are a variety of such centres. For example, centres for the study of developing societies and centres for international comparative studies often utilize a wide range of social science disciplines and methodologies to study an equally wide range of countries in all the developing areas. These centres tend to undertake multi-nation programs in social science studies.

Different from these three kinds of programs is the fourth type which may be identified as area study programs per se. Instead of relying on only one social science discipline and method, a variety of disciplines and methods are used; and instead of focussing on many countries in different continents, the program has as its centre of concern all the countries in a defined geographical and cultural area, such as South East Asia, South Asia, or even Latin America. For some very large, complex, and important countries—such as China, India, and Russia—the program may focus on only a single nation.
INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN AREA PROGRAMS AND 
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: ASIAN PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Area study programs, then, have a defined geographical focus and a variety of disciplines, methodologies, and intellectual perspectives. These centres have the advantage of organizing faculty, library, and research and training resources, as well as research funds, for an interdisciplinary approach to problems of a particular country and region. Needless to say, these problems often are vitally relevant to the development goals of the countries and regions being studied.

WHAT DISCIPLINES ARE INCLUDED IN AREA STUDY PROGRAMS?

It is somewhat a moot point to argue whether one discipline should be included or excluded from an area study program. In fact, we have languages and humanities together with economics, political science, sociology, and anthropology. We also have history and business administration. One of the strong points of area study programs is that social science research is established on a firm linguistic, cultural, and historical base. However, the exciting intellectual developments in area study programs over the past generation have been provided by the social sciences. I would hazard the prophecy that the exciting intellectual developments in the next generation will be provided by social scientists who turn their attention to international comparative studies on an intra-regional and inter-regional basis.

History is increasingly qualifying itself as a social science discipline of significance to these programs. More and more historians are using social science concepts and methods, and more and more social scientists are conducting historical studies. We are beginning to obtain excellent, often quantitative, historical studies of social class, the provision of social welfare services, the development of industries, and the growth of government bureaucracies. One would be hard put to say whether these studies were prepared by historians or by social scientists, nor is this a question of much significance today.

In addition to using new methods, historians are also turning their attention to topics—such as slavery, colonial policy, intellectuals, and the university itself—that can be studied from a cross-cultural perspective. That is, historians are not only breaking out of their methodological and conceptual parochialism; they also are breaking out of the parochialism of a particular nation. Because of these changes, the new historians are extremely valuable members of area study programs.
We might note in passing that faculty members teaching business administration also can play valuable roles in area study programs. An understanding of marketing systems, industrial relations, and processes of management decision making—all topics of special concern to teachers of business administration—are obviously relevant to an understanding of the social, political, and economic development of a country or a region.

WHAT IS THE PRESENT STATE OF AREA STUDIES IN ASIAN UNIVERSITIES?

Area study programs, as described so far, are programs of social science studies, and, therefore, when we ask, "What is the present state of area studies in Asian universities?" we are also asking the more general question of "What is the present state of the social sciences in Asian universities?" Furthermore, since our discussion of area study programs was framed in research as well as in teaching terms, we must also ask "What is the present state of social science research in Asian universities?"

These are very big and very important questions that require more investigation than I have been able to give them. You will please excuse me if I again mention only some of the more salient issues that need to be considered in answering these several questions. Three issues seem especially relevant: (1) the significance of having a colonial background, (2) the character of Asian universities, and (3) the research orientations of university faculties. Let us look at each of these issues separately.

First, most of the countries in Asia are ex-colonies, and in countries where universities were established by the colonial governments special attention had long been given to the metropolitan region and its cultural heritage. The study of neighboring countries and colonies was muted by this colonial bind.

We might also note that the universities in the metropolitan regions—Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands—were rather slow and conservative in the development of modern methods of empirical social science research. This is especially true with regard to sociology and political science. As a consequence, in establishing colonial universities patterned after the metropolitan model, the colonial governments...
tended to export a university tradition that today is inappropriate to the needs of Asian governments for social science research on issues relevant to the country's development needs.

My second point pertains to the kind of higher education institutions we have today in Asia, especially South East Asia. Frankly, most of them are none other than four-year colleges, and, for the most part, it does not seem that the colleges or their governments have formulated a clear philosophy of higher education. Although the creation of high quality universities is one of the important development goals of governments in Asia, it is not certain whether these universities are ends in themselves, institutions limited to training the future élite, or whether they are multi-purpose organizations providing training, conducting basic research, and contributing in a variety of practical ways to the community that supports them.

The absence of a research-minded faculty and administration is related to the character of the four-year college and the ambiguity of the university's purpose. Let us refer to the American scene for the difference between four-year colleges and universities.

America has many excellent four-year colleges, but just how much creative social science research is done at Coe, Grinnell, and Kalamazoo? Or, how much is done at even the élite colleges such as Amherst, Swarthmore, and Reed? I do not intend to be pejorative and negative in my references to these excellent colleges, for it is obvious that their faculties produce outstanding research. One can also say the same thing about some of the smaller state universities, such as Maine, Montana, and New Mexico. But when one thinks of major research in America, he thinks primarily of universities offering strong doctorate programs. Furthermore, he usually thinks of only a few leading universities. Research by Lazarsfeld and Thielens on American social scientists, research by Berelson on graduate education in the United States, and numerous studies of the distribution of research monies to universities all point to the stratification of American universities according to the eminence, productivity, and brilliance of their faculty.

Therefore, it is not so surprising that talented faculty in four-year colleges and in universities with weak graduate programs produce relatively little research. Given the distribution of research resources, one might ask how it is that they are able to produce at all.

We should have the same feelings about our social science faculties in South East Asia. For the most part, they are small
four-year colleges with only fledgling programs in graduate studies. We are like Coe and Amherst. We provide basic undergraduate training at home, while our graduate schools are in America, Britain, and Europe. This may or may not be a healthy and economical situation, but it is a fact that most of us are living with.

As suggested earlier, however, these are not facts standing by themselves, for they are related to the colonial background of the universities and to the traditional philosophy of education exported from the metropolitan country. It would appear that in many Asian countries, especially those in South East Asia, the national or state university is seen as an end in itself. Although creative research is certainly permitted in these universities, the almost exclusive emphasis is upon the teaching function.

These various influences—the colonial heritage, the character of the university, and the absence of faculty research interests—have contributed to the present state of the social sciences and area study programs in Asia. The social sciences are underdeveloped, and area study programs are practically non-existent.

WHAT CONDITIONS SEEM TO BE FAVORABLE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AREA PROGRAMS?

Although only a few Asian universities have area study programs, I think we have enough information now to suggest what is needed in order to develop such programs in the future. Let me suggest three especially important conditions.

First, as countries in Asia have become independent, they have naturally developed their own individual national interests. Some of these interests relate to neighboring countries for which no reliable information and understanding is available. It is not surprising that some national governments are inclined to provide the national university with the financial support to create programs of research on neighboring countries. The role of national interest was no doubt important in the decision of India to create the first chair of Chinese Studies a year ago at the University of New Delhi, and similar interests may have motivated Chinese study programs in Japanese universities. As Asian countries are brought closer together in the future, we can expect that there will be an increased awareness of the need for still greater information about neighboring countries. These developments will in turn encourage the creation of additional area study programs.
Since the social sciences are the primary contributors to area study programs, another condition for the development of these programs is the development of social sciences. Through national and international programs to be discussed again later, this development is occurring quite rapidly in most Asian countries. As a result, we should soon have the intellectual resources for the creation of area study programs.

The third condition is the growing interest in research on the part of university social scientists. Without such a development, there would be no need for governments to support area study programs within the universities, for the basic research needed on other nations could be done within government itself.

Let me say that we know it is not an easy thing to develop research within our universities, and since our universities are still primarily four-year colleges, it may not be possible to set the same standards of productivity as found in the better Western universities. However, in making appointments and promotions, I feel that an increasing number of Asian universities are asking themselves if a social science faculty member who is not committed to research and who is not interested in the world around him is the kind of person who can provide students with the intellectual experiences and challenges necessary in higher education. Of course, in order to encourage faculty to conduct research, the faculty must be given adequate encouragement, facilities, and recognition. Many universities are providing these very effectively by creating the first two kinds of research centres I mentioned in my opening remarks—that is, centres organized around particular disciplines and centres organized around a particular research method. These research centres are creating the atmosphere and expertness necessary for the development of a research-minded social science faculty, a requisite for the creation of area study programs.

WHAT ARE THE FORMS OF INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES?

Given the limited resources for social science research within Asian countries, and given the need for a wider perspective on and knowledge about the region, it is only natural that we look to ways of pooling our resources and perspectives in a way that will benefit one another. In this regard, I would like to mention four different kinds of inter-university cooperation involving social science research in Asia.
INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN AREA PROGRAMS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: ASIAN PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

First, two or more universities within a single country occasionally cooperate with one another. Some universities are sharing a common research facility, such as a computer, and some universities have divided responsibilities among them in a common research project. Informal faculty colloquia designed to develop faculty research interests and expertise are still another way in which social scientists from different universities cooperate with one another.

Second, universities from two or more countries within the same region cooperate with one another. Unfortunately, I do not know of any such direct, formal cooperation, but we will come back to this problem later.

Third, a university in a developing country cooperates with one or more universities from a Western country. This is a very common and extremely valuable form of assistance to Asian universities. For example, The Chinese University of Hong Kong is cooperating with the University of California in a number of ways beneficial to the social sciences. We hope that this will be especially helpful in developing faculty resources, for we are sending promising young faculty and students to California for further training, and in return California sends us visiting professors, as well as graduate fellows and undergraduates.

There are also examples of a single Asian university cooperating with two or more Western universities in the same program. This is an interesting development worthy of an additional comment. I am thinking here of a successful program Indiana University conducted in Thailand for a number of years which included assistance in the establishment and development of an Institute of Public Administration at Thammasat University in Bangkok. This Institute has now been absorbed into the National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA) which was founded recently by the Thai Government. In order to maximize the valuable contributions it has been making, not only in Thailand but also in other countries, Indiana has joined with several other leading Midwestern universities in forming the Midwest Universities Consortium on International Affairs, for which it serves as coordinator. The Consortium is cooperating with the Thai Government in initiating the work of NIDA, which has financial assistance from the Ford Foundation.

This kind of cooperation need not be limited to large universities, for it could enable smaller colleges to pool their more limited
resources so that they could realize their ambitions of reaching out to serve overseas communities. It would be possible, for example, for several sociology departments to cooperate through their universities in adopting and assisting a sociology department in one of our Asian universities. Although any one department could not spare a good man each year, they could cooperatively arrange to do this.

The fourth kind of inter-university cooperation involves two or more Western universities that operate more or less independently of Asian universities. The London-Cornell project is an example of this kind of program.

In addition to inter-university cooperation involving Asian universities and countries, we of course also have many Western social scientists and universities coming here for research purposes. Since there is some evidence that more universities will be bringing larger projects to Asia, I think it is appropriate to mention a complaint that has been made against the way some of these projects have operated in the past. I refer here to the establishment, on the part of the foreign university, of a local field office for the purpose of facilitating the research activities of the university's faculty. Once the university's grant for this work terminates, the field office is closed with no lasting benefit to local social scientists, government, or people. It is true that the local government may have invited the foreign university to start its research program, but this does not alter the consequences of this particular mode of operation. Native scholars see foreigners do research which they wanted to do for years but could not do because of lack of funds and time. They see their best research assistants bought off at salaries that are very high by local standards. And they see the foreign scholar take all his punch cards and research materials back home. Local scholars do not even have the opportunity to use these materials for purposes of secondary analysis. In short, the foreign researcher bypasses his local colleagues, does nothing for the local university or its students, and too often fails to make his findings and materials available to those who could most benefit from them.

Is it unreasonable to ask visiting scholars to Asia to build into their research programs a place for the native scholar and student? Innovations are necessary in order to bring the local scholar into closer contact with those who are doing significant research on his country.
WHAT GOALS SHOULD WE SET FOR INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN AREA STUDIES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES?

Now that we have talked in general terms about forms of inter-university cooperation, let me move next to what the purposes of cooperation should be between Western and Asian universities. Although I have just alluded to this issue, it is so important that I would like to touch on it again.

Asian universities must be very clear in their minds regarding the ways that inter-university cooperation is to benefit their faculties and institutions. Of course, every university worthy of the name will do everything in its power to assist scholars and students visiting from Western universities. However, because we have only limited resources, we must be absolutely sure that programs affecting faculty time and university resources are unequivocally beneficial to our faculty and students. Specifically, we must be certain that inter-university programs help us develop our faculty to a stage where it is completely capable of playing all the major roles within the university.

Moreover, given the underdeveloped stage of social science research in many of our universities, the other basic purpose of these programs is to provide academic leadership in research during the period that our own faculty's capabilities are being developed. We have been adopting this strategy in The Chinese University by appointing outstanding foreign research scholars to the directorships of our leading social science research centres. I emphasize the word "outstanding," for it makes very little sense to enter into an agreement with a Western university that is unable to provide the kind of person who can effectively exercise leadership. Certainly no Asian university can afford to be the dumping ground for unsuccessful Ph.D. candidates and faculty from other countries. However, it is unfortunate that some leading Western universities have difficulties in encouraging better faculty to assume the responsibilities that the university has accepted. Some universities are so overextended that they have to recruit people outside the university to fill the responsibilities of their own faculty. The university becomes a broker, sending people overseas who would never be accepted within the sending university. The development of a consortium, as mentioned earlier, could be one way of avoiding these situations.

Intra-Asian Inter-University Cooperation

Through the efforts of our Asian universities themselves, and through the assistance provided by Western universities, many of
the universities in Asia are now in a position to cooperate with one another in the social sciences. Most of our universities already have the resources necessary for initiating significant research on their own countries, although they do not have the resources necessary for developing adequate area study programs. However, through cooperation we can bring to the region many of the advantages found in well-designed area study programs, especially programs emphasizing international comparative studies.

This cooperation could take the following forms:

1. Greater opportunities could be provided for bringing scholars, especially research scholars, in the same discipline together. In this regard, the feasibility of occasional social science conferences on a regional basis might be explored.

2. More specifically, it would be especially helpful to hold summer seminars and conferences for faculty members interested in particular kinds of research. For example, many scholars throughout Asia are engaged in research on the family, on national income, on demography, and on the modernization process. It would be very helpful for all these scholars if they were able to meet for several weeks and go over each other's work and findings, especially with regard to the international comparative dimension of their present and proposed research.

In addition to reviewing research in progress, it would also be extremely helpful to hold summer seminars on research methods for young faculty who wish to develop their research skills.

UNESCO has taken the lead in sponsoring these kinds of seminars in Europe, but very little has been done in developing countries. Unfortunately, South East Asia has probably been the most neglected area for research training, conferences, and social science activities on an international scale.

3. A clearing house for research done within Asia is needed. UNESCO has done some useful but relatively unknown work in this regard for India, but again South East Asia could benefit from a similar service.
4. To broaden the perspectives of our faculties and students, inter-university exchange programs between Asian countries should be developed.

5. Finally, in order to encourage comparative studies and a regional perspective, funds should be made available for joint research projects. Any number of modest research projects would be possible—for example, studies of entrepreneurship, religious beliefs and practices, consumers' decision-making, family planning, and the recruitment of government leaders.

In order to establish these programs of intra-regional cooperation, it will be necessary to create appropriate procedures and organizations. Unfortunately, I do not have time in the very few remaining minutes to discuss these organizational forms. However, I would hope that we might receive some suggestions on procedures from others around the table during the discussion period following my talk.

To me, it is also obvious that local universities do not have the financial resources necessary for developing these experimental programs, and I seriously doubt whether the governments in Asia would be inclined to support what is in effect a combined Fulbright and East-West Centre program limited to our own region. For this reason, we will necessarily have to rely on outside sources of support. As all in attendance here know, the major advances in social sciences within Asian universities already owe a great deal to the support so generously provided by those from outside the region.

In summarizing my comments to you today, I have tried to suggest some of the influences affecting the development of area study programs and their component social sciences within Asian universities. These developments have been encouraged and facilitated by the valuable contributions provided by Western universities and countries, but Asia as a whole, and specific areas within it, are at a stage in their history when a regional perspective is urgently needed. I believe that we are in a position today to lay the groundwork and chart the course for university programs that will help provide us with this perspective. It is my sincere belief that this distinguished group is the very one that could take the lead in meeting this challenge.
INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN AREA PROGRAMS AND
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: ASIAN PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Dr. Li's Presentation

Dr. Li summarized his formal paper stressing several points that he hoped would elicit comments from the participants.

He stated that it was vital to Asia's development today to look to the future and emphasize the enriching of Asian culture and relating it to the needs of modern society. He cautioned against giving overriding concern to cultural heritage and noted that in the social sciences, the humanities, and the general field of Asian studies, Asians could make a significant contribution to knowledge and at the same time enrich and broaden their own cultural heritage.

Dr. Li reemphasized the points made in his paper, noting that Asian studies programs could be established on a firm linguistic, cultural, and historical base with the application of a varied combination of social science disciplines.

The ingredients of the interdisciplinary social science approach in this field include the quantification of concepts and data; the comparative study of other societies, and the qualitative evaluation of data obtained. Dr. Li noted that contemporary Chinese studies had developed differently from traditional Sinology studies, which were largely carried out in the mold of the cultural heritage. The newly developed Chinese studies stressed quantification of data and comparative study; e.g., comparison of national growth and income of China and India.

Dr. Li stressed that Asian area studies programs have hardly begun in Asian universities. The reasons for this late start involve the colonial heritage of many countries in the area with the concomitant orientation of scholarship to the metropolitan powers. In addition, the slow development of the social sciences reflects the academic traditions of the metropolitan powers. New governments after independence have not fully appreciated the value of research and the universities have lacked a research orientation. Most universities are actually four-year colleges devoted solely to teaching, with the site of graduate study reserved for the metropolitan powers.

Nevertheless, the future is bright and the situation favorable to the development of the social sciences, humanities, and area studies. Dr. Li noted that Asian countries are beginning to assert their national interests, and the need for area studies programs in serving these national interests is increasingly accepted. The work in Chinese area
INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN AREA PROGRAMS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: ASIAN PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

studies on the part of Indian and Japanese universities is an example of this relation between area studies programs and national interest. At the same time, there is growing awareness of the importance of social sciences studies and of the value of graduate programs in area studies to the progressive development of a university. This awareness has led to the creation of a wide variety of research institutes.

Dr. Li pointed out the need for inter-university cooperation within a country, within the region, between one Asian university and one Western university, and between a consortium of universities in a Western country and one Asian university. He went on to point out various lessons that have been learned from the experience of cooperation between Asian and Western universities. It is of vital necessity that Western scholars assisting in Asian study programs in Asian universities be of outstanding caliber and that they be integrated into the university program of the Asian host country. If the Western scholar is not integrated into the university and does not work closely with his Asian colleagues, the loss to both the Western scholar and, more particularly, his Asian counterparts will be marked.

Dr. Li briefly touched upon some of the forms such inter-university regional cooperation might take. He noted the value of occasional social science conferences in which prominent social science scholars of both the West and Asia participate. There is also a need for summer seminars or workshops in which faculty members from different universities meet to discuss selected areas of social science research. Dr. Li also spoke of the need for a research clearinghouse mechanism, an interchange between universities at both the faculty and student level, and the undertaking of joint research projects of common interest to faculty members of several universities.

Dr. Li ended his presentation by stating that the private foundations had a significant contribution to make to the development of area studies programs at this point as it would take some time to educate governments to the need and value of such programs. Ultimately, such programs would be supported from national budgets.

Discussion

DEAN COWEN, Dr. Li, and MR. HITCH discussed the issue of priorities and the problems of striking a balance in filling needs to strengthen basic teaching disciplines at the undergraduate level and to encourage research in the social sciences on the part of faculty at the
It was agreed that it was necessary to redress in a constructive way the past imbalance between teaching and research. At the same time, it was recognized that one means of strengthening weak undergraduate teaching was to encourage research related to teaching needs that would improve the quality of teaching. Research carried out on the part of social science faculties will naturally strengthen and improve the quality of these faculties and result in higher teaching performance. In the legal field, as well, it is understood that the teaching of law cannot be improved without legal research directed towards a penetrating analysis of law in relation to the society in which it operates. However, it was emphasized by all three participants that for the relationship of teaching and research to be meaningful and productive, research institutes must be integrated into the university structure and must not be independent of the universities.

DR. STERLING asked that the participants consider the value of individual research versus team research and the implications of research and area institutes for the deployment of faculty and teaching responsibilities.

DR. KIRK said the problem of assuring that research and area studies institutes are productive on the one hand and do not weaken the university system on the other was a vital one. He said he felt certain requirements were the sine qua non of a productive relationship. Each professor connected with an institute must also be a member of an existing department in the university. The institutes in question must have separate financing; i.e., they must be funded outside of normal departmental budgets. They must also have effective directors to coordinate their teaching and research programs. Dr. Li added that there should be no separate appointments for research versus teaching faculties and that the institutes should combine both faculty research and postgraduate teaching.

DR. THOMPSON raised another related question concerning the development of Asian studies programs. He noted that it was of crucial importance to determine the timing of launching such programs. He suggested it might be of value to strengthen individual departments first and then move into an area studies program, for to begin the other way around might well result in a sacrifice of the progressive development of individual departments.

Dr. Li said that although there was no substitute for individual research there was value in a team approach, especially in the field
INTER-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN AREA PROGRAMS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: ASIAN PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

of Asian studies. The team approach emphasized interdisciplinary research by bringing together a group of scholars with common research interests in a particular area. The creation of research and Asian studies institutes contributed to the development and expansion of the interdisciplinary approach.

MR. ROBINSON raised the question whether enough consideration had been given to the need for an area studies interdisciplinary approach to the study of one's own Asian country rather than a group of countries or area. There was a great need for the interdisciplinary approach being directed by national universities to expanding knowledge of the country itself. From this initial emphasis, a wider investigation into problems and relationships with neighboring countries and the area might develop.

It was also pointed out that with the lack of personnel resources and dependence to a large degree on government budgets priority might, at the initial stages, tend to be given to the study of one's own country.

However, there was a consensus regarding the need for Asian studies programs within Asia in order to overcome the lack of knowledge and understanding of one's Asian neighbors on the part of Asians themselves. Such knowledge would make a significant contribution to the healthy, constructive, and non-disruptive development of the area as greater understanding was achieved. At the same time, such Asian studies programs would, through their research products, contribute to general knowledge.

The role of regional institutes was discussed at some length. Dr. Li said that he viewed such institutes with certain reservations. He felt they could be useful only in preparatory training, research clearing-house, and seminar and conference functions. He felt intensive in-depth research in the social sciences must be carried out by universities. Dr. Li said further that with the paucity of research expertise in the Asian area, the main emphasis should be on strengthening the research capabilities of Asian universities. In this context, regional institutes, if devoted primarily to research, were perhaps a luxury.

In this connection, DR. WADE briefly outlined the scope and functions of the proposed Institute of Higher Education and Development. The idea for this Institute grew out of recommendations of a study jointly supported by UNESCO and the International Association of Universities, with financial assistance from the Ford Foundation, on
the inter-relationship of higher education and national development. Dr. Wade remarked that the purpose of the Institute was not to duplicate existing efforts but rather to serve identifiable needs of the region. He said the principal functions of the proposed Institute would involve provision of a statistical clearinghouse service; research training facilities, research workshops and seminars, and publications including information concerning on-going research carried out by universities in the Southeast Asian region. Dr. Wade said the Institute project had been endorsed by the IAU in its Tokyo meeting, by the Ministers of Education group in its recent meeting in Bangkok, and by UNESCO at its recently completed biennial General Conference. He pointed out that the Institute would be autonomous and not a UNESCO or IAU Institute. Its major participants would be representatives of Southeast Asian governments and institutions of higher learning. In all likelihood, private foundations, among other sources, would be approached to assist the establishment of the Institute. When funds covering needs for a five-year period had been raised, the formal implementation of the Institute would be initiated. However, the Institute is a long-range program with no cut-off date planned.
Head Table--The Opening Dinner

Getting Set for the Conference Photograph
Dr. Chien, Dr. Qureshi, Dr. Schwantes, Dr. Thompson
Dr. Williams, Mr. Smith

Mr. Fleishhacker, Mr. Pierson, Dr. Chien
(In background, Mr. Uhalley, Mr. Hoover)
A Light Moment Around the Conference Table

Dr. Thompson, Dr. Williams, Mr. Smith
(In background, Mr. Pierson, Mr. Page, Mr. Yuan)
Dr. Kirk, Dr. Li, Dr. Sterling

Mr. Smith, Dr. Wade, Mr. Heggie
(In background, Mr. Overton, Dr. Metz, Dr. McCrea)
Mr. Pike, Vice-Chancellor Robinson, Dean Cowen

Dr. Okochi, Mr. Stewart, Dr. Sterling, Dr. Qureshi
(In background, Mr. Paul, Mr. Yuan)
Secretary Romulo Addresses the Closing Dinner
(Mrs. Romulo seated between Mr. Smith and Dr. Williams)

An Attentive Audience at the Closing Dinner
PANEL DISCUSSION

"Opportunities for Inter-University Cooperation, as Seen by Asia Foundation Representatives"

The first part of the Panel discussion consisted of presentations by three of The Asia Foundation's Representatives. Mr. David I. Steinberg, Representative in Korea, focused upon the university's role as innovator in bringing about change in society.

Mr. Steinberg's Presentation

Mr. Steinberg's Presentation

An Asia Foundation Representative has a rewarding opportunity to reflect on universities in Asia and their contribution to their own societies, to the needs of other societies, and to modernization (or development), both, as Vice-Chancellor Robinson remarked, as a process and as a goal.

Perhaps one of the hallmarks of the developmental process is the interest of the society as a whole in the process of innovation and change. Attitudes towards the possibility of change and towards change itself are one of the important attributes of a society in the process of modernization. With these attitudes comes flexibility of response to new challenges and needs. A university has a unique role and indeed a unique responsibility in this key area of modernization. Inter-university cooperation is one means by which this role can be reinforced, problems and successes shared, and the process of modernization assisted. That is not to say that the University does not have other functions as a protector and transmitter of values and traditions. But in my few minutes I would like to concentrate on the question of innovation both on the theoretical and practical levels.

If we can agree that one of the essential characteristics of a university is the ability to innovate, perhaps the first area on which attention might be focused is inter-university studies of the process of innovation itself, through symposia and research, and the problems which several societies have had in enabling this to take place. Universities have had more experience than any other institutions in attempting to deal with this problem, because they often have been presented with students who have spent long years in rote learning, only to try to change what is sometimes an ingrained pattern. By sharing problems and methodology, universities could be performing an important public service to their own and other societies as well.
One problem which occurs in all societies and cultures throughout Asia is to come to grips with defining the very complicated process which we so loosely refer to as development or modernization. It seems to me that this is a salient point where inter-university cooperation is not only feasible, but indeed very practical and necessary. Developmental theory has grown very slowly in the West. It has not, in fact, kept pace with the material assistance provided by various nations. This tardy recognition of the complexity of the developmental process is one reason why there has been some dissatisfaction with some foreign programs. But this should not be surprising, for until now those who have formulated developmental theory have been working with problems alien to their own experience and looking at this process as outsiders. I think that Asian university staff are in fact in a much better position than scholars from the Western world to formulate theories of development, which the West has only recently come to realize are infinitely more complex than previously thought. They understand better than anyone else the complexities of their own societies and the problems which they face. Hopefully, they can make a contribution to international knowledge by producing, through inter-university academic symposia, more sophisticated and realistic conceptualizations of the developmental process in a manner far more sensitively attuned to actual conditions than can their colleagues who have worked on these theories in the West. If this could be done, social scientists throughout the world would be in their debt. One such program which did have some impact on the problem among scholars in the United States, Korea, and other Asian countries was the International Conference on the Problems of Modernization in Asia which was held at Korea University in June of 1965. While it did not succeed in solving the problems in this field, it was a useful step in more carefully delineating the issues.

A more practical area, but again a relatively new one, is inter-university studies of the problems which most Asian nations are facing in the process of urbanization with its resultant social, economic, and political problems, and the breakdown of traditional social and familiar patterns. Inter-university intellectual resources could be brought to bear on considering the causes and results of this process, and means to alleviate present and future needs. In a sense the developing nations are in a unique position, through careful comparative study and sharing of experience, to avoid the dire situations which have almost become insoluble in the West.

The universities, through comparative studies and joint research, may be able to contribute both to clarifying old problems and
meeting the new challenges which their nations now face. Innovative experiments in joint research and study might be carried out on an inter-national, a regional, and an intra-national level. There is an urgent need for closer academic contacts, paralleling the closer political and economic relationships which have developed in Asia. To take an example from the country of my most immediate concern, Korea, there have been expanded trade and diplomatic ties with other states in Asia, about which Korea knows even less than she does about the United States or Europe. Cultural agreements have been signed with Thailand and Malaysia, but have not been implemented. It is hoped that the introduction of Southeast Asian studies in Korea for the first time, through some faculty and student exchange, will lead to greater understanding and interchange between these Asian nations. Vice-Chancellor Li has so ably outlined the need for such studies in the paper which we have just heard.

Northeast Asia lends itself to a particular form of inter-university cooperation. It is a geographical area in which many important institutions and attitudes have had a common source, the classical Chinese tradition. Yet each of the nations in this region, and in some respects Vietnam as well, has evolved a separate and unique response to these institutions and attitudes. It could be very important to explore, through inter-university joint research programs, the institutional changes which have occurred when a foreign institution was transplanted to another soil. Why did one nation respond to the same stimuli quite differently than another? Such cooperative research would throw much light on history, but it would also point out as well possible future areas of change which may occur as various Western institutions are introduced. The traditional dispute-settling mechanisms throughout the area might be a fruitful field for research, as Vice-Chancellor Li intimated in his discussion of Dean Cowen's paper. Also of importance is cultural diffusion throughout the area. A project now before The Asia Foundation is a study by Asian universities together with the Smithsonian Institution of the material culture of the Yellow Sea region, involving joint research in anthropology and physical culture in Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Okinawa, and hopefully some day in the Shantung Peninsula of China.

But intra-national university cooperation should not be ignored. In some ways, cooperation at this level is most crucial. Too often in many societies there is little if any lateral communication between universities on their own national problems. When such needs are felt, universities might group together institutionally and/or staff
individually to discuss their own problems and needs. Three examples
have recently occurred in Korea which point out what might be done.
For the first time in independent Korea the agricultural colleges, the
law colleges, and the law professors have each grouped together to
discuss common problems and goals.

So far from the abstract to the very practical values of inter-
university cooperation are apparent. The benefits to be derived from
such cooperation are many, and since time is short, all resources
should be combined to share and solve common problems.

In contrast to this account of the university as innovator,
the next panelist, James H. Noyes, the Foundation's Representative in
Ceylon, concentrated upon the more traditional role of the university
in the following presentation.

Mr. Noyes' Presentation

As always, problems and their discussion illuminate needs
and opportunities. One of the threads of similarity in our consideration
of these many countries is the matter of tradition as a continuing variable
that in some cases must be nurtured strongly, and in other cases be
reduced in influence to liberate new forces of thought. Many examples
come to mind. We are apparently unanimous that this is a golden mean
rather than an either/or situation. Dean Cowen cites the gulf between
the law and the people in Korea. Surely this gulf is a manifestation of
social tradition and historic conditioning that must blend with, but not
give way wholly to, a new tradition. Dr. Qureshi reminds us that in
Pakistan urgencies toward economic development have temporarily
overshadowed the position of the humanities. This is not surprising,
when it is remembered, as he says, that traditional religion and culture
were long held in contempt. Recovery of national dignity is as inseparable
from true economic advancement as is cultural renaissance. In Ceylon
the pendulum swung the other way and now, in what is surely a most
dramatic and decisive total education reform, the post-independence
preoccupation with ancient languages and history is giving way to a more
utilitarian emphasis. In India the "alien implantations" referred to in
Vice-Chancellor Robinson's comments have in some cases become cen-
ters of major scholarship with critical relevance to the development
process. Many traditions have thus been grafted and synthesized with
ultimate success.
The examples of Ceylon and Pakistan, so relatively close in geography and yet rather far apart in terms of the position of present higher education emphasis, suggest regional opportunities. There seem to be great corrective forces always at work reducing disparities between countries in a balancing process. But we all recognize that the process is not automatic. Obviously, much will depend on the vigor and boldness of universities as they overcome linguistic and other inhibitors. As many speakers have noted, it is often the universities alone that can provide the correcting and cross-traditional fertilizing regional cooperation that, so to speak, may save each situation from the doom of its own narrowness.

The burdens are indeed crushing. Universities are asked to preserve all the best of the past and yet help generate, convey, and harmonize the exploding innovative contributions of modern knowledge. In most cases their restless and unappreciative creatures called students may offer resistance simultaneous with the need to placate parents, trustees, government ministries, or faculty interests. It is perhaps the relative provincialism of all these problems that insures that outside cooperation will never again be an afterthought or a mere appendage on the university body. The indispensable perspective can now so often be supplied from outside. I think of Yale in the late 1940's where the presence of one brilliant visiting Indian professor did so much to strengthen the hands of those faculty who were pleading for area study programs and trying to generate student enthusiasm for their goal. The dimensions of modern knowledge as well as the speed of modern communication suggest ever more continuing links between centers of higher learning.

In assessing the interplay of traditions we have agonized a good bit over brain drain as a heavy price paid in the regional exchange process. In Ceylon this problem is acute indeed. Givers of fellowships and the institutions directly affected have reached the point where they would probably sever right arms and hold them as bonds against the return of scholarship recipients if this were medically feasible. But I was struck very much by Dr. Okochi's remarks on brain drain. He said that the journalists of Japan did not understand the problem and the needs of the young scholars for like-minded colleagues and suitable facilities. Perhaps I have shared some of the journalists' lack of understanding. Many brilliant Ceylonese are abroad, but many are in Africa or other areas of great need rather than enjoying more comfortable posts elsewhere. I know of one who has been in the United States some years, but who will soon return to head a major land development and colonization project. I know of one who works in
the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines. Another, a distinguished young cardiologist, works in a remote area of Iran. The cost of all this is great, as we recognize, and no matter which university, which foundation, or even which government, we are all poor in relation to satisfying the needs. It is always hard for the poor to be generous. But were not universities really begun by people seeking continuing contact with like-minded colleagues? Are we not all really engaged in laying the foundation for more and more supra-national development as a corrective to economic and political problems? Is it possible that some of these brain drainees may constitute a base of leadership for the transcendentally critical regional cooperation ahead?

The third panelist, Mr. Douglas Murray, Representative in Singapore, moved from the broader discussions of Messrs. Steinberg and Noyes to a more immediate consideration of specific administrative requirements in promoting cooperation among Asian universities.

Mr. Murray's Presentation

The previous speakers have discussed various problem areas in which inter-university cooperation has taken place or seems potentially valuable. However, they have also demonstrated a very considerable diversity of interests--in fact sufficient diversity that I wonder if there actually are abundant areas for mutual cooperation between Asian universities. With this doubt in mind, it seems particularly important that we not consider university cooperation as an "end in itself," nor assume that staff/student exchanges should be undertaken for their own sake. Such cooperation probably can be successful only as it directly relates to particular problems for which individual universities are seeking solutions. Both Vice-Chancellor Robinson and Dr. Romulo have commented on the value of limited, discreet forms of cooperation, such as bi-lateral exchange programs, sub-regional rather than Asian-wide organizations, which have developed in response to local needs and utilized existing regional resources. I agree, but further suggest that, as prior conditions for sustained regional cooperation, universities must (a) identify clearly their own problems, and (b) have a broad awareness of the existing or potential regional resources available for their solution.

Fundamental to such regional awareness is a continual flow of communication between institutions. The current situation, in which
communication occurs primarily between individuals or departments on topics of momentary, personal interest is very inadequate. In these circumstances, communication ceases immediately with a shift of personnel, or with the decline of a particular scholar's interest in a subject. It leaves no legacy for others to utilize, permits no accumulation of background knowledge about other institutions' needs or resources as a permanent pool of information. Some institutionalized means of inter-university communication seems to me a necessary precedent for any significant inter-university cooperation. Such a mechanism must somehow be a part of each university itself, not simply of some outside "regional" body.

To take an example, we can consider social science research as one area of potential cooperation. Such research is expensive, particularly the development of adequate libraries. Yet, research and research facilities which have direct bearing upon economic, social, or political problems in one country often can be useful in others. I therefore strongly endorse Dr. Li Choh-ming's suggestion about coordination of social science research activities within a region. Ideally, several universities could confer together to allocate broad research areas among themselves, to determine select fields in which each would make a special effort at developing libraries, research staff, and equipment, and to keep each other regularly informed about ongoing projects and local resources. It might be much more economical for a scholar in Manila, for example, to travel to Singapore to obtain research materials, professional guidance, or use certain lab facilities, than for his own university to finance all the additional resources required in his field. This process could reduce the problem of expensive duplication of effort. But equally important, it could substantially increase the bargaining power of the cooperating universities in obtaining financial support, visiting scholars, etc., from international organizations—and perhaps even from local governments and private sources. With such coordination under way, and joint projects devised, it would be much easier for universities to present a strong case for assistance to the rest of the world. We have heard of various "consortia" of American universities working together in programs of international assistance. Would it not be possible, similarly, to develop consortia of recipient universities, in which resources would be pooled, and a more effective use of external aid thereby made? Such arrangements would be particularly dependent upon regular, institutionalized forms of inter-university communication.
PANEL DISCUSSION

Unfortunately, however, neither communication nor cooperation spring spontaneously from the need, regardless of how widely felt it is. They require substantial effort, and considerable administrative time. Yet a serious problem facing Asian universities today apparently is that of "under-administration." There simply are too many jobs needing to be done by too few people. Despite Parkinson's Law (which I should particularly respect, coming from Parkinson's former intellectual home of Singapore), I believe that most Asian universities legitimately require additional administrative officers, a need which is heightened if new international activities are to be undertaken. Many U.S. universities, for example, have separate, heavily staffed offices, with exclusive responsibility for managing international assistance programs; yet recipient institutions are supposed to negotiate for, and absorb, such assistance without a single person, academic or administrative, free to devote regular time to it. Certain Asian universities, notably in Singapore, already have appointed Public Relations, or "Development" officers. Would it not be equally possible to establish "International Relations" officers, with responsibility for liaison with other universities in Asia and the West, publicizing his own institution's academic developments, and keeping abreast of research and regional resources relevant to local needs? Such a person would be responsible for coordinating and managing both inter-university communication and the cooperation which it hopefully would produce.

In conclusion, while this conference has discussed many areas in which university cooperation seems advisable, we have not considered the technical problems of how this can be done. The fundamental issue of gearing up each university's administration for institutionalized communication and cooperation deserves high priority in our deliberations.

Discussion

MR. JOHNSON pointed out that in some countries there is a problem of inter-university coordination and cooperation within their own borders. In the Philippines, for example, where 90% of education is in the private sector, there is a great quality control problem. This is being dealt with by a number of organizations similar to those that exist in the United States, as described by Dr. Kirk. However, there is still a need for more cooperation between the public and private schools as well as among private schools themselves.
The recent formulation of an exchange program between the Ateneo University in Manila and Sophia University in Japan, an important development, led to further reflection on cooperative area studies programs.

DR. OKOCHI noted that until recently most Asian countries had been engaged in faculty and student exchanges only between themselves and Western countries. There were few intra-regional exchanges of this kind. He believed that such programs should be established. He noted, however, that in some European countries so-called Japanologists are the persons who are interested in some particular features of pre-war Japan. They do not concern themselves with the general features of post-war, modern Japan. And they pose, and are regarded, as the leading figures of Japanology in Europe. This is a situation which needs to be rectified. Area studies programs require the participation of Asian scholars in cooperative projects with the Western scholars. He also stressed that area studies programs should include a number of inter-disciplinary studies. These were necessary measures that if not followed would result only in superficiality. Thus, while area studies are necessary and should be set up among Asian universities, these programs should avoid the traditional approach which characterizes many Western programs; that is, those which fail to utilize comparative studies and which lack a sound methodological basis. In Japan, it was noted, regional cooperative programs are being seriously studied by the principal national universities. Dr. Okochi observed that the regional programs should not be limited to the social sciences but should include the natural sciences as well. Also, he believed that the development of regional programs should be paralleled by continued cooperation on a broader international level as well.

DR. QURESHI indicated that the need is generally recognized for area studies. The question, he said, is how to go about it, especially considering the limited resources of Asian universities. He stressed the importance for students and faculty to visit the areas of their specialty and of the need to deal with the many disciplinary aspects of a given area of study. The best method of meeting this need might be an increase in the number of travel grants for this purpose through outside assistance.

By way of example, Dr. Qureshi noted the excellent Urdu program at the University of Karachi in which courses are available to visiting students of the language that are designed to help them better understand the nuances of the language. This program has produced Chinese students, for instance, who have mastered Urdu.
DR. CHIEN stressed the need for adequate preparatory work in order to guarantee the success of area studies programs. The universities should have experience in a particular field around which an area program might be developed. He also noted the need for persons who know the languages of other participating countries and indicated that this is a limiting feature in the development of cooperative area programs.

DR. SCHWANTES observed that The Asia Foundation has always tried to follow the principle of building on strength and of trying to be responsive to particular needs in its assistance to the development of projects; and that this principle applied to regional or area studies programs as well.

The point was made that there were some excellent Asian universities that were fortunately staffed with many able scholars. Nevertheless, there was a tendency for outstanding men, identified in cooperative projects, to be attracted to the West, thus impairing the progress at their own Asian universities, particularly the smaller ones.

DR. THOMPSON, by way of summary, said that the session had been illuminating in touching upon important key issues. He noted that the university does contribute to development both as innovator and in providing continuity. He believed the idea of a consortium worth further consideration.

MR. STEWART stressed, in a closing comment, a theme of the Conference that the role of Asian universities was not limited to developing Asia alone but that there was an expectation that Asia would be making its contribution to the rest of the world as well.
LUNCHEON MEETING FOR UNIVERSITY HEADS

December 21

Hosts: Grayson L. Kirk, J. E. Wallace Sterling, Charles J. Hitch

Dr. Sterling spoke informally from the following paper:

University Administration in International Perspective
I once studied under an Oxford-trained historian who was gifted not only in scholarship but also in turning a phrase. Frequently, when discussing political or other leaders who were confronted with a difficult decision where competing interests were involved, he would say of that leader: "He found himself, as it were, on the horns of a dilemma: a most uncomfortable position, gentlemen; a most uncomfortable position."

This afternoon I find myself somewhat similarly situated. Given the general topic of this Conference, much of what needed saying has been said—and said well. The apparatus of cooperation—by seminar, by exchange, by conference—has had attention. The problems inherent in national differences and language barriers have been recognized. The more urgent priorities of developing countries have been related to the more long-range, perhaps less utilitarian, substance of education as a thing in itself. The role of particular disciplines, such as economics, law, science, the humanities, social sciences, has been explored; and not least of all the obligations and opportunities of public service have been illustrated and appropriately defended. Compliments to the participants are in order, and most particularly are compliments and thanks in order to the staff of The Asia Foundation.

The dilemma on whose horns I now find myself impaled is this: With so much having been said so well, and with President Romulo's concluding address yet to come, what is there for me to say or suggest? I feel, if I may change the figure, somewhat like the tail of a kite—an appendage which cannot escape being an accessory.

My initial assignment was to discuss "University Administration in International Perspective." So let me begin with that. If I have any thesis in what I am about to say, it is this: that the chief executive officer of a university has to lick his local problems before he can honestly or productively engage his university in issues of national or international cooperation.

When I am at home it seems to me that I have more than enough difficulty just administering a university, let alone keeping it in any kind of perspective, international or otherwise. But when I am in Hong Kong, it seems to me that I am a quite superior university administrator and that my critics among students, faculty and alumni are quite wrong. In my case, therefore, being in Hong Kong is a most agreeable way to place university administration in international perspective.
Everyone here is an administrator. I risk carrying coals to Newcastle, therefore, in advancing the reminder that administration involves a complexity of factors:

a) the acquisition, management, and allocation of money—vulgar, perhaps, but necessary.

b) the recruiting, employment, and deployment of people—and may I say that as yet I have no expectation that any generation of computers will accurately diagnose human pride and prejudice, or produce a foolproof treatment for temperament, or perform the alchemy of transmuting human folly into wisdom; this will remain the task of the administrator.

c) the application of ideas and their end products to the service of society.

d) and, on the part of the administrator, an openness and fairness of mind that would tax a Solomon, a patience which would make Job seem impulsive, and a physical durability which a Spartan might emulate.

Administration involves all these factors: money, people, ideas and their application, fortitude, patience, wisdom, and durability. In universities, as we all know, these administrative factors are supposed to function productively in a community of learning. To make them function so within any university is not a simple task; how much less simple among universities.

I live and work in a country in which there are more than 2,000 colleges and universities. They differ in organization, size, financial strength, and quality. As one university president, with a gift for epigram, once put it: "We have good schools for good students and bad schools for bad students." These colleges and universities belong to a variety of associations. There is no unified formal cooperation among them. They do not speak with one voice on educational matters, or on any other matter except one: each would agree with all the others that they could use more money. The differences which exist among them place limits on cooperation, as this Conference has recognized. Any realistic discussion of the possibilities of educational cooperation on an international scale must recognize institutional differences—differences which are real and which euphoric utterances about international cooperation will not verbalize out of existence.
If one is to have perspective, I suggest that one must recognize that organized effort at educational cooperation internationally is of recent vintage. Throughout the first four decades of this century, international interaction in education was limited essentially to visiting professorships, foreign study by individual students, and a few ad hoc, worthy, but somewhat sentimental relationships between pairs of universities of different nationality. The burgeoning of this interaction has come since World War II—that is to say, within the past twenty years.

I mention that time span not only to associate it with the burgeoning of more formalized educational programs overseas but also to make the point that very few university administrators have been in office throughout that period. However limited our years of service may be, they have been spent in the period when educational interaction has burgeoned internationally. It follows that if any group of university administrators may be expected to have international perspective, we belong to that group, but that our perspective is short as the lives of universities go.

That this burgeoning has been facilitated by the technology of transport and communication is, I suggest, self-evident. The motivations for this burgeoning are not so self-evident, but they might include the following:

a) the continuation of the pre-war, unprogrammed interest of students and faculty to study and teach abroad.

b) the increased interest of private foundations, individuals, and corporations, as well as governmental agencies, in facilitating such study and teaching with financial assistance.

c) the desire of developing countries to acquire knowledge applicable to their developmental needs and the desire of more advanced countries to learn more about their global neighbors.

d) the sense of humane responsibility or of political advantage which prompts the more developed countries to encourage and nurture programs of aid, including education, to the less developed countries.

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1See The International Programs of American Universities, a study by The Institute of Research on Overseas Programs, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1958. Note Table 2D on p. 29.
the hope, even the faith, that educational interaction may help to promote peace by enhancing international understanding.

Can one discern a pattern for this interaction which has developed since World War II? I regret very much that I cannot give a broadly based answer to that question. I can endeavor to answer it only in terms of data which relate to the United States. These data support the following observations:

a) that the number of foreign students studying in the United States has grown steadily during the past 15 years.

b) that more of these students are doing graduate work than was the case 10 years ago.

c) that most of these students come from so-called developing countries.

d) that most of them (77% in 1964-65) are men. (The Philippines is an exception.)

e) that preference for fields of study has not varied significantly in the past decade—engineering (22%) and the humanities (20%) being the most popular, but with the third most popular field—natural and physical sciences—making some gain.

f) that there are few United States institutions without some foreign students; but that most of these students cluster in a few colleges and universities. For instance, 47% (in 1964-65) were enrolled in 42 institutions. And it is noteworthy that about 56% of all foreign students doing graduate work were enrolled in some 40 United States universities, and that about 57% of all visiting faculty from overseas were at these same 40 universities.

g) that the number of American students studying abroad is only about 22% of the number of foreign students in the United States, and that 60% of these American students study in Europe, 14% in other

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North American countries, mainly Canada and Mexico, 12% in Central and South America, 9% in the Far East, and only token numbers in the Near and Middle East, in Africa and in Oceania. And American students also tend to cluster in selected institutions—73% of them were studying in 46 universities overseas.

h) that American faculty members go mainly to Europe (about 50%), 16% to the Far East, 11% to Latin America, 8% to the Near and Middle East.

But the data from which I have drawn observations are manifestly incomplete. They do not reveal the numbers of students or faculty from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere who are studying and teaching abroad in colleges and universities other than those in the United States.

Now let me move toward a conclusion. What has been the impact on university administrators of this growing educational interaction across national boundaries?

One thing seems clear: universities have not been equally involved and therefore have not been equally affected. The perspective of a university administrator may vary, therefore, with the degree of his institution's involvement. I think that I may fairly say that the three American universities represented here by Mr. Kirk, Mr. Hitch and myself have been quite extensively involved.

In the United States, at least, the international reach of education has led to the formalizing of new programs for both undergraduate and graduate students. Within any university where this has occurred, administrative accommodations have had to be made. The programs have to be financed—which means an additional line-item in the annual budget; they have to be supervised, which means an assignment to a university officer with appropriate staff.

The programs themselves—not least of all those involving undergraduates—have an impact on the home campus. Students returning from periods of study abroad are likely to assert that curricula need reform, that library resources are deficient, and that administrators are less perceptive of these shortcomings than they should be. Nor do these students lavish sympathy on the administrator who pleads the need of time and money to effect the improvements they so urgently advocate.
Those of us who have substantial numbers of foreign students on our campuses know also that they cannot and should not be taken for granted. These students may need special language tutoring, help in finding a place to live, an international house where they may foregather and mingle with each other and with the native-born students of the host university. Community committees may need to be organized to make the foreign student feel welcome. Whatever is done by way of welcome and accommodation has to be organized, coordinated and supervised—all of which involves thought, effort, time and personnel.

But not only students are involved. Faculty members and officers of universities go visiting—some to teach or do research, others to discuss all manner of university problems. The length of the visit varies. Some visits are so brief and unplanned as virtually to guarantee that the time was wasted—politely and pleasantly, one hopes, but nevertheless wasted. Other visits are planned and prepared for, and of sufficient duration to be fruitful. I have been involved in both kinds of visits, both as guest and as host, and herewith declare an absolute preference for the latter kind.

One concluding observation: If the chief executive officer is to gain perspective on cooperation among universities, he must find time to participate in the interaction among universities, both nationally and internationally. This means that he must have at home an executive infrastructure of staff and faculty as well as an effective, up-dated system of institutional government. The need for these is presently apparent and will, in my judgment, intensify as universities become increasingly involved in interaction with one another and with the national societies which they endeavor to serve.

Discussion

The post-luncheon discussion of Dr. Sterling's paper was "off the record."
CLOSING ADDRESS

THE FUTURE OF ASIAN UNIVERSITIES

CARLOS P. ROMULO

Secretary of Education, Republic of the Philippines; concurrently President, The University of the Philippines
CLOSING ADDRESS

We are closing tonight a successful conference. The formal papers and the discussion adhered closely to the theme: "University Cooperation and Asian Development." At this juncture in the history of the region, no more timely subject could have been chosen for the Asian universities to examine and analyze, and the various topics assigned to the discussants dovetailed with each other so well that they had to spark new ideas from the participants that gave added value to the papers prepared in advance by the speakers. We must, therefore, congratulate Dr. Haydn Williams, the President of The Asia Foundation, and his staff for having made such excellent preparation for the conference which revealed their intimate knowledge of this area of the world and their close identification with our needs and problems.

Reasons for Success of Conference

Why do I say that this has been a successful conference?

(1) Because in discussing University Cooperation and Asian Development, we focussed attention, as Dr. Kenneth E. Robinson, our genial host, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong, has done, on the special vulnerability of the university in an environment of social, cultural, political, and economic change; and he pinpointed the specific needs for cooperation among universities within a region in such spheres as the sociology of education, academic intercourse with special emphasis on promoting greater experience of teaching and research in universities of different types and developments; and for links and association in the form of direct and continuous staff interchange between departments or research centers or between groups of universities in a developed country and a particular group in a developing area.

(2) Because specific cases of regional cooperation such as ASAIHL (Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning) and SEAMEC (Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Council) were analyzed as to their usefulness and effectiveness as samples of how regional cooperation among universities can be carried out in relation to the development of their respective countries in particular, and the region as a whole.

(3) Because the particular problem of Asian students and professionals going to the United States and remaining there instead of returning to their countries was discussed in depth and specific solutions were advanced.
(4) Because the role of Japanese universities in fostering the remarkable development of Japan in relation to its universities was highlighted during the conference and lessons may be derived from it by the universities in the region. It was also noteworthy that the idea of Japan joining actively in regional cooperative efforts to share with the other Asian nations its affluence and advanced technology was suggested in an appeal made during the conference.

(5) Because the successful binational arrangements between the universities of Taiwan and the United States were ably discussed and by being brought up for discussion in the conference may prove to be an example for other affluent and highly developed nations in Asia and Europe to profit by.

(6) Because the instances of public service, so wide-ranging, both nationally and internationally, by the University of California are of such significance and importance that not only is a standard set for Asian and other universities but also it is shown what a university can do beyond teaching and research.

(7) Because the experience of American universities in international cooperation as competently discussed in the conference revealed important findings, among others that for reasons of personal and academic maturity and career direction student exchange is more valuable on the graduate than on the undergraduate level, and there must be caution in considering international exchange as a general panacea.

(8) Because attention was given to the proper estimate that should be given to the needs of a given society. New technological discoveries often resulted in estimates of manpower needs being unrealistic and there is a need to constantly reexamine the output of the educational system in relation to permanent versus changeable short-term requirements. It was pointed out that in preparing leadership elements for their role in technological fields, a general liberal arts and humanities education was necessary if they were to play an imaginative and innovative role and relate their specialties to the over-all needs of their society.

The Asia Foundation, therefore, in sponsoring this conference has, because of what we have discussed in depth these last three days, successfully played the role that its President, Dr. Haydn Williams, aptly defined in his keynote address as the mission of foundations: "The discovery and energizing of ideas and endeavors in fields and in ways
CLOSING ADDRESS

which less flexible public and private institutions cannot, more often than not because of the lack of necessary resources which makes innovation and experimentation possible. Foundations can provide this extra margin. They can provide a stimulus and can be energizers of constructive activity."

This The Asia Foundation has achieved in our conference. We are all grateful and we return to our respective countries with better perspectives and broader horizons.

I must confess that when I was first informed of the conference, I was a bit wary about the subject. For to attempt to conceptualize "the university or universities in Asia" has in it the classical precision of a classroom composition. Yet, at the same time, the subject is so rich in ambiguities there is the danger of its eluding a neatly defined approach. The subject seemed to promise a categorical formulation of the universities in Asia, meaning to imply those institutions of higher studies, as universities are known in the West, in their peculiar characteristics within the Asian context. It is like discoursing on one of those tricky syllogisms: human beings as Asians, a formulation of a subject which promises more interest than coherence.

It is a tribute to the participants that no such mistake was made. Differences in organization of the universities in Asia or in their manner of control or government; disparity in emphasis or in the condition of learning were recognized, but as to the object of their interest there was no question; the pursuit of learning, the search for truth and the transmission of knowledge are their primary concern.

The conference successfully isolated a distinction common to all universities in Asia but not shared by institutions of higher learning in the West. It is a common element that unifies Asian universities, to be perceived not so much in their organization or curricular emphasis, but in the aspect of their context: they are all, with the exception of Japan, situated in developing societies. The realities within those societies are significantly different from the context of European or American universities.

Correlation of Education with Indigenous Culture

This matter of context is important and the conference handled it competently. Universities may generally project a condition of
intelligence, attitudes, and skills within their own ambience much ahead of society, but they nevertheless address themselves to the national culture itself. Whether it be in the field of legal education, as Dean Zelman Cowen so brilliantly stated in his paper, "The Role of Universities in Legal Development in Asia," or as the Chief Justice of India argues, the need of correlating the content and program of education to indigenous materials and realities is of central consideration. It was also admitted in the discussion that the thinking and values of the studentry and faculty of the Asian universities still propose their programs and schemes in relation to the national culture they serve. Our curricular development plans cannot simply proceed as if we do not know whom we intend to admit to our colleges and institutional units, nor would it be sane if the Asian universities were to devise their curricula as if they were going to accept European students generally. Their curricular and advancement programs have to be related to the peculiar realities of the national culture. And what is true of one Asian university is, I believe, similarly true of the other universities in Asia. Japan, for example, cannot have a university preponderantly intended for Filipino or Thai students.

So it was highlighted in the conference that the context of a university qualifies its general concerns and influences the nature of its academic content and even, to some extent, the manner of administering its academic function.

But again, the conference realized that there is a special way in which the nature of the social or cultural context of the university in Asia conditions its setup. The response of Asian universities to the actualities of society has been characterized by a firm belief that education cannot proceed apart or isolated from social needs. Thus we find institutions of higher learning in our continent centrally engaged in the aspirations of their national societies, emphasizing the sort of training and knowledge that are directly demanded by them. For instance, Dr. Wallace Sterling, the distinguished President of Stanford University, said it was his impression that the leadership in many developing countries felt that a general liberal education did not meet the specialized needs of a developing society and it was felt that there should be more emphasis on technical and professional education rather than on the so-called liberal arts and the humanities. This perception is also shared by our esteemed colleague, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Karachi, Pakistan, Dr. Qureshi. My own field of specialization and interest being also in the humanities, I am willing to participate in his despair concerning the increasing popularity of science and technology over humanities.
subjects. I fully agree with him that, together with the accommodation of science and technology in what used to be essentially liberalistic and humanist concerns of universities, our technical expertise must be pervaded with the spirit of humanism. Nevertheless, I see, too, the necessity of scientism and technology in the social and economic realities of our societies.

Thus, we note a tendency to orient those courses outside the physical and natural sciences in liberal arts colleges towards a more practical dealing with aspects of politics, institutions, forms of social organizations, and political behavior by subsuming them under the expressive category of the "social sciences."

Some observers have thought this orientation of Asian universities as unique. The justifications are readily admitted: learning must provide the individual the skills that would equip him for life in society, and universities must be sources of skills and abilities which society can utilize in its aspiration to achieve progressive advancement.

Modification of Traditional Elitism

Still, it is not correct to say that Asian universities have been singular in modifying the traditional elitism of institutions of higher learning and making them more centrally responsive to the practical needs of society. In a discussion of university cooperation and Asian development, it is good to recall that the educational philosophy that expressed the necessity of giving greater attention to the correlation of experience and learning and that argued for an increased commerce between society and knowledge had been long articulated by John Dewey. Its impact upon educational institutions has been immense and after the Second World War, it is also timely to recall, the nature and state of learning of Western man became the basis of a great debate, significantly expressed by Sir Charles P. Snow in his controversial paper, Two Cultures and a Revolution. Of course, the terms of the debate go even further than the formulations of Dewey--taking us back to circumstances beyond the 20th century into an instance in Western culture when scientism and the Industrial Revolution were creating their impact upon society and the thinking of mankind. The crisis brought about by the implications of the age of steam and steel was precisely the mainspring of a dispute between two personalities, one a great influence on the educational system of England and the other a controversialist for scientific thought. I refer to the debate between Matthew Arnold and Thomas Huxley.
CLOSING ADDRESS

In examining the situation of Asian universities, I prefer to go back to the terms of the Arnold-Huxley dispute, for the occasion of it was indeed quite analogous to the condition of the context of institutions of higher learning in Asia.

The introduction of the study of the physical sciences in the educational system in the West was rather a belated response to the state of technological equipment of its culture. We all know that technology was not directly derived from the work within Western universities. Of course, technology was founded on the law of the conservation of matter and power, and on a correct interpretation of thermic processes and electrical phenomena, and that James Watt was led into the construction of his new engines after a Newcomen atmospheric engine was brought to him to repair for the Natural Philosophy department of Glasgow University. At any rate, what interests us in Asia is not the determination of cause and effect in the transformation of Western society. What is to the point is to realize that, at least in England, the bloodless revolution of the Industrial Era came from literally the working classes, from the industry of craftsmen like James Watt, from businessmen like Matthew Boulton and John Wilkinson, and from artisans like George Stephenson and Henry Maudslay, and developed outside the capital--in Glasgow and Manchester and Birmingham--leaving London and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge comparatively undisturbed.

What, therefore, was the basis of Huxley's argument? The fact that a status of culture already existed, heavily dependent on technology and looking forward to more discoveries and inventions to realize more progress in other spheres of societies. The university was to function merely in the greater diffusion of knowledge and skills and its central purpose was to be expressed in having its vision geared not merely to the extension of theoretical knowledge, but also to encompass the progressive and practical development of society.

This is an immense concern, all too positive in its suggestion, but not without its effects upon those whom Huxley called derogatorily the "classical Levites," those who held that the civilization of Europe cannot rest on the smog from the steam and the filth emanating from the coal mines. Europe, it was maintained by Arnold, was a confederation of values and intelligences and attitudes and the machine cannot entirely promote this.
CLOSING ADDRESS

The Spirit of Asia's History and Culture

I have taken time to refer to the instance of these opposing attitudes concerning education in a conference such as this where we have to link Asian development with university cooperation because the fact of Asian universities is that, while they have accepted the responsibility of diffusing those values and abilities that make for greater technological and technical competence of society, there is at the same time, increasingly becoming more apparent, the notion that while the interest in science and technology will indeed realize for our societies the sort of advancement they generally need at the present time, science itself cannot subsume what we want to strengthen with the prosperity and freedom that we are trying to achieve. The most immediate thing, it is contended, is the development of our economy and society—the extension of opportunities to the masses who have for centuries endured privations; who have, for long, been kept in ignorance. But the ultimate question, it is further argued, is to see the shape of this expected condition of opportunities and progress in terms of the spirit of our culture and our history, in terms of the individuality of our civilization and our own inherent quality. In short, how to make Asia endure in the same way that Matthew Arnold, shocked by the faith of Huxley in science, had made it his concern to see the civilization of Europe endure.

If this be our present ideal, then there must be a shared concern, or perhaps, an initial consideration, done on the level of inter-university programs among higher institutions in Asia, of what our distinguished colleague, Vice-Chancellor Choh-Ming Li, of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, in his scholarly paper calls the research mission of the University.

Dr. Grayson Kirk, who has given Columbia University, as its president, both fame and prestige, discussed how American universities effectively encouraged inter-university cooperation, making it possible for students of one institution to take courses at another. Dr. Kirk outlined the raison d'être for the 2,600 or so national, regional, and functional organizations concerned with higher education in the United States. Since state control of education results in varying standards, these organizations serve to standardize and improve university curricula. They give the universities some solidarity in their relationships with governmental agencies. They minimize duplication of effort by, for example, the development of library systems with central book depositories which provide for the needs of a cluster of institutions and reduce individual library expenditures.
Insufficient Support to Faculty Exchange

Dr. Kirk also said that one of the basic problems is how to make the best use of the United States' "accumulated experience in higher education in order to best serve the educational needs of developing countries." He emphasized the importance of meetings like the present Asia Foundation-sponsored conference in establishing dialogues in the international educational community. The exchange of ideas and the establishment of accords is easier, he said, at the academic than at the political level, and it is not unrealistic to suppose the influence of educators could reach beyond the academic community to influence national attitudes, and foreign policies.

An important statement was made by Dr. Kenneth W. Thompson, vice-president of Rockefeller Foundation--and we are grateful that he could be with us--when he said that American institutions are not giving sufficient support to the international exchange of faculty, although he noted an increasing number of institutions, particularly the land grant colleges, which recognized the need to wed service and scholarship for the benefit of institutions in developing countries. The situation would not be improved, he felt, until university heads took a personal detailed interest in faculty exchange and made it possible for a professor to spend a year or so abroad without jeopardizing his professional career. There is also a need, he felt, for organizations like the Institute of International Education at the student level which would be exclusively concerned with international faculty exchange. This was but one of several constructive interventions of Dr. Thompson which profoundly impressed the delegates.

Referring again to Dr. Li's paper, the university in Asia, therefore, seems to be expected to fulfill two major special functions: to disseminate and cause the diffusion of scientific knowledge and the techniques of the 20th century which have primarily developed in the West, on the one hand, and to infuse knowledge in its larger and more general aspects with the qualities that are inherently and historically Asian on the other. The one calls for the extension of the values of technology into our more traditional societies, and the other for the conservation of our identity throughout the vicissitudes of radical changes that technology would likely bring about.
The Future of Asian Universities

And now I come to the subject assigned to me for tonight's address: "The Future of Asian Universities." Any discussion of the prospects of Asian universities must take account of what I have just said. For it appears that while our peoples in Asia do desire the good life, they are not at the same time too willing to relinquish the values, the myths and legends, the images and the precepts that they have traditionally lived by. This was so cogently stated by Dr. Li during the discussion on the rule of law by Dean Cowen. This is why while our societies demand of their governments the benefits of the technology of the West, they are sometimes suspicious of the innovations, the new ideas, and the radical actions that are usually initiated in our universities. And to them modernization could indeed be regarded as Westernization for, as they see it, it simply means the process of introducing those skills and ideas that have developed in the West, which, in turn, are generative of new institutions and a different philosophy of life.

The problem, it seems, is how our societies--conditioned by their ancient traditions and mores and so long used to living by ethical precepts rather than scientific formulae and principles and technology--could be made by our universities to assimilate changes, and when we speak of changes in this context we really mean their national development.

One fact is observable: in most of our universities the data of our traditions, the political history of our societies and our native literatures, are not as immediately available to the post-world war second generation of our youth as, let us say, materials on the history and civilization of the West. This presents a case which is beyond moral judgment, but which is relevant to the function of our universities. Unless the universities in Asia take an interest in reviving these materials to the consciousness of the youth, they would, in effect, be recreant to their mission of helping in the extension of human knowledge.

The Two Dimensions of Extension Work

To us in Asia, the extension of human knowledge could consist of two dimensions: one, the process of making new relationships to already known data, and the other, in bringing back to the recall of consciousness what has previously existed but has been forgotten.
Without neglecting the first, universities in Asia must be instrumental themselves in providing the international community a basis of understanding the culture of our continent; the realities that are essential to, and inherent in it—the facts and aspects that have been neglected in the recent decades of our century. The Asia Foundation has been helping in this task and we owe it a debt of gratitude for undertaking such an important mission. In the West there were indeed times when the mysteries of certain aspects of culture seemed to have been locked within the libraries and halls of certain universities—some institutions being known for particular areas of knowledge—for classical studies, for medieval history, or for Renaissance art.

I must say that one of the prevailing opinions among the distinguished representatives of institutions of higher learning in Asia is that the universities in Asia, besides being interpreters of the history and values and technology of the West, must also be specialists in their own context—providing the world the data and authority on the reality of Asia and being able to conceptualize for the human mind the fact of the integration of the history and culture of the region. And, just as in the mind of Arnold there was always a Europe—a human community distinct from America—the universities in Asia must realize for the consciousness of this and the next centuries the experience that, for history to be universal and complete, there must be present the culture and reality of Asia.

It may be proper here to note that the interest in Oriental cultures and civilization has also been evident in Western universities in the United States and in England. There have been recent institutes of Far Eastern Studies, Oriental Culture, Afro-Asian affairs in Western universities. This is inevitable, for the politics of the international community aspires towards universality and if the mission of the university is to disseminate knowledge, then it is but proper that Afro-Asian culture, history, and civilization be learned in a universal scale.

Future Economic, Political, and Population Development

But if we have to speak of the future of Asian universities, we must anticipate certain factors of the Asian reality: our future economic and political development and our population growth.
Economics and peoples cannot be regarded in isolation from politics. They make politics just as they are affected by it. In the sense that universities in Asia must somehow relate themselves to the expected development of our economies and population, they must also, therefore, consider the central question of politics: what sort of human organization must education prepare for; what sort of competence will that political order require of Asian citizens?

There could be no disagreement that our universities will always be on the side of freedom. I do not say that they should necessarily be anti-Communist or pro-democracy so-called. The ism is not significant; the concrete reality of rights is what matters—the uninhibited progress and development of awarenesses, intelligence, criticalness, and human possibilities. Whether these are to be realized in the current political systems, or in some other systems yet unthought of, it is the function—the mission, if you will—of the university to work towards it, for it, and to prepare the minds of men in relation to that actuality.

Economic progress always presupposes greater freedom; but on the part of institutions of learning it requires an increased capacity to meet its demands in order that society does not slacken in its growth, that culture does not suffer dislocation and stagnation as it prepares to yield to the logic of developments. The growth of population necessitates a corollary increase in the pace of economic production, and since society must forever assure equal opportunities for all education must equally be equipped to cope with the growth of populations.

The Progressive March of Democracy

More and more we have witnessed how the progress of democracy in the United States, in England, and in France has called for socialized programs. The opening of federal schools in the United States, the scholarship programs in Great Britain and France—all these are efforts to universalize education even at the college and university levels. In Asia, in virtually all of our societies, free universal education is assured on the grade and, in some instances, the high school level. The problem, therefore, is how to diffuse the intellectual excellence and competence of higher learning in our societies. There is no doubt, for instance, that the privileges under the G.I. Bill of Rights in the United States have made for a greater diffusion of learning in that country since the Second World War and it is not uncommon
to learn that those who are now engaged in tasks of community leadership or in the responsibility of opinion-making have, in one way or another, served in the United States forces during the War.

In Asia, it seems that the problem is for its universities to increase their extension services. The University of the Philippines has undertaken a program of extending its instructional and curricular facilities to the far-flung communities of the country. But if Asia is to evolve an educational system as I have expressed in this conference—that of integrating its resources of excellence—how may this integrated program touch the larger population section of each country?

It is for the universities in Asia to help provide the vision for our societies that the democracy we are at present evolving must precisely work for that flexibility and greater freedom that can make these ideals possible. It is for the Asian university today to further deepen its impact upon our societies and influence its radical and revolutionary movement forward towards the shaping of a liberal consciousness and an affluence of freedom, testing the very fibers, as it were, of democracy with its ideas, just as democracy in the United States had been consistently tested by Lincoln's fight for racial equality, by Theodore Roosevelt's anti-trust policies against monopolies, by the concept of welfare economy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, by the flexibility and dynamism of Kennedy's radical democratic commitment which even challenged the revolutionism of Socialism itself. The Asian university in the future will have to provide both the stability and source of changes, seeing to it that the balance of discipline and freedom does not degenerate into an experiment in coercion which can threaten the very life of institutions of higher learning.

Awesome and challenging as it may sound, the university in Asia cannot help being a source and promoter of freedom itself for only thus can it maintain its mission of teaching what mankind has learned, and still discover what people have yet to know.
BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

DR. S. L. CHIEN, president of National Taiwan University since 1951, received his undergraduate education in China and was granted the B. S. degree by National Tsinghua University in 1931. He then went to the United States to study, receiving the M. S. and Ph. D. degrees from the University of Illinois in 1932 and 1934, respectively.

Dr. Chien is one of China's most prominent chemists and educators. He is a member of the Academia Sinica, on whose Council he also serves; a member of the Atomic Energy Council, the executive committee of the National Council on Science Development, and the US Educational Foundation in the Republic of China; vice-chairman of the China Committee on Sino-American Science Cooperation and of the Board of Trustees of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, and chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chinese Chemical Society and the Chinese Association for the Advancement of Natural Sciences.

ZELMAN COWEN was born in Melbourne, Australia, October 7, 1919, and was educated at the University of Melbourne (B. A., LL. B., LL. M.) and Oxford University (B. C. L., M. A.). After wartime service in the Australian Navy, he became a Fellow of Oriel College at Oxford (1947-1950) and was in 1951 appointed professor of public law and dean of the Faculty of Law of the University of Melbourne. In January this year he became vice-chancellor of the University of New England, Armidale, New South Wales.

Mr. Cowen has been a visiting professor at Harvard Law School on two different occasions (1953-54 and 1963-64) as well as in other American universities including Chicago, Illinois, Washington (St. Louis), Utah, and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He was a member of the International Advisory Committee on Legal Education in Ghana in 1959, advisor on legal education to the University of the West Indies in 1963-64, adviser on legal education to the University of Hong Kong, 1965 to date, and consultant in the establishment of the Law School in the University of Malaya (now the University of Singapore).
BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

CHARLES JOHNSTON HITCH was born in Boonville, Missouri, on January 9, 1910, and received his education at Kemper Military School, the University of Arizona, Harvard University and Oxford University where he was a Rhodes scholar. He became a Fellow Praelector and tutor at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1935, a post he held until 1948. During World War II he became a staff economist for the Mission for Economic Affairs at the US Embassy in London and for the War Production Board in Washington, finishing his war service in the Office of Strategic Services. After the close of the war he re-entered government service, as chief of the Stabilization Controls Division of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion (1945-46). In 1961 he was appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense (comptroller) during the Kennedy Administration and part of the Johnson Administration. In 1965 he was appointed Vice-President for Financial Affairs of the University of California and in 1966 Vice-President for Administration, his present post. He is a Trustee of The Asia Foundation.

DR. GRAYSON KIRK was born in Jeffersonville, Ohio, in 1903, and received his Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin in 1930. A recognized authority on government and international relations, Dr. Kirk has taught at Lamar College in Beaumont, Texas, the University of Wisconsin, and Columbia University, where he was appointed Bryce professor of the history of international relations in 1959. Dr. Kirk has served as executive director of the Academy of Political Science and as research associate in the Yale Institute of International Affairs. In the postwar period at Columbia, he was appointed to a succession of important posts, and in 1949 he was principal assistant to Dwight D. Eisenhower, president of Columbia. Appointed vice-president and provost of the university in 1950, he assumed the presidency of Columbia on January 20, 1953, when Eisenhower was inaugurated President of the United States. Dr. Kirk is a trustee of several foundations and institutes, including The Asia Foundation, the Nutrition Foundation, the Institute of International Education, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the French Institute, and the Belgian American Education Foundation. More than 30 outstanding American and foreign universities and colleges have conferred honorary degrees on Dr. Kirk, and he has been decorated by a number of foreign governments.
BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

DR. CHOH-MING LI, vice-chancellor of The Chinese University of Hong Kong, was born in China and is a naturalized American citizen. He was educated at the University of Nanking and received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees at the University of California at Berkeley.

Dr. Li's teaching career has taken him to Nankai, Southwest Associated, and National Central Universities in China as professor of economics (1937-43), and to the University of California at Berkeley as professor of business administration and director of the Center for Chinese Studies (1951-63). In 1964 he was appointed to his present position.

From 1945-47, Dr. Li was deputy director-general of the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA) and in 1948 and 1949 was permanent delegate of the Republic of China to the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. In 1949 and 1950 he was chairman of the Board of Trustees for Rehabilitation Affairs of the National Government of China.

DR. KAZUO OKOCHI was born in Japan in 1905 and graduated from the Economics Department of the University of Tokyo in 1929. He remained in the university after his graduation, being successively lecturer, assistant professor, professor (1945), dean of Faculty of Economics, and finally president of the university.

A member of the Society for Social Policy, Dr. Okochi has produced many authoritative books in the field of social policy and the labor union movement and market. He is the current president of the National Universities Association and a member of the Central Education Deliberation Council.
PROFESSOR ISHTIAQ HUSAIN QURESHI, vice-chancellor of the University of Karachi since 1961 and chairman since 1966 of the International World University Service at Geneva, was born November 20, 1903. He received his M.A. in history and M.A. in Persian from the University of Delhi in 1928 and 1929. In 1939 he received a Ph.D. in history from the University of Cambridge. At the University of Delhi, from 1928 to 1947, he was successively lecturer, reader, and professor of history, and dean of the Faculty of Arts.

A member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan from 1947 to 1954, Dr. Qureshi served in the Government of Pakistan as Deputy Minister in 1949, Minister of State in 1950, and Minister with Cabinet rank from 1951 to 1954. For the next five years he was visiting professor in the Department of History, Columbia University, New York. An office bearer in several academic societies and associations, Dr. Qureshi was awarded the Sitara-i-Pakistan in 1964.

KENNETH E. ROBINSON, vice-chancellor of the University of Hong Kong, was born in 1914 and educated at the Sir George Monoux Grammar School, London, Hertford College at Oxford University, and the London School of Economics. At Oxford he was named Beit Senior Scholar in 1936. That same year he entered the Home Civil Service of the United Kingdom (Administrative Class), where he served for twelve years. From 1948 to 1957 he was a Fellow of Nuffield College and Reader in Commonwealth Government at Oxford, after which he became director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies and Professor of Commonwealth Affairs of the University of London, a post he held until 1965.

In 1954, Mr. Robinson taught at the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University, and in 1963 he taught at Duke University. He was Reid Lecturer at Acadia University in 1963 and a Governor of the London School of Economics from 1959 to 1965. From 1961 to 1965 he was editor of the Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies.

In Hong Kong, Mr. Robinson is a member of the Council of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, of the Special Committee on Higher Education, the Supervisory Board of the Hong Kong Urban Family Life Study, and the Councils of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Hong Kong Management Association.
BIographiesal Data

Born in Manila, January 14, 1899, CARLOS P. ROMULO has achieved an outstanding career as author, soldier, educator and diplomat. He received his B.A. degree from the University of the Philippines in 1918 and his M.A. degree from Columbia University in 1921. His early career as professor of English and head of the English Department at the University of the Philippines soon led him into newspaper work and the post of editor-in-chief of the TVT Publications in Manila in 1937. From 1937 to the outbreak of the Pacific War he was publisher of the DMHM newspapers in his home city. Author of twelve books, including his autobiography, I Walked with Heroes (1961), he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in Journalism in 1942 for distinguished correspondence.

At the outbreak of the Pacific War, Dr. Romulo was aide-de-camp to General MacArthur in Bataan and Corregidor as a Major in the United States Army and accompanied the General to Australia. Through subsequent promotions he became Brigadier-General in 1944, in which capacity he was at General MacArthur's side in the invasion of Leyte and the recapture of Manila.

The distinguished decorations, honors, and awards which have come to General Romulo in the course of his career are listed on several pages of his official biographical statement. Notable are the United States Legion of Merit, the Philippine Order of Sikatuna and Golden Heart Presidential Award, and the Distinguished Service Award by Phi Beta Kappa. In addition, he has been decorated by eight foreign governments and the Vatican. Almost sixty colleges and universities throughout the world have recognized his scholarly and inspirational leadership by conferring on him honoris causa degrees in many fields. At present he is Secretary of Education of the Philippines and concurrently president of the University of the Philippines. He is also president of the Philippines Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

In the field of diplomacy and foreign affairs, General Romulo is currently Presidential Adviser on Foreign Affairs, capping a career in this field which began when he was asked to head the Philippine Mission to the United Nations in 1945, a post he occupied for nine years, during which he was President of the Fourth General Assembly (1949-50). He was President of the Security Council (1957), Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the Cabinet of President Elpidio Quirino (1950-52), and Ambassador to the United States from 1952-53 and 1955-62.
BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

JOHN EWART WALLACE STERLING, President of Stanford University since 1949, was born in Linwood, Ontario, Canada, on August 6, 1906. Prior to his inauguration in 1949 as the fifth president of Stanford, Dr. Sterling was director of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery of San Marino, California, and a member of the history faculty at the California Institute of Technology.

Dr. Sterling acquired his B.A. at the University of Toronto in 1927, and became a lecturer in history at Regina College, Regina, Saskatchewan. For the next two years, Dr. Sterling taught history at the University of Alberta and studied for his M.A. degree, which he received in 1930. He joined the research staff of the Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution and Peace in 1932 and assisted in the preparation of several of the Library's publications. Appointed instructor in history at Stanford University in 1935, he continued his studies, receiving his Ph.D. degree in history from Stanford in 1938.

After serving as professor of history at the California Institute of Technology, Dr. Sterling returned to Canada in 1939 on a Social Science Research Council fellowship to study the European immigrant situation. (Dr. Sterling is an authority on Canadian relations with the British Empire and the American republics, and has written several books on this subject.) In 1942 he was advanced to a full professorship at the California Institute of Technology, and two years later he was elected chairman of the faculty. The next year he was appointed Edward S. Harkness professor of history and government.

Fifteen leading universities and colleges in Canada, Europe, and the United States have conferred honorary degrees on Dr. Sterling and he has been decorated by four foreign governments. He is a Trustee of The Asia Foundation.
BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HAYDN WILLIAMS, president of The Asia Foundation, has had an extensive career in international affairs, including academic, business and government positions. A graduate of the University of California, Dr. Williams earned his Ph.D. at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy where he was Associate Dean and Professor of International Relations from 1952 to 1957. He has also been a member of the faculty at the University of Washington where he directed an undergraduate honors program from 1962 through 1963.

He has been a consultant to Pan American Airways and the Air Transport Association as well as to the U.S. Departments of State and Defense. He was Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for five years during the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations.

In addition to his responsibilities as president of The Asia Foundation, Dr. Williams has been called to take part in a wide range of civic affairs. He is a member of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, an overseer of the Fletcher School, a trustee of the World Affairs Council of Northern California, and a member of the University of California Alumni Council. In 1966, Seoul National University conferred on Dr. Williams the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.
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