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New York, 6 June 1966

Dear Dr. Kissinger,

As suggested by you I have outlined below the book I intend writing on the merging power patterns in Asia. But before I go into that, I should like to set down my reasons for wanting to do this book at this stage.

It is my firm conviction that in the coming months and years it is Asian events which will significantly shape and influence the international scene for the next few decades. I do not see any other crisis area in the world as potentially explosive as Asia, and it also seems strange to me that no thought-provoking point of view by an Asian has been projected in recent years which shows an insight into some of the nuances of Asian politics which could otherwise be overlooked by non-Asian analysts. Such a viewpoint - if it were provocative enough - could also help to clear the air of cant which clouds vital issues; at the very least it would not be dismissed as anti-Asian, since it would be the view of a responsible Asian.

Much more important than the above, however, is to spell out the factors which determine the existing balance of power in Asia in a manner which is both readable as well as profound in its analysis of not only the existing politics of Asia and the historical, social and economic factors which influence them, but which also projects the possible trend of events on that continent in the coming years.


Dr. Henry Kissinger
The Centre for International Affairs
Harvard University
6 Divinity Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts.
The book which I propose writing will deal with the politics of Mongolia, Korea, Japan, Formosa, North and South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Burma, India, China and Pakistan as well as the relationship of these countries with Russia, the United States, Australia and some of the other Western powers. The role of these countries in the emerging power patterns of Asia will be analysed too, in detail, both in terms of their present day influence in this region as well as in the context of the historical influence some countries have had on the politics of different Asian nations.

The world is often baffled by the forces of disunity within some Asian countries which threaten their stability, and so I propose to discuss in my book the ideologically split factions as well as the different hostile religious groups which threaten the cohesiveness of such nations.

It is obvious that U.S. policies in Asia will undergo a radical change in the coming years and it is therefore vital to analyse the effect of those changes, such as a rapprochement between the United States of America and China, on the political situation within different countries in that region. By the same token, Russia's increasing concern with China's claims on Outer Mongolia and some USSR territories are also worth analysis and explanation. Russia's actions in Asia will depend on the course her relations take with China; if the present state of hostility between them continues, Russia's involvement with Asian countries - with the aim of containing China - will be great. There is always an alternative which has to be discussed, namely, what happens should China and Russia start reversing their present drift away from each other. All these aspects would be discussed as well as their influence on Asian politics.

China plays a key role on the Asian political scene. Since for the moment the initiative to create situations which can upset the present balance of power rests with her - and will continue to do so for some time to come - a penetrating analysis of her political successes and failures in recent years will be made. Developments at home will influence her politics abroad, and the leadership patterns within China will be examined for possible changes which could materially affect her external policies. Should Mao's exit and the consequent changes in leadership result in no major shift in China's policies, what sort of pattern for containing her will emerge insofar as other Asian countries, as well as the United States and the USSR are concerned. My aim is to review and re-examine afresh the political trends in Asia in context of China's openly declared and not-so-openly declared aspirations.

The setting up of an Asian defence system becomes an inescapable necessity in view of China's aims and purposes. But defence systems
inspired by United States concerns in Asia rather than by the Asian participants themselves, do not serve the purposes for which they are designed. Since they are not initiated by the Asian countries themselves, such countries as are members of these pacts become targets of attack and antagonism by countries politically opposed to them. In the end result instead of a unified opposition to would-be aggressors, a badly divided, mutually hostile group of countries in sad disarray emerges. How this problem can be best resolved will be analysed in this book.

I have set out only in brief what I propose to cover, but I hope that this will give you some idea of what I have in mind. Since this book would involved travelling in most of the countries I have mentioned above, and since it would also involve extensive interviews with the leadership of these countries, it is difficult for me to undertake the project without the support of a foundation or institution such as yours. My difficulty results mainly from India's present foreign exchange position which has caused severe curbs to be placed on all foreign travel, etc. Since this book would require at least a year away from India, both in terms of travel in different parts of Asia and also a certain amount of time which would have to be spent in the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. for research, therefore, I do feel that a very minimum of $20,000 would be required for this project. I am hoping you will be able to see your way to helping me with this grant. I plan to take up this work towards the end of September this year and I hope to finish my first draft of the book by the end of 1967. Thereafter, I think the publication of the book would be some time in the middle of 1968.

My book "India and the Future of Asia" is being published this coming November by Alfred Knopf in the U.S., and Faber and Faber in the U.K. In it, I have given more space to an analysis of the politics of India, though I have also written at some length on the politics of Asia. To give you an idea of the quality of my writing and my general calibre, I am going to send you by June 15th page proofs of my above book. Alfred Knopf Inc. assure me that they will have a spare set of proofs ready for me by the middle of this month; as soon as I get them I shall forward them to you.

And now something about myself. I publish three magazines from New Delhi, and edit one of them called "Design" which is very highly rated. I have been writing on political subjects also for some time. I was invited to the United States in 1961 under the Foreign Leader programme of the State Department and before that I was a guest of the Federal Press Office of the West German Government. I have been coming to the United States every year to speak at some convention or the other and have also travelled extensively through parts of Asia. The best recommendation ought to however be my above book the page proofs of which I shall be sending you soon.

I will be in New York till about July 5th and can be contacted c/o Romen Dasu, 1270 Fifth Avenue, Apartment 15 L, New York. My telephone number in New York is 831-3431. After leaving New York I shall travel
through Yugoslavia and Scandinavia and shall reach New Delhi by about August 15th. My address in New Delhi is 11 Ratendon Road.

I shall be extremely grateful if you are able to arrive at some decision whilst I am still in the United States, but of course if that is not possible it does not matter since you could be in touch with me from August onwards in New Delhi.

It was very kind of you to spare time to see me. With very good wishes, I remain,

Sincerely,

Patwant Singh

c/o Romen Basu
1270 Fifth Avenue
Apt. 15 L
New York, N.Y.
June 14, 1966

Mr. Patwant Singh  
c/o Romen Basu  
1270 Fifth Avenue  
Apt. 15 L  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Singh:

In Dr. Kissinger's absence from the office for several weeks, I am writing to acknowledge your letter of June 6th.

He is expected to return to the office the last week in June and I will bring your letter to his attention at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Blanchard  
Secretary to Dr. Kissinger
June 14, 1936

Mr. President Stinch
Co.'s Robert Bass
1210 Fifth Avenue
Apt. 16 I
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Stinch:

In Dr. Kastner's absence from the office for several weeks, I am writing to acknowledge your letter of June 8th. He is expected to return to the office next week. In June and July I will print your letter to the attention of the staff.

Sincerely yours,

John Blanchar
Secretary to Dr. Kastner
I raised your idea with some of my colleagues, but haven't been able to get any support.

Do you want me to send back the galleys of your book?
July 1, 1966

Mr. Patwant Singh
c/o Romen Basu
1270 Fifth Avenue
Apt. 15 L
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Singh:

I have discussed the possibility of supporting your interesting project with a number of my colleagues. Unhappily—as I suspected--our funds are fully committed. I am sorry.

Do you want me to send back the galleys of your book?

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Kissinger
July 1, 1966

Mr. Richard Singer
30 Roman Road
1230 Fifth Avenue
Apartment 15
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Singer:

I have discussed the possibility of supporting
your interpretative project with a number of my
colleagues. Unfortunately, we are unable to commit
at this time. I will keep you posted.

Do you want me to send back the galley of
your book with every copy made?

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Kraninger
Dear Dr. Kissinger,


Very good wishes.

Sincerely,

Patwani Singh
June 16, 1966

Mr. Patwant Singh
1270 Fifth Avenue
Apt. 15L
New York, New York 10029

Dear Mr. Singh:

As I wrote you several days ago, Professor Kissinger is away until the end of June. I do, however, want you to know that the set of page proofs of your book *INDIA AND THE FUTURE OF ASIA* arrived today.

I know Professor Kissinger will be interested in it.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Professor Kissinger
June 16, 1962

Mr. Pontifex Smith
1210 Fifth Avenue
Apt. 15E
New York, New York 10029

Dear Mr. Smith:

As I write you several days ago Professor Klausmeier is very much the
case at the end of June. I do not however want you
to know his full set of life's experiences.

I know Professor Klausmeier will be interested in your

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Professor Klausmeier
Dear Dr. Kissinger,

I will appreciate greatly your sending me by special delivery the page proofs of my book, at the above address. LIFE magazine is excerpting the book in their International Editions, and since I am doing the excerpting, I really must have this set of proofs within the next four or five days.

Many thanks,

Sincerely,

Patwant Singh

Dr. Henry Kissinger
Harvard University
Center for International Affairs
6 Divinity Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts
July 20, 1966

Mr. Patwant Singh
c/o R. Basn, Apt. 15L
1270 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Singh:

In Dr. Kissinger's absence on a trip abroad, I am writing to acknowledge your letter of July 18th.

As you requested, I am sending you the page proofs of your book.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Blanchard
Secretary to Mr. Kissinger
July 30, 1960

Mr. Patrowl Shint
C/o R. Finn, Ap't 1677
1870 Third Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Shint,

In Dr. Kassenber's absence on a trip abroad, I am writing to say knowledge your letter of July 18th.

As you requested, I am sending you the book referred to in your book.

Sincerely yours,

John Blanchard
Secretary to Mr. Kassenber
Law School of Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Mass.

January 9, 1966

Professor Henry A. Kissinger
Center for International Affairs
6 Divinity Avenue
Harvard University

Dear Henry:

Many thanks for your acknowledgement of my reprint. Yesterday's "Times" jogged me to remind you of our conversation about my stimulating friend Patwant Singh (I enclose Arthur Lall's review in case you missed it).

As I said a few weeks ago, Patwant Singh is unique. Not only is he uncommonly bright, thoughtful and informed, but he is also a charismatic figure, an electric personality. I think we'd do well to have him here for a few months if possible. Can you work it out?

Sincerely,

Jerome A. Cohen

JAC: ejt
THIS book is the work of a thoughtful and vigorous mind that gives analytical attention to the foreign and domestic problems of India, particularly in the context of Asia, and suggests a variety of solutions.

A successful business man, Patwant Singh is especially critical of India's brand of socialistic economy and plumps for more private enterprise. He observes that: "Along with other holy cows and sacred symbols, independent India was to acquire three more: a Planning Commission, the Five-Year Plans, and a socialistic pattern of society." This statement is only technically correct. The British established a Planning Department with an Indian industrialist as the Minister in charge of a large planning staff. A number of heads of Ministries functioned virtually as a planning commission, and a five-year plan was being evolved before Independence in 1947.

Even the third holy cow has a pre-independence conception. The British Government took over the large railway system in India, operated the telephone services, was taking over all generation of electric power, owned all major irrigation schemes and was establishing industries (such as a large fertilizer plant). All this would have had to be reversed if independent India were to adopt the kind of economy that Mr. Singh advocates.

However, Mr. Singh makes a persuasive case for his view. He points to the low productivity, high costs and consequent high prices for the products of state factories; and to the overstaffing, the strangulating effects of red tape and general inefficiency. But Mr. Singh does not mention the all too frequently shoddy quality of the products of most private industry; from canned goods to motor cars the consumer is ill-served by the get-rich-quick mentality of the Indian entrepreneur. The major causes of the maladies that afflict India's state-owned and diversified economy lie below the surface in habits that tend to develop when the lack of goods and services is so great that, in the absence of the highest civic standards, those who produce these commodities can get away with anything.

These habits permeate both

(Continued on Page 14)
This novel of a three-year sentence is a violence and pent-up hard-hitting, knife-like nerve ends of trapped JAMES

author of From A deeply honest, no-hole probably shock a lot of JACQUELINE

author of Vally Every man will find it But women should find A. E. HOP

author of Pop Singularly impressive. A The author starts off w and manages to sustain ERNEST

author of The Ilp A certain smash... I sides being superb enter

$4.95 at al
Holy Cows

(Continued from Page 10)

the private and the state sec-
tors of the economy. They are
not ineradicable, but far too
little attention has been paid
to them. However, Patwant
Singh makes a number of appo-
site comments on the Indian
economic situation. His section
on "Food: The Continuing Cri-
sis" is particularly good. He
rightly identifies the lack of
modern fertilizers, unrealistic
land policies and inadequate
rural incentives as the main
causes of India's failure to pro-
duce sufficient food. This is
certainly caused by glaringly
inefficient planning. What is
required is planning that radi-
ates outward from the basic
needs of the farmer to the
various relevant segments of
the economy. Planning systems
rather than congeries of plans
are needed, and a system for
agriculture should be given top
priority.

THE two long chapters on
foreign affairs, which cover
100 pages of this absorbing
book, deserve to be read at-
tentively because they analyze
carefully the strains between
South Asia and China. Mr.
Singh argues that though non-
alignment was broadly right in
its initial stage, it makes sense
in a world where the U.S.
and the Soviets are coming to-
gether and the real enemy of
peaceful global development—
China—is at India's door step.
Mr. Singh even makes a
powerful case for India develop-
ing nuclear weapons. His re-
marks on the whole range of
foreign affairs and defense—
from the advocacy of closer re-
lations with the U.S. and, it
seems, equally close relations
with the U.S.S.R., to India's
right to make her own decisions
on all matters of vital interest
to herself (which is an integral
part of nonalignment!) merit
the attention of the American
and, I might add, the Russian
reader.

I myself remain unconvinced
by his strong advocacy of the
manufacture of atomic weap-
ons by India. He attaches no
importance at all to the inter-
national efforts for an agree-
ment to halt the proliferation of
nuclear weapons, on a basis
that would protect the vital
interests of India and other countries
which would be signing away
their right to manufacture such
weapons; in fact, he does not
mention these efforts. Similar-
ly, there is no mention of a
possible U.N. role in mediating
hostility to and from China.

This is an important and
timely book. Mr. Singh's em-
phasis on the need in India for
confidence, conviction and an out-
look freed from some cramping
and often inhuman traditions
will be to the liking of his
younger compatriots and could
rouse them to elect a leadership
this February that will mani-
fest those very characteristics.
February 28, 1967

Professor Jerome A. Cohen
Langdell Hall
Harvard University

Dear Jerry,

I appreciate your note about Patwant Singh. Unfortunately I have no direct responsibility for funds for these studies, and now everything is committed for next year.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Kissinger
Professor Jerome A. Cohen
Henderson Hall
Harvard University

Dear Professor Cohen,

I appreciate your note about the commitment of funds to research on these matters, and now every effort is coming to bear next year. I am confident that progress will be made.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Kessler

September 30, 1967