

# **The Cold War Design Business of Russel Wright and JDR 3rd**

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## **Introduction: Question of Cold War Design in Asia**

Design formed an important part of political ideology during the Cold War. At the American National Exhibition in Moscow in July 1959, US Vice President Richard Nixon asked USSR premier Nikita Khrushchev, “Would it not be better to compete in the relative merits of washing machines than in the strength of rockets? Is this the kind of competition you want?” The conversation took place in an American exhibit a General Electric lemon-yellow kitchen. Famously known as the “Kitchen debate” design, it became one of the focal points of political propaganda that was disseminated through debates on affluence, efficiency, comfort, and the general happiness of society.<sup>1</sup> We generally understand Cold War modernity in design to be about scientific advancement and high technology, for example, a futuristic life in space epitomised in Stanley Kubrick’s *2001: A Space Odyssey*, or enormous television towers or even moulded plywood and fibreglass reinforced plastics chairs.<sup>2</sup> However, Cold War design in Asia does not necessarily fit into these images.

## **Russel Wright and the Rockefellers**

A different story of Cold War design emerged from my research on the American designer Russel Wright and his involvement in the official design mission commissioned by the ICA (International Cooperation Administration). This design mission was part of a government aid program with an objective of developing design products in Asia to export to

the U.S. during the mid-1950s to the early 1960s. Wright's name has often been noted in the history of Japanese design, but the nature of his projects in Asia and the broader picture covering Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam has not been studied until now.

The reason for my research at Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) was because I came across Rockefeller's name while investigating the Wright materials at the Russel Wright Archives (RWA) of Syracuse University. One particular reference intrigued me—a report written in autumn of 1957, by Walter Sobotka, a Russel Wright Associates designer who was dispatched to Japan. After his research on marketability and design research on wood, bamboo and lacquer materials in Japan, Sobotka made recommendations for “propaganda and publicity” to promote Japanese crafts to the American audience. One such recommendation was to erect on Rockefeller Plaza in New York, a spectacular “Summer Festival Monument” of Hakata City (Fukuoka Prefecture) of Kyushu Island, an event that had been the subject of negotiations with the Rockefeller Foundation (RF).<sup>3</sup> This spectacular promotional show does not seem to have happened, as I failed to find records in either the RWA or at the RAC, but from this point, I ascertained that encounters between Russel Wright and JDR 3rd had taken place, and I began my first task at the RAC to search through the JDR 3rd's papers and diaries for relevant references. Although through this investigation I learned of only a few moments of their encounters, it mainly helped my understanding of JDR 3rd's personality, beliefs, and of his approach to Asia, in particular, his profound love of Japan, which became the context of my research. During this task, I was guided to the documentation of JDR 3rd's interview by Columbia University's oral history project group, which was conducted in November of 1962. I came to know about his design product business, Products of Asia and Products of India. Subsequently, this business, and its related materials became the highlight of my research at the RAC.

## **Russel Wright, Austin Graves and JDR 3rd**

Russel Wright's ICA mission produced the first major outcome of an exhibition called the "Southeast Asia Rehabilitation and Trade Development Exhibition" at the Coliseum in New York in June, 1956. This show exhibited fifteen hundred quality handicrafts from Cambodia, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, and Vietnam. It was a large scale national event designed to attract American traders and retailers, and gather their reactions.<sup>4</sup> As his diary shows, JDR 3rd went to this show with Austin Graves on the afternoon of June 26, 1956, a day after the opening. Graves was the President of "Products of Asia," founded by JDR 3rd and others. JDR 3rd wrote briefly, "Found it a little disappointing." Unfortunately, there was no further explanation in respect to what made him feel disappointed.<sup>5</sup> JDR 3rd did not seem to have met Russel Wright on this occasion, but was quite conscious of Wright, and he sent Graves a press report on Wright's show. Graves met Wright on June 15, 1956, prior to his visit to the show. In Grave's memo to JDR 3rd, he thanked him for sending a newspaper article on Wright that reported his press conference in which his film made in Cambodia, during his trip to his ICA assignment in Southeast Asia, was shown, impressing the reporters on the state of the "primitiveness" of craftsmen through attractive products. On this occasion JDR 3rd also reminded Graves about Graves' meeting with Wright before his trip to the Far East in 1955, and again on his return, pointing out JDR 3rd's curiosity on any information that Graves received from Wright. Graves said that he arranged an appointment for Austen Wood to meet Wright, and continued

He promised to show us all his samples, but he has not as yet done so. It was his opinion on his return that there was nothing for 'us west of Hong Kong' at this time but we, nevertheless, hope to see what he brought back. Prior to his departure, in visiting with him we encouraged him to stop in Japan and as a result of his having done so he became much interested in that country, even though his assignment was not supposed to cover it. We also exposed him to all of our thinking as outlined in the Booz, Allen & Hamilton report to you in respect to the exchange of designer ideas and he proposed to incorporate such of this thinking as coincides with his view in his official report of his trip to Washington. Meantime I learned that a small budget was available in Japan for a similar purpose through one of the branches of Japan's

government. In the hope that this might further encourage Mr Wright, I arranged for him to meet with Mr Murata from the office of Mr Tsuchiya and with Mr Yamamoto representing JETRO. Both sides seem grateful for this meeting but I have not as yet learned whether it had any useful result. I would be most grateful to you for any additional ideas you may have on this subject that I might pursue.<sup>6</sup>

This “Mr. Murata” is Hisashi Murata who was the representative of Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)<sup>7</sup> in New York, whom Russel Wright approached and proposed his initial idea for “Promotion of Japanese Handicrafts Exported to the USA,” which was adopted by the Japanese government as an official program in 1957.<sup>8</sup> From Grave’s letter, it had become clear that Graves kindly gave advice to Wright, and Wright’s proposal to the Japanese government was initially through Grave’s introduction.

Despite Graves’ seemingly reasonable interest in Wright, JDR 3rd did not seem to be interested in meeting in person, as JDR 3rd’s meeting with Wright came nearly one year after Graves’ first meeting with Russel Wright. In an entry in JDR 3rd’s diary dated November 29, 1956, it states, “Dined with the Russel Wright and saw pictures he had taken recently in Southeast Asia. An industrial designer, he had visited the area to advise local manufacturers on design of their products so as to encourage increased sales in the U.S. His films were not particularly impressive.”<sup>9</sup> Just like his brief dismissive comments on the Coliseum show, JDR 3rd does not comment much about Wright’s work, and when he did, it was without enthusiasm, expressing a certain amount of disappointment. This brief and blunt impression regarding Wright is in stark contrast with other entries in his diary in which JDR 3rd often writes at length about his respect for the goodness of, and charming personalities of various people that he met.

JDR 3rd travelled to Asia almost every year since his visit with State Secretary John Foster Dulles in 1951 as a Cultural Consultant to the San Francisco Peace Treaty delegation. His most frequent destination was Japan, but from 1953 he also included Southeast and South Asia. Russel Wright also traveled almost every year to Japan as frequent visits to his assigned

countries in Southeast Asia from 1955. They traveled in parallel and met with the same key U.S. official representatives in each area to understand the situation, to get assistance on their business, and to develop networks. There is not much archival evidence either in the RWA or the RAC, apart from records of these brief meetings about their relationship, but their projects (Wright's ICA mission handicrafts design and export project and JDR 3rd's Products of Asia and Products of India, which also dealt with handicrafts design and export) have a lot of common ground. Wright's projects started only a few months after JDR 3rd's projects and their active periods also overlap.

### **Products of Asia and Products of India**

Products of Asia, Inc. (POA) was founded in October 1955 and dissolved in 1967. JDR 3rd served as chairman of the Board of the company, with Austin T. Graves (formerly President of John Wanamaker Company of New York) as President, J. Austen Wood as Vice President, John W. F. Neill as Vice President and Treasurer, and Donald H. McLean Jr. (an associate of Mr. Rockefeller) as Vice President and Secretary. The main office was in Rockefeller Plaza, 452 Fifth Avenue, in New York, New York. There was a Tokyo office with a small staff. Products of India (POI) was incorporated later, in February 1959. The Board members were almost identical in both the POA and the POI.

The economic context of the foundation of these companies was the decision by GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) to integrate new countries such as Japan into the international capitalist market. Japan was admitted to GATT in 1955 after strong lobbying by the U.S. to persuade other member states—namely the British Commonwealth and Western European—who were hostile to Japan and not keen on its accession. This was seen as part of U.S. Cold War policy in prioritizing the integration of Japan in the free trade market in order to contain Communist powers in Asia.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, it was primarily aimed at providing economic aid for Japan by opening Japan to the international free market, trading

distinctively Japanese quality products with the U.S., and allowing Japan to accumulate economic power. In the POA's company release in October 1955, this aim of providing aid is strongly emphasized.

[the] Immediate objective of Products of Asia, Inc., is to develop new products suited to production in Japan, as well as to adapt existing products to make them suitable for the United States market and to find new markets for quality goods in current use in Japan but that a little known abroad. The company will provide distribution for a variety of products to department and specialty stores throughout the United States...Mr. Rockefeller and other members of the board recognize that if Japan is to achieve economic progress, she must find foreign markets. We believe that there is a wealth of design ideas in Japan that have never been explored for purposes of foreign trade and it is our hope that these may be used to help her get the foreign exchange that is so vital to her welfare.

It also notes that the initial focus is on Japan but "when this is firmly established we expect to include the product of other countries in Asia."<sup>11</sup>

Behind the idea of economic aid and international free market also exists a rationale for the prevention of the progress of Communism. In JDR 3rd's view, Communism fails to spread "unless cost of living and hence living standards get out of hand."<sup>12</sup> He was not concerned about the trend towards Marxism that prevailed among academics and labor leaders in Japan, excusing them as "out of touch with the realities of the world for so many years." Rather, he was concerned with establishing stable economies that engendered self-respect, to protect against Communism.

Observing the slow deterioration of Japan's economic and political situations after the Occupation period during his trip in 1954, he identified their major problems as being: the price competitions, lack of confidence, high interest rates, old machinery, inefficient methods, paternalism, foreign exchange rates, and lack of strong leadership in the government. He stressed the importance of Japan having its own long-term plan and making efforts to regain its "self respect from standing on its own feet," while also stressing the continuing support of the U.S. alongside sympathetic cooperation of other nations in order to give the "Japanese a break on markets and raw materials" in the international market.<sup>13</sup> So, it was through this

line of thinking—the need to support the creation of a stable market economy—the idea for export of design products from Asia seems to have developed.

## **POA's Products**

Although there were many small products that were handled by the POA and the POI, most of them only developed up to the point of distributing samples and exploration of market possibilities. The main products of POA that continued for some years included Japanese sweaters, silk wears (Dynasty), carpets (Tai Ping and JOTO), and boats, while the POI's main business was shoes (Taj), dresses and fashion accessories.

### **1.) Japanese sweaters**

POA's business started with ladies sweaters from Japan. In January 1956, through a middleman exporter, J. Witkowski & Company, Ltd, based in Kobe, POA contracted with Hiramatsu & Company, which functioned as a cooperative for wool and cotton manufacturers in Japan.<sup>14</sup> Austin Graves' enthusiastic initiative was a timely reaction to the mainstream commercial trends at that time when sweaters and knit goods were the top products of major U.S. retailers' interest in importing from Japan, as the *Wall Street Journal* reported.<sup>15</sup>

At first JDR 3rd was somewhat disappointed with the choice of this product saying, "I have to admit, [it] was somewhat away from the original concept," but he was quickly persuaded by Graves' suggesting "a specially good opportunity" was not to be missed, and in JDR 3rd's words, "the business did move ahead well, in the first two or three or four years, and then we found ourselves somewhat frustrated by quotas established by the Japanese themselves in response to the unhappiness created in the United States over the dollar balance and similar problems."<sup>16</sup> This relates to Japan's self-imposed restrictions on the export of textiles to the U.S. in 1957, but this incident had a much more complex picture than JDR 3rd described.

From the Japanese point of view it was duplicitous of the U.S.—“Japan Bashing” no less. On the one hand, the U.S. was acting as a powerful promoter of free trade in GATT, but on the other hand, it was pressuring Japan to propose a “voluntary” restriction of textiles to the U.S. to protect American manufacturers behind the scenes, while at the same time allowing Japan to be criticized by old GATT members for its policy in respect to the textile industries, when it had been obliged to participate in the free trade market. The seriousness of this incident emerged as it was followed by decades of U.S.-Japan trade conflicts.

POA lost its sweater business during this conflict in the textile trade, even though they received a special quota from the Japanese government in recognition of good business in the past.<sup>17</sup> It was reported in the minutes of the Board of Directors meeting in the summer of 1961 that the sweater business was not doing well, and while fashion trends seem to have also changed, this line of business seems to have ceased by the end of 1961.<sup>18</sup>

## **2.) Dynasty**

Dynasty was the second major business of Chinese-inspired clothing that the POA started at the end of 1956 in Hong Kong. POA bought the already established by Mandarin Textiles business, which was then developed under the American-Hong Kong partnership of Linden Johnson and Jimmy Ling. The products were predominantly women’s lounge wear, blouses and dresses, and some men’s bathrobes and pyjamas. American designer Dora Sanders was hired to design the products and to also manage the business. This business steadily developed and created two new salesrooms, resulting in a substantial increase in the volume of the dress business,<sup>19</sup> and seems to have survived until the end with major restructuring in 1963, after radical management changes.<sup>20</sup>

JDR 3rd seems to have been quite satisfied with the products—as he noted, Dynasty’s products

have the inspiration of the Chinese background, the Chinese design. And it took a very considerable adaptation of that design to meet American demands and needs.



The material, of course, reflects the Oriental beauty, the colors were based on the Oriental, and even the cut of the clothes to a certain extent reflected the Oriental.<sup>21</sup>

The original aim of aid also seems to have been realised in this project, as the *New York Times* reported on the ethical aspect of providing cutter and sewer jobs for Shanghai refugees and good working conditions for women at the Dynasty factory in Kowloon.<sup>22</sup> However, POA did make one big mistake in 1960 by purchasing Imperial House, the company which manufactured high quality silk dresses in Japan. It was thought they would sell well through a separate channel, but this not only caused competition with Dynasty within the POA's own business, but also upset the Mandarin Textiles which led them to create another line business called "Empire House" to provide a counter-attack for "Imperial House" products.<sup>23</sup>

### **3.) Carpets**

POA's other major business was carpets. The Tai Ping ("great peace" is the literal translation from the Chinese characters) line was launched by POA in the spring of 1957 with Hong Kong Carpet Manufacturers, Ltd., and owned by the Kadoorie brothers. The Tai Ping business was developed under William P. Powning. Wool was supplied from Britain and New Zealand, and "hand made by free Chinese weavers" who had moved from the Tientsin of north China to Hong Kong, thereby justifying the business as "a means of assisting Chinese refugees."<sup>24</sup>

As seen in the Tai Ping catalogue, the designs of carpets varied from European floral, modern abstract patterns, to Moroccan and Middle Eastern geometric patterns, but the Chinese designs were limited to the double happiness pattern, phoenix and peony.<sup>25</sup> For that reason, the design of carpets was of great concern to JDR 3rd. He expressed to Powning "the desirability of having some styles of Far Eastern origin or with a Far Eastern flavour,"<sup>26</sup> and again a year later, he persistently asked "whether anything was being done to improve the design of the line."<sup>27</sup> He recollected this design issue later saying,

I'll have to admit I have been somewhat distressed that so many of the designs, particularly in the Hong Kong rugs, have been non-Asian designs. I have said that it seemed to me that the Asian designs were so appealing that we were missing an opportunity with our competitors not to use them more generally.<sup>28</sup>

JDR 3rd's dissatisfaction with these remained, yet they built a new factory in 1958, and made a successful business furnishing Sheraton Hotels in Dallas and New York, and large corporations such as Equitable Life, Chase Manhattan Bank and Time & Life. These big sales themselves became effective advertisements for Tai Ping carpets.

It was so successful that one time their competitor V'SOSKE accused JDR 3rd of using his name to influence clients to purchase Tai Ping carpets by "compromising decent ethics" in supposedly fair commercial competition.<sup>29</sup> However, Tai Ping carpet lost the competition towards 1961, and POA started exploring possibilities, with JOTO carpets in Japan, and Karma carpets in India to compensate for the Tai Ping problem. This resulted in fierce fighting between the Kadoorie's and POA throughout 1961. Kadoorie accused of POA's of breach of the contract of exclusivity by creating competitors within POA and not making sufficient sales efforts while POA, and blamed Tai Ping's rigid uncompetitive pricing, high overhead and inconsistent quality. Kadoorie demanded renegotiation of the contract to create favorable conditions for Tai Ping, and even hinted at the Communist threat of which they knew JDR 3rd would not like to hear, by saying "few realise the larger picture ... Communism must follow unless there is reasonably full employment with improving living conditions" in Hong Kong.<sup>30</sup> Eventually the Tai Ping business was taken over by the Kadoorie's in 1964, and this brought about the complete closure of one POA floor covering business.

#### **4.) Boats**

One of the more unusual product lines, which was not sold in volume, but rather at a high price to a few wealthy clients, was pleasure craft power boats. Austen Wood started an investigation into the boat business in Japan and Hong Kong in the spring of 1957,<sup>31</sup> while he

followed the model of the boat “Susie Wong,” which was designed by Sparkman & Stevens, and manufactured by the American Marine Ltd. in Hong Kong.<sup>32</sup> It therefore may well have been the Hollywood Oriental fantasy<sup>33</sup> created around “Susie Wong” that inspired the boat business in POA, which started in the spring of 1960, and seemed to have acquired a certain status by 1961 when they started selling Sparkman & Stevens designed boats. In 1964 the boat business in Hong Kong was liquidated, but the business continued in Japan since Japan had established shipyards with skilled labor, the availability of local wood materials, and a high-tech fiberglass industry.<sup>34</sup> There were three types of boats: the smallest type was the 13’6” “Blue Jay”—a training boat for youngsters; the mid-range 26’ “Thunderbird” with basic accommodations for four adults, suitable for day sailing and overnight cruising; the largest type, which was the 44’ “Fishers Island,” powered by a diesel engine with accommodation for six, alongside galley and two enclosed bathrooms.

### **POI’s Products**

Products of India, Inc. was founded in 1959 when “a spirit of optimism” pervaded the company’s operations.<sup>35</sup> Brass ware was the first product of POI, and it was initially successful but as JDR 3rd put it, “For some reasons, which I never really could understand, the price picture seemed to change to the point where we were no longer really competitive on the home front,” and it was discontinued in 1962.<sup>36</sup>

#### **1.) Taj Shoes**

The biggest hit for POI was luxury women’s “special occasion” shoes, which they started selling in the spring of 1961 under the brand ‘Taj’. From the many publicity materials in media and department stores’ advertisements, we can see images of exotically named shoes such as “Pearl Cluster Palace” (upturned toes with brass high heels), “Wedding Cap Sandal” (kitten-heeled sandals) and “Shish Mahal” (flat shoes). The shoes are shaped with up-pointed toes, are colourful and glitter with gold and silver embroidery, their raw silk upper

materials are beaded and encrusted with pearls, and their heels are made of brass. In essence they are fashion shoes for western women.

Although their appeal is based on a sense of Indian exoticness, these shoes were in fact multinational products, and only partially manufactured in India. The materials for the surface of the shoes were made in India by the Indian Cooperative Union (ICU), the brass heels were made in Italy and designed by New York designer Foie Joyce, and the shoe itself was made in Brooklyn by an Armenian shoemaker named Harry.<sup>37</sup> It was described by the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* as “fashion’s answer to the Peace corps” and “a happy collaboration of the Old World craftsmanship of India and the modern design and mass production know-how of American specialists.”<sup>38</sup>

Taj shoes were also put on sale at department stores in Japan and in India at Cottage Industries Emporium, New Delhi, where they enjoyed the attention of an important customer, Mrs. John Kenneth Galbraith, wife of the American Ambassador. She commented, “while wearing them, the ladies would not forget the jawans who fought for the defence of liberty—the foundation of manners, culture and civilisation.” She also expressed the hope that women would “do their best to help the national defence effort.”<sup>39</sup> Taj shoes became a platform for delivering the American political message of its support for India’s self-defence and pride—in other words, shoes became like Nixon and Khrushchev’s kitchen.

Although the nature of the respective businesses of Russel Wright and JDR 3rd were similar, the products they traded were quite different. Though Wright also dealt with fashion wares (hats, handbags and dresses developed in his Taiwan and Vietnam project, and jewelry in Cambodia and Thailand), his products are predominantly home furnishing and household accessories, which point to indigenous craftsmanship, while the products of POA and POI are mainstream commercial products. Designer’s interests and expert retail business interests are

clearly contrasted in these difference choices. Wright's products certainly did not enter the arena of multinational manufacturing following the logic of cost reduction.

### **Irrelevance of Original Aim and Company's Demise**

Despite the success in Taj shoes, in 1962 the company's future was bleak. In November 1962, JDR 3rd said, "NO" to the "questions as to whether or not Products of Asia and also Products of India should be continued," because "for the amount of time and money involved, we have not proven so far that there were compensating results, results in the direction of our initial objectives."<sup>40</sup> At the exact time of this interview, the company underwent a major investigation by Harold F. Smiddy, Vice President of the General Electric Company, and management consultant. The report starts with his key question, whether, given that this was a trading company, the original concept "Aid Asia ... was of limited practical feasibility or whether it ever was appreciated conceptually as setting basic dimensions on the implementing operations." He observed, somewhat astutely, "while the motivation to 'aid Asia' was acknowledged by all concerned, subtle differences of interpretation and emphasis were early apparent and still prevail."<sup>41</sup>

As the Smiddy report pointed out, and the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors do back up, there was a series of difficulties in both maintaining the original objective of aid and commercial business throughout the business. Contradictions had become increasingly obvious, thus to have "prestige, character and quality," in all their products, yet remain competitive in actual business practice was a challenge.<sup>42</sup> It also became impossible to have both the elements of "charm," which come from the non-uniformity of hand-made products, yet still retain the standardised uniformity required by American buyers.<sup>43</sup>

In this series of difficulties, JDR 3rd was not taking a back seat position, but rather was deeply involved. He was not publicly visible at the front of this company's business,

which seems to be intentional based on his desire to not mix business with his profile of a philanthropist, and therefore day-to-day business was delegated to Austin Graves. However, he had frequent private meetings with Graves over informal lunches and even on weekends at JDR 3rd's house, so as to appear to have exchanged opinions closely on the direction of the company.

JDR 3rd was also always present at the Board of Directors meetings. There were some moments when he would make a strong objection and intervene in order to pull the focus more persuasively toward Japan rather than “the British colony Hong Kong,”<sup>44</sup> or he would insist on Asian design as seen in the case of the Tai Ping carpets. After all, the conflict between aid and commercial interests resulted in compromises one way or the other at the level of the board room, including JDR 3rd himself. Eventually the main figure Austin Graves, who was highly criticised in the Smiddy report for his lack of leadership and management, resigned in March 1964, and POA and POI were dissolved in 1967 after twelve years of business.

## **Conclusion**

Materials in the RAC were extremely useful because they informed me of a new “soft” fuzzy aspect of the Cold War and they provided yet another story of Cold War design in Asia. It was most interesting to discover the workings of the Products of Asia and the Products of India, as these unique businesses were operated by JDR 3rd who ambiguously positioned himself as neither a public nor an entirely private person. Russel Wright and JDR 3rd's businesses have shared many common ideas which extend from their first love of Japan and Japanese handicrafts, to the expanding interest in Asian culture, the original aim of providing economic and cultural improvements, and the idea of promoting Asian design restyled by American designers. In this way, these two high profile craft design business projects stand uniquely among the multitudes of commercial business ventures of that period.

I would like to thank the RAC for providing me with such a wonderful opportunity and I pay tribute to the excellent research environment that it provides. I am extremely grateful for the assistance willingly given by all the staff of RAC, and in particular Mary Ann Quinn for looking after me throughout my three week visit.

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The ideas and opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and are not intended to represent the Rockefeller Archive Center.

## ENDNOTES:

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<sup>1</sup> Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, editors, *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2009; David Crowley and Jane Pavitt, editors, *Cold War Modern Design 1945-1970*. London, England: V&A Publishing, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Crowley and Pavitt, editors, *Cold War Modern Design 1945-1970*.

<sup>3</sup> "Report on Japanese Export Goods in Wood, Bamboo, Lacquer ." by Russel Wright Associates, Project Designer: Walter Sobotka, 1957, Box 44, RWA, p. 14; also the Japanese translation in "Yushutsu Shinkō wa Dezain de," (Export Promotion through Design), Nihon Seisansei Shimbun, 23 December 1957.

<sup>4</sup> "The designer as economic diplomat." *Industrial Design* 3: 4 (1956), pp. 68-73.

<sup>5</sup> Personal Papers and Diaries, Folder 67 (1956), Box 8, RG 5.1.3, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC.

<sup>6</sup> Memorandum to JDR 3rd from Graves, June 15 1956, Folder 495, Box 55, RG 5.1.3, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC.

<sup>7</sup> Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) is an agency affiliated with the government to promote international trade. Hisashi Murata, "Preface," Nihon ShukōgeihinTaibeiYushutsu Suishin Honbu (Headquarters of the Promotion of Japanese Handcrafts Export to the U.S.), 1961. Shōwa 35 nendo Nihon Shukōgeihin Taibei Yushutsu Suishin Keikaku Hōkokusho, (1960 Report on the Program for the Promotion of Japanese Handcrafts Export—to the U.S.), Tokyo: JETRO-Headquarters of the Promotion of Japanese Handcrafts Export to the U.S.

<sup>8</sup> Yuko Kikuchi, "Russel Wright and Japan: Bridging Japonisme and Good Design through Craft Design." *Journal of Modern Crafts* 1: 3 (2008), pp. 357-382.

<sup>9</sup> Personal Papers and Diaries, Folder 67 (1956), Box 8, RG 5.1.3, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC.

<sup>10</sup> Aaron Forsberg, "The Politics of GATT Expansion: Japanese Accession and the Domestic Political Context in Japan and the United States, 1948-1955." *Business and Economic History* 27: 1 (1988), pp. 185-195.

<sup>11</sup> Products of Asia, Inc. Release 10 October 1955, Memo to JDR 3rd from Francis A. Jamieson, 7 October 1955, Folder 494, Box 55, RG 5.1.2, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC.

<sup>12</sup> "Japan Conclusion," Trips Asia (1954), Indonesia and Japan, Notebook, Folder 784, Box 92, RG 5, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Letter from Mizuhara of Hiramatsu & Company, November 25, 1955; Letter to A. Goldman, December 31, 1955, Folder: Agreement—Merchandise, Box 4, RG19, Products of Asia, RAC.

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- <sup>15</sup> Ray Vicker, *Wall Street Journal*, October 19, 1955, Folder: Asian Interest, Products of Asia Publicity, 1955, Box 56, RG 5, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC.
- <sup>16</sup> Columbia University Oral History, 1964, Folder 868, Box 104, RG 5, Rockefeller Family Archives, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC, pp. 249-250.
- <sup>17</sup> Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors of Products of Asia, Inc., March 24, 1959, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>18</sup> Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors of Products of Asia, Inc., July 26, 1961, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>19</sup> Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors of Products of Asia, Inc., March 28, 1961, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>20</sup> Letter to Graves and McNamara from Richard Cole, December 5, 1963, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>21</sup> Columbia University Oral History, 1964, Folder 868, Box 104, RG 5, Rockefeller Family Archives, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC, p. 253.
- <sup>22</sup> *New York Times* article, 1958, Folder 496, Box 55, RG 5.1.2, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC.
- <sup>23</sup> Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors of Products of Asia, Inc., June 27, 1961; Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors of Products of Asia, Inc., September 13, 1961, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>24</sup> Hong Kong Carpet Manufacturers Ltd. Minutes, Box 4, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC; Tai Ping catalogue 1960, Folder 496, Box 55, RG 5.1.2, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC; Minutes of the Board of Directors meeting, 29 March 1957, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>25</sup> Tai Ping carpet catalogue, 1960, Folder 496, Box 55, RG 5.1.2, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC.
- <sup>26</sup> Minutes of the Board of Directors meeting, March 31, 1958, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>27</sup> Minutes of the Board of Directors meeting, March 24, 1959, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>28</sup> Columbia University Oral History, 1964, Folder 868, Box 104, RG 5, Rockefeller Family Archives, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC, p. 255.
- <sup>29</sup> Edward F. Murphy's letter to JDR 3rd, April 27, 1960.
- <sup>30</sup> Letter to Graves from Lawrence Kadoorie of Tai Ping, August 2, 1961; Memorandum from Graves to the Board of Directors, September 12, 1961; Minutes of the Board of Directors meeting, July 26, 1961; Minutes of the Board of Directors meeting, September 20, 1961, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>31</sup> Minutes of the Board of Directors meeting, March 29, 1957, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>32</sup> Letter to JDR 3rd from Graves, April 12, 1960, Folder 496, Box 55, RG 5.1.2, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC.
- <sup>33</sup> Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1845-1961*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- <sup>34</sup> Concept of a Reorganized Boat Division, February 13, 1964, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>35</sup> Minutes of the Board of Directors meeting, April 29, 1959, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>36</sup> Columbia University Oral History, 1964, Folder 868, Box 104, RG 5, Rockefeller Family Archives, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC, p. 257.
- <sup>37</sup> Columbia University Oral History, 1964, Folder 868, Box 104, RG 5, Rockefeller Family Archives, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC, p. 259; "The Shoes with Tilted Toes Point to Business Success." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, Saturday, October 12, 1963; Harriette Sherman, "Fashion Around Tokyo." *The Japan Times*, October 24, 1963, Box 3, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>38</sup> Evelyn Livingstone, "India: Sends Us Some Bright Accents." *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, July 2, 1961 and 1963, Box 3, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>39</sup> "Taj shoes exhibition opened." *The Indian Express*, January 9, 1963, Box 3, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>40</sup> Columbia University Oral History, 1964, Folder 868, Box 104, RG 5, Rockefeller Family Archives, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC, p. 259.
- <sup>41</sup> Products of Asia, Inc., Report by Harold F. Smiddy, November 24, 1962, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC, pp. 1-2.
- <sup>42</sup> Minutes of the Board of Directors meeting, December 27, 1961, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.
- <sup>43</sup> Columbia University Oral History, 1964, Folder 868, Box 104, RG 5, Rockefeller Family Archives, JDR 3rd Papers, RAC, p. 256.
- <sup>44</sup> Minutes of the Board of Directors meeting, February 16, 1956, Box 1, RG 19, Products of Asia, RAC.