FOREIGN SERVICE Journal

JANUARY 1970 • SIXTY CENTS

IN THIS ISSUE:

it's all F.L.S. territory

Flat, round, or fourteen-sided, it's all FLS territory. François L. Schwarz, Inc., is wherever the action is—serves the Armed Forces and Foreign Service everywhere, representing top quality manufacturers' products for commissaries and exchanges.

FRANÇOIS L. SCHWARZ, inc.

500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10036

FOREIGN SERVICE Journal

The Foreign Service Journal is published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

Printed by Monumental Printing Co., Baltimore.

CONTENTS: JANUARY 1970, VOLUME 47, NUMBER 1

DEPARTMENTS

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Professor Galbraith's Proposals

Of the several interesting proposals made by Professor John Kenneth Galbraith in his October 24, 1969 AFSA luncheon speech, one in particular caught our attention. It was the suggestion that an AFSA committee, including a range of officers both young and old in experience, look at all political appointees to ambassadorial rank "somewhat in the manner of the Bar Association."

"If a man is obviously unqualified," Professor Galbraith continued, "I suggest that it (AFSA) so advise the President and the Senate, with courtesy but without reticence. If this is done in defensive and parochial fashion it will, of course, be without influence . . . but if it is a careful and fair and large-minded exercise of judgment designed to screen out political nonentities and oddities, it would be influential."

Acting at a subsequent meeting, the AFSA Board of Directors created the Herz Committee (see AFSA NEWS report in this issue) to study the feasibility of establishing a permanent committe along the lines suggested by Professor Galbraith. Readers of the JOURNAL will be kept informed of the progress of the Herz Committee.

We have long had an interest in encouraging the appointment by the President of the best-qualified people, to serve abroad as Ambassadors. These persons can come, of course, from inside or outside of the Foreign Service. In our JOURNAL editorial of August, 1968, for example, we argued against the notion that "anybody can be an American Ambassador," and entered a plea for choosing only the most qualified men and women for top diplomatic jobs.

It is interesting to look at the record of the present Administration with respect to the appointment of career vs. non-career officers as Chiefs of Mission. At first glance, the pattern appears to favor career Foreign Service officers. As reported in the November 1969 Department of State NEWS LETTER, 48 out of 75 new Ambassadors named by the President are from the career service. However, when these simple statistics are examined, quite a different pattern emerges. For example, in eighteen Western European Ambassadorial appointments, the President has named sixteen "political appointees" and has chosen only two career officers for these most attractive assignments. Obviously, the percentage of career FSOs named to other areas of the world, such as sub-Sahara Africa, is substantially higher.

We heartily support the establishment of the Herz Committee, and hope that it will take up all of the many questions associated with the selecting process of American Ambassadors. It is our hope that the outcome of this study will be a mechanism which can assist the President, in a meaningful and responsible way, in his difficult task of selecting the most qualified men to serve in all areas of the world.

About our cover . . .

The painting is a view of Isafjordur, a fishing town perched in a rocky cove on the wild northwest coast of Iceland. It was painted from on board an Icelandic coastal steamer anchored in the middle of the fjord, by Leanore Bittner, wife of FSO Edward Bittner. Mrs. Bittner, a graduate in chemistry from Carnegie-Mellon University, has pursued art as an avocation in the various posts where the family has been stationed, including Zurich, Reykjavik, Ottawa and New Haven. She now teaches science and mathematics to Montgomery County high school students.

About an author . . . .

Edward M. Cohen, framer of "Brave New World Travel Regulations," page 31, entered the Foreign Service in 1956 and has since been posted at Washington, Canada, Bermuda, Greece and Pakistan. He recently returned to Washington—under the existing travel regulations—and has entered on duty as an International Economist in the Bureau of Economics of the Department. He resides in Bethesda, with his wife and two daughters.

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is the journal of professionals in foreign affairs, published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization.

Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and is not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development or the United States Government as a whole.

Membership in the AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION is open to the professionals in foreign affairs serving overseas or in Washington, as well as to persons having an active interest in, or close association with, foreign affairs.

Dues are $30 annually for members earning over $15,000; for those earning less, dues are $15.00.

For subscription to the JOURNAL, one year (12 issues); $6.00; two years, $10.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except Canada, add $1.00 annually for overseas postage.

The Foreign Service service.

We're not repeating ourselves. General Motors automotive distributors and dealers actually do offer a special service for Foreign Service personnel on the move. Because it begins with a franchised GM new car dealer or distributor where you are, you enjoy the advantages of dealing directly and locally: selecting the make, model and accessories you require at a firm price.

Then you take delivery on your new GM car at your new location, from another franchised dealer or distributor: the car you ordered, equipped as you ordered it and at the price you agreed to pay.

Simple? Service where you are and service where you're going, plus the same reliable maintenance service and parts for any GM car—anywhere in the world. That's service on new cars for Foreign Service personnel. GM originated it.

GM ODC

See your GM distributor or dealer soon.

General Motors Overseas Distributors Corporation
767 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022, U.S.A.
Chevrolet · Pontiac · Oldsmobile · Buick · Cadillac

From Ted Olson

Washington Letter

A brand-new decade, fresh out of its holiday wrappings. Or is it? Some evening when conversation lags you might toss out that question and see how it bounces. Certainly this *seems* like a new decade, if only because of the additional concentration required in dating checks and letters with a 7 instead of a 6. But if you take the long view you find that actually we're just entering the home stretch of the seventh decade of the century; the eighth starts January 1, 1971. Confusing. It gets more confusing when you come to the turn of the century, as many of you can expect to do. Seventy years ago (we draw on our reading, not on our recollections) the bickering was furious: Had the 20th century begun on January 1, 1900, or wouldn't it start until January 1, 1901? The argument lasted for twelve months, and bonfires burned on both dates.

A disquieting thought: 1984 is creeping up on us. Only 14 years to go. Some pundits think we're in a fair way of meeting Orwell's schedule.

Is the Service ready for the 70s? Eight years ago this month the JOURNAL's editors (off to a late start) posed that question as to the 60s, and throughout the year 1962 some of our best brains addressed themselves to various aspects of the challenge. E.g.: U. Alexis Johnson—"Internal Defense and the Foreign Service"; James K. Penfield—"Still Another Look at Specialization"; Henry C. Ramsey—"The Modernization Process and Insurgency."

It is not the province of this column, which concerns itself chiefly with the peripheral, to assess how far we have come toward solving the problems therein laid out. Perhaps even that brief sample may suggest that while some problems—specialization, for example—seem to go on decade after decade, others change beyond recognition. Back in the early 60s we read somewhere—maybe the JOURNAL—about a counter-insurgency field exercise that involved lying submerged in a swamp and breathing through a reed. We'd welcome a report from any officer who has been called on to practice that skill. Are we, for that matter, quite as prone now to assume that every insurgency must be countered?

We must assume that the planners have blueprints in being or draft covering every foreseeable contingency in the 70s. We trust they have included plenty of caveats and provided escape hatches and parachutes. Even Jeane Dixon guesses wrong sometimes.

Returning to the Peripheral

Nineteen-sixty-nine was the year when the mini-skirt encountered the law of diminishing returns. For every action there is an equal and opposite reaction, our physics teacher taught us, and this time the reaction was dramatic. We came up Wisconsin Avenue one day and lo! the goose-pimpled thighs and chilblained knees of previous winters had mostly disappeared. Instead, nearly every chick under thirty was swathed from chin to sole. One had to posit the soles; with hem-lines brushing the pavement, girls appeared to float along like hovercraft, a centimeter above the surface. Having carried the mini mode about as far as it could go, short of "Hair" and "Oh! Calcutta!," fashion designers reversed the field and came up with the maxi, to the great delight, no doubt, of the dress and textile industries.

"Mini" still survives as an all-purpose suffix. No doubt desk officers have to cope frequently with mini-crises—Senator McCarthy's Bartlett-worthy coinage. It's about time for a moratorium.

The year did enlarge our vocabulary considerably. Twelve months ago the words "cyclamate" and "monosodium glutamate" would have evoked blank looks had there been any occasion to drop them into the conversation. Now they drop regularly, and people shiver. Two moon landings brought LEM and "docking" into common usage. Twice we have started to pass the salt-shaker down the table, only to discover that they were talking about the negotiations in Helsinki. The four-letter words that everybody knew but once considered for LIMITED USE ONLY have penetrated even the staid ATLANTIC and HARPER'S, and found lodging in the American Heritage Dictionary, along with the polysyllables meaning the same things.

In the lexicon of bureaucracy there have been no significant changes. "Charisma," "thrust," "in depth" are still essential items in the drafter's

The future President of his country is open to suggestions

If he's a student in one of the developing nations, he's getting powerful persuasion. In "little red books," colorful propaganda magazines, and floods of free publications from governments who know the impact of the printed word on the world's book-hungry countries.

As E. B. White* says, "We put very little time or money into launching our best missile—our ideas." So it is up to *individual* Americans to share their cultural heritage with other *individuals* in the developing nations.

Maybe this isn't a disadvantage. Edwin O. Reischauer, former Ambassador to Japan, writes: "Most people abroad are not interested in the 'American story' as such. They are interested in themselves and in what America may mean to them and their future . . . In developing knowledge and understanding between peoples, private citizens are probably more effective than governments."

You, personally, can acquaint national leaders-to-be with the ideals of Thomas Jefferson, Henry David Thoreau, John F. Kennedy. With the accomplishments of Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln, Marian Anderson. With the works of Robert Frost, Helen Keller, Sherwood Anderson.

A $6.00 contribution to Freedom House/Books USA sends a packet of ten paperback books to a young citizen of an African, Asian, or South American nation. They are books he wants, chosen *by him* from a list of 120 titles in history, biography, science, and literature. It is an entirely private, person-to-person venture.

How well does it work? A teacher in Ghana wrote us recently, "these books presented on behalf of the American people will not be forgotten in my life." His letter is typical of the reaction to the Freedom House/Books USA program.

Help us inspire young leaders to develop their nations in freedom. Make a $6.00 investment in peace.

Freedom House Books USA

*Mr. White is one of the 54 distinguished members of the committee which created this program and chooses the titles for distribution.

FREEDOM HOUSE/BOOKS USA
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018

I'm enclosing my check for $_____, which will provide_____packets of ten books @ $6.00 per packet ($60.00 will provide 120 different books to a school or library overseas.)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP_____

All donations are tax deductible

Make checks payable to Freedom House/Books USA.

arsenal. "Confrontation" remains strong, despite the President's avowed determination to eschew the practice. "Escalation" still goes on, all over the spectrum (another essential), from high policy to the price index. Some of our best people still pronounce it "esculation."

The year's comer was "parameter." Used judiciously, in the plural—you don't really have to know what it means—it gives any utterance a flavor of erudition and the ring of authority.

A familiar three-letter word, or rather acronym, which is always lurking in the underbrush, had a dramatic comeback. It was, of course, RIF. A local real estate firm, seeking to lure apartment dwellers into the house market, attempted to capitalize on it by coining RIN, meaning "rental increase notice." We doubt that it will ever make the American Heritage.

One always approaches a new year with hope. Maybe 1970 will be the year when some TV interviewee, instead of stalling for time with "That's a good question," will say what he really thinks: "That's an idiotic question!"

Work Begins on the Subway

By the time you read this, work ought to be under way on the subway. After all these years of bickering delay, the pieces began to pop into place—Congressional authorization for the full 98-mile system being the most important—and on December 9 the first ceremonial shovelful of earth was turned over in Judiciary Square (that's at 4th and E Streets N.W.).

For the next couple of years large segments of downtown Washington are going to be pretty messy. Joe Anderson, who wrote a fine shape-of-things-to-come piece for POTOMAC, says the excavations "will create the greatest nonriotous disruption to Washington urban life and travel since the digging of the Connecticut Avenue underpass through Dupont Circle in the late 1940s." Some of you will remember that.

When one side of an already overcrowded street is closed off for weeks at a time, you can imagine the traffic pileup—and the financial loss to merchants whose stores become all but inaccessible. Woodward & Lothrop, for example, is having to sacrifice a whole corner, at 10th and G, to the east entrance of the 12th and G station. (This will be known as Metro Center and, the planners hope, will become a Washington equivalent of what Times Square used to be.) Woodie's takes comfort, however, in noting what torrents of customers the subway exits feed into Bloomingdale's in New York and Wanamaker's in Philadelphia.

Up Connecticut Avenue things will get even tougher. It's still not certain where the Farragut North and Farragut West stations will be sited. Owners and tenants whose buildings are threatened—including such institutions as Harvey's—are manning the legal barricades.

The bids on the first two sections were—naturally—well above the official estimates. There are still a good many obstacles besides construction problems to be surmounted before those glistening new cars shown in the prospectus whisk commuters from home to office in air-conditioned comfort at a brisk thirty-five miles an hour, without traffic jams.

We Point With Pride

AFSA takes special satisfaction in the appointment of Clifton R. Wharton, Jr. as president of Michigan State University (enrollment 38,000 plus). Not only is he the son of a veteran Foreign Service officer—retired Ambassador Clifton R. Wharton, whose last post was Oslo—but a Foreign Service scholarship helped him on his way. It was the William Benton scholarship, awarded for the year 1947-48, when he was at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns

GIVE YOURSELF A BREAK...

A quiet break in the 1970 Ford at a price break with your diplomatic discount.

It's a different world inside the luxurious new LTD. A quiet place. Somewhere to gather your thoughts and lose yourself. Noise is out. Designed out through a computerized system of engineering. Quiet running. Quiet riding. LTD for 1970. Quite possibly the quietest car you'll ever drive. Take a little sound advice. Order now. Get a break on any American-made Ford Motor Company car you purchase on your diplomatic discount, and pay no U.S. excise tax when it's shipped abroad. For full information:

• In the Washington area, contact Diplomatic Sales, Ford Motor Company, 9th Floor, 815 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, phone—298-7419

• In the New York area, contact Diplomatic Sales, Overseas Distribution Operations, Ford Motor Company, 153 Halsey Street, Newark N.J. 07102, phone—643-1900 • From New York, phone—964-7883

1970 LTD 4-Door Hardtop

FORD • TORINO • THUNDERBIRD • MUSTANG • MAVERICK • MERCURY • MONTEGO • COUGAR • LINCOLN CONTINENTAL • CONTINENTAL MARK III

Ford

Hopkins. Incidentally, he is the first Negro to become president of a major university.

"How Sleep the Brave . . ."

Pure coincidence, of course; it was not quite a week after Veterans Day and only two days after the Peace March that we opened a letter from the American Battle Monuments Commission asking the JOURNAL to "let your readers know something about the Commission and the services it provides."

As it happened, we already knew something. Quite a few years earlier we had visited the cemetery at Nettuno, and looked out over what seemed like—though it wasn't quite—miles of neat white crosses and Stars of David, stretching almost to the skyline. Nearly 8,000 of them, the booklet says, mostly casualties of the battle for Rome—only one campaign in one overseas war. It was a sight one does not forget.

There are twenty-three such cemeteries—twenty in Europe, one each in North Africa, Mexico and Manila. Together with memorials where the names of the missing are recorded they commemorate 215,475 of our war dead—fewer than forty per cent of the total, because many bodies were sent home on request of the next of kin.

The cemeteries are beautifully sited and landscaped, scrupulously maintained. Flowers can be ordered through the commission; the local caretaker sees that the grave is decorated. Nobody ever writes "Yankee go home" on the gates.

Things to See and Hear

The National Symphony is playing again, after being strike-bound for nearly five weeks. Just what will be offered holders of the tickets that could not be honored hasn't been announced yet. Certainly the Hamburg Symphony won't be back this way for a while, and it's doubtful whether Isaac Stern and Vladimir Ashkenazy will be available again this season. Here is the schedule for the next few weeks: Jan. 6-7—William Kroll, violinist, in Mozart's Concerto in G; Amerigo Marino, guest conductor. Jan. 13-14—Yehudi Menuhin, guest-conducting and playing the Brahms. Jan. 20-21—London Symphony, Andre Previn conducting. Jan. 27—Rubinstein in Schumann and Mozart concertos. Feb. 3-4—Michael Rabin playing Wieniawski's No. 2, Arthur Fiedler, guest conductor.

Washington Performing Arts Society: Jan. 4—Rubinstein. Jan. 11—Sviatoslav Richter. Jan. 19—Moscow Philharmonic, Kiril Kondrashin conductor. Jan. 24—Regine Crespin. Jan. 31—Marilyn Horne. Feb. 8—Joan Sutherland. Jan. 29-30-31 and Feb. 1—Comedie Francaise in three Moliere plays.

National Theater: Through Jan. 17—The New Music Hall of Israel; Jan. 19-Feb. 14—"George M."

Arena: Through Jan. 11—"You Can't Take It With You." Jan. 15-Feb. 22—"The Cherry Orchard."

Washington Theater Club: Through Jan. 11—"The Decline and Fall of the Entire World as Seen Through the Eyes of Cole Porter," a review by Ben Bagley. Jan. 14-Feb. 15, "The Wolves," by Robert Koesis. The WTC has moved to new and roomier quarters at 23d and L Streets, N.W.

National Gallery: Jan. 28-March 1—"A major exhibition of African Sculpture," selected by William Fagg of the British Museum and sponsored by the Ambassadors of 34 African nations.

National Collection of Fine Arts: Through Jan. 30—Milton Avery, retrospective. Jan. 16 — March 1 — "American Print-Making: the First 150 Years."

Foggbotham on Counselors

Dear Editor,

From my distant post abroad I see the world is getting on with its business, and doing worse than ever at it. Yet it's not so much the guerrillas and interventions that disturb me, or the steady decrease in the number of democracies; not so much the general ugliness of cities, or even the marijuana in the high schools—or the loss of love.

What really gets me down, to tell the truth, is how many Counselors of Embassy there are in the world. Now, you may say, that's just sour grapes; Foggbotham is mad because after many long years in the Service he's naught but a Second Secretary. But fie on you, Editor, if you think thus; for Foggbotham is bothered by bigger things. What I really mean to signify by saying Counselors is that the Foreign Service hasn't been able to do anything at all to lessen the burdens of bureaucracy. In particular, the number of middle- and higher-grade officers goes up and up, and I fear the incentive for a young man to enter the Foreign Service at the bottom goes steadily down.

We must get down to cases; so take my post, Amembassy Zedville. We have an Ambassador. We have a Minister. And what about Counselors? We have a Counselor for Political Affairs. We have a Counselor for Economic Affairs. We have a Counselor for Political/Military Affairs. We have a Counselor for Commercial Affairs. We have three other Counselors too. Total Counselors, seven.

On the *other* end—the bottom—we have exactly three Third Secretaries, of whom two are in USIS and one is a special youth who came to us from the Department of the Army.

Now, you might ask, if this large—though not largest—Embassy be taken as an average of the American diplomatic establishment, should it not have at least eight or ten junior officers in order that we may produce seven Counselors two decades from now? Not necessarily. A lot of the junior officers are learning diplomacy in Vietnam, and I understand a lot of others are doing passports; it will all come in useful for them, too. And a lot of other future Counselors are not even in the Service—will come in later, and certainly not at the bottom.

What I am getting at, though, is that when I arrived at this post only three years ago there were only five Counselors in place of today's seven. In other words the number of Counselors has jumped 40 percent in three years. And besides these seven, there are two other officers of Class Two who theoretically could be named Counselors, too. (I know they'd like that.) Only if we had that many, people would start comparing us unfavorably with our local Soviet Embassy, which also has seven Counselors now. (Incidentally, leaving aside Counselors for a minute, but still on the subject of bureaucracy, our Embassy is so much bigger than anyone else's that we have 61 officers on the diplomatic list compared to just 42 for the USSR, 33 for Germany, 25 for the UK, 21 for France and only 19 for Japan. Have we really got that much more to do than other countries' missions?)

Yet, you may say, the last Administration and the present one have cut back the number of our Government employees abroad. Yes, dear Editor, but not the number of Counselors. They multiply like rabbits. Look like 'em, too.

Well, I admit that last wasn't polite. And as I've said be-

To us, everybody's the Ambassador.

Now?

It doesn't matter whether you're just coming home from the Peace Corps, or you're with the Public Health Service, or you really are the Ambassador.

You rate a diplomatic discount. And diplomatic treatment.

So we'll equip your Valiant or Dart just as carefully as we do an Imperial. (If you're having it delivered overseas, we make sure it's ready for overseas driving conditions.)

And we'll make sure it gets delivered just the way you ordered it. Whether we ship it to Bombay or Boston.

Finally, we'll check back after you take delivery. Just to make sure everything is the way we promised.

After all, who knows? Maybe someday you *will* be the Ambassador.

In the meantime, send this coupon to see how it feels.

Someday.

I'd like information on these cars: Plymouth ☐ Valiant ☐ Dodge ☐ Dart ☐ Chrysler ☐ Imperial ☐ Charger ☐ Barracuda ☐ All of them ☐

Export Sales Department
P. O. Box 1688, Detroit, Michigan 48231

Name_____ Post_____

Address_____

City_____ State or Country_____

F

EXPORT-IMPORT DIVISION CHRYSLER CORPORATION

fore, no sense posing a problem if you don't have a solution.

My solution is based on that good practical rule "if you can't lick 'em, join 'em." I propose, therefore, a new diplomatic rank: Assistant Counselor. Everybody from FSO-6 up to FSO-3 to be Assistant Counselor, and anyone left below that to be First Secretary. Maybe there wouldn't be anyone left, though; might just as well get rid of the last remnant of junior officers, and have a *clean* Embassy.

You say that it can't be done, that the Congress of Vienna established the table of diplomatic ranks in 1815? *I* say, this is the Age of the Airgram, not of the despatch; of efficiency, not style. And if you can't have efficiency, why, you can be an Assistant Counselor. Or maybe I can, anyway.

Your friend,
BEN FOGGBOTHAM

Ecuadorian Vignette

HAZEL O'HARA

THE Ecuadorians were always doing nice things for me during my three tours with AID in their country, but by far the biggest favor was done by a little fellow in nondescript pants belted with a rope who had no idea of his wonder-working power. He wandered the streets in the neighborhood of our offices, trailing his mother who peddled bananas, a big baby on her back. I snapped the boy's picture one day just where he stood in the gutter at the front end of an AID car, and the photograph

Politics. The greatest show on earth.

And here's your invitation to a ringside seat at the whole lively-scandal-ridden-screaming-soft-spoken-kid-glove-bare-knuckled show! The Library of Political Affairs is a new kind of book club—dedicated to bringing you the total view of the total political scene—from dirty deals to diplomatic detentes, from the art of the practical to theories of power and policy. □ □ □ For the politically oriented man of our time—pro, amateur or scholar—we will offer only the most perceptive, thoughtful, important books on every aspect of politics, *always* at worthwhile discounts off regular prices. Free bonus books, too. If politics is your bag, this is the *one* book club you can't afford to miss!

NOW! The Library of Political Affairs

(Retail prices shown)

37930. THE CHINA READER: COMMUNIST CHINA. Edited by **Franz Schurmann** and **Orville Schell.** The new face of China, shown in depth through documents, statements, and articles by world experts. An unrivaled annotated documentary of China's struggle to become a major world power. **$7.95**

33300. AN AMERICAN MELODRAMA: The Presidential Campaign of 1968. Lewis Chester, Godfrey Hodgson and Bruce Page. "One of the richest, most perceptive, and most provocative accounts of an American election year yet produced . . . an immensely able reporting job." —*N. Y. Times Book Review.* **$10.00**

86120. WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CHINA / THE NEW RUSSIAN TRAGEDY. *A dual selection.* **Harrison E. Salisbury** traces the historical, geopolitical, and ideological background of the Sino-Soviet border crisis. *Plus* **Anatole Shub** of the *Washington Post* on the texture of politics and daily life in Russia today. **$9.45**

69840. PRESENT AT THE CREATION, Dean Acheson. A stunning record of the shaping of the post-war world, by one of its chief architects. "As autobiography it is enthralling, as history indispensable, as a manual of government and diplomacy invaluable."—*N. Y. Times Book Review.* **$15.00**

44390. THE EMERGING REPUBLICAN MAJORITY. Kevin P. Phillips. Phillips, special assistant to Nixon's campaign manager Attorney General Mitchell, spells out the now-and-future Republican election strategy—based on new regional coalitions against the political strength of the industrial, urbanized Northeast. **$7.95**

24590. THE WAY WE GO TO WAR / COUP D'ETAT. *A dual selection.* Two studies of the highest echelons of power. **Merlo J. Pusey's** account of how the President came to be the most influential man in the world. *Plus* **Edward Luttwak's** chilling do-it-yourself handbook for revolutionaries. **$9.90**

65220. OBSOLETE COMMUNISM. Daniel and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit. The firebrand who sparked the May, 1968, demonstrations in France records those fateful events and, in collaboration with his brother, argues for an alternative to rigid, traditional communism. **$5.95**

Take any 3 books
(values to $35)
for only $1 each
as a trial Charter Member

64280. THE NEW LANGUAGE OF POLITICS. William Safire. Sheer fun! A treasure trove of political terms (1,204 entries), and an invaluable offbeat reference guide to the old, new, and constantly changing political history of America. **$10.00**

64220. A NEW FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES. Hans J. Morgenthau. A top political scientist reappraises American foreign policy and the need for new approaches. ". . . an important contribution to the current 'great debate' on America's role in the world."—*N.Y. Times Book Review.* **$6.95**

80770. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST. Walter Laqueur's authoritative study of change and disruption in the crucial decade, 1958-1968, the impact on American policy, the future prospects. **$7.95**

69870. POWER. Adolf A. Berle. Drawing on first-hand knowledge, A. A. Berle presents the most systematic anatomy of the realities and exercise of power and the most comprehensive theory since Machiavelli's. **$10.00**

32880. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY / THE TRANSFORMATION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. *A dual selection.* **Henry A. Kissinger's** discerning assessment of the central issues in American foreign policy. *Plus* former Ambassador **Charles E. Bohlen's** illuminating retrospective of main currents in foreign relations over the last thirty years. **$7.90**

41540. CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS. Vine Deloria, Jr. A Sioux Indian speaks out. Slashing indictment of exploitation and ravagement, and a unique inside view of the traditions, strengths and needs of a people who seek a viable future in their own image. **$5.95**

59620. MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS TIMES. Edited by John Henrik Clarke. 21 black writers on the most charismatic and pivotal figure in Afro-American history—who he really was and what he really stood for—as well as basic writings and speeches by Malcolm himself. **$7.95**

CHARTER MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION F-907

The Library of Political Affairs
P.O. Box 1818, Riverside, New Jersey 08075

Please enroll me as a charter member, and send the three books I have indicated on this card. Bill me just $1 for each of the three, plus shipping and handling. If not delighted, I will return them within ten days, and my membership will be cancelled. As a charter member, I need accept only three more selections during the next twelve months, always at reduced member prices, plus shipping and handling. I understand that savings range up to 30%, and occasionally even more. Each month I will receive advance reviews describing forthcoming selections, along with a convenient form for requesting alternate selections, or no book at all. For every four selections, I may choose a free bonus book. (This introductory offer counts as my first selection).

3 books for only $1 each *(write in numbers)*

_____

_____

_____

Books bought for professional purposes may be a tax-deductible expense.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____State_____Zip_____
(Offer good in continental U.S. and Canada only).

Periodical Articles

"It's Later than Mao Thinks," THE ECONOMIST, 4 October 1969, p. 18-19. Mao exhibits "optimistic complacency" concerning China's present problems and spiritual lapses, which he sees as only a natural part of a difficult course toward the final goal. Yet China's setbacks in economy, lack of local leadership, and indiscipline and disorder demand a change of leadership and a change of policy.

Castro's Cuba, 1959-1969/" by Sir Hubert Marchant. WORLD SURVEY, September 1969, p. 2-15. In January 1959 Castro took over the government of Cuba, a country still subject to a colonial economy. How Castro handled the problems confronting him, the crises with the United States, and political and economic relations with the Soviet Union is discussed, and a balance sheet of his contributions to Cuba is presented.

"Arms Control and International Order" by Lincoln P. Bloomfield. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, Summer 1969, p. 637-655. Contrasts the "fantastic destructive potential" of nuclear weapons with the "near-impotent" institutions of global peace, mentioning the modest arms control achievements to date, and predicting a tough road for disarmament in the future, with Communist China looming as a hazard to international cooperation.

"International Cooperation in a Changing World: a Challenge to United States Foreign Policy." by Lawrence S. Finkelstein, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, Summer 1969, p. 559-588. Because of the influence of Russia, Communist China, and The Third World, the United States is less dominant today, and fewer nations believe as she does; so she should be more tolerant of the views and wishes of other countries when giving aid and when participating in the United Nations and regional security organizations.

"At the Front in Laos" by Werner R. Galle. SWISS REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS, October 1969, p. 12-15. Unrelenting but relatively unpublicized warfare between the Royal Laotian Army and the Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese has been the rule over the years. Its effects on domestic policies and the evidences of the irrelevancies of the Geneva Treaty provision are demonstrated.

"Defense of the Atlantic Community" by Stanley L. Harrison. UNITED STATES NAVAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS, October 1969, p. 44-49. Differences and divisions continue to exist within NATO. In formulating future policy decisions relative to NATO's defence, various military problems and political developments must be taken into account; both the military and political aspects indicate that sea power is the dominant factor in the new era of Atlantic Community Defence.

"Russians Bungle Attempt to Steal Mirage." AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, 13 October 1969, p. 23. The enigmatic, blundering efforts of Russia to steal a Mirage 3E fighter from the Lebanese Air Force might have had as their object to embarrass pro-Western Lebanon. The cloak-and-dagger actions in this ploy are depicted.

"Thailand's New Course" by J. L. S. Girling. PACIFIC AFFAIRS, Fall 1969, p. 346-359. The future course of Thai politics and foreign policy will be affected by such external circumstances as US withdrawal from Vietnam, possible ensuing instability in Vietnam, and military and political factors in China. The internal issues of corruption in the government and economic and population problems are also of political significance.

"The CIA and the Green Berets: a Strange Case of Mistaken Identities?" by Fletcher L. Prouty. ARMED FORCES JOURNAL, 4 October 1969, p. 16-17. Five of the eight Army Special Forces soldiers charged with murder recently were not U.S. Army personnel at all, but CIA agents, under the operational control of the Central Intelligence Agency, like many *Pueblo* crew members.

(*Continued on page* 45)

turned out to have a certain quality which tickled me. He was so very little in the lee of that big car with its *H* license signifying officialdom.

I made an 8″x10″ copy on glossy paper for his mother, and a day or two after giving it to her as I walked down the street I felt something coldly smooth sliding into my free hand. A banana, and there was the mother. She looked at me sideways, daring and shy. "Señorita, podría darme otra copia de mi hijo?" With much pleasure, I told her, I would make her another copy, but she must not give me this. She wanted to pay me, she insisted, and backed away, firmly refusing the fruit. So I kept the payment and ate it. Again, one day, she appeared of a sudden at my side, looking at me with that blend of daring and shyness, and asked if I would take a picture of her baby. Another banana.

One Saturday morning, I had to make a brief trip to the office and drove my car down; on working days I rode with others. I chose a route by which I could make a right turn on our street—Avenida 10 de Agosto—and leave the car across from our building and headed north. To the south there would be a chaos of vehicles charging toward the narrow Calle Guayaquil, which led downtown into tortuous colonial Quito. I hate to drive and I always hired one of the chauffeurs for any but the simplest trips in the reasonably uncomplicated north end of the city.

While making my right turn, I noted without concern a sharp whistle, drove on, parked, but as I crossed the street I saw a policeman waiting with that certain look on his face. Young and deadpan.

Hadn't I heard him whistle? Yes, I had heard a whistle, but I didn't know it was for me—I had the light. No, the señorita did *not* have the light; the light had changed. . . "su licencia, por favor." That chilling request, only the prelude, I well knew, to my driving at once to the police station with him. Those narrow streets. That bullying traffic.

I felt a tug at my hem and looked down. There was my young friend in the makeshift pants hitched up with a rope. "Aló!" he greeted me as if I were the person he most wanted to meet. I said "aló," wanly, out of my misery. His cheerful greeting deepened my sense of predicament, recalling that simple existence in which I did not have to drive to the station.

I saw curiosity on the face of the policeman. "I'm his official photographer," I explained.

He handed me back my license. Just like that. Unbelieving, I held it, watched him turn and walk off. ■

The Middle East presented a picture that might have been drawn by Karl Marx himself—with the masses a disinherited and poverty-stricken proletariat, no middle class, a small and corrupt ruling class pushed about by foreigners who sought to exploit priceless resources, whether oil or canal. Was there ever such an opportunity to invoke inherent xenophobia to destroy the foreigner and his system and substitute the Communist solution? Anglo-American solidarity on a policy of sitting tight offered no solution, but was like a couple locked in a warm embrace in a rowboat about to go over Niagara Falls. It was high time to break the embrace and take to the oars. This brought a chuckle from the Prime Minister, who kept muttering, "Take to the oars!"—The Churchill Visit, from "Present at the Creation," by Dean Acheson.

New design! New chassis! More bands! More features built in! Finer performance than ever before!

all-new Zenith TRANS-OCEANIC® Royal 7000

Receives Standard Broadcast, FM, European Longwave . . . Marine, Weather, Ship-to-Ship and Ship-to-Shore, Time Signals, FAA Weather-Navigation...Amateur, CW and SSB signals...plus the new VHF crystal-controlled Weather Band. Bandspread tuning on the most popular 31, 25, 19, 16 and 13 meter International Shortwave Bands.

Now, in one masterful stroke, Zenith obsoletes would-be imitations with the most ingenious integration of power, sensitivity, and tuning versatility ever designed into its world-famous Trans-Oceanic multi-band portable radio.

Beat Frequency Oscillator control receives CW and SSB transmissions intelligibly.

"Norm-Sharp" IF Switch on front panel helps eliminate adjacent channel interference on SSB signals as well as AM and CW.

Manual Gain Control permits navigational direction finding; adjustable to insure maximum sensitivity for SSB and CW. Functions automatically in "Normal" setting.

Tuner output jack feeds tape recorder or external amplifier speaker system.

AC power supply built-in permits operation on either 115V or 230V with batteries automatically disconnected.

Plug-in earphone for private listening is standard equipment.

Adjustable hair-line for most accurate indexing of logging scale.

Rotary Slide-Rule Dial with large, easy-to-read numerals for quick, easy band and station selection.

Tuning Meter lets operator tune receiver visually as well as audibly. Aids in determining a null for direction finding.

Azimuth bearing indicator built into slide-in door panel for aid in radio navigation.

Up to 300 hours operation on "D" flashlight batteries available anywhere. Battery Level Indicator. New 24-Hour World-Map Time Zone Indicator. Log Book. On-Off Dial Light. Tilt-Out Chart Light. New rugged cabinet of diecast zinc in Ebony color, high impact Cycolac® with padded vinyl sides. 9⅜" high, 13¾" wide, 6¼" deep.

Write now for more information on the new Zenith Royal 7000 Trans-Oceanic multi-band portable radio!

ZENITH®

The Quality Goes In Before The Name Goes On®

Zenith Radio Corporation, International Division, Chicago, 60639, U.S.A. The Royalty of television, stereophonic high fidelity instruments, phonographs, and radios.

More questions than answers are raised here but the author believes that answers are available in American traditions of involvement, responsibility and sharing.

Continuity and Change in the

LEE STULL

The author is a member of the Planning and Coordination Staff. He has served in Eastern and Western Europe, the Caribbean and South Asia. He sees the United States facing tough moral problems of purpose and value, and pressing practical problems of leadership and adaptation.

EVERYONE knows that change is the order of life and that the world of tomorrow will be a different place. But it is only human to hope that it will not be too different or be different only in ways that are agreeable to contemplate. In any event, we must cope with the world of today as we see it—all too often through the rear view mirror of yesterday. Sufficient unto the fiscal year is the evil thereof?

The prospect of avoiding that evil and promoting the beneficial is a function of foresight and preparation. This is true in personal, community, and national affairs. It is particularly the case in international life, where the complexity and diversity in base, direction, and rate of change are so great. And yet how much of our thinking about the future in international affairs is conditioned by familiar images from the past? How much is based on easy assumptions that current incongruities are passing phenomena? How much recalls a balanced system of national states that never was and imagines an emergent world order that may never be?

Continuity or change? Both, of course. But current events and unassimilated past and prospective developments suggest the probability that we are entering an era of extended, rapid and fundamental change. Most thinking about foreign policy stresses continuity and the search for equilibrium. This is understandable, since

—no statesman has the opportunity to wipe the slate clean, but must usually write between the lines;

—customary perspectives and rhetorical reformulations are comfortable and suggest stability;

—familiar approaches are reinforced by vested interests and bureaucratic inertia.

But the evidence accumulates for re-examination of assumptions about the nature of the modern world and for contemplation of major innovations to adjust to permanent change.

We are not talking about the year 2,000, let alone the 21st century, but rather the decade immediately ahead. To illustrate, let us briefly explore five broad, basic sources of change in the international environment: population growth, proliferation of nation states, technological disparity, eroding authority, and attitudinal shifts.

Population

The single most insistent reality of the next decade is the exploding world population. Today there are 3.5 billion people on earth. By the mid-1970s there will be a half billion more—most of them undernourished, if not hungry or worse. By 1985 the total will be at least 4.5 billion. The bigger the figure, the faster it grows, the more difficult its restraint, the more ominous its implications.

The projected increases will be concentrated in the poor and underdeveloped countries, particularly in Asia where already two-thirds of the world population lives. It is estimated, for example, that the already politically chaotic, economically miserable and socially tense areas of East Pakistan and West Bengal will approach a population density of 2,000 per square mile in the 1970s compared to 60 per square mile for the United States. In such areas, "treadmill economies" emerge in which the total national effort exhausts itself in running faster and faster merely to stand still.[1] Meanwhile the United States adds on GNP in hunks as large as the total output of many medium-sized countries.

Expanding world population, increasingly crowded into urban areas, will be more and more made up of the impatient young and the dependent aged. People in the 12-to-25 group already number 750 million and will exceed a billion by 1975. It is forecast that youth "will begin to predominate in world affairs . . . World opinion is going to become increasingly the opinion of the world's youth and the generational conflict will assume proportions not previously imagined."[2]

Spokesmen in the US (McNamara), in the UK (Snow), in the USSR (Sakharov) urge with varying pessimism a massive global effort to reduce births by fifty million a year. However there exists no "framework remotely adequate to put the necessary billions of dollars and the essential brains and skills to work . . ."[3] Meanwhile, the world spends $2,000 for military pur-

[1] World Bank President Robert S. McNamara speech, May 1, 1969.

[2] United National Commission for Social Development *Preliminary Report on Long-term Policies and Programmes for Youth in National Development.*

[3] THE POPULATION BULLETIN, March, 1969.

International Environment

poses for every $1 it spends to control population. The big military spenders, of course, are the US and the USSR.

Is it conceivable that population growth of such dimensions will not significantly affect conditions, expectations, and prospects of large areas of the world in ways relevant not only to the individuals and governments directly concerned but also to the United States and its relationships with them? Can the United States forge confidently ahead with a set of national consumption, defense, welfare priorities that leaves less than one-half of one percent of GNP for foreign aid? Can we spend $80,000 million a year on arms, $4,000 million on space, $330 million on chemical-biological warfare, $100 million on population control, and retain our self-image of humanitarian concern for the world in which we live? Will that world knowingly suffer such relative abandonment quietly and without repercussion for US international interests? Can the modern nations sustain themselves as islands of progress in a sea of human retrogression? Will emergent emotions of international "solidarity," particularly among youth, tolerate it?

Nation States

Not only is the number of people rapidly increasing but so is the number of national entities into which they are organized. Before World War II there were 70 independent countries in existence; there are 142 today. Seventeen of the new states were created in 1960 alone; one of the youngest countries has an area of 720 miles and population of 800,000 (Mauritius); most of the newcomers are poor and tropical; together they comprise nearly half the United Nations. This multiplicity of new actors brings greater diversity of outlooks, problems and traditions to the international scene and increases the pressures upon the more traditional cast of powers. Moreover, still other areas are scheduled or likely candidates for nationhood. Beyond these, divisive forces of nationality are evident in Nigeria and Pakistan, and latent in many areas from the USSR, where the dominant Russians are now an ethnic minority, to the complexity of nationalities in India, Eastern Europe and Africa.

How can we best conduct international relations in a world for the first time in history made up completely of nation states? Do we even understand the phenomenon of nationalism—freely conceded to be the most powerful political and psychological force of the 20th century? Have we projected the frequently cited principle of national self-determination to its logical conclusion, and do we accept the implications of what we advocate? Is the nationality question, particularly in such cockpit areas as Eastern Europe, a prudent political target of opportunity? Is the hallowed rhetoric of national sovereignty and one-state-one-vote still appropriate in a world of mini- and maxi-states?

Science and Technology

The United States and to a lesser extent Europe and Japan are technological societies fostering the development and application of new technology on a very large scale. This we can be sure affects international values, institutions and political processes, cultural and psychological attitudes and the quality of individual life. Precisely how is as yet unclear. What is clear is that a relatively few countries are being jet-propelled into the future while the vast majority is progressing, if at all, slowly and erratically. Data on computers, reactors, television sets and college enrollment tell the tale:[4]

	US	WE	USSR	Japan	All Other
Computers Installed (thousands)	56	20	5.5	6	3
Research Reactors Installed	135	145	30	20	55
Television sets (millions)	85	60	20	20	15
College Enrollment (millions)	6.5	2.5	4.5	1.5	5
Compared to Population (millions)	205	335	240	102	2,620

Computers are among the most significant indicators of the new technology. A look ahead to the late 1970s is instructive, when the United States will have about 100,000 of a world total of 215,000 computers, Western Europe 50,000, the USSR 35,000, Japan 20,000, and the remaining three-quarters of the world only 10,000.

Such disparities already great and growing cannot help but have fundamental significance for the international environment—all the more so because of the concurrently increasing economic interdependence and psychological interaction among nations. Moreoever, transportation technology has greatly reduced the re-

[4] Data are rough, rounded and estimated current; with sufficient precision to be "within the ball park" indicators for present purposes.

straints of time and distance, and communications technology has greatly increased the impact of far away events. Conflicts or rebellions in one area encourage dissidents in others. TV provides animated and current exposure to foreign affairs and for the first time in history brings war under the nearly direct purview of all. Jet planes already carry over eight million Americans a year abroad to see for themselves, and to be seen. Such visual and direct interchange appears to be shaping new attitudes, e.g., a sense of international "solidarity" among youth, not entirely compatible with the formal international system as we have understood it.

One can argue that much of this happened before, as industrialization widened the gaps and increased the interaction between a few favored areas and the rest of the world. And so it has—with some unexpected and unpleasant consequences including imperialism, war, and depression on a world scale. Now the rate at which the still favored few are moving into a post-industrial society multiplies the requirement, while telescoping the time available, for fundamental reappraisal of the emerging international environment. Adjustments of scale heretofore usually phased through generations are now to be accomplished within a decade, i.e., too rapidly for smooth adjustment.

Are we alert to the impact of such swiftly emerging sources of change and attuned to anticipating their implications for foreign policy? Are we prepared to take into account not only the hardware of the emerging technology, but also new attitudes that it engenders relevant to foreign affairs? Do we, for example, recognize the psychological implications of widening international technological, economic, military and responsibility gaps? Is research being undertaken and do institutions exist for probing such problems and formulating national and international approaches to meet them?

Dissent

Challenge to traditional institutions is commonplace across the international scene. Diverse groupings of disoriented, discontented, disaffected elements coalesce to test, reform or destroy one or another pattern of authority. They succeed and fail. But win or lose in Czechoslovakia, Pakistan or France, at Columbia, Berlin or the Vatican, the momentum of change is forced by widespread questioning of authority and suspicion of officialdom. The challenge spills from issue to issue and floods from country to country. Similarities to the revolutions of 1848 suggest that the current wave of ferment will soon dissipate in disillusionment and reaction. Perhaps. But the differences may be even more significant. In 1848, Europe only was affected; the focus was narrowly anti-government; and support came only from the very few. In 1968, however, student demonstrations occurred in over fifty countries. The authority of the family, the university, the community, and the Church was challenged along with that of the State. Annoyance with the proliferation and intrusion of inept bureaucracy was not confined to militant extremists and impetuous youths.

Youth is the cutting edge of much unrest around the globe, but the impact of youth activism on public affairs reaches a scope and intensity well beyond the milieu of students and young faculty. Students are the most privileged, perceptive, and presumptuous elements in many societies, but they are only part of larger populations which see cause for dissatisfaction and dissent at home and abroad. Generational differences contribute, but the problem is not self-correcting merely as youth ages. For dissatisfaction among youth is intimately related to and fed by malaise in the adult world. Items:

—On November 14, 1968, in Moscow, Pyotr G. Grigorenko, a former major general of the Soviet army stood by the coffin of a dead comrade and denounced the "totalitarianism that hides behind the mask of so-called Soviet democracy."

—Last May in France, ten million strikers joined hundreds of thousands of students to defy de Gaulle and weaken him for his fall.

—In Rome, Pope Paul VI spoke of the "crisis of authority which is besetting the modern world."

—At home, consumer critic Ralph Nader took on General Motors and the United Mine Workers; and Billy Graham characterized "ours as a time of revolution and anarchy and rebellion."

According to Peter Drucker, people are rapidly moving to doubt and distrust government, and in the case of the young, to ridicule and rebel against it. Government can wage war and inflate the currency. "Other things it can promise but only rarely accomplish. Its record as an industrial manager, in the satellite countries of Eastern Europe as well as in the nationalized industries of Great Britain, has been depressing . . . (moreover) the welfare state turns out at best to be just another big insurance company, as exciting, as creative and as inspiring as insurance companies tend to be."[5]

These are not uncommon views in Eastern Europe, the UK, the USA and elsewhere. They spring from relative affluence and a thousand issues of discontent—industrial pollution and cigarette advertising, organized crime and tax privileges, military expenditures and human hunger. In part they reflect a concern that bureaucracy is incapable of anticipation and resistant to change.

Is the United States feeding the engines of economic and social change and yet identifying politically with the status quo in the eyes of the disaffected at home and abroad? Are we isolating ourselves from the new forces and being too defensive in our official international projection of domestic ferment—the existence and effectiveness of which may work to demonstrate American openness, flexibility, and dynamism?

Attitude and Motivation

The effects of the changing international environment upon attitudes and motivations are evidently great—if poorly understood.

Fear and competition have been driving forces in international relations since the beginning and presumably will continue to provide much of the spur to national action. But even here, attitudinal shifts are evident—from siege and scarcity to security and affluence. This is particularly the case in the developed world and among youth relatively insulated from foreign

(*Continued on page* 42)

[5] *The Age of Discontinuity*, Peter Drucker.

"The formal image of the State Department's process of policy formulation . . . is that of a glorified military staff system."

How We Do Our Thing: Policy Formulation

JOHN W. BOWLING

John W. Bowling is an FSO-2 now serving as Coordinator, Political Studies, School of Professional Studies, Foreign Service Institute. He served in the infantry overseas in WWII, entered the Service in 1946, and has served in Africa, South Asia, and the GTI area. He is in the final stages of obtaining a PhD via the night school route at American University.

EVERY student of anthropology knows consciously and most other-er observers of alien cultures (such as professional diplomats) know intuitively that as a general rule there are serious discrepancies between the formal and the informal structures and processes of almost all social institutions. And it is also generally accepted among these practitioners that a great deal of tension, unhappiness, inefficiency, and even conflict arises from this gap between what an institution perceives itself to be and what it really is.

The institutions involved in the formulation of American foreign policy are no exception to this general rule. Let us examine some of these differences as they apply to those parts of the foreign policy apparatus usually manned by the Foreign Service. These observations may well fit other institutions which are part of the foreign policy apparatus, but there will be no effort here to consider them as examples. As far as the Joint Chiefs, the NSC staff, AID, USIS, CIA, and NSA are concerned: "If the shoe fits, wear it!"

A central, if not *the* central, function of the State Department is to assist the President in the formulation of foreign policy. This is a fuzzy concept; there is no clear dividing line between the setting of policy and its execution. The feedback from execution to formulation is familiar to all who have ever been involved in the business. Nevertheless, since there is no intention here to attain a scholarly rigor, we shall for the sake of avoiding definitional jargon and simplifying our analysis, assume that a line can be drawn between the formulation and the execution of rules and guidelines governing United States behavior both in general and in specific, actual and contingent, situations of interaction between various sovereign members of the international community.

A few generalizations can be made about the process of policy formulation in the Department of State. In general, lower-ranking and younger personnel spend a much larger proportion of their time in executing than in formulating policy, while the reverse is true as salaries, rank, and status increase. But the most junior of FSOs still contributes, even if minutely, to the formulation process, while the Secretary and the Policy Planning Council would be the first to admit that a considerable portion of their time is devoted to what could best be described as the carrying out of policies already determined. Furthermore, it can be stated in general terms that Chiefs of Mission, political staffs of missions, Regional Bureaus in the Department, senior officers of the Department and such staff organizations as the Policy Planning Council tend to be more heavily involved in formulation as against execution than are other parts of the Department, regardless of the seniority and rank of the officers involved.

What is the Department's self-image in terms of policy formulation? This image is shared by most educated Americans — differences of opinion revolve around different estimates of the industry, good faith, and axioms involved in the process, not around divergent views as to the nature of the process. The self-image, which is the formal as opposed to the informal map of the institutional territory, is reflected in hundreds of ways through such means as Foreign Service officer examinations, precepts to Selection Boards, reports of commissions of various kinds concerned with problems of personnel and administration, learned academic studies of decision-making, speeches and books by high officials, the writings of Washington journalists, and probably in the reporting of foreign

missions in the United States. The assumptions are unconscious and painless—the formal image has, in a sense, worn wide and carefully marked trails through the minds of the people concerned, and the average individual is no more prepared to question the validity and universality of the formal image of the process of policy formulation than educated men once were to question the validity of Newton's world-view, which seemed to have proved its truth many times over. Anthropologists know from the study of primitive societies how easy it is to fit evidence into the categories of the formal self-image of any social process; no one has to "deceive himself"—he needs only to ignore or gently modify the raw data presented to him in order that it can make sense as part of an acceptable and operating pattern.

According to the formal image, policy formulation moves on channels similar to the pattern of water drainage in a river valley, with small streams uniting to form larger streams in a complicated and constantly changing network culminating in the mouth of the river where it flows into the sea. The river mouth is the President as foreign policy decision-maker, the mouth of the largest and most central of the rivers flowing into the final delta is the Secretary of State as the principal adviser to the President—perhaps the swamps of the delta itself can be compared to the NSC machinery! A typical rivulet indirectly feeding the central river of State might be an officer of a political section of a minor US mission deciding within narrow limits as to the tone he should adopt in consulting with an officer of the local Foreign Ministry, or an even more junior officer analyzing the potential power position of a given political faction in a given area in a long airgram which will probably be consumed only by intelligence analysts. Policy is made in two ways—by decisions as to how existing policy directives should be executed, made at decreasing levels of importance as one moves away from the river mouth and up among the rivulets, and by recommendations coming flowing from the rivulets to the river mouth, and being modified by rejection, acceptance, or amalgamation in the intermediate decision points.

Now to the really important element of the formal image—its assumption as to what motivates these human beings at various levels in making these myriad important and unimportant decisions. It is commonly understood and accepted that at all levels the officer is guided by his informed judgment, aided by the expertise of specialists, as to the best interests of the United States. This assumption is central to the formal image. On it we select young officers with the broadest possible educations and backgrounds—young cosmopolitans, we hope, who might some day be Talleyrands or Bismarcks. On it we put sections in Performance Evaluation Reports requiring comment on the "courage" and "integrity" of officers in this network. On it novels are written about the courage and ultimate vindication of the hero who sees clearly where the national interest lies. On it huge staff studies are prepared in which decisions are advocated and justified in terms of the national interest. Each man on each of these levels, according to the formal image, is trying to put himself into the mind and the shoes of the President, who is presumed to be dedicated to the national as against any special sub-national interest.

This image is that of a military staff system on the battalion, regimental, or divisional level. The commander of such units knows that if he asks the advice of the commander of a subordinate unit, the advice he gets will reflect some mixture of what is good for the larger unit and what is good for the smaller unit—the subordinate commander, while loyal, well-meaning, and well-informed, cannot be expected to combine his role of protecting the interests of his subordinate command with a role in which he is expected to judge, from a higher level of interest, his own unit as one element indistinguishable from others. As a result, commanders of the larger units create staffs, whose task is to become specialized alter egos of the commander to whom they are attached, advising him and often making interpretive decisions for him in a way which will allow him to concentrate on the important issues. The important thing to remember is that the commander, while he may disagree with the recommendations of his own G-3, or while he may disagree with the G-3's interpretation of orders from even higher headquarters, knows that the G-3 is as attached to and is as dedicated to the interest of the commander's unit as the commander himself is. The battalion commander will assume that a decision or recommendation from the commander of Company "A" will combine in some proportions the interests of the battalion and the interests of Company "A." But a decision or recommendation from the G-3 would differ from his own decision merely in respect to information available and judgment—not in respect to the interest being taken into consideration.

The ideal military staff system, in which the staff officer tries to make decisions *for* his commander, must not be confused with the giant staffs of the Pentagon and Theater Commands, in which staff officers often tend to function as advocates for individual services, commands, or even weapons systems.

The formal image of the State Department's process of policy formulation, through many-leveled recommendations and decisions, is that of a glorified military staff system. Each man, to the best of his ability, is expected to put into those decisions and recommendations which are within his range his own best judgment as to the way in which the President himself would make the decision if the President sat in the same spot with the same information available to him. Each man assumes that his own immediate superior does the same. This system is an admirable system of decision-making, understanding the core of policy formulation to be decisions—decisions as to execution within a directive from a higher level or decisions as to the content of direct and indirect recommendations for new policies or for changes in existing policies. This system has worked well in many organizations, but it has its faults as well as its

advantages. There is no reason to attempt here to argue its relative merits as against other forms of decision-making. It is important only to note the function of the ideal military staff officer and to agree that the Department's formal image of itself requires that its officer personnel conduct themselves as ideal military staff officers in their roles as formal and informal contributors to the making of policy decisions.

Many highly successful military commanders as recently as, say, the Civil War, used their staffs only as glorified clerks and messengers. They usually consulted with, and some actually listened to, their corps commanders in making decisions as to the employment of the Army as a whole. But successful generals seldom assumed that the advice of the commander of X Corps was not laced with the special interests of X Corps, no matter how patriotic and loyal the individual subordinate might be. Congressmen and Senators use their so-called staff organizations much as these Civil War commanders used staffs, and Congress is not at all a bad organization for making decisions.

The Supreme Court does not use a staff at all in making its decisions —the use of military-type staff by an American judicial decision-making body in other than very specialized functions would fly in the face of the basic assumption of the system, which is that a judge can best arrive at the truth by comparing the carefully prepared recommendations of special interests with each other and with rules laid down by higher authority. In comparing these and other systems and combinations of systems, it can be noted in passing that an adversary-judge decision-making system sets itself lower targets in terms of load and efficiency and is less dependent than is the military staff system on the ability of large numbers of men to separate the general interest from their special interests.

The policy formulation process of the State Department (and possibly that of other institutions involved in the process) actually has little resemblance in practice to the formal image of a military staff system. It is in fact much more like the process employed so well by the Supreme Court: skilled experts are employed to collect information and arguments for particular decisions maximizing the benefits accruing to different special interests, or a coalition of such interests. The special interest in each case uses the best professional talent it can find to present to the judge the reasons why he should decide in favor of its own special interest. The judge realizes that the advocate, like the Civil War Corps Commander, is working for the best interests of his client; the judge accepts, nay, welcomes this fact; and the judge utilizes it to make what he believes to be a good decision, probably a better decision than he could have made with a military staff study instead of an adversary proceeding.

Foreign Service officers in the political cone (and to a lesser extent in the other cones as well), are assigned to Missions or to offices in the Department where they find themselves acting part of the time as a judge and part of the time as an advocate. As they move to positions of higher rank, greater salary, and increased status, they have a role which is more judge and less advocate. But even the lowest man on the totem pole has a few minor opportunities to make law (policy) by applying it, while even the Secretary of State seems to spend some small part of his time acting as an advocate before the President for the foreign affairs sector in general when the President must make decisions allocating resources between foreign and domestic demands. An officer acts as a judge when he does not have to, or does not deem it necessary to, submit a matter of discretion to a higher authority for decision. He acts as an advocate when he does submit such a question to a higher authority or to any other officer who must concur in a recommendation.

Why is he an advocate? What does he advocate? Most assignments to political sections of missions abroad or to geographic bureaus place the officer in a position of special interest in and responsibility for relations between the United States and either a particular foreign government or a group of such foreign governments. Most officers therefore find themselves acting as advocates for a maximum allocation of US time and resources to the improvement of relations between the United States and the governments for which they feel responsible. This allocation is usually at the expense of possible allocations in favor of other countries/areas and of various domestic US interests. An officer's advocacy may range from a single country to a small group of countries to a large geographical area. If he represents the interests of a single country, he can struggle one day against the advocates for a neighboring country and the next day combine his advocacy, on some larger issue, with that of his erstwhile adversary in a struggle on a higher level of decision-making against the combined forces of the advocates of some other group of countries.

If the advocacy and judgment of conflicting geographical interests is the warp of a Foreign Service officer's work, its woof is the advocacy of operational programs in a constant unspoken dogfight with each other and with domestic programs for allocations of time, interest, and money. This advocacy of operational programs consists, as does the geographical interest pattern, of mini-advocacies within macro-advocacies within mega-advocacies. Much more clearly than does the geographical warp, this operational woof applies to all, or almost all, elements in the foreign policy and national security complex. Often an officer, in State or in some other agency, finds himself in a position where he is engaged in a geographical and an operational advocacy at the same time.

The only reason that men at different levels of the hierarchy can be judge and advocate at the same time is that almost always a man is allowed to judge, to decide, and to allocate only *within* his assigned field of advocacy. Thus an Assistant Secretary is not given the power to judge between his geographical area and another geographical area; it is understood all

the way up and down the line that if he were given such authority, he would inevitably decide in favor of his own area of advocacy and against its competitor, even though he is capable of dressing up the reasoning behind two conflicting demands with Olympian detachment. Thus an Assistant Secretary of a geographical bureau judges only certain questions between groups of countries or individual countries within his own area. He judges, as do the other officers in their judge-function above and below him, on the unspoken assumption that the alliances of interests which urge on him mutually contradictory lines of action are each of them presenting the best possible reasoning for each separate line. Like a judge of the Supreme Court, he can count on the competing advocacies to bring out, among them, all the factors he needs to make a good decision. A good decision, of course, does not have to be the best decision from the point of view of what the judge may consider the national interest. Keeping always in mind his role of advocate, he judges with the next adversary proceeding in mind. Clear up to the very top of the Department, it is evident that the advocate role overshadows the judge role. We are a career service of advocates—professional gladiators in a bureaucratic arena.

The FSO reader who is by now ready to throw this journal down should ask himself the following questions: "How often in the past five years have I, from Washington or overseas, advised my superiors that the regime in the country with which I was working had less common interests with the United States than did the principal alternative regime?" "How often have I argued in favor of smaller allocations of US resources to my client and larger allocations to some other officer's client?" "How often have I argued that a US operational program with which I was involved should be reduced in size?"

If the reader's answers to all these questions is "not at all" or "very seldom," there are only three possible conclusions: he has by a series of remarkable coincidences been working only with relatively important countries, relatively friendly regimes, and relatively effective operational programs; he has been acting as an ideal military-type staff man whose commander is an advocate; or he himself is an advocate.

What are the qualities sought in the personnel of a decision-making machine which actually operates on the basis of an unending series of kaleidoscopic adversary proceedings? The qualities needed are parallel to some of the qualities of a good trial lawyer. First is a good seat-of-the-pants feel for the substantive matter involved in the adversary proceedings—in the foreign affairs community this means a solid and practical knowledge of a country, an area, an operational program, or some particular aspect of the program. Second is an intuitive feel for courtroom procedure—this translates into expertise in all the avenues, all the tricks of the bureaucratic environment, all the way down to personal friendships and tentative personal alliances in high places. Third is a knowledge of the law itself and the attendant capacity to estimate the best possible result one can hope for and aim for—this is a knowledge of existing policy and trends.

Perhaps most important of all is a quality which is precisely the opposite of the prime requisite for a military staff officer in a small unit—a willingness to work single-mindedly for a cause which one may feel to be a bad cause in itself. A good defense lawyer does his best to get an acquittal for a client whom he may, in his most private moments, feel certain is guilty. He suppresses and ignores such feelings, because he knows that his duty is always to defend to the best of his ability, and that the judicial system would come apart at the seams if advocates tried to act as judges. The Foreign Service is set up informally to reward such effective advocacy—advocacy of whatever cause to which one is assigned—and to select competent advocates for promotion to higher ranks. There is nothing wrong with this; in fact, it is absolutely necessary if the system is to function with the efficiency to which the President is accustomed. If the system itself were to actually operate in its own formal image, a very different set of talents would have to be rewarded and selected for.

The formal image is not necessarily "right," and the actual system is not necessarily "wrong." Each system of decision-making has its own advantages and disadvantages. The judge-advocate system is admirable for (a) reducing personality and personal idiosyncracy to a minimum, (b) reducing to a minimum the possibility of favoritism and corruption, (c) insuring that top decision-makers at or near the Presidential level have all the possible arguments for most alternatives brought before them, and (d) avoiding gyrations of policy and operations—this quality can be compared to a very slow steering ratio in a vehicle in that one has to work hard and consciously at the wheel to effect anything other than the most minor change of course. It also has its disadvantages as against a classic military staff model. For instance, it is slow to adjust to changes in the environment; it is very hard for the system to examine its own errors and learn from them; it does not have the *potential* for effectiveness that the military staff system has—like free enterprise, it relies on the statistical averages in a number of decisions, any one of which could be wrong; decisions tend to be compromises between different viewpoints, even if these conflicting viewpoints are essentially incompatible, and the overall result is often mushy. It is difficult to imagine this kind of decision-making system making a series of catastrophically bad decisions, even though it is equally difficult to imagine it doing anything like unifying Germany in the Bismarckian era, or bringing France back into the Concert of Europe in Talleyrand's time.

There is no need to describe the effect on a small military command of a G-3 who suddenly decided that his job was to advocate the cause of B Company, or night combat patrols, or the use of smoke grenades, or any other equivalent of the area and program advocacies of the Foreign Service. It is equally

(*Continued on page* 48)

AFSA NEWS

January, 1970

published by the
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION
2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

Foreign Service Retirement Legislation

We are pleased to report that on December 15, 1969, Representative Wayne L. Hays, of Ohio, moved on the floor of the House to suspend the rules and pass H.R. 14789 to amend the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System. Representative E. Ross Adair, of Indiana, seconded the motion made by Representative Hays.

Both Representative Hays and Representative Adair made strong statements in favor of immediate passage of H.R. 14789. After a brief discussion during which a few questions were asked by Representative H. R. Gross, of Iowa, the Bill was passed by voice vote and sent to the Senate.

Although the Congress will take a recess of two or three weeks starting just before Christmas, there is a strong possibility that the Senate will pass the Bill and send it to the President before the recess. If this does not came to pass, we understand the Senate will take up the Bill immediately upon returning to Washington about the middle of January.

As reported in the December AFSA NEWS the "high three" and add-on of sick leave at time of retirement provisions are retroactive to October 20, 1969, for those who were on active duty at that time.

Awards Program

The December issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL carried an announcement regarding the 1970 Harriman, Rivkin and Herter Awards which are sponsored by AFSA.

Letters requesting nominations have been sent to the heads of all foreign affairs agencies, Chiefs of Mission, and bureau and office chiefs. As stated in the announcement, *any* officer may submit a nomination in support of any other officer. We ask the cooperation of *all* members in submitting nominations in order to assure success of the 1970 Awards Program.

Thomas S. Estes—AFSA's Executive Director

Ambassador Thomas S. Estes entered the Foreign Service in December, 1937 following a tour of duty with the Marine Corps. His first post was Bangkok, Thailand and subsequently he served with Allied Truce Headquarters in North Africa and Italy, and with Headquarters, U.S. Forces, Austria, in the office of the Political Advisor. Later, he served in Quebec and Athens. He was appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary for Operations in 1955, with responsibility for the new State Department building program. In 1961 he was named Ambassador to the Republic of Upper Volta where he served for five years. His last assignment prior to retirement on December 31, 1969, was State Department Advisor to the President, Naval War College.

During 1956-58, Ambassador Estes served as Secretary-Treasurer of the Association, and later was elected Chairman of the Board of Directors. He entered on duty as Executive Director of the American Foreign Service Association effective January 1, 1970.

Thomas S. Estes

Lannon Walker (l.), Chairman of the Board of the American Foreign Service Association, accepts $500 royalty check for the Association's Scholarship Fund from former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs G. Mennen Williams (r.) at the Foreign Service Club on December 4, 1966. Shown with them are Mrs. Walker, William B. Eerdmans, Jr. of Grand Rapids, Michigan, whose publishing company produced the book, and Mrs. Williams (l. to r.). *(See story page 4 of AFSA NEWS.)*

Correspondence with the Secretary

Dear Mr. Secretary:

A WASHINGTON POST newspaper story on November 25, 1969, which was repeated on the front page of the international edition of the HERALD TRIBUNE on November 26, quoted a Department official stating that the Department's image had been impaired by "stuffed shirts with phony British accents in the Foreign Service."

Employees of the Foreign Service have suffered in silence over the years when comments such as the above appeared in the press, because they believed they had no constituency. The situation has changed markedly in recent times and we now know that a great many people of our nation have a much deeper appreciation of just what the men and women of the Foreign Service have done and are doing for our country. For this reason, we bitterly resent senseless remarks which can do so much damage to the fine reputation of the Foreign Service.

On behalf of our 8,000 members and all Foreign Service personnel as well, the officers and members of the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association wish to call to your attention in the strongest possible way our concern with these baseless and irresponsible comments attributed to an official of the State Department.

Sincerely yours,
LANNON WALKER
Chairman
Board of Directors

Dear Mr. Walker:

Thank you for your letter of December 2, which drew my attention to an article in the WASHINGTON POST quoting what is alleged to be a State Department official to the effect that the Department sends abroad "stuffed shirts with phony British accents to represent the Foreign Service."

I want you to know that I share the concern expressed in your letter. The Foreign Service abroad represents the American people with unflagging dedication, devotion, and skill. The quiet competence of the Service is one of our great assets in conducting foreign affairs. It deserves praise rather than castigation by outmoded clichés that have no relevance to present reality. I fully share your indignation.

Sincerely,
WILLIAM P. ROGERS

AFSA's President Receives Rockefeller Award

Philip C. Habib, Senior Advisor, U.S. Paris Delegation, received a Rockefeller Public Service Award in the field of Foreign Affairs or International Operations on December 3 at the Awards luncheon at the Shoreham Hotel. Mr. Habib's award, which was shared with John Frederick Thomas, Director General, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, carried this citation:

To share the award in the field of Foreign Affairs or International Operation, but for very different types of activity, is a distinguished careerist from the Foreign Service. Although considerably younger than some of our earlier awardees in the Foreign Service, this man has already served in American posts abroad as widely separated as Canada, New Zealand, Trinidad, Korea and Vietnam. He has also served three times in Washington.

In the highest tradition of the Foreign Service, he has attempted always to bring together his knowledge of the nation to which he is posted with his understanding of what United States foreign policy toward that nation is. In this manner he has attempted—quite properly—to influence American policy decisions to serve U.S. national interest as he saw that interest. But once a decision was reached by the U.S. Government, whether or not it accorded with his own views, this officer has worked as a dedicated professional to achieve the policy goals promulgated by his superiors. The high esteem in which this man is held by older and younger career officers alike is evident in the fact that he has been elected President of the Foreign Service Association.

When that kind of true professional was needed by Ambassador Harriman for the then forthcoming talks in Paris last year, the choice fell unerringly on our awardee. While all Americans hope that these talks will bear more fruit than has as yet been evident, all of us can also agree with Ambassador Lodge who, when he succeeded Ambassador Harriman in Paris, asked that this great public servant remain as the senior career man in the United States Delegation. Now the President has indicated that Mr. Habib will remain in Paris as Acting Head of our Delegation there.

Other recipients of the Public Service Awards were: Arthur E. Hess, HEW, Dr. William T. Pecora, Interior, Ashley Foard, HUD, Dr. John W. Evans, Air Force, and Dr. Robert Gilruth, NASA.

"Our Miss Blue"

Have you served in Brussels (1948-51), Guatemala (1951-54), Hong Kong (1954-56), Tokyo (1956-59), the Department (1959-62), Madrid (1962-67), or Moscow (1967-69), by any chance?

If so, then you probably have a good friend and former Personnel Officer who has joined the AFSA administrative staff. She is, of course, Miss Evelyn Blue, who retired from the Foreign Service this summer after twenty years' service.

Miss Blue, a native of New York, had planned for some time a life of quiet ease on her retirement after the busy and sometimes hectic job of Personnel Officer in Moscow. But AFSA was fortunate enough to be able to convince her that she should continue her long association with the Foreign Service.

Miss Blue reports that one of the nicest parts of her new job is the fact that many old friends have called AFSA on various matters, and were surprised to find themselves talking with her. Still in temporary quarters (a condition not unknown to Foreign Service people), Miss Blue has been apartment-hunting in the Connecticut Avenue area, and expects to settle there soon. In the meantime, her friends can always call her at AFSA!

Scholarships 1970-71

Scholarship applications for the 1970-71 school year are being received at AFSA headquarters. To date, information and the necessary forms have been mailed to 267 applicants. The completed applications and all supporting material must be received by AFSA, Committee on Education, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037 before February 15.

Sweet Briar Honors the Wailes

The Board of Directors and Overseers of Sweet Briar College have announced that their newest building, now under construction, will be named the Edward Thompson and Cornelia Wailes College Center.

Ambassador Wailes served on the governing boards of Sweet Briar from 1954 until his death in the summer of 1969. Mrs. Wailes is a Sweet Briar graduate and Ambassador and Mrs. Wailes have made very substantial contributions over the years, most notably to an endowed professorship in international affairs, started in 1961. This professorship was named in honor of the Ambassador.

Marriages

FONG-LYDON. Norma Jean Fong was married to FSO Peter Joyce Lydon on November 29 in Vientiane. Mr. Lydon is serving as political officer in Vientiane.

Deaths

BALCH. Henry H. Balch, FSO-retired, died on November 30 in Huntsville, Alabama. Mr. Balch entered the Foreign Service in 1914 after serving as a teacher in the Philippines. He served at St. Stephen, Yarmouth, Asuncion, Adelaide, Monterrey, Dublin and Genoa before his retirement in 1941. He had been a member of AFSA since its organization. He is survived by his son, Jackson M. Balch, 624 West Beach, Pass Christian, Mississippi.

BERGSTROM. Maxine S. Bergstrom, daughter of Ambassador John M. Steeves, died on December 7, in Rockville. Mrs. Bergstrom is survived by her husband, Dr. Roger H. Bergstrom and four sons of 14518 Manor Park Dr., Rockville, her father of Washington and her mother, Mrs. Joseph Slate of North Carolina.

CARLSON. Maggie I. Carlson, FSO-retired, died on October 20 in Washington. Mrs. Carlson entered the Foreign Service in 1947, after serving in the Women's Army Corps, and served at Copenhagen, Athens, Ankara and Stokholm before retiring in 1962. She is survived by her son, Theodore, of 13009 Elkridge Street, Beltsville, and two grandchildren.

DESEABRA. Dr. Alexandre deSeabra, retired State Department official, died on December 10, in Washington. Dr. deSeabra served as chief of the language division of the Portuguese section from 1944 to 1957. He is survived by his son, A. Jose deSeabra, State Department translator now assigned to the Paris peace talks; a daughter Marysol Scott of Washington and three grandcildren.

MANNING. Patricia Kyle Manning, wife of Allen F. Manning, FSO-retired, died on November 26 at Georgetown University Hospital. She is survived by her husband of 6009 Cairn Terrace, Bethesda, Maryland, her mother and stepfather and a sister. The family asks that contributions in memory of Mrs. Manning be made to the Frank Manning Scholarship Fund at the University of Tennessee, established as a memorial to their son, who was killed in an automobile accident in 1968.

MCCLELLAND. Milan R. McClelland, FSS, died on December 2 in Washington. Mr. McClelland joined the Department of State in 1951 and served at Karachi, Calcutta and Aden. He is survived by his wife of 2301 E Street, N.W.

ROWBERG. Andrew Ansel Rowberg, father of FSO Brynhild Rowberg, died recently in Montgomery County Hospital. He is survived by his daughter of 1255 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., his wife, Friends House, Sandy Spring, Maryland, and two brothers.

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger speaks to the AFSA luncheon guests on November 20. At left Theodore L. Eliot, Jr. and Harry Lennon of AFSA's Board.

AFSA Executive Director Honored

On November 25, 1969, at a ceremony in the Bureau of African Affairs, Assistant Secretary David D. Newsom presented AFSA Executive Director Edward P. Dobyns with the Department of State Superior Honor Award.

The award was given in recognition of Mr. Dobyns's outstanding sustained contribution to the management of the posts in Africa during five years as Executive Director of the African Bureau. The award citation stated: "The sympathetic and cooperative administrative links he forged between the Department and the field created a sense of unity which favorably affected United States Government operations in Africa."

Mr. Dobyns was granted a leave of absence from the Foreign Service last summer to fill the newly created position of Executive Director of AFSA. He will return to active duty on January 1, 1970, in order to assume the position of Chief of the Career Management and Assignments Division of the Office of Personnel.

Under Secretary of State Eliot Richardson presents the Foreign Service Cup to Norman Armour, retired Ambassador, as DACOR President George Allen looks on.

Reception for Williams's Book

At a reception at the Foreign Service Club given by the William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company on December 4, it was announced that all profits from the sale of The Honorable G. Mennen Williams's book, "Africa for the Africans," would be donated to the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund. Governor Williams immediately gave Chairman of the Board Lannon Walker a $500 check against future profits on the just published volume.

Among those attending the reception were ambassadors and staff members of African embassies, prominent public officials, Foreign Service officers and State Department personnel associated with the African countries, American Foreign Service Association Board and staff members and members of the press.

Governor Williams's book will be reviewed in an early issue of the JOURNAL.

Ambassador Harriman Lectures

W. Averell Harriman, former Ambassador to the Paris Conference on Vietnam, will deliver three major addresses at Lehigh University next month.

Ambassador Harriman will be the 1970 Blaustein Lecturer on International Relations. The four previous lecturers in the annual series have been Abba Eban of Israel, Paul Henri Spaak of Belgium, General Maxwell D. Taylor and Sir Denis Brogan of England. The books from the lectures by Sir Denis and General Taylor have been published, as will be those of Paul Spaak and Ambassador Harriman.

Ombudsman

At its November meeting the Board of the Foreign Service recommended that a grievance officer be designated for AID, State and USIA. In taking this step, the Board acted on a long-standing AFSA proposal. We have been informed as we go to press that the official announcement on this subject is about to be published.

Foreign Service Day Anedote

Best story told on Foreign Service Day was Deputy Under Secretary Macomber's anecdote about the little girl who, required to produce an autobiography as a composition exercise, submitted this: "My great-grandfather was President of the United States. My grandfather was Senator from Ohio. My father is Ambassador to Ireland. I am a Brownie." (That, of course, was a few years ago.)

Ambassador Thomas S. Estes (second from right) hears Vice Admiral Richard G. Colbert, USN, President, Naval War College, read citation commending him for his 35 years of State Department service during retirement ceremonies held at the War College last Friday afternoon. Looking on are Ambassador Estes' wife, Ruth, his daughter Jane, and Ambassador Richard H. Davis, who replaced Ambassador Estes as State Department Adviser to the war college last summer. (Navy Photo)

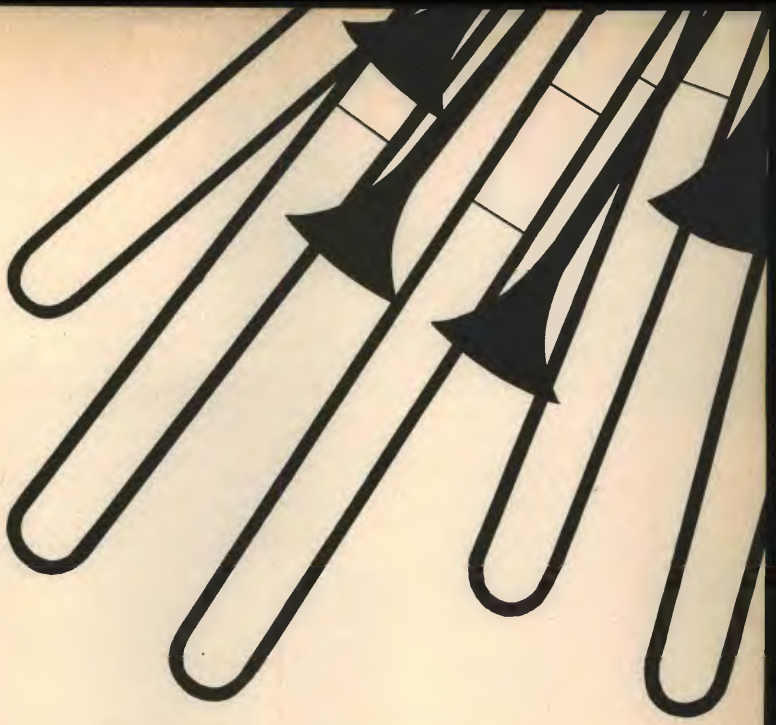
U. Alexis Johnson (center, left) Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and the Keynote Speaker at the U.S. Military Academy's 21st Annual Student Conference on U.S. Affairs held at West Point from December 3 to 6, chats with Major General S.W. Koster, Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy, and student conference participants. They are: (from left) Cadet Jack Zoeller, SCUSA Chairman, Cadet First Captain and Brigade Commander John T. Connors, Cadet Paul Campbell, SCUSA Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Paul Hensler, a SCUSA delegate from the University of Pittsburgh.

Special Committee to Consider Role in Political Appointments

At the request of the AFSA Board of Directors, Martin F. Herz, former Board member and currently Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs in Saigon, has agreed to establish a special AFSA Committee in Saigon. This Committee will investigate and make recommendations to the AFSA Board on the feasibility of establishing a permanent AFSA Committee to advise the President on the qualifications of potential political appointees to diplomatic posts. The Herz Committee is the first important AFSA committee to be established outside of Washington. Its establishment follows a suggestion made by Professor Galbraith at a recent AFSA luncheon.

"And God stepped out on space,
And He looked around and said,
'I'm lonely—
I'll make me a world'."

—*The Creation: A Negro Sermon*



God's Trombones

R. GORDON ARNESON

Our author was born and reared in North Dakota of Norwegian immigrant parents. He attended North Dakota State University and took his graduate studies on a Rockefeller Fellowship in Public Administration at the University of Minnesota and the National Institute of Public Affairs. Mr. Arneson contributed the two-part article on "The H-Bomb Decision" which appeared in the May and June issues of the JOURNAL *in 1969. Now retired from the Foreign Service, Mr. Arneson is engaged in writing, editing and lecturing.*

IN 1916, James Weldon Johnson of New York was appointed Consul at Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, thereby bringing to an even dozen the number of Negroes appointed in the United States Foreign Service in the 37 years since 1869. The earlier appointments had been almost exclusively to Haiti and Liberia; Johnson's appointment to Venezuela was doubtless influenced by his command of Spanish learned in his early teens.

James Weldon Johnson was born on June 17, 1871 in Jacksonville, Florida, of a half-white and half-Negro mother and a Negro father. Genetically speaking, he was three-quarters Negro and one-quarter white, but in the South in those days he was known as a "black nigger." For many years he had no awareness of race; indeed his awareness of religion came earlier. Of this latter he wrote in his autobiography, "Along This Way."[1]

"At fourteen I was a skeptical. By the time I reached my Freshman year at Atlanta University I had avowed myself an agnostic. . . . I read [the Bible] constantly; first to answer my doubts, then to confirm them, and, finally with an increasing realization that, all in all, the King James Version is the greatest book in the world." As for organized religion, he recalls the comment his father made after having been a preacher for several years (previously he had been the head-waiter at the St. James Hotel in Jacksonville): "My boy, do you know I was never *compelled* to associate with bad people until I joined the church?"

When James was born his mother was too ill to take care of him and he was breast-fed by a white mammy. Jacksonville was a non-Cracker town. Most of the city policemen and several members of the city council were Negroes. Many of the best stalls in the city market and all the barber-shops were owned and operated by Negroes. He observed that all the jobs exciting to a boy were done by Negroes: driving horse and mule teams, building houses, laying brick, painting, loading and un-

[1] The Viking Press, New York, 1933. Viking Compass Edition, 1968.

loading ships. White people did none of these important things. Awareness of race—painful awareness—came later, but it was this lack of reason for awareness as a youngster which saved him from those deep emotional wounds buried in the subconscious which tend under stress to rise to the surface in unmanageable ways. His dealings in later life with race prejudice in all its ugly, dehumanizing manifestations were conscious, rational, and dignified and not driven to excess by uncontrollable subterranean storms.

His school days in Jacksonville were enlivened by a number of things extracurricular—a trip to Nassau, a summer's visit to New York City, playing the piano, being a star baseball pitcher, and jobs: one as a brick carrier at $2 a week (later $3 a week driving a horse cart) and the other with the Jacksonville TIMES-UNION as a delivery boy, copy boy, and general factotum. One historical event stood out especially vividly in his memory: the day General Grant visited Jacksonville when James, as his section of the parade passed the reviewing stand, stuck out his hand and Grant shook it.

College, as they say about travel, was broadening; but it was also narrowing in the sense that race became a very real phenomenon. While no part of classroom instruction, it pervaded all else: student bull sessions, essays, orations, and debates. Besides, the college, Atlanta University, was but an oasis in a Cracker-desiccated city and countryside. Scholastically, Johnson did well with time left over to write poetry and to overcome his ineptitude as a public speaker. He learned that the secret of eloquence is not logic but rhythm, and while he learned his lesson well he later grew to distrust this mode of expression and concluded that rhetorical oratory was responsible for much of the humbug of our political system. The concept of education at Atlanta, as with other Negro colleges of the time, was service, and most of these students were destined to become underpaid teachers. After surveying the possibilities, including a scholarship in medicine at Harvard, Johnson decided upon being graduated in 1894 to become the principal at Stanton Elementary School in Jacksonville. After two years there he had succeeded in raising it to the status of a high school. He also found time to launch the DAILY AMERICAN, believed to be the first Negro daily newspaper ever published in the United States. Unfortunately, although its appearance had been widely acclaimed, it folded after eight months.

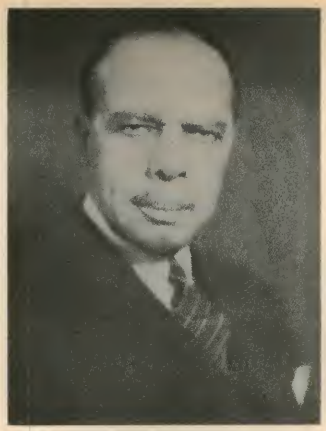
He now turned to the study of law, following the time-honored method of the Old South of reading for the bar in a lawyer's office. After some eighteen months of study he was to score another first, the first Negro in Florida to be admitted to the bar by open examination before a state court. On the day of examination excitement ran high. Most of the lawyers in Jacksonville were present in the packed courtroom. The examining panel, consisting of three lawyers appointed by the judge, bore in on the candidate relentlessly for two hours. In the end, when the time came for a vote, one of the panel members, Major W. B. Young, blurted out: "Well, I can't forget he's a nigger; and I'll be damned if I'll stay here to see him admitted," and stalked out. Thereupon, James Weldon Johnson was sworn in as a counselor, attorney-at-law, and solicitor in the courts of the State of Florida. He went into partnership with a close friend and their business flourished. However he was rather depressed when their client in their first murder case was hanged. He came to accept the matter rather stoically, since he realized that the client, being a Negro, would have been hanged in any case even if he had been defended by the redoubtable Major Young.

In 1897 James' younger brother, Rosamond (his mother had counted on a daughter), came back to Jacksonville from Boston after seven years of music study and work. Together they began writing and composing, first in Jacksonville, and two years later in New York. Their first light opera, "Toloso," was never produced but served to introduce them to the major stars and producers of comic opera and musical plays in New York. Teamed up with Bob Cole they wrote many successful songs: "Sence You Went Away," "The Girl With the Dreamy Eyes," "Under the Bamboo Tree," "The Congo Love Song," "Li'l Gal," "Oh, Didn't He Ramble." These were heady days, so much so that Johnson was reminded, somewhat ruefully, of a line from the blues: "I got de world in a bottle an' de stopper in-a ma hand." Their successes — and earnings — floated them off to Paris and to London, where they played at the Palace Theater billed as "Cole and Johnson, the Great American Musicians." But the song which gave James Weldon Johnson the greatest satisfaction was one that became known as the "Negro National Hymn" and was adopted by the NAACP. It was originally written for a chorus of five hundred school children at a concert in Jacksonville. The first stanza had these lines:

Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us.

Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us.

In mid-1904 Charles W. Anderson, prominent Republican politician and long-time friend, asked Mr. Johnson to become house chairman of a Negro Republican Club just being established on West 53rd Street. He accepted and later became its president. After Theo-



James Weldon Johnson

dore Roosevelt was elected Anderson suggested that Johnson might want to consider going into the United States Consular Service. The Service had recently been reorganized by Secretary of State Elihu Root and divorced from the spoils system. Standards had been raised, examinations were required as was knowledge of one of the principal foreign languages, salary scales were established ($2,000 entrance salary to $12,000 at the top), and consuls were assured of tenure and merited promotions. The more Johnson thought about the idea the better he liked it, particularly since it would bring a somewhat slower pace than the feverish New York life he had led and give him more time for writing. He went to Washington, took the examination, and was appointed Consul at Puerto Cabello.

On arrival at his Venezuelan post he found he was not only the United States Consul but also consul for Cuba, Panama, and in charge of consular affairs for France. The fees he received from these additional duties equalled his salary. Much of the work of the consulate was routine and was done by the vice consul and a clerk. Johnson did the commercial and political reporting with time left over for writing, horseback riding in the countryside, hunting, and frequenting the club in the evenings, where he learned most of what he was to know about Venezuela—much of it, of course, plain gossip. In addition to poems which appeared with some regularity in CENTURY MAGAZINE and THE INDEPENDENT, he began work on "The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man," judged by some critics as his best work. A fictional story of a white Negro who "passed," it was published anonymously in 1912. Not until 1927 when Alfred A. Knopf republished the work was Johnson identified as the author.

In the spring of 1909 Johnson was promoted and posted to Corinto, Nicaragua, where his duties were more diplomatic than consular. Unlike Puerto Cabello which he had found pleasant, Corinto was a straggling, tropical village, a shanty town with unpaved streets and no electricity. By some dint of effort he was able to deck out a quite comfortable Consulate in one of the more substantial houses in the town. Life was busier: there was more shipping to deal with, there was a revolution going on with many American warships coming and going, and Marines, mostly coming. From time to time he was caught in the middle between contending insurgent and government forces. The first time he was given a seven-gun salute befitting his rank as United States Consul he was greatly thrilled, but the time all eleven US warships in harbor gave him seven times eleven, seriatim, was even more memorable. He recalls that it set all the dogs in the town to barking and yelping and yowling and racing around as though they were mad, some of them taking off for the hinterland never to return. As for the revolution, once enough marines had been landed the situation was well in hand. They stayed in Nicaragua until the early 1930s.

Between flare-ups in the insurrection, Johnson took home leave to marry Grace Nail. He brought her back to Corinto with some misgivings. However, she proved quite able to cope with the shabby, disorganized environment and amply demonstrated that in the Foreign Service you get two for the price of one. Toward the end of 1912 the Johnsons returned to the States for re-assignment. He had hoped for Nice, but it turned out to be the Azores. Unfortunately the nomination had been made by President Taft who had just been defeated in the election, and the victorious Democrats were not inclined to look with favor on any actions of a lame duck Republican President. After some months' leave of absence he went to see First Assistant Secretary Wilbur J. Carr, who had examined him on entrance into the service. At Carr's suggestion, Johnson talked with the new Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, who made it clear that as a Republican appointee he was lucky to remain in the Service at all. With the unhappy prospect of being returned, in all probability, to Corinto for four or even eight years, Johnson resigned from the Service.

Johnson, now just over 40 years old, was at the watershed of his career. For a while he floundered, first toying with the idea of devoting his life to the law, then trying a comeback in the theatre in New York, and doing some more writing including editorials for THE NEW YORK AGE, the oldest of the New York Negro newspapers. In late 1916 he became Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He worked with the NAACP for fourteen years as Field Secretary, then Secretary, member of the Board of Directors, and finally as a vice-president. These were turbulent times on matters of race. Johnson was very active in organizing chapters, making speeches, and lobbying. Lynching was still prevalent, burning alive being a favored method of dispatching the victims. The NAACP launched a major campaign against this monstrous

crime. Johnson took the lead in seeking Federal legislation prohibiting lynching. With the full backing of the NAACP, Representative L. C. Dyer introduced the necessary legislation on April 11, 1921. For nearly two years Johnson tramped the corridors of the Capitol lobbying for the Anti-Lynching Bill which was passed in the House by a vote of 230 to 119 on January 25, 1922. The Senate was a different matter. The question of constitutionality loomed large in the minds of the Senators, especially Borah who was chairman of the subcommittee in charge of the bill. The Democrats filibustered the motion to take the measure up for a vote and the Republicans succumbed, leaving the onus for the bill's failure on the Southern Democrats. Efforts to push the legislation were abandoned on December 2, 1922. While Johnson was bitterly disappointed, he was typically philosophical and practical about the defeat. He concluded that the massive debate in the Congress and the agitation for the measure were without doubt prime factors in drastically reducing the numbers of lynchings in the decades to follow.

Johnson continued his writing. He published "The Book of American Negro Poetry"[2] in 1922 and "The Book of American Negro Spirituals"[3] with his brother in 1925. The same year he was awarded the Spingarn Medal for the "highest or noblest achievement by an American Negro" as "author, diplomat, and public servant." In 1929 he received a year's Julius Rosenwald Fellowship to further his writing. In 1930 he published "Black Manhattan"[4] and "Saint Peter Relates an Incident of the Resurrection Day."[5] In 1931 he accepted the Adam K. Spence Chair of Creative Literature at Fisk University, a position he held until he was killed in an automobile accident while vacationing at a place in Maine called, ironically, Dark-harbor.

Critics may disagree, but Johnson's greatest piece of writing may well be his "God's Trombones—Seven Negro Sermons in Verse."[6] The writing was a long time in process. For several years he had been nursing the idea of taking the primitive stuff of the old-time Negro sermon and, through "art-governed" expression, making it into poetry. He thought the qualities of imagery, color, abandon, sonorous diction, syncopated rhythms, and native idioms could be molded into a vehicle of universal appeal. While his format was poetry, it is fortunate that the work he eventually published in 1927 was later produced as the play, "Trumpets of the Lord," which captured the sonorities and syncopation of the idiom that could be perceived only dimly in poetic form.

The first inspiration for this work came at a Sunday night church meeting in Kansas City in late 1918 when the preacher broke away from his prepared text and let go in full voice a rambling Negro sermon that began with the creation of the world, touched the high spots of the trials and tribulations of the Hebrew children, and ended with the Judgment Day. Running the gamut of an organ voice, he intoned, moaned, pleaded, blared, crashed, and thundered. Johnson listened fascinated, primordial emotions stirring within him. Surreptitiously he made some notes which in a few weeks became the first of the poems, "The Creation," published in THE FREEMAN in 1919. Seven years elapsed before the second poem, "Go Down, Death," was written on Thanksgiving Day, 1926. Determined to write seven poems in all he took himself to Great Barrington, Massachusetts, in the dead of winter, where in two weeks in 18° below zero weather he finished the other five: "The Prodigal Son," "Noah Built the Ark," "The Crucifixion," "Let My People Go," and "The Judgment Day."

He had difficulty deciding on the title. He considered and discarded *Listen, Lord, Cloven Tongues, Tongues of Fire,* and *Trumpets of the Lord.* Then he hit upon "trombone," the ideal image—tone and timbre—to represent the old-time Negro preacher's voice. The Standard Dictionary, he found, defined "trombone" as "a powerful brass instrument of the trumpet family, the only wind instrument possessing a complete chromatic scale enharmonically true, like the human voice. . . . " And so his poems were named "God's Trombones—Seven Negro Sermons in Verse." A free verse sermon with simple, powerful, and poetic lines, it has a decided syncopation of speech, a crowding in of many syllables or a stretching out of a few to fit the meter. Dorothy Canfield said of it: "Heart-shakingly beautiful and original, with the peculiar piercing sadness and intimacy which seems to me special gifts of the Negro."

"God's Trombones" was recently adapted for the theatre by Vinette Carroll under the title of "Trumpets of the Lord." It was presented by the off-Broadway Circle in the Square at Ford's Theatre in Washington during the 1968-69 season. Audiences were highly enthusiastic and participatory; all but the most emotionally moribund joined in the singing and clapped their hands and stamped their feet in rhythm with the pronounced syncopation. Someone has remarked, "If you enjoyed it in Washington, you should have heard it in Baltimore." There most of the audience was Negro.

As he summed matters up in his autobiography, Johnson ventured that the Negro would fuse his qualities with other groups in the making of the ultimate American people and would "add a tint to America's complexion and put a perceptible permanent wave in America's hair." On a more personal plane, he remained a religious skeptic convinced that the teachings of Jesus were sufficient to steer by. With or without a cosmic plan, man's sufferings, joys, aspirations, and defeats were real enough and of great moment. Shortly after his fatal accident, Oswald Garrison Villard, who knew him well, said: "He knew prejudice, looked it square in the face—and conquered it. . . . A fine gentleman—never discouraged or without hope for a better world, with a judgment sane, calm, and detached."

James Weldon Johnson was an asset to the human race. ■

[2] Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1922.
[3] The Viking Press, New York, 1925.
[4] Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1930.
[5] The Viking Press, New York, 1930.
[6] The Viking Press, New York, 1927. Twenty-second printing, 1966.

SPECIAL NOTICE FROM YOUR AFSA BOARD

As you know, your AFSA Board (the "Young Turks") has engaged in a continuing dialogue with appropriate senior members of the administrative community in the Department of State this past year with a view toward obtaining an optimum influence on and knowledge of planned administrative procedures as they affect our members. While engaged in such liaison one day recently with the officer in charge of revision of 6 FAM, an alert board member spotted a draft copy of the Department's proposed future travel regulations, as projected to meet the challenges of the 1980s. With a combination of cajoling, wheedling, and veiled threat, Our Man was able to obtain a copy of the proposed new regulations, which we are pleased to print herewith.

BRAVE NEW WORLD TRAVEL REGULATIONS

Effective: January 1, 1984

131 Routing of Travel

131.1 Modes of Travel

131.1-1 General

All official travel by personnel of State, AID or USIA is to be by freight. Use of air freight is authorized if the total travel time by surface freight would exceed 72 hours. Travelers are to present themselves for crating at the earliest practicable time after travel is authorized, and in no case later than 24 hours before the scheduled time of departure of the carrier.

131.1-2 Allowable Travel Expenses

Authorized expenditures in connection with the shipment of travelers include the following:

a. Crating and uncrating of travelers, and cartage from the place of packing to the carrier, or from the carrier to the place of unpacking.

b. Freight charges by the carrier, on the basis of the traveler's actual net body weight up to the limits shown in sections 131.1-5 to 131.1-7.

c. Transshipment and handling charges, tonnage fees, storage en route, unavoidable demurrage, and all similar expenses incidental to direct shipment, but not import or export duties.

131.1-3 Expenses Not Allowable

a. If the traveler takes with him into the crate any items for his personal comfort and convenience, such as foodstuffs, beverages, medical supplies, clothing, blankets or cushions, and if these necessitate use of a larger crate than his entitlement as defined in section 131.1-9, the traveler shall pay out-of-pocket the amount of the resultant excess charges.

b. In no case shall any of the following items be crated along with the traveler:

(1) Alcoholic beverages.
(2) Tobacco products, matches, or any other incendiary or inflammable materials.
(3) Fragile goods, such as glassware, including spectacles.
(4) Communications equipment (it is expected that communications from within the crates will be by tapping in International Morse Code).

c. If the traveler elects to have any breathing slits or holes drilled in his crate, he shall pay out-of-pocket the costs of each drilling.

131.1-4 Net Body Weight

Net body weight of a traveler is defined as his weight when stripped of all clothing and ornamentation. Travelers should normally be weighed in the morning, before they have had breakfast; if this is not practicable, they may be weighed at any other time provided they have consumed no foodstuffs or beverages for a period of at least eight hours prior to the weighing. If the traveler's net body weight exceeds the applicable limit as determined from the tables in sections 131.1-5 to 131.1-7, he (or the head of his family) is to pay out-of-pocket the amount of the charges for his excess body weight.

131.1-5 Schedule of Net Body Weight Allowances of Males Over Age 18 (in pounds)

HEIGHT	Under 5'0"	5'0" up to 5'3"	5'3" up to 5'6"	5'6" up to 5'9"	5'9" up to 6'0"	6'0" up to 6'3"	6'3" or over
Chief of Mission Career Ambassador	140	160	180	200	220	240	260
Career Minister FSO/R/IO 1-3 FSS-1	122	137	152	167	182	197	212
FSO/R/IO 4-6 FSS 2-5	100	110	120	130	140	150	160
FSO/R/IO 7-8 FSS 6-8	90	98	106	114	122	130	138
FSS 9-19	82	88	94	100	106	112	118

131.1-6 Schedule of Net Body Weight Allowances of Females Over Age 18

This schedule is the same as in section 131.1-5, less 15 lbs. allowance for each rank/height category.

131.1-7 Schedule of Net Body Weight Allowances of Travelers Under Age 18

The net body weight allowance for each child is 5 lbs. per year of age, subject to a minimum allowance of 19 lbs. (excluding diapers) and a maximum allowance of

(*Continued on page* 41)

Consul General Edward Spencer Pratt took the right course,
got the wrong results and thereby hangs a tale.

Discoverer of Aguinaldo?

RHODA E. A. HACKLER

Mrs. Hackler is the wife of FSO-ret. Windsor G. Hackler. They served in Dhahran, Tokyo, Djakarta, Singapore, Kingston and Washington before moving to Honolulu where he is Associate Director of the Overseas Career Program at the University of Hawaii and she is finishing a degree in History which she started at the University of Singapore.

It was a Sunday morning in April in Singapore, and normally United States Consul General Edward Spencer Pratt might have enjoyed a leisurely breakfast in his rooms at Raffles Hotel, followed by a stroll over to nearby St. Andrew's Cathedral for the morning service and then on to the Singapore Club for tiffin with friends. But Sunday, April 24, 1898, was not a normal, pleasantly quiet day for Pratt. On the contrary, it was a day of activity and decision; in fact, it was a turning point in his life, although he did not know it until some time later. Instead of his usual Sunday routine, this particular morning he rose early for a meeting with General Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipino nationalist leader.

As the Consul General himself expressed it in his report to Washington, "Being aware of the great prestige of General Aguinaldo with the insurgents and that no one, either at home or abroad could exert over them the same influence and control that he could, I determined at once to see him and at his request a secret interview was accordingly arranged for the following morning, Sunday the 24th, at which besides General Aguinaldo were only present the General's trusted advisers and Mr. Bray who acted as interpreter."

General Aguinaldo spoke Spanish as well as his native Tagalog; Consul General Pratt spoke French as well as his native English. They did not have a common language. Howard Bray spoke both Spanish and English, and it was through him that the Consul General and the General exchanged views and reached decisions. They discussed at length the situation in the Philippine Islands. The Consul General pointed out the danger of independent action by the insurgent forces and the need for full cooperation between the Americans and the Filipinos. General Aguinaldo assured Pratt that he was most anxious to cooperate with the Americans and would gladly return to Hong Kong to join Commodore Dewey's fleet and sail to Manila as soon as possible. The Consul General promptly encoded the following message to Hong Kong and sent it off:

> AGUINALDO INSURGENT LEADER HERE. WILL COME HONG KONG ARRANGE WITH COMMODORE FOR GENERAL COOPERATION INSURGENTS MANILA IF DESIRED. TELEGRAPH. PRATT.

It was not a normal, pleasantly quiet Sunday for United States Consul General Rounseville Wildman in Hong Kong either. As soon as Pratt's message reached him he took it around to Commodore Dewey, Commander of the Asiatic Squadron, discussed the proposition with him and sent Pratt the following:

> TELL AGUINALDO COME AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. DEWEY

Two days later Aguinaldo and his aides boarded the P & O Steamer *Malacca* under assumed names and sailed for Hong Kong. And that might have been that for Consul General Pratt, his part in this little drama played. But it was only the beginning, for he was subsequently accused of having pledged, at the Singapore meeting, American support for Aguinaldo's dream of independence for the Philippines. The newspapers dubbed him the "Discoverer of Aguinaldo"; James H. Blount in "The American Occupation of the Philippines" blamed Filipino-American misunderstandings concerning independence on him; and State Department vindication of his proper actions in assisting Aguinaldo to return to the Philippines was never made public. Within a year Pratt was retired from the Service.

Edward Spencer Pratt was an Alabaman, the son of a wealthy Mobile banker and planter. He had been educated both in the United States and in Europe, had learned French well and was familiar with other continental languages. Somewhere he picked up a medical degree, for he worked in hospitals in Paris and London. In his mid-thirties, after serving as Alabama's Commissioner to the World's Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans, Democrat Pratt was appointed to the post of Minister Resident and Consul General in Persia by Democratic President Grover Cleveland. He stayed in Persia most happily for five years. During a cholera epidemic he put his medical knowledge to good use, while in more quiet intervals, he studied the laws and customs of the Muslim world. But in 1891, the Republican regime of President Benjamin Harrison had a replacement for the Minister to Persia and Pratt was retired. He returned to Alabama and presumably Democratic activities, for when Democrat Grover Cleveland returned to the White House Pratt immediately applied for a new diplomatic assignment. He asked for Turkey or Belgium and was offered Singapore.

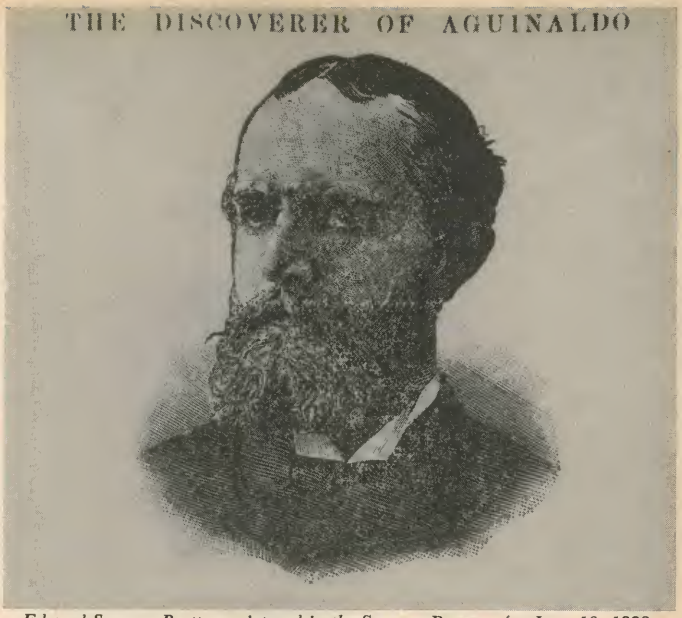
In 1893, Pratt was 42, a pleasant

appearing, robust man, possessed of a private income, which was just as well, for his salary in Singapore was $3,000 a year. He was unencumbered by a wife or family. Before leaving for the Far East he reported to the Assistant Secretary of State on his informal talks with the British Ambassador and others on the subject of Singapore, discussions which took place while they were all vacationing together in Newport, Rhode Island.

Pratt arrived in Singapore via Europe in October of 1893, and settled into the life there. He took rooms at the Hotel de l'Europe, became a member of the Committee for the Sailors' Home, and participated in celebrations at nearby Johore. Two years later he returned to the United States on leave, in the midst of the Presidential campaign. In the battle between Democrat William Jennings Bryan and Republican William McKinley, Pratt crossed party lines and supported the Republican ticket in New York. Republican McKinley was elected and Pratt was reassigned to Singapore as Consul General, but with an eye to an early transfer to Belgium or Mexico.

Upon his return to his post, he informed the Department of his estimate of the importance of Singapore along the Spanish Mail Route and advised his chiefs that he was keeping Commodore Dewey posted "on the movements of Spanish ships, temporary armament and attempts at disguise." Much of Pratt's information was ". . . confidentially furnished by reliable parties here who have long resided in, and are perfectly familiar with the existing state of things in those islands."

Who was Pratt's "reliable" informant? Among his many acquaintances in Singapore was an Englishman, Howard W. Bray. The United States was heading towards a conflict with Spain and the United States Consul in Singapore was naturally anxious to gather any available information on Spain's Far Eastern possessions. Mr. Bray had come East originally with the Indian Civil Service but had moved on to the Philippines where he had made a living as a businessman and planter for the previous seventeen years.



Edward Spencer Pratt, as pictured in the STRAITS BUDGET *for June 10, 1898.*

His sympathies were strongly pro-Filipino and anti-Spanish, and he had long been associated with the Filipino rebel leaders. In 1892 he had assisted the Filipino hero, Rizal, in planning a settlement of dissident Filipinos in North Borneo, which, however, did not materialize, and he counted himself a friend of all the Filipino nationalists. During the 1896 uprising, Bray's Philippine sugar plantation was burned by the Spaniards and he was forced to leave the islands. He settled temporarily in Singapore, and when the United States Consul General indicated an interest in Philippine affairs Bray was eager to share his knowledge and his prejudices. Pratt's "reliable" informant on Philippine matters was none other than Howard Bray, and it is reasonable to suppose that Bray's description of the Philippine political scene had a certain pro-Filipino bias.

In December of 1897, General Emilio Aguinaldo and a group of followers arrived in Hong Kong, exiled by the Spanish Government of the Philippines after an unsuccessful revolt. In March he sailed from Hong Kong, leaving behind a group of quarrelling rebels and a law suit. With two aides, Aguinaldo traveled to Saigon and then on to Singapore where he planned a short visit to the Singapore Filipino colony before going on to Europe where he hoped to enlist support for the cause of Philippine independence.

In Singapore Bray, alert to the trend of world affairs, believed that the General should not be heading for Europe but should be preparing for a return to his homeland and the unfinished insurrection, and that the best way for Aguinaldo to return to the Philippines—the only way actually, for he had accepted exile and a sizable sum of money for himself and his followers from the Spanish Government in return for his continued absence from the Islands—would be with an invading force. Bray's next step was to persuade the Americans of the value of Aguinaldo to them, and to this end he set out first to sell the American Consul General. A meeting was arranged between the two men, with Bray as sole interpreter. The Consul General spoke in English and the General in Spanish. Bray interpreted. Of this meeting Pratt reported to Washington: "The

General impressed me as a man of intelligence, ability and courage and worthy (of) the confidence that had been placed in him. I think that in arranging for his direct cooperation with the commander of our forces I have prevented possible conflict of action and facilitated the work of occupying and administering the Philippines." Pratt clearly was sold.

He cabled to the US Naval Commander, Commodore Dewey, offering him the services of General Aguinaldo. Dewey accepted the offer that same day and only two days later Aguinaldo and his two aides were aboard the *Malacca* bound for Hong Kong, Aguinaldo traveling under the name of "Bunting."

It is hard to discover what was going on in the State Department during this period. Consul General Pratt and Commodore Dewey were exchanging telegrams through Consul General Wildman in Hong Kong, but apparently these telegrams were not repeated to the Department. Pratt was keeping the Department fully informed by mail, but steamer communications were slow. For example, on April 28, 1898, Pratt informed the Department that he had met Aguinaldo, received the green light from Commodore Dewey and put Aguinaldo aboard the *Malacca* for Hong Kong. On June 17th, over six weeks later, the Department replied with a cable telling Pratt to "Avoid unauthorized negotiations with Philippine Insurgents." By that time Aguinaldo was in the Philippines and Pratt, in Singapore, was in no position to negotiate with any Filipinos. As to his previous meeting with Aguinaldo, the record is clear, and not merely according to his own account of that event.

While still in Hong Kong in May, before boarding the *U.S.S. McCulloch* for the Philippines, Aguinaldo met with the other members of the Philippine rebel junta. The minutes of that meeting refer specifically to his encounter with Pratt in Singapore but make no mention of such an important event as a promise of independence. On the contrary, the references are all to further negotiations which are to take place with Admiral Dewey or the United States Consul in Manila, and consisted largely of a discussion of the means by which the Filipinos might learn the intentions of the United States regarding the Philippines.

Meanwhile the newspapers had caught up with the story of the Filipino-American meeting in Singapore and reported it colorfully and inaccurately. On June 8, 1898, a photograph appeared in the STRAITS BUDGET, one of the first ever printed in the pages of that Singapore newspaper. It was of the United States Consul General at Singapore, and beneath the picture was a short article on Pratt, styled by the BUDGET the "Discover of Aguinaldo."

> "We print today a portrait of the Honorable Edward Spencer Pratt, US Consul-General at Singapore, formerly US Minister at Teheran, and, more recently, the discoverer of the Filipino rebel Aguinaldo, who is leading the Philippine rebels in Cavite. Aguinaldo was living quietly in Singapore, ruminating on things in general, when the alert mind of the US Consul-General said: 'Here is a Filipino to lead an insurrection.' So after much talk, and some telegraphing, Aguinaldo was shipped, under a false name, to Hong Kong; and is now leading an insurrection near Manila. What may happen later is hard to say. Meanwhile our portrait represents Mr. Spencer Pratt, with a grave and dignified air, pondering over our special telegram about Aguinaldo's success. The telegram is in his right hand held about breast high; and the reason it does not appear in the portrait is that, as we went to press, a pressure of news and advertisements required something to be cut down, and a couple of inches, or so, were cut away from Mr. Spencer Pratt's portrait."

Thereafter Pratt had to live with two allegations, both widely accepted in the United States: that he was the "discoverer" of Aguinaldo and that in the name of the United States Government he promised the Filipino leader independence or at very least had led him to expect independence in return for fighting beside the American forces against the Spaniards in the Philippines. Certainly Pratt did not discover Aguinaldo. He did bring the General to the attention of the United States Naval Commander in the Far East and he did facilitate the return to Hong Kong of the rebel leader. The press, however, presented its own version of the Pratt-Aguinaldo encounter and Pratt never lived it down.

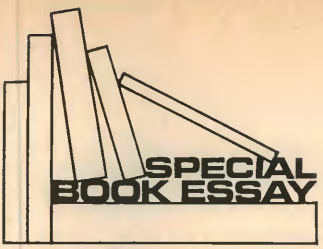
As Aguinaldo's firm intention of gaining eventual independence for the Philippines began to become apparent to the State Department and President McKinley, questions were asked by the Secretary of State regarding the interview between Pratt and Aguinaldo. (This meeting had received progressively more imaginative coverage in the newspapers of the United States as well as those of Singapore.) Consul General Wildman in Hong Kong and Consul Williams in Manila were also asked repeatedly by the Department for explanations of their contacts with General Aguinaldo, but their roles in aiding Aguinaldo to reach the American forces in Manila, for some reason, were never publicized in print. Perhaps this relative anonymity saved their careers, for publicity seems to have ruined Pratt's.

Wildman explained his and Williams's position with regard to the insurgents in a letter to the Department from Hong Kong on August 6, 1898:

> "We believed that they (the insurgents) were a necessary evil, and that if Aguinaldo was placed in command, and was acceptable to the insurgents as their leader, that Admiral Dewey or General Merritt would have some one whom they could hold responsible for any excesses. The other alternative was to allow the entire islands to be overrun by small bands bent on revenge and looting. We considered that Aguinaldo had more qualifications for leadership than any of his rivals. We made no pledges and extracted from him but two, viz. to obey unquestioningly the commander of the US forces in the Philippine Islands, and to conduct his warfare on civilized lines. He was in and out of the Consulate (in Hong Kong) for nearly a month, and I believe I have taken his measure and that I acquired some influence with him."

However, Consul Wildman may have been a bit incautious in his correspondence with Aguinaldo, for

(*Continued on page* 44)



"Public Policy-making Reexamined"

Reviewed by
MARSHALL W. WILEY

MANY Foreign Service officers, senior civil servants, and other participants in the government's policy-making processes have frequently expressed concern among themselves about the way decisions on public policy are made. Unarticulated but implicit in such expressions is their belief that there must be a better way to make such important decisions. These officials and any other citizen interested in improving the government's capability for shaping public policy will be well rewarded by a careful reading of Professor Yehezkel Dror's "Public Policy-making Reexamined," Chandler Publishing Company, 1968.

Professor Dror has read widely and thought deeply on the problems of governmental decision-making and has observed these processes firsthand in the United States, the Netherlands, and Israel. He is well informed on current developments in the behavioral and management sciences. From this thicket of theoretical speculation, he has abstracted certain techniques, concepts, and information to construct a practical program for the improvement of the policy-making process.

Although a strong believer in the necessity of improving the government's capability for rational analysis, Professor Dror is careful to give priority to value judgment as the ultimate guide for policy-making. He rejects the concept of the rational political man patterned after the rational economic man of economic theory. Professor Dror's political man displays rational as well as extra-rational patterns of behavior, and his book avoids the implication that the rational mode is superior to the extra-rational in dealing with the complexities of human affairs. Nonacademicians will be further reassured by Professor Dror's avoidance of quantification and mathematical formulas.

The thrust of Dr. Dror's argument may be summarized as follows:

Policy-making has become so important that we can no longer accept uncritically the governmental decision-making machinery which we have inherited from a technologically simpler and more leisurely past. Policy-making has never been as good as it could have been had we taken greater pains to design better systems for shaping policy, but we are now entering an era when our failure to pay more attention to our policy-making machinery may have much more serious consequences. There are many reasons for our present lack of concern but a principal reason is our inability to judge systems in terms of their policy outputs since we have great difficulty in determining which policies are "good" and which are "bad." The consequences of a particular policy extend throughout our social system and specific determinations of its "goodness" or "badness" are often beyond our analytical capabilities. It is therefore necessary to supplement our criteria for evaluating policy-making systems by examining certain secondary characteristics which correlate with "good" policy outcomes rather than by using policy outcomes per se as the exclusive criteria. These secondary characteristics include such factors as the existence of organizational capabilities for the systematic reexamination and redesign of the policy-making system, the extent to which alternative policies are systematically developed and critically examined, the existence of adequate arrangements for learning feedback, the use of modern techniques of systematic rational analysis in those areas where such techniques can make a useful contribution, and the training and development of policymakers in both rational and extra-rational techniques of policy analysis.

Professor Dror measures the United States Government's policy-making system by these criteria and finds it wanting in many important respects. He concludes that our system (and, for that matter, most other government systems) is almost totally lacking in continuing organizational capability for self-analysis and renewal. The Congress, although it rates high in extra-rational capabilities (e.g., political intuition and judgment), has very limited capabilities for systematic rational analysis or development of policy alternatives. Those who make policy (with the possible exception of the military who have established a series of "think tanks" to deal with such problems) have quite inadequate resources for the systematic review of policy alternatives employing the full range of modern analytic techniques. Most shapers of policy have limited personal knowledge of these techniques and little opportunity to acquire such knowledge. Professor Dror also rates other policy-making systems, including those of the developing countries, by the same set of criteria and identifies the strong points and weaknesses of the various types of systems.

In his longer-range recommendations, Professor Dror enters a persuasive plea for the development of a new discipline of policy sciences bearing a relationship to the social sciences similar to that which engineering bears to the physical sciences or medicine to the biological sciences. He believes that policy science centers should be located in universities and should provide training and close professional support for government personnel employed in the various governmental policy-formulating systems. He also strongly recommends the establishment of policy analysis units at key points in the policy system to serve as advisers to the policymakers.

Although these proposals may appear to many readers as a collection of Federalist Papers for 1984, with Big Brother running the world from a "think tank," Professor Dror is careful to keep his recommendations consistent with the democratic process. The only detectable ideological bias in his book is a preference for democratic systems over totalitarian ones on the reasonable grounds that totalitarian systems are too likely to find themselves hung up on ideological constraints or irrational behavior at the center of power. Although Professor Dror believes that specific policy decisions should be left to the experts, public satisfaction with the outcome of the policy process is one of his fundamental criteria for measuring a system's performance. He also demonstrates his realism by identifying political feasibility within the existing political environment as one of the criteria needed to evaluate policy outputs. Policy-making systems as such are neutral with respect to ideological content, but increasing public dissatisfaction with current policy outputs, as seems to be the case with a significant sector of American society today, can threaten existing values by increasing the demands for radical change. Professor Dror is warning us that the present inadequacies of our policy systems could have destructive consequences for our democratic values far more serious than those that would result from the adoption of his meas-

Special Book Essay

Continued

ured and sober recommendations.

Professor Dror's distinction between "rational" and "extra-rational" behavior by those who mold policy needs further clarification. Political decision-making is seldom rational in the sense that all relevant information is known and all possible alternatives systematically examined. Some degree of uncertainty is almost always present, but the policymakers usually employ rough probability calculations to deal with the uncertain elements. It is not clear whether Professor Dror is referring to the judgments required to estimate these probabilities, to the emotional factors which affect a policymaker's decisions, or to the 'hunches" which sometimes motivate decision-makers to act in ways contrary to those indicated by their attempts at rational analysis. His lack of precision in analyzing this aspect of policy-making is, no doubt, a reflection of the state of the social sciences today, although recent research in psychology points the way to an increased understanding of how men establish and maintain patterns of belief and judgment.

Unfortunately, Professor Dror's efforts to bring conceptual precision and clarity to his analysis of policy-making caused him to use unnecessarily technical terminology which may discourage nonacademicians from exploring the rich detail of his analysis. This is regrettable since his message has considerable relevance for practicing politicians and civil servants who are normally (and justifiably) repelled by the jargon of the modern social sciences. Perhaps Professor Dror will some day condense this work into a shorter and more readable volume more likely to achieve the circulation his ideas deserve. Despite this flaw, the book in its present form warrants the careful consideration of all who are actively concerned with the problem of developing government institutions that are adequate to cope with the increasingly complex problems of foreign and domestic policy.

The Foreign Service Surveyed

THIS book by a retired FSO with service as Chief of Mission in equatorial Africa joins other such general surveys of the profession, as a guide to the institutional and other intricacies of the specialized foreign affairs profession. It resembles in some ways Charles Thayer's "Diplomat" but of course is more narrowly focused on the United States Foreign Service than is Thayer's wider study of the profession. In the nature of things, it can have little new to tell the insider already at work in the field, but it can be helpful to outsiders wishing an up-to-date introduction to the subject. This, indeed, is doubtless the intention of the editors of the Praeger series in which this volume appears, The Praeger Library of US Government Departments and Agencies. As Ambassador Loy Henderson declares in a foreword to the book, it will be "a useful reference work for those students of international relations who would supplement their reading on high-level policy and organizational matters with an amiable, workaday account of the role and status of the Foreign Service."

Ambassador Blancke's book contains references to AFSA agitation and to stirrings of discontent among younger FSOs, but for the most part turns away from any very profound examination of the issues involved. The author's approach to his topic may be seen in the following observation on the Country Team Concept: "Properly run—and it almost always is—the country team can serve a very useful purpose as an advisory and planning body, as a forum for review, consultation, and consensus, and, last but not least, as a means of instilling a spirit of teamwork and cooperation in the mission as a whole." Or take this complacent conclusion about Service treatment of what is here called "the new breed of FSO":

> It is up to the Service to see to it that these young men and women—and those who come after them—get the training and guidance they need and are provided with a fitting framework in which to operate. Management, fortunately, appears to be well aware of this.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES, *by W. Wendell Blancke. Praeger $7.95.*

Report on a New Society

DOROTHY WILLNER'S "Nation-Building and Community in Israel" is a study of the role of the moshav (cooperative settlement) movement in the settlement of the land and the forging of a new society in Israel. The moshav movement has received less attention than it deserves; in addition to the important part it played in land settlement, its political development, paralleling that of the better-known kibbutz movement, formed the basis for Israel's current political party structure.

The heart of the author's study, however, is not the origins of Israeli politics, but rather the sociological problem that beset Israel as it does any new nation: how to develop a national identity and a national society. The author's thesis is that, in Israel, the normal order of priorities was reversed, perhaps because the "givens" were reversed. "[The other developing countries] are new states, constituted from old societies and struggling to develop . . . a national identity," whereas in Israel "a case can and will be made that it became a society only after it became a state." This society was to absorb immigrants from every country and phase of development. The moshav system provided an original solution to the problem of absorbing thousands of immigrants from primitive societies into the state of Israel, and forging a society which would unite these people with their compatriots of European origin. The solution, as the book amply illustrates, was by no means perfect. Both personal frictions and institutional inadequacies worked against the quick acclimatization of groups of immigrants suddenly plunged into agricultural cooperative villages usually founded so recently that none of the facilities were complete when the immigrants arrived. And the Israeli authorities would be the first to admit that the absorption of the "second Israel" into a unified Israeli society is still incomplete. But Dorothy Willner's examination of the system makes for a fascinating sociological study.

It is particularly sad that this book is written in such turgid prose, its long sentences made even more cumbersome by a tremendous overdose of jargon. The author's expertise and sensitivity to her subject deserved better expression.

—TERESITA CURRIE

NATION-BUILDING AND COMMUNITY IN ISRAEL, *by Dorothy Willner. Princeton University Press, $10.00.*

Diplomat, Scholar and Writer

AMBASSADOR CHILDS'S farewell to the Foreign Service is an interesting document. As a narrative it moves quickly and covers both his pre-Service and the 30-year Service career, from 1923 to 1953.

In the summer of 1914, he says, "on the eve of war I was in Kansas City, Missouri, selling Dr. Elliot's Five-Foot Shelf of books. After graduating from Randoph-Macon College in Virginia I entered the Harvard graduate school to study Shakespeare under George Lyman Kittredge and comparative literature under Irving Babbitt. My eyes were on the stars and my feet some distance from the ground. Then I was lifted as an autumn leaf by the wind and whisked to Europe, Asia, and Africa—because of a murder in Sarajevo."

He joined the American Ambulance Corps in France in 1915, the American Army in 1917 (serving as a cryptographer), and the American Relief Administration in the Balkans in 1919. He was employed by the Associated Press as a White House correspondent and then in Paris. In 1921 he returned to the American Relief Administration in Russia. Finally he joined the Foreign Service in 1923. It was an exciting and appropriate preparation for the Foreign Service.

From consul in Jerusalem to ambassador in Ethiopia he enjoyed a notable career, full of travel to out-of-the-way corners of the little known lands in which he served, and of memorable contacts with the leaders of those countries. In his spare time he collected books, and wrote nine. Of his collections he gave several hundred volumes to the Embassy library in Teheran. His unique collection of the works of Henry Miller he has since given to Randolph-Macon College. He is an authority on the 18th century Italian diplomat Jacques Casanova de Seingalt and on the less known but equally spicy Frenchman, Restif de la Bregonne. His own books also include one on the German military ciphers (1935) and the American Foreign Service (1948).

Childs is bitter about the refusal of the American military and State Department authorities during the preparation for the American landings in North Africa in 1942 to heed his advice in dealing with the French authorities (specifically General Auguste Nogués, French Resident General at Rabat). Had they done so, he believes, some 3,000 casualties might have been averted. He also regrets our Government's failure to heed his warning, and that of "all chiefs of mission to the Arab states," against the partiality the United States has shown to Israel, resulting in the current Middle East tension.

He does not feel optimistic about the future of the Foreign Service. "Independence of mind—and I write without any intended irony—is a quality which detracts seriously from the value of a diplomat. His not to reason why; what is essential is that, with no interposition of his own personality, he carry out blindly the instructions of his government. That is the guiding principle of the ideal officer. There are none who come closer to the ideal than Soviet diplomats. It may only be a question of time before American foreign service officers are equally self-effacing and obedient."

This is an occupational complaint that is shared by both professional and political diplomats. When it becomes unbearable a diplomat's only solution is to resign. Political diplomats can usually afford to. Professional diplomats usually try to accommodate as best they can since their whole career is at stake. The Government is not always wrong and in the case of the African landings I suspect the weight of opinion would be against Childs. As to American feelings about Israel, a diplomat's opinions are overwhelmed by political considerations which are not necessarily the right ones. Childs will find some support for his views on that question.

On the other hand according to his own account his career, both as a diplomat and as a scholar and writer, was unquestionably a success. He describes vividly his experiences among the people he met and the dramatic scenery in the mountains and deserts of the Near East. He obviously enjoyed the confidence and cordiality of many high officials, including Ibn Saud, then King of Saudi Arabia. He studied the history and the arts of the area and recorded his reactions in "The Pageant of Persia" in 1935 and in a novel, "Escape to Cairo," in 1938. All in all a full and exciting life.

—RICHARD FYFE BOYCE

FOREIGN SERVICE FAREWELL, *by J. Rives Childs. University Press of Virginia, $6.00.*

Down Under

WARD MCNALLY in his recent work "Australia: The Waking Giant," artfully explores various aspects of Australian life and character. A journalist by profession, the author treats each chapter along the lines of a feature story which significantly contributes to the book's readability. The author covers both the good and not-so-good facets of Australian life without undue praise or apology. There is, however, one flaw in the book's development: the price. At $10.00, only a true devotee of Australian lore is likely to acquire a copy.

—C. A. KENNEDY

AUSTRALIA: THE WAKING GIANT, *by Ward McNally. A. S. Barnes and Company, $10.00.*

European Futures

ALASTAIR BUCHAN and his associates of the Institute for Strategic Studies have developed six European futures, and found them all wanting.

An Evolutionary Europe, unhappily most closely akin to present reality, is a drifting Europe offering no reasonable solution to anyone. Atlanticized Europe is the nightmare of the Gaullists in which America permeates and dominates every facet of European life with resultant embitterment and hostility, and to the ultimate disadvantage of all. *Europe des Etats* is a Europe of words rather than action in which existing European institutions are deliberately de-emphasized and in which the European states stress individual efforts to develop a new European security system despite the fact that it is not within their power to bring such efforts to a useful conclusion. A Fragmented Europe is one step worse. It would result in rapid disassociation of the United States from Europe's destiny and might be a nightmare playback to European history between the two world wars.

The next model is the Monnet prescription of a Partnership Europe. Although treated in greater length than the other models it too is in the end found deficient as likely to produce a bitter association of rivals and thus defeat the purposes of its founders. Mr. Buchan's reservations stress the difficulties and are thoughtful but not altogether convincing. The sixth and final model is the Independent Federal Europe which would abandon its close connection with the United States and would be based on asserting a sense of moral and cultural superiority toward both super-powers.

In his final description of Europe's choices Mr. Buchan prefers a pragmatic and functional approach to the problem of Europe which in his words remains "a dangerous place." He opts for a flexible and open system, federalism *a la carte*. in which each problem is dealt with in its own way, in which closed and rigid institutional structures are avoided and the partici-

pants may vary depending on the specific problem to be addressed. This may be the only practical way but an American is entitled to ask whether it is enough to make Europe a less dangerous place.

—Wolf Lehmann

Europe's Futures, Europe's Choices, *edited by Alastair Buchan. Columbia University Press, for the Institute for Strategic Studies, $6.95*

Modern China

Understanding Modern China is both the title and the promise of this collection of essays on various aspects of China. The scholarly commentators on Communist China's political behavior, economic development, foreign policy and ideology, as well as on such diverse subjects as the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, the geography of China and American perceptions of China, offer intriguing insights into and authoritative interpretations of much that is enigmatic and portentous in Maoist China. These essays grew out of a March 1968 seminar: "After Mao and Chiang: Two Chinas?"

Both the informed layman and the Asian expert will find these studies helpful in their quest for knowledge of modern China. Inevitably, however, the rapid march of events in mainland China during the past two years in the aftermath of the convulsive Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has lessened the persuasiveness of some analyses and comments. The reader seeking to focus rather sharply on Communist China might not find too useful observations on the Taiwanese in Taiwan or "On Being Chinese: A Philosophical Reflection", *inter alia*, in this highly eclectic collection. On balance, this book would be a valuable, but not indispensable, addition to the Asian student's library.

—Robert W. Rinden

Understanding Modern China, *edited by Joseph M. Kitagawa. Quadrangle Books, $7.95.*

A Biography of Cairo

Those who know Egypt will find in James Aldridge's "Cairo" a warm and sentimental reunion with an old friend.

For strangers about to visit or to live in this most fascinating of cities, their path through its political and cultural past will be enlivened and enriched by the many vignettes of history which the author weaves into Cairo today, to absorb and to enjoy his "biography."

To help us see and to understand all that lies beneath the Mokattam Hills, along the banks of the Nile, and within the ever-changing islands of El Roda and El Gezira, James Aldridge selects and chooses from every period those facts and tales and legends that give life to a city's past.

The author uses recent archeological finds in Fustat, the area developed in the wake of the Arab conquest, to provide new insight into this little-known period of the city's history. The reigns of Saladin in the Middle Ages and Mohamed Ali following the Napoleonic occupation, are covered in depth as are the implications for today's Egypt of the British "presence" under Lord Cromer and during the two World Wars. To the "colonial memory," James Aldridge attributes "the fears and humiliations, the hopes and suspicions" which color Cairo's view of Europe and the United States today.

In the past, Cairo was saved from its inner brutality by "moral resilience and a ridiculous sense of humor." Today, it is a puritanical city, rebuilding and modernizing from its old center outward, its intellectual and cultural life intimately a part of the social changes of "the revolution."

The author's portrait of Cairo's trial during and since the 1967 "June War," reveals a soul which, having survived internal violence and external conquest through the centuries, lives on to meet its future destiny.

—David G. Nes

Cairo, *by James Aldridge. Little Brown and Company, $8.95.*

Forecast of Hunger

This is a forecast of worldwide famine and economic and political chaos unless bold and imaginative steps are taken now to reverse the trend that is widening the gap between rich and poor nations. Dumont uses his considerable knowledge of agriculture in socialist countries and in parts of the developing world to offer what he admits might be called a utopian solution, now that the "so-called realists . . . have failed completely." Somewhat more down-to-earth is his insistence that no amount of economic planning or agricultural development will improve the situation effectively unless birth control reduces the consequences of dropping death rates. Unfortunately, Dumont spoils much of the force of his arguments by his fascination with the "selfish monopolization" of the means to power that he sees concentrated in the hands of the West, particularly the United States. He calls on the United States to play a leading role in helping to build his utopia while denying that the United States has the moral fiber to do the job.

The chapters written by co-author Rosier deal in a much more convincing manner with the factual problems of food and population. He wisely points out that the War on Hunger and population control must both be recognized as integral components of economic development.

—David L. Gamon

The Hungry Future, *by Rene Dumont and Bernard Rosier. Praeger, $6.95.*

. . . and Another Proposed Solution

This is a folksy, anecdotal account of the author's adventures and observations as a journalist specializing in agriculture over a span of 50 years on three continents. Readable, if not profound, it brings home the point that the attitudes of the Egyptian fellah or other subsistence level peasant are not all that different from those of the Ozark sharecropper of the 1930s. The author describes what was reported at the time to be our first food riot. It took place during the depression in rural Arkansas—not in one of our cities.

The book's message seems to be (I say *seems* because I am confused) that the solution to the world's food shortage rests with giving the individual farmer the proper training, tools, encouragement and inspiration, i.e., that what counts is individual initiative rather than large-scale legislation. The message sounds a little too simple for this complicated age, but maybe we can't see the tree for the woods. Anyway, my father-in-law will love it.

—Richard B. Parker

The Fight Against Hunger, *by Charles Morrow Wilson. Funk & Wagnalls, $6.95.*

The French

If John Ardagh's book reviewed in this issue) is invaluable for those planning to come to France, François Nourissier's is fascinating reading for those who have been in France for awhile and like to contemplate the vanities and vagaries of the French spirit. Nourissier, a French novelist, observes his own people with a keen critical eye, although he gives credit where it is due. His is a cultural approach, not a political one, but since no one can understand French politics without knowing something about French history and culture, what he says is useful as well as good

reading (made more pleasurable by Adrienne Foulke's excellent translation). Nourissier's critical honesty is particularly satisfying when he illuminates such usually hidden areas as the sad tastelessness of French suburbs. A sample of Nourissier's trenchant style: "Air travel, peaceful coexistence, and the telephone have relegated the elderly diplomat to editing his memoirs and led the young breed to dream of dabbling in steel or phosphates. The repertory is the poorer for the loss of these intelligent supernumeraries. In 1938, a fifteen-year-old boy could still dream of ambassadorships; today he would not even give them a thought, for he is obsessed with the need to play a *useful* role." A good book for Francophiles and Francophobes.

—JACK PERRY

THE FRENCH, *Francois Nourissier, translated by Adrienne Foulke. Knopf, $6.95.*

. . . and Their Current Revolution

THIS is not another book on the events of May 1968. The revolution Mr. Ardagh has written about is the current revolution in the French way of life resulting from the inexorable forces of modernization. From changes in marketing to changes in the role of the family, Mr. Ardagh details the movements in the underlying economic and social fabric of France, which he believes are creating a new France.

Detailed it is, with nearly five hundred pages filled with the names and activities of the relatively unknown Frenchmen who are leading this revolt. Yet the style is easy to follow and the end result provides the reader with a clear view of the forest as well as the trees. For anyone interested in France, particularly those planning to come to France, Mr. Ardagh's book will provide invaluable insights to what is going on behind the headlines.

Mr. Ardagh begins his book by noting that it is not about politics or General de Gaulle, but rather about a society in transition. (Regrettably—for he probably would have done a first-rate job—there is no chapter on changes in the French political structure.) He ends his book by asking three questions: Will the current process of modernizing France be carried through? Will a more open and flexible society emerge including a greater sense of community spirit? Can France modernize without losing her "Frenchness"? The answers France gives to these questions are bound to have a major political, as well as socio-economic, impact during the post de Gaulle era. Those trying to forecast the answers and their possible impact on France's partners, will find many useful clues in this book.

—MAYNARD W. GLITMAN

THE NEW FRENCH REVOLUTION, *by John Ardagh. Harper & Row, $8.95.*

International Air Transport

THE ninth report published by the Brookings Institution in its Transport Research Program concerns international airlines. Financed by AID, this book may be of some help to economists interested in the author's methodology. However, the book is not of much general value or interest. Even the statistics used are so old as to be of little value for an industry which changes as fast as does this one. Most statistics are for 1960 to 1964 with a few for 1965. Since then large numbers of short and medium-range jets (DC-9, 737, 727) have been introduced and the whole industry picture has changed radically. Hopefully, AID will use more recent data when it considers aviation projects for the 70s.

—AL STOFFEL

THE INTERNATIONAL AIRLINE INDUSTRY, *by Mahlon R. Straszheim. The Brookings Institution, $7.50.*

Getting Down to Essentials

In the midst of a diplomat's concerns with complex political and military problems it is helpful to strip away the surface facts and get down to the essential questions of what policies should be followed and why. It's not an easy task. The tendency is to base policy decisions on a continuation of the previous policy, so that the past is justified and the present simplified. All too often alternatives to the current strategy become straw men which everyone involved knows will be rejected. Worse than that, some alternatives may never be considered because they are known to be unpopular with those who are to make the decision.

A recent book by Roger Fisher of the Harvard Law School does a remarkable job of getting down to the essentials of international political and politico-military strategy. Don't let the book's casual title fool you—this is a book with a serious purpose. It is definitely a book that belongs on your shelf, to be pondered and referred to frequently.

The titles of a few of the chapters suggest the relevancy of the approach: Give Them a Yesable Proposition, Making Threats is Not Enough, Ask for a Different Decision, and How It Looks to the Hard-Working Bureaucrat. Most of the book concentrates on identifying goals, selecting strategies which should attain them, and modifying those strategies as necessary. Then in the last-named chapter Mr. Fisher asks why the "hard-working bureaucrat" frequently ends up suggesting aciton based on the continuation of previous policies:

> The preliminary question confronting an officer is to decide whether or not the matter is governed by the prior decision. . . . If he decides that [it is] his work is done. Time is saved, the problem is dealt with, and he can go on to other things.

According to Mr. Fisher good bureaucrats produce inadequate decisions because 1) subordinate officers act as deputy judges, not as advocates of alternative policies, 2) "the premium placed on success tends to minimize effectiveness," and 3) undue weight is given to prior decisions.

In his final chapter Mr. Fisher says his real target is not the "hard-working bureaucrat" but the critic. He challenges the public to provide constructive criticism:

> The natural tendency of the critic is to attack actions of the past and to threaten punishment. Such a threat may be to refuse to serve in the government, to vote against them, or to organize a third party. Important as such threats may be, they may not be the best way to exert influence. The very critics of United States policy in Vietnam who argued that military threats were a poor and ineffective way to influence political leaders tried to influence the political leaders of the United States by militant threats. Just as Hanoi is most easily influenced if it is confronted with a decidable choice that is politically acceptable, so, too, the United States government is most easily influenced if they are confronted with a decidable choice that is politically acceptable.

Much of the book's analysis is drawn from the Vietnam War. Mr. Fisher obviously believes our strategy there has been influenced more by sentiment and the momentum of past policies than by cool reason, and probably many will agree. One wonders, for example, if any "yesable proposition" was ever transmitted to North Vietnam during that ephemeral and much-debated 36-hour bombing halt in early September. Fortunately the book is more broadly applicable than the Vietnam War examples suggest. The author includes in an addendum a lengthy scenario for a negotiated solution of the Arab-Israeli problem, but it suffers from an assumption that both sides can take an objective and rational view of the situation and that they really want the problem solved. This demonstrates a pitfall of the rational approach advocated in the book: how do you allow for the possible irrationality of your opponent?

Mr. Fisher has no easy answers for the "hard working bureaucrat." He implies that the officer must decide for himself when it is necessary to advocate a change in policy, how much he wants to risk in the process, and how long he will persist in his advocacy in the face of determined opposition. What this book does is to help chart a rational approach to the choice. It should be a helpful tool to anyone who takes the time to use it.

—A.M.B.

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT FOR BEGINNERS, *by Roger Fisher. Harper and Row. $5.95.*

"Manley refuses to give up on his proposal for a consular uniform."

Ideals and Politics

Young idealists seeking to translate ideals into action can learn a great deal from this study of the development of political thought on international organization in the United States from ideal to political program. Professor Kuehl perceptively notes that the failure of the League of Nations was due as much to the politicians' disregard of painstakingly developed ideas on international organization as it was to the inability of various intellectual factions to unite behind the only practical proposals with a chance of achievement.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

SEEKING WORLD ORDER: *The United States and International Organization to 1920, by Warren F. Kuehl. Vanderbilt University Press, $8.95.*

BRAVE NEW WORLD
TRAVEL REGULATIONS *from page* 31

81 lbs. Male children over 15 years of age who sport beards and/or shoulder-length hair are to be given a shave and/or haircut prior to being weighed for crating; costs of the shave and haircut are to be borne by the head of the family.

131.1-8 Bulk Shipments

Families are normally to be crated together, in one crate, unless an advantageous rate can be obtained by packing children from different families together in one crate for bulk shipment. If a traveler who is traveling as part of a family elects to be individually crated, he (or the head of the family) must pay out-of-pocket the amount of the difference between the actual charge for the crating of the entire family and the charge that would have applied if the family had been crated together in a single crate.

131.1-9 Limitations on Size of Crates

Each traveler who is traveling alone is entitled to a crate that precisely accommodates his height (measured from the floor to the top of his head), width (measured from shoulder to shoulder or from hip to hip, whichever is greater) and depth (measured from rear to front while the traveler is standing tall and inhaling deeply). A traveler may elect to be crated in any position—seated with legs straight out; seated cross-legged; kneeling; etc.—but if the cost of the crate necessary to accommodate the elected position is greater than the cost of a crate that would accommodate him while in the supine position, the traveler (or the head of the family) shall pay out-of-pocket the amount of the excess cost.

In the case of family cratings, the family is entitled to a crate that precisely accommodates the members of the family when the husband and wife are locked in a tight embrace and the children are stacked vertically upon their shoulders.

In the case of a bulk shipment of children (see section 131.1-8), the crate is to precisely accommodate them when they are stacked according to the following arrangement: first, all the children line up in a single file, in size places (i.e., in ascending or descending order of height); then, the file is to be divided in half, so that there is a "tall group" and a "small group" (if there is an odd number of children, the one in the middle should be returned to his family); then, the small group is to be placed alongside the tall group, with the smallest child in the tall group standing next to the tallest child in the small group, and the tallest child in the tall group standing next to the smallest child in the small group; then each child in the small group is to mount the shoulders of the corresponding child in the tall group. (The resultant formation tends to "average out" the height differences between the children, thus eliminating the need for triangular crates.)

131.1-10 Use of American Flag Carriers

All travel under these regulations is to be on American flag carriers, except when none is available at the point of origin of the travel, in which case the crated traveler is

to be shipped to the nearest point at which an American flag carrier is available.

If no American flag carrier provides through-service between the point of embarkation and the point of destination, the use of indirect routing is authorized in order to achieve utilization of American flag carriers for the entire trip. The indirect route shall be the shortest available between the points of embarkation and destination; use of the north and south polar routes is encouraged.

If at any point in the itinerary no American flag carrier is immediately available upon the arrival there of the crated traveler, he is to be put into storage while awaiting onward transportation on the next available American flag carrier. Storage is authorized in each such instance for a period not to exceed 30 days. If no American flag carrier arrives at the place of storage during this period up to 30 days, the traveler may apply to the Department or Agency for permission to be shipped by foreign flag carrier to the nearest point at which an American flag carrier is immediately available (see exhibit 166.3-2, "Justification Certificate for Use of a Foreign Flag Vessel").

EDWARD M. COHEN

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

from page 18

oppression, economic depression, and ideological hostility. In 1948 Belgian Statesman Paul Henri Spaak, speaking in the UN Security Council, expressed the central foreign policy motive of his time when he told the USSR representative Andre Vyshinsky, "The basis of our policy today in Europe is fear. We are afraid of you. We are afraid of your government and we are afraid of the policies which you are pursuing." Today Europeans are less afraid, even after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Such weakening of the disciplinary effect of personal and national fear, within the framework of nuclear standoff, of economic growth, of fading dogma, encourages people and nations to resist the reality of interdependence. Moreover, the attainment of traditional needs for security, for welfare, and for identity, creates new needs for challenge and commitment as likely as not to be disruptive of the status quo.

This is not to forecast an era of self-confidence within and among nations. On the contrary, bureaucrats in government, education, industry, etc., are frequently anguished and confused by revealed deficiencies and harmful effects of their policies, processes and products, by pressures on their accepted values and arrangements, and by suggestions for wider sharing of their leading roles. Such bureaucrats are the elite of modern and modernizing societies. Yet the growing complexity and compartmentalization of modern institutions may be producing among them some of the disorientations usually associated with mass production workers who neither understand the process nor identify with the product of their labors.

Press items:[6]

—*feature commentary*: "There is a coincidental de-

[6] THE NEW YORK TIMES, May 23 and 25, 1969.

cline in the moral sense of obligation among normal civilian leaders and in trained Government cadres."

—*book advertisement*: "in a hierarchy every employee tends to rise to his level of incompetence."

—*editorial*: "The American people are getting fed to the teeth with attempts to deceive them—by the military or anyone else."

—*commentary*: "The United States is deep in malaise and neither the Government nor the people feel they have the power to do anything about it. All the large West European governments suffer the same power loss."

—*commentary*: "A drastic shift of material power from the people to the Government has taken place. But this loss of power by the people has not been compensated for by a rise of useable power on the part of the Government."

Such is the stuff of self-doubt and self-criticism that informs the public discussion. On the other hand, self-doubt and self-criticism can be the beginning of wisdom, and the questioning of bureaucratic rhetoric, hypocrisy, and prejudice is not entirely unhopeful.

The bureaucratic elan and institutional momentum of European unity, Latin American regionalism, foreign aid, and many other major foreign affairs themes have flagged. The Peace Corps and Apollo programs often seem as valued for their boost to morale as for the attainment of their stated scientific purposes. "The great powers are seen as powerless to have their way with Korea, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia or Anguilla," and a "sense of powerlessness is common to presidents, dictators, generals, university officials, corporate directors, parents, teachers, and law authorities . . . Powerlessness frustrates; absolute power frustrates absolutely. Absolute frustration is a dangerous emotion to run a world with."[7]

Have we addressed ourselves adequately to this frustration and to the "psychological disequilibria" likely to plague the nations through the 1970s? How do we identify the foreign policy goals that best challenge youth, stimulate morale and attract support at home and abroad? How do we come to grips with the questioning of institutions, methods and leadership for the setting and pursuing of national and international goals? How can the foreign policy process be made to provide adequately for active, open and effective opinion interchange between the American people and the foreign affairs bureaucracy? How can we make foreign policy more anticipatory of, and responsive to, change?

Of this we can be certain: new attitudes and circumstances will intrude to complicate American foreign policy in the next decade. They already have. ■

[7] THE NEW YORK TIMES, May 1, 1969.

History Repeats Itself??

In 1869 an economy minded Congress reduced the number of Departmental Clerks from 48 to 31 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1869. A 35.4 per cent reduction!

[*above is not a direct quote*]

Source: *The Foreign Service of the United States: Origins, Developments and Formation.* Wm. Barnes and John Heath Morgan. Dept. of State, Wash., D. C., circa. 1961, page 131.

AGUINALDO

from page 34

in a letter on July 25th, he wrote the rebel leader, "There are greater prizes in the world than being the mere chief of a revolution." He then went on to advise Aguinaldo to trust in United States justice and assured him that the war was not being prosecuted for "love of conquest or the hope of gain." Coming from an American official of some importance, that is certainly a letter that would warm the heart of any aspiring Founding Father.

That Pratt ever met General Aguinaldo was unfortunate for the Consul General. He was serving in a post far from Washington where he received instructions only after long delays in transmission and was therefore forced to take independent action when time was of the essence, as it was in his encounter with Aguinaldo. The consular dispatches show that he dutifully kept the Department of State fully informed of his activities and he did his best to provide Commodore Dewey with what intelligence information was available in Singapore. The decision to use General Aguinaldo was made by Dewey in Hong Kong. Even the record of the Filipino rebel junta's meeting in Hong Kong, where no mention was made of American promises of independence, seems to exonerate Pratt of charges of unauthorized statements to the insurgents. Yet the newspapers played up the story of the "Discoverer of Aguinaldo" and a suspicion of some sort of wrongdoing lingered in the public and official mind, in spite of every effort Pratt made to vindicate himself.

On October 20, 1899, Pratt had an interview with Secretary of State Hay during which he told the Secretary that there was a very general impression that in arranging to bring Aguinaldo into direct relations with Admiral Dewey, Pratt had acted upon his own responsibility and that the Government's displeasure was evinced by his being retired from the service. Hay reportedly replied that such an impression, if it existed, was false; that Pratt had proved to be a most satisfactory representative; that in the Aguinaldo case Hay considered that Pratt had done only what he should have done under the circumstances; and that Pratt's retirement was not due to any failure on his part, nor did it convey any imputation upon his character as a gentleman or an officer of the Government. The problem, as Hay understood it, was that the Singapore post had been promised to someone else and that for political reasons the change was necessary.

But the fact remains that of the three consular officers involved in aiding Aguinaldo to reach the Philippines in May 1898, Wildman continued as Consul General in Hong Kong until his death by drowning in 1900; Williams retired briefly in 1899 but was reappointed and sent to Singapore as Consul General; but Pratt was relieved of his post on June 15, 1899 and never reappointed. ■

A NEW YEAR'S WISH

We are the heirs of beasts and dark
Who hug within our breasts the shark,
Eons old and thirsting still,
The urge to kill and kill and kill.

Ten thousand years have bled,
Soaking the human psyche red;
Ten thousand years to cleanse,
A dozen moments to make amends.

A dozen moments as time is told
Since reason's voice first whispered HOLD—
A gentle plea against the flood
Of frenzied, wanton, spurting blood.

But kill we wish and kill we feel
With bombs and guns and cars and steel,
Though reason work against the grain
Of history and savage stain.

Even the sports of yesterdays:
The Roman ring, the Cretan maze,
The blood-thick altar, manhood rites,
Temper our envy of ancient flights.

A dozen moments is little time
In which to make the awesome climb
From savagery in every cell
To sight of heaven . . . and of hell.

A dozen moments is little space,
Hardly enough to change a race,
Yet all we've had from reason's birth
To nuclear fission on the earth.

If man might have one moment more
To search his genes and probe his spore,
If we might have one moment more. . . .

John Graves

Periodical Articles (*Continued from page* 14)

"Purge in Africa" by Godfrey Morrison. THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS 13 September 1969, p.16. Tribalism is still the strongest and most divisive force in Africa, for nations to exist must have a national culture and in Africa the culture is tribal and national boundaries largely arbitrary. African politics marked and the future prospects for nation- The effects of British and French colonial attitudes on al unity assessed.

"The Longest Countdown" by Gordon A. Bennet. FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, 4 September 1969, p. 616-617. An American anti-ballistic missile system would strain relations with India, Thailand, Taiwan, and Japan, but the safeguard ABM system was given a higher priority in December 1958 after new Soviet intercontinental ballistic sites were revealed.

"Red China: Twenty Years After." NEWSWEEK, 13 October 1969, p. 48-60. Communist China, ravaged by three years of the cultural revolution, and sadly delinquent in realizing her economic goals, is identified by the "paper tiger" term she so persistently applies to the West. Her international appeal is also of little importance. This introductory assessment is followed by reports on everyday life in China, the position of Mao's thought today, and the situation and outlook in Taiwan.

"The Making of a Majority: the Senate and the ABM." by Nathan Miller. THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY, October 1969, p. 60-72. Behind-the-scenes details of the single-vote Senate approval of President Nixon's anti-ballistic missile system.

From a Very Hot Kitchen

If you have survived the shock of reading Professor Scott's article on the Service's "informal culture" ("The Department of State: Formal Organization and Informal Culture," August 1969), take heart again: his analysis is not "revealed truth" coming down to us from the heights of academia through the scholarly tones of this oracle. Since Professor Scott's thesis is that the Foreign Service rejects criticism, it may seem risky to take issue with him. To disagree with him, Scott would say, is to prove his point. Nonetheless, before we either swallow it whole and feel moved to commit collective hara-kiri or throw it in the wastepaper basket in a huff, it would be worth while to see what's wrong with it. And what's right.

I had a particularly sickening feeling while reading the article because so much of it seemed only too accurate. I was taken aback, my teeth began gnashing. But I stopped there because I suddenly realized that Scott's analysis of our supposed "subculture" ideology applies to his own ideology: "While plausible, the elements in [it] . . . are a mixture of truths, half-truths and errors."

Scott's real objection is to the Service's anti-scholarly bias. We overstress the importance of our inside information, he writes; we eschew understanding based on patterns and generalities in favor of seeing today's problems as unique. These and most of his other points are of a piece. We are not "scholarly" and we tend to disregard the contribution that academia is making to foreign policy decisions. How conformist and self-protective of us!

Are we blind, or are we simply too smart? Or is it just a difference in approach to the world, as Howard Wriggins would put it? In his article immediately preceding Scott's in the August issue, Mr. Wriggins enumerates some of the "working assumptions, career imperatives and perspectives which differentiate the ideal-type 'scholar' from the ideal-type 'decision-maker.'"

The crucial point is that the Foreign Service officer is a sceptic. He's a non-believer, by nature. The scholar on the other hand—Professor Scott, for example—starts with the assumption that the problem he is tackling *can* be solved. And when he has worked it out, he believes he has *the* answer. Then, those who do not agree with "the facts" as he has found them are wrong, if not consciously ill-willed. As a result, the scholar—again I think Professor Scott can serve as an example—goes for the jugular, some writers more politely than others. The Foreign Service officer doesn't see the world that way. And if we can sit back a moment, we will realize that we are far from alone in our opinion on the proper role of the scholar. Many (most?) of those working on day-to-day policy-making and world-building join us. Here's a quote, chosen more or less at random, which typifies the more common attitude toward scholarly advice: "Lots of [the] discontent [in Latin America] is caused by the shortcomings of the . . . bureaucracies. The theories that the technocrats learned in doctoral courses often just don't seem to be translating into reality very well . . . " (Juan Cameron in "Threatening Weather in South America," FORTUNE's October issue). If I may use a scholarly term to describe our habit of tackling problems with more than a certain disregard for scholarly advice. I would call it "experience reinforced."

Does this sceptical approach to the scholar's "truth" result in small-mindedness and stand-pat-ism? Answer that as your own experience dictates. But Professor Scott's built-in bias in favor of seeing conformism in the woodpile should be noted. His sociology follows the functionalist-conformist school which many of his fellow social scientists reject. Professor John Harsanyi defines the "conformist approach to the explanation of individual behavior" as follows: "It is based on the assumption that uniformities of individual behavior in a given society can best be understood in terms of certain commonly accepted social values, which most members of the society tend to internalize during the socialization process." "Most critics agree," Professor Harsanyi continues, that "these theories overstate the degree of consensus and social integration found in empirical societies . . . [and that they] have an unduly static and conservative bias . . . " ("Rational-Choice Models of Political Behavior vs. Functionalist and Conformist Theories" in the July issue of WORLD POLITICS). In Professor Scott's case at least, conformism is in the eye of the beholder.

My main objection to Scott's method is that it assumes behavior to be self-interested and emotional. Let's look at the very fact that the JOURNAL chose to publish this highly critical article. From the Scottian point of view, exposing the Foreign Service to this attack must be the reflection of a masochistic tendency in the Service. It must demonstrate that we revel in criticism, rather than reject it, and that we take hidden pleasure in breast-beating. Of course not. Self-gratification and self-protection are not the only human motives, in the Foreign Service or elsewhere. The setting of your purposes outside your self—let's call it altruism—has to be given its due, something which Scott's scholarly biases do not permit him to do.

Finally, I can't help but notice once again that we work in a peculiarly hot kitchen. Keeping our cool in the circumstances does *not* mean airily dismissing criticism. It does mean keeping our wits about us . . . and our wit.

RICHARD HINES

Stanford

Love It or Leave It?

I thought the aim of your September issue was to acquaint uninformed ancients as to "new" ideas of today's youth. The article "Oppression Unlimited," however, is nothing but a warmed over serving of the mouthings of Marx-Engels-Mao-Cleaver—whom the authors quote—which communists have been expounding for the past 50 years. There is not one new idea or reasoned argument in the whole sorry mess, which is shot through with the concept of class hatred. Unlike other articles in the same issue, particularly the one by Professor Lipset which at least tries to present an informed picture of the attitudes of youth today, this Marxist hate propaganda has a purely destructive aim.

The authors obviously don't want a free exchange of ideas and show themselves capable only of propounding their uninformed, biased, half-baked views which add up to a call to tear down modern society without even offering a blueprint for what is to come next. I am prepared to listen, really listen. But they have nothing new to say. If their specious claim that no one listens to them is to be honored, avowed communists can claim with equal justification that no one listens to them since we have not installed a communist government.

In the interests of mankind, I urge the authors of this masterpiece to

move to Czechoslovakia, which is in the throes of having the blessings of the system which the writers adore rapidly reintroduced. They can then explain to the Czechs how they are really happier and better off under this system, a realization that for some strange reason seems to be eluding the inhabitants of that unfortunate country. Or they might do their thing in Cuba, where Castro really needs dedicated cane-cutters. Or better still, in that marvelously progressive society of the future on mainland China, whose leader and system they so admire.

WAYNE W. FISHER

London

Taxes and Home Leave

I believe the following tax proceedings will be of interest to all Foreign Service personnel who have been on that trip known as home leave.

The proceedings arise from the contention that home leave is mandatory, pursuant to regulation and legislation, involves unusual, extra and heavy cash outlays and, of course, is not a personal vacation at all, but a way for the Government to provide a reorientation to the US way-of-life to its personnel.

In January of this year I argued the case before the US Tax Court and thereafter submitted the necessary brief and reply. The case involves deductions I made from my gross income for home leaves taken during the calendar years 1960, 1962 and 1963. Such deductions consisted of amounts spent for food, lodging, car rentals, tutoring expenses for my children and so forth. Tax savings amounted to approximately $1200.00.

The Tax Court held that, although such expenses were reasonable, they were personal and, therefore, not deductible. It based its decision mainly on the case of Rudolph vs. the US, Certiorari denied. (Rudolph received, as a reward for selling a lot of insurance, a trip to New York with his wife during which time he attended a Company meeting. He tried to deduct the expenses.) As I believe that case not even remotely similar to that of home leave, I have decided to appeal through the Circuit Courts to the Supreme Court if necessary. For this purpose I have retained a tax attorney and the case will be heard before the Ninth Circuit in San Francisco this year.

If successful, the case should be of future as well as immediate financial benefit to persons who have been on home leave since, of course, past returns can be amended and a refund collected.

I and my attorney would appreciate other views and opinions. They can be sent to me at 7210 North Oleander Vista, Tucson, Arizona 85704.

BRUCE C. STRATTON

Tucson

Orchids for Two

CONGRATULATIONS to the JOURNAL and to author Sigmund Cohen Jr. for bringing us in "A Case for Dialogue" one of the most perceptive analyses of USIA seen in the public prints for a long time. His comment on genuine communication, the relevance of communication theory, the value of a franker, less manipulative approach, and the need for honest dialogue—this is all of fundamental value for USIA activity.

ROBERT STEARNS

Chevy Chase

But We Did Help!

IN regards to the recent premium increase for the health benefits program, I would like to recommend that all Foreign Service employees read "Opportunity to Reduce the Federal Government's Cost of Medical Benefits Furnished Foreign Service Employees Overseas" which is available from the General Accounting Office. This study resulted in an annual pay cut of from $75 to $200 for thousands of Foreign Service employees. The reason is clear why this happened—the individual employee was the weakest party effected by the "cost reduction." The GAO, State Department, Civil Service Commission, Budget Bureau, and American Foreign Service Protective Association all refused to make changes which would have allowed the overseas employee medical benefits as Congress intended in the Foreign Service Act. In the final analysis, the employee bore the cost of the "cost reduction" while the others mentioned lost nothing.

Employee organizations are formed to give the individual employee bargaining power vis-a-vis his employer. Unfortunately, the Foreign Service employees, through their own laziness, have no effective organization to represent them before management. The AFSA which purports to represent us, in fact does little more than publish a magazine and run a club in Washington. I guess this will continue to be the case until the members begin demanding that the organization take on some of the nitty-gritty problems of the Foreign Service employee.

DONALD A. GUERRIERO

San Francisco

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The* AFSA NEWS *for December published a report from the Board of Directors which described AFSA's role in bringing about a substantial reduction in the earlier announced major increase in the Foreign Service Benefit Plan insurance rates. This was but one of a number of bread and butter issues in which AFSA involved itself on behalf of its members during the past year.*

Life and Love in the Foreign Service *by S. I. Nadler*

"No matter how informal the occasion, we ambassadors always try to dress for it."

HOW WE DID OUR THING

from page 22

simple to imagine what would happen if a young lawyer on a team of advocates in a courtroom adversay proceeding were to approach the judge with a troubled countenance and confess that after long study he had decided that the client he had been assigned to defend is probably guilty, and he must therefore advise the judge so to find. The latter example is a close parallel to the case of the Foreign Service officer who still hasn't learned the difference between the formal image of the system and its actual functioning and who, from a post abroad or an office in the Department, puts on paper his opinion that his assigned client in the form of a country or program is not more worthy than any possible competitor of the full attention of the President and unlimited allocations of US resources as against all possible alternative uses. In neither case will the judge or the deciding officer in the foreign policy decision-making mechanism be favorably impressed with the honesty or integrity or wisdom of the advocate who steps out of his role. The only gratitude he may feel is that the case now becomes easier to decide, since the other team or teams of advocates will point out the fact that the first case is so bad even its own defenders cannot stomach it. And nobody but nobody, in a legal firm or in the State Department, will ever want to work with the offending advocate again.

An understanding of the real nature of the system is obviously widespread in the Department and in other foreign affairs agencies; after all, the system works and works fairly well. But the same people who understand it pretend not to understand it, and pretend it is something it is not. One of the results is a diffuse dissatisfaction, a sour moral taste, which has been endemic in the Service since 1953 at least. Another result is a recurrent breast-beating by Foreign Service officers over what appears to be the clumsiness and lack of discrimination in United States foreign policy, the spreading out of effort all over the globe and the continuation of massive overseas operational programs which seem to have a strange, zombie-like immortality long after they have become bad jokes in terms of advancing the national interest. As anthropologists know, the discarding of a formal image is a difficult and traumatic process for any social group, and the immediate result is often a period of confusion and demoralization. But the end result—an approximation to identity between the formal image and the actual shape and process of the group—is an adjustment to reality, and is usually worth the pain and discomfort over the long run.

The problem of how such a system ever "innovates" at all, and the nature of its "innovation," along with the problem of how a system based on cumbersome advocacies functions in a quick crisis, are subjects in themselves, to be examined separately. ■

TRAVEL-PAK

Your Best Foreign Insurance Buy

A modern package policy tailor-made for U. S. Government employees overseas which insures against the following:

"ALL RISK" PERSONAL EFFECTS INSURANCE

- Breakage
- Shipping losses (marine, air, rail, etc.)
- General average and salvage contributions
- War risks (while in transit)
- Marring, denting, chipping and scratching
- Theft
- Pilferage
- Vandalism
- Disappearance
- Fire
- Lightning
- Windstorm
- Hurricane
- Typhoon
- Explosion
- Flood
- Earthquake

& COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL PERSONAL LIABILITY INSURANCE

- Bodily injury liability
- Property damage liability
- Employer's liability (servants, etc.)
- Tenants' liability
- Sports liability
- Fire legal liability (liability to landlords)
- Pets' liability

Check these advantages:

① **COMPREHENSIVE COVERAGE.** Broad "All Risk" Personal effects coverage . . . with a $50.00 deductible and the insurance to value requirement assures you of the maximum benefit.

SPECIAL RATES FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, WORLDWIDE

(G) TOTAL VALUE PERSONAL EFFECTS	Annual Travel-Pak Premium
$ 2,500	$ 43.00
$ 2,700	$ 45.80
$ 2,900	$ 48.60
$ 3,100	$ 51.40
$ 3,300	$ 54.20
$ 3,500	$ 57.00
$ 3,700	$ 59.80
$ 3,900	$ 62.60
$ 4,100	$ 65.40
$ 4,300	$ 68.20
$ 4,500	$ 71.00
$ 4,700	$ 73.80
$ 4,900	$ 76.60
$ 5,100	$ 79.40
$ 5,300	$ 82.20
$ 5,500	$ 85.00
$ 5,700	$ 87.80
$ 5,900	$ 90.60
$ 6,100	$ 93.40
$ 6,300	$ 96.20
$ 6,500	$ 99.00
$ 6,700	$101.80
$ 6,900	$104.60
$ 7,100	$107.40
$ 7,300	$110.20
$ 7,500	$113.00
$ 7,700	$115.80
$ 7,900	$118.60
$ 8,100	$121.40
$ 8,300	$124.20
$ 8,500	$127.00
$ 8,700	$129.80
$ 8,900	$132.60
$ 9,100	$135.40
$ 9,300	$138.20
$ 9,500	$141.00
$ 9,700	$143.80
$ 9,900	$146.60
$10,000	$148.00
Each additional $100 value, add $1.40.	

IF YOUR TOTALS FALL BETWEEN AMOUNTS IN TABLES PLEASE USE NEXT HIGHER AMOUNT

(F) TOTAL VALUE JEWELRY AND/ OR FURS	Annual Premium
$ 300	Incl.
$ 500	$ 1.00
$ 700	$ 2.00
$ 900	$ 3.00
$1,100	$ 4.00
$1,300	$ 5.00
$1,500	$ 6.00
$1,700	$ 7.00
$1,900	$ 8.00
$2,100	$ 9.00
$2,300	$10.00
$2,500	$11.00
$2,700	$12.00
$2,900	$13.00
$3,100	$14.00
$3,300	$15.00
$3,500	$16.00
$3,700	$17.00
$3,900	$18.00
$4,100	$19.00
$4,300	$20.00
$4,500	$21.00
$4,700	$22.00
$4,900	$23.00
$5,000	$23.50
Each additional $100 value, add 50¢	

(I) INCREASED AMOUNTS OF LIABILITY	
$ 50,000	$5.00
$ 75,000	$6.50
$100,000	$7.50

The only property exclusions are losses of or from moth and vermin, gradual deterioration, cash, currency, bank notes, and war risks. . . . Plus a special international comprehensive personal liability insurance (excluding automobile liability) from $25,000. to $100,000. . . . all in one convenient package.

② **SAVINGS.** Special rates for those in Government Service plus the economies of the package insurance concept make TRAVEL-PAK your best foreign insurance buy. COMPARE! Annual rate on personal effects is 1.4%. Premium discounts reduce the effective rate to 1.225% for two-year policies and 1.167% for three-year policies. . . . Renewal premium credits for years in which there are no marine shipments produces still greater savings. Your maximum discount from the standard premium rate can be as much as 39%!

③ **ALLOWANCE FOR YOUR PRESENT INSURANCE.** There is no need for you to wait for your present insurance to expire to apply for this broader coverage. We'll give you a premium credit for any personal effects insurance you already have.

④ **CONFIDENCE.** Your policy will be underwritten by **Lloyd's London** Underwriters—world renowned for security.

⑤ **BREAKAGE INCLUDED.** Your valuable articles are insured against breakage in transit provided they have been professionally packed.

⑥ **WORLD-WIDE CLAIMS SERVICE.** We offer the promptest possible payment of claims, for TRAVEL-PAK operates through the world's largest personal insurance claims network with claims contact points in over 200 cities throughout the world . . . including Eastern Europe.

⑦ **CONVENIENCE.** TRAVEL-PAK is just one easy-to-understand policy that covers your property and liability needs. You deal with just one experienced firm.

Ⓝ **NON-CANCELLABLE PROTECTION.** *The Underwriters cannot cancel your coverage during the normal term of the policy except in the case of fraudulent declaration or claim or for non-payment of premium.*

We also have excellent facilities for your Life, Accident, Health, Home, Auto, and Marine insurance requirements—at home or abroad.

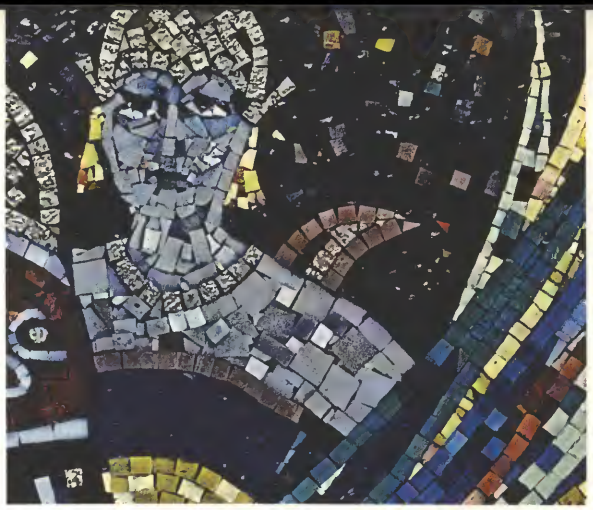
Use application opposite

or call or write:

James W. Barrett Co., Inc.
1140 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

202/296-6440

Simply marvelous people



Everybody knows that Foreign Service people are unusually perceptive, literate, multi-talented, amusing and well-informed.

In the pages of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL all these admirable qualities show up monthly—in colorful covers painted by Foreign Service personnel, and in a wide range of articles brimming with vital information, authoritative analysis, sometimes controversial viewpoints, fascinating historical sidelights, and a generous sprinkling of humor.

It's the professional journal of the American Foreign Service Association. Members may send gift subscriptions to friends and relatives at the special low rate of $5.00 a year.

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037

Please enter a JOURNAL subscription for one year, $6.00, to be sent to:

Name .....
Street .....
City and State ..... Zip .....

Please enter a GIFT subscription for one year, $5.00, to be sent to:

Name .....
Street .....
City and State ..... Zip .....

DONOR (must be AFSA member) .....
Street .....
City and State ..... Zip .....