



Foreign Service Journal

MARCH 1968 / 60 CENTS



EVERY 18 SECONDS

**someone is injured
in a motor-vehicle
accident.**

**The annual toll,
according to most
recent statistics:**

**49,000 killed
1,800,000 disabled
\$8.5 billion lost**

EVERY 15 SECONDS

**someone is injured
in an "on-the-job"
accident.**

**The annual toll,
according to most
recent statistics:**

**14,100 killed
2,100,000 disabled
\$6 billion lost**

EVERY 8 SECONDS

**someone is injured
in an accident
in the home.**

**The annual toll,
according to most
recent statistics:**

**28,500 killed
4,300,000 disabled
\$1.3 billion lost**

EVERY 3 SECONDS

**someone is injured
in an accident
of some kind.**

**The annual toll,
according to most
recent statistics:**

**107,000 killed
10,600,000 disabled
\$16.9 billion lost**

Statistics from the National Safety Council and Health Insurance Review.

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For subscriptions 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.

© American Foreign Service Association, 1968. The Foreign Service Journal is published monthly, by the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C. Printed by Monumental Printing Co., Baltimore.

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Marriages

ABELL-COON. Jane S. Abell, FSO, was married to FSO Carleton S. Coon, Jr., on January 2, in Durham, New Hampshire. Mr. Coon is assigned to the India desk.

McCAFFRAY-GREEN. Katherine Shannon McCaffray was married to Edward Crocker Green on September 29, in Washington. Mr. Green is the son of Ambassador and Mrs. Marshall Green and the grandson of Ambassador-retired and Mrs. Edward Savage Crocker.

Births

CUTTER. A son, Kai Kirsten, born to Mr. and Mrs. Curtis Cutter, on January 30, in Washington.

TAYLOR. A daughter, Courtney Dawn, born to Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Donald Taylor, on January 4, in Canberra.

Deaths

ABRAMSON. Frederick J. Abramson, AID provincial representative, was killed by the Viet Cong, on January 6. Mr. Abramson joined AID in 1966 and had served in Vietnam for 18 months. He is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. John H. Abramson and two brothers, at 4964 116th Pl., S.E., Bellevue, Wash.

CANTY. George Romuald Canty, FSO-retired, died on February 3, in New York. Mr. Canty joined the Foreign Service in 1926 and served at Paris, Rome, Berlin, Prague, Warsaw, Brussels, The Hague, Amsterdam, Buenos Aires and Bern, before retirement in 1950. He is survived by his wife of 570 Park Avenue, New York, a son and two grandsons. The family requests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the Educational and Welfare Foundation of DACOR.

CORRIGAN. Dr. Francis Patrick Corrigan, first Ambassador to Venezuela, died on January 21, in Trumbull, Connecticut. Dr. Corrigan served as director of surgery at Alexis Hospital, Cleveland, for ten years before his appointment as Minister to El Salvador in 1934. In 1936 he was appointed Minister to Panama and in 1939 Ambassador to Venezuela, where he served until 1947. Dr. Corrigan then served at the United Nations as political adviser on Latin American affairs until he retired in 1951. He is survived by three sons, Robert F., Political Adviser, USCINCO, Canal Zone, Edward, Cleveland, Kevin, New York and a daughter, Patricia Pappano of Cleveland.

DEGOLIA. Darwin Jack DeGolia, FSO-retired, died on January 12, in Washington. Mr. DeGolia joined the Department in 1940 and served on the Economic Defense Board and in the Office of African Affairs before being commissioned a Foreign Service officer in 1955. He served at San Salvador

until 1958 when he was transferred to the Commerce Department. Mr. DeGolia is survived by his wife of 8000 Riverside Dr., Cabin John, Maryland.

FROST. Wesley Frost, Ambassador retired, died on January 8, in Winter Park. Ambassador Frost joined the State Department in 1909 and was appointed a Foreign Service officer in 1915. He served at Charlottetown, Cork, Marseille, Rio de Janeiro, and Santiago, before his appointment as Ambassador to Paraguay in 1941. He retired in 1944. Ambassador Frost is survived by three daughters, Mrs. Rankin Johnson, Larchmont, New York, Mrs. Phyllis Schluckebier, 8 Smallwood Dr., Pittsford, New York and Mrs. S. J. Craig, San Diego, California.

KRAMER. Abe Kramer, FSO, died on January 10 at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Mr. Kramer entered the Foreign Service in 1949 and served at Frankfurt, Trieste, Sydney, Djakarta, Mexico City, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and as counsel at Guadalajara. He is survived by his mother, Mrs. J. C. Kramer, Apt. 102, 2300 North Point St., San Francisco, Calif., his wife who may be reached at the above address and son, David M.

MACLEAN. Henry Coit MacLean, FSO-retired, died on January 11, in New York. Mr. MacLean entered the Foreign Service in 1919 and served at Rome, Paris, Santiago, San Jose and as consul general at Rome and Milan before his retirement in 1946. He also served as delegate to many international congresses and councils. He is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Carlos Montoya, 345 West 58th Street, New York, and two grandsons.

MONTICONE. William John Monticone, FSO-retired, died on December 26, in Munich. Mr. Monticone entered the Foreign Service in 1949 and served at Frankfurt, Bonn, Bangkok, Brussels, Nice, Seoul and Madrid before his retirement in 1966. He is survived by his wife, who can be reached in care of Radio Free Europe, 1 Englischer Garten, VIII Munich 22, Germany.

NEWELL. Hugo V. Newell, FSO-retired, died on January 9, at Prince George's Hospital. Mr. Newell entered the Foreign Service in 1930 and served at Tampico, Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Asuncion, Naples, Vienna, Manila, Saigon, Athens, Beirut, Amman, Stockholm and Montevideo before retirement in 1962.

TAYLOR. Emma M. H. Taylor, wife of Clifford C. Taylor, FSO-retired, died on January 8, in Washington. Mrs. Taylor accompanied her husband to posts at Pretoria, London, Ottawa, Warsaw and New Delhi before his retirement in 1955. She is survived by her husband, 4000 Cathedral Ave., N. W., Washington, three sisters, a son, Clifford C., Jr., and three grandsons.

WALSH. Rutherford T. Walsh, FSO, died on February 2, in Washington. Mr. Walsh, who was on the staff of the Consulate at Mukden during the long siege by the Chinese communists, joined the Foreign Service in 1950, serving at Paris, Damascus and Rome. He is survived by his wife, of 3127 51st Place, N.W., Washington.

WANAMAKER. Sophia Wanamaker, wife of FSO Temple Wanamaker, died on January 16, in the Bahamas. Mrs. Wanamaker, granddaughter of Sergei Rachmaninoff, ran her own real estate firm in Washington for many years. She accompanied her husband to posts at Tel Aviv, Nassau, Cordoba and San Jose, where Mr. Wanamaker is information officer at the Embassy.

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PPBS and Foreign Affairs

The February issue of the JOURNAL took up one of the most complicated problems of modern government—budgetary planning. In this issue we pursue the subject further: testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations, whose chairman is Senator Henry M. Jackson, Dr. Thomas C. Schelling probes the meaning of the Planning—Programing—Budgeting system (PPBS) in relation to foreign affairs.

"We requested Dr. Schelling," said Senator Jackson, "to prepare a statement concerning the main points on PPBS in relation to foreign affairs, which he thought we should consider and reflect upon in the course of our inquiry, and he has responded with this thoughtful contribution."

Dr. Schelling is Professor of Economics and a member of the faculty of Public Administration at Harvard University. A student of foreign policy in the nuclear age and author of "Arms and Influence" (1966), he serves as consultant to the Departments of State and Defense and to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Dr. Schelling's statement:

I RESPOND with diffidence, as anyone must, to your invitation to comment on PPBS in relation to foreign affairs. Foreign affairs is a complicated and disorderly business, full of surprises, demanding hard choices that must often be based on judgment rather than analysis, involving relations with more than a hundred countries diverse in their traditions and political institutions—all taking place in a world that changes so rapidly that memory and experience are quickly out of date. Coordination, integration, and rational management are surely desirable; but whether it is humanly possible to meet anything more than the barest minimum standards is a question to which an optimistic answer can be based only on faith.

PPBS as a Tool of Evaluation

Furthermore, PPBS is a method or procedure whose worth depends on the skill and wisdom of the people who use it. Identifying coherent objectives, relating activities to objectives, identifying costs with activities, comparing alternatives, and weighing achievements against costs, are bound to be unimpeachable activities if properly done. But human ingenuity is so great that hidden assumptions can be introduced into any analysis, benefit of the doubt can be prejudicially awarded, quantitative data can be subtly made prominent to the detriment of important qualitative considerations, and even the objectives themselves can be gathered into the wrong packages. The success of PPBS in the Department of Defense over the past half-dozen years—and I think there can be no

doubt that the system has been a great success—may be due as much to the quality of the people engaged, and their confidence in each other, as to the logic of the system.

I should like to emphasize something that is implicit in the testimony you heard from both Charles Schultze, Director of the Budget, and Alain Enthoven, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Systems Analysis), but that they perhaps made too little explicit. PPBS, backed up by a competent analytical staff, can hardly fail to be helpful to a decision-maker who insists on making his own decisions and on understanding how he makes them; it can be a seductive comfort, and in the end an embarrassment, to a lazy executive who wants his decisions to come out of a process in which his own intellect does not participate. PPBS can be a splendid tool to help top management make decisions; but there has to be a top management that wants to make decisions.

Let me use an analogy. A court-room adversary proceeding has been evolved as a comparatively good way to provide the judge in the dispute with the arguments and evidence on which to base a decision; but the crucial element in the proceedings is the judge himself. Systems analysis and other modern techniques of evaluation require a consumer, some responsible person or body that wants an orderly technique for bringing judgment to bear on a decision. PPBS works best for an aggressive master; and where there is no master, or where the master wants the machinery to produce his decisions without his own participation, the value of PPBS is likely to be modest and, depending on the people, may even be negative.

A third point I would emphasize is that PPBS works best, and historically has been mainly applied, in decisions that are largely budgetary. Budgetary choices are typically choices among good things, some of which are better than others, when there are limits on what things or how much of them one can have. The questions are not, "What is good?" but, "Which is better?" not whether more is better than less, but whether it is enough better to be acquired at the expense of something else. A budgetary proposal never arises in the first place unless someone thinks it has merit. A bad budgetary judgment is usually—not always, but usually—bad in proportion to the money that is wasted; there are probably few things that the military services have proposed for purchase that would not have been worth having if they were free of charge.

Outside the budget, big mistakes are cheaper.

It is noteworthy that your committee, in questioning Secretary Enthoven about the sufficiency of bombs for bombing missions in Vietnam, did not ask what PPBS would say about a bombing truce, or the bombing of targets in Cambodia. These are not decisions for which money or economic resources are the main considerations. Having more bombs than necessary is bad only because they cost money; using bombs, or failing to use them, can be bad irrespective of what the bombs cost.

In foreign affairs, more of the hard decisions are of this nonbudgetary sort. That is, bad decisions are not merely wasteful of money; and good decisions do not merely promote efficiency. Even in defense there are plenty of decisions that are not mainly budgetary; the defense budget, though, is so big that the scope for good budgetary practice is ample, and no one can deny the significance of PPBS if it "merely" helps to spend 50 or 75 billion dollars per year more sensibly.

In foreign affairs, quite broadly defined, annual expenditure is about a tenth of that. The Director of the Budget cited a figure of 5.6 billion dollars to your committee, exclusive of expenditures on military forces and intelligence. No one will claim, I am sure, that decisions made in the field of foreign affairs are only one-tenth as important as those made in the field of military affairs; and indeed a good many of the non-procurement decisions in the field of military affairs can

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be construed as a specialized part of foreign affairs.

I shall not question the worth of being more efficient in the use of five billion dollars, even though the amount seems small compared with the defense budget. Furthermore, those of us who think that foreign affairs sometimes receives stingy treatment in Congressional appropriations, compared with defense procurement, must be especially concerned that scarce resources not be wasted. Nevertheless, few among us—and I suspect I can include most of your subcommittee here—when we think about the management of foreign affairs, have an overriding concern with how the 5.6 billion dollars gets spent. Money is not the primary consideration in nuclear proliferation, recognition of the Greek military regime, or new commitments to Thailand. Your committee's interest in the Skybolt affair indicates, furthermore, your concern that PPBS, being focused on costs and other "tangibles," may even divert attention from those elements of a decision, sometimes dominant elements, that cannot be translated straightforwardly into budgetary terms.

There is consequently genuine concern that PPBS and other techniques of management that are essentially budgetary or quantitative may be not only of less positive value when applied to foreign affairs but even, through their tendency to distort criteria and to elevate particular kinds of analytical competence, to be of positive harm. A rather striking manifestation of this concern is the extreme reluctance with which any among us, including perhaps your committee and the Director of the Budget, approach the question of whether the Central Intelligence Agency is part of "foreign affairs" and ought to be subject not only to similar program planning but to the same process of planning, programing, and budgeting.

I believe the spirit of PPBS, even some of its most familiar techniques, is as much needed in handling non-quantitative and non-budgetary "costs" as in the more traditional budgeting; the "costs" of, say, meeting certain objectives in Jordan or India may be the sacrifice of certain objectives in Egypt, Algeria, Israel or Pakistan, and the disciplined judgment that PPBS demands may prove an advantage. The estimates will have a higher component of judgment in them, a lesser component of organized data; at the same time, the temptation to hope, or to pretend, that the "system" gives answers, instead of merely providing the framework for disciplined judgment and confrontation, will be correspondingly smaller.

PPBS As a Means of Control

My fourth general observation is that any discussion of PPBS is unrealistic unless it is acknowledged that budgetary processes are a means of control, as well as a means of evaluation. Secretary McNamara surely did not use PPBS and other techniques of financial management merely to cut waste and to improve efficiency or to save money. He took advantage of his central role in the defense-budgeting process to exercise what he believed to be his authority over military policy. Some people have more instinct than others, or better training than others, for using the purse strings as a technique of management and a source of authority; but almost anyone concerned with administration sooner or later discovers that control of budgetary requests and disbursements is a powerful source of more general control. (This is true of universities as well as government agencies.) Anything that makes budgeting more effective will add to the authority of those involved in the budgeting. Budgetary procedures provide invaluable opportunities for holding hearings, demanding justifications, spot-checking the quality of planning, identifying objectives, and even enhancing competition among lethargic subgroups. Furthermore, the budgetary process being geared to an annual cycle, it provides a regular and systematic way of repeatedly examining into these subjects.

My own experience was quite vivid. In 1951 Congress



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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, March, 1968

passed the Mutual Security Act. All aid funds were appropriated to the President, who could delegate authority to the Director for Mutual Security. Appropriations for all aid programs were first authorized and then appropriated in a single Act, the titles of which differentiated by region, not by agency or program. Both in going up to the Hill, through the Budget Bureau and the President, and in getting apportionments of appropriated funds, the several operating agencies were subject to coordination by the Director for Mutual Security. An extraordinary degree of centralized coordination occurred. It was accomplished by a small staff working closely with the Bureau of the Budget. The extent of coordination was undoubtedly more satisfying to the coordinators than to the coordinated; but there can be no question that coordination occurred, and that it occurred precisely because the Director for Mutual Security was put directly at the center of the budgetary process.

This is important. It means that in talking about enhancing the budgetary effectiveness of the Secretary of State or his Office, we are talking about enhancing much more than that. A real test of whether an aid program, an information service, an agricultural program, an intelligence activity or a peace corps is subordinated to the executive authority of the Secretary of State is whether, and how aggressively, he exercises authority over their budgets. (His authority over their personnel ceilings would be a second such test.) I have no doubt that the coordinating role of the State Department in respect of foreign aid would have been greatly enhanced, perhaps permanently so, had the Mutual Security Act of 1951 given budgetary authority to the Secretary rather than to a Director for Mutual Security. (And I have little doubt that the Congress knew exactly what it was doing.)

The Question of a Foreign Affairs Budget

My fifth and final observation about PPBS and foreign affairs—and the one most directly related to whether the experience in Defense could be translated into the State Department—is that the budget does not yet exist to which PPBS might be applied in the field of foreign affairs. When Secretary McNamara assumed office, he was at least fifteen years ahead of where the Secretary of State is now in having a recognized budget. There is a "Defense Budget"; there is not a "Foreign Affairs Budget." Both legally and traditionally the defense budget is fairly clearly defined; around the edges there are the Atomic Energy Commission, some space activities, perhaps the Maritime Commission, that one may sometimes wish to lump into a comprehensive "defense total," and over which the Secretary of Defense does not exercise direct budgetary authority. But he has always had his 50 billion dollars or more that were unmistakably his responsibility; and money spent by the uniformed military services evidently came under his authority. The Secretary of Defense makes an annual comprehensive presentation of his budget, typically in the context of a broad evaluation of the military threat to the United States; it is a "State of the Union" insofar as national security is concerned. The committees in Congress that deal with the defense budget have no doubt that they are dealing with national defense and no doubt about what budget it is that they are considering.

Not so the Secretary of State, whose own budget of about a third of a billion dollars a year corresponds, to take a very crude analogy, to the budget that the Secretary of Defense might present for the operation of the Pentagon building and the people who work in it. The 5.6 billion dollars cited by the Director of the Budget is neither a "State Department

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Budget" nor a "Foreign Affairs Budget." It is a composite figure that makes a lot of sense to the Director of the Budget but has no official status and corresponds to no appropriations procedure. I have no doubt that his composite is a reasonable one; but if I were to present you my own figure I'm sure that it would be different, because there is no official definition that keeps me from adding, on the basis of judgment, a few things that his figure leaves out or deleting, on the basis of judgment, a few things that he and his staff think it expedient to include. Even he acknowledges that his figure leaves out intelligence as well as all expenditures on US military forces; and while I may agree that it makes practical sense at the present time to put intelligence in a wholly separate category, it is not for "official" reasons. We know that the CIA is outside the defense budget because we know what the defense budget is; we do not know whether the CIA would be outside a "Foreign Affairs Budget," because we do not even know whether there ever will be a foreign affairs budget.

Let us imagine that Mr. Charles Hitch had been, instead of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), Assistant Secretary of State (Foreign Affairs Comptroller). If he were to perform a task in the field of foreign affairs comparable to what he and Secretary Enthoven and others did for Secretary McNamara, he would have had to invent a budget, not merely to rationalize one. There would not have been a history of "Foreign Affairs Reorganization Acts" defining his budgetary jurisdiction. Nor could he have simply folded into one comprehensive foreign-affairs budget the budgets of several subordinate agencies; not all the agencies would have been subordinate, and some programs over which he might have wanted some coordinating authority would have been lodged in agencies, like the Department of Agriculture, whose primary responsibilities were not in the field of foreign affairs.

By a heroic exercise of both intellect and authority, and with the full cooperation of the Budget Bureau, he might have achieved a welcome consolidation of budgetary plans on their way through the White House to Capitol Hill, but there the whole package would have had to be disintegrated to correspond to the Congressional appropriations structure. This would have been a different task, and in many ways a harder one, than the budgetary task that he actually took on—and that one itself was a task that an ordinary mortal would have shrunk from.

A Dilemma of State Department Organization

I called my fifth generalization "final," but I'd like to make one organizational comment about the Department of State. It has been widely remarked, especially in the early years of the McNamara regime, that there were frictions between civilians and the military in the Pentagon, that "civilian control" was occasionally resented, that there was not always mutual trust and respect as between civilians and the military, and that the civilians lacked direct experience in military command and the conduct of ground, air or naval operations. Just suppose the reverse had been true, and the Chief of Staff of the Army were *ex officio* Secretary of Defense, all his Assistant Secretaries chosen from the Army, all of their "whiz kids" being bright, promising young Army officers. I think the situation would have been impossible. The entire OSD, being strictly Army, would have had no experience in naval command or the conduct of modern strategic air operations; professional bias and service loyalty would have made it beyond the credulity of the Air Force and Navy that they were receiving fair, sympathetic and impartial treatment. Secretary McNamara had the disadvantage that he and his

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staff were a class apart—civilians—but he had the great advantage that he was unambiguously a civilian, not identified with a particular service, with no special bonds of personal sympathy or loyalty to any one service, and not obliged to devote part of his time to running one service while being the rest of his time the President's executive manager of them all.

The Secretary of State presides over, or can aspire to preside over, a number of civilian services and operations. But he is also traditionally identified with one particular service, the Foreign Service. The Department of Defense is essentially OSD, "the Office of the Secretary of Defense; the Department of State is both OSS—"the Office of the Secretary of State"—and the Foreign Service. (It is also quite ambiguously related to ambassadors abroad, who are nominally the President's representatives, but who are more and more expected to be professional graduates of the Foreign Service.) The Congress has never quite recognized the OSS function of the Department of State; putting the Marshall Plan under an independent agency, the Economic Cooperation Administration, was a Congressional vote of "no confidence" in the executive talents of the State Department. Resentment and distrust of "State" by people in foreign aid programing, through a long sequence of agency reorganizations, has been not wholly dissimilar to the distrust that the military allegedly have for civilians in OSD.

Furthermore, by putting some of the specialized professional responsibilities in quasi-independent agencies like AID, USIA, Peace Corps, and so forth, the Executive Branch and the Congress have precluded the State Department's acquiring the professional talents, the internal organization, and the executive experience to lord it over these other agencies. No uniform distinguishes the AID official from a country director, or Deputy Assistant Secretary of State; but he may feel a

little the way an Air Force officer would feel if the Congress had created the Defense Department by elevating one service into executive status while preserving the operating role of that service.

I have to discuss this because, as I mentioned earlier, techniques and procedures that are intended to enhance the budgetary role of a particular office tend, when successful, to enhance the executive authority of that office. The matter is not simply one of providing better analytical staff work to a senior official of the government; more than that, the issue is how to generate more coherent planning and better coordinated operation in the field of foreign affairs. The first thing to decide is whether we want more coherence, more coordination, and an identified responsibility for executive direction. If we do not, then PPBS probably becomes an analytical specialty that is not really worth the attention of your committee. If we do, then I believe we have to recognize that the Department of State presently combines both what might be called the "Office of the Secretary of State," and the Foreign Service, and that this constitutes an encumbrance that the Department of Defense did not have to suffer.

The Country As the Package

Now let me turn—"finally," if I may use that word again—to the first rudimentary step in the establishment of PPBS. It has nothing at all to do with computers, little to do with systems analysis, and in the first instance little to do with analysis of any kind. It harks back to the first elementary thing that Secretary Hitch did in the Department of Defense and that Secretary Enthoven may have emphasized too little, partly because of the progress he has made and partly because of the general interest in the mystique of systems analysis.

The most crucial thing that Secretary Hitch ever did was to



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identify his basic "program packages"—what are sometimes called the "outputs" of the defense budget. It is important, in thinking about a "foreign affairs budget," not to pass on too readily to the examination of "program elements," and all the techniques of analysis that can thereafter be applied. Eventually most of PPBS is likely to be concerned with the evaluation of "program elements" and comparisons beyond what first needs to be done in foreign affairs; that all comes after the basic program packages have been identified.

What is it that corresponds, in the field of foreign-affairs planning, to the original program packages that were developed under Charles Hitch? I believe the Director of the Bureau of the Budget gave you his answer when he said, "First,"—and I am glad he put it first—"individual countries constitute useful categories under which to analyze an agency's foreign affairs activities as a means of achieving US objectives." Let me say it differently. Individual countries are the basic "program packages" for foreign affairs budgeting. (I do not at this point want to argue with people who think that regions rather than countries are the basic packages; I think they are wrong, but they are not the ones I want to argue with. The basic package is not the program—Peace Corps, intelligence, AID, agricultural surpluses, technical assistance, Ex-Im bank credits—but the country. Secretary Hitch identified originally, I believe, about seven basic packages. I wish in foreign affairs we could get along with as few; as Charles Schultze indicated, the number of countries we now recognize in the world has grown to 119. I'm afraid this is an irreducible minimum number of packages, except as we can exercise selectivity in treating some as far more important than others.

Mr. Schultze understated it; individual countries are more than "useful categories," they are the *basic packages* for not only budgetary decisions but most other policy decisions.

Countries cannot, of course, be treated in isolation—India separately from Pakistan, Jordan separately from Syria and Israel, Thailand separately from Vietnam and Cambodia. But neither can the Defense Department's strategic defenses be considered wholly in isolation from strategic offenses, or "general purpose forces" from sea-lift and air-lift. The point is that the basic program package is not Peace Corps, financial aid, military aid, agricultural surpluses, propaganda, or diplomatic representation; the basic package is the country.

Maybe somebody can think of a better package. But what we are presently struggling for in our budgetary procedures is an identification of the objectives or "outputs" toward which our programs are supposed to be oriented. Just getting recognition that the country, rather than the agency or program, is the basic unit of analysis would be a heroic step. After that the people with specialized analytic talents, with schemes for the orderly collection of data, and with professional training in PPBS can go to work. The first step toward PPBS is officially identifying program packages; and that step has not yet been taken.

Who Coordinates Foreign Policy?

To say that the basic program package in foreign affairs is the individual country can provoke either of two objections—that it is wrong, or that to say so is trivial. Those who object that it is wrong do not worry me; I share their discontent with the country as the basic package, but do not believe they can identify a better package, and in the end we shall, equally discontent, settle on the individual country as the least unsatisfactory basic package for foreign affairs budgeting.

Anyone who says that the individual country is so obviously the basic package that in saying so I have said nothing, is

(Continued on page 44)

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HORSE AND BUGGY POLITICAL SCIENCE *in the Jet Age*

KINGDON W. SWAYNE

HAROLD LASSWELL calls the present age a "permanent revolution of modernizing intellectuals."¹ But not all intellectual disciplines are modernizing at the same rate, and some may not be modernizing at all. The intellectual discipline of diplomacy may be one of the most tradition-bound.

American diplomacy has been forced to modernize itself to encompass the new tools of propaganda and military, economic and technical assistance, as well as the old but hitherto "un-American" tools of alliance-building and power politics, adapted to the nuclear age. But in at least one important aspect of the intellectual discipline of diplomacy we have made no move at all to modernize. The rhetoric of our political reporting remains stubbornly traditional. Of course we no longer "have the honor" nor indent our paragraphs, and we are constantly chivvied to write nothing but short, declarative sentences (a chivvying that any political reporting officer worth his salt ignores). But this "modernization" has done little more than drain all grace from our collective reporting style. The root of the matter—the conceptual framework of our political reporting—remains untouched.

I first became aware that something was amiss in 1952, when I began a Japanese language and area specialization under the auspices of the Foreign Service Institute. I discovered that the programs of Asian and African area specialization at the Institute had completely discarded the "traditional" social sciences of history and political science in favor of social psychology and cultural anthropology.

There were sound reasons for this approach. The standard political science of the time was almost exclusively "institutional" in orientation, concerned with the historical and legal analysis and description of such political institutions as parliaments, cabinets, political parties, etc. The study of such institutions on their native heath in the Atlantic Community was and still is a reasonable undertaking, for political institutions in the countries of the West are in most cases of

sufficient age to have become attuned to the underlying "political culture," so that the essential objective—understanding that political culture—can be reasonably approached through a description of the institutions. Even in cases where the institutions have changed frequently (e.g., in France), the underlying political culture is not so different from our own that we are led seriously astray if we do not completely understand it.²

However, the fact that India or Burma or Japan has a cabinet and a parliament and political parties rather than some other institutional setup may be of relatively little importance in understanding the political process in those countries. To understand why decision makers act as they do, and to be able to predict how they will act in given circumstances, requires an understanding of such things as the social class structure, urban-rural cleavages, the structuring of decision making, attitudes toward decision making, patterns of interpersonal relations, value systems, etc. This is the stuff of sociology and anthropology, not of traditional political science.

Charged with enthusiasm for the Institute's approach, I tried to introduce into my political reporting from Japan in the mid-fifties some of the concepts and vocabulary of Ruth Benedict³ and her followers. This experiment worked very badly. Some Foreign Service colleagues sympathized with my efforts, but counseled against trying single-handedly to fight "the system." Others, who more directly represented "the system," gave me to understand that I couldn't possibly be saying anything important enough to warrant their taking the trouble to alter their conceptual sets in order to understand me. This resistance was, I suppose, a manifestation of the exclusively European orientation that has persisted in the Foreign Service long after it bore any relation to reality. Ambassador William Attwood is the latest to complain of this phenomenon.⁴ Most of us laborers in the Afro-Asian vineyards have felt its dead hand in one way or another.

I tried to buck the tide again in Burma in the mid-sixties, for I discovered there that one of the few people who had anything sensible to say about the situation in that politically exotic country was Lucien Pye,⁵ a scholar working on both sides of the boundary that has traditionally separated the study of politics from the study of society. This time my efforts to use unorthodox concepts in political reporting were frustrated as much by Burma's Bamboo Curtain as by reader resistance, though the resistance was obviously still there.

Pye's work was the first hint I had had that some odd things had happened to political science in the decade or so since the Foreign Service Institute had rejected it. Now, as a retired Foreign Service officer and aspiring political scientist, I am discovering that the political science rejected by the Institute has also been rejected by a large part of the political science fraternity itself, and particularly by that part of the fraternity that is concerned with politics abroad, which is of course the area of concern of the Foreign Service. The new political science is still in a state of somewhat disorderly ferment, as befits a recently rejuvenated discipline, but it seems to me that it is now sufficiently developed to provide a new and better set of concepts for Foreign Service political reporting.

The Foreign Service reporting officer now works with a pseudo-universal set of concepts rooted in Western civilization

² Some would argue that the political cultures of continental Western Europe are in fact quite different from our own. See, for example, Almond, Gabriel A., and Verba, Sidney, *The Civic Culture*, discussed below.

³ *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946.

⁴ Attwood, William, *The Reds and the Blacks*, New York, Harper & Row, 1967.

⁵ *Politics, Personality, and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1962.

¹ Lasswell, Harold D., and Lerner, Daniel, *World Revolutionary Elites*. Cambridge, The M.I.T. Press, 1966, p. 96.

and the political practices of the Atlantic Community. I believe it is possible to create a new and truly universal set of political reporting concepts equally applicable to Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The conceptual framework would penetrate through the superficial level of institutional analysis to deal with the *functions* that all governments must perform, functions defined in relation to the *total society* of which the institutions of government are only a part.

Such a new conceptual framework faces much the same kind of obstacles that have faced English spelling reform. There are important vested interests in the present concepts as in the present spelling, both in the stake individuals have in the fruits of their past training in traditional spelling or concepts and in the stake society has in its store of knowledge recorded in the old form. English spelling reform would also tend to break the links with other European languages, just as a conceptual reform would tend to break the exceedingly important links between the Foreign Service and the traditionally educated appointed officials at the top level of government.

I am not particularly impressed by the arguments against either reform that have their basis in the individual's stake in the old system, for these arguments merely seek to justify a lazy inertia. Learning a new set of concepts would *not* be all that difficult, if we just put our minds to it. There undoubtedly are some younger officers in the Service who already feel at home in the new framework, and as their numbers grow the imposition on them of the dead hand of the traditional concepts will become more and more ridiculous. We should rather use them to help the old hands get familiar with the new.

The "store of knowledge" argument deserves serious attention. Shakespeare just doesn't look like Shakespeare in reformed spelling (though those who use this argument tend to forget that modern editions don't spell Shakespeare the way Shakespeare spelled Shakespeare). For the Foreign Service the problem is primarily one of transition, for our essential store of knowledge—the basic country surveys—is constantly being revised. We would have to live through a period during which parts of this store of knowledge were expressed within two different conceptual frameworks, a period that would come to an end only when we had completed a full cycle of revision. This would pose some inconvenience, but I think it would be minor.

The problem of links with non-professionals at the top is also a serious one, though less serious than might be supposed. First of all, our present modes of expression, as Under Secretary Katzenbach reminds us,⁶ are not all that simple. Anyone able to manage S/S-S or JUSMAG or CINCMEAFSA should be able to swallow "interest aggregation" as a term for a major function of pressure groups, or the "rule adjudication function" as a way of describing what courts do in some (but not all) countries. In fact, the group with which we are concerned has already demonstrated its ability to cope with the conceptual esoterica of the nuclear age. The new political science is no more complicated than the psychology of deterrence and counter-deterrence. Furthermore, it is in part with this group in mind that I advocate a new universal conceptual framework. If we don't achieve one we may find regional specialists developing their own parochial sets of concepts, to the confusion of both the top level and their colleagues in other regions. Finally, the non-professional at the top need not be expected actually to "speak" this new language; he need only read and understand it, a considerably easier role to play.

The principal problem then, is to persuade the Foreign Service establishment itself, the group that will have to

"speak" as well as read the new language, that the effort to learn it will be worth the trouble. My argument has two main parts: first, that the present concepts serve us badly, and second, that acquiring a new conceptual vocabulary would not be all that painful. Before taking up the second part of the argument in detail, let me summarize the first part:

1. An institution-oriented conceptual framework may be an acceptable instrument of analysis where the institutions are firmly rooted in the underlying political culture or where the underlying political culture does not differ greatly from our own.

2. One or both of these conditions exist in Western Europe and the old Commonwealth, but not elsewhere.

3. The non-Western world has become so important to us that we can no longer afford the luxury of trying to apprehend it "through a glass, darkly," a glass made up of culture-bound concepts of politics.

4. In short, we need a mode of political analysis with *predictive value*. To get it in the non-Western world we must base our analysis on the actual political *behavior* of the key actors, not on their political institutions.

To advance the second part of my argument, I am not going to try to design a full-blown set of universal political reporting concepts for the Foreign Service. That would be too ambitious a project for this paper. What I will try to do is to introduce some of the more important concepts that I think such a universal framework must include. By doing so I hope I can stimulate active Foreign Service officers and concerned officials of other branches of the government to undertake the detailed work (in committee, I suppose!) of tailoring a new set of concepts to the precise needs of the Foreign Service.

As I have already suggested, the key to a universal mode of political analysis is the study of political *behavior*. Political behavior can best be thought of as *interactions* among individuals, interactions that form *patterns*, with the patterns in turn forming *systems*. An accurate appreciation of the system and its constituent patterns will have a great deal of predictive value.

Thinking about behavior instead of institutions calls for a different vocabulary. "Instead of the concept of the *state*, limited as it is by legal and institutional meanings, we prefer *political system*; instead of *powers*, which again is a legal concept in connotation, we are beginning to prefer *functions*; instead of *offices*, we prefer *roles*; instead of *institutions*, which again directs us toward formal norms, *structures*; instead of *public opinion* and *citizenship training*, formal and rational in meaning, we prefer *political culture* and *political socialization*."⁷ These are not simply new and fancy words for old ideas. They reflect a new "behavioral" way of thinking about politics, to help us come to grips with the politics of societies whose institutions are imported and fragile, and perhaps also to give us some new insights into the politics of established Western societies.⁸ As this sample indicates, the words and the concepts they represent are not particularly forbidding to the educated layman.

Most behavioralists start talking about the political system or the "polity" by defining it in relation to other elements in the society. Mitchell⁹ conceives of a social system as consisting of four sub-systems—the polity, the economy, the pattern-maintenance system (family, school and church—the agencies of "socialization" of the young), and a sort of catch-all overlapping the other three that he calls the "inte-

⁷ Almond, Gabriel A. & Coleman, James S., eds., *The Politics of the Developing Areas*. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1960, p. 4.

⁸ Two interesting efforts to study the United States from the behavioral viewpoint are William C. Mitchell's *The American Polity*, New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962, and David B. Truman's *The Governmental Process*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.

⁹ *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁶ Remarks to the American Foreign Service Association. *Foreign Service Journal*, March, 1967.

grative" system, i.e., those elements in the society that unify it and differentiate it from other societies. Other than the polity, these parts of the social system are of interest for our present purposes only as sources of *inputs* into the polity and recipients of its *outputs*, and to remind us that identifying the *boundaries* between the polity and the other systems may be of some importance to the analyst.

The Foreign Service officer may find it convenient to define the boundaries of the polity somewhat differently from the ivory tower analyst. One ivory tower definition of the political system is "that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which performs the functions of integration and adaptation (both internally and vis-a-vis other societies) by means of the employment, or threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion."¹⁰ For his own operational purposes the Foreign Service officer may want to define the polity more sharply in terms of its role vis-a-vis other societies, for it is in this role that foreign polities become the official concern of the United States. The boundary line between the polity and the rest of society might be thought of as the line beyond which the Foreign Service officer as a practical matter need not concern himself. This line would vary from society to society. There are, for example, many countries in the world where religion is highly politicized; in others interactions between the religious and power elites are few.

Wherever the boundaries between the polity and the rest of society are placed, they serve as the crossing point for the inputs and outputs of the polity. Structural-functional analysts have conceived of these inputs and outputs in somewhat different terms, depending on whether they have viewed them as the raw materials and finished products of a functioning polity or as functions in their own right. Both viewpoints should be explored by the creators of any universal analytic framework, but for purposes of illustration I will restrict the discussion here to the concept of inputs and outputs as functions in their own right, for it seems to me that this approach has received a superior theoretical elaboration.¹¹

The input functions are identified as:

1. Political socialization and recruitment.
2. Interest articulation.
3. Interest aggregation.
4. Political communication.

The output functions are:

1. Rule making.
2. Rule application.
3. Rule adjudication.

If the output functions have a vaguely familiar air about them, it is simply because the structural-functional analysts have accepted Montesquieu's hoary "troika" of legislative, executive, and judicial *functions* as a meaningful analytical tool. What they seek to point out with the new nomenclature is that even in the ultra-Montesquieuan American polity the troika-like separation of *powers* into legislative, executive and judicial branches has not prevented the judicial branch from becoming a rule-making as well as a rule-adjudicating body, while the legislative and executive branches in one way or another perform all three output functions.

¹⁰ Almond and Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹¹ I am relying here primarily on Almond, Gabriel A., and Powell, G. Bingham, Jr., *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1966, pp. 16-41 and 73-189. This is probably the best available introduction for the FSO to the *nouvelle vague* in comparative politics. In addition to the conceptual framework summarized here it contains stimulating suggestions of approaches to the analysis of political systems in terms of their capabilities and in terms of developmental stages. Both of these aspects of political systems are of course highly relevant to the work of the Foreign Service.

The Foreign Service has, I think, beaten the ivory tower analyst to the punch with respect to one key aspect of the output process—decision making. Since influencing the decisions of foreign decision makers is our bread and butter, our pioneer role in this field of analysis is not surprising. However, our analytical methodology is not as precise as it might be. Harold Lasswell has written extensively on the subject of decision making,¹² and he has developed a seven-stage analytical framework that the Foreign Service might usefully employ. It consists of the following steps:

1. Intelligence—information gathering, planning and prediction.
2. Recommendation—promotion of various policy alternatives.
3. Prescription—the rule-making function at the overall policy level.
4. Invocation—) Lasswell makes here what may be an
) unnecessary distinction between the
) rule-application functions of the po-
) lice and prosecutors (invocation) and
5. Application—) of the administrators and judges (ap-
) plication).
6. Appraisal—the watchdog function of assessing the success or failure of a policy or of the chosen mode of implementation.
7. Termination—the ending of prescriptions.

On the input side the concepts are somewhat more novel. Interest articulation can be roughly equated with the work of organized pressure groups, whose main political function is to form the often diffuse values of their constituents into specific demands and expectations and communicate them to the rule-makers and rule-appliers. Interest aggregation can be roughly equated with the work of political parties, whose principal function in democratic polities is to form and reform alliances of interests into working majorities. Political communication interpenetrates all the other functions, both input and output. Those analysts who isolate it as a separate function do so on the grounds that the way this function is performed—free or controlled press, character of the information flow to the polity versus that from the polity, etc.—provides an extremely important tool for differentiating among types of polities.

Perhaps the most novel input function on this list is "political socialization and recruitment." The identification of this as a significant function opens up an area of investigation that traditional political science has all but ignored. In this respect also the Foreign Service may have been a bit ahead of the game, for it is my impression that the demands of our occupation made us conscious of the importance of political elites and their recruitment before the ivory tower political scientists began to study them systematically. On the other hand, the Foreign Service reporting officer has usually paid scant attention to the function of political socialization—the complex and often ill-understood process by which the citizen develops politically significant attitudes—toward authority, toward the particular political systems in which he lives, toward competition and cooperation, toward his own role as a participant, active or passive, in the political system. Perhaps it is safe to ignore this function when dealing with polities within our own culture, but both the process and the end result of political socialization in non-Western societies may contain some unpleasant surprises for the analyst who does not take this function seriously.

The end result of political socialization—the collection of
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¹² e.g., *The Decision Process*, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Maryland, 1956. This brief summary is adapted from Lasswell, Harold D., and Lerner, Daniel, *World Revolutionary Elites*, Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1965, pp. 10-12 and 24-26.

Where Are All the *Psephiatrists* and *Psephoanalysts* ?

S. I. NADLER

THE "new math" was different. It came on slowly. It has not yet, in fact, completely arrived. There has been time for books to be published for the benefit of befuddled parents, time for retraining teachers, time to reassure apprehensive students. People have been able to examine, readjust, accept.

Not so with the new political science. True, it was creeping up for years, surrounding us. Nobody paid any real attention, perhaps hoping it would go away. But, suddenly, there it was! We did not even have a choice. We had to accept things as they had become.

And it happened with such rapidity and decisiveness that nobody ever got around to referring to the "new political science." The "old" political science was unceremoniously kicked into the dust-bin of history, and *pollitical science* was—and is—with us.

If the new math caused an upheaval of sorts, the new political science—that is, *pollitical science*—has represented nothing less than a first-degree cataclysm. The once seemingly infallible and indispensable polls have been rendered anachronistic by the polls. The traditional art of demagoguery experienced overnight obsolescence as it was replaced by demography. And the old political scientists, with their historic analogies and labored analyses, have been upstaged by the modern polltergeists, with their social research magic, computer projection mumbo-jumbo, and sundry ethnic-knacks.

Some of the old guard are still fighting, or think they are, for the new breed does not recognize them as real opponents. They are regarded, rather, as interesting and perhaps once-formidable, but extinct and fossilized, like dinosaurs. Others of the old guard who try to make the new scene, acting on the once valid premise of "if you can't lick 'em, join 'em," meet with only frustration and heartache. Such, for example, was the experience of Homer Populi, who had devoted his life to the old politics and forlornly hoped to move up to the new pollitics.

The end began with Populi standing in the new, chrome-and-leather party headquarters, high in a glass-and-steel-reinforced-concrete building, which was not only not smoke filled but had perfect atmosphere and temperature control (in deference to the electronic machines).

"Why," asked Populi, "can't I even *seek* the nomination?"

"Read this poll," said the Ph.D. behind the metal desk.

"I have read it," replied Populi, "and I saw where I was 20 percentage points ahead of the nearest other potential candidate."

"That," pointed out the Ph.D., as if talking to a retarded

child, "was before the results were *weighted*. You read the *raw data*." He said the last in the tone usually reserved for accusations of child molestation.

As he was ejected from the office (and from public life), Populi was shouting, to no avail, "It's *undemographic*! Why can't I seek the nomination? I demand my institutional rites!"

From time to time, within the new breed itself, there are those who question the procedure by which specialists "weight" the results of public opinion polls, producing figures and interpretations markedly different from what the interviewers have gathered. Those who object strongly feel that this is not really a legitimate part of the polling process. The put-down is invariably some variation of the pollitical science tenet which holds that "They also survey who only understand and weight."

Meanwhile, the takeover goes on. The new kingmakers, the pollitical science practitioners, send out their research-and-destroy teams months and even years ahead of elections at all levels. Many a starry-eyed and well-motivated hopeful, looking forward to running for public office, finds himself poll-axed before he can remove his hat from his head, much less toss it into the ring. Nor is there any recourse, for, as another pollitical science tenet has it, "no one refutes that which computes."

It is precisely in this area that the fundamental danger and the basic cruelty of this new discipline, pollitical science, is clearly revealed.

When psychology ("the science of the mind") came into being, it was relatively quickly followed by psychiatry ("the study and treatment of mental diseases") and psychoanalysis ("the minute examination of a mind or minds to discover the underlying mental causes producing certain mental and nervous disorders"). In some of the newer lexicons, like the "Random House Dictionary" and the "World Book Encyclopedia Dictionary," you can find the word which underlies pollitical science: *psephology*. The latter dictionary defines *psephology* as "the study of electoral systems and trends and of patterns of behavior in voting."

You can also look up *psephologist*, "an expert in psephology."

But where are the psephiatrists and psephoanalysts?

They do not exist. There is psephology, but there is no psephiatry and no psephoanalysis. And this is a central tragedy of our time.

Consider the case of Ward C. Heeler, a pol replaced by the polls, his thirty years of once invaluable familiarity with the local level urban electorate suddenly worthless. Or Jeb Grassroots, formerly courted by every congressional candidate seeking the rural vote, who now finds his store of whistle-stop acumen ignored in favor of the delphic print-out of a survey data-fed computer. Or Boss T. Weed, who discovered that it now costs ten dollars per vote (as against two in the old days), but that the voter cannot be paid directly, the money going to public opinion polling organizations, public relations associates, and television networks.

Frustrated beyond measure at best, more likely disoriented or out of touch with reality, where are people like these to turn for help, if there are no psephiatrists and psephoanalysts?

If psephology is the foundation of pollitical science (and it is), the structural framework is modern communication—specifically, the mass media. A few decades back, the cloud on the horizon no bigger than a man's hand was the radio "fireside chat." But even this seems slightly quaint today, when electric logs have filled the remaining fireplaces and the television set dominates the living room.

A potential candidate's qualifications—experience-wise, education-wise, and even wisdom-wise—score no points in the calculations of the political scientists. "Let's look at the record" represents no challenge, just an invitation to a

(Continued on page 45)

The Foundations of American Diplomatic Treaty Etiquette

ROBERT RALPH DAVIS, JR.

SHORTLY after the War of 1812, Albert Gallatin wrote that "the War has renewed and reinstated the national feelings which the Revolution had given and which were daily lessened. The people have now more general objects of attachment with which their pride and political opinions are connected. They are more American; they feel and act more like a nation; and I hope that the permanency of the Union is thereby better secured."¹ This heightened sense of nationalism and republican self-awareness which Gallatin detected and which permeated nearly every facet of American life after the War of 1812 is clearly illustrated by the uncompromising position the United States adopted in regard to treaty-etiquette in general and the so-called *alternat* in particular.

Prior to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, European treaty-etiquette dictated that the most powerful or the most venerable nation contracting a bilateral agreement should take precedence over the other contracting party.² This meant that the name of the nation so favored would appear first in the preamble and first in the text of every copy of the executed treaty. With the development of power relationships between the major European nations during the



late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, this system was replaced by the practice of the *alternat*. The *alternat* (rotation) gave each contracting party the right to be first-named in its copy of the treaty or agreement. This procedure was subsequently recognized and formalized by the Congress of Vienna in 1814.³

During the early years of its existence, the United States was viewed by most of the European powers as an upstart republic, not entitled to the precedence generally reserved for monarchies. Accordingly, in nearly every treaty and international agreement signed by the United States prior to 1815 the *alternat* was not observed.⁴ In the definitive Treaty of

¹Cited in George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 3-4.

²John W. Foster, *The Practice of Diplomacy as Illustrated in the Foreign Relations of the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1906), 251. Multilateral treaties were usually signed in alphabetical order without regard to precedence.

³Graham Henry Stuart, *American Diplomatic and Consular Practice* (New York: Appleton and Company, 1936), 127.

⁴One of the few exceptions to this was the treaty of 1803 (Louisiana Purchase) with France.

Paris (1783), for example, the British plenipotentiary, David Hartley, was accorded the privilege of signing his name first on both copies of the treaty, while the American commissioners, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, followed in strict alphabetical order. Moreover, the British government and the English king were given precedence throughout the texts of both copies. Hartley, the British commissioner, had been given strict orders from the Foreign Office to exclude the principle of the *alternat* from the treaty. On August 21, 1783, Charles James Fox, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Hartley informing him of this matter. "When a treaty is signed between two Crowned Heads in order to prevent disputes about precedence," Fox explained, "the name of the one stands first in one instrument and that of the other in the other, but when the treaty is between a crowned Head and a Republic, the name of the Monarch is mentioned first in each instrument."⁵ Hartley, of course, complied with these instructions explicitly. On September 1, two days before the official signing, Hartley informed Fox that "the treaties are drawn out for signature as you have expressed it viz: giving precedence to the Crowned Head. The American Ministers never had a thought of disputing the priority or equality of rank & therefore I have had no occasion to mention the subject."⁶

During the negotiations at Ghent to conclude the War of 1812, matters of etiquette were early in sharp dispute. Upon the arrival of the British ministers on August 6, 1814, the American plenipotentiaries—John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin—were approached by the British delegation's secretary, who informed them that the British commissioners—Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, and Dr. William Adams—were anxious to begin negotiations and proposed, on that account, to meet with their American counterparts at the Hotel du Lion d'Or, where the three Englishmen had taken lodgings.⁷ This arrangement, however, was totally unacceptable to the Americans. Adams, for example, labeled the invitation "an offensive pretension to superiority."⁸ Clay, who had earlier maintained that "I am not going during this negotiation to give consequence to any affair of mere etiquette,"⁹ echoed Adams' sentiments on this point. "It appeared to us," Clay wrote, "that according to established usage, we were entitled to the first visit; and that there was, both in place fixed on and in the precision of the time designated, the evidence of an assumption of superiority on their part, which we could not admit."¹⁰ Accordingly, the Americans sent their secretary to the British commissioners, informing them that "we should be happy to meet and confer with the Commissioners, and exchange full powers with them, at any time which they would indicate, and at any place other than their own lodgings."¹¹ The British agreed to this proposal and neutral meeting grounds were subsequently arranged.

⁵Charles James Fox to David Hartley, August 21, 1783, cited in Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and other International Acts of the United States of America* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931), II, 157.

⁶David Hartley to Charles James Fox, September 1, 1783, cited in *Ibid.*

⁷John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848*, 12 vols., ed. Charles Francis Adams (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1874-77), III, 3-4; and Henry Clay to James Monroe, August 18, 1814, in Henry Clay, *The Papers of Henry Clay*, 3 vols. to date, ed. James F. Hopkins (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1959-), I, 963.

⁸Adams, *Memoirs*, III, 3.

⁹Henry Clay to James A. Bayard and Albert Gallatin, May 2, 1814, in Clay, *Papers*, I, 891.

¹⁰Henry Clay to James Monroe, August 18, 1814, in *Ibid.*, 963.

¹¹Adams, *Memoirs*, III, 3-4.

During the course of the actual negotiations, other problems concerning etiquette and protocol cropped up to confuse the real issues at stake. The British temporized in delivering their preliminary draft of the proposed treaty to the Americans, feeling that there was a distinct advantage in receiving the first draft of the other contracting party before submitting their own. This attitude infuriated John Quincy Adams, who scoffed at "plenipotentiaries who are obliged to send to the Privy Council for objections of etiquette and question who shall give or receive the first draft."¹²

The Americans then proposed to exchange the first drafts simultaneously, thereby avoiding any possible breach of etiquette. The British remained adamant, however. Finally, the frustrated Americans decided to yield to this British pretension. "It was too plain that their *advantage* and their *etiquette* were nothing but devices for wasting time," Adams wrote, "and so we sent them a complete project drawn up in form, with nothing but blanks of time and place to fill to make it a treaty." Mincing no words in a letter to his wife, Adams declared that "the pretended etiquette is an absurdity. The negotiation was proposed by the British government. It was the business of the British government to present first, in form as well as in substance, the terms upon which they were willing to conclude the peace."¹³

While the British and American plenipotentiaries divided at times over matters involving diplomatic etiquette and protocol, within the American delegation itself such matters occasionally threatened to jeopardize the solidarity of the group. One such occasion arose when Adams, Bayard, and Gallatin were made honorary members of Ghent's Society of Fine Arts and Letters, and Russell and Clay of the Society of Agriculture and Botany. According to Adams, the two societies had drawn lots to determine which of the commissioners would be named to the respective groups. As the Society of Fine Arts and Letters was the more prestigious of the two organizations, Clay and Russell apparently felt slighted. In fact, Adams later wrote, Russell "appeared to think his dignity most offended. He said that if the people of Ghent meant to show us civility they should treat us equally; that he assumed for his part no superiority, and would not admit of any." Bayard endeavored to reassure Russell that no offence had been intended and that he, along with Adams and Gallatin, disclaimed "any assumption of superiority," maintaining that "any such pretension would be ridiculous." Finally, his fellow commissioners persuaded Russell to accept the situation with equanimity, which, after a brief period of sulking, he apparently did.¹⁴

At the close of the Ghent mission, a dispute developed between Adams and Clay as to whom should be entrusted with the papers and notes of the official proceedings of the commission. Adams, as the first-named member of the group, maintained that usage and protocol dictated that he should retain possession of the official papers until instructed otherwise by the Department of State. Clay, however, "said he did not pay any regard to the precedent . . . and knew nothing about the usage." For his own personal reference and for preservation as historical archives, Clay was determined to take the papers back to the United States immediately. Adams resisted. This, in turn, merely increased Clay's determination. Both he and Russell suggested that the commission

¹²John Quincy Adams to William Harris Crawford, November 6, 1814, in John Quincy Adams, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 7 vols., ed. Worthington C. Ford (New York: Macmillan, 1913-17), V, 180-81.

¹³John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams, November 22, 1814, in *Ibid.*, 203-204.

¹⁴Adams, *Memoirs*, III, 58-59; and James A. Bayard, *Papers of James A. Bayard, 1796-1815*, ed. Elizabeth Donnan, in *American Historical Association, Annual Report, 1913*, II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 304n.



Peace of Ghent 1814

Monroe, representing the conditions of the United States, proposed the alternat. He states that the British, in the final version of the treaty, which was completed in triplicate and signed on December 24, 1814, His Britannic Majesty took precedence over the United States throughout every copy, while the British commissioners—Gambier, Goulburn, and Adams, in that order—signed the document above the signatures of the American commissioners—Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin, respectively.¹⁵



and Triumph of America

in the War with America proposed the alternat. He states that the British, in the final version of the treaty, which was completed in triplicate and signed on December 24, 1814, His Britannic Majesty took precedence over the United States throughout every copy, while the British commissioners—Gambier, Goulburn, and Adams, in that order—signed the document above the signatures of the American commissioners—Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin, respectively.¹⁵

vote as to the proper procedure to follow, but Adams refused to entertain such a motion. "I said I should not put it to a vote, not considering it as a point to be decided by a vote." Adams considered the whole controversy as being "a piece of chicanery upon a trifle," interpreting Clay's accusation that he was "arrogating prerogative and superiority" as nothing more than "cavilling upon a bagatelle merely because it would be convenient to himself to have the papers." After further debate, Clay finally gave in and Adams retained possession of the papers.¹⁵

Considering the amount of time devoted to debating such questions, it is perhaps strange that nothing was said or done by the Americans about the *alternat*. In the final version of the treaty, which was completed in triplicate and signed on December 24, 1814, His Britannic Majesty took precedence over the United States throughout every copy, while the British commissioners—Gambier, Goulburn, and Adams, in that order—signed the document above the signatures of the American commissioners—Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin, respectively.¹⁶

For failing to raise this issue, John Quincy Adams later wrote that he "had received a rap on the knuckles from home."¹⁷ He was obviously referring to the directive ad-

ressed to him by Secretary of State James Monroe on March 13, 1815. Monroe expressed his displeasure at the fact that the American ministers had not insisted upon the *alternat* at Ghent. "It is understood," he said, "that in treaties between all powers, this principle of equality is generally, if not invariably recognized and observed." Although he confessed that the oversight was probably due to a preoccupation with the more important terms of peace, Monroe hastened to add that in the future the principle of the *alternat* should be incorporated into all American treaties and international agreements. The United States was a sovereign nation and should not, on that account, yield precedence to any country. "It is a mortifying truth that concessions, however generous the motive, seldom produce the desired effect. They more frequently inspire improper pretensions in the opposite party."¹⁸

This "rap on the knuckles" was sufficient to arouse the nationalistic Adams, who became determined from that point on permanently to secure the *alternat* for the United States. His first opportunity to establish a precedent along these lines was shortly forthcoming.

Adams, Clay, and Gallatin had traveled to London shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Ghent. The Americans had been commissioned to negotiate a general treaty of commerce

¹⁵Adams, *Memoirs*, III, 128-44; and Bayard, *Papers*, 369-71.

¹⁶Miller, *Treaties*, II, 582.

¹⁷John Quincy Adams to Jonathan Russell, October 10, 1815, in *Adams, Writings*, V, 415-16.

¹⁸James Monroe to John Adams, March 13, 1815, in Microfilms of the Adams Papers owned by the Adams Manuscript Trust and deposited in the Massachusetts Historical Society, reel 422.

with the British. During the course of the relatively brief negotiations which resulted in the Commercial Convention of 1815, Adams made it a special point to inform the British commissioners—William Adams, Henry Goulburn, and Frederick John Robinson—that there had been an error, “both in the preamble and in the order of signatures at Ghent, which it would be necessary to avoid repeating at present.”¹⁹ The error, of course, had been the omission of the *alternat*. Adams took special care, therefore, to inform the British that he for one would refuse to sign any agreement unless the *alternat* was observed in all respects.

Two of the British commissioners, Goulburn and Dr. Adams, maintained that they were unaware that such a usage even existed. “I told Goulburn,” Adams later wrote, “that if he would take the trouble of enquiring at the Foreign Office he would find it a universal usage.”²⁰ The British ministers then objected to Adams’ demand because, they insisted, the *alternat* would require that the wording of the two treaty copies would necessarily have to be different, thereby adding an element of confusion and possible error to the definitive agreement. Adams replied that “the mere variation of order, in naming the parties, made no change either in the substance or in the words of the treaty; it did not in any manner affect the essential accuracy of the copies.”²¹

The two delegations then separated, each to prepare a draft to be submitted to the other party on the following Monday. This was accordingly done. Upon receipt of the British draft, however, Adams discovered that although they had made provision for signing the treaty in parallel lines, the British had ignored the principle of the *alternat* by appending the statement “done in duplicate” to their draft. This infuriated Adams, who set about at once to rewrite the draft using the *alternat* throughout.²² His determination to secure the *alternat* for the United States, however, was not shared by Clay or Gallatin, who both felt that it was somewhat silly to argue over trifles.

Being unaware of Secretary of State Monroe’s admonition to Adams, Gallatin suggested that the American commission accept the British draft without the *alternat*. He felt that Adams’ revision was “entirely wrong; it will throw the whole business into confusion.” Adams, of course, “peremptorily refused,” and added, in a heated and angry manner, “Mr. Gallatin, you and Mr. Clay may do as you please, but I will not sign the treaty without the alternative observed throughout.”

“Now, don’t fly off in this manner,” Gallatin responded. “Indeed, sir,” Adams countered, “I will not sign the treaty in any other form. I am so far from thinking with Mr. Clay that it is of no importance, that I think it by much the most important thing that we shall obtain by this treaty. The treaty itself I very much dislike, and it is only out of deference to you and Mr. Clay that I consent to sign it at all.”²³ Adams had his way. Clay and Gallatin finally agreed to the *alternat* throughout the revised draft. In reality, they had no choice other than to concede this point to Adams in light of the Secretary of State’s directive.

Moreover, the British commissioners became convinced that the American government was deadly serious in its demand for diplomatic equality, and the formal copies of the Commercial Convention which were signed on July 3, 1815, observed the principle of the *alternat* throughout. The Ameri-

can and British plenipotentiaries signed their names in parallel columns, the American column on the left hand side of the American copy, and the British column on the left hand side of the British copy. In addition, this same principle of rotation was observed in the respective preambles and bodies of the convention.²⁴

The United States was determined to maintain and re-enforce this precedent during the administrations of James Monroe (1817-25). Monroe’s Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, made a special point to safeguard the diplomatic victory he had so painstakingly fought for at London in 1815. In his “Form of Personal Instructions” to American diplomats abroad (1817), Adams gave top priority to the principle of the *alternat*. “This practice,” Adams began, “having been accidentally omitted on one or two occasions, to be observed on by the United States, the omission was followed by indications of a disposition in certain European Governments, to question its application to them. It became therefore proper to insist upon it, as was accordingly done with effect.” Having explained these circumstances, Adams proceeded to instruct American diplomats to “consider it as a standing instruction to adhere to this *alternative* in the conclusion of any Treaty, Convention or other document, to be jointly signed by you and the Plenipotentiary of any other Power.”²⁵

Ironically, Adams was himself the first American statesman to negotiate a major international treaty under the new dispensation. Beginning in December 1817, Adams and Luis de Onís, the Spanish minister in Washington, undertook negotiations which resulted in the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819. By this treaty, the United States acquired east and west Florida. The agreement also defined the boundary line between the United States and Spanish-American possessions west of the Mississippi River.

The Transcontinental Treaty was a notable diplomatic achievement for the United States, and Adams improved the occasion by strongly and successfully reaffirming the American determination to resist European pretensions in respect to precedence in diplomatic agreements. Onís had expressed some objection to the use of the *alternat* and, although he had acquiesced upon the principle for inclusion into the treaty then under discussion, he suggested that perhaps he should draft a “protest” to insure that the same procedure would never be followed again in treaties between the United States and Spain. Adams would not hear of this. “I told him,” the Secretary of State later wrote, “I certainly could not receive any such protest, for that, so far from its not being drawn into a precedent, it was our express intention that it should be a permanent precedent, and I could assure him we should never hereafter conclude a treaty with Spain without insisting upon the same mode of signature and the same alternative first naming of the parties.”²⁶

It was largely owing to the persistence of John Quincy Adams and, to a lesser extent, James Monroe, that American diplomatic treaty etiquette was liberally infused with a sense of nationalism during the early national period. The United States had scored a major diplomatic victory, one which would serve as a precedent for the future and one which would be observed and maintained, with but a few inadvertent lapses, thereafter. ■

¹⁹Adams, *Memoirs*, III, 237; see also John Quincy Adams to James Monroe, July 14, 1815, in *United States Department of State, Despatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain, 1791-1906, National Archives Microfilm Publications*, XIX, reel 15.

²⁰Adams, *Memoirs*, III, 237.

²¹Ibid., 237-38.

²²Ibid., 241; and John Quincy Adams to James Monroe, July 14, 1815, in *Despatches, Great Britain, XIX, reel 15*.

²³Adams, *Memoirs*, III, 242-43.

²⁴Ibid., 246-47; and John Quincy Adams to James Monroe, July 14, 1815, in *Despatches, Great Britain, XIX, reel 15*.

²⁵John Quincy Adams, “Form of Personal Instructions to the Ministers of the United States—to be variously modified in particular cases,” in *Adams Papers*, reel 439; see also: John Quincy Adams to Richard Rush, November 6, 1817, in *United States Department of State, Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State, 1801-1906: All Countries, National Archives Microfilm Publications*, VIII, reel 3, and John Quincy Adams to Henry Middleton, June 7, 1820, in *Ibid.*, reel 4.

²⁶Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 271-72.

March, 1968

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆ **News** ☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

Responding to an invitation from Mr. Katzenbach, the AFSA Board of Directors has written a series of letters to Under Secretary Katzenbach and to administrative officials of AID, State and USIA setting forth its views on certain aspects of the program of personnel cuts abroad.

AFSA is strongly urging that every effort be made to use the readjustment to strengthen significantly our training program, particularly at the middle grade officer level, and to enlarge our exchange program with other federal agencies in Washington. AFSA particularly recommends that consideration be given to placing a significant number of officers with the United Planning Office in Washington and other agencies at work on "inner city" problems, as an ideal method of giving returnees and others significant program experience and direct re-immersion in American life.

The Association is also urging the Under Secretary to use this opportunity to move towards the establishment of a single Foreign Service as envisaged in the Act of 1946. AFSA further promised Mr. Katzenbach that we "would oppose any halting of junior officer recruitment with every resource at our command, especially so since no thought is being given to use of Section 519, which, with great foresight, was included by the framers of the 1946 Foreign Service Act to provide a way with dignity and honor to relieve pressure at the top. Similarly, we believe that lateral entry of individuals with rare or scarce skills should not be eliminated for the health of the Service, although it is obvious that such actions must be severely limited."

In letters to Messrs. Lee, Mosley and Rimestad, the Association asked for assurances that the various agencies are prepared to assist returnees financially in cases of hardship and inquired as to what arrangements were being made to keep their personnel informed of their activities in this area. We also suggested that information kits similar to those available to personnel under evacuation orders be made available to returnees at their

posts and that consideration be given, insofar as possible, to assigning persons already in Washington to other agency slots and reserving Department, USIA, and AID slots for returnees so that they will not feel that they are being left off the team. The Association also opposed any scheme to place those returning from overseas on leave with or without pay simply to relieve pressure on the various agencies for quick assignments. For the longer term the Association recommended that the Department consider seeking one-time legislation providing unusual incentives for early retirement and that it enter into a contract with a professional executive placement organization.

So far these representations have had the following results:

1. It has been agreed that any decision on further recruitment of junior officers will be held in abeyance.

2. AFSA has two men specifically recognized as AFSA representatives sitting in at two levels in the decision-making process. Ambassador Graham Martin represents AFSA's views at meetings of Mr. Katzenbach's principal policy advisers and Howard Myers represents AFSA at sessions on personnel matters in the office of the Director General of the Foreign Service, Mr. Steeves.

The AFSA Board has taken an active role in presenting to appropriate officials the Association's views on the proposed personnel cuts. Members who have additional suggestions should send them to the Board of Directors. This is particularly true of AFSA members overseas, since the initial recommendations for personnel cuts will be made at posts in the field. AFSA's prime function is to represent the interests of its members, so let the Board know your views.

The Board of the Foreign Service Association has begun organizing chapters overseas to aid in effective communication of views and issues between the Board and its members abroad.

Eight embassies (Bonn, Saigon, Rome, Oslo, Amman, Kinshasa, Vienna and Tehran) have responded to an invitation by Chairman Lannon Walker by establishing local organizations. Chapter representatives are now in regular correspondence with AFSA headquarters in Washington. The Association News section of the JOURNAL is airmailed to these chapters before the JOURNAL's publication date as a means of informing them of AFSA activities in Washington.

In the event that there are no plans for organizing a chapter at a particular post and AFSA members there would like to take such action, inquiries may be addressed to the American Foreign Service Association (c/o Department of State) or to R. T. Curran, Secretary-Treasurer of AFSA (USIA/T).

Anxiously watching the casualty lists in early February, we face the prospect that more names may be added to the following list before the JOURNAL can reach its readers.

As of February 19, we learned with deep regret of these losses:

Albert Farkas (AID), Killed
Thomas M. Gompertz (AID),

Killed
Kermit J. Krause, Jr. (AID),
Killed

Robert R. Little (State),
Killed

Hugh C. Lobit (AID),
Killed

Jeffery Lundstedt (AID),
Killed

LCpl. James C. Marshall
(Marine Guard), Killed
John T. McCarthy (AID),
Killed

Stephen H. Miller (State),
Killed

Michael D. Bengé (AID),
Captured

Philip W. Manhard (State),
Captured

There were others wounded or missing.

Our prayers and our sympathy are with the families and friends of these gallant men.

Vietnam Memorial Scholarship

Department of State Telegram

TO: *Ambassador Bunker from
Philip Habib*

1. As president of the American Foreign Service Association, I wish to express the deep sense of respect and admiration which all of us, in Washington and at missions and posts throughout the world, hold for you and your colleagues in Vietnam. From all accounts, the Mission's performance during the Tet offensive has added a lustrous episode to the tradition of service to our country abroad.

2. Yet we are not unmindful of the price that was paid. It is my privilege, therefore, to convey to you the following resolution, adopted unanimously today by the Board of the Association.

"Throughout our country's history, Americans have gone abroad in a civil capacity to serve the national interest. These citizens, by their diligence and devotion to duty, often under trying or even hazardous conditions, established a tradition which those of us, coming after, count among our proudest possessions.

"In times past, the clear risk of life in line of duty has not been commonly required of us. But in the first days of February in Vietnam, this requirement was levied hourly, on hundreds of our colleagues. For those who gave their lives, reality transcended risk in the measure of devotion exacted from them.

"In their memory, the Board of the American Foreign Service Association hereby resolves to establish the memorial scholarship, to be awarded annually under the same terms and conditions now governing other association scholarships. The Board invites all who would honor the civilian employees of the United States government who have given their lives throughout the struggle in Vietnam to contribute to the Memorial Scholarship Fund."

RUSK

AFSA's Second Vice President

John E. Reinhardt, Deputy Assistant Director of the US Information Agency for East Asia and the Pacific, was elected Second Vice President of the American Foreign Service Association on January 19.

Reinhardt, 48, was born in Virginia. He attended Knoxville College, the University of Chicago, and the University of Wisconsin, receiving his Ph.D. from the latter institution. After two years as an instructor of English, he entered the US Army in

AFSA AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

In the climate of change and renovation that now infuses AFSA, there has been much thought about the Association's serving its members either in ways more like a trade union, as an advocate, or perhaps in developing an *ombudsman* concept. There are obvious advantages to having an advocate that could speak to the administration, the Congress, and the public and assist in righting individual wrongs. The possibilities are less well known.

In 1962, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10988 which established the policy and arrangements for cooperation between employee organizations and agency management in the Executive Branch of the Government. Since the issuance of this order, over one million Federal employees have chosen to affiliate with employee organizations which now have the right to negotiate agreements with agency management.

AFSA is not at present an employee organization within the purview of E.O. 10988. There are advantages, however, in being recognized as a true "employee organization," and these the membership should seriously consider.

Consultation with management would be compulsory rather than voluntary. Management would be required to negotiate seriously with the Association. AFSA would also have more independent access to the Congress, the White House, the administration of AID, State, and USIA and to the Civil Service Commission.

Under E.O. 10988, there are now three types of recognition: "informal," "formal," and "exclusive." In effect, AFSA already enjoys "informal" recognition, but this theoretically could be denied under a conflict of interest clause which excludes senior supervisory personnel from serving as officers in such organizations. This

form of recognition essentially is meaningless as it merely entitles such employee organizations to present, to appropriate officials, their views. AFSA is doing this already.

Trade Union?

"Formal" recognition theoretically could be accorded to AFSA because, we have "a substantial and stable membership of ten per cent of the employees in the unit." Such recognition would allow AFSA to set up a check-off system arranged by voluntary participation in a payroll deduction system. The agencies involved would be required to consult with AFSA in formulation and implementation of personnel policies and working conditions. This form of recognition would not give AFSA the negotiating rights enjoyed with exclusive recognition. It would put AFSA in a position similar to that enjoyed by State-AID Lodge 1534 of the American Federation of Government Employees. Although useful, these new powers would be marginal and AFSA can presently do as much with only modest cooperation from management.

"Exclusive" recognition would give considerable power to AFSA. We could then negotiate meaningful agreements. However, under the provisions of E.O. 10988, to obtain this kind of recognition AFSA could not include in its membership any managerial executive, or employee engaged in Federal personnel work in other than a purely clerical capacity, or supervisors who officially evaluate the efficiency of employees.

Professional Organization?

Another possibility would be affiliation with the National Federation of Professional Organizations. NFPO is a loose grouping of some 12 organizations representing about 30,000 professionals, mostly in the federal service, including engineers, plant quarantine inspectors, patent office specialists, etc. It cooperates closely with the 60,000-strong Nurses Association. When first formed, to take a position on a pay bill, the NFPO testified on behalf of some 250,000 supporters. With pay comparability as a principle endorsed by Congress, NFPO currently is seeking other objectives. Many of these parallel the goals of AFSA.

NFPO leadership welcomes AFSA cooperation. They have, in fact, agreed that there may be advantages in having AFSA testify in concert with NFPO, rather than merely as one of its members. AFSA's certificate of



1942, serving overseas and attaining the rank of lieutenant.

Joining USIA in 1956, Reinhardt has served in Manila, Kyoto, Tokyo, and Tehran. He received the Agency's Meritorious Service Award in 1962.

THE CLICHE EXPERT EXPLAINS THE BUDGET

Q. Now, Mr. Arbuthnot, your title is—

A. I am Special Assistant for Fiscal Management to the Deputy Assistant Under Secretary for Budget.

Q. And in that capacity, sir, you can give us—

A. A full and frank exposé of the implementation of our cost-reduction program.

Q. Yes. Now, this budget is. . .

A. A minimum cost budget. It reflects hard choices.

Q. What sort of activities are included?

A. The top priority ones.

Q. And you have cut out?

A. All non-essential programs. The others have been cut to the bone.

Q. And the impact will be?

A. Far-reaching. We have asked only for the absolute minimum funds necessary for maintaining our posture and reaching our goals.

Q. And the goals have been?

A. Subjected to searching cost-benefit analysis.

Q. And the budget will cause?

A. Some readjustment. Some postponements of programs which, desirable as they may be in themselves, cannot be justified in view of the balance of payments program.

Q. How many jobs will the Department lose under this budget?

A. Well, now that's a difficult question. I'd better go on deep background here. But no career employee need fear.

Q. Does that mean that there will actually be fewer employees?

A. Oh no. Perish the thought. No, you see, what we have done is to reduce the ceilings on new jobs. We have, in fact, implemented a new program under the directive calling for stringent economy. We have set up a special Task Force which reports directly to me, through my Deputy, to examine the recommendations made by a Special Inter-agency Group, representing all the interested agencies. . . .

Q. And how many people are on this Task Force?

A. Well, you see, we find we have some redundancy in the higher levels—I mean FSO-1s and 2s, and people like that—and we have managed, without loss to other important objectives, to assign a high-level group, of the minimum size consonant with its charter, to. . .

Q. Yes, but how many people are on it?

A. Well, naturally, we felt that a group of this sort had to be fully staffed, and taking account of natural attrition, and making allowances for men in motion, we had to assign a few administrative specialists and this is, of course, leaving out some specialties which we could not find in the Foreign Service, so we had to get in some outside assistance. There was this fellow, I believe he had been a policeman. . . .

A. And, of course, he is outside the Department, so we had to offer him a fully comparable salary. So we felt that we could hardly give him less than a GS-18, because he might have gotten to a comparable grade outside if he had been able to go on with his night courses. He was taking reading, arithmetic, and personnel management. And you couldn't ask any of these temporarily unem—I mean, these high-ranking FSOs whom we temporarily of course were unable to assign to colleges around the country—to work under a lower-ranking officer. It wouldn't have been consonant with the importance of the task to which all of us are presently giving unstintingly of our best efforts.

Q. So the net result?

A. Well, actually, the net result is, balancing one consideration with another, we have managed to absorb the cut

and, by reducing non-essential programs, to find bodies to put in these slots.

Q. How many bodies?

A. Well, the slots came first, of course. Naturally, the Chairman had to have a Deputy, and then there was the Administrative Officer, with his Deputy, plus a special Assistant for Management, a Section Chief for Personnel, a Public Affairs Officer, and of course the Congressional Relations Officer. We have to think about our image on the Hill, of course.

Q. And this is a program—

A. Close to the heart of the Chairman of our Subcommittee.

Q. And what is this group to do?

A. Well, we felt on balance that we should obviously abolish economic sections in those countries—where we continue to have programs. In the others, we will rely on the AID missions.

Q. But why do we need AID missions in countries where they won't take our aid?

A. Well, you see, there are residual functions which have to be carried out. And besides, we have Economic Counselors there, who are also Chiefs, or in some cases Deputy Chiefs, of the AID missions, and they can perform the economic analysis which will allow us to base our future budget projections on the emerging situation as it develops.

Q. I see. And where we have aid programs, we must have economic sections?

A. Of course. They give us a fresh look at the programs.

Q. And they are—

A. Fully integrated with the AID missions, of course. This prevents duplication and assures us that the Country Team speaks with one voice.

Q. Whose voice?

A. Why, obviously, the voice of the country.

Q. So we need an independent judgment, fully integrated with the views of the Country Team and not likely to rock the boat or make waves in our relations with the host country, and that means that. . .

A. It means that we have to send out high-level teams to reconcile honest differences of opinion. By reducing the number of people we have abroad, we can employ more of them in Washington, and then we can send them out on special assignments (on per diem, of course) to give them the feel of the local situation. Of course they mustn't stay too long; might get localitis. And we have found that by having all the Washington people in the field on survey missions, and all the field people on consultation in Washington, we can justify two men for every job.]

Q. Then you would say, Mr. Arbuthnot, that this budget is. .

A. A realistic attempt—of course it's only a first cut at the problem—to balance the needs of the Service with our growing responsibilities.

Washington, we can justify two men for every job.

A. Will be a handicap in our constant efforts to place our personnel most effectively, with consideration of the needs of the Service for highly trained career men. But we have to bite the bullet. And actually, there will be, you will see on page 376, there will be a slight temporary increase in the numbers of administrators, by only 38.6 percent, if you neglect a few ad hoc assignments, which is only until we get this program off the ground. And that, you see, is why we are requesting a small but highly-trained additional special staff for this particular program.

Q. I see.

incorporation makes formal affiliation an academic question for it prohibits using funds for lobbying purposes. If events should permit our formal affiliation at a later date, there would be little risk of compromise to AFSA's integrity. The NFPO constitution permits public dissent by member organizations.

Check Off

Still another possibility is the American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO). AFGE has a State-AID Lodge 1534 with some 700 AID employees and 200 State employees. It enjoys the voluntary check-off for AID employees; and it is getting results in settling some personnel matters in both agencies. AFGE is affiliated with a sizable segment of federal employees in the Government Employees' Council of the AFL-CIO. There are fundamental problems in affiliating with AFGE. There are some AFGE positions which AFSA could not easily support: for example: job seniority, veteran preferences, and opposition to selection-out authority. On the other hand, AFSA could easily support and work cooperatively with AFGE in connection with improved death and burial expenses and improved allowances for service-connected disability, and retirement reforms.

Ombudsman?

AFSA could adopt other procedures which would give it some of the effectiveness of a true union while not involving us in the difficulties which becoming a union might bring. Further development of the *ombudsman* concept might be an alternative to all of the above. One way of doing this might be through an extended AFSA committee on welfare and grievances. Another method would be to appoint a man, perhaps a retired officer who knows the bureaucratic labyrinth, to act as a members' advocate on a full-time basis. We might be able to encourage management to establish an independent *ombudsman* out of the chain of command, with expanded authority to examine and redress grievances.

In September 1967, the President set up a commission of high-ranking Federal officers to study the provisions of E.O. 10988. AFSA went on record with the commission as requesting relaxation of the conflict of interest provision of E.O. 10988. All of the considerations discussed above will be affected, of course, by the findings of the President's Commission. The JOURNAL will report these findings when they are available and will analyze other implications for further development of AFSA activities.

Join AFSA's Community Action Program

The following letter from AFSA's chairman was sent to our Washington membership in early February, inviting them to participate in the AFSA's community action program. Those of you who are overseas are heartily encouraged to join this effort when reassigned to Washington.

The crisis in our American cities is probably our number one domestic problem. A December Foreign Service JOURNAL editorial announced that your Association would investigate what it could do to participate in the programs now under way to attack the problems of our cities. An AFSA committee was formed under the chairmanship of Bob Blake. He met with representatives of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the United Planning Organization (UPO) here in Washington, and the Vice President's office. The results of these soundings are most encouraging; the skills of our membership are not only needed, they have been requested by the various agencies in the Washington area. The UPO has given us a listing of specific volunteer positions that need filling.

We want *you* to participate in this AFSA program. We've all participated in community service projects at post; the time has come for us to start showing the same zeal in our own home base—Washington.

AFSA has the full backing of the Secretary and the Under Secretary. Give it yours by filling out the "Volunteer Application" on the back of this letter and returning it to Pat Byrne, Room 7210, N.S., unless one of our recruiters has already been in touch with you. We are anxious to have the participation of wives and older children. The number of volunteer positions to be filled is so varied and so great that we are sure we can find jobs to match the time availability and interests of every member.

A member of the AFSA Community Action Committee will talk with you as soon as the volunteer applications have been matched with the UPO requests.

The problems of the city are the most pressing we face today. AFSA hopes you will find it possible to help in solving the problems of Washington.

COMMUNITY ACTION COMMITTEE

Return to: Patricia M. Byrne, c/o Department of State,
Room 7210, N.S.

Name Office
Room Office Phone
Home Address Home Phone

Areas of Interest (check) (Use W for Wife)

..... Tutoring High School students.
..... Work with pre-school age children (daytime).
..... Help in giving courses on Africa.
..... Help in running youth centers.
..... Work with young narcotics addicts.
..... Summer programs for young people and children.
..... Consumer education & establishment of cooperatives.
..... Help in establishing neighborhood businesses.
..... Work with unemployed.
..... Help with office work (typing, filing).
..... Library assistance.
..... Editing and Writing community newsletters.
..... Special work with Puerto Ricans.
..... Work on legal problems.
..... Help in arranging financing for housing repair.
..... Help in rebuilding youth centers.
..... Photographers to help in various projects.
..... Work with aged.

Special Qualifications

Time Available for Volunteer Work (check)

Evenings How many evenings
Daytime
Special weekend assignments

Others in Family Who Wish to Participate

Wife Older children Time

Remarks

The Executive Role of the Foreign Service

THE testimony before the Jackson Subcommittee published last month and the memorandum prepared by Professor Schelling contained in this issue of the JOURNAL raise important questions.

A careful statement of objectives, an orderly arrangement of programs on a country or regional basis, an analysis of the relative costs and benefits of alternative programs, and an assessment of results are essential to the management of any enterprise. It is not necessary that the process be known as PPBS or that it be identical to the system developed in the Department of Defense. It is essential, however, that an agency nominated to leadership in foreign affairs be prepared to discharge these functions.

Professor Schelling argues that neither the Department of State nor its foreign service is organized or equipped by training or experience to meet these responsibilities. More disturbing, perhaps, is his argument that the office of the Secretary of State cannot perform as it should so long as it is staffed so exclusively by an essentially subordinate organization, that is the Foreign Service Officer corps.

We do not agree with Professor Schelling that the Foreign Service cannot perform the management functions which it ought to perform and which the Secretary of State requires of it. We believe that the job of execution of foreign policy is a job for professionals and that the Foreign Service is where the professionals are to be found. We would not go so far as to say that the Foreign Service as it is now constituted produces sufficient numbers of managers of the kind Professor Schelling and we agree the Secretary needs. But this is a problem of organization and training. We believe, for example, that it will be necessary to use the Foreign Service Act of 1946 to create a broader Foreign Service so that more members of the Service will be better qualified to assume executive responsibilities. The Association's recent letter to the Under Secretary of State, synopsized elsewhere in this issue, so states. The Association will continue its efforts to make the Foreign Service fully qualified to perform its executive role. In fact, no more important work lies before us, and criticism such as that made by Professor Schelling demonstrates its urgency. ■

Moment For Serious Thought

THE JOURNAL's cliché expert this month offers a wry warning that temporizing and improvising have got us into many a managerial morass. The President's January 18 directives offer a way out.

Invoking the balance of payments problems in this context is almost irrelevant to the American Foreign Service Association. We see the Presidential directives as a fortuitous and perhaps fleeting opportunity for the administrators of AID, State, and USIA to rationalize and streamline the operations of foreign affairs agencies abroad and at home.

The harassed task forces striving to comply with executive deadlines might not welcome AFSA's strident insistence on attention to long-term goals in the midst of "crash" imperatives. Captious kibitzing is not AFSA's intent. We are confident that the extra effort of intellect required to look to the future of the foreign affairs instrumentality will actively assist the tough and nagging detailed decisions the task forces are being called on to make.

If those in charge of implementing the January 18 directives pass up the opportunity now before them, it will be immeasurably more difficult at some future time to bring the disparate elements of the foreign affairs agencies together into the kind of "Foreign Service of the United States" which our nation deserves and which our national interest demands. ■

TIME would probably call it the Golden AFSA Anniversary.

In any event, it is a special one. The American Foreign Service Association is fifty years old this month. In a manner of speaking. In March, 1918, it was the American Consular Association which came into being, "for the purposes of fostering an *esprit de corps* among the members of the Consular Service of the United States, to strengthen Service spirit, and to establish a center around which can be grouped the united efforts of such members for the improvement of this service."

The American Foreign Service Association, as such, was organized in August, 1924, and began its existence officially on September 1 of that year. It assumed the general form and continued the activities of the American Consular Association. The Rogers Act of May, 1924, which combined the diplomatic and consular services into a single service, rendered obsolete an association the membership of which comprised only consular officers. The Consular Association accordingly wound up its affairs, and its publication, the AMERICAN CONSULAR BULLETIN, became the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL.

Looking at the Association today and thinking back 50 years, one could accurately conclude that the more it is the same, the more it changes.

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, for example, is still recognizable, despite the modernization of type and makeup. But consider this, in the Articles of Association, dated September, 1924: "Propaganda and articles of a tendentious nature, especially such as might be written to influence legislative, executive, or administrative action with respect to the Foreign Service, or the Department of State, or other Departments of the Government, shall be rigidly excluded from its columns!" [Section XI.2]

One might also consider the membership itself, which today includes officers of the US Information Agency, AID, and the Peace Corps, which, of course, did not exist fifty years ago.

Probably most illustrative of the Association's stability and flexibility, however, is the present Board of Directors which took office for this year and next. The eighteen members ran for office as a group; for the first time in the Association's history, they actively campaigned for election; and, upon election, they chose to remain a governing body, all members of which remain active. Many are young in years, junior in grade. Chairman Lannon Walker, for example, is an FSO-5 in his early thirties. And among the "18" are representatives of USIA and AID, as well as State.

There may be those who, raising an eyebrow, might observe that AFSA's fiftieth anniversary follows that of the Soviet Union by a few short months. We assure them the coincidence represented nothing more than that. According to the first circular letter, dated July 1, 1918, our preliminary aims were "a. To maintain at Washington either club premises or a rendezvous of some kind where members could meet socially . . . ; b. To assist the Department in gathering correct information about living conditions affecting the members, and to assemble data relative to any subject of interest to the . . . Service, such as a retirement system, c. To ascertain by referendum from time to time the sentiment of the [membership] regarding matters relating to the interest of the Service; and d. To assist members of the Service coming to Washington in such matters as may present themselves . . ."

To others, who may slyly note that our Golden Anniversary happens to occur in the very year when the gold outflow constitutes one of the critical problems facing the country, we offer the reminder that no one who has been a member of the Foreign Service for more than 24 hours is a stranger to crisis.

We feel that members may look back at AFSA's first fifty years with justifiable pride and to the future with anticipation.

A SPACE AGE USIA?

GEORGE G. WYNNE

Now that USIS officers have become full-fledged members of the Foreign Service Association I think it is high time that we begin using the JOURNAL as a forum for the constructive discussion of current issues in the information field much as it is being used by our Foreign Service colleagues for a searching analysis of the more traditional tools of the profession. The three anniversary articles on the Voice of America in the February 1967 issue, one of them by Edwin M. J. Kretzmann who hired me for that tower of Babel just before the McCarthy corrosion to which he devotes a reflective appraisal, are a big step in the right direction. But I hope the pages of the JOURNAL will also be used as a vantage point to seek out the future as much as to gaze appreciatively and nostalgically at the terrain stretching out behind us.

I hope that the random thoughts that follow on future tasks and proposed new techniques in the information field will make a modest contribution in this direction by eliciting comments and starting a dialogue among our information purveyors in Washington and their distributors in the field. The public forum provided by the JOURNAL, swept by a fresh breeze of self-analysis and the skeptical gaze of men who have risen to the top of the profession, is a distinctly unhealthy place for sacred cows. I sense the need for such an open forum, a market place of ideas where operational principles may be challenged by USIS officers. It does not now exist and sacred cows often graze happily in the close comfort of privileged communications between headquarters and the field.

One of these is the notion that we live in the best of all possible worlds for government information programs. Under this prevailing concept all we need to do as an information agency to keep pace with the revolution of rising sophistication is to keep on doing everything we have been doing, only a little better. Given the unquestioned position of the United States as an object of worldwide interest, people will come to our films and lectures, read our articles, look at our exhibits no matter what we do. True, we should seek to make our activities a little more stimulating to the audience, but, essentially, we are on the right track. This smug way of thinking neglects the fact that the gathering of crowds is no indication of effectiveness in influencing attitudes and that the mass approach is neither appropriate nor indeed possible with the limited means at our command in the developed world.

What I think we have failed to do is to develop an internal awareness of the changing world around us and this in some ways has made us a space age agency operating with the tools of the early post-war period. Things are perhaps not quite so bad as I depict them here for the sake of bringing issues into the open, there is still time for change and self-reform, but in my view the danger of obsolescence and unsuitability to the task at hand is unmistakable if we persist in our present course.

At the core of our problem lies the "one world" concept which reduces to what we believe to be the lowest common

denominator of world comprehension and acceptability the kind of information materials sent our posts abroad. In the Agency jargon we call these our media products and they include press commentaries, documentary films, TV shows, radio broadcasts, exhibits and pamphlets designed to explain to global audiences American policies and institutions. The fallacy of this approach has been brought home to me over the years by working as an information officer in both developed and developing countries. USIA has not yet faced up to the fact that *we have more than one world to deal with*. People in the field know it and so do some people who have come from the field to Washington, but the realization has to sink in institutionally throughout the Agency and bring about major changes in techniques and emphasis in the servicing by USIA of its more than 200 foreign posts.

We have to accept, I think, that there are *two principal groups of consumers for our media products, those in the developed and those in the developing world*. The type and standard of products and services provided these consumers by our country posts should not be the same, as they now very largely are, if we expect to be responsive to real needs and interests of each category. The temptation sometimes felt by headquarters personnel in Washington to reply to this kind of argument begs the question by telling public affairs officers in effect: "It's your job to tailor your country output to local needs; after all we cannot run a hundred country programs from Washington." PAOs and their staffs however have to run with what they are given and with the products emitted by pouch and teletype in response to their specific requests. They can be superb salesmen for Agency products and services. They can even give a final polish, giftwrap the package and deliver it with a flourish. But the content has to be what the customer ordered, or what we can convince him he really needs. The global approach that delivers neither fish nor fowl is not conducive to the servicing of clients who want or need one or the other.

The much vaunted new Planning, Programing, Budgeting System (PPBS) provides only a partial answer to this deficiency for while it will permit the PAO to identify priorities in the allocation of human and material resources based on goals set in his country plan, he will still depend very largely on the tools and raw materials furnished by the headquarters organization.

Looking from a different perspective at the challenge and opportunity faced daily by USIS posts around the world we could characterize their respective environments as either a buyer's or a seller's market for our products and services. The result will be roughly the same, as the buyer's market can be equated with the developed, advanced or industrialized countries, whatever we decide to call them, and the seller's market with the developing, or underdeveloped or newly-independent nations. The political alignments of host country governments

can of course modify the environment of relative acceptability of our products and services by placing barriers between ourselves and the target audience, or on the other hand by facilitating our work.

One might question the practical value of this new breakdown because our bureaucrats already have the world divided up into geographical, functional and regional divisions that constantly overlap and cause no end of trouble.

I am proposing the concept merely as a servicing aid, as a mental framework for the Agency on which to hang new techniques and management tools because I feel that we cannot afford to keep operating in the same routine way that dates back to Marshall Plan days when practically the whole world—developing or recovering—provided a seller's market for our products and services.

In the interval of one generation, the communications industry has advanced in the developed world to US levels of sophistication, in some cases it has exceeded them in content quality, and at the same time the attention threshold of priority audiences has been raised considerably by the daily onslaught of competing messages from every quarter. In the developing world, meanwhile, new-won independence, a preoccupation with the trinkets of sovereignty, insurgencies exploited by forces hostile to an orderly world community, and the natural desire to catch up, to run in some instances before having learned to walk, have created situations calling for deft new approaches to persuasion and institution building.

As the environment in which our missions operate has radically changed since World War II, our central servicing, our ingrained attitudes have remained more or less geared to the comfortable, undifferentiated standard of information dispensing about the United States that we inherited twenty years ago from the Office of War Information. Nor have our tools kept pace with the challenge around us. Barring some laudable exceptions, our worldwide audiences face the same wordy articles, the same tired paper shows, the same lecturing documentaries that they did when the dearth of competing interests and stimuli made these acceptable. We pay lip service to the idea of change and challenge, but we don't follow through. Routine has become a way of life, the clouded monochrome spectacles through which we look at audiences throughout the world are firmly riveted to our face and any real change would require a brutally honest reappraisal by the Agency's top management of our tasks and our tools in the late twentieth century.

This reappraisal in my view would have to start from a real recognition that there are two worlds and the consequent abandoning of global product servicing on a single standard. Manpower and resources freed by this move should flow into the creation of a capability for specialized and responsive servicing of field requirements in developed and developing countries. I believe that there will be sufficient internal consistency and similarity within these two groupings to make such a division profitable for the Agency.

For the developed world this means a reduction in the shared servicing of the routine package programs: films, TV shows, exhibits, radio tapes, Wireless File features and commentaries and a commensurate step-up of component and raw material servicing for custom-tailoring and discretionary use by the post in the light of local needs and opportunities. Under this concept each major developed country post or group of contiguous posts would have one or more media leg men in Washington working with the country desk officer. It would be his task to provide individual service to "his" post, tracking down information and answers to post requests, setting up appointments for visiting opinion leaders and media men referred to him, expediting action on post projects and operating across the media spectrum to help the post discharge its information and cultural functions speedily and effectively. He would not be concerned with policy, personnel or budget matters but serve as a full time researcher and expeditor, in a true sense the eyes and ears of USIS "Bigville" in Washington with his loyalties and performance report in the charge of the CPAO and the desk man in charge of the review.

To assist the developed country posts and "our men in Washington" charged with the procurement of particularized information for our spoiled and sophisticated clients, the Agency should devote urgent attention to the development of an up-to-date information retrieval capability. For an Agency devoted to slaking the world's curiosity about us because of "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind," we lag sadly behind the other civil and military components of the executive branch who operate elaborate scanning and retrieval systems to make information available to the privileged few. Currently we waste much precious staff time at overseas posts and are often forced to confess failure when asked highly technical and specific questions that call for precise answers on various aspects of American life and institutions. As a result our reputation has suffered, particularly in Western Europe where we are considered to be coasting on our achievements of earlier decades and are now often removed from the mainstream of the countries' cultural and intellectual life.

I submit that we should be able to process, store and retrieve on demand the answers to all questions of possible policy significance or public relations value which we are likely to be asked by overseas customers. To this end we should program into a sophisticated search and retrieval system such items as our Wireless File from the year one, an annotated bibliography of selected non-fiction dealing with American institutions and personalities, laws, treaties, speeches and public position papers on international issues in which the United States is involved; everything in short that can assist the selective information purveying function of our key country programs. A system of this kind is capable of nearly indefinite expansion and ideally it would be equipped with facsimile printers at the major posts, serviced from a central location that would make available requested informa-

tion and source data in a few minutes at the flick of a finger anywhere in the world.

As the news of our new capability spreads, the opinion leaders we are trying to influence would take increasing advantage of it and areas of misinformation and distortion about US intentions and activities on the international scene would be significantly reduced. The system, activated by USIS posts, would provide a real service not otherwise available—and this is the traditional key to our popularity—for commentators, journalists, educators, parliamentarians and other members of priority target groups we are trying to reach in the various countries.

In the past, information seekers have been restricted to asking relatively simple questions. This has been due to the cumbersome traditional storage and retrieval process, shelves of books and batteries of file cabinets for the former, and a time-consuming and consequently costly manual search for their retrieval. Recently-developed automated information processing systems used in government and industry, though not yet by USIA, make it possible to store books and documents on microfilm joined to a magnetic margin which describes the content of the page in dozens of cross-indexed, machine-readable electronic impulses. In this format, collections of information which ordinarily would occupy an entire floor can be stored in a single file cabinet. The compact units that retrieve the microfilmed information—I have seen one in operation—can scan through more than a hundred pages a second. This means in a minute it can go through an average year of the Wireless File or the equivalent of 13 books of more than 500 pages each. It finds the item you are looking for and reproduces it on the spot. If connected with a facsimile teleprinter, the requested pages or series of items appear a few microseconds later hundreds or thousands of miles away from the central search unit.

Up-to-date retrieval is one phase of the communications revolution that USIA ought to join. Not reluctantly, not limping along behind as a stolid band of aging bureaucrats, but in the front rank if we are to represent America, the leader of that revolution, the way it deserves to be represented. To keep up with new products and processes in the field of communications, to commission and monitor specific research in pursuit of Agency goals, a Research and Development section ought to be constituted to work closely with the Policy Staff and the Area Directors in responding to requirements and matching new needs with the new tools obtained from industry, the academic community or other government research. Before reaching for tomorrow though, it behooves us to make full use of today's achievements in our product servicing—video tapes, stereo tapes, the communications satellites for program transmissions, large image projection and all the sophisticated paraphernalia now available to make an impression on audiences who are becoming increasingly jaded.

The Agency should offer specialized training for certain USIS local employees in the highly industrialized countries who provide program continuity and are called upon to answer technical questions. I have in mind media people such as the editors of post publications in the labor, science and cultural fields, radio and film producers, where applicable, or the top exchange program employees. At the same time posts should be able to obtain and dispense to selected audiences, through these specialized locals, detailed or technical information obtained from US government agencies active in such fields as education, labor, transportation, urban planning, or scientific research to mention but a few. The post's representative in Washington referred to earlier would be the leg man for this kind of service.

Finally, our country PAOs should have a clear mandate to urge other members of the country team to take psychological objectives into consideration in the formulation of their own country plans. And back home the Agency might do the

same in pressing for symbolic gestures and symbols of our sympathy for other countries—for example stamp issues, scholarships, endowed chairs—or in suggesting impressive psychological initiatives in our relations with foreign governments in recognition of ethnic and cultural links.

These techniques point the way to improved servicing of our sophisticated clientele. An entirely different problem has arisen in the developing countries that in a less polite day were called underdeveloped. And we are not facing up to that one either. Because the needs of these countries in the information and cultural fields show great similarity, the Agency would find it fruitful as well to create a task force or some internal entity that would occupy itself with defining tasks and developing tools for our work in the places that seek to catch up with this century.

Under this heading I would put citizenship education programs, the whole spectrum of civics, assistance to the development of representative institutions, in short the activities that are now often called "nation-building." Local traditions that focus allegiance on units larger than the extended family will have to be strengthened or created and carefully nurtured in some instances. Our standard media servicing, our traditional information and cultural programs are of limited utility in these countries even if we fill mountains of newsprint and years of airtime. Criteria of effectiveness are found elsewhere here, for example in the prevention and cure of insurgencies, the development of problem-solving techniques that eschew violence, and the identification and care of future leaders.

Our effectiveness is often impaired by cultural barriers that we ignore in applying our own concepts and yardsticks to foreign environments. Through the application of scholarship, the training of specialists, the long-term development of our key local employees through extended tours of training in the US, we must build greater empathy with the societies we seek to influence. We will have to know more about the structure of their languages, the differential vocabulary used by various target groups, local values and traditions.

Much of the facilities, backstopping, and most importantly, sympathetic understanding of the unconventional needs of our information posts in developing countries will have to come from the Agency. We are deficient in this respect. Much valuable experience has been lost because we have not concentrated on developing a headquarters mechanism for supplying talent and resources pertinent to the problems of developing countries. We can learn a lot here from private foundations and voluntary agencies who carry on projects that advance common objectives—at times unbeknownst to USIS posts. An example is the citizenship projects of the Asia Foundation that help build or reconstruct national traditions and a spirit of regional cooperation. And the resident US community, an immense potential asset, should not be neglected in the shaping of our country programs. It frequently is ignored for all practical sources and this lode of ingenuity and continuity goes practically untapped.

Friendly governments with limited but carefully-planned resources are often ahead of us in selected areas. Australia each year picks a few dozen promising young men from Colombo Plan countries and gives them a full four-year college education rather than waiting till they become leaders and then inviting them for a quickie look at the country. On their return they are committed to work for ten years in government jobs using their new-won skills. The program has won Australia many long-term friends in Southeast Asia, while our own massive, short-term approach to training in developing countries is often wasteful.

These random examples could be added to from the experience of USIS officers in the field but they can serve as a starter in getting a dialogue going on the need for a searching appraisal of our information service techniques in the space age. ■



New Delhi. The Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra under the baton of India-born Zubin Mehta gave two concerts in November, as part of the world tour sponsored by the State Department. The concerts were attended by audiences of 2,400 and an estimated 150,000 persons heard the live and

taped broadcasts and telecast by All India Radio. At right, Ambassador and Mrs. Chester Bowles chat with Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi during the intermission at the opening concert.

Service Glimpses



Colombo. Ambassador Andrew V. Corry talks with Ven. Induruwe Pannatissa Thero, Director, Buddhist University College, and Mr. A. R. N. Perera, President of The Ceylon-American Society at a recent meeting of the Society. Ambassador Corry addressed the Society on "The Prospect Before Us."

Washington. The annual Christmas dance for Foreign Service juniors sponsored by the American Association of Foreign Women found Steve Parker being greeted by AAFSW President, Mrs. G. Lewis Jones. To her right is Ambassador Jones, at left Ambassador and Mrs. John S. Steeves. Center photograph shows the reunion of Suzanne Kerchen with Hunter

Nadler, Annapolis Midshipman. The two attended kindergarten together in Taipei but had not met since. At right, 'Belle of the Ball' Kathleen Carter receives her bouquet of roses from Secretary Dean Rusk, who had drawn her name. On the left, Mrs. Alexander Schnee, AAFSW Teen-Age Activities Chairman, and, far right, her husband.



WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

*The drowned and desolate world
Lies dumb and white in a trance of
snow.*

ELIZABETH CHASE, "Snow" (1866)

The wife of a northern European ambassador stood at a window in her drawing room gazing pensively at a snow-covered street. "Why snow in Washington turns people into maniacs. They behave as if they never saw the stuff before. In Stockholm or Moscow or Berlin or Montreal they simply shovel it up and life proceeds as usual. But here there are traffic jams. Buses run late. People run their cars into drifts and they shovel themselves out. But they are too lazy to use the shovels on sidewalks. So the snow melts and freezes and footing is sometimes treacherous—until comes a prolonged thaw."

How true! She would have used "lunatics" instead of "maniacs" if she could have witnessed some of the snow tizzy in American homes after a snowfall. It is customary for members of the family to turn on all radios, including transistors, and these emit wildly contradictory news: All government offices will be shut. They will be shut to noon. They won't be shut at all. All schools in such and such district or county will not open. They will open two hours late. No, the buses will start running two hours late. Everyone to his own taste said the cow as she kissed the grinding stone. Everyone decides for himself. Those students who stay home for the day seem to get away with it easily.

The snow has provided youth with an edifying sport. Little groups gather in the shadows of bushes and trees to hurl snowballs at passing cars. On several occasions the youths were applauded by adults. Such fun! The possibility of a distracted driver hitting a pedestrian or another car seemed to occur to no one. "Oh look! He almost got the windshield of that gray car!" On one occasion a snowball smashed the side window of a car driven by a lone woman. A triumphant youth explained matters to the audience. "I only aim at cars driven by women. They're too scared to get out." Participants and audience melted into the darkness and all this in a suburb, a citadel for the upper bourgeoisie, the kind described in newspapers, as "all owners of \$50,000 homes and above."

"Restricted Titles"

In days gone by public libraries used to maintain a section privily dubbed "the closed shelves" to hold books that were withheld from children and handed out to adults only after they had "signed the book." (Apparently signing the book made these miscreants realize what they were doing.) The "closed shelves" harbored an odd bag containing such items as Valle-Inclán's "Las Cuatro Sonatas," the works of Aretino, the "Decameron," and Edith Wharton's "Summer."

Which books in our day are kept from minors? A casual survey reveals the following on the list of "restricted titles."

Defoe—The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders

Zola—Nana

O'Hara—10 North Frederick Street

Joyce—Ulysses

Caldwell—Caravan; God's Little Acre

Mailer—The Naked and the Dead

Lawrence—Lady Chatterley's Lover

McCarthy—The Group

Baldwin—Another Country

Genêt—Our Lady of the Flowers

Wilson—Memoirs of Hecate County

Jones—From Here to Eternity

Burroughs—Naked Lunch

Selby—Last Exit to Brooklyn

Fielding—Tom Jones

Most of the titles seem commonplace and the restrictions futile. But let us not be censorious. Librarians must deal with parents and there are said to be still on the planet parents who control what their children read (mirabile dictu!). How they do so, is, however, a mystery since all "restricted titles" including gamier items that don't even get into libraries, are easily obtainable at the corner drugstore.

Topsy-Turvy Words

We expect words to glide away from their original meanings as the years go by, but it is astonishing to see them do a complete flip-flop. Here are two capricious performers:

When the word *croon* entered the English language (the earliest example of it given by the Oxford Dictionary is 1460) it meant "to bellow, to boom."

It has now collapsed into this: "To hum or sing in a low voice."

And a crooner in the current defini-

tion (God knows what will happen to it in the years to come) is "someone who sings popular sentimental songs with false pathos."

In 1550 when the word *scan* (from Latin *scandere*) came into the English language one of its principle meanings was "to discuss minutely," "to scrutinize closely." It preserved this sense until recently. Indeed the Oxford dictionary gives no hint of the flip-flop that has taken place in recent years. Most people now use it exclusively to mean "glance at" or "consider hastily." Webster's New International dubs this "colloquial" as it maintains the original meaning. Webster's New World authorizes you to use it any way you want—the long slow look or the quick glance.

Villainous Trees

Science is providing us with one crashing disillusionment after another. Fritz W. Went, a botanist at the University of Nevada, says that, in air pollution, trees are the main villains. The fragrant pine and the pungent sage and other related trees emit 1,000 per cent more pollutants into the air than all of man's fires, factories and motor cars. These trees, said the botanist, send into the air substances known as terpenes and esters, stimulating a chemical reaction similar to that caused by manmade pollutants.

Think! It was only yesterday that we wandered through a forest, all innocent and carefree, feeling restored as we breathed the fragrant pine air and murmured smugly, "Marvelous to get away from the gasoline fumes."

Another Distinguished Thinker

The Washington Letter in the February issue related a commendable act of a distinguished thinker in the State Department's mail room. It now develops that the Foreign Service Association has also got a distinguished thinker who knew what to do when a letter from a member turned up with this address:

Mrs. Mary McCarthy

The Group from

American Foreign Service Association

815—17th St. N.W.

Washington D. C. 20006

U.S.A.

A non-distinguished thinker would

have ascertained Mary McCarthy's address and forwarded the letter to her. But *our* distinguished thinker said, "This is probably an order for 'The Group.'" She slit open the envelope and she was right.

Sound Not the Meaning

A ramble in Oak Hill Cemetery by the *STAR*'s "Rambler," John McKelway, produced an interesting piece on the grave of John Howard Payne, the author of "Home Sweet Home."

This reminds us that Payne wrote one of the most beautiful lines in the English language. It will never get into a Peaks on Parnassus because it has none of the quintessence of beauty, the compression of drama to be found in quoted lines from Plato, Tacitus, Shakespeare, Petrarch, Schiller, Villon, etc. No, Payne's beautiful line lies merely in the sumptuous combination of sounds—something you could read to a foreigner who didn't understand English as an example of what tonal beauty the language is capable of. Here is the line:

"An exile from home, splendor dazzles me in vain."

A companion piece—all lovely froth, and don't bother about the sense, from Julia Ward Howe:

"In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea."

And this from Elizabeth Barrett Browning:

"And bless me deeper in your soul because your voice has faltered."

But enough! You can't compose a whole anthology for people who can't read English.

We Are Real Sorry

The word "very" is dying from the English language—at least as Americans speak it. Ten years ago it was a flourishing, indispensable adverb. Today it is beginning to acquire an archaic tinge. Its place, alas, has been taken by "real," e.g., "Dear Mr. Jenkins, we are real pleased to hear that you fell flat on your face at the McKillicuddys' the other evening."

Washington Treasure

It would be an exaggeration to say that the Byzantine Collection of Dumbarton Oaks is neglected but still a visitor is sometimes driven to wonder that this collection, one of the most resplendent Byzantine exhibits in the world, does not draw bigger crowds. The more so since the gardens of Dumbarton Oaks make the whole establishment one of the outstanding museums of the world. And in Washington it is so easily accessible!

The excuse for this comment is the publication of a beautiful new handbook of the Byzantine Collection. It consists of 120 pages of text and 88 pages of illustrations, in addition to a useful glossary and maps showing the growth and contraction of the Byzantine Empire between 565 A.D. and 1453 A.D.

Award

Washington doctors have been in recent months increasingly the victims of stick up men. The method is always the same: two thugs appear at an hour when the doctor is alone. One says he needs medical attention and while the doctor is examining him, the other erupts into the room with a gun.

So it happened to Dr. Egbert V. Wiltshire, 52-year-old physician. When one of the thugs interrupted the examination brandishing a gun, Dr. Wiltshire, undaunted, opened a drawer, pulled out a .32 and a .38 and blasted away from both hips. The "sick man" recovered at once, leaped to his feet and made for the door, followed by his armed confederate. Dr. Wiltshire followed still blazing away with both his gats. He was

inclined to think he had pinked one of the marauders but the police could find no evidence of this.

It seems more than likely, however, that some other doctor was called upon to treat two cases of nervous breakdown. Having a doctor chase you with two guns blasting away is something not even the most rugged nervous system could endure.

Wayward Thoughts of Mighty Thinkers

1. "Gentlemen never wear white shirts before 6 p.m."
2. "Gentlemen never wear colored shirts in an office."
3. "Gentlemen never wear brown."

Number three is imputed to Lord Curzon. The other two remain stubbornly unidentifiable.

Peaks on Parnassus

What is the most beautiful line in all world literature? Here is another candidate:

*This world nys but a thurghfare ful of wo,
And wee been pilgrimes, passinge to and fro.*

CHAUCER: The Knightes Tale

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"But, Olga, how can I be sure you love me, that it's not a blackmail plot of some sort?"



Challenge of Foreign Aid

FOR anyone who has more than passing interest in the subject of foreign aid, Jacob Kaplan's book is eminently readable, informative and balanced. It is a tour de force of foreign aid doctrine and rationale. Rather than being primarily critical or defensive, as writers on this subject often tend to be, Kaplan reconstructs the evolution of US foreign aid policy, and in tracing its tortuous convolutions, examines its basic premises with admirable objectivity and incisiveness.

The author feels that foreign aid can serve US interests in a worthy and vital way only if its values, limits and purposes are better clarified. In seeking that clarification, Kaplan endeavors to debunk a number of the basic tenets upon which the US aid program is currently rationalized, such as the "economic development syndrome" and geographic concentration. He posits a number of provocative suggestions to reappraise the role of Congress, the aid agency and the multilateral institutions. Kaplan emphasizes the need for those responsible for administering the program to consider more fully the noneconomic factors which bear heavily and justifiably on the aims and accomplishments of foreign aid. The consideration of aid by both the executive and legislative branches as an integral part of foreign policy, Kaplan claims, would provide it with a focus and a force appropriate to its potentiality for promoting US objectives and those of the other developed and the developing countries as well.

The book's thesis assumes the preeminence of nationalism over internationalism, at least for the next decade. Consequently, while international cooperation is to become more common in administering bilateral aid, pure multilateralism will continue to have only secondary importance in the service of what are essentially national goals.

It is in the attempt to assess what is possible from foreign aid and to relate those possibilities more intimately to broad US interests that the book's largest contribution is found. It is

perhaps in the uncertainties of international, national and individual behavior, and in the ultimate reliance on human judgment where even modest prescriptions for the future most often founder. Kaplan's diagnosis as well as his prognosis should be of substantial interest to many people in government and to the public. If his prescription is used and is successful, foreign aid might at last find that constituency it has always needed.

—EDWARD M. ZIMMERMANN

THE CHALLENGE OF FOREIGN AID, by Jacob J. Kaplan. Praeger, \$8.50.

Something Different on Vietnam

ROGER HULL and John Novogrod of New Haven have produced a compact, compelling study of the legal aspects of involvement in the Vietnam struggle. These 200 pages are essential reading for students of international law. Others, hawks and doves alike, might find them a welcome diversion from the mass of ordinary, daily comment on Vietnam.

"The crucial issue," as the authors state in the Introduction, "is the question of lawfulness of assistance to the contending factions in South Vietnam." The answers vary, "depending on whether the struggle is viewed as a civil war or a war of aggression."

In search of an answer to this basic issue, the authors have sifted masses of documents. Every page of this little book has its footnotes. A bibliography of twelve pages is appended. Their conclusion is that, this being a war of aggression against a sovereign state, the involvement of the United States and its allies is legally sound.

In the process of reaching this conclusion, the complex Geneva Accords of 1954 are judiciously weighed. The applicability of the U.N. Charter and of SEATO to the issue is examined in detail and, beyond law and pacts, "community expectations" as well.

The penultimate chapter deals with the Constitutional powers of the President and Congress to make war. The final paragraph reads: "While critics may argue that the recent enhancement of Presidential power is destructive of the system of checks and bal-

ances, they should recognize that Congress itself has permitted the balance to shift to the President. Notwithstanding its statements to the contrary, Congress, through its actions, has repeatedly affirmed the Commander-in-Chief's authority to deploy troops to South Vietnam."

The arguments marshaled by the authors in support of the legality of US involvement in Vietnam are convincing. Whether involvement can also be justified morally and as being in our national interest is touched on only in passing, these issues being outside the scope of this study.

—W. J. GALLMAN

LAW AND VIETNAM, by Roger H. Hull and John C. Novogrod. Oceana Publications, Inc.

The German Question

UNDERSTANDABLY there has been a good deal of controversy in the Federal Republic about Professor Karl Jaspers' book on "The Future of Germany." Some, though by no means all, of that controversy is attributable to Jaspers' stand on reunification which he suggests should be dismissed as the most important aim of German policy. This note is, of course, diametrically opposed to the objective to which W. W. Schuetz is dedicated not only as the author of "Rethinking German Policy" but also as the Director of the Foundation for an Indivisible Germany.

Mr. Jaspers ranges far and wide. He is much concerned with the draft "emergency legislation." This preoccupation can be understood fully only by those Americans who are aware of the traumatic experience which the toying with constitutional government in the Weimar Republic just before Hitler's accession to power still is for the politically conscious and articulate survivors of that era. Needless to say, Jaspers views "emergency legislation" as a menace to what he considers to be a precariously based democracy. In part, his criticism is unjust. He rests his case heavily on the assertion that a war in Europe will be nuclear from the start and quickly concluded. Therefore, such legislation is unnecessary. This is an unsound assumption. In a somewhat petulant discussion of the shortcomings of German democracy, Jaspers contradicts himself. He seems to want a highly pluralistic society with maximum leeway for the individual but disparages the "senseless splinters" of France's Fourth Republic. He is intensely critical of existing political parties in the Federal Republic but offers no realistic alternative, and complains of parliament's lack of power. There are also philosophical insights on the reality of the

fact of force in international affairs and the shortsightedness of contemporary French policy. On the other hand, Jaspers sees the war in Vietnam as "atrocious" and insists the Warren Commission did not establish the truth about Dallas. None of this in his eyes detracts from his admiration for American democracy and his belief that American "hegemony" is Europe's only hope for security.

The cliché is to say that Jaspers has written a stimulating book. This is true enough but there is something disturbing about a kind of super-idealism which demands a world in which everything has to be perfect before there is any hope.

Mr. Schuetz on the other hand is single minded. His purpose is reunification through a process of East-West reconciliation at the end of which German unity is "transformed into a political and national interest of the USSR." Schuetz challenges, quite persuasively, the so-called "realistic" school which would accept the division as an irreversible fact. He bases his challenge on the claim that the West does not have it in its power to unilaterally decide for or against unity. If the West gives up its advocacy of unification the cause will become that of the other side. Mr. Schuetz carries his scenario through to a European security system to accompany unification. In such a Europe—but only after reunification—he sees United States and Soviet forces withdrawing to their respective home countries with a system of US logistics bases, reception airfields and naval facilities on the continent or its fringes providing the balance and offsetting the closer proximity of the Soviet armies to the heart of Europe. This is at least a thought although it does not address the difficulties connected with any attempt to define such arrangements in a meaningful and mutually acceptable way. There is also some fuzzy stuff on the role of ICBMs in a European security system and a somewhat airy and unrealistic notion that the Soviet MRBMs threatening Europe would have to be dismantled.

All in all, however, Schuetz has a fairly clear approach which, whether one shares it or not, is at least based on recognition of the fact that the problem will not just fade away if everybody waits long enough.

—WOLF LEHMANN

THE FUTURE OF GERMANY, by Karl Jaspers. The University of Chicago Press, \$4.95.

RETHINKING GERMAN POLICY, by Wilhelm Wolfgang Schuetz. Praeger, \$5.50.

The Path To Dictatorship

How could Nazism triumph in a civilized country? "The Path to Dictatorship," essays by ten prominent German scholars, attempts to shed light on this question and on the causes for the failure of the Weimar Republic. These essays were originally broadcast over the Norddeutsche Rundfunk and published in 1962 as *Der Weg in die Diktatur*.

The respected University of Tuebingen political scientist, Theodor Eschenburg, examines the general breakdown of democratic governments in Europe between the two world wars. Ernst Fraenkel and Kurt Sontheimer of the Free University of Berlin, describe the anti-democratic legacy of imperial Germany, including latent racism and nationalism. Other chapters deal with the political parties and their underestimation of the threat Hitler posed; the Nazi mechanism of seizing power; and the beginnings of internal resistance to Nazism. A concluding chapter by University of Darmstadt Professor Eugen Kogon assesses the prospects of the Bonn Republic and asks what it can learn from the Weimar Republic to prevent the possibility of dictatorship again rising in Germany. Appendices contain a chronology of the Weimar Republic, thumbnail sketches of the Weimar political parties, unemployment figures during the period, and a tabulation of national election results, from 1928 until 1933, when Hitler's National Socialist party polled more than 43 per cent of the vote.

The complexity of the problem explored—Nazism and its rise to power—is well described in the introduction by

Columbia Professor Fritz Stern which in itself will invite persons interested in modern European history to read these stimulating essays: "Nazism had been difficult to understand from the very beginning. If it had been easier to perceive, it would never have succeeded." This volume materially aids that perception.

—WILLIAM L. SWING

THE PATH TO DICTATORSHIP, 1918-1933, Ten Essays. Praeger, \$5.50.

Comprehensive Survey of Egypt

THIS is the second edition of a comprehensive, political and social survey of Egypt since Napoleon's invasion in 1798, with particular emphasis on the events of the last thirty years. It concludes with a chapter on the June war.

The book gives a very useful and thorough review of events leading up to and following the revolution of 1952. It benefits from the personal experiences of the author, who was the manager of the British-backed Arab News Agency in Cairo during the 1950's. Little is generally sympathetic to Nasser and the goals of the revolution and explains some of the problems which have bedeviled our relations with Egypt as seen from a viewpoint quite different from that encountered in most press accounts. Although some of the details are arguable, the book is accurate and responsible and is well worth the buying and the reading.

—RICHARD B. PARKER

MODERN EGYPT, by Tom Little. Praeger, \$7.50.



Epreuve d'Artiste

by Marie Skora

Peru Today

FREDERICK PIKE, who already has a distinguished list of scholarly books to his credit has contributed the latest in the series of Praeger Histories of Latin America. The book is in the Pike style: careful, copiously footnoted, educational. It is not, alas, sparkling but perhaps that is hoping for too much. However, for the Peru desk officer or American official in Peru, it is a treasure house of information, particularly enlightening on the stresses and strains in Peruvian history which still inhibit the development of a modern, viable, unified Peru.

I found it most interesting for the light it shed on the racial problem in Peru. The theories of the cult of Spanishness, of the Indian, of the mixed freed (*hispanidad*, *indigenismo* and *mestizaje*) are fully explained as well as the intellectual and political strife these theories engendered. The background of the current Belaunde regime, the problems that beset it and why, the rise and fall of APRA and all the long route of Peruvian political development from the days of San Martín and Bolívar are carefully recounted. The individual leaders along the way: the caudillos, the Positivists, the Civilists; Fascists and democrats; heroes and braggarts all parade before us giving the personalism essential to an understanding of a country's history—particularly a Latin American country.

Recommended for the student and the practising diplomat.

—JOHN M. CATES

THE MODERN HISTORY OF PERU, by Frederick B. Pike, Praeger, \$7.50.

Nation-building in Gabon

THE M.I.T. Press has been a source of excellent, provocative studies in African development in the last few years. Here is another such study, this time devoted to the nation-building theme in a former French territory, Gabon.

Here are reviewed the basic ingredients for nation-building and readers will see in them similarities to the problems that confront leaders of newly formed nations not only in other parts of Africa, but also in Southeast Asia. Differences in religion, tribal rivalries, undeveloped resources, and a heavy reliance on aid from external sources—these and others comprise the familiar fabric that independence has brought to so many small states since 1960.

Professor Weinstein deals with his subject as both a sociologist and a political scientist. He recognizes that

Gabon possesses a clearly dominant ethnic group (the Fang—from whose numbers came recently deceased President M'ba). Although the Fangs consider themselves to be superior to other groups and even sense the need for nation-building, their lot is not an easy one.

The author has delved deeply into the French pattern of colonial administration and provides the reader with a well documented picture of the 74 years of rule by Paris. Credit is due Professor Weinstein for what surely must be one of the finest (over 20 pages, with many French and British references) bibliographies on nation-building and nationalism, group analysis and social change, witchcraft and religion, the Gabonese, the Fang and other Gabonese tribes, and Africa in general.

—JAMES O. MAYS

GABON: NATION-BUILDING ON THE OGOOUE, by Brian Weinstein, M.I.T. Press, \$12.50.

Look Back In Anguish

TO state the case immediately, "The Fall of Japan," by William Craig, is highly recommended. To those who fought or otherwise lived through the last, chilling days of World War II in the Pacific. And for those, younger, who have acquired their knowledge of the period from television films and serials, in which the good guys are always easy to tell from the bad ones (and almost always win) and where prisoner-of-war camps are more fun than a barrel of junkies.

While it is history being recounted, such is the manner of telling that suspense does not slacken. The reader is spared none of the horror, whether it be the fire-bomb raids on Tokyo or the brutal beheading of American pilots, prisoners of war, after the surrender. Nothing, however, is included solely for shock value. A pattern ultimately takes shape, and all the pieces are necessary to make it visible.

Using the technique popularized by Cornelius Ryan (in "The Longest Day" and "The Last Battle") Craig piles on the detail, but does not overdo it. Some will disagree with the emphasis accorded one phase in comparison with that given another, but when is this not so with a book of this sort? One of the most sobering thoughts which comes through concerns the absence, even in a tightly-controlled country, of any unanimity of purpose or plan in an undertaking so vast and complex as modern warfare. There were forces in Japan which had not wanted the country to go to war. And there were forces at the end which tried to sabotage the

peace (and almost succeeded), even when Japan's only alternative (and they knew it) was annihilation.

—S. I. NADLER

THE FALL OF JAPAN, by William Craig, Dial Press, \$6.50.

Vargas: Brazilian Roosevelt?

JOHN W. F. DULLES, son of our late Secretary of State, and now professor of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas, learned much about Brazil during the somewhat frustrating years he spent there representing the Hanna Mining interests. Despite the fact that Getulio D. Vargas, the man he has chosen to study in depth, had left the scene, the time was still part of the Vargas Era. In fact, the heritage of nationalism that Vargas left made it impossible for the Hanna company to carry out its original project for developing part of Brazil's fabulous iron deposits.

In this "political biography" Dulles gives a rounded picture of the man, the times, and Brazil's relations with the rest of the world between 1930 and 1954. The author's valuable contribution is the completeness of the book, helped considerably by extensive personal interviews with close friends of Vargas, political opponents and opinion-forming Brazilians; as well as by the use of official US Government documents only recently made available, and German Foreign Office documents which clarify to a degree the president's equivocal position during World War II and before Brazil joined the Allies. Much has been written in Portuguese and English about this enigmatic dictator-democrat, father-image to his people, who—when all finally went wrong—took the violent non-Brazilian route of suicide that enshrined him among his country's heroic figures. More than any other man Vargas was responsible for unleashing forces which began the modernization process in the southern hemisphere's largest nation. One of the last thoughts he left behind for his followers to ponder partly unlocks the mystery of his thought-process: "To the fury of my enemies I leave the legacy of my death. I have the sorrow of not having done all I wanted for the humble. . . ."

The author's style is fluent—even the patently exhaustive research does not interfere with the strong story thread and makes for easy reading for historian and layman alike. The selection of illustrative photographs is excellent in giving visual reality to those not yet familiar with the diminutive,

but tough *gaucho* from Rio Grande do Sul.

As in Dulles' "Yesterday in Mexico: A Chronicle of the Revolution, 1919-1936," the author does little editorializing, is satisfied to give facts, construct events out of available evidence and opinions of the time, and follow their sequence, wisely leaving it to the reader to draw his own conclusions for past and present. The thesis that men shape history more than events is exemplified by these important decades in the life of the "sleeping giant," Brazil. "Vargas of Brazil" belongs in the library of every serious student of Latin America.

—PHILIP RAINE

VARGAS OF BRAZIL, A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY, by John W. F. Dulles. University of Texas Press. \$8.50.

Perspective on Vietnam

VIETNAM and the Sino-Soviet dispute was the subject of a mid-1966 symposium at the Institute for the Study of the USSR at Munich in which specialists from six countries joined. They sought a larger perspective of the Vietnam war by examining it within the framework of Sino-Soviet conflicts and by considering its effects on Communist policy, global strategies, and the world balance of power.

The participants' informed views on the tactics of the people's war, economic and social conditions in the two Vietnams, the impact of the Vietnam war on relations between USSR and North Vietnam, on relations between Peking and Hanoi, and on Japan, and the applicability of a containment policy to Asia are set forth in this collection of scholarly essays. While the march of events since June 1966 may have done little to confute the judgments expressed, it has made some statistics out-of-date.

In his summary of conclusions, Professor Robert Rupen states that the conflict between the USSR and China and those between the US and China and between the US and the USSR will likely continue regardless of the outcome of the Vietnam war. "The war in Vietnam will remain a case of a limited conflict with limited aims and limited results, and the larger struggle will continue."

ROBERT W. RINDEN

VIETNAM AND THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE, edited by Robert A. Rupen and Robert Farrell. Praeger, \$5.00.

Who's Who in US Politics

WITH incontestable accuracy, this book is described as "an authoritative biographical directory" bringing together "information on the peo-

ple who direct and influence American government at all levels." There are 12,500 entries, ranging from the President down to those active at local levels. Whereas information on the top national leaders can be obtained in other books, the particular value of this volume lies in its coverage of active political levels in State Capitals, in cities, etc.

It is convenient to find a special section bringing together, by states, all Senators and Representatives and another section listing the Governors of the 50 States.

The book made its first appearance at the end of 1967. Its success is assured, for it will be invaluable to anyone who deals with the American political scene.

—THOMAS CULPEPPER

WHO'S WHO IN AMERICAN POLITICS, compiled by Paul A. Theis and Edmund L. Henshaw, Jr. Bowker, \$25.

The German Problem

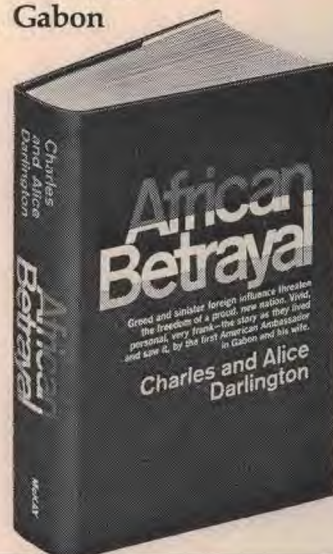
MANY German writers are seeking to answer the question, "How could a civilized people let a barbaric madman lead them to horror and destruction?" Professor Gerhard Ritter looks at German history to see if it reveals that Hitler was a logical development of that history. He concludes that such is not the case and further that Germans have a history to be proud of, despite many errors. He believes that this lesson must be taught to his compatriots, especially to young German intellectuals, many of whom have turned against all history, distrusting the many revisions that it has gone through in history books.

One may not agree with the author about some of his rationalizations. His account of the origins of World War I, for example, seeks to relieve Germany of all guilt, except for the sin of miscalculation. Nevertheless, his case is well documented and worth reading. His book is particularly useful for someone interested in earlier German history, from the early eighteenth century through World War I. Thankfully, he does not apologize for Hitler, but admits that no explanation "rids our nation of the charge that at least for a time it gave its loyalty and frenetic applause to a monster of a man." He concludes that we must realize that "always and everywhere men of character and humane intelligence are rare exceptions."

—ALBERT W. STOFFEL

THE GERMAN PROBLEM: Basic Questions of German Political Life, Past and Present, by Gerhard Ritter. Ohio State University Press, \$6.00.

Ex-Ambassador and Mrs. Charles Darlington tell the extraordinary story of their 3-year mission in Gabon



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by Charles F. and Alice B. Darlington

"To any one interested in a skillful narration of the problems facing our country in dealing with the peculiar problems of politics, trade and economy, education, AID and the Peace Corps, and the tribes and personalities of black Africa, the present volume is recommended." — ROBERT D. MURPHY, former Under Secretary of State, author of *Diplomat Among Warriors*.

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—Publishers' Weekly

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—Library Journal

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THE CALCULUS OF FINANCIAL PROBABILITIES IN THE CONDUCT OF U. S. DIPLOMACY

JOSEPH W. BARR

IN the past two decades it has been unfashionable to associate matters of security and diplomacy with considerations of finance. For a time, this was not an unreasonable attitude. We were poorly prepared to engage in World War I or II, and the Korean hostilities caught this nation in an interlude of savage retrenchment in our military posture. As thoughtful men looked back at this history, and as we attempted to put together a viable military alliance in NATO, the conviction arose that this nation and its allies must first determine their diplomatic and military requirements and then fit the financial equations to these requirements.

Any consideration of costs in arriving at sensible military and diplomatic arrangements all too frequently raised the anguished cry in this nation, "We can't afford it." I might add that the clamor was probably greater in the European nations whose aversion to taxation is even more pronounced than ours. Consequently, financial arrangements were largely ignored in NATO considerations, and I am not aware that they had any serious consideration in our other treaty arrangements.

US Secretaries of the Treasury, beginning with John Snyder in 1951, have attempted to encourage their colleagues in the finance ministries of NATO to attend the NATO meetings and to take an active part. Their success has been minimal. This result has inspired some to suspect that finance ministers stay away from NATO meetings in order to be in a position to say, "To Hell with that, Jack," when the foreign minister comes home with his share of the bill.

I am not disparaging recent history, even if sometimes I feel that financial considerations have been given too low a priority—if any priority at all. You diplomats have managed to avoid a nuclear exchange in the past twenty years, *and there is no way to price that result*. What I do mean to say is

that this system of priorities may not be possible in the future and that increasing attention must be given to "the calculus of financial probabilities" in the conduct of US diplomacy.

Where is the trouble? The trouble lies in that *bête noire* of the State Department, the US balance of payments. The deficits we have run in our international accounts almost continuously since 1951 have come close to placing us in a situation where other nations can veto or negate our diplomatic and military objectives by refusing to hold our notes. Therefore, you as diplomats have an overriding stake in the President's January 1 balance of payments program. If it does not work, you had better start reading history to find out how to implement diplomatic policy *without money*.

Professor Galbraith once said about the commodity markets, "Not much is understood about these markets, and most of what is understood is wrong." The same observation could be applied with emphasis to the balance of payments statistics. In addition, reasonable men often end up in the position of the three blind men trying to describe the elephant—the statistics can mean different things to different people depending on just where you catch hold. At the risk of causing palpitations and various forms of seizure among the statistical community, let me tell you how the balance of payments looks to me.

I look at the balance of payments as a pool with four large pipes draining out; three large pipes flowing in; and miscellaneous plumbing inter-connecting the system. In financial terms the drain pipes would correspond to our payments; the

fill pipes would correspond to our receipts; and the level of the pool at any moment reflects the interaction of the flows in and out.

Let's name and price the pipes for calendar year 1966. For that year the flows looked like this (in millions of dollars).

PAYMENTS

Travel (net) -1,644

Government (net)

Military (net) -2,747

P.L. 480 & related programs -1,401

Ex-Im -909

Aid & miscellaneous -2,370

Government Receipts 1,201

Total -6,226

Private Capital Outflow

Direct Investment -3,543

Bank claims (net) 253

Sec. issues & non-bond claims -923

Total -4,213

Payments on For. Invest.

Interest & dividends -2,074

Misc. services (net) -291

Total -2,365

TOTAL PAYMENTS -14,448

RECEIPTS

Trade Surplus 3,658

Income from For. Invest.

Dividends & interest 6,245

Royalties & Fees 1,045

Total 7,290

Foreign Invest. In U.S.

TOTAL RECEIPTS 13,393

Errors and Omissions -302

DEFICIT -1,357

For comparison, let's look at calendar year 1960. In that year the figures looked as follows.

PAYMENTS

Travel (net) -1,238

Government (net)

Military (net) -2,741

P.L. 480 & related programs -1,278

Ex-Im -405

Aid & miscellaneous -1,722

Government Receipts 669

Total -5,477

Private Capital Outflow

Direct Investment -1,674

Bank Claims (net) -1,148

Sec. issues -1,057

Total -3,879

Payments on For. Invest.

Interest & dividends -1,063

Misc. services (net) -171

Total -1,234

TOTAL PAYMENTS -11,828

RECEIPTS

Trade Surplus 4,757

Income from For. Invest.

Dividends & interest 3,350

Royalties & Fees 403

Total 3,753

Foreign Invest. in U.S.

TOTAL RECEIPTS 8,449

Errors and Omissions -922

DEFICIT -3,901

The record for the past decade is as follows:

1958 -3365

1959 -3870

1960 -3901

1961 -2370

1962 -2203

1963 -2671

1964 -2800

1965 -1335

1966 -1357

1967 -3500 to -4,000 (est.)

The deficit figure for this year is not yet firm, but we have indicated that it will probably be in excess of \$3.5 billion.

Over this decade, as you can see, there has been a general trend towards an improvement in our performance. Our exports have held up well, and continued to grow; our imports have grown at a reasonable pace, but show a tendency to accelerate in periods of intense economic activity such as we have witnessed in calendar years 1965, 1966, and 1967. Our government expenditures have been held carefully in check and from 1960 up to the outbreak of hostilities in Vietnam they were actually cut. Bank loans and security issues surged in 1963, but were brought under control with imposition of the Interest Equalization Tax in that year. Direct investment surged mightily in the last quarter of 1964 but was brought under restraint with the voluntary program of 1965. The deficit in our travel account has shown a steady tendency to increase.

The record of the past decade is rather clear. This nation's attitude over this decade can be characterized as a posture of increasing vigilance in this highly sensitive area.

It was the devaluation of the British pound, which, not unexpectedly, triggered the onslaught against the dollar as the basis of the international monetary system. This attack took the form of a tremendous demand for gold on the London market.

There are, of course, worlds of difference between the position of sterling and the position of the dollar. The dollar is vastly stronger as the currency of the world's largest and technologically most advanced economic unit. Nevertheless—and this is a point which must be emphasized—the experience of sterling should serve as a salutary warning that a country whose currency is widely used for reserve purposes has some special aspects of vulnerability, and with that goes some special responsibility for even more scrupulous financial behavior than those countries whose currencies are less widely used internationally.

It is because of the special burden placed on the United States that President Johnson on New Year's Day moved decisively with an Action Program to correct the long series of deficits and to bring our balance of payments as close to equilibrium as possible.

I should emphasize at this point that when you touch an item on either side of the balance of payments equation, there is a strong tendency for a reaction to occur in some factor on the opposite side. This is what I term the "calculus of financial probabilities." Ex-Im loans, P.L. 480, and AID outlays are reflected almost completely in our export figures and the trade surplus. Direct investment generates dividends, bank loans bring back interest, and so forth.

This interaction between factors on opposite sides of the balance of payments equation is especially pronounced in a nation such as the US which accounts for

—40-45 percent of the free world output;

—33 percent of total world production;

—17 percent of world exports;

—14 percent of world imports;

—20-25 percent of world tourism outlays.

When we move it is literally like a giant moving in a world of Lilliputians.

There was a clear recognition of this fact in the President's January 1 balance of payments message. It was a positive example of the calculus of financial probabilities. Its impact was aimed at the surplus countries of Europe whose surpluses

have been nearly a mirror image of our deficits. Its thrust was deflected from the developing nations and it was muted or mitigated as it applied to those nations such as Canada, the United Kingdom, Japan and Australia where the full thrust of our program could be severely damaging, to them and ultimately to us.

The issues are posed rather starkly for this country: How can we raise the level of the pool—realizing that restraints on the drain pipes have at least some relation to the flow from the fill pipes. Who gets to dip out of the pool (tourists, banks, multinational corporations, the government) and how many dips do they get?

There has been a tendency for Americans to believe that if they get their hands on a dollar they can spend it with impunity at home or overseas. This has been as true of the federal official getting appropriated dollars from the Congress, as of corporate executives planning the disposition of their profits and borrowing, or of American citizens determining whether they shall go to Yellowstone Park or the Riviera.

While true in theory, this thesis has not been true in fact for nearly a decade. Almost ten years ago we began tying our AID outlays to US goods and services. In 1960 Secretary Anderson tried to reduce our military outlays by bringing home dependents. While this proved politically impossible, it set in train violent and vigorous efforts to hold down the exchange costs of our troop deployments overseas and indirectly gave impetus to our gold budget. Over the past decade the government has learned the difference between a dollar spent in the US and a dollar spent abroad, and on the whole our record is impressive.

Bankers learned a similar lesson in 1963 when the flood of loans and security issues triggered the Interest Equalization Tax.

Business got the word in 1965 with the imposition of the voluntary program on direct investment and bank loans.

Today it is the turn of the American traveler and the tourist industry to face up to the fact that they must dip carefully from the exchange pool. The tourist industry especially faces the responsibility for trying to replace—by promoting foreign travel to the US—what they have ladled out.

The President's program is an austere program and austerity is never fun. In a free society such as ours there is always a

tendency to try to shift the sacrifice to the other fellow. Tourists, bankers, and corporate executives will naturally take a closer look at government expenditures to see if we are dipping too frequently and deeply at the pool. I warn you that we in government must be prepared to demonstrate that our trips to the pool are necessary and the depth of our dip is truly spartan.

What can you as diplomats do to help? I have indicated that your stake is crucial. So let me list the ways in which you can support the President, the nation, and yourselves.

1. In your relations with Members of Congress, never fail to drive home the fact that a strong and stable domestic US economy is vital to our international position. For this reason, the most crucial element in the President's whole balance of payments program is the enactment of the tax surcharge. The Europeans with whom Under Secretary Katzenbach recently consulted made it abundantly clear that they would consider action on the tax legislation an indication that this nation has the will to keep its own internal affairs in order.

2. Quit writing the papers I have read over the past decade entitled "The US Has No Balance of Payments Problem." You might believe this, but our creditors don't, and in this game it is the banker who counts. In my business career I have often been frustrated by bankers who refused to agree with my own evaluation of my prospects. I have never yet found a way to make a banker take my note if he didn't want it. As a nation, we are in precisely this situation today. Besides being wrong, papers of this sort only make us look silly and lacking in will.

3. Don't fall into the trap of belaboring gold as the villain. The villain is the continued deficit in our international accounts. The world is moving gradually to a new system of reserve assets—"special drawing rights"—but not to accommodate the US balance of payments deficit. Remember this and underline it—*there are no gimmicks to resolve this dilemma of continued US deficits in its international accounts.*

4. Do try to implement the President's directive to cut down the deployment of civilians overseas. I have a strong hunch that you diplomats are not the offenders, and this is a God-given chance for you to reduce the number of extraneous bureaucrats from other departments who are nosing

Mr. Barr, The Under Secretary of the Treasury, (second from left) delivered this speech at the AFSA luncheon on January 25. Lannon Walker, Chairman of the Board, at left, Fraser

Wilkins and AFSA's President Philip Habib are shown with Mr. Barr before the luncheon.



around in your business. Ambassador Tuthill did it in Brazil. Good luck to all of you in the rest of the world.

5. Take to heart the President's directive to hold down foreign travel and especially travel to international conferences. The US should not be over-represented at these conferences. I was once the number two officer at a conference where we took a plane load of US officials. The UK was represented by their resident ambassador. In my eyes he did better than we. He refused to commit any money.

The whole travel area is one where you can assist the President. As a senior US Senator put it to me:

"Ambassadors used to represent this country. Today they only make appointments for bureaucrats flying in from Washington." There is some truth to that, of course. There is no reason for so many Washington bureaucrats to be constantly flying around the world. If our Ambassadors cannot represent us in most matters of defense, finance, agriculture, trade, etc., there is something wrong with the system. Our battle cry should be 'Bureaucrats stay at home! Let the Ambassadors conduct our foreign affairs.'"

6. Another area in which you can help is to make certain that our AID outlays and the outlays of the international banks do not displace US commercial exports. Reasonable men dispute our claims that our AID programs cost only \$700 million in exchange. You can help the President and this nation by making sure that this displacement does *not* occur.

7. There has been a considerable amount of concern in the international banks about "free international competitive bidding." We understand and sympathize with their position. However, surely they cannot ask us to meet their legitimate development needs by risking a depletion of our monetary reserves. They should understand that while we are in balance of payments difficulties we must and will meet our international development responsibilities, but by supplying United States goods and services and not US dollars. I do hope you can explain to the nations to which you are accredited that too strong an insistence on the transfer of untied dollars could probably endanger the prospects for continued development assistance in the eyes of the Congress and the country.

8. Above all, take to heart the President's injunction to "minimize the foreign exchange costs of keeping our troops in Europe."

The United States is not in the fortunate position of Darius and the Persian Empire, of Caesar and the Roman Empire, of Genghis or Kublai Khan, or even the Soviet Bloc of today. We are operating on *exterior* lines at enormous exchange costs as we pursue our foreign policy objectives. All these other great powers, including today's Russia, were or are operating on *interior* lines involving little or no exchange cost. Darius, Caesar, Genghis Khan, or the Russian Presidium of today could or can deploy their forces without concern as to the cost of foreign exchange. We are *not* afforded that luxury. Our troops *cannot* live off the land and they are *not* operating in areas that could even remotely be classed as satellites of the United States. Our deployment expenditures in *foreign exchange* are roughly \$1.5 billion in Europe, \$500 million in Japan, and \$1.5 billion in Southeast Asia and Korea. Our budgetary costs in these areas are of course very much larger.

While we as a nation are willing to tax ourselves to support a defense establishment that spends more than the total GNP of South America, we must recognize that there are definite and distinct limits to our ability to expend foreign exchange.

You, as professional diplomats, must help support the President and this nation in our attempt to neutralize the exchange cost of our defense shield. No country, no matter how impoverished, should expect to get rich from the fact of American protection. You must help us drive home this fact in Europe and in Asia. As Secretary Rusk has stated:

"... We do believe that there should not be a balance of payments windfall arising out of troop deployments, the effect of which would be to increase the surpluses of those who are in a balance of payments surplus position. So, this has given rise to our need for offset arrangements and other acts of cooperation in the handling of reserves and of international financial transactions."

At the moment we are asking countries where we have heavy security responsibilities to offset our exchange expenditures by purchasing US Government obligations. This is only partially satisfactory and will *not* be effective in the long run. You must persuade the nations of NATO and SEATO that we will tax ourselves to help protect them, but *they* must work with us towards a long-range plan to neutralize effectively the exchange costs of our deployments.

We must remember that this program is not just an American program. It is a program which is designed to fulfill both a national and an international responsibility of the highest order, to maintain the strength of the dollar and thereby the international monetary system on which the entire free-world economy depends.

Without the cooperation of other countries, it is not going to be possible to achieve United States equilibrium in a manner that is conducive to the long-term health of the whole free world.

This is well understood by the financial leaders and officials of the countries concerned. Yet, as our representatives in foreign lands, defending as well as defining our role to others of a different heritage, you all have an important task to perform.

Unless you are successful in this objective, all the other factors in the calculus will fall apart. Without our active support and participation I see little hope for the preservation of order in this world. With no order in the world, investment is too risky—even in Europe. With no order, no sensible American would want to travel. With no order, bank loans and security issues are unthinkable. With no order, trade is impossible.

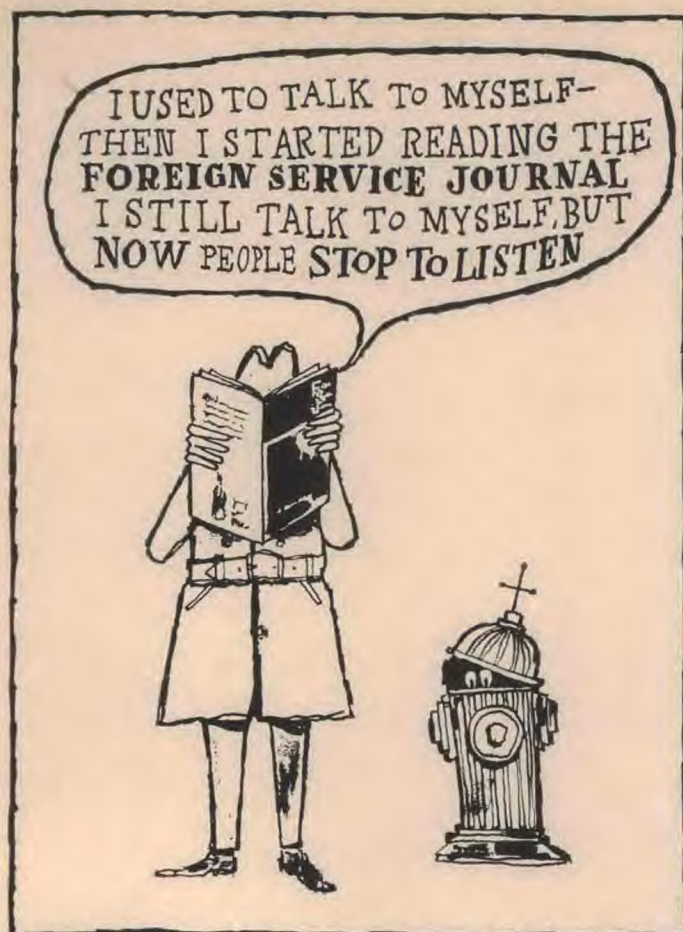
In the conduct of US diplomacy we *must* continually compute the calculus of financial probabilities as we determine and implement our objectives. This computation may not have been necessary in the past; it may well inhibit us in the future. I have no great faith in the ability of finance ministers to determine foreign policy. But I *do* say that the calculus of financial probabilities must be computed and considered as we conduct our foreign policy.

Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy both were increasingly aware of this problem, but consideration of the financial calculus of diplomacy in their administrations was in the main limited to the last round of officials—the highest level. Today the financial calculus is considered at *every* level—in the Interdepartmental Regional Groups, the Senior Interdepartmental Group, and finally in the National Security Council.

History may well indicate that this development is unfortunate—that the old system of ignoring the financial calculus was more productive. However, in the world in which we live I do not see that we have an alternative.

To ignore the financial implications of diplomacy could ultimately lead to a world in monetary disarray. To ignore our diplomatic and mutual security objectives could well lead to a world in which international trade and finance were impossible. It seems clear that our obligation to ourselves and to the world is to steer a course between these unsatisfactory alternatives.

This is precisely what we are attempting to do and I know that nowhere in the American establishment can we look for and can we expect a more effective response than from the corps of professional diplomats. ■



PPBS (Continued from page 14)

plain wrong. What I have said is trivial as far as analytical budgeting is concerned; but bureaucratically it is revolutionary. Charles Schultze is a sensible and responsible man; that does not mean he is not revolutionary, only that he makes his revolution slowly, carefully, and responsibly. The revolution is in considering all programs for a country together, rather than all countries for a program together. It is examining what the United States does with respect to Greece, Thailand, Brazil, India, or Nigeria, rather than what the United States does with aid, Peace Corps, agricultural surpluses, military assistance, and propagandas.

This is revolutionary not just because somebody would be looking at the totality of US programs with respect to a particular country all together, relating them to the same set of objectives, comparing them with respect to their effectiveness, demanding that the same set of objectives be acknowledged in the consideration of each program, eliminating inconsistency and reducing duplication. Nor is it that, once the basic country packages are identified, countries would be compared with each other as claimants for US resources and US attention.

No, what would be revolutionary is that somebody or some agency has to do this, and it has to be decided who or which agency would do it. (It also has to be decided whether the Congress wants this done; and that may depend on who does it.)

Who should do it? An easy answer is that the Budget Bureau should do it; the Budget Bureau is the centralized agency that brings consistency and compatibility to the claims of diverse governmental programs, foreign and domestic. But what I said earlier about the relation of budgeting to control commits me to the belief that we are talking about the question, "Who coordinates foreign policy?" I do not believe the answer should be the Bureau of the Budget.

Maybe the answer is "nobody." Maybe, as a practical matter, the answer is that the coordination will be fragmented, and the Budget Bureau will exercise a good part of the coordination. But if both the President and the Congress want this responsibility fixed unambiguously, in the absence of a drastic reorganization of the Executive Branch it would be hard to identify any formal locus of responsibility except the Office of the Secretary of State.

But to put this responsibility on the Secretary of State is to give him both a means and an obligation to assume the kind of executive authority that has never, in spite of executive orders and the logic of ideal government, either been wholly acceptable to the Department of State or freely offered to it. This is to put the purse strings directly into the hands of the Secretary of State with encouragement to use them in the executive management of foreign policy.

I think it makes sense, but I am not sure that this is what the Congress wants nor sure that this is what Secretaries of State and their senior staffs want. But this is where we are led by the philosophy of PPBS; and we are led there not by fancy analytical techniques but by the simple logic of "program packages" and the need to develop policies, as well as budgets, in a coherent process that recognizes the country as the primary unit of budgeting and policy-making.

I am not trying to lead your subcommittee, through any line of reasoning or casuistry, to a particular conclusion. If we were concerned exclusively with architecture, we would end up with a good case for demanding of the Secretary of State that his Office do this kind of budgeting and do it with the impartiality that would estrange the Foreign Service from the Office of the Secretary of State. But these issues cannot be settled by reference to the aesthetics of organization charts. These are pragmatic questions. Do we want coordination at the price of centralization? Can we split the Department of State into an executive foreign-affairs office and the Foreign

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Service? Does coordinated, centralized programing undermine the decentralized initiative and responsibility of programs like the Peace Corps, AID, or cultural exchanges? Does the Congress itself lose bargaining power when the Executive Branch gets better organized for foreign affairs, and is the Congress willing to encourage this?

I should like to see the Office of the Secretary of State accept the philosophy according to which it is the executive arm of the President for foreign affairs, and emancipated from the Foreign Service. I should like to see it use the budget process to clinch its authority and to rationalize its decision processes. I should like to see all overseas programs and activities brought under the purview of an "Office of the Secretary of State," streamlined to provide executive direction. And I should like to see the Department of State enjoy the benefits of modern analytical techniques of the kind that Secretary Enthoven has brought to the Department of Defense, as well as other kinds. But I cannot—I wish I could, but I cannot—declare with any confidence that this can be done. I come back to the remarks with which I began this memorandum. Foreign affairs is complicated and disorderly; its conduct depends mainly on the quality of the people who have responsibility; decisions have to be based on judgments, often too suddenly to permit orderly analytical processes to determine those decisions. The best—the very best—performance that is humanly possible is likely to look pretty unsatisfactory to the Congress, to Washington correspondents, to the electorate, even to the President who presides over the arrangement. The system can be improved, but not to anybody's complete satisfaction. In this improvement, PPBS will eventually have a significant role. ■

PSEPHIATRISTS (Continued from page 20)

meaningless waste of time. The key question is: "What image does he project?"

When rare cases are mentioned in which a victorious candidate ignored the press, television, and radio, in favor of traveling around the country and speaking live to live audiences, it is shrugged off with the observation that "one man's media is another man's person."

November 1968 is fast approaching, with presidential, congressional, gubernatorial, and a raft of local elections to be held. The new pattern has been fixed. Television cameras, rather than issues and platforms, will dominate conventions. Public relations firms will re-design candidates and package them for instant voter appeal. And on election day, with perhaps one or two percent of the returns in, projections will be made and "final" results announced on a coast-to-coast hookup.

Electronic computers and related machines being what they are, political scientists tell us unequivocally that democratic processes will not be spindled or folded in the process.

They are not so sure, however, about mutilation.

These projections, remember, are based on returns from one or a few "representative" districts, minuscule in size compared to the total electorate. Is it not reasonable to assume that the political scientists may one day find *one person* who is representative of the entire electorate of the United States? As to what happens after *that*, the reader can design his own nightmare.

It is hardly surprising that there is a growing feeling that somebody should devise a brake and then quickly apply it. The idea of applying a stiff *public opinion poll tax* has already been discarded because of the connotation of the last two of the four words. Bad image.

Is there a psephiatrist or a psephoanalyst in the house? Or in the Senate? ■

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HORSE AND BUGGY (Continued from page 19)

attitudes mentioned above—may be called the *political culture* of a society. The repeated failure of democratic forms to take root in the alien soil of Afro-Asia, the distortions in Russia and China of the ideas of a humane German pedant named Karl Marx, the uneven record of democracy in modern Germany and Italy—all testify to the usefulness of political culture as an analytical substitute for institutional forms. Political culture has proved to be an extraordinarily fertile concept. In fact, practically all the ideas in this article stem in one way or another from the notion that the primary task of political analysis is to capture the essence of a society's political culture in a form that will have predictive value. This being the case, it will perhaps be sufficient to conclude this brief paragraph on political culture with a reference to what I found to be an extraordinarily insightful treatment of the subject, Almond and Verba's "The Civic Culture."¹³ This book describes the political cultures of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Mexico on the basis of information derived from an attitude survey of about 5,000 citizens of those countries. It is an excellent introduction to the *nouvelle vague* of comparative political studies, arguing persuasively that it is not their political institutions but the special political culture of Britain and the United States—the "civic culture" of the title—that sets them apart from other polities as stable, successful democracies.

While "The Civic Culture" is a brilliant example of the successful application of the new political science to advanced Western countries, the facts of Foreign Service life may argue for its introduction into bureaucratic routines, at least initially, only for non-Western countries. The usefulness of treating the non-Western world separately has been recognized by a number of *nouvelle vague* scholars.¹⁴ And it is in the non-Western world that the present institutional approach serves the Foreign Service reporter so badly. A halfway approach would help solve the kind of reporting problems I faced in Asia without disturbing the habits of thought of the European specialists, a powerful "lobby" whose interests must be considered. But it would also involve the maintenance of two parallel conceptual frameworks. Having only two might be better than having the twenty or thirty that may be produced by enterprising Foreign Service officers in non-Western countries who will one day surely break the bonds of the traditional conceptual framework and go off on their own if they are not offered an "official" conceptual framework that meets their reporting needs. Whether having two conceptual frameworks—one familiar, one exotic—would be more of a burden on the non-professionals at the top than having just one exotic one is a question that also deserves study. In the final analysis, the adoption of a culturally oriented structural-functional conceptual framework for reporting from the non-Western world may become just the first step toward its adoption as a universally applicable tool.

Whether it moves a step at a time, or in one grand leap, the Foreign Service urgently needs to get moving. The approach to political science I have been describing had its beginnings a full generation ago and came into flower within the political science discipline half a generation ago. It is unquestionably the political science of the future. In Snuffy Smith's immortal words, "Time's a-wastin'!"

¹³ Almond, Gabriel A., and Verba, Sidney, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1963.

¹⁴ Almond, Gabriel A., "Comparative Political Systems," *Journal of Politics*, August 1956.

Kahin, George McT., Pauker, Guy J., and Pye, Lucian W., "Comparative Politics of Non-Western Countries," *American Political Science Review*, December 1955.

Rustow, Dankwart A., "New Horizons for Comparative Politics," *World Politics*, July 1957.

25 YEARS AGO

MARCH 1943

IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

Fiftieth Anniversary

Twenty-five years ago James Barclay Young gave an account in the JOURNAL of how the American Consular Association, precursor of the American Foreign Service Association, had come into existence 25 years before. He was one of the founders. Conversing after lunching together at the Raleigh Hotel, a small group of officers wondered why the consular officers in Washington should not have some kind of organization like a club. A club might not be just what was needed but something should be done. The first meeting to set up an organization was held on March 18, 1918, in the office of Marion Letcher, then assigned as Foreign Trade Adviser, on the "north side of Pennsylvania Avenue, No. 1653, opposite to the Department of State and between the Court of Claims and Blair House."

Besides Young and Letcher, the founders were C. Donald Shepard, J. Klahr Huddle, Leland Morris, Wesley Frost, Harold G. Waters, Jesse B. Jackson, John E. Kehl, Charles H. Albrecht, Gebhart Willrich, Bernard Gotlieb, Henry C. Von Struve, Ralph J. Totten, William Coffin, and the Reverend Otis Glazebrook, 72 years old, who had been named Consul General in Jerusalem in 1914. The average age of the founders was 38 4/5. Excluding Glazebrook it was 36 3/4. The articles of Association were drawn up by Ralph J. Totten, Wesley Frost, Henry C. Von Struve, James B. Young, and J. Klahr Huddle. Wesley Frost became the first Chairman and Henry Von Struve was made Recording Secretary.

Elevations in Rank

The Department announced on March 23, 1943, that it had made reciprocal arrangements with the Governments of Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua for raising its Legations to the rank of Embassies. On March 27, the Senate confirmed the nominations of the following mission chiefs as Ambassadors: Boaz Long in Guatemala, Robert M. Scotten in Ecuador, Fay A. Des Portes in Costa Rica, James B. Stewart in Nicaragua, Walter Thurston in El Salvador, John D. Erwin in Honduras, Avra M. Warren in the Dominican Republic, and John Campbell White in Haiti. A press note of the time said that those promoted would continue to receive the \$10,000 salary of a Minister instead of the \$17,500 usually paid to Ambassadors. This had been the practice when raising Legations to Embassies in Latin America.

News from the Department, March 1943

Jane Wilson informed readers in March 1943 that the Department was supplying life preservers to Foreign Service personnel leaving for posts. A notice with each belt said, in part—

This pneumatic life preserver belt is the property of the Department of State and is being assigned to you for use in a possible emergency, which it is hoped will not arise.

The notice asked the holder to return it to Room 108, Division of Foreign Service Administration and earnestly requested cooperation in keeping the belt available for possible use by someone else.

Jane Wilson reported that Carl von Zielinski had told her that the original 13 Consular Clerks were appointed under the Act of 1856. One was General John Sedgwick, grandfather of Ernst (Putzi) Hanfstaengl, early backer of Hitler in Munich.



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Later they were called Consular Assistants. The number rose to 25, then 30. Until President Roosevelt put the Service on the merit system by the Act of 1906, they were the only career officers. Among the Consular Assistants were J. Klahr Huddle, Harry McBride, Augustus Ingram, and Carl von Zielinski. In December 1928, Ingram, then retired, was made Editor of the Foreign Service JOURNAL.

Governor's Tribute

Early in 1943, James K. Penfield returned to Washington after completing his assignment at Godthaab, Greenland, where he and Vice Consul George West first landed on May 22, 1940, to open a Consulate. The JOURNAL published a translation of a piece that Eske Brun, Governor of North Greenland, contributed to the bi-monthly *Gronlandsposten* of December 16, 1942. It included this paragraph:

Of all the many things I have learned during the collaboration which I have had with Consul Penfield for almost three years, one is a profound respect for the organization which can spare people of Consul Penfield's type even for posts so comparatively in the background as Godthaab can certainly be considered when seen with the eyes of the world . . . Consul Penfield has seen more of Greenland than most—all the way from Thule to Angmagssalik—and everywhere his winning personality and the respect which his work has aroused have made friends for him, who now see him depart with sincere regrets.

Domestic Affairs

At 3 p.m. on Sunday March 21, 1943, the Office of Price Administration announced by radio a ban effective at 12:01 a.m. on store sales of butter to the public. Next day it granted exceptions to avert spoilage or undue hardship. The purpose was to allow stocks to be replenished. There was an acute shortage of both butter and meat at this time.

Specialists on the West Coast developed a food concentrate which reached eastern stores. A teaspoon of it with a cup of hot milk tasted a little like cocoa. It was composed of dehydrated soy beans, wheat germ, deep-sea kelp, mint leaves, rhubarb, spinach, carrots, celery, and skim milk.

A Chinese laundryman, Tom Lee, was arraigned in Brooklyn on charges brought by Anthony Carp, a breeder of homing pigeons for the Army Signal Corps. Lee was charged with buying some 40 stolen pigeons valued at \$1,000 at two for 25 cents from small boys. Lee had baked them in pies to ease the food shortage.

Patrolman Joseph J. Fleischer arrested a man for handing out free beer in Times Square and explained, "Give away something free in that section and you can't tell what will happen."

Staff Sergeant E. M. Hufford arranged to get married at the Army Air Force base at Bryan, Texas. He arrived on schedule and checked needs: witnesses, ring, license. Everything was there except the bride. He had forgotten to get her a pass to enter the post.



A son, Joseph Woodbury, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Palmer, 2nd, on March 30, 1943, in Nairobi where his father was serving as Vice Consul. He went to elementary schools in London and Washington. He had his secondary schooling at St. George's College, Southern Rhodesia, the Gunnery School in Washington, Connecticut and the Shades Valley High School in Birmingham, Alabama. He attended the University of Tennessee and in 1965 enlisted in the United States Navy. He had his basic training at Great Lakes, Illinois. He volunteered for duty in Vietnam and was sent to Danang. Soon after his return he was married on May 6, 1967 at the Navy Chapel in Washington, D. C., to Miss Mary

Frances Corneliussen, daughter of Captain (USN, ret'd) and Mrs. Steven Corneliussen of Norfolk, Virginia. They are now stationed in Norfolk. They both plan to return to college and complete requirements for their degrees when he has completed his Navy service. His father's more recent and successive responsibilities have been Ambassador to Nigeria, Director General of the Foreign Service, and Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.



A son, Harry Dmitri, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Henry S. Villard on March 13, 1943, in Washington, D.C., where his father was serving as Assistant Chief of the Division of

Near Eastern Affairs and afterwards Chief of the Division of African Affairs. He received the major part of his secondary school education at St. Albans in Washington and Le Rosey in Switzerland. He then entered Harvard and graduated in the class of 1964. While at college he took the Reserve Officers Training Corps course and he now holds a reserve commission in the Army. After college he founded a rock and roll recording company. More recently he has worked on a number of projects in the Bahamas with Huntington Hartford. At present he is living in New York and is a member of a new investment banking firm on Wall Street, the Havenfield Corporation.

Among Our Contributors

Our cover artist, GRETA NEWMAN, is the wife of FSO Joseph K. Newman. Mrs. Newman studied art under Benton Spruance at Beaver College, Pennsylvania. She has exhibited in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Paris and London. The Lorenz Gallery in Bethesda will have an exhibit of Mrs. Newman's work beginning April 18.

DR. ROBERT RALPH DAVIS, JR. is an Assistant Professor of History at Ohio Northern University. His special fields of interest are American intellectual and American diplomatic history, as evidenced by his article on page 21. He has previously published in PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY and has an article on American diplomatic dress appearing in the AMERICAN QUARTERLY.

GEORGE G. WYNNE, who has made repeated appearances in the JOURNAL's pages on such diverse subjects as missing Roman obelisks and the imaginary adventures of a nineteenth-century Vietnamese, wrote "A Space Age USIA?" because, he notes, he also thinks about office problems after hours. But, "now that I've got it out of my system perhaps I'll be able to get back to the past." Mr. Wynne has just taken on a new assignment as press spokesman and information officer with the US Mission to the UN, Geneva.

KINGDON W. SWAYNE joined the Foreign Service in 1946 and retired in 1966. His last assignment, Chief of the Political-Economic Section at Rangoon, culminated 15 years of labor in various Oriental vineyards. His article, on page 17 of this issue, is one product of a year of advanced study at Lehigh preparing for his new professional interest—teacher of political science and history at Bucks County Community College.

JOSEPH W. BARR, whose speech on "The Calculus of Financial Probabilities in Conduct of US Diplomacy" was given at the AFSA luncheon on January 25, is a graduate of dePauw University, with an M.A. in theoretical economics from Harvard. He was a Member of Congress from Indiana from 1958-1960. From 1961 to 1964 he was Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury. In 1964-65 he served as Chairman of the FDIC and, since April, 1965, he has been Under Secretary of the Treasury.

WILLIAM C. TURPIN is the JOURNAL's cliché expert in this issue.

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

What The Journal Should Be

I AM writing somewhat belatedly to second warmly Curtis Cutter's letter of last April entitled "What the JOURNAL should be." In commenting on the same problem I should like first to refer back to a questionnaire circulated either by the Foreign Service Association itself or the JOURNAL about two years ago in which suggestions were solicited for the organization of Foreign Affairs seminars or conferences and for the format, and/or the need, for a professional foreign affairs journal put out by the Association. I would hope that my rather detailed suggestions were considered at the time and may even still be available, since I do not have a copy. Alas, I have never seen an analysis or even any kind of a summary of the results of that questionnaire. One aspect of my comments I do remember: getting readership for thoughtful JOURNAL articles among top Department policy makers and encouraging articles on controversial subjects.

Turning to Mr. Cutter's letter, he is concerned with obtaining professional respect and readership and attention to serious consideration of our many controversial foreign policy problems. All of us are well aware of the frustration felt in trying to get new ideas considered "up stairs." One Secretary of State, in replying to a question from a most junior Foreign Service officer as to whom he should go with suggestions, is said to have stated, "Find the nearest FSO 7." Alas, it would not do him much more good to go to the nearest FSO 2 or even 1.

Readership will be obtained if it is known that top policy officials read the JOURNAL. Interest will really be stimulated if it became known they encouraged thoughtful writing on current problems—and then let the writer know it. For a minor example, does it advance any one's career to have contributed to the JOURNAL or is it even known by personnel officers and promotion boards? Have any JOURNAL articles been picked up and quoted or reproduced by professional foreign affairs publications or by such status magazines as the READERS' DIGEST? Has the Policy Planning group ever

given serious consideration to problems raised in the JOURNAL? More simply, does any one give a hoot about the JOURNAL except those of us who read it as a house organ—even though much of its personnel news may be found attractively displayed in the Department's NEWS LETTER?

The idea Mr. Cutter has of anonymous articles is a good one. Even our own top flight George Kennan wrote his most thought provoking article as "Mr. X." Is there any possible objection to this practice in the JOURNAL? Certainly a little thoughtful controversy within a prestigious professional magazine on matters everybody is discussing anyway would bring us credit.

Lastly, I would not favor dividing the JOURNAL or seeking to start a new publication as Mr. Cutter suggests, even though these ideas are worthy of consideration. It is too difficult and sometimes, in this field, a bit too self conscious, to launch a new publication—even as a supplement. We have a good thing going in the JOURNAL. It is becoming increasingly interesting, even though articles are on "safe" subjects, as Mr. Cutter describes them. The August issue is a good illustration. Bob Cleveland's article on "Understanding Bu\$ine\$\$ Better"; David Simcox's article on "My Own, My Affluent Homeland"; Lansing Collins' "British Ambassador Faces the Harem" and Ambassador Steeves' "New Responsibilities for An Old Service" are all good reading containing comment, suggestions and, in Mr. Collins', not only a laugh but a few still useful caveats.

It would be encouraging to obtain views and suggestions from our colleagues and "from the Administration" on Mr. Cutter's and these views.

JOHN M. CATES, JR.

New York

Rank Inflation

ARMISTEAD LEE's letter in the July JOURNAL was disconcerting, for his proposals would only add to the Foreign Service's problems. To suggest as he does that positions be rank-inflated serves only to protect individuals who should be gracefully and honorably removed, as they would be in almost any institution or profit-minded business. Mr. Lee dismisses all too lightly that to give them less meaningful jobs at high rank only frustrates lower ranking individuals; he also neglects to mention that such procedures mean the work may not be very well executed and do nothing to respond to criticisms of the Department. Finally, rank inflation has been too extensive already: seven or eight years ago in ARA chiefs-of-section could be fours. Today they are all

high threes, twos, or even ones. A three as a desk officer a few years ago was a rarity; today it is common.

The question should not be whether such people should be removed, but how to remove them without causing excessive hardship at a critical juncture in their lives. The answer certainly is not to keep them and give them jobs which could be better filled by others. After all, the objective of the Foreign Service is not self-protection (or why was it originally set up with a selection-out process?), but rather the best possible representation of US interests abroad and superior response to the President. Rank inflation serves neither goal.

Secondly, Mr. Lee suggests that because his generation suffered, future generations must suffer. This again probably will not inspire those contemplating a career in the Foreign Service for it implies that change, progress, and concern for newcomers and their future is irrelevant, and that the Foreign Service is unable to fight for its cause, to seek self-improvement, and to admit to past weaknesses. Additionally, it is to be hoped that junior officers entering the Service are not doing so because they will be secure, no matter how poorly they perform. The good ones, of course, have nothing to fear and should know it.

EDWARD V. NEF

Washington

What the Zealous Eagerly Await

WHILE displaying *un peu de zèle*, I attempted to persuade several colleagues to join AFSA. Too often I was met with comments such as "AFSA is a seventh floor housepet," "a club for the Foreign Service 'establishment,'" etc. In my anger I found it difficult to accept these allegations—and equally difficult to refute them.

Implementation of the recommendations in the Lightner Report would eliminate justification for the kinds of criticism quoted above. The operative phrase in the report seems to me to be "the Association must concentrate in the years immediately ahead on becoming an organization with a serious intellectual base and an active—even combative—concern for the people at the heart of foreign affairs, regardless of their agency affiliation." The key word is "combative."

I firmly believe that an Association organized and operated along the lines of the Lightner Report would certainly strengthen the institution of AFSA. I also believe that the Lightner reforms would contribute to the development of an attitude, a professional ethic, in the foreign services

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themselves which would be characterized by (to paraphrase the Lightner Report) an active—even combative concern with the *problem* at the heart of foreign affairs, the advocacy and implementation of policy.

The zealous eagerly await the implementation of the Lightner proposals.

THOMAS D. BOYATT

Nicosia

Dickens, Not Conrad

ORCHIDS to Mary Stuart for her refreshing piece in the December issue of the JOURNAL! A minor quibble: if I correctly identify the allusion in the last paragraph as coming from Charles Dickens' "A Christmas Carol," I believe the ghostly gentleman was named Marley, not Marlow. Stave One, I think.

TIMOTHY W. CHILDS

Tehran

Homage To Charles Moffly

THE sudden death of Charlie Moffly last Christmas Day deprives all of us who knew him of a kind and gentle friend and colleague. Whether in Europe, where he served the longest, or in Africa, where he was last assigned until his recent retirement, he leaves enduring memories of a warm, unassuming and good-natured man, a loyal and devoted public servant.

Many in the Foreign Service can attest to the universal popularity and esteem he personally enjoyed among not only officialdom at all level, but also with the "man in the street," including, significantly, those who served him as either staff or servant.

Having in mind the qualities of education, character, and intelligence which Charlie embodied, I invite contributions to a Charles Knox Moffly Scholarship, to be awarded through the Foreign Service Association.

JULIAN P. FROMER

Washington

Five Points Fit the New Member

SINCE I joined the Foreign Service about a year ago, I have refrained from joining the AFSA because it seemed too passive and "establishment" to be much of a force for constructive change. However the "activist" principles and proposals that I've read about recently appeal to me as the start of a movement that could properly represent a group of professionals employed in a vital field of activity by a monolithic employer. As evidence of my support, I enclose a check for my dues for the coming year.

I would subscribe to the "five-point set of 'feelings'" of the slate of 18 (FSJ, 11/67, p. 37), and most of the proposals of the Committees on Planning and Career Principles. As a relative newcomer to this field, I only wonder that most of these ideas and proposals have not heretofore been advocated by the Association. As your Task Forces have an opportunity to prepare more specific and detailed proposals for change in the FSJ, I strongly suggest that the AFSA submit them publicly to the Department and/or the Congress and invite a public response.

As for the FSJ itself, I would like to see a report or an editorial opinion on the concept of "mission-trimming," as exemplified by the study currently underway in Brazil and promised for more missions.

TOBY T. ZETTLER

Tequigalpa, Honduras

In Praise of "The Doggerel Dip"

As a former (1960-61) member of the JOURNAL's Editorial Board, let me congratulate you and your current colleagues on having included "The Doggerel Dip" in the September issue. Even with the always-welcome "Life and Love" series and the cartoons and your occasional "Fables," I think that there is room and scope for additional humorous looks at ourselves and our profession and Service institutional foibles, and there is no sharper lens for making such observations (in both senses of the term) than that contained in a timely piece of light verse or doggerel. I was consequently pleased to see Mr. Blancké's clever contribution featured in your September issue.

JAMES F. O'CONNOR

Asunción, Paraguay

Importance of Asia

HAROLD NICOLSON quotes George N. Curzon in "Curzon: A Study in Post War Diplomacy" Constable & Co., 1934, as saying in 1898:

"Parliament . . . will have to know Asia almost as well as it knows Europe; and the time will come when Asiatic sympathies and knowledge will be, not the hobby of a few individuals, but the interest of the entire nation. . . ." (p. 38)

H.N. didn't think much of it. He called it "the perhaps disproportionate significance which he (Curzon) was wont to attach to Asiatic as distinct from European problems."

Strange, when you think about it. In 1898, the British crown had been in India for thirty years and in Hong Kong for more than a half century.

The battle of Manila Bay was in 1898. Now, almost seventy years later, there are still some H.N.'s among us.

RALPH BLOCK

Washington

Les Neiges d'Antan

YOUR readers might be interested in the following message from William L. Dayton, Minister to France, to Secretary of State William H. Seward, dated Paris, July 13, 1864: "Your telegram to me in *cipher* was duly received, and after a great search the office copy of the *cipher* was found, or at least enough of it to enable me to read your last telegram. . . . The last despatch in *cipher* from this office, which I found, is in the days of Mr. Crawford, about fifty years ago. Despatches in *cipher* from your department, may, perhaps, be found among the records of a later date, though I have seen none."

These were indeed "the good old days."

WILLIAM M. LEARY, JR.





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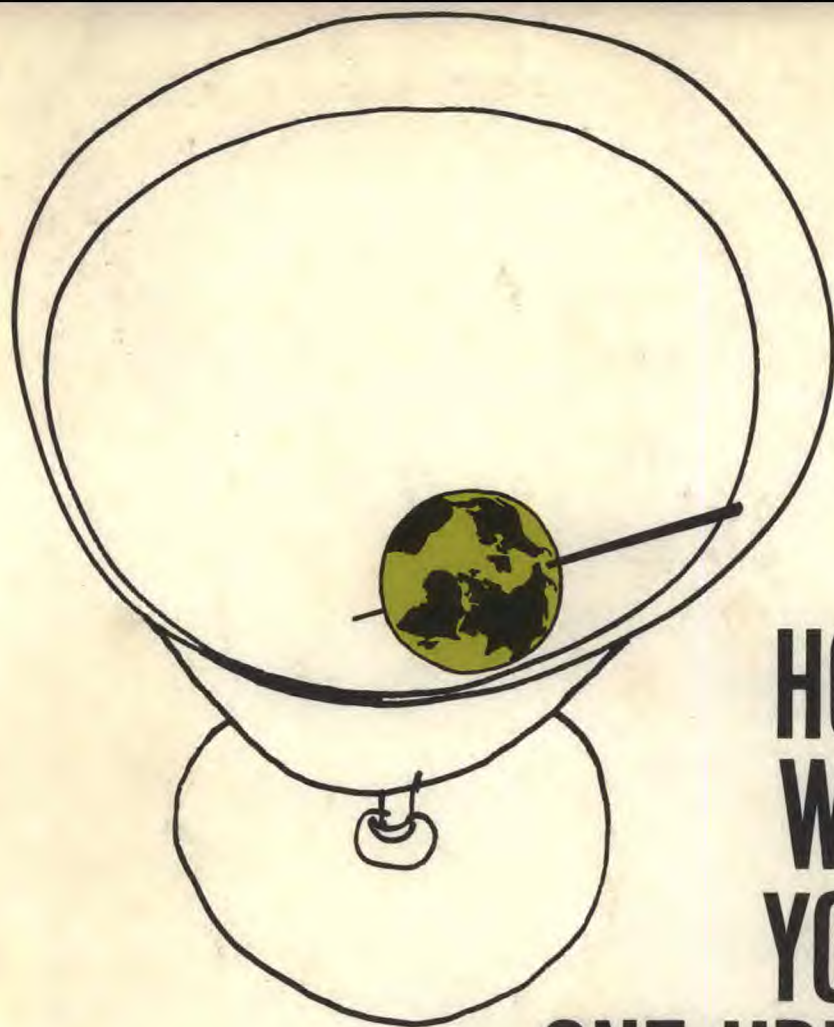
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