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From Ted Olson

Washington Letter

DID you know that the Executive Office Building—or, as some of us persist in calling it, Old State—is scheduled for a massive renovation whenever money becomes available? The blueprints have been ready for two years. All that's lacking to set the reconstructors to work is 21 million dollars. That's the architects' estimate. Recent disclosures to Congressional committees suggest that the final cost might be somewhat larger.

According to the POST's Wolf Von Eckardt, the interior "is to be restored to its original, ornate glory. . . by thoughtful adaptation to our own tastes." The south end will be recreated exactly the way it was 80 years ago, in all its "awesome architectural bravado," and opened to the public. The functional space will be increased by utilizing the two capacious inner courts. There'll be a two-story auditorium—where the President could meet the press—a cafeteria and executive dining-room, and a canopied plaza for Presidential receptions.

The idea is to give the White House staff more room and comfort, and free the Presidential residence of clutter and congestion.

And that's not all. The planners think it would be nice eventually to restore the Treasury Building also, to close East and West Executive Avenues, and transform the whole expanse from 17th to 15th into one executive compound of marble and greenery. That's not in the 21-million-dollar estimate, though.

No need to rush down for a last look. Though sometimes the physical fabric of the capital changes with dizzying rapidity, at other times and places change moves, if at all, with glacial tread. Farther down Pennsylvania Avenue the "grand plan" is exactly where it was eight years ago—on paper. You may recall, with a little brow-furrowing, that it provides for developing Pennsylvania into what L'Enfant envisioned—a sort of American Champs Elysées, with some commercial structures of adequate magnificence interspersed with governmental buildings, and a great National Square at the upper end.

Here again the obstacle is lack of funds. Congress hasn't voted the money and shows no disposition to do so. Meanwhile people with property in the designated area are getting restive. The owners want to pull down the old Willard Hotel—closed these many months—and put up an office building, but the Fine Arts Commission says no. As with so many of this colonially-governed city's affairs, jurisdictional authority is divided. Besides the Fine Arts Commission, there are the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, the District Government and the Department of the Interior, which gets into the act because the avenue has been designated a historic area. The last word, of course, is with Congress.

About the time you read this Lafayette Park should be open to the public again. Since late winter, just after the last inaugural stands came down, it's been walled with plywood, eight feet high. Peering through the portholes, passersby could watch the Park Service installing two big fountains, the plumbing required to feed them, and new sidewalks and flower-beds.

Meanwhile the paper-bag lunch bunch has had to find benches or greensward elsewhere and hurrying bureaucrats have lost a good many minutes walking around instead of cutting across. Still, we're going to miss that fence. It had been transformed into an open-air art show—a quarter of a mile or more of exuberant color and uninhibited fancy, mostly the work of high-school students. The project was conceived by Jane Shay of the National Trust for Historic Preservation; the overall theme was the nation's past. You can't separate history from ideology these days, but nobody raised a fuss about the occasional Black Power slogans that splashed the hoarding.

Magna Carta for Bureaucrats (?)

It shouldn't surprise anybody to learn that the malaise tormenting young people just about everywhere has spread to government workers. "Robots Rebel" was an eye-catching headline in the POST a while back; the manifesto to which it referred is titled more sedately "The Condition of the Federal Employee and How to Change It," and is signed by twelve present and former employees. The June issue of the WASHINGTON MONTHLY published excerpts.

It's pretty strong indictment of government employment policies and practices. The dissenting dozen believe these reflect regrettable conditions in society, e.g. "corporate-military" domination, discrimination against minorities, women and non-conformists of any brand, hostility to

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imaginative independent thinking. Specifically, the signers want "a voice in . . . basic policy and in decisions affecting the programs they administer and conditions under which they work", elimination of "privileges of class and status," such as carpeting and couches; abolition of "rigid work hours" and other "highly arbitrary regulation", assignments based on "quality and amount of work done" rather than "seniority or political maneuvering," prohibition of "all invasions into personal affairs," political expression and "life-styles, as reflected in their appearance and sexual behavior," the right to refuse to perform work "contrary to their consciences or their sense of justice."

One interesting feature of the manifesto is the disclosure that the signers don't expect to spend their lives in government service and think it should be official policy to encourage employees to "try other phases of public service or return to the private sector." Neither the POST nor the MONTHLY disclosed how many of the twelve have already done so.

Man vs. Computer: Progress Report

In the morning mail there is a flattering letter. It informs me that I am "one of a very special group" selected, on the basis of a careful check of book clubs, organizations, and professional societies, to receive an introductory eight-month subscription to COSMOS magazine (let us call it) at HALF-PRICE. Should I have any doubts that I am being specially favored, I am advised to "ask the people next door." (I wouldn't dream of doing that. If Mac should learn that he had been blackballed by a "very special group" into which I was being invited he might not be so willing to hustle over, with tool-kit and expertise, every time the plumbing or wiring hiccupped.)

Now there are several interesting things about this invitation. (1) The same mail brought a duplicate, identical except that the address was in caps instead of caps-and-lower-case, and used an abbreviated form of my given name. (2) We have been taking COSMOS for at least nine years. (3) I recall that we received the same offer a few months ago—unfortunately just after we had sent in our renewal.

All this conduces to reflection.

Why pay the full subscription price when you can get the magazine for half-price? Why, indeed, pay anything at all?

The "special introductory certificate" enjoins me: "Send no money now—we will bill you later. . . If after receiving your first issue you feel it does not live up to expectations, mark our bill 'Cancel,' return it and owe us nothing."

Consider the possibilities. When COSMOS advises you that your subscription will expire shortly, you do not, as in the past, rush off a check by return mail. You wait. In a few weeks there will be another reminder, slightly more importunate. Ignore it. Still others will follow, at shortening intervals, their tone escalating through concern to anguish to aggrieved reproof.

Ignore them.

Finally you will receive an ultimatum. Black-bordered, in doomsday prose, it will warn that THIS IS THE LAST ISSUE YOU WILL RECEIVE, unless. . .

Ignore it.

The odds are that it won't be the last issue. We are still getting SAFARI, six months after our subscription lapsed. In any event, in a few weeks you are almost certain to receive a SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER at HALF THE REGULAR SUBSCRIPTION PRICE. Send it in.

After the trial copy arrives, wait a judicious period, long enough to suggest that you have read the magazine from cover to cover. Then return the bill with the regretful explanation that you find you and COSMOS are not really compatible.

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By the time the circulation department has recovered from the snub, another SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER will probably be on its way.

There is no good reason, I am persuaded, why this could not go on indefinitely—unless, of course, conscience should intervene.

The diabolical cunning of the plan is that it exploits the vulnerabilities of two of the scourges of modern society, and turns them against each other.

One of these is the computer. The other is the marketable mailing-list, which makes everybody who has installed a telephone, acquired a credit card, subscribed to a magazine, joined an organization or paid a tax fair game for junk-mailers.

COSMOS buys your name from a dealer in names and addresses. It may unwittingly buy it several times, because most of us have used minor variants on different occasions. The circulation department dumps the list into the computer, and the computer sets dutifully to work grinding out SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFERS.

But—and here is the discovery I think may be momentous—COMPUTERS CANNOT COMMUNICATE.

They don't confer. They don't cross-check. Each goes its own way, single-minded, implacable, irreversible. Therein is their frightening power; therein too their vulnerability. Turn computer against computer, and humanity may yet escape the fate Stephen Vincent Benet envisaged in "Nightmare Number Three." (It describes the revolt of

the superhuman machines,
The ones we built to be better than flesh and bone.

You'll find it in "Burning City.")

You may retort that, ingenious though my scheme may appear, it won't work. I think it might. Indeed, it has been proved out experimentally, in a small way.

A friend of ours, wishing to replenish a library depleted by borrowers, sent in subscriptions to six leading book clubs, in quadruplicate—in his own name, his wife's and the names of their two children. With each form he enclosed the $1 initiation fee that entitles the new subscriber to three books as a sort of welcome-wagon bonus.

I dropped in one day to find living-room table and chairs stacked high—68 volumes, list value probably in excess of $400, total investment $24.

Only 68, though. One of the clubs—only one—had noticed that surname and address on two of the orders were identical, and asked politely if there might be some duplication, no doubt inadvertent.

Somewhere in that one computer labyrinth there must have been a skeptical human being, possibly the last of his kind.

Everything in Apple-Pie Disorder

"Violence is as American as cherry pie."—H. Rap Brown.

"Has it ever occurred to you that American football is as American as apple pie or violence?"—Clive Barnes, TIMES drama critic.

Make up your minds, fellows. Is it cherry or apple pie that violence is as American as? And of the two which, if either, is the more American? Can the Folklore division of the Library of Congress tell us? The DAR?

The claims of apple pie are persuasive; it was legendarily for that, as prepared by Mom, that GIs fought in World War II. But what about pumpkin, indigenous to this continent and mandatory at the most American of festivals, Thanksgiving?

When the Wobblies sang of "pie in the sky by-and-by," what variety did they have in mind?

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Periodical Articles

"Nuclear Accidents and the ABM," by Joel Larus. SATURDAY REVIEW, May 31, 1969, p. 10-13. Pointing to the dangers of accidents that could occur at the prospective ABM sites, the author gives the details of several such mishaps (Broken Arrows) that have taken place—the Goldsboro, N.C., McGuire Air Force Base, and Palomares incidents.

"Ten Million Lives." ARMED FORCES JOURNAL, May 31, 1969, p. 12-13. Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard believes that President Nixon's Safeguard program must be instituted without delay to save lives in the event war breaks out with China or Russia.

"Bourguiba: Wise Voice of the Arab World," by David Reed. READERS DIGEST, June 1969, p. 175-182. Portrays the background and career of Habib Bourguiba, President of Tunisia, promoter of progress and moderation, and stabilizing influence in the area.

"Sino-Soviet Dispute." SURVIVAL, May 1969, p. 149-154. The Chinese view on the border dispute is expressed in the Chinese Foreign Ministry Statement of March 10, 1969; then John Gittings concludes that this incident reveals that China is more isolated than ever before in the area of international relations.

"The Jigsaw Facing Mao." THE ECONOMIST, May 31, 1969, p. 33. Turning the Chinese revolutionary rhetoric into a workable system of government was the goal of the recent convocation of provincial party congresses.

"Cultural Revolution Raging in Albania," by David Bligh. CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, April 1969, p. 185-187. Albania's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact has resulted in the country's becoming the first European satellite of Red China. The activities of Albania's Red Guard are described, and Hoxa's counteractions against their terrorist program are marked.

"One Man's Europe." THE ECONOMIST, May 24, 1969, p. 13-15. Ruminations on the trends and traditions and national realities that must qualify any precipitate move toward European federalism. Russia is seen as opposed to such a move, while the United States would offer mild support, but "Neither public opinion nor parties nor governments are now ready" for a federal Europe.

"EFTA and the NAFTA Proposals: an Economic Appraisal," by David Robertson. THE WORLD TODAY, April 1969, p. 145-158. The benefits of the proposed North Atlantic Free Trade Association—"an agreement to eliminate tariffs on industrial and manufactured goods according to an agreed schedule"—are evaluated with respect to the European Free Trade Association and European Economic Community.

"Bonn after Twenty Years: Are German's Problems Nearer Solution?" by Ralf Dahrendorf. THE WORLD TODAY, April 1969, p. 158-171. German society is rigid, and the government fosters a knd of "systemic fascism" in which the individual is economically well off but not free to influence the course of events.

"A Reporter at Large: Indonesia," by Robert Shaplen. THE NEW YORKER, May 24, 1969, p. 42-112; May 31, 1969, p.39-74. The first installment of this series on Indonesia appeared in the November 23, 1968 NEW YORKER. These concluding installments treat in depth the political history of Indonesia during the postwar Sukarno era, the attempted coup of 1965, the resultant change of regime, and the present status of the country under the Suharto government.

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"One seeks in foreign policy making more poise than panache, more balance and prudence than dash."

The Scholar and th

Contrasting Views of What Matters

HOWARD WRIGGINS

The author, now Director of the Southern Asia Institute at Columbia University served as Chief of the Foreign Affairs Division at the Library of Congress and as a member of the Policy Planning Council.

WHY is it that scholars feel they are not consulted by policy-makers, that their findings are ignored, that no one listens when they speak or write? Why is it that when the foreign policy decision maker consults the scholar, only rarely does he receive advice which he deems useful? These are hard but, I believe, not unfair questions. They are worth asking because foreign policy is such a dangerous and costly business that we must examine any impediments to a more effective use of all our resources—intellectual and managerial quite as much as economic or military.

There are many aspects to this problem as this series of panels will explore. One of the more obvious present impediments to useful discourse between decision-makers and scholars is the Vietnam imbroglio. It has generated bitter criticism and moral outrage among many scholars against an Administration which, they feel, has not either leveled with them or been able to provide an adequate rationale in a situation which has changed substantially since our involvement began. This, in turn, has provoked among the decision-makers a sense that the intensity of public criticism at home has contributed to Hanoi's intransigence and thus has contributed to prolonging the war the intellectuals decry.

But Vietnam is not the main impediment, in my view. Of greater relevance to our discussion are some of the more inherent problems in the way of drawing academic scholars and foreign policy decision makers into more effective working relationships.

The discussion will compare some of the working assumptions, career imperatives and perspectives which differentiate the ideal-type "scholar" from the ideal-type "decision-maker." In reality, of course, any one individual scholar or decision-maker can be located somewhere along a spectrum stretching from one extreme model to the other. And where an individual finds himself on this spectrum will have a good deal to do with his ability to participate fruitfully in the dialogue between scholars and decision makers.

Scholars as critics. Our task as academics is both to elucidate and to transmit elements of our tradition we deem worthy of passing on to the next generation and of criticizing that tradition and evoking a vision of a better mode of thought, of perception, of life. The men of scholarship periodically and often challenge the men of state power, questioning their conception of what matters. In the tradition, scholars should be detached from official dogmas. They should have a penchant for criticism. At the extreme, some of us simply can't stand ourselves unless we are destructively critical of everything. It sometimes seems as if only by the sharpness of our critical wit can some among us clearly demonstrate their intellectual prowess.

In a more serious vein, it is mainly in the scholarly community that new and vaulting ideas can be tried out, particularly if they imply disturbing present political, social or economic arrangements. There they face the test of logic, at least, if not of application. It is to be expected that the scholar who totally rejects "the system" cannot engage in fruitful dialogue with those who are trying to make it work. Some among us are uncomfortable in dialogue with those in responsibility unless we agree with all aspects of official policy. Such a purist stance obviously prevents fruitful dialogue between decision maker and scholar quite as much as if decision makers insisted on our full approval of all their policies before they asked for advice.

Vocabulary. Another obvious, but less spacious, impediment to communication is the matter of *vocabulary*. Both specialties have their jargon, which impedes communication. It seems to me that the bureaucratic vocabulary is easier to acquire and use with reasonable accuracy than is that of the fully-informed social scientific specialist. The more specialized the field of study, the more this will be the case. Contrasts in vocabulary among social scientists—and I count history one of them for this discussion—do make a difference in the ease of the dialogue. Historians and many politicial scientists tend to be easier to communicate with than many economists, sociologists and anthropologists. The former's vocabulary, normal concepts and concerns are nearer to the decision maker's than are those of the other disciplines. But as political scientists become increasingly fascinated by models, often seeking quantitative expression, their vocabulary becomes increasingly inaccessible to the liberal arts and legally-trained men and women who generally are the decision

Panel paper delivered by Howard Wriggins before the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., September, 1968.

Policy-maker

makers, though if they are economists they understand increasingly quickly what the quantitative political scientist is trying to do. The matter of "typologies," "matrices," "variables," "replication," "paradigms," etc. can be got through fairly quickly. But sometimes the paraphernalia of academic discourse can be an impediment to communication, particularly with hard-pressed bureaucrats.

These impediments are not all one way, however. The bureaucratic alphabetical combinations take on a reality close to Sukarno's word magic acronyms. As decision-makers rattle them off, identifying the steps they must take, the bureaus they must clear with, it often sounds like an incantation. AID is easy; but what is the LAS, the PROAG, the PPBS? Where lies S/P or G/PM? What on earth is a NSAM, a SIG, or an IRG? It is easier to decipher these alphabetical horrors and know accurately what they stand for than it is to be sure what a scholar means in concrete, policy-relevant terms when he talks airily of "political mobilization," "participation," "capital output radio" or "absorptive capacity."

Different Standards of Relevance And Time Frames. Scholars and decision makers have different standards of relevance and different time frames. The scholar is seeking patterns, consistencies, generalizations, looking at political societies as systems. We seek significant social forces, resource trends, and system capabilities and limitations. But the poliey maker must solve immediate problems, and these present themselves to him in all the partieularity and uniqueness of specific history in the making. *We push toward generalization and theory while he must deal with case-specific problems to be solved.*

These points have numerous implications. We look at "forces" and "trends," but he looks at individuals. He knows from personal experience that a change in a country's leadership may make a very real difference to a diplomat's ability to persuade "his" Prime Minister. Experience in foreign policy making tends to strengthen the conviction that foreign policy problems are essentially idiosyncratic, resulting from a quite unique combination of personality, resource, goal and organizational variables which escape the confines of scholarly generalization except of the grossest sort. Not being privy to the inside information regarding top personalities, others' strengths, weaknesses and their mutual relationships, we may discount their importance too much. The experienced hands believe, in contrast, that only if you understand these and other particularities of specific situations do you know what really matters to you and to your government. Thus decision maker and scholar are drawn to focus on different aspects of the foreign policy reality.

Our deadlines are generally set by ourselves, but the policy maker's are too often set by unfolding events. A state visit may be in the offing; Congressmen may be visiting his post; the budgeting process may be grinding its inexorable way with a new deadline next week. The political leadership of a country may suddenly have changed by coup d'état, and a whole new approach to military and economic assistance has to be drawn up within a four day period. How should we react to Egypt's closing the Gulf of Aqaba? China's thrust into India? The Czech liberation drive and the Soviet threat against it?

The questioner needs answers to these specific problems fairly promptly. If an academic researcher is brought in, unless he comes from one of the policy-oriented research organizations like RAND or MIT's CENIS, he will be pulled in two directions. He will want to answer, as best he can, the question posed by the operator. But since his standing within his profession will depend not on the alacrity with which he answers operational questions but the reputation he develops for contributing to his discipline, an important portion of his mind will be devoted to those basic theoretical questions which interest him and his disciplinary colleagues. To be sure, experienced researchers may be truly fascinated by the intellectual problems inherent in making that leap from special insight to policy recommendation so that the theoretical problems are not in the forefront of their concern. In still other instances, it may be urgently necessary to make progress precisely on the theoretical level before a policy question can be answered with any seriousness. On the whole, however, there is tension between the theoretical requirements for scholarly standing and the decision-maker's need for prompt results.

In an ideal world, of course, the decision-maker would be sufficiently foresighted and his environment sufficiently predictable so that he could arrange serious study on major problems well in advance. Indeed, there are many long run policy problems deserving such careful attention. If the questions are asked in good time and competent people are set to the attack, the necessary theory-building and policy-oriented research could help decision makers, as we have seen already in the fields of arms limitation, economic development, and, somewhat more ambiguously, in studies of conflict strategy. More of it could be done if there were more foresight and resources.

Appreciating Limits. Unless he has devoted considerable time to the matter, it is hard for the scholar to *appreciate the limits which restrict the latitude of the decision-maker or for the latter to understand the potentialities and limits of scholarship.* The policy maker has his own bureaucratic environment with which he must contend. His immediate superiors and the associates he must carry with him set bounds to what he can find both of interest and worth considering. Assessments of the domestic political situation, of what the Congress will tolerate, of what the Secretary of State will find conceivably acceptable and what the President will consider or encourage are all sub-

tle but often decisive parts of the operator's working environment. The scholar tends to assume more free choice among conceivable alternatives than is usually within the operator's reach. No doubt, too many operators are too inhibited even in thought by their assessments of the situation in which they find themselves. The prenatal killing of good ideas before they see the light of day is all too frequent. Where energy is limited and bureaucratic success depends in part on one's ability to economize one's own efforts and apply them to those questions which are considered relevant by one's superior, it is not surprising that the academic's assumptions about conceivable alternatives often seem to the operator as distractions.

On the other side of the discourse, the decision-maker usually has little appreciation of what serious research requires. Used, as he is, to the quick writing necessary in a foreign service career or the rapid acquisition of the lawyer's expertise on a particular case, he is unlikely to grasp the need for time. To be sure, we may have over-elaborated our methodological sophistication. If need be, disciplined scholars can work more rapidly than they prefer. A less perfect methodology may be quite good enough for an attack on a policy problem, although it will leave the more rigorous of our colleagues uncomfortable in the presence of sloppy, because less than perfect, work. Nevertheless, it will take more time, more rumination and more question asking than the usual decision-maker really believes necessary.

Moreover research has very real limitations. Some problems are more susceptible of being answered by research than others. Directly applicable answers are usually not forthcoming, since only those responsible officials within the context of decision can know all the elements that must go into a final choice. To ask too much of the scholars is as wasteful as to ask too little.

The approach to information is different for the two professions. Many case-specific problems can be dealt with by operators or scholars only with very detailed knowledge of the peculiarities of that situation. The operator has his enormous flow of specific information received through official channels. For trend analysis and theory building, the specific, descriptive classified information may not be all that important, precisely because it so often stresses the case-specific data. Yet if one is to be helpful to policy makers, who must deal with specific problems, one needs to be as close to that data as possible. This is one of the differences between the consulting relationships of, say physical scientists to the US Government and foreign policy specialists. The former bring to the Government the special insights developed in their laboratories and manufacturing experience in this country. Scholars asked to give advice on foreign policy matters are more dependent upon information on their policies, elite changes, political pressures, etc., and the US Government has in hand quantities of such information. The operators themselves are usually steeped in this information already, a fact which makes it sometimes necessary for the operators to brief the invited advisors on the specific situation they are being asked to advise about. And this reduces the likely incremental contribution scholars can make in the foreign policy field.

It is a cliche by now that much more information is classified than is necessary. And useful relationships with the academic world would be facilitated if more of the non-sensitive basic data were more readily available to scholars. Indeed, much time invested by talented scholars in attempting to acquire such basic data, necessary for legitimate social science analysis and theory building, is wasted, since it is already available in this country, though often not in a form directly usable for systematic scholarship until it is processed differently.

There is also *the contrast between the belief among officials that they need to insure the confidentiality of their data and the scholar's interest in publication.* In official foreign policy business, it is held that only if foreign officials know they can count on the discretion of their American counterparts can they be expected to share fully with our officials their deepest problems. Only if that air of confidentiality is assured can our officials and theirs work out the multiple adjustments which are necessary for effective and trusting relationships between the representatives of sovereign states. On the other hand, scholars must publish, not merely to accelerate their promotions and to retain their stature in their professions, but because they want to share what they know in order to promote the growth of their discipline. Moreover, scholars are by nature critical. Some feel that if they find information which reveals the weaknesses, cupidity, or harshness of political leaders elsewhere, others should know about it. By contrast, the foreign policy operator deals with those in power, whether they be saints or scoundrels. The scholar finds the secretiveness of the official frustrating; the official finds the indiscreetness and lack of "responsibility" about what is privileged communication and what is not disconcerting if not downright troublesome.

We play different games in efforts to legitimize our ideas. The decision maker knows, for example, from bitter experience that there is no use in having an idea unless you can sell it; or at least arrange a fair hearing for it. Accordingly, he will *devote* quite as much *time to sustaining and improving his access to those who count* in the system as to the intellectually more rewarding task of conceiving of, shaping and developing the idea itself. Gaining and sustaining access can be an enormously time consuming task. This may require arduous labor to develop that sense of confidence: months of getting cables well drafted and out on time; taking care of visiting statesmen with ease and flair; summarizing a meeting better than anyone else, or writing summaries of a meeting as it is in progress; playing the cocktail circuit or being first in in the morning, last out at night. The arts and drudgery of the bureaucratic game demand an important share of your energies if you are to sustain your access against all the other competing claims on the time of the men who count. It will be obvious to you that some of our academic colleagues have honed this capacity into a fine-edged instrument with which they insert themselves into any part of the bureaucratic system they wish. But on the whole, we look down on this sort of activity as somewhat beneath us. Our instincts run the other way. Our ideas should be so good that they stand on their own, finding their own audience without political preparations. "Let him read the memo, damn it, and accept those ideas whose merits cannot be missed. And if he doesn't buy them, that's his tough luck! I'll publish the same arguments in FOREIGN AFFAIRS or WORLD POLITICS."

Contrasting Approaches. More seriously, for a moment, each approaches the intractable international environment in a different mood. This might be called the contrast between *incrementalism and starting with a clean slate.* The foreign policy decision maker's environment sets him within commitments to foreign governments, to Congress, to accepted programs and personnel. He knows that the personal costs of continuing to do what one has been doing are less severe than recommending or attempting to effect abrupt changes in policy. The operator's vision, therefore, favors incremental changes in direction, notching



the tiller a bit this way or that, experimentally. Making a major change by means of small steps may avoid arousing potential antagonists and is a gesture towards safety, to see what works and what does not before becoming publicly committed. In the dangerous world environment, particularly, now beset as we are by the nuclear weapons overhang, abrupt changes may be dangerous. For all these reasons, caution is in order and incremental change preferred.

At the same time, the professional decision-maker, as distinct from the shorter term political appointee, tends to fear the future costs of rhetoric, of grand designs, of flowing promises. He prefers the quiet work of the inconspicuous diplomatist to the public declaration of the man with the Programs and Doctrines.

But this is frustrating to the politically "committed" scholar. Coming to foreign affairs with an acute perception of the unsatisfactory nature of the world and wishing to improve it promptly, the committed scholar may want to start at the other end of the spectrum, imagining the world we want and then by the clarity of his vision and the precision of his logic, put forward such a compellingly lucid picture of where we want to go and the inescapable steps necessary to get there that the whole foreign policy machine would veer around to move in that desired direction. He is impatient with the decision maker's commitment to past engagements, to all too familiar fears, to concepts and ways of looking at reality which derive from ten, twenty, thirty years ago and do not fit the logical image of today the scholar has evoked. He is horrified by the unwillingness of the experienced to articulate a fresh interpretation of our situation.

Originality vs. Responsibility. This *contrast* is closely related to another one, that *between "originality" and "responsibility."* The academic is rewarded for the authoritativeness of his studies, to be sure, but he is also praised for his originality. A scholar who comes up with a new view of the origins of the Korean War, a new design for the world legal system, a new view on the virtues of single party states or of corruption in Asian polities is likely to receive greater attention than one who goes over familiar ground with greater care. He may be no more right than his more cautious colleague, but the fact of his originality is respected and rewarded. And this is as it should be.

In the foreign policy decision making field, one does not necessarily want the most original and imaginative to be the last to have the ear of the decision maker. Bright ideas are fine for the lecture platform, but one seeks in foreign policy making more poise than panache, more balance and prudence than dash. In consequence, the bright idea man is at a discount in the foreign policy decision making community, and the man of prudent policy assessment in the academic community.

I do not intend to suggest that the man of prudent, cautious judgment is always right. Far Eastern policy, for example, has been bedeviled by over-rigid attachment to past dogma; foreign economic assistance policies have paid deference to shibboleths which none of our foreign policy officials dared challenge; nor is the bright idea man from the academic world always wrong. But I do suggest there is a different stance toward policy responsibility. That difference affects the way scholars and decision-makers communicate with each other, and the general type of answer to complicated problems they are likely to seek. The scholar becomes inordinately impatient with the prudent man of responsibility. The operators often find the academics hasty and unwilling to accept the limitations which surround a policy choice.

Differing Styles. Paralleling this contrasting stance is the contrast which derives from their *differing styles of seeking useful insight.* The scholar often believes he makes progress by argumentation, by confronting one idea with another, by exaggerating differences in order to see where within the contrasting views the "fundamental" differences really lie. If these logical grounds for differences are uncovered, one view or the other can be dismissed or a new combination of old ideas can be defined to be challenged in its turn. Much academic discussion is dialectical in this sense. Moreover, since each scholar is independent of each other in his working environment, and if he has tenure, in his job security, he need not hold back his temptation to win hands down. Decision makers are sometimes horrified by the directness and vigor of debates between academics.

The approach to disagreement in the decision making community is usually very different. Since the search here is for sufficient agreement to get on with the particular problem, it may be an enormous distraction and time-waster to try to get down to fundamental differences. Tomorrow, in some future bureaucratic battle you may need the support of the man you have to argue against today. Accordingly, rarely do you press your point home to the full; you minimize differences in the search for an operationally sufficient concensus. This is frustrating to scholars, who want to uncover the absurdities in the other fellow's view, dislike bland discussions and who have no operational need, except common civility, to restrain the vigor of their criticisms.

These represent differences of operational environment, professional style and criteria for success in either field. There is one perspective I would like to conclude with. I have referred above to a *creative leap from analysing a policy problem to devising a feasible policy solution.*

Most of our scholarly disciplines train us for skilled analysis, for a meticulous reconstruction of what has actually happened, for thorough search to "explain" what has already occurred. But the next step is the more difficult. It calls for highly disciplined and systematic speculation as to the likely outcomes of following alternative courses of action, and choosing among them that which is most promising. Such speculation involves projecting the present into the future as that future can be altered by actions

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Does the Department of State lack an organizational memory?
Is there a 20-year lag in adjusting to foreign policy realities?

The Department of State: Formal Organization and Informal Culture

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THE Department of State has had many critics, including Presidents. John F. Kennedy once asked Charles Bohlen, "What's wrong with that goddamned Department of yours, Chip?[1] The Department remained an enigma to him and he developed the "Bundy operation" in the White House largely because he could not find a way to use the Department of State effectively.

This article will suggest that the explanation for many of the inadequacies of the Department and many of the things that are puzzling about it lies in the nature and functioning of the dominant subculture that exists in the Department. The beliefs and actions of members of the Department are influenced by the Departmental culture in much the same way that they are influenced by the national culture. The day-to-day working world of a Departmental officer will normally be made up of people who are carriers of the norms of the subculture. To discuss the operation of the Department of State without considering the role of the subculture is like trying to explain tidal change without reference to the role of the moon.

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[1] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1965), p. 431. Bohlen's answer was, "You are." Since the Department's problems have persisted over many years and several presidents, however, the answer, while intriguing, is obviously inadequate.

IN every large formal organization informal organizations arise. This is true of both private bureaucracies and public bureaucracies. While students of industrial organization have long been aware of informal organizations and their importance, far less attention has been paid to their impact upon the functioning of governmental agencies. These informal structures are unplanned and unintended. Because they are unintended and do not appear on organizational charts, their existence often goes unrecognized. The leaders of a formal organization make their decisions as if these unintended structures did not exist and the latter gain their revenge by producing unintended results. Informal organizations are shaped by the formal organizations in which they are embedded and they, in turn, may have a great influence upon the workings of the formal organizations. Not until the role of these informal structures is perceived and understood can their consequences be anticipated or controlled. Until then they will have a subterranean existence and will continue to generate unexpected consequences.

The ideology of the Departmental subculture cannot be depicted with precision because the necessary investigatory work has not yet been done. At best, then, this article can offer no more than a preliminary, partial, and somewhat impressionistic effort. It should be clear at the outset that there is no uniformity of belief in the Foreign Service and that the elements in this ideology are not accepted by all Foreign Service officers. There are dominant modes of belief in the subculture, however, even though the Department is not ideologically monolithic. The following are some of the prevalent beliefs:

- The problems that are encountered in the conduct of American foreign policy are often intractable ones.
- They are intractable because of their inherent nature and not because of anything that the Department of State does or does not do.
- On the whole, the Department functions as well as any reasonable person could expect given the nature of the external problems that it faces.
- There are no major internal problems in the Department or serious impediments to its effective functioning.
- Critics who say that the Department is not very effective simply do not understand the problems that the Department faces and hence cannot appreciate how well the Department is doing.
- Hardly anyone really does understand how well the Department is doing. That is because outsiders

lack the experience that would qualify them to comment on the work of the Department.

• The only experience that is relevant to the activities of the Department of State is experience gained in the Foreign Service.

• The really important aspects of the foreign affairs of the United States are the political ones—the traditional ones of negotiation, representation, and reporting.

• Overseas operations of the kind conducted by DOD, AID, USA and CIA, are peripheral to the main foreign policy task.

• In order to deal with foreign affairs effectively, the Foreign Service officer must acquire the capacity to make mature and balanced judgments about complex situations.

• One can develop this capacity through experience in the same way that an artist may come to master his art.

• Unfortunately there is no way that this knowledge can be accumulated, analyzed and passed on to others.

• The skillful conduct of foreign affairs involves more of art than of science. That is why the learning process cannot be streamlined or be made more efficient.

• One of the reasons why the conduct of foreign policy is an art rather than a science is that each problem that confronts the Foreign Service officer is unique.

• He must take up each problem as it presents itself to him and deal with it as best he can. He must then pass on to the next problem, knowing that its solution will owe very little to solutions found for earlier problems.

• Since this is the case, research and efforts at "planning" can be of little use.

• Research and planning cannot significantly improve the capacity of an officer to assess a situation and make a wise decision. Planning is of little value because the situation that arises is never precisely the one that is planned for. Research invariably suffers from one or the other of two faults. It is either so simple-minded that it does little more than spell out the obvious, or it is so abstract and unrealistic as to have no practical application to the Department's day-to-day operating problems.

• Because research is of marginal value to the Department, the Foreign Service officer will normally prefer not to associate himself with it. That is, he will not initiate much research, will not read much of its results nor concern himself with incorporating its findings into his thinking. He will want to avoid assignment to research offices.

The ideology also sets forth norms that serve to regulate the behavior of these belonging to the culture. For example, if the Foreign Service is to operate smoothly over a period of time, extremely competitive behavior has to be ruled out. A series of injunctions are therefore a part of the subcultural ideology: "play the game," "don't rock the boat," "don't make waves," "minimize risk-taking." To the extent that these injunctions are observed, interpersonal relations remain smooth.[2]

The individual who does not play the game according to the prescribed rules is likely to find colleagues drawing away from him. Approval by one's peers is important to most men, and the threat of general disapproval is a powerful sanction. Since the Foreign Service is a relatively small organization, with a high level of interaction and intercommunication among its members, informal sanctions are likely to be readily felt. In addition, the Foreign Service is a career service, which means that an individual's success and advancement will be directly affected by the way that his colleagues view him. Finally, escape from the Service is not always easy. After being in the Service and abroad for a number of years, the individual may find it difficult to move into a non-governmental job or into another governmental agency. These factors help explain why the environment in the Department has not produced many mavericks.

THE informal ideology that has currency in the Department is extremely influential. The individual who enters the Foreign Service normally acquires its ideas and norms as part of the process of being socialized into the Foreign Service. He internalizes them and makes them his own. It should be emphasized that acceptance of the elements in the informal ideology does not necessarily reflect on the ability of the individual subscribing to them. Once an idea is built into the ideology of a subculture it is taken for granted by the members of the subculture and ceases to be a subject for critical examination. The ideology embodies the conventional wisdom of the Department. Because it is *conventional*, its truths tend to be taken for granted rather than scrutinized. An individual can be able and effective in his day-to-day work and still move about in his ideological environment with as little reflective thought as the fish devotes to the water in which he swims.

The elements in the subcultural ideology are perfectly plausible, as indeed they must be. If the subcultural ideology did not satisfy the minimum requirements of plausibility, it would not be able to perform the various functions that it, as an organizational ideology, is supposed to perform, such as:

• Providing an agreed outlook on major actors in the external environment, such as other Washington agencies and foreign governments;

• Providing an agreed understanding of major developments on the world scene and the local scene;

• Offering a set of organizational goals;

• Justifying the organization, its actions, and its predilections;

• Undermining critics of the organization;

• Justifying the internal arrangements of the organization;

• Offering a set of norms or values in accordance with which the

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[2] Chris Argyris has formulated some of the norms in the following terms:
—withdraw from open discussion of interpersonal difficulties and conflict;
—avoid being open about interpersonal problems or substantive issues that can be threatening to people, especially superiors and peers;
—when confronted with openly competitive behavior mistrust the person exhibiting it and withdraw from active confrontation;
—when confronted with aggressiveness, withdraw, judge the aggressive individual negatively, but don't tell him so.
"Some Causes of Organizational Ineffectiveness Within the Department of State," Occasional Paper No. 2, Center for International Systems Research, Department of State, pp. 1-9.

individual is expected to behave;

- Providing a set of status judgments for internal use;
- Providing a basis for morale.

Since the ideology embodies the conventional wisdom of the Department and its formulations pass for truth, it can also serve, to some extent, as a substitute for organizational memory and reflective thought.

While plausible, the elements in this ideology, as in most ideologies, are a mix of truths, half-truths and errors. Within the compass of a single article it is not possible to examine these ideological elements in detail. What can be done, however, is to call attention to some of the important operational implications of these ideological beliefs.

If the subcultural ideology were a little less self-congratulatory, it might be easier for Departmental leaders to perceive problems and to take appropriate action. These leaders should ask and answer such questions as: What are the special characteristics of our organizational life? What are its advantages and how can they be increased? What are its disadvantages and what can be done to minimize them? For example, while the Department is aware of the advantages of a career service (and they are substantial), it seems unaware of the problems associated with such a service. Few things are cost-free and that includes a career service. A career service may encourage parochialism, undue self-satisfaction, a low estimate of the value of other agencies and groups, excessive caution, organizational rigidity, and an intolerance of change. There is no mechanism guaranteeing that the internal features developed by the Foreign Service are necessarily good for American foreign policy. The Department should examine the problems associated with professionalization and the functioning of the career service and take action on the basis of that examination. It should seek ways to retain the advantages of a career service while minimizing the costs involved.

Subcultural norms discourage vigorous policy debate within the Department. That being so, a strong case could be made for the establishment of groups of independent



outsiders to help the Department explore its problems by engaging in such debate. The subculture is not receptive to this kind of thing, however, and outsiders tend to be viewed as both unneeded and incompetent. One of the easiest things on which to get agreement within the subculture is the unwisdom of establishing any kind of foreign policy focus outside of the Department of State, for example in the White House. The Department is not inclined toward vigorous exploration of policy options and it is not inclined to let anyone else do the job for it.

Periodically the Department has been reorganized in an effort to overcome its defects. These reorganizations appear to have had little effect other than exasperating Departmental personel. The reaction of the Department's employees is: "For God's sake, leave us alone so we can get on with the job." But, since a reorganization never seems to improve things markedly, pressure soon builds up again and there is another reorganization. Observers then conclude wryly that the more things change in the Department the more they remain the same.

Reorganization, by itself, is not likely to lead to basic changes in the working style of the Department or in the type of policy products that come out of it. The central problem of the Department is cultural rather than organizational. It is easy to reorganize the Department, but organizational change does not automatically produce cultural change, certainly not of the kind that should be desired. Reorganization gets at formal structures but the informal structures are out of reach. The dominant subculture is part of the informal structure of the Department and it is relatively impervious to the kind of instruments that are used to effect change in the formal structure, such as Departmental directives and reorganization plans. The Secretary is a powerful person in the Department but his capacity to command runs along formal, not informal, lines. If a Secretary understood the problem, he might be able to induce certain cultural changes by indirection. But he cannot command the culture to change.

The Department of State has often been criticized for being traditional, sluggish and unimaginative. These defects are not inadvertent or accidental but represent almost unavoidable results of the working of the subculture. This is not to suggest that members of the subculture want to produce unimaginative policy or try to do so. They don't. If they live in accordance with the norms and ideology of the subculture, however, unimaginative policy is an almost certain outcome. As long as the norms of the subculture prescribe organizational accommodation rather than combat, and caution rather than venturesomeness, and as long as the ideology assures members of the subculture that they are doing a good job, it is vain to expect bold and innovative policy from the Department of State. In order to produce such policy, members of the subculture would have to challenge established norms and ideas and engage in prolonged and vigorous debate. In short, they would have to engage in precisely the kind of disruptive behavior that the norms of the subculture are designed to eliminate.

One of the functions the ideology performs is that of offering comfort and reassurance to members of the subculture. Since the image of the

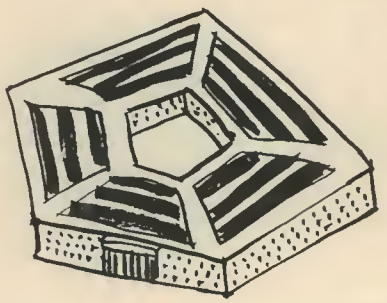
Foreign Service in the broader American community is not wholly favorable and since the Department is frequently under attack for its policies or the way that it operates, this is an important function. Unfortunately, the ideology provides this reassurance by incorporating a cluster of defensive elements that serve to insulate the Department from criticism. The individual who is socialized into the subculture learns that there really are no problems and that, if there were, outsiders could not help with them because outsiders don't really understand the Department.

One of the things that has been puzzling about the Department of State has been its lack of interest in basic research in international affairs. Objectively the Department has a great stake in the development of new insights, perspectives and foreign policy tools, yet an observer would not deduce that from its behavior. The Department has not sought to develop a continuing, two-way exchange with the research community. It does not have the concept of an active partnership with the research community directed toward the study of problems of mutual interest. If the Department could have perceived its real interests it would have begun to develop such a relationship years ago. Had it done so it might now be receiving a flow of useful research products. Its stance should have been: How can we in the Department, working with you on matters of interest to you, produce results which will be helpful to us in our work? Why hasn't the Department's research behavior been more in keeping with its objective interests? The impact of the Departmental ideology has been particularly unfortunate in the areas of research and planning.

If a problem is encountered, it will be deemed to be unique and will be approached *de novo*. There is no reason to approach it any other way for there are no general problems. There is only a succession of immediate and unique special problems. The *ad hoc* approach is thus given something akin to a philosophic basis.

Members of the Departmental subculture rarely seem to feel that before they can deal with a particular problem adequately, they must first understand the underlying situation. They do not live in a world in which there are underlying phenomena that need to be understood. Given their starting point, this is thoroughly understandable. If all significant events are unique, then there are no recurring problems and no basis for generalizing about them. If there is no basis for generalization, there can be no useful accumulation of knowledge. For many Departmental officers there is no "theory," there is only practice. Consistent with this, one finds individual diplomats writing personalized memoirs, but one looks almost in vain for important theoretical or doctrinal contributions from the Department.

Members of the subculture are often remarkably untroubled by the gaps in their knowledge and understanding. The explanation is that they are unaware of them. They don't know how much they don't know because it never occurs to them that they might know more than they now know. They are operators *par excellence* and take the state of the art as fixed. They operate with that which is given and they rarely consider whether the level of insight and understanding might be raised as a result of deliberate effort.



Since the holders of the subcultural ideology are not aware of having problems into which greater insight might be possible, the Department feels no need to organize itself to inquire into those problems. Since there are no underlying problems, there is no need for "basic research." Surprising as it may seem, the Department operates without a concept of "basic research." In practice the term "research" refers to applied research. Applied research has to do with that which will help the operating officer cope with tomorrow's problem in country X. When the operator complains that a piece of research is irrelevant, he usually means that it is not country- or situation-specific and is not going to help him tomorrow morning.

THE Department of Defense has seemed to find it relatively easy to identify problems and to conceive that systematic thought and analysis might contribute to their solution. A great deal of the best thinking about national security matters since World War II was done outside of the Department by men having research affiliations: Schelling, Brodie, Kahn, Wohlstetter, Kissinger, Hitch, and so on. During the span of years when many governmental agencies and private businesses were recognizing that they had problems and needed help, State stood to one side, confident that the problems that it was dealing with were safely beyond the reach of systematic analysis and inquiry. In terms of its understanding of the importance of basic research and the way that research facilities should be used, the State Department is two decades behind the Defense Department. The Department operates in a field that is crying out for the development of theory and broad insight, yet many of its people are not aware that foreign affairs can have a theoretical dimension.

The habitual time perspective of the Foreign Service officer tends to be a short one and the subcultural ideology reinforces this tendency. An individual who is trying to keep half-a-dozen balls in the air at one time may not have much patience for the discussion of long-term questions. A man who is worried about tomorrow or next week may regard discussion of the distant future as frivolous and escapist. This is perfectly understandable in psychological and organizational terms, but it means that the Department will be inclined to neglect the development of long-term programs. Programs that are unusually broad in scope or are fitted to time spans of a decade or a generation have often arisen outside the Department — the Marshall Plan,



Point Four, the Peace Corps, the Fulbright Act, the Alliance for Progress. It is also worth noting that the Departmental subculture, more often than not, has been initially inhospitable to these ideas. The Department continues to dismiss long-term planning as "theoretical" while simultaneously resisting the intrusion of long-term considerations into the Department from the outside. Since outsiders do not "read the cables," they cannot possibly have useful ideas about what should be done.

The subcultural ideology serves to impede the acquisition of self-knowledge by a Department that stands in desperate need of self-knowledge.[3] The Department does not understand its own workings and does not appreciate how great is its stake in the achievement of such understanding. It should invite sociologists and anthropologists to study it as if it were a foreign culture—and on a priority basis.[4] Unfortunately, the Department has been rather like an alcoholic who cannot be helped very much because his defense mechanisms prevent him from acknowledging that he has a problem and needs help.

The Department has been content to forget its own past because it doubts that this past provides it with any leverage on that which is to come. If each event is unique, there is nothing to be learned from an examination of experience. The Department has not built up a dossier of experiences and lessons which can be drawn from them. Instead, each officer keeps a handful of personal case experiences in his head. Since no one single person can experience very much, this leaves the basis for decision a bit thin. The Department of State comes fairly close to being an institution without an organizational memory. This deficiency is not recognized, however, any more than the others, and therefore no remedial steps are taken.

If an organization is not capable of recollecting its own experience and examining it in a systematic way, its learning capacity will be limited. And, as a matter of fact, the Department of State is a slow learner. For example, the subcultural ideology does not yet acknowledge the importance of many overseas operations carried on by other agencies of the government. There has been a revolution in American statecraft since the end of World War II. Foreign policy instruments are being used in new ways and in new combinations—economic aid, technical assistance, military assistance of a variety of kinds, cultural exchange programs, information programs, political warfare programs. Nevertheless, the subcultural ideology does not concede legitimacy and real significance to any but traditional foreign policy activities. The overseas activities of organizations such as DOD, AID, and USIA are not viewed as integral parts of the American effort overseas but as peripheral activities. This represents about a twenty-year lag in adjusting to foreign policy realities.

The subcultural ideology has implications for the status system in the Department. Those persons concerned with administrative and support functions have relatively low status because they are not in the principle chain of command and because the functions that they represent are not deemed to be very important. The same low status is ascribed to persons in the Department who are involved in intelligence. Overseas reporting has high status because it is part of the traditional job of the line officer. Intelligence jobs in the Department in Washington have low status however and are seen as staff rather than as line activities.[5]

THE Department of State, as a formal organization, has a structure, an official leadership, and a set of objectives pertaining to American foreign policy. Individuals concerned with the Department usually attempt to describe its functioning in terms of these elements. The Department also has an informal structure and a distinctive subculture. Departmental officers are influenced by the ideas and norms of this subculture as well as by the formal goals of the organization. Two sets of influences are therefore always at work in the Department, those pertaining to the formal organization and those pertaining to the informal organization. As a consequence, the Department does not have a single set of objectives but several sets. A multiple-objective organization, it is concerned with foreign policy goals *and* with the values of the subculture.

Sometimes the two sets of values may be complementary and sometimes they may be irrelevant to one another. Often, however, the two work against each other. Nevertheless, this is not a conflict that Departmental officers appear to be aware of. They live their organizational lives in accordance with the values of the subculture and it does not seem to occur to most of them

(*Continued on page* 44)

[3] It would not be correct to say that the Department has exhibited *no* interest in achieving organizational insight. It did sponsor the Argyris Report and the conferences on which that report was based. Several points should be noted, however. First, the report was sponsored by the Center for International Systems Research, a small organization within the Department lacking even its own line in the budget. Second, the report met with hostile reception in the Department. There was little inclination to ask whether there might not be some basically sound ideas in the report despite its weaknesses and over-simplifications. Finally, the sponsoring organization in the Department ceased to exist.

[4] The concept of a "dominant subculture" that is used in this article has considerable explanatory power. When the Department begins to undertake serious self-study, however, more refined concepts are likely to be needed. For example, it may develop that in order to understand the informal workings of the Department one will need to conceive of several interacting subcultures rather than just a single subculture.

[5] The situation seems not to have changed very much since Roger Hilsman published *Strategic Intelligence and National Decisions* (New York: The Free Press) in 1956. That volume is interlaced with evidence concerning the low estate of intelligence officers in the Department. Officers concerned with research have a comparable status.

How to handle a CODEL . . . a congressional inquiry . . .
a protection case . . . visits from constituents

The Service & The Hill



W. Wendell Blancke

Ambassador Blancké retired from the Service at the end of 1967, after a career that included duty as Consul at Hanoi during "the French War," DCM at Vientiane, Consul General at Frankfurt am Main and Monterrey and first Ambassador to the Congo (Brazzaville). His book on the Foreign Service was written in 1968, though a number of updating changes and footnotes have had to be incorporated since then.

It has often been said that an institutional weakness of the Foreign Service is its lack of a "public" at home—no domestic constituency, hence no voter appeal to commend it to Congress. The Department of Commerce has the US Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers behind it, the Labor Department has the unions, Agriculture has the American Farm Bureau Federation and other groups, but State has the support of no active pressure group at all. Aside from this lack, the Department and the Service are chronically susceptible to public and congressional mistrust because they are thought of, however inaccurately and unjustly, as "representing foreigners."

Relations with "the Hill"—hearings and briefings on substantive legislation, world events, policy, security, and the like—are handled by the State Department's Office of Congressional Relations, which not only rides herd on the considerable volume of congressional correspondence and related paper work, but also acts as intermediary in arranging for the taking of testimony from departmental and Foreign Service witnesses. (Appropriations legislation is handled separately by the deputy under secretary for administration.) The Secretary, of course, is the chief witness (some twenty-five appearances a year) but the Foreign Service also plays its role, with ambassadors and other high-ranking officers—either on duty in Washington or brought in from the field—being called upon to testify. The exercise, though often grueling, can also be beneficial. An interesting viewpoint on the subject has been advanced by the Honorable James W. Riddleberger, retired Foreign Service officer and holder of the revered rank of career ambassador, who made the following observations in the course of a wide-ranging article in the May, 1968, issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

> One of my colleagues said to me, I think it was in Belgrade one night, some years ago, that he really pitied American ambassadors because they were burdened with the necessity of appearing before committees of Congress. As you know, in most European countries it is the minister and his parliamentary secretary, to use the British phrase, who carry all of the interventions within the Parliament. With us, of course, the system is altogether different. We can be and are summoned before committees of the Congress, even though we are non-political. However, in looking back over it, I cannot honestly say that I deplore this experience, however difficult it may have been at certain times. I said to my European colleague: "It is perfectly true, of course, that we are exposed to hearings and questioning that may make it more difficult for us to execute our function when we return to our post. But at the same time the average American ambassador frequently has a domestic political experience that is denied to most of his foreign colleagues. We are compelled by the very nature of our Constitution and government to take account of and to take into very careful account, the attitudes and the feelings within the Congress. I think it makes our role somewhat more difficult in many respects, but I cannot say that I deplore it, and the advantages compensate for the difficulties."

The advantages do indeed compensate. Congressmen must be sensitive to opinion back home, and they respond almost seismographically to vibrations of indignation, alarm, or other waves of emotion about some aspect of foreign affairs or the men who conduct them. It is therefore well that the representatives of the working Foreign Service get a chance to tell their side from time to time, not only with respect to policy and appropriations but also, particularly, on matters concerning organization and structure—testifying at hearings on amendments to the Foreign Service Act, for example, or giving testimony in support of the USIA career bill. Leading members of both the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs—and of

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several other committees and subcommittees as well—have taken an abiding, sometimes even proprietary, interest in foreign affairs organization and personnel. These gentlemen have come to know the Service well, and although they can play the gadfly when they feel there is a need for it—and some have their personal prejudices—their approach is generally friendly and solution seeking. The Foreign Service people who deal with them, for their part, learn the limits of their domestic political base at first hand, and this knowledge can provide a useful guideline in their work both at home and abroad.

Relations with Congress in Washington, however, are only incidentally part of the Foreign Service job. Relations abroad, through direct as well as indirect contact, are something else again. With the re-emergence of Congress, since World War II, as a major factor in American diplomacy—not only because of its Constitutional prerogatives but also because so much more money needs to be appropriated for the expanded US role overseas—the visit from a member, or members, of Congress has become very much a part of Foreign Service life.

CODEL DOE. SEN AND MRS DOE AND STAFF ASST ROE ON SCHEDULE, DUE SALAMANDRIA THUR APR FIRST AAA FLIGHT 123. RE YOUR X-456 SEN APPROVES PROGRAM BUT ASKS ENSURE EARLY NIGHT FRI DUE DAWN DEPARTURE SAT.

CODEL (Congressional Delegation) flags immediate attention. Upon receipt of the above telegram from a post up the line, Embassy Salamandria starts final preparations for the two-day visit of Senator John Doe and party. It is happy that the Senator has approved the proposed program, even while realizing that fatigue and caprice may play a role in changing it before the visit is over. The call on the Prime Minister and the visit to the National Assembly should go all right, as should the Ambassador's and the Foreign Minister's receptions on Thursday and Friday, but the party may easily beg off on such events as a dispensary visit and a trip through Salamandria's pride, the cement works. Host-country eager beavers have pressed these visits on the Embassy against its better judgment, but it has taken a chance since Senator Doe is known to be always ready to do his bit for public relations.

As things turn out, the visit does not go at all badly. Mrs. Doe has a touch of the local ailment, and is thinking more in terms of a private visit to the dispensary at the chancery than of a public visit to one of the host country's, and she balks at the very thought of the cement works, but the Senator is game and holds up his end in good style.

The substantive part of the program goes off as planned. After the Senator has had a chance to meet the embassy staff and digest the information sheets prepared for him, the Ambassador's briefing begins. Each member of the country team speaks his piece, and the Senator and his assistant ask questions. Before the session ends, the Senator contributes a little briefing of his own, giving the embassy group a useful survey of current political trends and developments back home. In the late afternoon, the Senator and the Ambassador call first on the Foreign Minister, then join forces with the latter for a visit to the Prime Minister. There is an earnest (and at times edgy) discussion of current problems in US-Salamandrian relations, with the Ambassador's executive assistant acting as interpreter. (The Foreign Minister speaks passable English; the Prime Minister does not.) Light refreshments are then served, many photographs are taken, and the Senator grants a brief, stand-up press interview (his second of the day, the first having been at the airport). That night, the Ambassador gives his reception, attended by leading Salamandrians, the diplomatic corps, and the small American community—with special attention shown to anyone from the Senator's home state.

Next morning, the Senator meets with the Speaker of the National Assembly in the latter's office (with warm beer offered at 10:30 A.M.), then accompanies his host to the Assembly floor to be introduced and say a few words to the deputies—in English, through an interpreter. Mrs. Doe, meanwhile, has been taken on a shopping tour by the embassy ladies, and there are purchases to be packaged and mailed to the Senator's Washington office. Richard Roe, the staff assistant, has spent the morning conferring with several of the country team and following up on matters of special interest to the Senator.

Lunch is a family affair, and includes the two embassy staff members who hail from the Senator's state. After lunch, there is some time for relaxation, then off to the dispensary and the cement works. The Ambassador has taken the precaution of sending his executive assistant ahead as advance man, to make sure no changes have been rung in either program. This pays off: at both stops, the embassy officer spots several added features and diplomatically scratches them on the plea that the Senator's schedule is very tight. This plea is literally true, since the Ambassador has neatly contrived to move forward the hour of the Foreign Minister's reception so that the Senator may have his early night. By 9 P.M., the party is back at the residence for a much-appreciated bowl of Chinese soup with toast and American coffee, after which the Senator and the Ambassador spend a relaxed hour rehashing and evaluating the visit. Next morning CODEL Doe is up betimes and, after several stops en route to the airport for "just one more picture," is ready to hit the trail again. Once the party is airborne, Embassy Salamandria phones the next post in line (a short hop) to announce departure on schedule and confirm the Senator's views on his upcoming program expressed by cable the day before.

Not all congressional visits go off so smoothly, of course, and not all CODELs are so small. A few legislators like to "lone-wolf it" without even a staff assistant, let alone a wife, but many travel in packs and require considerably more organization—especially in contingency planning, since there will almost invariably be at least one congressman who wants to do something not on the program, or just strays off the reservation. Fortunately, the old maxim of "practice makes per-



fect" plays a role (though not of course to perfection) on the Foreign Service side. In the immediate post-World War II era, with congressional travelers spread all over, many visits were devoted more to hedonistic junketing than to statesman-like fact-finding—while the Foreign Service, new to the job of handling such visitations, often muffed it through sheer nervous anxiety to please. Then came the ordeal of McCarthy, which made the Service more nervous and the Congress more hard to please than ever. In due course, things evened off, and as the Service regained confidence it also acquired more know-how in the care and feeding of CODELs. The lawmakers, for their part, came to take their travels more in stride and their role more seriously.

Nowadays, it is unlikely that a senior Foreign Service officer will have got as far as he has without having gone through many congressional visits, including not a few repeaters. The writer himself was host to the same Senator three times, in different parts of the world. He will never forget the spectacle of the honorable gentleman, sitting in water up to his middle with a broad grin on his face, and demanding to be thoroughly photographed before allowing himself to be succored. He had been visiting an AID project where, because of an ill-advised choice of location, the premises had been flooded with the first monsoon rains. The Senator had not purposely fallen off the narrow planking that was the only access route to the site, but once in the water he made the most of an opportunity to dramatize his opposition to the project for his report to posterity.

In recent years, Congress has had more recourse to the useful device of sending out staff assistants on fact-finding missions of their own, especially if the situation calls for personal contact but not necessarily for the presence of a congressman in person. The congressional staff assistant of today is an able professional, often an expert in his own right, and in some cases may actually be the drafting officer on the project he has come to look into. Although these aides are given every cooperation and fittingly entertained, their presence does not put nearly as much strain on a post's facilities as does that of a full delegation.

They also cost less. Congressional travel is financed out of a special fund set up by statute for that purpose. The Treasury Department controls all currencies owned by the United States abroad. Treasury transfers funds from these accounts into a special account administered by the Department of State, which estimates what funds will be required in a given fiscal year. When the funds run low in any country, Treasury is notified and it sets up additional funds for congressional travel. In some instances, it may be necessary to use American dollars to purchase the necessary foreign funds for this purpose.

Even during the postwar "roaring '40's"—when it might take a post weeks or even months to pick up the pieces after a congressional visit—the institution of the globe-trotting congressmen had its benefits for American diplomacy. Legislators who had quite frankly come just for the ride could not help but learn something of the problems and attitudes of the countries they visited, and observe at first hand the problems American diplomats faced in their efforts to achieve US goals in those countries.

It also paid off at home. Many an intelligent senator or representative who had formerly taken a rather parochial view of foreign affairs could no longer ignore the realities when the time came for roll call. When he himself had had on-the-spot acquaintance with the people of other nations—and had debated with their leaders, at times rather warmly—he could not simply dismiss their problems by sweeping them under the rug.

None of this means, of course, that the institution of legislative travel has made all congressmen omniscient and right-thinking, nor sold them all down the line on the Foreign Service itself. The latter will probably continue to provide Congress with a convenient public whipping boy, and continue to have trouble getting the funds to operate in the manner to which it would like to become accustomed. Nonetheless, the Congress and the Service have come to know each other better, and each now realizes that the other is not always the monster he once took him to be.

URGENT
A CONGRESSIONAL — FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION A reply or written acknowledgment must be made within *Three Working Days* . . .

Like the term CODEL, this minatory message in red on yellow, when affixed to a piece of correspondence, means quick action, or else.* The whole Foreign Service establishment, but especially the consular element, spends a good bit of its time on "congressional interest" cases. These have to do in the main with visa matters—the immigration of constituents' relatives or friends—but may also concern protection cases and, less frequently, business and commercial affairs. The total volume of the Department's congressional correspondence more than doubled between 1960 and the beginning of 1968, from 11,200 to 26,481 pieces a year.

The typical pattern of the correspondence routine is as follows: the constituent writes (or talks to) his

* There is no statutory punishment for a failure to comply. The offender is simply left in an empty room with a loaded efficiency report, thus given a chance to take the honorable course and select himself out.

Senator or Representative, the latter writes (or talks to) the State Department, and the Department—if it does not have adequate information to provide an answer directly—passes the case on to the post, normally by air, but if necessary by telegram. The post has three days from date of receipt to make a reply—definitive if possible, interim if not—which it sends in most cases directly to the congressman, with copies to the Department. The congressman in turn passes the post's second copy to his constituent, who may if he chooses correspond directly with the post thereafter.*

On the consular side, if the matter is a "protection case"—for example, a constituent worried about the welfare and whereabouts of a traveling relative believed mislaid—the post will set to work along the lines described in Chapter VIII and do what it can to get a quick solution. Generally, however, congressional interest centers on immigration, with the greatest volume coming from those lawmakers with large minority constituencies — some of whom always want to bring kith and kin from the old country. Often, as noted in Chapter IV, the congressman's aid will be enlisted when the constituent's candidate for immigration has been found inadmissible and refused a visa.

In most matters of visa interest, the post will be on top of the case and able to answer forthwith. Some cases, however, can present thorny problems and require considerable effort and consultation; in such instances, an interim reply will be sent, to let the congressman (and the constituent) know that action is underway. Fortunately for the Service, the congressman himself almost always has a common-sense approach, and merely wants to see to it that his constituent gets an answer. Naturally, no member of Congress expects—or wants—a consular officer to twist any laws, regulations, or policies on his or his client's behalf; this is usually made clear by the wording of the original letter of inquiry, for example, "You may be confident that whatever consideration you give this request commensurate with your policies will be greatly appreciated." He does, quite rightly, expect expeditious and equitable handling of the case—and, if the answer must be no, a reply worded in a manner to help soften the blow to his constituent.

Congressional correspondence on commercial matters—principally concerning trade opportunities for and trade complaints of constituents—generates less volume because, unless the matter is vital enough to warrant bringing up the big guns, businessmen usually deal through the Department of Commerce or correspond with the post directly. Most "congressionals" in the commercial field stem from the complaints of individual constituents who, as tourists, have had trouble either in getting promised delivery of goods paid for or with the quality of goods delivered. A Foreign Service post is perfectly willing to check on such matters in order to oblige, whether the request comes through Congress or directly from the interested party, but must make it clear that it is not itself a collection agency (see Chapter VIII).

UNCLASSIFIED

TO : Neumania, Salamandria, Upper Tarzania
FROM : Department of State
SUBJECT : Travel of James Brown
REF : CA-1234, April 1, 1968

Congressman John Smith of South Dakota has informed the Department of the travel plans of his constituent, James Brown of Deadwood. Please extend appropriate courtesies and assistance, if called upon.

Although not strictly commercial in nature, a fair bit of correspondence is also devoted to congressmen's recommendations of constituent businessmen traveling abroad and, often, combining pleasure with a little busman's holidaying. In such cases, the routine channel is through the Department, which will send a circular airgram* to all posts on the traveler's itinerary. (This may also include a word on his credit rating, which is customarily noted when a business traveler approaches the posts via the departments of Commerce and State.) At times, however, a senator or a representative may write the principal officer directly to commend his dear friends the Browns for special consideration. In cases of routine notification through channels, the post will generally leave it to the traveler to report on his treatment, or not (unless, of course, something has gone wrong and explanations are in order). When a member of Congress has taken the trouble to write personally, however, it behooves a principal officer to follow suit with a personal acknowledgement—and to put himself out a bit more for the visitor when he arrives.

Correspondence apart, there is nothing like personal contact to smooth a post's path in its relations with Congress—and especially a post with a chronically heavy load of "congressionals." A principal officer en route to such a post will be well advised, during his prepping in the Department, to go over the post's file of congressional correspondence, pick out the congressmen who account for most of the traffic, and call on them. This courtesy often pays off, not only through the original impact of a show of interest, but also—much more so—later on at the post. When the going gets rough (as it sometimes can, on thorny problem cases) a relationship of personal acquaintance and mutual confidence can help a great deal.

This truism, in fact, might be generalized to cover the whole story of the Foreign Service and the Hill. ■

* The problem of world time differences mentioned in Chapter IV can arise here, too. A Texas millionaire interested in the immigration of a German chemist to work for him receives his copy of the post's reply, signed by the principal officer—and, being a Texas millionaire, puts in a person-to-person call to Germany forthwith. If the principal officer is at home, the call will like as not catch him at dinner or later; if the caller is impatient (as he often is) this means rousing the duty officer and/or the visa chief and having them get to the files and call Texas back before the end of office hours, US Central Time.

* The "airgram" was introduced as a means of bypassing the traditional diplomatic despatch in cases of urgency not warranting a telegram. It eschewed the long-windedness and niceties of form (such as "I have the honor to report") and was given priority in airmail delivery and in distribution. Its venerable forebear was soon supplanted entirely, and in today's usage the airgram is generally called a despatch (or instruction, if it goes out from the Department). In the process, of course, its original claim to priority handling has been lost. Long-windedness has returned, and all that is left is a traditional despatch without the niceties.

Bringing medical care to the water people in Aberdeen harbor requires

Operation Sampan

ANNE PENFIELD

Mrs. Penfield, a frequent contributor to the JOURNAL, *will be remembered for her article on "The Birth of an Island," an eye-witness account of Surtsey rising from the northern seas. Mrs. Penfield was a cultural officer with OWI in London and Belgrade in World War II and has since served with her Foreign Service husband in Prague, London, Vienna, Athens and Reykjavik.*

"WOULD you like to go out in medical sampan?" asked a cheery voice over the phone. Though I hadn't any idea what it was all about, I immediately accepted and agreed to be ready next morning at the crack of dawn. I had been looking out our bedroom window, with the harbor of Hong Kong spread below me, watching the little sampans darting around among the ocean liners, the busy ferries, and the heavy junks which filled the beautiful harbor with ceaseless activity. These water bugs were obviously plying a brisk trade, loaded with everything from vegetables to babies, but a medical sampan, what was that?

A bit of investigation disclosed that a group of ladies, known as the Catholic Woman's League sponsor and finance a floating clinic in Aberdeen Harbor. One of the activities of this clinic is the operation of a sampan which goes out once a week to bring medication to the water people. These are Chinese fisherfolk who are born, live and die on their junks. They feel the land and the people on it are unfriendly and they go ashore only to do business and that as rarely as possible. This dislike of the land extends even to medical services, hence the need of a floating clinic, housed on a big junk sitting firmly in the bay but at least, in the water.

However so great is the ignorance of the water people and so great their distrust of the landlubber, it is hard to get them to use the clinic, even if they have heard about it. The medical sampan was therefore devised as a way of finding out where the sick people were, caring for minor ailments and trying to get the really ill people to go to the clinic for proper treatment. The sampan is manned by a graduate, volunteer nurse, a Chinese medical student and student nurse and two women to propel the sampan around.

Bright and early the next morning I was picked up by a delightful young American woman, married to a businessman and rather recently arrived in Hong Kong. She was a graduate nurse who had volunteered for this job. We drove over to Aberdeen, a small town on the west side of the island, one of the first British settlements on Victoria Island. The harbor of the town is long and rather narrow which affords good protection from the many typhoons which periodically ravage this part of the world. This had made it a haven for the water people, who anchor their junks as far up the bay as possible. They are so numerous that you can hardly see water between them yet myriads of little sampans go scooting about, usually worked by women or children, who with one long, ungainly pole, do miracles of dexterous maneuvering in between the great, awkward junks.

As land is ever the problem in Hong Kong, where a rocky island and a few miles of barren earth on the mainland contain upwards of four million people, the government has started to fill in the harbor, thus slowly pushing the junks out to sea. One wonders where they will go when their water is gone for tradition has moored them in Aberdeen for nigh onto a century and they fiercely resist moving. However there are several other islands around Hong Kong with useful bays, so doubtless the junks will move but only as a last resort.

We drove to a little dispensary in the middle of a slum alongside the harbor where we were to pick up the medicines and the Chinese assistants. The nurse explained to me, as we swung at frightening speed along one of the endlessly curving roads which lace the Peak from top to bottom, that she often has trouble with her patients. They just don't want to leave their watery homes and go to the clinic but prefer to get along on aspirin or cough medicine which they dearly love. She would never give medicine to someone who was really ill but would command him to go to the clinic and would offer to take him there. Even with that inducement, they had to be feeling really bad before they would consent to go. She also had to charge them a tiny sum for the cough medicine lest they consume it by the quart. Its sweet taste and soothing effect was very popular.

When we got to the dispensary, we found a nun doling out medicines to a long line of patients. The sister came from Italy and when she heard I could speak her language, she talked nostalgically of her country which she hadn't seen for 35 years. She belonged to a nursing order formerly established in China which had been forced to flee to Hong Kong when the Communists took over. While we were chatting, the Chinese medical students loaded up an enormous basket with a collection of salves, mixtures and ointments, which we then piled into the car and drove on down to the harbor. There two stout Chinese women deftly poled the sampan over to the tiny landing stage where we and our medicines were loaded on board. We had barely stowed the material away when a crowd of people descended and squatting on the landing, proceeded to produce their children or their own ailments for the inspection of the nurse. They were all very orderly, no pushing and shoving and would explain their problems to the Chinese students who would translate to the nurse. Many of them were former patients, who would bring back their bottles for more medicine, while the student nurse would check their cards and make notations on their cases. Their ailments were usually coughs, colds, and minor infections and rashes, caused by ill tended cuts and bruises, usually the results of the heat and dirt in which they lived. One baby, dressed in a brilliant red costume, had an infected earlobe as its mother had pierced the ear with a dirty needle. The nurse told her she must take the rusty ring out but she refused firmly,

(*Continued on page* 45)

"When you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth."

—The Sign of Four, by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

The Adventure of the

JOHN F. CAMPBELL

Our mystery story writer has had previous fiction published in the ATLANTIC MONTHLY *and* ELLERY QUEEN'S MYSTERY MAGAZINE. *Mr. Campbell is leaving his present post (Asmara) this summer to spend a year as State Department Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, there to prepare a report on Foreign Service organization under the title, "American Diplomacy: The Case for Reform."*

IT was in the late Spring of 19— when my friend, Vice Consul Murdock Soames, was still assigned to the American Embassy in L----n, that his talent for logical inference first came to the notice of his diplomatic brethren. He was doing passport and visa work in the Consular Section at the time, while I, for my sins, labored in the vineyards of the Protocol Section of the Embassy. Still, fraternization among the different segments of the American Mission was not positively frowned upon, and he and I had struck up an acquaintance of sorts over shared morning coffee breaks in the chancery canteen.

"My dear Quimby," he greeted me on one such occasion, "I notice that you have had a very difficult morning."

"How," I replied, a trifle peevishly, "do you reach that conclusion?"

"In addition," he continued, with a twinkle behind his horn rimmed spectacles, "I rather imagine that your trying experience is in some fashion connected with our Ambassador."

"Soames, you amaze me. Are you a practitioner of mental telepathy, or have you been gossiping with the Ambassador's secretary behind my back?"

"Tut, tut," my friend responded in his most soothing manner. "Simple observation and inference, Quimby, nothing more."

"Explain yourself, Soames."

"Rudimentary, my dear Quimby. A bit of fluff on your shoes and the strained expression on your face tell the tale. Correct me if I am mistaken, but are not those particles of bluish deep-pile carpeting lodged between the sole and instep of your brogues? What office but our Chief's possesses such a carpet? Point Two: your brows were distinctly knit, your lips curled in distaste as you entered the canteen. I infer from these facts that you have just come from a not wholly agreeable conference in the Front Office."

"Soames," I said, somewhat mollified, "you are a wizard."

Then, not wishing my companion to pursue his advantage (it concerned a *gaffe* I had made in the seating plan for the Ambassador's dinner of the night before), I hastily changed the subject. "And what news from the Consular Section?" I asked. "How go the passports and visas and repatriations of destitute American citizens this morning?"

Soames put on a more serious face than my jaunty inquiry seemed to call for. "In point of fact we have just cleared up a rather nasty business which had given me more than one uncomfortable night. One might refer to it as the matter of the Bearded Lady, the quacking duck and the Great Seal of the United States. And it was only some hours ago that the singular occurrence of the missing ship's captain and the Persian voluptuary resolved itself. The bare bones of these various incidents I have recorded in the consular casebook which I have begun to compile in anticipation of the next visit of the inspectors from Washington. But, hark!" (he rose and glanced at his pocket watch), "I believe, Quimby, it is ample time that we returned to our respective offices. That is, unless. . . ."

My friend paused, a gleam behind his spectacles. ". . . Unless, Quimby, I can induce you to spare twenty minutes from your protocollary reflections to sit in with me for an interview which promises to be unique in my experience."

I welcomed the suggestion and readily assented to join my colleague. If truth be told, I was feeling rather seedy and down-at-heel that morning. That stormy session in the Ambassador's office still rankled, for no one likes to be called a "blasted idiot" to his face, especially when the person doing the calling is one's boss. And some variation from the routine work of protocol promised an escape from morbid thoughts and the animadversions of the day. It was the work of a moment to deposit my attache case in the Clerical Vault, then step across the broad hallway into the anteroom of the visa section.

My host motioned me into his

Purloined Passport

office, knitting and unknitting prominent brows as he finally, having first offered tobacco, came to the subject at hand.

"What do you make of this, Quimby?" he asked, thrusting towards me a piece of scented notepaper inscribed in a petite feminine hand. The missive read as follows:

"The Twigs"
Laburnum Lane
West Tunbridge

Dear Mr. Murdock Soames:

It is my intention to wait upon you in your offices promptly at eleven o'clock this morning. I hope you may be so good as to receive me for an interview without delay, as the matter I wish to discuss with you is one of extreme urgency and importance. My inheritance and the health of my father are at an end, if you cannot help us to obtain a visa. I cannot impress upon you too strongly. . . . But, no, all of this is better said in person.

Yours in Distress,
(Miss) Alicia Dodgson

My saturnine colleague puffed easily on his pipe. "An intriguing communication, is it not? But if I do not mistake myself, the hour of eleven is upon us, and, yes that would be the tread of our visitor on the threshold. Come in, Miss Dodgson. Pray take a seat and let us know more of your difficulty. Mr. Quimby here is, I can assure you, just as anxious as I to be of assistance."

These words were addressed to a handsome young woman of sorrowful mien. It was evidently after conquering some inner turmoil of indecision that she took a chair, removed white kidskin gloves and resolved to speak.

"Mr. Soames, I am at my very wit's end, and turn to you in an extremity. Not one week ago you were good enough to issue me a visitor's visa for travel to the United States. I must now ask that you grant me a new visa, as I have lost my passport in which the original visa was stamped."

"Slowly, Miss Dodgson, slowly," my friend replied. "You must know that, in accordance with the laws of my Government, I may only issue you a second visa if you present me with a valid passport in which the new visa can be entered with a rubber stamp. Since you say that your passport is misplaced, I am quite powerless to comply with your request until you obtain a replacement for the missing document. But you spoke in your letter of a family tragedy. Perhaps you should acquaint us with the full details of your distress. Your face bears traces, behind the makeup, of an outburst of tears, and I notice that the lovely jade brooch you are wearing (late Manchu Dynasty if my eyes do not fail me), is rather askew, indicative of haste and probable emotion when you put it on this morning."

These calming words had, on the whole, a wholesome influence on our pretty visitor. "Oh, Mr. Soames," she commenced again in plaintive tones, "what am I ever to do? My inheritance is lost, and poor Papa, the best of fathers, lies unconscious with a brain-fever, and is sinking by the hour. And all because of a strange visitor, who came and went from our threshold not sixteen hours ago."

Soames interrupted the lament, his hooded eyelids flickering. "This visitor was, I take it, a gentleman of Oriental ancestry?"

"I cannot say. It all occurred so quickly. But. . . yes, I believe you are right. Chin, the butler, let him in and I had only the most cursory glance at him across the length of the drawing room before he was taken up to the library and closeted with Papa. My hurried impression was that of a Chinese or East Indian. I can't be absolutely sure, of course, but how did you ever guess?"

"Never mind!" snapped my friend, who occasionally shocks one with his verbal rudeness. "Continue your tale, Miss. It contains points of distinct interest."

Miss Dodgson resumed the thread of her narrative. "My father, you must know, is Sir Algernon Dodgson. Some decade ago the family name assumed a certain public notice, although Papa has lived in seclusion since that time."

"Ah," Soames puffed a smoke ring out of his pipe. "I recall the incident. It concerned, I believe, your late mother, the American actress, Miss Lily Lamour?"

"That is true. Mama had retired from the stage shortly before my birth. Ten years ago, when I was only eleven, she perished in the famous aeroplane disaster at Gatwick."

"Sorry to hear it, Miss," I interjected, placing a manly hand on the young woman's shoulder.

"Yes, Mr. Quimby," she smiled up at me through long eyelashes, "I have been half an orphan for these many years, and now bid fair to lose my one surviving parent."

"There is deviltry here, Soames," I suggested. "By the Lord Harry, we must help this unfortunate young person out of her difficulties!"

"Hush," replied my colleague. "Let us come to the point. Your Mother left a considerable fortune, did she not? And peculiar conditions attached to the bequest?"

"You touch, indeed," said our pretty visitor, "the source of my difficulty. Mama amassed an immense amount of money in her



lifetime, from her long career in Hollywood and on the legitimate stage. She married late—Papa was nearly fifty at the time, and she a few years less—but she retained these funds in her own maiden name in the United States. The will leaves the entire sum to me, but only on condition that I claim it in New York, in person, on my one-and-twentieth birthday. That natal anniversary falls in exactly two days' time, and I very much fear that if I am unable to obtain an American visa before then, my inheritance is forfeit."

"One concludes, then," remarked Soames, "that your passport containing the valid visa was purloined by a person or persons unknown, with intent to deny you access to your mother's bequest. Presumably this plot, or complot, was in some sense connected with the late nocturnal visit to "The Twigs," Laburnum Lane, of an Oriental gentleman. Please to describe the circumstances of last evening, and of the loss of your passport."

Miss Dodgson fetched a painful sigh before complying with my friend's request. "It was not much past nine o'clock, I believe. The anniversary clock in the hallway had not struck the quarter chime, when an insistent rattling at the front door brought Chin, our Eurasian butler, to answer it. I was seated at the far end of the front drawing room at the time, and paid scant heed to the commotion. A visitor was admitted and seemed to hold some little conclave with Chin, whereupon they proceeded upstairs in some haste, by the sound of their footsteps, apparently in search of Sir Algernon. A short time after—it cannot have been more than ten or fifteen minutes—I was distracted from the novel I had been reading by a resounding crash, as if crockery were breaking. Then came the sounds of a loud altercation in masculine voices. Through the din I discerned my father, normally the mildest of men, shouting, 'No, damme, you shan't!' or words to that effect.

"I rushed upstairs to the library, flung open the doors, and found my father alone, the others having apparently descended by the back stairway. A Ming vase from his treasured collection lay shattered on the rug, and he was too distraught to speak, ordering me, by frantic gestures and a fierce expression, to leave at once and return to my room. Papers were scattered hither and thither on the floor by the fireplace, and Papa seemed like a madman, for he was evidently throwing them in the fire when I had entered. Being curious, on my way out of the room I snatched up a small white calling card which I saw lying on the carpet, and then left Father to vent his choleric temper alone. I thought to bring that card along with me this morning, though I am unable to decipher its meaning, since it is inscribed in a foreign language."

Hereupon our guest extracted from her dainty handbag a card no more than two by three inches in size which seemed to be engraved in Mandarin characters and was covered with a handwritten script on the obverse side.

"Well, well," said Soames, reading the inscription. "Here is our Rosetta Stone, Quimby, if we have the wit to decipher it. Hmm."

He frowned intently over the scrap of stiffened paper. "Miss," he said, looking carefully at our guest, "your little problem grows curiouser and curiouser. These are deep waters, my friend." And so saying, he handed me the card, knowing full well that its Oriental message was so much Greek to me.

"The document," Soames continued, relenting in his mystification, "is no more and no less than our first tangible clue. It identifies the bearer as one Mr. Yuan Shi-kai, Counselor of the Chinese Embassy of this City. There, Miss Dodgson, is undoubtedly your strange visitor of last evening. On the reverse of the card, there is transcribed what seems to be a quotation from one of the English poets, written, however, in the ideograms of the lower Yangtze. To translate roughly, the phrase approximates the famous line in Wordsworth:

'The child is father to the man.' "

"I find," he then added for the benefit of Miss Dodgson, "that my recent tour of duty at our Consulate General in Hong Kong is of some use in helping me solve these little riddles. Three years' service in that spot assisted me in acquiring rudimentary knowledge of the dialects of South China."

This revelation brought color to the cheeks of our young lady. "Then, Mr. Soames, you must know that my father spent his youth, some forty years ago, in the China Trade, and resided for many a season at Hangchow."

"I confess, Miss Dodgson, that I was not aware of that most suggestive fact, but I am nonetheless grateful for the hint. Pray enlighten us, now, as to the subsequent hap-

penings of last evening."

"I retired to my room, as Papa had instructed, but not without some little pang of curiosity as to the purport of his violent interview. A whim, or, let us say rather, a premonition seized me, and some hour later, at half past ten or thereabouts, I stole back to the library. The light burned and the room was much as before, though the untidy evidences of my prior visit were now cleared away. Imagine my surprise, then, at discovering Papa slumped in a chair, his glass of port spilled beside him, sunk into a deep stupor."

The young woman paused for breath, and I feared for a moment that I should have to fetch the smelling salts to enable her to proceed. Then, head and shoulders bravely raised, she plunged forward with her story.

"Gussie, the maid, together with Chin assisted me in carrying Papa to his bedroom. We fetched the doctor, who diagnosed a case of nervous prostration complicated by a brain-fever. He has since relapsed into a deep coma and there is little hope, I fear, of a satisfactory outcome."

"Did your father make any effort to communicate with you before consciousness was lost?"

"It is curious that you should ask, Mr. Soames. But, yes, he seemed lucid enough for a moment or two before slipping off, and rolled his eyes a bit and gave a hoarse croak. But even then his mind was wandering, poor dear, for he insisted on addressing me as 'Cathy.' That was all he was able to say, though he repeated himself some dozen times: 'Cathy, Cathy!' "

Soames seemed moved by this further revelation, but only muttered, "Ah, the plot thickens."

"In my general distress over Father's decline," our client continued, "I neglected to think of my passport. But first thing this morning, when I went to look for it among the family papers, which are kept in a locked strongbox in Father's desk, I found it was missing."

"Was the box tampered with?"

"No. It was unlocked, but nothing else appeared to be missing."

"You informed the police?"

"Yes, immediately. They made light of my fears, suggesting that I might have misplaced the document elsewhere, and should continue to search for it. There was no evidence of foul play, and nothing tangible to connect the disappearance with Sir Algernon's sudden illness and his unexpected visitor of the night before. I do not know what to do, or to whom to turn!"

"Yes, hmm," rejoined the incisive Soames. "I can appreciate your problem, which I readily see has its darker side. You are still legally, being two days short of your twenty-first birthday, a minor child. As such you are unable to apply for a new passport without the written consent of your parent or guardian. Without the passport you cannot obtain a visa to visit the United States and claim your mother's inheritance. Yet Sir Algernon, such is the precarious state of his health, is in no condition to satisfy your need. A nice dilemma, Miss, and a most intriguing problem."

Our guest drew on her gloves with an impatient gesture and made to rise. "That is precisely the position, Mr. Soames. I may not legally travel abroad until the passport and visa are found, or replacements are issued. If, however, I fail to arrive in New York on the day of my one-and-twentieth birthday, that is to say, on the day after tomorrow, I stand to lose a fortune. But I fear I have already taken much of your time, and see it was foolish in me to expect. . . "

"Patience, patience, Miss Dodgson," admonished my friend, waving her back to her seat. "You are quite right not to expect miracles from a humble vice consul such as myself, but I confess I begin to perceive some little light in this tangled affair. I entertain the strongest suspicion that your father's sudden illness was not naturally induced, and if you will be so good as to convey this prescription to the family physician" (while talking, he scribbled on a piece of note paper and handed the results to our guest), "I should be most gratified. Happily," he went on to explain, "I have troubled to school myself in the herbology of the Orient, and I anticipate that symptoms such as you describe can have been caused by not more than one of three known esoteric drugs, for which I have just written out the antidotes. When the toxin is out of the system, put your father on a strict diet of toast and camomile tea, and he should rally within the fortnight. Pray further give me the name of your parent's solicitor, and expect a call from Mr. Quimby and myself this evening at 'The Twigs,' Laburnum Lane, when we would be glad of an interview with your butler, and I am confident that the little matter of the missing passport may be resolved."

"Oh, Mr. Soames," our client began, flushing, "I cannot thank you sufficiently. I shall at once ring up Messrs. Spottiswoode & Black of Wigmore Street, who handle Papa's affairs, and instruct them to give you such information as you may require. Good day to you, Sirs." And so saying, she departed, leaving me, I confess, in a state of befuddlement which Soames, a sardonic smile on his countenance. made no attempt to relieve.

It was not until seven o'clock of



the same evening that I again encountered my colleague. We met by arrangement at the club he frequents which is located not far from the chancery building in Grosvenor Square, planning to take a light supper together before departing by train for West Tunbridge. As I entered the members' lounge, I found my friend smoking his habitual briar pipe in a favorite armchair by the fireplace.

"Well, Soames," I commenced, after he had waved me casually into a neighboring seat and asked the porter to furnish us with brandies and soda, "what news from Messrs. Spottiswoode & Black?"

But my friend, when his mind is set upon a problem, is not so easily drawn. He affects at times, I must say, an eccentric manner, and is apt to ignore direct query and instead embark upon discussion of the most commonplace subject that enters his head.

"I have just been reading, Quimby," he replied, "a most singular monograph on contemporary economics." He paused to savor his tobacco. "It reports upon the serious balance-of-payments difficulties being experienced by the United States Government, and alleges that financial disaster looms for our country unless the most strenuous countermeasures are promptly taken."

"Indeed?" I countered with what, I trust, was at least a trace of irritation. Then, to repay the rascal for his irrelevance, I added, "You may be interested to know, Soames, that I have also embarked upon a course of light reading. I am halfway through the interesting biography of Marco Polo written by Professor Stroud and highly recommend it."

"Capital!" responded Soames. A glimmer of intelligence seemed to suffuse his sallow features, and he rose and clapped me on the back, to my intense embarrassment. "Quimby, you are invaluable! You have given me just the hint I was looking for."

"Really, Soames, you are too much for me. Pray explain yourself."

"Come, come, my dear fellow, you mustn't pretend to be so dense. My visit this afternoon to the solicitors of Sir Algernon Dodgson provided me with sufficient data to explain much of our little mystery. But one detail, I confess, has caused me some little perturbation, and had almost sent me scenting down a false track. Now, I see light. Your little reference to Marco Polo, that remarkable traveler who first brought news of China to the Europe of the Thirteenth Century, has explained the most difficult clue."

But before my friend could enlighten me further, the porter arrived with a telephone message. Perusing its contents, I saw Soames' face turn into a grim mask. Then he rose from his seat and bade me do likewise.

"Our nocturnal visit to 'The Twigs,' West Tunbridge, must be deferred to some more suitable occasion. I have just been informed that friend Chin, the inscrutable butler of that address, failed to report for his teatime duties and seems to have vanished without a trace from the servants' hall. The bird is flown! There is a busy night's work ahead of us."

We adjourned at once to the nearby Embassy, where I heard Soames confer on the telephone with a high police official of his acquaintance. By the time my colleague condescended to explain his actions, we were both seated in a taxi, headed for an address in Carlton Gardens.

"I had taken the precaution earlier in the day," he announced, "of informing our Ambassador and the Metropolitan Police of the possible implication of the Chinese Embassy Counselor, Mr. Yuan Shi-kai, in a criminal conspiracy. Now, Commissioner Sedgwick informs me that our missing butler was observed not long ago to enter the walled premises of the Chinese diplomatic compound. The fox is at bay, and the hounds close in for the kill!"

"You mean. . . ?"

"Precisely. The area is surrounded by plainclothes detectives, who will certainly apprehend our Mr. Chin and his friends, should they make any effort of escape."

At the Carlton Gardens stop, Soames had further converse with a responsible Government official. Then we returned to the club in Grosvenor Square to complete our interrupted repast and await developments. A supper of cold pork-and-mutton pie was hastily gotten through, and only when cigars and coffee were brought did my host see fit to resume a consideration of what he chose to call "the unique features of the case."

"I confess, Soames," I ventured, sipping some foul, foreign brew from the abhorrent demi-tasse, "that I can make neither head nor tail of this. I am at sixes and sevens with respect to this evening's alarms, and should welcome enlightenment."

"Well, well," he chuckled teasingly. But seeing that I was in dead earnest, and no doubt aware that I still possess the Irish temper of my forebears when not attended to, my companion at last agreed to help me.

"Think, man, think!" he prodded. "Cast your thoughts back to our most interesting interview with Miss Alicia Dodgson. What suggestive points stick in your mind?"

I considered for a moment. "Apart from the fact that Miss Dodgson is a most agreeable and well-favored young lady . . ."

"Tut, man. Stick to the facts and curb the emotions."

"Well, I would say that the Chinese element of the case is most obtrusive."

"Exactly. What else?"

But I must have been too slow for my friend, for he proceeded to answer his own question. "Beyond the facts of the case as related by Miss Dodgson, there were two riddles, which gave me some trouble at first. From the beginning it was clear enough that a conspiracy was afoot, utilizing some little-known skeleton in the family closet, to deprive our client of her inheritance. Sir Algernon is now a man past seventy, who in his youth resided in the Orient. That fact is most suggestive. And it was evident from the circumstances of last evening's visit to 'The Twigs' that some fact relating to Sir Algernon's distant past in China had been forcefully brought to light forty years later by an official of the Chinese Embassy."

"I follow you," I interjected. "And there is Chin, the Eurasian butler, who disappeared. His flight proves he was trying to blackmail

his master. I shouldn't be surprised if the Chinese Embassy Counselor was on to his game, and called on Sir Algernon to put a stop to it."

"No!" Soames insisted, surprisingly. "Let us wait until the unfortunate Chin is able to speak for himself, before drawing conclusions. There were, as I say, two riddles. You, Quimby, with the aid of your Marco Polo, have unlocked their meaning for me."

"How?" I inquired.

"There was first the strange inscription on the visitor's card, which I tentatively translated as being a quotation from Wordsworth. Secondly there was the oral evidence of Sir Algernon himself, who called to his daughter before sinking into a coma the words, 'Cathy, Cathy!' "

"In severe nervous strain, people are apt to utter all kinds of nonsense."

"No, Quimby, there you are mistaken. Sir Algernon was prostrate with shock, and was also suffering the effects of a noxious drug, which was placed in his port, no doubt, by his visitor. As he fought for consciousness he tried to convey a message, and was able to utter only the two syllables, 'Cathy.' "

"Again I say, rubbish."

"And so should I, except for Marco Polo."

"Explain yourself, Soames."

"What was the ancient name for China, used by Marco Polo and his contemporaries? Surely you know that from your reading, Quimby."

I reflected a moment before replying, "Cathay."

"Capital, Quimby. Cathay! That is what the unfortunate Sir Algernon was attempting to tell his daughter, though the muddled effort must have cost him dear. And what, pray tell, is an even more ancient name for China than Cathay? You nod your head, so I shall tell you. It is 'The Kingdom of Chin,' so called for the ancient dynasty of that name. Chin, Quimby, think of it! That brings us back, once more, to our Eurasian butler."

"Soames," I responded quizzically, "I confess I find this most unlikely, but please go on. I suppose you deduce some equally obscure meaning from the inscription on the calling card."

"Exactly. But the fault was in my very rough translation. You recall? 'The child is father to the man.' "

"Yes, yes." I finished my coffee and ordered a more substantial beverage.

"Those words, I saw, were no mere Chinese paradox, but had some deeper, more sinister meaning. They sufficiently startled Sir Algernon so as to permit instant *entré* to his unknown diplomatic visitor. From the evidence, they also caused him to ransack his personal papers and destroy a number of them. You recall that when Miss Dodgson first visited the library, she found documents strewn on the floor by the fireplace, most of which must have been subsequently burned, for the room was tidy only an hour later. It is my strong suspicion that those papers which were burned related in some way to the butler, Chin, and to the inheritance of Miss Alicia Dodgson. And further, that a duplicate set of the papers in question has recently come into the possession of the Chinese Embassy."

"You have not explained what you made of the inscription on the back of the visiting card," I pointed out crossly, wondering what new trick of semantical obscurity my friend could possibly have up his sleeve.

"Ah. At first I followed a false scent there. I considered the literal meaning of 'the child is father to the man.' The 'child,' I reasoned, must logically be our client, Miss Alicia Dodgson, and the 'father' would be Sir Algernon. But clearly the meaning remained nonsensical. So I cast about for another solution. I cudgeled my brain to think of equivalent meanings in the various Oriental tongues. What, I asked myself, could 'man' possibly signify? Then it occurred to me that 'man' was really a hasty mistranslation on my part. A correct phonetic transliteration of the Chinese ideographs would read not 'man,' but 'man' followed by the first vowel sound, that is to say 'mana' or 'manna.' You are, I believe, Quimby, well-read in Scripture?"

"Of course," I replied, grasping the point at once. " '*Manna*' appears frequently in the Old Testament. It is the old Hebrew, or Aramaic word for bread, such as the '*manna* from Heaven' received by the Children of Israel in their hour to need. *Manna* is thus taken to mean the special gift or provision of Divine Providence."

"Exactly, my friend, and it conveys a roughly similar meaning in Sanskrit and Arabic. Now, let us go one step further. 'Father,' in the Chinese sense of the inscription, can also be taken to mean 'provider.' At last the meaning of the message became clear to me, once I had traversed these linguistic stumbling blocks."

"I'm afraid I do not at all follow you, Soames."

"Of course you do. The message now clearly reads: 'The child (Miss Dodgson, one presumes) is provider to (or of) the Providential Gift (or bequest).' "

"That," I felt compelled to tell my friend, "is only more gibberish."

"To you, perhaps, but not to the bearer and recipient of the message. But I perceive we must call an intermission to these strenuous cerebrations, for Commissioner Sedgwick, whose portly figure has just negotiated the far windowpane, comes bearing news."

The Commissioner's report was terse and to the point. The butler, Chin, had been apprehended by the police while attempting to leave the Chinese diplomatic compound in an ambulance driven by Embassy personnel. The latter, owing to their diplomatic immunity, were released, but the vehicle was searched. Among its contents were a round-trip air ticket to New York and an impressive array of photostatic documents from Chinese archives establishing the fact that Chin was the legitimate son, by a prior valid marriage, of Sir Algernon Dodgson.

"And where is the purloined passport?" I enquired of Soames as he accompanied me part of the way home to my lodgings.

"In all probability," my friend replied, "it has already been destroyed by Counselor Yuan Shi-kai of the Chinese Embassy. You must understand that the butler, poor fellow, had no notion that Sir Algernon was his true father, until apprised of the fact last evening. He was then induced to collaborate

(*Continued on page* 40)

faces of Vietnam

by Robert Pell

IN the endless torrents of reportage, prose, analysis, and commentary on Vietnam, few writers have ever paused to comment on the beauty of the country. Yet it is still in fact, after countless years of war, a lovely place—perhaps the most beautiful country in Southeast Asia.

This is true even in those provinces that have borne the brunt of the war—provinces such as Quang Ngai which stretches along the South China Sea. Since the Viet Minh set up their first secret base area in the mountains of Quang Ngai in 1930, the province has known only intermittent peace. In the thirties, there were demonstrations against the French, followed by mass killings of nationalists after World War II when the Viet Minh ruled the province for several years.

Unfortunately—for security reasons—Americans tend to see places such as Quang Ngai at high speeds if traveling by plane; or at slightly lower speeds wrapped in a cloud of dust when going by road. In more than four years of travel throughout the country, I learned that the best way to see the country was to attach myself to one of the junior civilians working in the provinces on the pacification or civil development programs. They would spend days out in the hamlets and villages talking with local officials, the government cadres, or local farmers. It was then that one could sit and enjoy the variety and color of the rural scene—the lines of men and women ankle-deep in mud transplanting or harvesting the rice; the bobbing lights of the women headed for market across the paddies in the pre-dawn hours; the children with their notebooks, texts, and inevitable little round pots of ink running through the fields on their way to school; and the extraordinary grace and beauty of the older Vietnamese girls in their "ao dais" walking delicately along the roads under brightly colored parasols and chattering in a sing-song tone that often seemed, to a Western ear trained on heavy consonants and flat vowels to be nearly pure music.

This then is the pictorial record of three days spent within Quang Ngai with David Entin, a young civilian worker there with the pacification program in the late summer of 1967. We traveled to hamlets and villages near the coast with their stands of bamboo and beautiful wooden houses patterned on the Chinese style, and to the valleys deep in the mountains where the sight of a little wooden church built by the French missionaries suddenly transformed Quang Ngai into a corner of the Alpes-Maritimes in southern France. One could not escape the war entirely especially along National Route One, the main north-south route through the province where every bridge had been blown at least once if not three or four times in recent years. But one could still catch the essence of rural Vietnam in Quang Ngai—in its people as well as its countryside. This represents an attempt to record a small portion of this world.



A young man at the Cao Dai refugee camp makes it clear that he's not coming in out of the rain until he's invited.



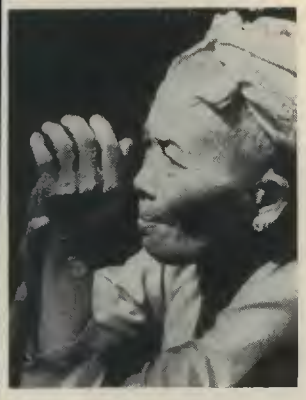
Village elder at a meeting, Thanh Lien hamlet.



Returning from market, Hung Nhon Bac hamlet.



At a meeting, Thanh Lien hamlet, a little girl with her schoolbooks and ink pot (left hand).



At a hamlet meeting, a woman of Thanh Lien listens.



A fisherman plies his net in a little pond along National Highway One.



Landscape, Quang Ngai province.

Landscape, Quang Ngai province.





Boys washing cattle in front of a bridge destroyed by the Viet Cong.

An Open Letter to the Director General of the Foreign Service

Toward A Modern Personnel System

Dear Ambassador Burns:

As you take up the duties of Director General, the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association extends congratulations on behalf of our 7,800 members. We thought, as well, that you would be interested in our view of what awaits you; hence, we are writing you this open letter.

Since you left Washington in 1960, the problems facing the foreign service have become more acute. At the same time, the need for fundamental reform is now clear to the foreign services and to a large and growing body of concerned Americans.

Whatever a career in foreign affairs was in the past and whatever it may become in the future, today the foreign services present a distorted image to themselves and to the nation.

Young Americans interested in a career in foreign service ask:

—Why should I enter foreign service when better opportunities in foreign affairs exist across a broad spectrum of private and political careers?
—If I do choose to enter foreign service, should I acquire a specialty first—and if so, which?
—Does the career system treat its members fairly?
—Are career opportunities better in AID, USIA or with the Department of State? Must I make an irrevocable choice?
—Will members of the foreign services be regarded in years to come as competent and respected professionals?

Younger officers ask:

—Why after years of preparation on our part and after initial promises by the system, have we been relegated to menial and unsatisfying tasks?
—Why can't the system tell us clearly what it expects of us over the long term and show us through assignments, promotions and training that it is holding to an explicit goal?
—How can we expect things to get better when we see the mid-career bulge ahead of us and know that it will continue to grow unless and until the system solves the problem of surplus officers?
—Young AID officers ask: Does it make sense that RIFs strike first at younger, more aggressive and better-educated elements in the service?

Mid-career officers ask:

—Why after 10 or 15 years have I yet to hold a job with major executive responsibility?
—Why, after 10 or 15 years have I not acquired a profound expertise in at least one area or function?
—Why, over the last 10 or 15 years have the rules changed so often?
—Why is it that a job I legitimately aspired to 10 or 15 years ago is today held by a very senior officer?
—Why should I not leave the service now when my mobility and earning power are at their peak?

Senior officers ask:

—Why am I being retired on maximum-time-in-class? Everyone admits that I have done an excellent job and am capable of continuing excellent performance for another 5 or 10 years. I'm not asking to be an Ambassador. I'm not even asking to be promoted.
—Why, after attaining the highest ranks of the service are we not being used in senior executive positions?
—Why should I retire now? If I wait another five years, my annuity will increase substantially.
—Is there no premium in foreign service on continuity and wisdom?
—Why should I recommend to my son or daughter a career with the foreign service?
—Senior AID officers ask: Why are AID foreign service employees not covered by the Foreign Service Retirement System?

Staff Corps members and Civil Servants ask:

—Who is looking out for our welfare?
—Are we to have a meaningful and stable career, or must we look forward to yet another conversion?

The unions ask:

—Is employment security compatible with a foreign service career?

Concerned Americans ask:

—Whatever you do to make the career service meaningful for each of its members, will you also make it relevant to the rest of society? Must the foreign service remain a guild structure, closed and alien to the political and social movements in the land and lagging behind the professions with which it should have so much in common?

Each group poses other difficult questions. But this sampling identifies the profound disquiet. What we need to do now is to proceed with the solutions.

The Association does not believe that answers to any of our problems will be found in a piecemeal approach. The experi-

ence of the last quarter of a century shows that each element of the personnel system—recruitment, assignment, promotion, training, voluntary and involuntary retirement—is so intimately related to all the others that tinkering with one part only aggravates; it does not cure.

But until questions about the fundamental nature of our service are answered, we will continue to tinker.

The fundamental questions have not changed since you left Washington. And they have not been answered either. They are:

—Do we want a unified foreign service?

—What shall be the mix between specialists and generalists and how do we achieve it?

—Shall each agency in foreign affairs maintain both a foreign service and a home service, or shall we have a single personnel system for all employees?

The Association believes that if we answer these questions correctly, the remaining subsidiary questions ranging from recruitment through retirement can be answered in a coherent, satisfying and relevant way.

The Association's own proposals concerning the nature of the personnel system are well known, but we shall repeat them here:

- We stand for a unified Foreign Service.
- For this unified Foreign Service, we ask that the Board of the Foreign Service administer common policies, standards and services and an executive track across agency lines and that specialist cones be administered by each agency.
- We believe we need a home service in addition to a unified foreign service.

If these were the fundamental principles of our career, here is an outline of how subsidiary elements of the personnel system would follow:

Recruitment and Appointment

With a unified foreign service and a specialist cone/executive track system, recruitment should be a joint State-AID-USIA effort aimed at hiring a precise number of individuals to fill actual or projected vacancies *in the specialist cones.*

The foreign service, in other words, should recuit international economists, political specialists, consular officers, administrative officers, commercial officers, information and cultural officers, development officers and so on. In recruiting specialists, potential for leadership and growth should be an important consideration. As Alfred North Whitehead said: "What we should aim at producing is men who possess both culture and expert knowledge in some special direction. Their expert knowledge will give them the ground to start from."

All initial appointments at the officer level, regardless of agency, should be reserve in nature (with the Civil Service exceptions discussed below). This will afford a true probationary period, permitting the agencies to validate their initial judgment of the employee, before both employee and agency enter into a more permanent contract with each other. Between the end of the third year, and not later than the end of the fifth year, the Agency will have to decide whether to terminate the relationship or appoint the employee as an FSO, FSIO, FSSO or, as is AID's present practice, an FSR with tenure within that agency only.

This procedure will also permit the agencies in foreign affairs, which are not now competitive in the salaries they can offer, to make appointments at the FSR-6 or FSR-5 level to attract those with advanced degrees or significant work experience.

The Association recommends that appointment to the new category of FSR (unlimited) be made *only* where the skill cannot be developed from within or recruited at the bottom *and* where the need for the skill is continuing (such as oceanographers, nuclear specialists, etc.); where the need is not continuing, a five-year FSR appointment should meet most service requirements. Thus, the FSR-U category should become a special professional cone, members of which will compete among themselves.

The Department NEWS LETTER of December, 1968 suggests that consideration is being given within the Department of State to abolishing the FSSO category, converting those who will accept such appointments to the FSO or FSR (unlimited) categories. The rationale for this proposal is that the present ceiling on FSSOs is the equivalent of FSO-3 and, perhaps more importantly, that management's inability to apply the pruning tool of selection-out to the FSSO category has resulted in the accumulation of substantial deadwood.

The Association does not agree. Mixing what are in most cases technicians with professional level specialists will work to the detriment of the former, as well as to the concept of professionalization as such. If the principal reason for abolishing the FSSO category is to have the managerial advantage of selection-out, the Association believes the reason should be explicit, not hidden. If, in addition, there are valid arguments for *not* mixing the technician with the professional specialist, the new Administration should consider an amendment to existing legislation which would extend selection-out to the FSSO category; the Association notes that this solution was envisaged in the Hays Bill. In any event, the Association does not believe that present FSSOs would qualify for appointment as FSR (unlimited) officers under the definition given above.

One of the most intractable problems of personnel administration in foreign affairs has been the existence of dual systems: Foreign Service and Civil Service. Despite 20 years of study and prescription, there still appears no solution other than acceptance of the untidiness inherent in administering two systems within the same agency. However, the process of "Wristonization" which has had such beneficial effects (despite cases of individual hardship) within the Department of State has scarcely begun within AID and USIA. It should be a matter of urgent priority for the administrators of those two agencies, under the guidance of the Board of the Foreign Service.

Assignment—Most employees will spend their careers within a specialized cone, taking an extra-cone assignment only when it contributes to their professional development. With increasing specialization the rule, tours should be lengthened.

Those specialists—regardless of category, such as FSO, FSR(AID), FSIO, FSSO or FSR(Unlimited)—who demonstrate an unusual policy sense or leadership potential may be earmarked for the executive cone at an early stage in their careers. They will be given shorter and more varied tours in a variety of positions, in addition to systematic exposure to other agency programs and procedures. To the extent that early executive promise is not fulfilled, such employees may either be reassigned to a specialized cone or run the risk of early retirement.

Competition and Promotion—As a general rule, the system should provide greater security for specialists and greater risk (as well as responsibilities) for those who aspire to executive positions.

Competition for promotion should be by specialty and subspecialty within cones, so that employees with different backgrounds and skills are not required to compete with each other. The number of promotions in each specialty must be linked directly to the number of positions designated for staffing by that specialty to avoid creating in the future the problems of surplus at certain grades and in certain specialties that have plagued the foreign services in recent years.

Different rates of promotion may apply as between the cones and the executive track; indeed, promotions for most officers in the specialist cones may become semi-automatic, subject to the number of positions available at each higher grade. In this context, selection boards would consider only those who appear to merit unusually rapid promotions (or late

assignment to the exeeutive eone) or those whose performance is sub-standard. The Foreign Service will rcquire a growing variety of officers; whilc all should enjoy the same salary seale and benefits, it makes sense that promotion and assignment policies should be tailored to fit the wearer.

Rigorous selcction-out and redueed time-in-class provisions should apply to all offieers in the exeeutive eone; while selection-out for substandard performance should apply to speeialists, time-in-elass restrictions should be relaxed and, perhaps, varied aeeording to shortage or surplus eategories in each cone.

The system of performance evaluation, in partieular, requires modernization. In an inercasingly variegated serviee, the criteria by whieh performance is measured require greater differentiation so that general scrvices offieers are not—as is now the ease—rated against the same faetors as eeonomists, or eeonomists as politieal analysts. The serviees, in short, need a mueh finer sense of what performanee eriteria are relevant to the promotion proeess; of particular importanee is the development of methods for spotting offieers who should be assigned to the exeeutive traek.

The serviees also need to build more open and honest supervisor-employer relationships, and should draw heavily on new teehniques developed and used so extensively by progressive private institutions. The brief experiments in this direction begun in 1964-65 produeed useful results—not least of whieh has been the intelleetual and professional self-questioning underlying this and other papers by the Assoeiation.

Training—The Assoeiation notes that 12 percent of the military serviees are in long-term training eaeh year. In the Department of State, less than four pereent of offieer employees are in long-term, non-language training; the figures for AID and USIA do not approach even this minimum. The most important limitation on inereases in this percentage appears to be the willingness of the three ageneies to reeonsider personnel priorities to favor training and other "man-in-motion" opportunities at the expense of marginal or even redundant positions at home and abroad whieh must now have first call on personnel (this problem is further diseussed below).

The ageneies in foreign affairs must establish sound, demanding training programs for eaeh of the professional specialties. They must eneourage employees to partieipate in advanced-degree programs, publication of articles and books, partieipation in professional soeieties and other aetivities whieh will eontribute to the reservoir of skills—and growing public reeognition of and eonfidenee in those skills—in foreign serviee.



Lateral Entry and Exit—If the foreign serviee is to discharge its responsibilities in the future, it will have to be more hospitable to the introduetion of new skills from the outside than it has been in the past. The Assoeiation believes that explieit reeognition of the value of specialization *within* the serviee will reduee presenl hostility to new ideas and teehniques proffered from *outside* the service.

By the same token, the ageneies in foreign affairs must make active use of opportunities for internships, details and assignments of personnel to business, universities, foundations and other government agencies. The gap whieh has developed between the foreign affairs professional on aetive duty and his eolleagues elsewhere in Ameriean society must be elosed.

Action Required.

The United States Information Agency should, where appropriate and neeessary, follow the reeommendations outlined above. In partieular, it should step up development of a eomputer model and position/skill inventories eompatible with the Departmcnt's.

The Agency for International Development—As a matter of prineiple all the reforms proposed by the Association ean be instituted without any new statutory authority. The Ageney for International Development is the onc plaee where amendments to existing legislation would greatly faeilitate full integration into a unified Foreign Serviee of the United States, and the Assoeiation strongly supports the efforts of the Administration to secure sueh legislation in the current Congressional session.

At the present time forcign servie2 employees of AID serve as reserve offiecrs; have, for the most part, unlimited tenure: are subject to seleetion-out—in short, are like most other foreign serviee employees. They are not, however, partieipants in the Foreign Serviee Retirement System, but rather in the Civil Serviee System. This has practical, as well as psyehological disadvantages both for the employees and for the Ageney. AID personnel whose foreign service is confined to the less developed eountries, keenly feel that their conditions of serviee should be identical to those of other ageneies and they regard inelusion in the Foreign Serviee Retirement System not only as a desirable material benefit, but as formal recognition that their work is an integral part of US diplomacy. The Assoeiation eoncurs in this judgment.

It also shares the known concern of successive Administrators that the Ageney's personnel is aging faster than that of the other serviees. Under the present system, retirement for AID personnel is both delayed and delayable. This has resulted in a situation in which the median age of AID offieers, for example, is 44.0 years, as against 39.5 for FSOs and 36.5 years for FSIOs.

While AID has had no diffieulty in reeruiting exeellent young officers, it has reeently experienced great diffieulty in retaining them because of their vulnerability during times of personnel retrenchment. A system whieh would encourage earlier retirement, particularly if used in eonjunction with a genuine effort at "Wristonization," would be the single most important measure to assure the assistanee program of a healthy and vital personnel strueture. The Association believes that the Administration's proposal for a minor amendment to existing legislation, coupled with the Department of State and the United States Information Agency, under polieies and standards set by the Board of the Foreign Serviee, should be followed by the formal establishment of a new personnel category (Foreign Serviee Development Offieer), which would be administered under the identical rules governing personnel of the other ageneies, and in conformanee with the principles outlined above for the unified Foreign Serviee of the United States.

(*Continued on page* 48)



Kissinger's Latest

THE book consists of three articles written by Henry Kissinger before he joined the Nixon Administration. Most of our readers will be familiar with "The Vietnam Negotiations" which appeared in the January, 1969 issue of FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

That article was seminal and deserved to be recorded between hard covers. It introduced the two-track approach to the negotiations on Vietnam (US/DRV on withdrawals, GVN/NLF on political settlement) which has logic on its side although it hasn't yet found acceptance by the enemy.

The same article contains the most lucid exposition so far of the difficulties of a cease-fire or a coalition government in Vietnam. By clarifying some thoughts which had been fuzzy in many people's minds, Kissinger here set realistic limits to American policy.

The essay "Central Issues of American Foreign Policy," which is of less fundamental importance, is taken from the book "Agenda for the Nation" (ed. Kermit Gordon, Brookings Institution). That larger book, containing 18 contributions, some of which are of equivalent value to Kissinger's, costs only $6.95 and should be bought in preference to "American Foreign Policy" by anyone who wishes to read Kissinger's more discursive views on the central issues.

That leaves one essay, "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy," which had appeared in DAEDALUS and is perhaps the contribution most revealing of the author. It is a fascinating essay, of uneven quality, with some brilliant sunbursts of insight—and a few fizzles.

Example of an epigram that fizzled: "The dilemma of modern bureaucracy is that while every creative act is lonely not every lonely act is creative." (Why is this a dilemma?)

Example of an insight which some of us may wish to re-read in connection with the Paris negotiations: *"Confidence in the bargaining process causes American negotiators to be extremely sensitive to the tactical requirements of the conference table—sometimes at the expense of longer-term considerations. In internal discussions, American negotiators—generally irrespective of their previous commitments—often become advocates for the maximum range of concessions; their legal background tempts them to act as mediators between Washington and the country with which they are negotiating."*

Or, among many others, this epigram: "Absolute security for one country means absolute insecurity for all others; it can be achieved only by reducing other states to impotence. Thus an essentially defensive foreign policy can grow indistinguishable from traditional aggression." There is much food for thought in these and similar observations that are tossed off in sometimes dazzling succession.

—M. F. H.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, *Three Essays by Henry A. Kissinger. W. W. Norton & Co. $3.95.*

Portrait of Fulbright

SENATOR FULBRIGHT'S record in the Senate since 1945 has been a very important strand in the history of United States foreign policy since World War II. Johnson and Gwertzman have drawn a life-size portrait in this biography of the man and his impact. Their chronicle of his triumphs and defeats is strikingly objective, especially considering the storm center in which he has moved for so long and the intensity with which most of his admirers and detractors tend to describe him. Their objectivity is nowhere more evident than in their attempt to place into perspective his civil rights voting record.

The authors recount in detail the well-known victories. They recall the drama which attended the passage of the Fulbright Resolution of 1943 (pressed by the newly-elected 37-year-old Congressman) "favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to prevent future aggression and to maintain lasting peace." They tell the story of the Fulbright Act of 1946 which established educational exchange programs, multiplied over the years, which have brought extraordinary direct benefits to a generation of scholars around the world and indirect cultural cross-fertilization of a kind impossible to measure. They explain his vanguard role in exposing the demagoguery of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The authors record also the numerous frustrations and disappointments which have attended the Senator's career: his altercations with President Truman, his investigations into the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, his largely forgotten abortive proposal in 1952 to create "a commission of eminent citizens to consider the problem of ethical conduct of public affairs," his participation in the Stevenson Campaign of 1952, and the very controversial developments during the last few years relating to the Bay of Pigs fiasco (which Senator Fulbright believed cast a long and ominous shadow over the 1960s), the Dominican Republic Crisis, and the war in Vietnam.

Johnson and Gwertzman relate in some detail the growing despair felt by Senator Fulbright regarding the directions taken by United States foreign policy through 1965. Unsuccessful in his attempts to influence policy behind the scenes, and with a deep and abiding faith in the power of education, he turned to the public early in 1966. The authors construe "the Vietnam hearings" as having had a powerful influence. With them, the ranks and weight of the "dissenters" were multiplied, and the road was paved for the McCarthy phenomenon of 1968.

This is inevitably an incomplete biography. Senator Fulbright's recent contributions to history are too contemporary to evaluate with clarity and objectivity. But they have certainly been profound. And doubtless we shall feel further evidence of the influence of J. William Fulbright during the years to come.

—JOHN J. HARTER

FULBRIGHT, THE DISSENTER, *by Hanes Johnson and Bernard M. Gwertzman. Doubleday, $9.99.*

"The Most Absolute of All Deaths"

Is the ultimate aim of civiliation the elimination of the natural—"the destruction of everything which does not serve the primary needs of an exploding population?" The evidence compiled here from the files of the Survival Service Commission of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature is a convincing indictment. Through natural causes (overspecialization, climatic changes, etc.), hunting (by man), the introduction of predators and competing species (by

man), and destruction and disturbance of habitat (by man), some thirty-six mammalian species and sixty-four races of surviving species have become extinct since 1600—the approximate beginning of civilization's attack on nature. Again of the mammals, 120 species and 223 races are now in danger. The extinctions, and the danger of new ones, are more numerous in the case of bird species. Each of the major endangered life forms from the "Red Book" (for danger) of the S.S.C. is covered in a short and readable essay. The two hundred or so essays are accompanied by a number of superb color plates and line drawings—worth the cost of admission all by themselves.

Apart from the morality of man's extermination of other species, and the debate has developed on both sides in recent years, the book is a fascinating glimpse of the richness and diversity of life on this planet. Some are exotic —the Thylacine (carnivorous marsupial), the Rusty Numbat (marsupial anteater), the Aye-Aye (the rarest primate; sole representative of a race, a species, a genus and a family), the Monkey-Eating Eagle—and some are old friends out of the past, like the Bison.

There are two species of Bison, the European Wisent and the American Bison. Of the two subspecies of the Wisent, the Caucasian (or mountain) Bison is extinct and there are about 860 of the typical race, mostly in Poland and the Soviet Union. Of the two surviving races of the American Bison, the familiar Plains Bison of the Old West is now relatively plentiful, but until 1957 the larger, darker Woods Bison was thought to have vanished. In that year, some 200 of the Woods Bison were discovered through aerial reconnaissance in an isolated valley in southern Canada and placed under careful management. There are four pages on the Bison; you are then an expert.

In addition to the mammals and birds, there are shorter chapters on the reptiles, amphibians, fish and plants. The book is well-indexed, and is likely to become the standard work in its field in very short order. The tone is not moralistic; it is an excellent and objective encyclopedia of endangered species written by the experts.

—DALE BARNES

WILDLIFE IN DANGER, *by James Fisher, Noel Simon, Jack Vincent and others. Viking Press, $12.95.*

Mr. Sulzberger's Diaries

CY SULZBERGER'S "memoirs & diaries" take 1,026 pages to cover two decades, 1934-54, and another volume is promised. As the TIMES's roving correspondent, he has been everywhere and met everybody. There are many fascinating glimpses in these uninhibited, unexpurgated jottings. The trouble is he reproduces the trivial along with the memorable. The book would be much better if it were half as long.

Because Mr. Sulzberger was and is constantly on the move, it is full of half-told tales. One example:

> LONDON, March 30, 1946—
> King George of Greece told me he was convinced the elections tomorrow would show the great majority supports him . . .

How did the elections come out? He doesn't say; perhaps he assumes everybody will remember. His next entry, dated April 15, is devoted to a "long conversation" with Ambassador Winant.

This lack of organization and follow-through is exasperating. Perhaps the best way to approach the book is through the index. It takes up 30 pages, and runs from "Abdul Aziz Ibn Abdur Rahman Al Feisal Al Saud, *see* Ibn Saud, King," to "Zujuvic, Mladen." By looking up the topics and personalities that interest you, you can piece together some sort of continuity. But should the reader be expected to do the diarist's job for him?

Senior Foreign Service officers should proceed with caution. Mr. Sulzberger's appraisals are sometimes corrosive. He dismisses one American diplomat as "a conventional stuffed shirt," describes another as "not very impressive: nice, clean-cut and youthful, but rather a boy scout." He is prone to these hit-and-run vignettes. But he can do a full-length portrait, in vitriol, when he has a mind to it. Clare Boothe Luce gets six pages.

It's hard to know where to put these memoirs. Not, certainly, alongside Vincent Sheean's "Personal History" and Eric Sevareid's "Not So Wild a Dream." Maybe on the reference shelf. His book is a huge tureen of watery stew: there is a good deal of meat, but it takes a lot of ladling to find it.

—T.O.

A LONG ROW OF CANDLES: MEMOIRS AND DIARIES (1934-1954), *by C. L. Sulzberger. Macmillan, $12.50.*

NATO, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

FEW men have the perspective of John J. McCloy. Truly an "elder statesman," he has been the adviser and confidant of every American President and most of the leaders of Western Europe since World War II. As such he has played a significant part in the evolution of the post-war world. As an outstanding international lawyer, he turns a cool, analytical and dispassionate mind on what he sees. There is little new and nothing sensational in this book, but a great deal of objective wisdom.

He sees the original purpose of NATO as not to prevent an imminent or threatened Soviet armed attack but rather to enable Western Europe to offset, morally and physically, the suddenly overwhelming presence of the USSR. Despite the vigorous moral and economic recovery which the Alliance has made possible, the predominance of the USSR over Western Europe remains and, in military terms, is now even greater. The Alliance is as essential as ever.

As to the future he states: "Unless a valid concept of interdependence and a consciousness of our common interests in peacetime, as well as in war, remains uppermost in the minds of people on both sides of the Atlantic, we have only the prospect of going about our separate ways and, if we do, praying that history may not repeat itself . . . The imperative is now to concentrate on our basic common interests and collectively get about the business of advancing them."

THEODORE C. ACHILLES

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE; *Its Origin and its Future, by John J. McCloy. Distributed by the Columbia University Press for Carnegie-Mellon University.*

Inside A Dozen Cities

AT LAST John Gunther has provided us another Inside, but not on Australia—as many might have expected.

Instead the reader is whisked Inside 12 cities—eight in Europe (London, Paris, Brussels, Rome, Hamburg, Vienna, Warsaw, and Moscow), three in a tiny Mideast triangle (Jerusalem, Beirut, and Amman), and Tokyo.

Why these 12? Gunther doesn't say. They are not the Top Twelve, nor are they representative of major regions. Could it be that some of these cities happen to be the same ones written about by Gunther in his articles in READER'S DIGEST and HARPERS?

"London, the king city of them all" leads off the newest Guntherian odyssey. Tokyo ends it—a city that "is on the make, on the go—confident, practical, fantastically busy, and successful."

True to his Inside formula, Gunther relies heavily on people to tell the story of places. Here we have mayors, taxi drivers, generals, waiters, a king, young people. He also shares the political jokes heard in Moscow; one:

"How is Germany divided?" asks

a questioner. Reply: "East Germany has the *Communist Manifesto,* West Germany has *Das Kapital.*"

Although this book may be a slight disappointment, the reader can still enjoy comparing his opinion of the cities with Gunther's or simply indulging in armchair travel. And if these cities don't satisfy, we may assume we'll get inside Copenhagen, Rio, and Prague sooner or later.

—JAMES O. MAYS

TWELVE CITIES, *by John Gunther. Harper & Row, $6.95.*

Neutralization and World Politics

THIS tidy little volume outlines some of the principal issues surrounding the idea of neutralization in terms of current international problems. Perhaps the most interesting portions are discussions of neutralization in specific areas (Germany, Vietnam, the Gaza Strip), and the analyses of the difficulties in negotiating and maintaining neutralized status. The book is well grounded in fact and worth reading.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

NEUTRALIZATION AND WORLD POLITICS, *by Cyril E. Black, Richard A. Falk, Klaus Knorr, and Oran R. Young. Princeton University Press, Cloth: $7.50, paper: $1.95.*

The Barrios of Venezuela

REVISITING residents of a Havana slum in the early 60s after a long hiatus, Oscar Lewis wrote that they displayed new purpose and vitality; he attributed this to a sense of political participation conveyed to them by Castro. If Castro could capture the imagination of the urban downtrodden in Cuba, why is it that Domingo Alberto Rangel, Fabrico Ojeda, the guerrilla Douglas Bravo, or another of the flamboyant leaders of the revolutionary left, was not similarly able to create a political cadre in the teeming shanty towns which had grown to ring Caracas and other major cities by the time the military dictator Pérez Jimenéz was overthrown? Why instead did the communists and Jacobins who after 1958 controlled many of the country's urban *barrios* steadily lose ground to the constitutionalist parties, —in particular to the populist Acción Democrática, the backbone of the governing coalition in the transitional years 1959-1969?

Talton Ray's attempt to answer such questions is not the first study of the political mechanics of Latin America's city slums, as his own ample bibliography attests, but the problem is dealt with in an ambitious manner heretofore attempted by few. Others have usually attacked the problem from an organic standpoint (like Oscar Lewis' studies of individual families) or a cosmic one (philosophically, like Régis Debray) or statistically, like various national development plans, citing a host of alarming country-wide figures on levels of literacy, etc. Ray has unique experience to synthesize the two approaches. After a year helping slum residents in Ciudad Guayana on the Orinoco mobilize their resources for community improvement, he was promoted by ACCION director Blatchford (now Director of the Peace Corps) to supervise field work throughout the country for another 18 months. After leaving Venezuela, he supplemented his extensive direct experience with long research. Combining these assets, he arrives at thorough answers for the eclipse of the left and the relative success of the moderates in the *barrios.*

Themselves of middle-class origin, the most ardent advocates of an insurgency presumed the rag proletariat to be equally indignant about its own squalor and to be far more ripe for revolution than it was. They failed, moreover, to make a convincing case against the government, or to present an appealing alternative. When the far left turned to concerted urban terrorism in the early 1960s, in fact, they instilled more fear and disgust than revolutionary zeal in most *barrio* residents. The slums provided a full share of political martyrs, in the form of policemen shot down wantonly in the streets in an attempt by the left to make the government appear incapable of maintaining order.

Finally, the national government held the reins of control on most of the facilitative services which *barrio* residents could hope to benefit from. Though the AD's efforts to woo the *barrios* with largesse were so partisan that the party alienated as many new voters as it hoped to gain, its efforts were energetic enough and sincere enough to choke off revolt.

Talton Ray's prognosis is hedged. Growth projections ensure that Venezuela's city slums will continue to insult the eyes for years to come, but at present, the great majority of *barrio* residents retain the healthy conviction (certainly a surprising one in their case) that there is equality of opportunity. There is little to support the thesis of Frantz Fanon that the people of the shanty towns are potentially the urban spearhead of revolution. On the other hand, the aspiring sector of the *barrios* is growing, and there are relatively few outlets for it in the Venezuelan polity. Whether the *barrios* as a whole will continue to evolve (as some already have) from tin-roofed boxes to sturdy cinderblock cottages to minor commercial districts in a democratic mode, or will instead provide support to a modern *caudillo* like Castro or Perón, will depend on how well the aspiring class can be accommodated politically.

—THEODORE S. WILKINSON

THE POLITICS OF THE BARRIOS OF VENEZUELA, *by Talton F. Ray. University of California, $7.00.*

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in this first-rate scrapbook of the Peace Corps experience. The excellent photographs themselves are worth the price of admission, and the reader who has himself served overseas will undoubtedly find many shots which trigger a flood of memories. Neither the text nor the photographs avoid the problems and shortcomings of the Peace Corps, and we even have a picture of the infamous postcard mailed from Nigeria in which PCV Margery Michelmore described her first shock at learning what "underdeveloped" meant in practical terms. It is against the backdrop of doubt at the inception of the Peace Corps and the continuing self-doubt of the volunteers themselves that the success of this noble experience shows up the more sharply. This record of the Peace Corps in action is not only a lively bit of history for the general reader, but a very worthwhile addition to the library of any American who serves his country overseas.

—ARCHIE BOLSTER

THE PEACE CORPS EXPERIENCE, *edited by Roy Hoopes. Potter, $6.95.*

On Yugoslavia

THE least that can be said about this elaborate pictorial volume is that it is in good company. Picture books on Yugoslavia have been coming along for the past two decades. In 1951, O. Bihalj-Merin and the editors of the Yugoslav cultural magazine JUGOSLAVIJA brought out a special issue in English. In 1959, the noted Yugoslav historian Cvito Fiskovich produced one for German readers. Anton Ilic next turned one out through the Swiss-French publishers *Ides and Calendes,* in French. The pattern is similar: a rough geographic sequence beginning with the sub-Alpine grandeur of Slovenia and gravitating to the Adriatic littoral and Dalmatia, those true Elysian fields of scenic photography, then striking haphazardly into the country's interior. An attempt is made at some balance, by interspersing the same shots of peasant girls swirling in billows of snowy homespun, or those cutlass-throwing *skhipetars,* or a gnarled mountaineer with flintlock and lather-thronged *opanke,* here and there a huddled peasant cottage, then some skyscrapers or even a blast furnace, to pinpoint the country's industrial upsurge; finally a touch of the Byzantine heritage, with ikons of martyrs and stylized saints mournfully peering from mosaics. The text, some of it in an over-compressed introduction, the rest in an inconveniently placed after-section, manfully but vainly tries to sketch the infinite variety of the country's tradition and history. As a result, the novice gains very little information, while the former traveler has a chance to spot the places he has been to. We can just hear him: "Why, there's the church where we fed the pigeons" or "there's the street where the beggar wanted to shine my shoes for two dinars" etc. Maclean's opus, like its predecessors, suffers from an overdose of black-and-white. Only six out of 205 photo plates are in color, for a subject made for color film. As a result what is scenically dramatic, or architecturally romantic, or artistically exquisite has a stark and foreboding look. It is a mistake that no editor of the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE, or of HOLIDAY, or VENTURE would have made; nor, for that matter, any adman turning out the flood of travel literature about Yugoslavia.

—CARL CHARLICK

YUGOSLAVIA, *by Sir Fitzroy MacLean. Viking, $12.50.*

Problem Solving

AS an intellectual exercise, Dr. Ramo presents a very rational approach for determining what a problem is or how to solve a recognized problem. The author's approach, called the "Systems Approach," is a technique for organizing scientific and technological tools to attack complex problems, objectively and logically. The "Systems Approach" becomes itself a tool for defining goals or constituting the harmonious and optimum organization of resources. Among the modern techniques involved in this approach is "computer-assisted data handling and prediction analysis."

The author is well qualified to present a systems approach. Dr. Ramo has contributed substantially to the successful development of a large, multimillion dollar, defense related corporation (TRW, Inc.) and has had considerable experience applying this technique to the hardware requirements of the military.

In this literary effort, Dr. Ramo suggests the desirability of applying the systems' experience to cure social problems. As a technique for analysis and evaluation, the systems approach has great promise. However, unlike the hardware requirements of defense, the method the author outlines for solving social ills is step three in a three stage process where the first two steps have not been taken.

Prior to selecting a method to define or analyze a problem, there must be decision and authority (commitment) to undertake a task. Secondly, there must be sufficient resources (namely, cash) available to use a given method. Very often the social problems which confront our society

the type of problems which nselves to commitment or for here are sufficient resources a . All too frequently our social p must be confronted by de- ed decision-making organs, po g inadequate authority and plag with jurisdictional limitations, conflic g political and economic interests and grossly inadequate financial sources.

If there were a commitment, a real determination to identify and solve our social problems, and if adequate funds were available, Dr. Ramo's "systems approach" could only be described as spiffy. However, until there is a change in current attitudes and "realities," his approach is irrelevant.

—C. A. KENNEDY

CURE FOR CHAOS, *by Simon Ramo, Ph.D. McKay, $3.95.*

International Communication

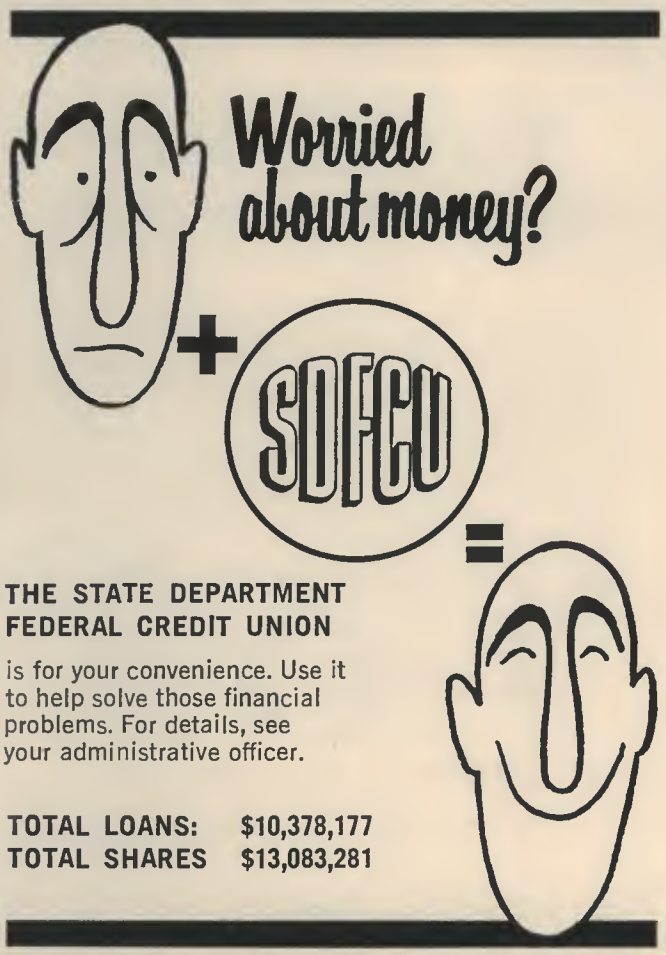
HISTORY has not yet passed the final verdict on that ambitious experiment between the two world wars, the League of Nations. In 1920, Europe sought new hope for the world which had just been made safe for democracy in the concerted benevolence and vague authority of a supranational congregation. The emerging international power and voice of the United States were committed to the League in the last of the Fourteen Points. The rest is chronology. The United States never became a member of the League, and, by the late thirties, as Europe—and the world—was hurtling towards another major paroxysm of insanity, the Palais des Nations was not on the itinerary of the men who were actively implicated in bringing about or trying to prevent the plunge into madness.

Twenty years ago, the United Nations Organization took over from the League. In a world where so much of the recent disaster was being blamed on nationalistic excesses of individual states, on immoral arrangements of spheres of influence and balance of power, on the substitution of rapacious bilateral agreements for responsible good-neighbor policies, in a world once again tired and ever hopeful, regional associations became the dominant trend in international politics. The tempering pressures of the cold war supplied the proving trials and modifying impulses to some of these pacts; others have clung to a reputation for viability by disguising atrophy with what passes for harmless petrification. International communication, vastly improved, is pointing the way to international understanding. Still, the nation-state remains the basic unit of world society, and legislation is confined to national jurisdictions. Such law as is made among the nations is the law of treaties. Whether the functioning of international parliamentary bodies in the range between forums of discussion and useful catalysts of political progress is any evidence of their potential as active elements of future systems of international organization, is open to discussion.

Hovey's book is concerned with NATO, that most successful regional alliance of the post-war period, and specifically with four of the six international parliamentary consultative assemblies of the Atlantic area. He deals with the prospects for the development of an Atlantic Assembly, consultative in nature, but with officially recognized competence in all matters of common concern. The analysis of achievements and problems of the NATO parliamentary bodies provides both reason for hope and ground for skepticism. It all depends on where you stand with respect to superparliaments in general.

—ANDREW T. FALKIEWICZ

THE SUPERPARLIAMENTS: *Interparliamentary Consultation and Atlantic Cooperation, by J. Allan Hovey, Jr. Praeger, $10.00.*



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PURLOINED PASSPORT

(*Continued from page* 29)

with Chinese diplomatic representatives in an attempt to claim the American fortune of Miss Alicia Dodgson. Under the terms of her mother's will, which I inspected at the solicitors' this afternoon, the bequest passes in equal part to 'other legitimate children of Sir Algernon Dodgson' if not claimed promptly by the eldest daughter on her twenty-first birthday."

"Good Lord, Soames. What an eccentric will! But at least Miss Alicia may now rightfully claim her inheritance in New York on the day after tomorrow."

"The will is not, perhaps, my dear Quimby, so eccentric as you suppose. And the latter point you mention is yet to be decided. But I confess I am quite exhausted and look forward to a sound slumber. Nature must claim her 'rightful portion of diurnal rest,' as the poet says. I apprehend a most interesting interview tomorrow morning with Miss Alicia Dodgson, and shall not," Soames chuckled, "deprive you of the pleasure of sitting in at the conclusion of the case."



Good as his word, I received a summons next morning to attend my colleague at his vice-consular offices. When I entered Soames' room, a minute or two late for the appointment, a happy *tableau* was set before me. Our pretty interlocutor of the day before, dressed in a fetching traveling outfit, was expressing a profusion of thanks.

"Oh, Mr. Soames, you have been so good to Papa and me. The doctors, aided by your diagnosis, are now able to promise a speedy recovery. My plans for a quick trip to New York by the late afternoon plane are nearly complete, and I shall return in two days' time with my fortune. Here!" With impulsive gesture, she drew a ruby signet ring



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out of her pocketbook and made as if to present it to my friend. "Take this small token, in appreciation for your help."

But Soames, it appeared, was in a brown study. He remained seated, a serious frown contorting his features. "As a consular official of the United States," he said in hard, even tones, "I regret that I am specifically prohibited by Government regulations from accepting your gift."

"But, surely . . ."

"Sit down, Miss Dodgson. I must warn you that any further offer on your part can only be interpreted as an attempted bribe."

The young woman took her seat after many remonstrances, and Soames commenced once more in his aseptic official's voice. "The police, I feel sure, have already acquainted you with the dramatic *denouement* of my investigations on your behalf. You have come this morning, therefore, not only to express thanks to myself and my friend, Mr. Quimby, but also no doubt to reapply for a visa to the United States."

"What you say is true. Though my old passport remains missing, the authorities, in view of the circumstances, have agreed to issue me a new passport. I shall call upon you at two o'clock, if that is most convenient, so that an American visa may be granted in time for the four o'clock flight to New York."

My colleague looked up mischievously at our smiling guest. "I greatly regret, Miss Dodgson," he said, "that I shall be unable to issue you that visa."

"What?" I cried in unison with our attractive client, whose face was now frozen in disbelief.

But Soames went on, explaining the position with firm calmness. "I have looked closely into the matter of your mother's bequest," he began. "I can now report, on the basis of a cable received from one of the leading banks of New York City only this morning, that the fortune at stake has grown, aided by wise investments over the years, into an enormous sum. The amount runs into nine digits, that is to say, into many millions of dollars."

"What the devil has that to do with the visa?" I inquired in a testy voice.

"Only this, my dear Quimby. Our Government faces the most serious economic difficulties just now, owing to a drain on American gold and money reserves, commonly called in the popular press, a 'balance-of-payments crisis.' Miss Dodgson, here, proposes to travel to the United States. The purpose of her visit is to claim and receive, tomorrow, many millions of American dollars, which she will then transport out of the country. In short, she proposes to cause untold damage to the United States Treasury and the well being of our citizens. In the midst of the present financial crisis, Miss, I very much fear that your inheritance of these millions of dollars is not in accord with the national interests of the United States Government, which I represent. I assure you that in my capacity as American Vice-Consul I possess adequate legal authority to deny you permission to enter my country."

"But, Sir! This is grossly unfair!"

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Soames' eyes flickered with a malice I had not noticed before, and he gave a wan half-smile. "There are also good technical grounds for me to deny you a visa," he went on. "You now know that your father married a Chinese woman at Hangchow some forty years ago, who bore him a son. There is reason to believe that Chin's mother is still alive, which would mean that you, Miss, are the product of a bigamous marriage, and hence you were born an illegitimate child. Until these complex legal points have been carefully investigated, I am bound to question the validity of your documentation."

"No!" shrieked our pretty guest, whom I was constrained to calm with a glass of water and an aspirin tablet.

Relentless, Soames ignored this little outburst. "It is necessary to my job as an American Vice-Consul," he proceeded, "to develop some insight into human nature. I have noticed, Miss Dodgson, that you are a rather spoiled young lady. This is hardly unnatural, since you are the only daughter of a doting, widowed father. You have received from Sir Algernon all or most of the good things in life that money can buy; expensive clothes and jewels, a comfortable home, the best education. And how have you chosen to repay society for these gifts? Do you perform useful work? No. You sit at home and read novels."

Our client, upon hearing this speech, affected to be struck dumb, and now listened in absolute silence.

"As you will know from the police, Chin, your half-brother, is being held in custody and is likely to remain so for some time. I have learned from your family solicitors that the entire bequest of your mother, if neither you nor Chin is able to claim it by midnight tomorrow, will go to a third party."

"Who?" rasped the young lady, clutching at her handkerchief. "Who can it be . . . ?"

"The millions of dollars which you forfeit," Soames continued, "will pass to the State of New York, to be spent for the welfare and social betterment of the good people of that State. The new schools and health clinics that can be built with your mother's money should also enable the State to reduce the heavy tax burden now falling upon its citizens. In short, Miss Dodgson, your inheritance, instead of imposing a burden on the US Treasury, can now be used to increase the health and happiness of untold numbers of my fellow-citizens."

Receiving a nod from my friend, I rose and proceeded to escort the young lady out of his office. As we reached the door I heard him say, "Good day to you, Miss. If you could possibly spare me a minute, Quimby, when you have disposed of our visitor, I should value your advice on a small matter involving a forged passport, a German shepherd dog and two missing Bulgarian clergymen. . ." ■

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(*Continued from page* 13)

we—or others in the international system—might take. It requires predicting with some accuracy the action outcomes of such steps, what in fact is likely to occur in action. To weigh the relevance of this, however, we then need to speculate on the value outcomes. Will we like or decry these predicted results? This is a different kind of intellectual activity than we engage in when we reconstruct a political system, analyse an election, look at an example of decision making.

It is speculative, within the imagination, beyond confirmable reality. But if followed out, it would take place in the real policy world, with all the limitations of power, information and effective implementation that the real world imposes. It is highly uncertain by its very nature. Most of us as scholars have had relatively little practice at this art. We may have been right in our predictions in specific instances. And, from these examples, we may have gained some confidence that we can participate fruitfully in the policy making enterprise. As decision-makers, some of us have experienced the satisfactions of speculating accurately and providing advice which panned out. And all who have been in policy making have also experienced the disappointment of not obtaining the results we had hoped for from specific actions on the part of the US Government.

Conclusion. It is therefore in that realm where one is neither brash nor timid, neither certain one has the answer nor despairing of ever discovering something adequate to the situation, while knowing that some situations are simply beyond our control and perhaps our influence, that lies the source of confidence and reward for the decision maker. Insofar as the scholar can imaginatively place himself in that perspective, to that extent will the dialogue be facilitated.

The decision-maker, for his part, needs to accept the hard fact that the search for penetrating insight on complex problems cannot always be pursued on the run, "by the seat of the pants," as the saying goes. The scholar's task is to marshal the evidence of human experience beyond the decision maker's memory or ken, to construct schemes of analysis to order complex data in new ways so as to shed a more penetrating light on our condition. Officials may encourage scholars to turn their intellectual curiosity to questions bedeviling decision-makers. But they should not expect scholars to forego their main concern nor to come up with quick and easy advice on request. They must have enough perspective on the flow of events they are so caught up in to be able to ask the long trend, more fundamental questions far enough ahead to give reasonable chance of at least a serious search for answers to be conducted in good time.

This would be institutionally more possible if those at the top of the Department of State pressed for and the foreign affairs committees of the Congress agreed to create substantial research capabilities in the social sciences of relevance to foreign policy, managed by civilian agencies. They should recognize such capabilities are not created in one fiscal year but will take multi-year commitments and great institutional imagination to bring about. It will take time to induce more fruitful scholarly attention to policy problems in ways which will not impair the autonomy, the critical capacities, and the fundamental role of universities in teaching the coming generations. ■

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(*Continued from page* 18)
that their behavior might be dysfunctional from the point of view of the goals to which the formal organization is committed.

The over-arching problem of the Department of State is how to achieve necessary changes in the subculture that dominates the Department's life. The Department will not be able to function effectively until the problem is solved. Subordinate problems are likely to be manageable once the culture itself is modified. The subculture is not fixed and unchangeable. Behavioral norms are modified somewhat with the passage of time and the elements in the ideology also undergo continuing change. Unfortunately the normal processes of cultural change in the Department appear to move at an almost glacial pace.

The tempo of the change can be increased only if the subculture is placed under severe pressure. One such source of pressure is internal—from within the subculture itself. No socialization process works perfectly. The Argyris report noted the existence of considerable dissatisfaction on the part of younger Foreign Service officers with the way the system works. The ideology is persuasive but it is not all-powerful. It cannot always close the gap between that which *is* and that which the ideology proclaims. Unless dissatisfaction is given some form of organizational expression, however, its significance is likely to be minimal.

In 1967 this ingredient was added. A group of Young Turks gained control of the American Foreign Service Association with the intention of using the Association as an engine for the reform of the Foreign Service.[6] The reform movement gained the support of a number of senior Foreign Service officers and a large number of junior officers. A wide range of questions are now being asked concerning organization, recruitment, training, assignment policies, and promotion policies.

The movement has continued to pick up steam and is receiving more attention from senior Departmental officers in the Nixon Administration than it did during the previous Administration. Pressure from within the Department for change and reform is being combined with pressure from the top and each reinforces the other. The Secretary and Under Secretary by no means face a Department monolithic in its resistance to reform.

Bureaucracies do not find it easy to engage in self-renewal and it is intriguing to see the process beginning to take place in the Department of State. Significant reforms are clearly in the making. A number of important elements in the established ideology are starting to be challenged by a discontented and articulate faction. The process of cultural change in any large organization is usually slow, and doubtless will be slow in this case—but at least it is underway. ■

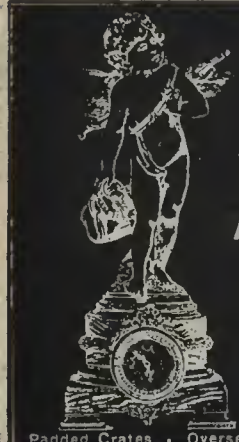
[6] For the reform program of the American Foreign Service Association see *Toward A Modern Diplomacy* (Copyright, AFSA, 1968). The ideas embodied in the Report have continued to evolve since the document went to press.



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(*Continued from page* 23)
saying that would permit an evil spirit to enter the child's body through the hole. All the nurse could do was to swab it well and tell her to keep it clean, a vain hope I fear.

After an hour or so, the group diminished and we were able to push off and go out into the harbor. The sampan women were remarkable in the way they managed the clumsy boat, poling it smoothly among the continually moving traffic. Sampans full of vegetables, fruit, firewood, fish, produce of all kinds were meandering about while every now and then, a junk would move ponderously out to sea for a day's fishing. I was particularly struck by the good temper of everyone. Boats were continuously banging into each other, there was a constant babel of voices, calling out warnings and admonitions yet no one ever yelled in temper, but would push off the barging boat with a laugh and a joking comment. They would always give way for us and as we moved about, women would lean out of their junks and wave us over. We would hover under the lee of the junk, for the sterns rise high out of the water, like a seventeenth century galleon, many of them beautifully carved and painted. The people would squat above us while they told their tale of woe and then lower themselves or the child onto the sampan for treatment.

I stood up in the stern and peered into the cabins which consisted of a roofed-in space amidships in which a whole family lived, crowded in an incredible jumble of pots, pans, sleeping mats, cooking brazier, wash tubs, yet all disposed with a certain order and not always as filthy as one would have expected. On adjoining junks women would be cooking the meal over the little bronze braziers which serve them for stoves or doing the washing by beating the garments on the floor of the deck. How Chinese clothes ever stand up to the work out they get on wash day is beyond me for they make up in pounding what they lack in soap.

They say the water people are dying out for if they send their children ashore to school, as more and more of them are doing these days, the young are seduced by the advantages of living on land and find the life at sea too hard for them. However from a child's point of view, it looked the ideal life. They were a bright, healthy looking lot, skittering around in their little sampans, free from the restrictions of school and city life. From the mothers' point of view, it must have been something else again, a constant battle against the elements, dirt, overcrowding and grinding poverty, yet the efforts of the government to bring them to land and rehouse them have met with little success. They are wedded to their water borne life and are loath to leave it. They have their own closely knit society, their special religious festivals, their own water gods and ritual celebrations, such as the Dragon Boat Race, which is one of the tourist attractions of Hong Kong.

We continued our slow progress through the teaming harbor, handing out ointments, bandaging scraped limbs, or when it was obviously more serious, administering a stern lecture plus a chit to be handed to the doctor at the floating clinic. After several hours of this, we sculled back to the landing, unloaded our gear, piled it into the car and drove back to the dispensary to put it all away. As we climbed the hill above the town to return to the other side of the island, I looked back at the colorful, busy, cheerful scene below me and rather hoped the water people wouldn't all come ashore. ■

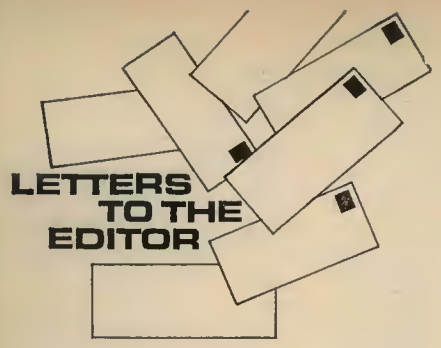
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A Tribute to the Service

I WOULD like to make a brief comment on President Nixon's thoughtful initiative in providing a delightful evening for a group of about eighty on May 15, 1969. The press termed the occasion "A Tribute to American Ambassadors" because it was in honor of four Career Ambassadors—Dave Bruce, Chip Bohlen, Tommy Thompson and myself. Actually, it was a tribute to the American Foreign Service, a happy inspiration of the President. He wished to manifest his active personal interest in the Service as a whole as well as his affection and regard for many individual members of the Service. Through his years as Vice President he enjoyed contact with numerous Foreign Service personnel. He values his acquaintance with them and is exceptionally appreciative of instances where individually they have been helpful to him incident to his official missions abroad. This was clearly evident at the dinner.

It seems to me of importance for members of the Service, some of whom may ignore this characteristic of the President, to know that in addition to the friendly interest of Secretary Rogers and Under Secretary Richardson, the President is proud in the conviction that the United States has the best Foreign Service in today's world. He wants it to maintain that leadership.

During the years I spent in the Service nothing gave me more satisfaction than the belief that the President, whoever he happened to be, understood what we in the Service were doing or, at least trying to accomplish. If he understood something of our problems and took a sympathetic view it was a great lift. I believe that President Nixon realizes that all the devoted Service men and women really ask for is his confidence in them, and his guidance as to goals and objectives.

ROBERT MURPHY

New York

The Pyramid . . .

IN partial response to the letter in the May JOURNAL on "How to Shape a Pyramid," we—who were members of the 1968 Board V—were given no instructions beyond those in the precepts for ranking officers eligible for promotion.

The precepts stated that the record of an officer approaching maximum time in class should be reviewed with particular care. They continued: "While there is a possibility that an officer in this situation has recently demonstrated definitively that he is capable of broader utilization at a higher level, these circumstances would be considered exceptional and the Boards should weigh carefully the recommendation of such an officer for promotion."

While we took this instruction seriously, we did not feel we were enjoined from giving an officer in that situation a high ranking if his recent record warranted it.

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Public Member

And How It's Shaped

IN a letter published in the May issue of the JOURNAL, an anonymous correspondent drew a number of conclusions (in the form of questions) about last fall's selection process based on a time in grade table for Class 3 to 2. The one question not asked was whether there could be some relationship between the level of performance and time in class. Instead, he asserts that "a whole group of Class 3 officers has been *arbitrarily* earmarked for selection out—and that all but a fortunate handful of them are going to be selected out *regardless of their performance level*" (underscoring added).

I can assure the anonymous correspondent that the Selection Board made no "arbitrary" decisions and that, in accordance with the precepts, the factors considered were *performance* and potential. I do not find it outside the realm of possibility that many officers were in Class 3 more than six years just because their performance and potential were below average.

JOSEPH A. GREENWALD

Washington

To Correct Inequities

I am moved to write this, my first letter to the JOURNAL, because I have seen selected out of the Service several officers whom I know personally, as do their other colleagues, to have been superior in every respect in the performance of their duties.

This leads me to examine two aspects of our present personnel system.

It is quite possible under the present system for an officer, let us say in Class 4, to be rated consistently in the upper third of his class by successive selection boards and still to be selected out for non-promotion after eight years. It is likewise equally possible for an officer of Class 4 to be rated consistently in the lower ten percent of his class and remain the same eight years in class before selection out. And it is entirely possible that when the officer consistently rated in the upper third is selected out other officers with less time in class who are consistently rated in the lowest 10 percent continue in service. These are admittedly extreme examples. Nonetheless, a personnel system which equates these extremes of competence and incompetence and which lacks to such degree recognition of merit is sadly deficient.

The second aspect to be examined is the extent to which selection boards can make a valid comparison of the performance of the officers within a given class. Wide diversity in the nature of duties and inequality in opportunity to demonstrate excellence are inescapable in a service such as ours. Furthermore, it is a fact that the great majority of annual performance reports are uniformly favorable, the differences reflecting perhaps more the drafting skill of the authors than real differences in the performance of the rated officers. Notwithstanding these obstacles to the comparison of officer performance by selection boards, I believe the boards could, with reasonable accuracy, designate some officers as outstanding and some as deficient in performance. To go beyond this point by individually rank-ordering officers within a class is to attribute to the performance report-selection board system a precision which it does not have.

In order to correct many of the inequities in the present system which I have described above, I suggest the following broad principles to govern the promotion-selection out processes of the Service:

1) Selection boards should divide the officers in each class into upper and lower halves on the basis of their performance

records. From the upper half, boards should select those officers, not exceeding 10 percent of the class, whose performance has been clearly outstanding; from the lower half they should select those officers, not to exceed 10 percent, whose performance has been deficient. No attempt should be made to rank-order officers individually within these categories.

2) A suitable percentage (perhaps 30 percent) of the promotion list for each class should be taken from the outstanding category. Preference within the category should be given officers placed in it by one or more previous boards. The balance of the list should be drawn from those officers placed in the upper half of their class but not in the outstanding category. Preference again should be given those officers whom previous selection boards have placed in the same category.

3) Needed selection out should come principally from the deficient category with those officers who are placed in the deficient category by several boards (perhaps two in three years, or three in five years) being selected out.

4) These principles should be applied to promotion to all classes except to the classes of career minister and career ambassador.

This system would reduce the importance of any single selection board in favor of the combined judgment of several boards. It would provide a channel of rapid advancement for the truly outstanding officers; it would offer some relief for those officers who consistently do their work in a thoroughly competent way and it would direct the selection out process principally toward those officers whose performance is weakest.

WALLACE W. STREET

Mexico City

The Problem of the F.S. Wife

RECENT letters in the JOURNAL on the role of the Foreign Service wife underline the need for some plain words on what we might label "the problem." I have found that the officer with a wife who has "done so much for his career" is often a man lacking the solid attributes that would allow him to do the job himself. In other words, the dull shambles he may produce through indecision, poor judgment and simple incompetence is often pieced together, burnished and made to look acceptable by the gargantuan protocol efforts, favor currying and "busy" activities of his spouse.

The standing cliché of the dominant American female is still popular among foreign males. This evaluation may be unjust but it is a cultural fact of life. The free-wheeling activities of overenthusiastic American women only serve to reinforce such arguments.

Joint meetings with long-suffering wives of foreign officials (most of whom would prefer to be home with their children or preparing the evening meal) are often painful manifestations of our propensity to transfer American organizing ability and customs to alien, resisting environments. The horror on the face of a young non-American wife when she is informed that she has been named finance chairman of an American-organized women's club is enough to tear the heart.

More serious is the damage that can result from an insistence on good works. Charity may be as American as apple pie but there is no reason for us to export it in indigestible hunks. Forced charity confronted with human pride often results in a very negative product. The well-dressed American wives who met the sick, tired refugees from North Vietnam on the Saigon docks in 1955 and handed them blocks of American cheese (the refugees later tried to wash their clothes with it thinking it was soap) *thought* they were doing good. But the fixed smiles of the Vietnamese officials only barely covered their disapproval. A disapproval heightened by the presence of a busy photographer, on hand to record the scene.

The foundations for respect, understanding and compatibility are built on classic, human qualities. The Foreign Service wife who is a considerate spouse, a good mother and a relaxed hostess does more in her unpretentious way than the social "go-go girl" who is determined to assist her husband in his career—whether he likes it or not.

HOWARD R. SIMPSON

Newport

May We Assume Mazatlán?

REFERENCE Ted Olson's comments some months ago in the Washington Letter concerning the whereabouts of "hippies" found in Dupont Circle during the summer but not in the winter. It may be of interest to you that I know perfectly well where "hippies" go during the long winter although I cannot say if my "hippies" are your "hippies."

EDWARD H. WILKINSON

American Vice Consul

Mazatlán

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

by S. I. Nadler



"Why can't he play the horses, like other disbursing officers?"

(*Continued from page* 34)

Conclusion

In presenting its proposals the Association has avoided the temptation to sketch out a "grand design" for the future in all its details. Rather, it has sought to concentrate on a relatively few significant steps which, if carried out, would go a long way toward the establishment of a single Foreign Service of the United States. We regard the unified service as an indispensable first step in any future evolution of the manner in which the United States conducts its business abroad.

The business of diplomacy is to influence the policies of other countries. It has become a commonplace to say that the matters upon which governments now consult and interact are becoming more complex; they encompass problems undreamed of by the diplomacy of thirty years ago. Less well known is the fact that the increasing complexity of the subject matter has not been matched by a similar growth in our capability of dealing with it.

As the United States has moved from consultation on major problems of traditional diplomacy to a foreign policy which now includes internal financial policies, military technology, the ocean beds, and the movement of agricultural commodities through novel mechanisms—and will soon include supersonic "booms," the multi-national corporation, and growing uses of atomic energy—our response has been to call in the experts, and to create new agencies to meet new problems. The result has been a fragmentation of knowledge and responsibility which has clogged our own governmental processes and confused our friends abroad.

The creation of a unified Foreign Service will not simplify the problems with which we deal. It will not eliminate the need for increased expertise. The Association does believe, however, that it will provide the conditions within which people with highly developed and specialized skills—as well as a bent for international affairs—can spend a satisfying working life, as well as contribute to the solution of problems which will not yield to intermittent or shifting attack.

There is no question but that the Foreign Service of the future will require a large number of talented and experienced men and women of more general skills. The Association believes that increasingly the successful generalists will be officers who have acquired wider scope after having mastered a specialty. This reasoning underlies the Association's recommendation to establish a common ground for executive leadership—the generalists of tomorrow—open to all personnel in the foreign affairs agencies, without regard to earlier specialization.

If the Association's recommendations are adopted, the three present foreign services would be working under the same conditions of employment and would have the same potential for advancement through the career. More importantly, the Association believes that identity of working conditions will over time foster an identity of purpose and allegiance which is crucial to the nation's representation abroad, and which has not always been present in the highly compartmentalized services of the past generation.

The newly reconstituted Board of the Foreign Service, with you as its Executive Director, can begin by enunciating a precise goal; then lay down common policies for the Department of State, AID and USIA. In the process, we will act as though we had a unified Foreign Service. All of this we can do without further legislation.

These are the Association's proposals. There are others worthy of your attention. The Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association on behalf of the membership offers its unqualified support to you and the Board of the Foreign Service. Working together we surely can bring about the improvements we all so earnestly desire.

Sincerely yours,
LANNON WALKER
Chairman of the Board

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$ 4,900	$ 76.60
$ 5,100	$ 79.40
$ 5,300	$ 82.20
$ 5,500	$ 85.00
$ 5,700	$ 87.80
$ 5,900	$ 90.60
$ 6,100	$ 93.40
$ 6,300	$ 96.20
$ 6,500	$ 99.00
$ 6,700	$101.80
$ 6,900	$104.60
$ 7,100	$107.40
$ 7,300	$110.20
$ 7,500	$113.00
$ 7,700	$115.80
$ 7,900	$118.60
$ 8,100	$121.40
$ 8,300	$124.20
$ 8,500	$127.00
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$2,700	$12.00
$2,900	$13.00
$3,100	$14.00
$3,300	$15.00
$3,500	$16.00
$3,700	$17.00
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