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AFSA BOARD MINUTES

Minutes of the September 15 Meeting

ANNOUNCEMENTS

1. *Provident Funds:* Ambassador Estes reported that the Embassy, Taipei, will contribute $5,000 to the Provident Fund in October. This amount, added to the $5,000 already received from Bonn, will make a total of $10,000 available for loans to members of the American Foreign Affairs Community serving overseas who suddenly face emergency situations when the funding arrangements are completed. Other embassies approached are considering the question of contributions and it is hoped that a capital of at least $50,000 will be obtained.

2. *Luncheon for Junior Officers:* Members of the Board are requested to attend a luncheon on Friday, September 25, in the Library of the Foreign Service Club, in honor of the Junior Foreign Service Officers who will be graduated from the Foreign Service Institute. Similar luncheon meetings will be arranged in the future for classes at the Institute. Chairmen of AFSA Committees and other activists will be invited to attend for the purpose of briefing Junior Officers on the Association's activities. It is planned to maintain close liaison with the posts to which the officers will be assigned by sending letters to chapter chairmen and keymen. Mr. Maxim suggested that a plan be worked out to contact officers on their return from first assignment and Mr. Heginbotham requested Mr. Maxim to discuss this with him. Ambassador Estes said that through the AAFSW and the AFSA Retired Members Committee it is hoped that newly appointed officers will be assisted in finding suitable housing in the Washington area and otherwise helped in getting settled. (Subsequently, Barbara Good's Staff Corps Committee initiated similar arrangements for FSS employees.)

3. *Women's Program Committee:* Miss Good distributed copies of memorandum dated September 8 from the Ad Hoc Women's Committee to Mr. Christopher Petrow (O), on "Proposals for additions and changes to be made in Task Force Reports." The appointment of Miss Elizabeth J. Harper as Chairman of the Women's Program Committee in the Department of State was announced on August 31 and an open meeting was held in the Main International Conference Room on September 2. The first meeting of the permanent Committee was held today, September 15. On behalf of the Committee, Miss Good invited Mr. Bray to consider forming an AFSA Committee on women's interests. Mr. Bray replied that he would be very happy to meet with the committee to discuss this proposal. It was reported that a number of wives have expressed a desire to participate in the Women's Program Committee and that a sub-committee will probably be appointed for this purpose.

EXECUTIVE ORDER No. 11491 (Labor-Management)

Mr. Easum's draft memorandum of the presentation of the Executive Order to be made at the annual business meeting on September 23 was thoroughly reviewed. Miss Marian L. Nash, of the Legal Committee, counseled the Board on some of the technicalities and discussed probable interpretation of some of the major features of the order.

Action:

1. Miss Nash and Mr. Easum to confer on a redraft of the memorandum.
2. A special Board meeting may be called for further consideration of the issues.
3. Miss Nash and Ambassador Estes to talk with Mr. J. Edward Lyerly (L/O) about definitions (supervisor, unit, etc.)

Minutes of the September 22 Meeting

ANNOUNCEMENTS

1. *Board Meetings:* There will be no regular meeting of the AFSA Board on September 29. A luncheon will be held that day at the Foreign Service Club in honor of Mr. Richard T. Davies, who is resigning from the Board and from his position as Vice Chairman.

The Executive Director was requested to reserve a conference room in the Department of State for the next regularly scheduled Board meeting, October 6, which will be open to members of the Association.

2. *Reorganization of Career Management:* It was reported that Ambassador Burns has a new plan for reorganizing the Career Management and Assignments Division. AFSA Board members have been invited to a briefing in Mr. Burns' office on Thursday, September 24, at 4:30 P.M. Messrs. Bray, Nevitt, Kontos, Heginbotham and Miss Good will attend.

3. *Junior Officers:* As reported previously, a luncheon will be held at the Foreign Service Club on Friday, September 25, in honor of Junior Officers who will receive their first assignments in the Foreign Service that day. Wives of members of the class have also been invited.

4. *FSO-6 Selection Out:* Mr. Harrop reported that he had followed up on JFSOC's letter to Mr. Burns regarding selection out for time in class of officers in FSO-6 category. The situation did not appear to be as serious as originally thought. A meeting will be arranged by the Director General to review the statistics with representatives of JFSOC.

5. *Oppenness:* Mr. Heginbotham announced that Mr. Mark Destler has accepted a research position offered by the Association, and will be employed half a day for six months beginning October 1. He will be responsible for preparation of documentation needed to solicit further large contributions for the AFSA Fund and the "openness" program.

6. *Women's Program Committee:* At the request of Mr. Macomber, the *ad hoc* Committee to Improve the Status of Women in the Foreign Affairs Agencies submitted recommendations for immediate and longer-range action which can be taken to make better use of the resources of women in the foreign service and assure them more equitable and just treatment. Copies of the recommendations and a copy of the letter of transmittal to Mr. Macomber, September 18, were circulated to the AFSA Board.

7. *AFSA Office in Department of State:* The Executive Director reported that a room in the Employees Service Center Lounge of the Department of State has been made available for the use of the Association.

GENERAL BUSINESS MEETING

The Chairman outlined procedure and agenda for the general business meeting of the Association on September 23 at which Mr. Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., President of the Association, will preside. Mr. Murray Zweben, Assistant Parliamentarian of the United States Senate, will serve as Parliamentarian. The financial report will be presented by Messrs. Bradford and Estes; Mr. Lambrakis will speak for the Board on proposed amendments to the By-Laws; and Mr. Easum will explain the implications of Executive Order 11491 (Labor-Management Relations).

The Chairman expressed appreciation of the AFSA Board to Mr. Easum for the lucid description of complicated questions arising from the Executive Order, and individual members of the Board commented on the excellence of the paper circulated as the re-draft of the memorandum studied last week. The problem and the Board's recommendation on the options will be submitted to the entire AFSA membership.

Mr. Bray requested that Board members present vote on the position taken: i.e., ". . . the exclusive recognition option is the course of action with the greatest chance of preserving and enhancing AFSA's present role in representing the interests of all foreign service employees." Of nine Board members present at the time, eight supported the statement, one voted against the recommendation. The Executive Director was asked to elicit a response from the two members of the Board who were not present.

A letter has been received from Mr. James R. Keene, Acting Director, Office of Personnel and Manpower, AID, indicating that the Agency will make no statement at present of a position on the Executive Order with regard to "units" and "supervisors," but is amenable to consultation with members of the AFSA Board. A meeting will be held in the office of Mr. Lane Dwinell, Assistant Administrator, AID (Room 5883) on Wednesday, September 30, at 3:00 P.M. Mr. Bray will be in touch with those Board members who will be asked to attend.

Copies of Mr. Macomber's letter of September 17, responding in generally favorable terms to the AFSA Board's request for definition of "unit" and "supervisor" under Executive Order 11491 were made available to members of the Board.

Mr. Maxim reported that JFSOC will meet with Mr. Macom-

ber on October 1 to urge his endorsement of a move toward exclusive recognition.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:30 p.m.

Minutes of the Meeting of October 6

ANNOUNCEMENTS

1. *Charles E. Merrill Trust—contribution:* The Executive Director reported the receipt of $20,000 from the Charles E. Merrill Trust to be used either toward payment of regular scholarships or for the proposed program to aid in the education of handicapped children in the foreign affairs community. This is the third generous grant the Association has received from the Merrill Trust, whose first contribution was made in 1960.

2. *Paris Chapter:* The Chairman read a letter (October 1) from Mr. Lawrence R. Raicht, President, AFSA/Paris, commenting very favorably on the several new initiatives taken by the AFSA Board.

3. *Scholarship Fund:* In 1968 the AFSA Board set the management fee for the Scholarship Fund at 10% of all new monies received in a fiscal year. The Executive Director will prepare a paper requesting formal Board approval to charge the scholarship program proportionate expenses in line with those allocated to other activities of the Association for management.

4. *JFSOC:* Mr. Maxim reported that members of JFSOC met with Mr. Macomber to register their support of exclusive recognition under E.O. 11491 and to urge his endorsement of it.

(*Continued on page 7 of AFSA NEWS*)

AS OTHER SEE US

LORD CROMER'S appointment as British ambassador in Washington has been greeted with rather less than unqualified enthusiasm. This is understandable despite the DAILY MAIL'S loyal support for its proprietor's son-in-law. Three of the last four British ambassadors in Washington have now come from outside the diplomatic service. There was a clear case for Lord Harlech's appointment because of his close friendship with President Kennedy, and Mr. Freeman's seemed explicable on the assumption that Mr. Humphrey became president. But what exactly are Lord Cromer's credentials? And why should he be preferred to a career foreign service officer?

The principle at stake is perfectly clear. Career officers should always be appointed to ambassadorships unless there is an overwhelming case on grounds of public policy for an appointment from outside the service. There was just such a case for Sir Stafford Cripps going to Moscow during the war, and, in quite different circumstances, for Mr. Brown to send Mr. Soames to Paris. The argument against widespread political appointments to a country's diplomatic service do not have to be rehearsed. A glance at the American diplomatic service and, to put it as politely as possible, the rather uneven quality of their ambassadorial appointments, with the consequential bitterness that this engenders in the lower reaches of the service, provides a salutary warning of what happens when this gets out of hand. Of course, Lord Cromer's posting does not mean that Mr. Heath is about to embrace the American system. But he would be unwise to ignore the suspicion of many senior Foreign Office officials that Lord Cromer is being rewarded for services unpremeditatedly rendered at election time, and their serious doubts about some of the arguments being used to justify his appointment.

—From THE ECONOMIST, Nov. 14-20.

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A member of Congressman Robert A. Taft, Jr.'s staff reports on what he found during a six city tour of Europe.

USIA'S HANG UP: A CONCEPT COMPLEX

Ron Aaron Eisenberg

WHEN doing "its thing," the United States Information Agency is unbeatable in representing America abroad.

Unfortunately, USIA is channeling most of its resources into an area in which the Agency cannot technologically compete.

It's faced with a "concept complex" which must be resolved before it can effectively fulfill its mission. Part of the problem, however, is that that "mission" has never properly been defined.

USIA is attempting to meet two widely differing communications needs—fast and slow media. In the process, it is shortchanging both.

Fast media consist of the foreign radio, television, and newspapers which pump out a steady stream of news on the United States, gathered, in many cases, throughout the world by their own correspondents, the wire services, and communications satellites.

Slow media consist of the periodical magazines, books, motion picture films, and other vehicles of communication which rely primarily on in depth or feature material.

USIA attempts to service the fast media on a daily basis by providing reaction items representing United States positions on major news events.

Most often, this service duplicates the activities of United States-based foreign correspondents, the wire services, and material available via communications satellites.

As described by one foreign service officer:

> USIA's biggest problem is "frozen programing." The Agency is unable or unwilling

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to adjust to the needs of an extremely complex and sophisticated foreign communications network which is as advanced as ours. Sometimes, I get the feeling USIA is living in the early 1950s.

USIA's basic structure was, in fact, shaped in the early '50s.

It was designed to feed an understaffed, inexperienced, and poorly subsidized foreign communications industry which was struggling to get back on its feet following World War II.

That is no longer the situation.

While there is still a need for fast media servicing in developing countries, especially in Africa, I believe USIA could greatly reduce the number of overseas employees. It could then redirect its efforts into slow media.

Where needed, United States Embassy officials could provide reaction material for foreign media.

In interviews with USIS employees, in six European cities, it became apparent that many have difficulty rationalizing their Agency's dual role. Most believe USIS's involvement in fast media is outdated and hopelessly outclassed by the sophisticated foreign newspapers, radio, and television media.

Few, however, are willing to say so publicly, for fear of possible reprisals.

As one officer explained:

> We're like the French civil service. There is so much seniority and procedure built into the organization that no simple change of Director would have the slightest effect on our ongoing programs. We've always operated this way and I can't see my complaining having any effect. It's like a club. And anyone who doesn't approve of the way things are going, and says so, soon finds he's not advancing.

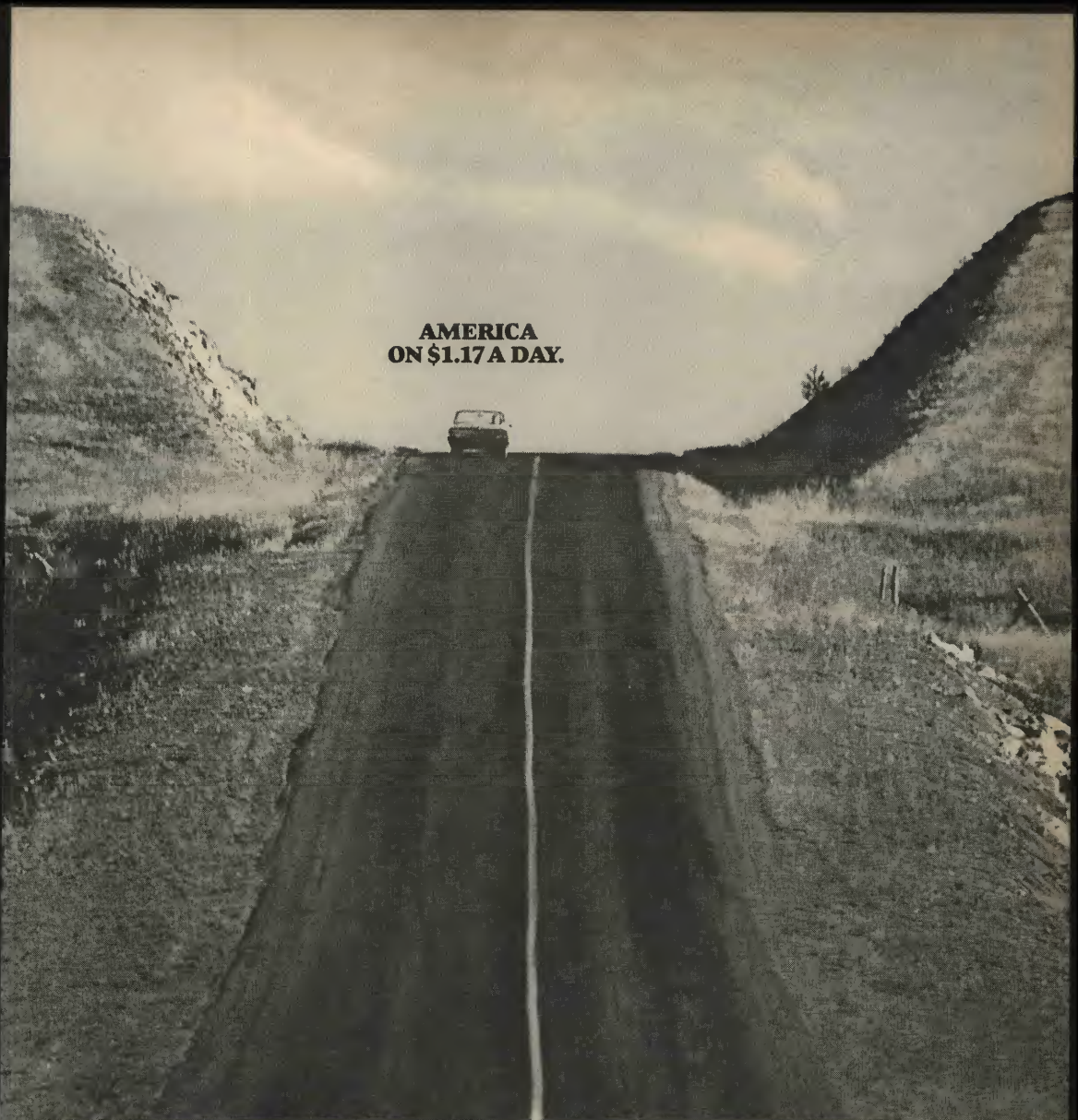
Free of the burden of running a daily news service, USIA could concentrate on producing films similar to its extremely well written and emotional film on Czechoslovakia, before and after the Russian invasion of 1968.

Free of its daily news operation, the Agency could redouble its efforts to bring foreign students, government leaders, and news media representatives to this country for a first hand look at American life styles.

At the present time, the exchange program has ground to a halt, due in large part to a lack of Congressional support, but, I suspect, also due to a lack of commitment on the part of USIA personnel to the importance of such a program.

Once USIA redefines its goals, restructures its programs, and invests in needed creative personnel, I believe it will pay back tremendous dividends in an improved American image abroad.

Until that time, the Agency will continue to spin its wheels, attempting to balance two differing objectives with a resulting drop in staff morale and effectiveness. ■



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AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL UNDERWRITERS

The JOURNAL's occasional correspondent offers some thoughts on commitments.

A Letter on THINGS

Dear Editor,

You have been kind enough to publish some of my Letters of Complaint these last several years. Now I am emboldened to write you a longer letter. Not about the oppressed lower classes of the Foreign Service, this time. Let the FS proletarians fight their own hopeless fight against the geometric expansion of Class Three and up.

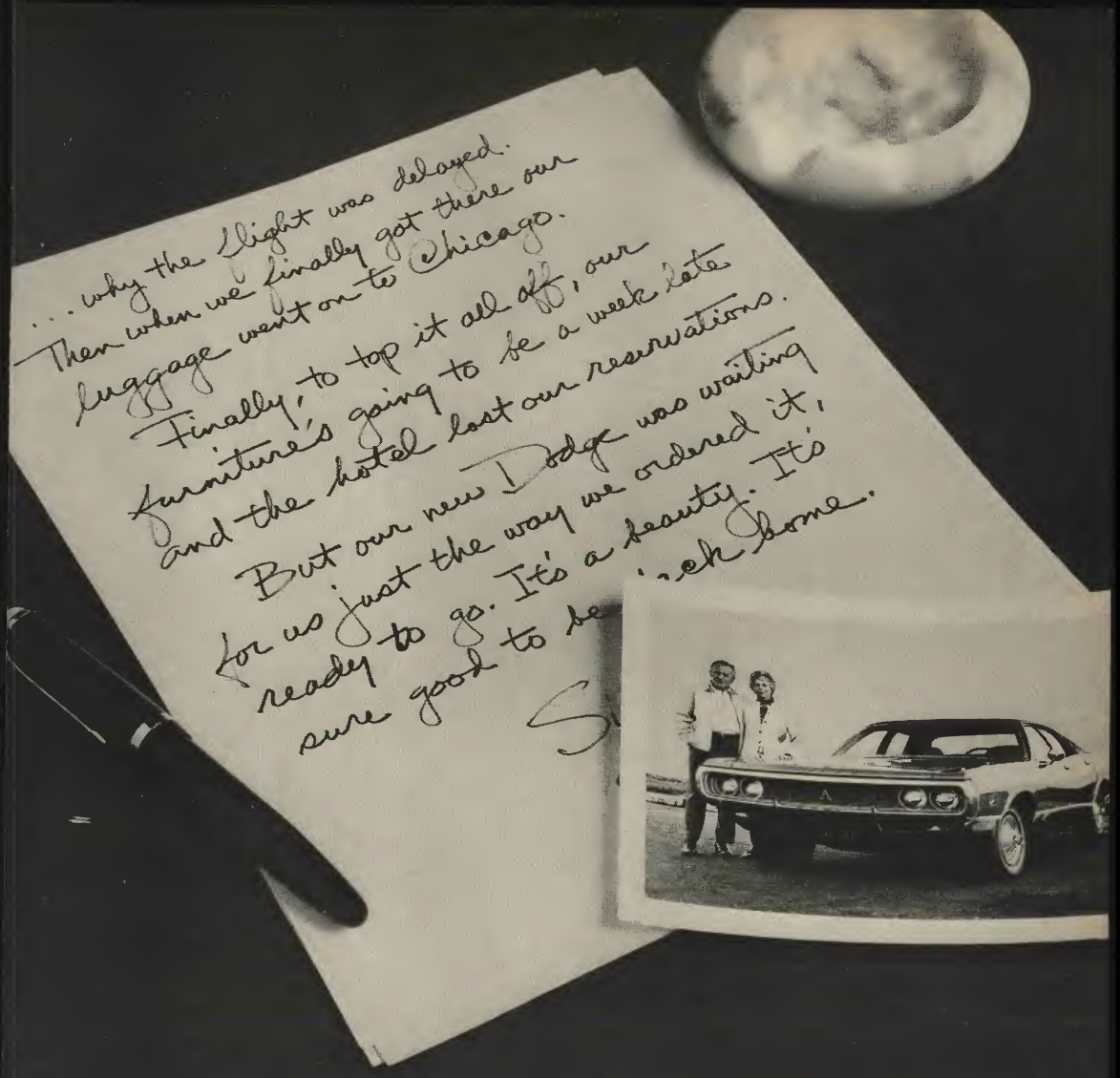
Today I wish to go off the deep end and talk about Things.

There is the Thing about past overcommitment and future isolation; and the Thing about missiles; and the Thing about the whole environment getting worse, but mostly smog and cities (which is quite enough). Well, us poetry readers know that Yeats forecast it all in "The Second Coming," and he published that in 1921—the rough beast slouching toward Bethlehem to be born. You can take him as meaning Hitler, of course, but Hitler's dead, and most of us Yeats-readers fear we're still waiting for the *big* rough beast today.

As I say, my theme is Things. Unless I am more mistaken than usual, the three Things I mentioned are, above our deepest American motivations, what most move our current emotions today when we think about the foreign world. For example: after Victnam must we not on every ground pull back? And as the city turns savage and the clear sky chemical—must we not devote our encrgy to saving our own souls—saving them from the threats inside the homeland? And if the Russians continue on their ugly military course, looking more and more like their Tsarist grandfathers but (unfortunately) not too much discomfited by either ideological or economic failures—do we not reach a certain point where, still maintaining a certain kill-ness, we leave it finally to them to perfcct the ultimate MIRV? And therefore, if they will, to use it?

The mind simply flees from confronting problems like ours. Our civilization is disturbed, we are afraid, we strike out in fcar—at our own children; but we are too powerful to strike out in fear as a whole society, else a cataclysm might strike us back.

Now, all this isn't very funny. I didn't mean it to be funny. I meant to go off the deep end; because you won't understand my feelings unless I try to rattle yours a bit. And since I am sure that, as a good American, your feelings are already rattled, let me go on. The basic question in my own mind—and one I confess that I'd like to answer Yes to—is whether wc



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ought to try to construct a foreign policy on a kind of remembrance of things past: on a search for the pre-missile age; for the pre-population crisis; for the pre-panem et circenses. But how would you build a policy on searching for the past, when people are so corrupted by the present that they can't even remember the feel of 1950?

Of course a basic foreign-policy question—not, of course, the *only* basic question—is that of the Russians. They preached to their people for forty years that we were the people to overtake and outstrip, and even though they've given up in the wheat and butter race they're forging ahead in the missile race—mainly because we have decided to let them do it. They are the basic problem for us because they are the only folk, other than ourselves, who can destroy us.

Life of course might have been much more beautiful for us if the Russians hadn't been what they have been. But they can't be wished away, dear Editor. Nor can they be bombed away without them gunning us down too before they hit the dust. We shall simply have to be rational people and continue to take the middle course: keep up a proper guard, but let them know that we're not going to attack.

The thing is, one wonders how much rationality there is in our society. We had so absolutely chosen to ignore the nuclear threat that it was only the prospect of building ABM sites next to pleasant suburbs that reminded our public again that the damned devices were pretty deadly. And God knows there is much less rationality in the other society, whose leaders seem to have gone back to Tartar times for moral inspiration. We must of course grant them the supreme fact that they have not made war on us; not as of now; and they must grant us the same. For the future, though, we will have to work very hard to keep things in balance—the Things that I mentioned. We must fight hard to save our air and water and green land; to enlighten—inspire, enrich, ennoble—all our people; and to cure that national neurosis which, having ruined the ego of the fathers, is embittering the sons. But at the same time it will be crucially important and difficult for us not to ignore what's abroad, neither the threats nor the responsibilities. I mean, we can't afford giant swings. Sure, we've got wounds inside us to heal. Yet if at this point we should go utterly domestic-minded, which a lot of people would like to see happen, it would be terrible abroad. It would mean that the poor nations would go under—or go Maoist; every sort of international ugliness would increase; and the chances of those utterly domestic silos in Dakota shooting off their ugly wads would only be increased.

You will recall that they recently made a little play, later a movie, called "Oh What A Lovely War." If we Americans are not fully thoughtful and dedicated now to the problems of the world—*and we are not*—we will make those 1914 fools look like saints.

Your friend,
BEN FOGGBOTHAM

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION
(Act of October 23, 1962: Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

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	Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 mos.	Single issue nearest to filing date
A. Total no. copies printed (net press run)	9,480	9,800
B. Paid Circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	110	40
2. Mail subscriptions	8,700	9,210
C. Total Paid Circulation	8,810	9,250
D. Free Distribution (including samples by mail, carrier or other means	420	420
E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)	9,230	9,670
F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	250	130
G. Total (Sum of E & F—should equal net press run shown in A)	9,480	9,800

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.
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RICHARD N. GARDNER

Richard N. Gardner is Professor of Law and International Organization at Columbia University. He served in the Kennedy Administration as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. He is the United States member of the Board of Trustees of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research. His books include "In Pursuit of World Order," "Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy," "Blueprint for Peace," *and* "The Global Partnership."

A slightly longer version of this paper was presented to the Soviet Academy of Sciences by Professor Richard N. Gardner, June, 1970.

Professor Gardner opened his remarks by talking about strengthening the United Nations as an instrument for peace and security.

I BELIEVE, in the words of the Soviet memorandum submitted to the UN General Assembly on September 26, 1969, that "the strengthening of international security requires a fresh collective effort, fresh initiatives, and fresh action." What are needed, of course, are not just rhetorical declarations by the General Assembly, but concrete actions by our two countries and others and specific steps to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations.

Concrete measures to strengthen international security will require a new approach by both our countries. Perhaps I can best summarize the approach I have in mind by recalling the following exchange of views which I had at the UN several years ago with a member of the Soviet delegation.

"You believe," I remarked to him, "that history will demonstrate the superiority of your system and that 'rotten reactionary regimes' will fall into Communism like so many ripe apples. Although we disagree with your view of history, we certainly do not contest your right to hold it. And if you wish to place some baskets under the tree to catch the apples when they fall, we can't object to that either. But don't shake the tree—and don't try to pluck the apples off it!"

To which my Russian friend made what I thought was a very fair reply: "Very well," he said, "we won't do those things, but don't you Americans go around pasting the apples up either!"

This exchange, it seems to me, highlights the central problem. We shall never have peace and security as long as some countries claim a right to assist revolutionary forces in other countries under the banner of "wars of national liberation," while other countries claim the right to aid established governments under the doctrine of individual or collective self-defense.

The world urgently needs a policy of non-interference in internal affairs of others, scrupulously observed by all states, large, middle, and small. This means that American power should never be used to prevent a people from choosing the government it wants—even if that is a Communist government. And Soviet power should never be used to prevent a people from choosing a government it wants—even if that is a non-Communist government.

In other words, we should both permit the political and social systems of other countries to develop under their own momentum, without outside interference. We should be prepared to accept history's verdict about the comparative merits of our two systems for other countries—and not try to "help history along."

You may ask at this point whether the United States is prepared to accept such a policy of mutual noninterference in the affairs of other countries. I believe the answer is yes. I would draw your attention in particular to the significant statement by Under Secretary of State Elliot Richardson before the Soviet-American Convocation in New York last month in which he called for a policy of reciprocal restraint by our two countries.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have recently experienced the perils of over-involvement in third areas. As you know very well, the American people are anxious to end the Vietnam war and avoid military intervention elsewhere. The current trend in American opinion in favor of disengagement offers a great opportunity to the Soviet Union—not an opportunity to alter the balance of power unilaterally at our expense, which would be a very risky and unwise policy, and certain to provoke an American reaction, but rather an opportunity to work with us for mutual disengagement and political settlements in our common interest.

If such a policy of mutual noninterference is to work, it will require a much stronger UN capability for peacekeeping and peacemaking. For in specific situations there will be factual disputes as to what the people of a country want and whether there is actually intervention from outside. There is no really satisfactory way to resolve such disputes except through an international agency which can patrol borders, supervise elections, and verify compliance with non-intervention norms.

UN peacekeeping efforts, while imperfect, have made practical contributions in the Middle East, Cyprus, the Congo, and Kashmir. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have a common interest in using the UN to contain local conflicts that might draw in both our countries and trigger a nuclear war.

If we are honest with ourselves, however, we have to admit that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union is presently doing what it should to strengthen the UN as a peacekeeping agency. Indeed, there is a widespread suspicion at the UN that the two superpowers want to keep the UN weak, so they can divide up the world between themselves without interference. But a two-power hegemony, based on spheres of influence, will not be acceptable to the rest of the world, nor does it serve the best interests of our two peoples.

What can our two countries do, in specific terms, to strengthen the UN's capacity for peacekeeping and peacemaking?

First, we can make better use of the peacekeeping machinery that already exists.

We should work together in the UN for a settlement of the Middle East conflict that will take account of the reasonable interests of all the countries in the area, and back such a settlement up with a UN force under a Security Council mandate so that the force could not be removed without the concurrence of all the Council's Permanent Members.

We should support the neutralization of South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia under UN guarantee, with a UN peacekeeping force to verify the cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of all foreign forces, the inviolability of borders and the carrying out of free elections. The Soviet Union, as Co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, could take a historic first step toward this end by reconvening the Geneva Conference machinery.

Second, we should take joint initiatives to strengthen the UN's peacekeeping machinery. Such initiatives should include a $100 million Peace Fund, with substantial contributions from both the US and the USSR, to liquidate the UN's deficit and provide a modest sum for future peacekeeping emergencies.

I note with interest that the letter of Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to U Thant of April 29, 1970 calls for "the increase in the role and efficiency of the Security Council as the organ upon which the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is conferred." In implementation of this point in your Foreign Minister's letter, let us now agree on guidelines for peacekeeping operations undertaken by the Security Council. These could provide for a committee of the Council consisting of the "Big Four" and troop supplying countries to advise the Secretary-General on the conduct of each peacekeeping operation, while preserving sufficient operational control in the Secretary-General to assure peacekeeping effectiveness. We should also agree that members of the Council should support financially those operations which the Council carries out consistently with these guidelines.

Third, we should develop new UN machinery for fact-finding and mediation.

There is a need for procedures for peaceful settlement that can provide a cooling-off period for the fever of controversy to subside, that can mobilize opinion behind a reasonable settlement and that can enable international agencies to take responsibility for outcomes for which the parties themselves cannot take full responsibility.

A new UN panel should be created of persons who could be drawn upon for fact-finding, mediation, and other kinds of assistance in dispute-settlement. Its members should be chosen at least in part by means other than nomination by national governments with a view to each individual's personal qualifications.

It would be unrealistic for the time being to expect UN members to agree in advance to accept the judgments of third parties in all cases in which they were involved. But it is not unreasonable to ask UN members to agree in advance to accept the *process* of fact-finding or conciliation, reserving the right to challenge the facts found or settlements recommended by members of the panel. This would be a modest, but important, step forward toward a more civilized world peacemaking system.

Fourth, we should initiate joint studies of more far-reaching measures to transform the UN into a more effective instrument of world order.

Such studies should begin on a non-official level with conferences and joint studies by scholars and scientists from the US and the USSR. The "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations," negotiated by our two countries in the Zorin-McCloy talks of 1961, contains the following paragraph:

"7. Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. During and after the implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament, there should be taken, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security, including the obligation of States to place at the disposal of the United Nations agreed manpower necessary for an international peace force to be equipped with agreed types of armaments. Arrangements for the use of this force should ensure that the United Nations can effectively deter or suppress any threat or use of arms in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

Since that paragraph was negotiated, there has been no serious or sustained discussion between Soviet and American citizens on what changes in the UN would be necessary to make substantial progress toward disarmament possible. Let us begin a serious dialogue on this subject as soon as possible.

Fifth, we should make the UN universal—with membership for Mainland China and Taiwan, the two Germanys, the two Koreas, and the two Vietnams.

I believe US public opinion is moving rapidly in favor of universality of UN membership, and that this will soon be reflected in our official policy. Our Soviet colleagues should not interpret US efforts to bring mainland China out of its isolation as an unfriendly act toward the Soviet Union. Rather, they should see it as a necessary measure for effective peacemaking on a global scale.

Agreement by the Permanent Members of the Security Council would be needed to secure the admission of East and West Germany, North and South Korea, and North and South Vietnam. But the seating of the People's Republic of China and Taiwan as successors to the membership of the Republic of China could be achieved by a vote of two-thirds of the General Assembly and by the procedural majority of nine in the Security Council, thus bypassing a possible veto by the Taiwan regime. Of course, the Security Council seat would be assigned to the People's Republic. The seating of all these regimes could be done in a way which did not prejudice the possibility of unification by peaceful means.

While it is true that the problems of the two Germanys, the two Koreas, the two Vietnams and the two Chinas are all different, a "package deal" on all of them would make it easier for many countries to swallow their opposition to the seating of one or more. Such a bold step would give the United Nations opportunities it now lacks for assisting peaceful settlements in Indochina and Korea, as well as elsewhere, would open new channels of communication between the two halves of these divided states, and would enhance the long-term potential of the organization for dealing with such global problems as development, population and environmental defense. New steps should also be taken to encourage Switzerland to seek membership, in recognition of the diplomatic as well as financial resources which the Swiss could make available.

If the twenty-fifth General Assembly is not prepared to seat these states immediately, it could at least appoint a committee to study how universality of membership might be achieved. The committee could provide an opportunity for the United States and the Soviet Union to reassess their positions. It could also recommend interim steps toward universality—the adherence of all states to multilateral conventions and invitations to all states to participate in such UN meetings as the 1972 Stockholm conference on the environment.

Sixth, we can work together to reduce the gap between voting power and real power in the United Nations.

One measure already under consideration would be to offer "mini-states" associate membership in the organization with the privilege of circulating documents and addressing meetings, but without the privilege of voting and the burden of paying a share of UN expenses. Hopefully some of the "ministates" already in the United Nations as well as those that are expected to apply for membership could be persuaded to accept this new status.

Even with such an arrangement, however, there would still be a great disparity between voting power and real responsibility for implementing UN decisions. This problem exists even in the Security Council where, despite the Charter stipulation that members be chosen with regard to their contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, six of the ten elected members currently pay the minimum .04 percent toward the expenses of the organization. The members might well consider some formula under which five of the ten elective seats could be reserved for ten middle powers (e.g. Japan, India, Italy, Brazil and the UAR), which would thus be guaranteed a place on the Council for two out of every four years.

In the General Assembly, where the disparity between voting power and real power is even greater, more use could be made of small committees (e.g. a Peacekeeping Finance Committee of 21) in which the large and middle powers would have a greater proportion of places than they have in the Assembly as a whole. To make such a committee system fully effective the Assembly would have to agree that resolutions

could be adopted only when they had been approved both by the small committee and the General Assembly—in effect a bicameral arrangement. More fundamental—and probably incapable of adoption in the short run—would be a system of dual voting (double majorities), under which certain kinds of resolutions would be considered adopted only when approved by the regular two-thirds majority including a majority of the large and middle powers.

It is frequently argued that no reforms along these lines will be possible, since they require the approval of the small countries which now have the voting majority. Certainly such reforms will not be easy. But they may not be impossible if the small nations can be convinced by our two countries that the reforms would result in a United Nations more effective on matters of interest to them—and that in the absence of such reforms the major powers will increasingly bypass the organization on matters of substance.

THE whole world has marveled at the heroic achievements of Soviet and American cosmonauts in outer space. As the two great space powers, it is natural that we should take the leadership in space cooperation. By cooperating under UN auspices, we can assure other countries that their interests will be fully protected, and we can encourage cooperation from other countries helpful to our space programs.

Our two countries, working with others, have already accomplished much by way of space cooperation in UN agencies. We have concluded the Outer Space Treaty banning weapons of mass destruction from outer space and prohibiting the appropriation of space and celestial bodies through claims of national sovereignty. We have developed the World Weather Watch, a global system for gathering, analyzing and disseminating weather information. We have agreed on the allocation of radio frequencies for space broadcasting. And we have drafted a treaty on the Rescue and Return of Astronauts. I believe we can take pride in these accomplishments, which have served the enlightened self-interest not only of our two countries but of all mankind.

But can we not go further still?

Let me recall to you the words of President Kennedy in his speech to the General Assembly of September 20, 1963:

> "In a field where the States and the Soviet Union have a special capacity—the field of space—there is room for new cooperation, for further joint efforts in the regulation and exploration of space. I include among these possibilities a joint expedition to the moon. . . . Why . . . should the United States and the Soviet Union, in preparing for such expeditions, become involved in immense duplications of research, construction and expenditure? Surely we should explore whether the scientists and astronauts of our two countries—indeed, of all of world—cannot work together in the conquest of space, sending some day in this decade to the moon not the representatives of a single nation but the representatives of all of our countries."

I am proud to have played a part in President Kennedy's decision to make that bold offer of cooperation. Unfortunately, he died a few weeks later and the idea died with him. Instead, for the better part of a decade, our two countries conducted wholly separate space programs, with a massive duplication of effort and a substantial waste of expenditure on both sides. Important opportunities for the enhancement of international cooperation were lost. But surely it is not too late to try a new approach in the phase of space exploration that is now opening before us.

A first step toward fuller cooperation could be the creation of a United Nations Space Institute. The Institute, which might be located in Geneva or Vienna, would be a center for the cooperative planning of space exploration in which all UN members could be invited to take part.

Scientists from the United States and the Soviet Union and other countries could work together on such subjects as the medical problems of manned space flight. They could recommend a set of common priorities for mankind in space and a specific timetable of space missions.

Instead of both the United States and the Soviet Union putting instruments on Mars and Venus, for example, we could divide up responsibility for instrumented landings on different planets. Each such space venture would be considered part of a total UN program and every opportunity would be found to let other countries participate in the preparation of the venture and in the sharing of the information derived from it.

The Soviet Union and the United States could also establish a United Nations Space Station, a true joint venture of mankind in what most authorities now agree is the most important space task of the next decade.

Joint ventures in space between our two countries have hitherto been regarded as impractical by many people. It has been said that the presence of your astronauts and scientists at our launching sites would give you access to our rocket technology and thus prejudice our national security—and vice versa.

But technology now offers a way around this problem. Both our countries have developed the art of rendezvous and docking in space. Both of us could launch elements of a space station that could be assembled in outer space. The equipment could be agreed on in advance to assure compatibility. The astronauts, drawn not only from the United States and the Soviet Union but from other UN members, could be trained together at the United Nations Space Institute.

When other UN members, for example, Japan and European coun-

tries, develop sufficient space capabilities, they could be invited to launch additional modules for the space station. In the meantime, their scientific abilities could be used to the full in designing and producing the equipment to be launched by the US and the USSR.

A UN Space Station could be an orbiting astronomical laboratory, gathering information about the solar system and the universe beyond. It could also be used for practical earth applications—for weather forecasting, observing ice and snow accumulations, mapping ocean currents, monitoring the environment, and locating mineral deposits. One day it might help patrol troubled borders and verify arms control agreements.

Such a cooperative space program could serve the enlightened self-interest of all. The sharing of the costs of space exploration and the adoption of a space timetable geared to scientific cooperation rather than political competition could save billions of dollars which our two countries could devote to pressing domestic needs. The non-space powers, including the less developed countries, could participate more fully in space exploration. Every country would have access to information gained from space activities, for example, the discovery of mineral deposits made possible by observation from a space station. Finally—and by no means least important—significant political benefits could be realized in closer US-Soviet cooperation and a stronger United Nations.

I recall that in the course of drafting the Declaration of Legal Principles governing outer space adopted by the General Assembly in 1963 the Soviet delegation introduced the concept that the cosmonauts of our two countries should be regarded as "envoys of mankind." They will not be true "envoys of mankind" as long as our two countries maintain separate and competitive programs. Let us find ways to make these brave men "envoys of mankind" in fact as well as in name as they pilot spacecraft orbited as a joint venture of all mankind under the auspices of the United Nations.

DEVELOPING the resources of the seabed could be a highly significant joint project. The Soviet Union and the United States have the largest coastlines in the world, and the largest portions of the relatively shallow submerged area abutting the world's coastlines known as the continental shelf. We are the world's two foremost naval powers and the two countries furthest advanced in submarine technology. We are the world's principal consumers of the oil, natural gas and hard minerals which technology is making increasingly expoitable in submarine areas.

There are two key questions about these seabed resources that need early and satisfactory answers: First, what should be the width of the continental shelf in which a coastal state has exclusive mineral rights? Second, what kind of regime should apply to areas beyond the jurisdiction of coastal states? The discussions in the United Nations have so far not produced a clear answer to these questions. Instead, there has been an unfortunate polarization of views.

At one extreme, there are some UN members who want national jurisdiction in the seabed narrowly limited and who want the UN itself to carry on exploitation in the seabed beyond national jurisdiction, with most of the profits from this activity going to the less developed countries.

At the other extreme, there are some members who want to extend national jurisdiction out to the seaward edge of the continental rise, and who oppose any kind of international regime over a part of the seabed which contains valuable resources.

The first view is clearly unrealistic. There is little in the experience of the UN that suggests that it could effectively discharge this kind of operating responsibility. The know-how and the technology for exploitation of the seabed is in the hands of private companies and governments, mainly in our two countries. If the riches of the seabed are ever to get above water, adequate incentives and security of investment will have to be given those who have the ability to do the job.

The second view is no less short-sighted. The United States and the Soviet Union have only a fraction of the world's geological continental shelf. As the world's principal resource consumers, we should not be seeking a solution that puts 80 percent of the continental shelf of the world (and a similar portion of the seabed up to the continental rise) under the exclusive jurisdiction of other countries. Nor should we expect that bilateral negotiations to operate on the continental shelves of other countries will be more manageable than dealings with an international authority. Moreover, it is only just that the technologically advanced nations and those states placed in the proximity of rich offshore resources by an accident of nature should agree to allocate a reasonable portion of the value of these resources for the development of the two-thirds of humanity that lives in backwardness and poverty. And it is only fitting that the Soviet Union and the United States, committed as we are to the idea that property should be employed with due regard to the community interest, should join in support of a solution of this kind.

The Soviet Union and the United States, as countries furthest advanced in seabed technology, are in a strong position to negotiate an international regime acceptable to themselves as well as other nations. A UN agency could be established to license operations by governments, public enterprises and private companies, in return for an appropriate royalty. The royalties could be channeled for world development through appropriate international agencies.

The UN agency could be established for the seabed with voting arrangements assuring an appropriate voice for all the different interests involved—the Soviet Union, the United States and other leaders in seabed technology, developed countries, less developed countries, coastal and non-coastal states and so on. The amount of the royalty could be fixed at a level that would provide adequate incentives for seabed production and a generous amount of new financial resources for the developing countries.

Such an international regime would be far superior in terms of our countries' enlightened self-interest to the scramble for resources inherent in the extension of national jurisdiction to the seaward edge of the continental rise. An international regime, for one thing, would provide safeguards against wildcatting and a system for the orderly registering of

claims and settling disputes. Most important of all, it would provide for international anti-pollution and conservation measures in a vast area of the seas that might otherwise be subject to unregulated or inadequately regulated national and private activity.

If an international regime can be worked out along these lines—and with Soviet and American leadership I believe it can—we could both accept a relatively narrow boundary for the continental shelf under national jurisdiction. To be specific, the limits of national jurisdiction could be set at 200 meters or a lateral distance of 50 miles from the shoreline, whichever is greater.

It is obvious that the width of the boundary is inseparably bound up with the nature of the international regime. What is less obvious, but probably true as a matter of practical politics, is that these questions are linked to the questions of the breadth of territorial waters and fishery rights. For example, certain Latin American countries less well endowed with seabed resources off their coasts than our two countries and concerned with rich off-coast fishery resources are not likely to make agreements in the one area without satisfaction in the other. To put it more broadly, these and other states will want to trade off acceptance of a 12-mile territorial sea boundary (which our two governments are apparently now both prepared to support) in return for some special recognition of their fishery interests beyond and some reasonable sharing in the benefits of seabed resource development.

For these reasons, there will probably have to be one international conference to deal with all these complex law of the sea questions, or at least two closely related conferences—one on the seabed and the other on the territorial seas and fisheries. The trade-offs are now too well and widely recognized to compartmentalize these questions. Of course, if one international conference is held, the different law of the sea questions could be discussed in separate commissions, but the final compromises could be made in inter-related negotiations at the senior political level.

The oceans, which cover some three-fourths of the surface of our planet, have received less popular attention than outer space, but their wise management is vital to the future of humanity. Let us seize the fleeting opportunity that now exists to protect and develop them through global cooperation.

PROTECTION of the human environment is a logical area for Soviet-American cooperation in the United Nations. Our two countries cover vast areas of the world, and we are the two most advanced countries of the world industrially and scientifically. Therefore we have special responsibilities and potentialities for leadership in preventing the destruction of man's natural environment.

Both our countries have become concerned with environmental problems within our borders. We are both coming to recognize, I believe, that the problems of pollution and environmental degradation are not problems unique to either market economies or socialist economies. They are the result of a single-minded pursuit of growth and material satisfactions without sufficient regard to the quality of life. We must both change our value systems so that clear air and water and open spaces have at least equal importance to steel production and GNP.

Of course, some measures to protect the environment can be taken by individual nations acting alone. But there are parts of the environment that do not belong entirely to any one nation—the atmosphere, the sea, lakes and rivers bounded by more than one nation, migratory animals—whose effective management requires international cooperation. Even the management of the environment within the confines of a single nation may benefit from the sharing of national experience.

Moreover, there is growing recognition that how a nation deals with its national environment is no longer its own exclusive concern. The political map of the world is divided into nation states, but the world is a single system from the point of view of ecology. Air, water and soil pollution in one country can quickly affect its neighbors. The progressive poisoning of the oceans and the atmosphere could make our entire planet uninhabitable. All mankind depends on the same scarce and relatively shrinking resource pool, and therefore has an interest in the wise husbanding of resources wherever they may be located. Moreover, nations concerned with their competitive position in international trade may be reluctant to accept the additional costs of anti-pollution measures unless their foreign competitors do the same.

For all these reasons, the international community will be increasingly involved in environmental issues—even those that have hitherto been regarded as "domestic." Indeed, the most powerful impetus to international cooperation may now come from the urgent necessity of new trans-national measures to protect the global environment.

Our countries have already cooperated on environmental problems in such agencies as the Economic Commission for Europe, the World Health Organization, UNESCO, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the International Maritime Consultative Organization. But opportunities for even closer cooperation will arise in two important meetings which lie ahead—the ECE Conference on the Environment in Prague in 1971 and the UN Conference on the Environment in Stockholm in 1972.

What specific measures of cooperation could our two countries propose at these meetings? Let me suggest some possibilities:

We could propose that the UN undertake a massive program to educate the world's people, particularly political leaders, on the problems of the environment; that it sponsor joint research efforts and studies; and that it finance the training of specialists to handle environmental problems.

We could propose that the UN organize a world-wide observation network, using satellites of the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as terrestrial devices, to monitor the world's environment on a continuing basis, and we could urge that the UN operate a service for the evaluation and dissemination of this information for all nations.

We could support the negotiation of international agreements providing for firm anti-pollution and other environmental commitments so that nations accepting their environmental responsibilities suffer no competi-

tive disadvantage in international trade.

We could insist that multilateral aid programs be carried forward with due regard for their environmental implications, and we could encourage the application of environmental safeguards in bilateral aid.

Finally, we could support the establishment of a UN Program for the World Heritage. Such a program would include scenic, historic and natural resources now in danger of destruction whose survival is a matter of concern to all mankind.

Obviously, each nation should be free to decide whether or not to nominate a property within its territory for inclusion in the Program. At the same time, the community of nations should be free to decide whether or not to accept it.

Countries whose resources were included in the Program would gain the advantage of international advice and financial aid in their development with consequent benefits to their economies as a whole. And the world community would be in a position to safeguard unique and irreplaceable resources. Venice, Angkor Wat, some of the great wildlife reserves of Africa—in which all mankind has a common interest.

I believe there is a particularly urgent need for Soviet-American cooperation in international research on environmental problems. For example, some scientists say that our planet will eventually be rendered uninhabitable by the increase in the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere. Others say that DDT and other wastes could seriously impair the oxygen-making function of the oceans. Just how serious are these problems and just what should we do about them? Can we find an acceptable substitute for DDT? Can we develop new technology which limits air and water pollution without stunting economic growth? Our two countries are the world leaders in science and technology. We have an opportunity—I would even say a duty—to take the lead in a global research program to find the answers to these questions.

Since environmental problems are global problems, it is only right that they should be dealt with in the United Nations. But the UN is not yet effectively organized for this purpose. With the existing UN pattern of functional specialization, there is a danger that ecological interrelationships will not be adequately considered. For example, FAO voted recently to continue use of DDT; but this question needs to be looked at by a group whose thinking is not mainly focused on agricultural productivity. Moreover, environmental questions need to be considered in the UN at a higher level of decision-making than is presently the case.

It would be useful if, in advance of the 1972 Stockholm Conference, our two governments could consult with one another on the organizational changes in the UN that are necessary to make it a really effective world authority for environmental defense. I do not wish to anticipate the outcome of such possible consultations, but I do wish to express the doubt that the proper solution lies in the creation of yet another specialized agency, which would only compound existing problems of coordination.

Instead, I believe we should seek a solution through the strengthening of the UN's central machinery for coordinating and directing the work of the existing agencies. For example, we might create a new expert Commission on Science and the Environment, composed of the world's most eminent scientists, to deal with environmental as well as other scientific problems. We might change the committee structure of the General Assembly so that a Committee on Science and the Environment replaces the largely inactive Special Political Committee. And we might create a strong new Secretariat unit under an Under Secretary or Assistant Secretary-General to support this new work.

I have no fixed views on these organizational details; what I do feel confident about is that our two countries should work for a strong organization at the center which can make a harmonious and effective environmental effort out of the present piecemeal and often competitive activities of the different UN agencies.

THE world population problem is supremely critical. The threat to man's future from unregulated population growth is now widely appreciated in both our countries. We have only to recall that it took hundreds of millions of years, from the beginning of life on earth until the beginning of this century, for world population to reach 1.5 billion, that this number doubled to 3 billion in the first 60 years of this century, and that it is likely to double again to 6 billion well before the end of this century. If present trends continue, world population will reach 12 billion by 2010, at which time many of our children and grandchildren will still be alive and probably cursing us for having allowed the population problem to reach such devastating proportions.

Population growth is a world problem, but it weighs particularly heavily on the prospects of the less developed countries. In many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the population is doubling every 20 or 30 years. The population of Latin America, which is about 250 million today, will reach 600 million by the year 2000. The figures for population growth in the principal countries of Asia between now and 2000 are even more frightening: India, 500 million to 1 billion; Indonesia 120 million to 280 million; China 800 million to at least 1.2 billion.

For many years neither the Soviet

nor the American governments were prepared to recognize this problem. In a General Assembly debate on population in 1962, President Kennedy authorized me to make the first statement of an American official offering US assistance in family planning to developing countries both bilaterally and through the UN. The Soviet representative in that debate expressed doubt that population growth was a serious problem or that UN action was appropriate. Since then, however, the Soviet Union has taken a more positive attitude toward international cooperation in this field.

To avoid any possible misunderstanding, let me emphasize that I am not an exponent of what you call the "neo-Malthusian fallacy"—that population control *by itself* is a solution for the problems of the developing countries. I fully agree with Professor Y. N. Guzevaty and other Soviet scholars whom I have read on this subject that population control is not a substitute for necessary changes in the political, economic and social structures of developing countries or for large transfers of capital and technical aid from the advanced countries. I do say, as he does, that without programs of family planning the efforts of most of the developing countries to raise their living standards significantly will be doomed to frustration. I also believe that, quite apart from its adverse effect on economic development, world population trends are dangerously overloading the natural environment, undermining the stability of the social order, and breeding tensions that will increasingly erupt into international as well as domestic violence.

I would go still further: I believe that the rate of population growth is now so great—and its consequences are now so grave—that ours is the last generation that has the opportunity to limit population growth on the basis of free choice. If we do not make voluntary family planning possible in this generation, we will make compulsory family planning inevitable in future generations. Surely that is an outcome we would all wish to avoid.

What can our two countries do about this urgent problem?

To begin with, we can take the question out of the area of ideological controversy and work together in the UN and elsewhere to emphasize the need for sound population policies on the part of all countries, regardless of their political or social systems. In particular we must explain to certain developing countries that the question is not simply the absolute size of their population in relation to their land area, but the *rate* of their population growth and the demands it imposes on their countries for more food, schools, housing, health facilities, and so on.

Second, we can accelerate family planning efforts in our own countries. It is true that the population problem is not exactly the same in the Soviet Union as in the United States, nor is it the same in either of our two countries as in the less developed countries. But access to modern methods of family planning is a good thing for Soviet and American women no less than it is for Asian, African and Latin American women. Moreover, we cannot be in the position of urging other countries to limit their populations while failing to follow this advice ourselves. A Soviet-American agreement to work toward zero population growth in our two countries by the end of this century could set an example for the world and make a historic contribution to the future of humanity.

Third, we can work together for a World Population Program under the auspices of the United Nations. The UN and its family of agencies are a logical place for increased efforts to deal with the population problem. The UN can help promote a broad consensus on the nature of the population problem and on what ought to be done about it. It can help countries share responsibility for taking controversial steps that may be opposed by certain domestic interests. It can help prevent family planning from becoming an international political issue, or a subject of disagreement between national or racial groups.

A World Population Program in the UN should be financed from voluntary contributions of at least $100 million a year. The fund could be used to stimulate research into improved contraceptive methods (our two countries could cooperate with particular benefit in this field). It could finance the training of medical and para-medical personnel and it could support other elements of effective family planning programs. The fund should be administered by a UN Commissioner for Population, who would be responsible for the implementation of population projects and represent the UN in dealings with governments and in international forums concerned with population.

THERE is time to mention only briefly one other area of global cooperation: aid and trade measures to help the less developed countries. Surely it would be in the interest of all humanity if our two countries, the greatest industrial powers in the world, could work together more effectively to accelerate the economic progress of the less developed countries.

It is true that our political objectives may differ in certain parts of the less developed world, but I believe we have a common long-term interest in the progress and stability of these areas. I realize that Soviet spokesmen have taken the position that the poverty and backwardness of the less developed countries result from colonialism and imperialism for which the Soviet Union bears no responsibility. But if this poverty and backwardness threatens your long-term interests—and if it offends your sense of social justice, as it must—then should you not do what you can to improve these conditions? And should not our two countries work together in this task so far as possible rather than squander scarce resources in politically motivated and wasteful forms of economic and military assistance? Would we not see more and better development if our aid were channeled in support of projects and programs worked out by impartial and professional international agencies?

If we are frank about it, I think we must admit that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union is yet doing what it should in aid to the less developed countries. Annual US aid and capital transfers have dropped to about one-third of one percent of our GNP. The annual Soviet aid effort, if my statistics are correct, is about one-tenth of one percent of your GNP. At the very

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The Irkutsk railroad station

"Yet there isn't a train I wouldn't take,
No matter where it's going."—Edna St. Vincent Millay

RUSSIA on Our Minds

FERDINAND AND DELIA KUHN

The authors collaborated on writing "Borderlands" in 1962 and jointly edited "Adventures in Public Service" the following year. Mr. Kuhn served as deputy director of OWI and chief of the British Division and as head of the International Information Service of the Department of State during World War II.

St. Louis POST-DISPATCH photos by David Gulick.

CROSSING Siberia by train for the first time is one of the last remaining adventures of the vanishing railroad age. For anyone who finds joy in riding the rails, it is an adventure for at least two reasons. The first is the length of the Trans-Siberian route: 5,786 miles from Moscow to the Sea of Japan. The second reason is that Siberia is one of the world's last frontiers (in the Frederick Jackson Turner sense) and it has been open only intermittently to Western tourists.

The Trans-Siberian Railroad runs along the southern edge of an immensity of forest and range and tundra stretching northward all the way to the Arctic. Even today there is no trans-Siberia highway, and only a few north-south roads fit for motor traffic. One can fly across, of course, seeing a lifeless surface below. The magic carpet that gives a newcomer the least trouble and the most delight is the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

Just as one sniffs the salt air long before sighting an ocean beach, so we sensed adventure even before meeting our train. The Irkutsk station, our starting point, is a monument in the turn-of-the-century tradition of railroading. Its soaring arches, its high-ceilinged waiting room, seem to dignify the traveler and assure him that he and his trip are important. The promptness of the train suggested, also, that we were too important to be kept waiting. It was due at 9:14 in the morning. At 9:10 a headlight blinked far down the track, to the northwest. At 9:14, not one minute more or less, the electric locomotive slid along the platform and brought the train to a stop without a jolt. It was on time although it had already spanned 3,124 miles, which is more than New York to San Francisco. To paraphrase our favorite gourmet, who says, "It's not just a good soup, it's a great soup," our Trans-Siberian express showed on that morning, and for the next three days, that it was not just a good train but a great train.

After such a long run, who could complain if it lacked the newly washed windows and shining paint work of other famous trains we have known? It had the manners if not the look of a patrician all the same. Below the roof of each car, wide letters spelled the train's name, Rossiya: The Russia. Instead of a printed destination card on the side of each car, there were shiny metal letters saying Moscow—Vladivostok. The names of those two cities, almost 6,000 miles apart, were a form of understated bragging. For they said, in effect: "This car is traveling the longest route of any daily scheduled train in the world."

When you board the Trans-Siberian train halfway along its route, it is something like joining a ship in the middle of a cruise. There is this difference: on the Trans-Siberian you never know in advance which compartment you will ride in, or, if there are two of you, whether you can travel together. All you know is the number of your car; ours was Car Six, which was like knowing that on a cruise you would be on "A" Deck.

Hurrying to Car Six as the train came to a stop, we found a small man in a white jacket standing there. He looked at our tickets, smiled so that the sides of his blue eyes crinkled, helped us aboard, and steered us to Compartment Three down the corridor. He was our "attendant," combined conductor, porter, and general adviser during the three days of our journey. Each day our admiration for him grew. Now he lugged our two heavy bags into the compartment and lifted them onto a high shelf over the door. To reach the shelf, he pulled a metal ladder out of the wall. It was on hinges and folded back when it was not in use. This is the device by which a passenger reaches his upper berth.

Our compartment had four bunks, two uppers and two lowers, with a short aisle between them leading to a window. The four-berth compartment was not only bigger and higher than the usual two-berth European version; it was peculiarly Russian in another way. Here, in one of the most prudish of all countries, women and men share the same sleeping compartment, with no sense of impropriety. We drew a lower berth and an upper. The other

lower already held a young Russian man with wavy hair, sleeping peacefully through the Irkutsk station stop. He wore gray flannel trousers and a knitted open-collared shirt, and his rough wool jacket hung on a hook over his head. The other upper was the bunk of a retired New Zealand farmer, on his way home at the end of a world tour; he spent most of his time aloft, immersed in sea and adventure stories such as "The Wreck of the Mary Deare."

We cased the Rossiya as one does an ocean liner. Before the train had rolled out of Irkutsk, we had inspected and studied our car. It was one of twelve, including a diner, which made up the train. The sleeping cars were either "hard" or "soft," depending mainly on the construction of the bunk. Ours was "soft," meaning that the bunks were upholstered with springs inside. They were covered with a blue plastic material. On each was a mattress, a pillow, and a bolster stuffed with cotton, as well as a heavy wool blanket; these were what an automobile dealer at home would call standard equipment. For an extra ruble—about a dollar—the attendant would supply the optional items: two sheets, a pillowcase and a towel, all clean but worn. Bright blue linoleum covered the walls of our compartment, a dark blue carpet the aisle between the bunks. Drapes of blue plush framed the window, and curtains of white muslin covered it.

The four of us shared a small table under the window. At times it held the paperback books, the bottle of vodka, the black bread and plastic cups we had brought along for the three-days' ride. Also on the table, a small brass lamp with an old-fashioned silk shade gave better light than the bulb on the ceiling.

The car's forty-eight passengers competed for two small washrooms with toilet and basin, one at each end of the car. Next to one of the washrooms a niche was assigned to our attendant as his living and eating space. It had room only for a single bunk and a shelf, on which stood a big tape player. This supplied the music that invaded all of the compartments during the day. After rummaging behind the drapes we found a switch that turned down the sound in our compartment until we could barely hear it. There was no way to turn it off completely, but by deadening it we at least struck a blow for human freedom.

A family in the "hard" or economy class on the Trans-Siberian Railroad

You would think that a train compartment without this nuisance would be ideal for reading, musing, or just looking out the window. But it was not. Soon after the train started, we discovered that the joints of the Siberian tracks are opposite each other instead of being staggered. They gave our train a bouncing motion. On a "soft" seat, with springs, we felt after a while that we were exercising on a trampoline. Besides, the window in our compartment (and most others on our train) was crusted with dirt. If we had had to depend on it, we would have seen Siberia through a perpetual smog.

Far better for whiling away the daylight hours was the corridor that ran along the side of the car. There at least one of the big windows was clean enough for a view. If the two folding seats in each corridor were not occupied, we could sit in reasonable comfort and watch Siberia roll by. Otherwise we could stand or walk up and down, as long as too many other riders did not have the same urge. A timetable in a glass frame between the windows gave us an easy way of checking whether the train was on time—easy, that is, if we remembered the time zones. All Soviet timetables, whether rail or air, are on Moscow time, although one crosses eight time zones between Moscow and Vladivostok.

We spent hours at the corridor windows. Riding eastward toward the Pacific, we faced north toward the forest, or taiga, that stretches for hundreds of miles; north toward the mines and hydroelectric stations and isolated towns; north toward the sites of prison camps, some abandoned, a few still in use; north toward the tundra, where the rivers pour into the icy sea. On the platforms of our car we could, for a change, stand at windows looking south, toward Mongolia and, later in the journey, toward Chinese Manchuria, although the actual frontier never came into sight.

The notion that eastern Siberia is mile after mile of monotony is one of those pieces of excess baggage the traveler should leave at home. No doubt if we had had to walk across, like the exiles of pre-railroad days, we would have found one mile like the next, or, as the Russians used to put it, one verst. (The verst is out of date now; Soviet Russians walk or ride in kilometers.) Yet we found no sameness. Each of our three full days was as distinct from the other, in the Siberian context, as the seven days of the Creation.

On the first day we passed through several kinds of country. Snow was driving almost horizontally across a landscape of pine, birch, and larch trees. This was Siberia as we had pictured it: a wilderness of tree trunks against the snow. The seventy-eight-mile stretch up a narrow river valley and through tunnels had been built in 1956 as a double-tracked shortcut to the southern shore of Lake Baikal. It replaced a badly engineered route that had twisted around the end of the lake.

The sight of Baikal brought the first change of scene on the first day's journey. From the corridor we no longer looked out on forests but at gray, whitecapped water. The snow stopped. Near the lake shore, about 140 miles from Irkutsk, the train changed engines. Normally this would not be a moment to remember on a train journey, but here it held some meaning. For at this point, about 3,260

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AFSA NEWS

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Status Report on Executive Order 11491

There have been several developments since October 21 when our circular letter, authorization form and "late news item" were mailed to members.

First, we explained to Deputy Under Secretary Macomber that the Board could not support his proposal that Foreign Service employees of the three agencies be excluded from coverage under Executive Order 11491, as long as rights comparable to those available to other Federal employees were not guaranteed to the men and women of Foreign Service in some other fashion.

We told the Department that we believed four points to be essential —a permanent institutionalized relationship, consultation, written agreements and right of appeal. The Department expressed its intention of guaranteeing broad rights of consultation and appeal to labor and professional organizations, but stopped short of the third necessary right: agreements in writing.

The Federal Labor Relations Council held open hearings on November 16, to consider the Department's request that the Foreign Service personnel of State, USIA and AID be excluded from the Order.

Testimony was heard from Mr. Macomber, the American Foreign Service Association, the Junior Foreign Service Officers' Club, the AFL-CIO affiliate AFGE's national president and its locals in USIA and State/AID.

In his written and oral statements, Mr. Macomber enlarged upon the points he had made in the special supplement to the October 1970 Department of State **Newsletter.** He emphasized the difficulty of applying the Executive Order to the unique personnel system of the Foreign Service, the special relationship of the Foreign Service to the President in national security matters, and the intention of the Department to improve "employee participation in the formulation and implementation of personnel policies and practices which affect the conditions of their employment." However, Mr. Macomber made clear his rejection of the concept of negotiated agreements.

The Junior Foreign Service Officers' Club and the several AFL-CIO representatives all argued forcefully that Foreign Service employees should be covered under the Executive Order like other Federal employees, with stress upon the point that service overseas and dealing with issues related to national security has nothing whatsoever to do with the responsibility of agency management to establish a modern and just relationship with employees of all grades.

AFSA made the following points:

". . . Historically, the Association has consulted only on sufferance and at the pleasure of agency officials. We have not had the right to present our views, or the right to represent our members' interests. And yet, foreign service personnel—who share a community of interest regardless of agency and grade—are uniquely in need of an organization that has the right to represent them. We are a highly mobile population in foreign affairs; we serve—under the personnel system established by our own special legislation —in isolated and unhealthy posts; in the best of circumstances, almost two-thirds of foreign service personnel are overseas and do not have satisfactory access to those in Washington who make decisions affecting either their individual lives or the future of the career itself.

"This difficulty of access is aggravated by a long tradition of decision-making which has been fundamentally opposed to meaningful participation by foreign service personnel in the formulation of personnel policies and programs. While there has been some improvement in this regard in the past year, nothing in our experience leads us to expect that it is a permanent improvement. On the contrary, the Association's Board of Directors has concluded that the rights of consultation, of appeal, of negotiated understandings, need to be institutionalized now.

"As a result, the Association's Board recommended to our membership on September 23 that the Association seek exclusive recognition under Executive Order 11491.

"We took this decision despite the fact that the Executive Order does not easily fit the Foreign Service.

"In the Civil Service context units are relatively small and static—yet the natural unit in foreign service is very large and very mobile.

"In the Civil Service context there is a relatively personal and direct form of supervision—yet the supervisory functions in foreign service are essentially collegial and geographically distant; indeed, we would argue that the effective attributes of real supervision do not extend below the equivalent of Assistant Secretary in Washington and Principal Officer and his deputy overseas.

"The Executive Order does not envisage a situation, such as that in foreign service, in which employees float between supervisory and non-supervisory positions regardless of their personal grade . . .

". . . The Department of State, acting for AID and USIA, has stated that it is willing to grant to employee organizations the rights of consultation and appeal if foreign service personnel are excepted from the Order. This constitutes half a step forward. In taking this half-step, indeed, the Department is recognizing that the employee-agency relationship now obtaining in foreign affairs needs to be improved.

"The three agencies argue, however, that the right to reach negotiated understandings is incompatible with our status as servants of the President . . .

". . . The Department argues its case on the grounds that to concede this right—and I quote—'could be detrimental to our national security.' Can the Department contend that it is safe to grant this right to our Civil Service colleagues with whom we work side-by-side, but that it is detrimental to the national security to grant us the same right?

". . . We are not here discussing the negotiation of agreements concerning foreign policies for the nation. We are talking about personnel policies and practices for people. Negotiated agreements regarding shipping allowances, air versus sea travel, housing at foreign stations, grievance procedures, and the like are not a threat to the national security. . . .

". . . It is our view that the nation requires high morale in a service which has properly been called the country's first line of defense. Our objective as an Association is to improve working conditions and institute personnel policies and programs that will ensure this country a foreign service second to none. It is a tenet of modern management theory that when employees have a sense of participation in the decisions affecting their working lives, the mission of the organization is more effectively accomplished.

"To summarize, Mr. Chairman:

"First, the Executive Order is technically difficult to apply to the foreign service.

"Second, the Department concedes the rights of consultation and appeal, but argues that the right to reach written understandings is inconsistent with our relationship to the President. We question the logic of this proposition and we trust the Council will, too.

"Third, the Association sees the full set of rights available under the Executive Order as important—increasingly important—to employees in foreign service . . .

". . . Fourth, and finally Mr. Chairman, it is vitally important that the Council be assured that any action it takes will not result in discrimination as between the Civil and Foreign Services on the basic rights of consultation, appeal and written understandings. We urge, at a minimum, that before you give further consideration to the Department's request, the Council require it to submit a draft Presidential directive which grants these three basic rights to the men and women in foreign service and the organizations—labor and professional—which represent them . . ."

A member of the Federal Labor Relations Council asked whether the Association would approve of excepting the Foreign Service from the Executive Order, if the foreign affairs agencies were in a position to guarantee all three essential employee rights comparable to those available under the Executive Order. Mr. Bray replied that he would then recommend to the AFSA Board of Directors that it reconsider its present firm decision to seek exclusive recognition under the Order and that it put such a proposition to the membership, and in fact, all the Foreign Service, for a vote.

We have no indication of what the Federal Labor Relations Council will recommend to the President on this question. Nor do we know whether the Department and the USIA leadership will clarify the nature of employee rights to be made available outside the Executive Order.

Meanwhile, the Board of Directors urges its members:

—to send in their signed authorization forms;

—to explain this important issue to non-members in the Foreign Service;

—to seek their signatures as well.

We now have about 2,000 signed authorizations. We would need over twice that many to file a petition for an executive recognition election if the Federal Labor Relations Council decides that the Executive Order continues to apply to the Foreign Service. The AFL-CIO will be prepared to move vigorously ahead. We believe it is in the interest of our membership and of the entire Foreign Service that AFSA be able to foreclose that effort.

One final point: We would like the present exercise to serve as a referendum of our members' views, although of course all would be able to cast their legal vote should an election under the Executive Order come to pass.

The signature authorization form distributed to Association members does not lend itself readily to an expression of negative reaction. The Board wishes to assure members that it does not intend to take definite action in this important matter without the clear support of the majority of those members taking a position on the issue. Members endorsing the Board's recommendation should send in their signed forms (and seek the signatures of colleagues). Members opposing the Board's recommendation are encouraged to record their position by rewording the ballot or by individual letter. All votes will be tallied and the results published.

Letters Pro and Con

I DO NOT believe that I have a special relationship with the President, any more than a second lieutenant in the Army does. The President does not write my performance report, nor assign me to some place such as Ouagadougou, nor select me out for inadequate performance.

What I do believe is that I am a professional in the foreign affairs business, and that this status has not been adequately recognized by the management of the Department of State. I want an organization to represent me which will have guaranteed access to management at all levels and which will have sufficient power to present my views and grievances as they arise. To say otherwise is to assume that the management will look after us all in its own good, paternalistic fashion.

Fellow Foreign Service officers: it is time to grow up and tell big daddy that we are going to have a say in determining our own future careers. Let us oppose the Department's effort to prevent us from having representation. Let us build a strong AFSA which will promote a really professional Foreign Service.

JOHN A. ANDEREGG

Washington

ALTHOUGH now being a retired FSO, I give my whole-hearted support to the officers of the Association in seeking exclusive recognition under E.O. 11491 to represent all foreign service personnel in State, AID, and USIA on terms no less advantageous to AFSA, its members and other constituents than those accorded other employee organizations.

I have said that I give my wholehearted support to our Association officers in seeking exclusive recognition to represent all foreign service personnel. Until just two or three years ago, I would have hesitated to do this. The Association was much too unconcerned or lackadaisical with respect to "bread and butter" issues. But in more recent times the Association has "gotten off its apathy" (to borrow a phrase from the current UGF drive) and has truly put such issues on the Board's "front burner."

Almost twenty years ago I participated in organizing the State Department Lodge of the American Federation of Government Employees and I was elected the first president of the newly formed lodge. (We tentatively called it the *Jefferson Lodge* pending

a check as to the location of any other AFGE lodges of that name). I actively took part in the formation of the lodge because at that time AFSA had no interest in energizing itself to deal with such mundane things as salaries, wages, working conditions, fringe benefits, etc., etc. As a State Department designee to many ILO meetings I had become quite conscious of these factors and I felt chagrined that no employee organization existed which would speak on these matters on behalf of thousands in the Department of State.

About a month or two after being elected president I was assigned to Rome and subsequently to other posts, and thus in due course I lost contact with the lodge. I am pleased that the lodge is now active again and I would hope that it could become as effective in representing departmental employees, as I desire that AFSA be effective in representing foreign service personnel. I would assume that there would be some overlapping areas of interest in which the two organizations could work together to their mutual benefit and to the benefit of all employees of the three foreign service agencies.

L. WENDELL HAYES

Washington

OBVIOUSLY the action proposed in your Circular of October 21, 1970 far exceeds the authority given to you or the Board in the By-Laws of the American Foreign Service Association. If you anticipated the need for such actions then, as the elected official of AFSA, you should have first requested the electorate for a change in the By-Laws. Instead you have assumed the authority of turning AFSA into a Union through your attempt to secure "exclusive recognition" of the Association.

I have been in retirement from the Foreign Service for 6½ years and, while I have disagreed on many things AFSA has been doing the last two or three years, I felt that the members on active service should determine future courses of action, but now as a member of the Association, even though retired, I can no longer sit by without a word and see a fine professional organization demoralized and disunited through the actions of a few to gain illegal authority and personal power. Leaving aside my abhorrence of and strong opposition to AFSA becoming a Union. I deeply resent the tactic of your ballot. It is not a ballot, it is merely a form for voting "yea" and no provision for those voting "nay," or perhaps you hope to have the "nays" drop AFSA membership. I can see no other reason for the idea of the four alternatives given to a voter. I have written in "not" on the ballot, but I assume this will find its way to the wastebasket because I did not follow the format. Were you fearful of receiving a majority vote of "nays" and through a tactic unworthy of you as Chairman of the Board hopeful of only receiving "yeas" to the extent of 30 percent of membership and using this as your authority to move ahead without further electorate consultation?

The Foreign Service Act of 1946 was not written by management alone, nor was it written by an organization having "exclusive recognition." It was written by a group of dedicated officers cooperating to the utmost with key officials of AFSA and working as a team with the Budget Bureau and with Congress. In fact, it really set the pace for other elements of the Government including AGFE. Our legislation has regularly been amended to increase the salary base, allowances, insurance, retirement and other elements for sound personnel management and without any demands of a union. It was done through close cooperation of all concerned and in the best interests of the Service and the individuals therein. Further, the AFSA report "Toward a Modern Diplomacy" was a positive document for the development of new cooperative relationships and while I did not agree with many parts of the report, I recognize it as a helpful base on which to build.

However, I now find very little but disunity created by this increasing negative activism instead of willingness to assume a more positive role befitting AFSA. You may be able to force consultation, but you cannot force decision except through a demonstrated understanding and willingness to cooperate. The Task Forces now at work are not limited to so-called "Management" but consist of officers and employees of all elements of the State Department including to a very large extent members of AFSA. I resent most deeply your assuming the right to present four topics of "non-negotiable demands" you allegedly verbally represented to the Board within the last ten days, namely *Consultation, Agreements, Resolution of Impasses* and *Institutional Framework*. Why didn't you use the same term in your written document instead of, "AFSA requires." . . . Do you plan to repudiate the work of your Task Force colleagues if the results don't coincide with your ideas?

I also resent the inferences to Mr. Macomber's lack of cooperativeness when you say, "He was vague on the nature of such consultations." From the documents I have seen, Mr. Macomber has shown a better spirit of cooperation with AFSA activists and has been more tolerant of your "demands" than I would endorse. It appears to me that you are deliberately attempting to create division in the ranks.

Don't misunderstand me. Throughout most of my career in the Foreign Service, I was doing battle with what you call the "management level" and rightly or wrongly tried to set forth ideas which I considered to be beneficial to the Service as a whole, but the debates were confined within the "family" and not publicly. Some ideas took hold, others did not. There remains much to be done and there always will be much to be done to improve all elements of Foreign Service management, but it cannot possibly be accomplished by attempting to divide the Service between union and management when colleagues are continuously serving on both sides at all times.

While I am sending a copy of this letter to the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, I am under no illusion that it will be printed. Therefore, I am distributing copies to a number of fellow retirees. However, I do plead with you to present a true and objective picture of what has been gained over the years through close cooperation of colleagues and what can be lost by the disunity you are creating. AFGE has been in existence far longer than my service which began four decades ago, but I have never in all of those years seen anything to create disunity, and I further question that even if AFSA changed its By-Laws and you secured your "exclusive recognition" that this could possibly apply to officers appointed ". . . with consent of the Senate." Continuation of the completely negative attitude of the AFSA Chairman of the Board presumably with the consent of the Board can lead only to a disruption of the present outstanding efforts of Deputy Under Secretary Macomber, Director General Burns and Deputy Director General Mace to bring about the best possible management of Foreign Service personnel activities. Through your negative efforts you are leading us back to Senator Fulbright's "Plowden" plan and his statement that, "the State Department is incapable of self-discipline." AFSA's small group of activists can be held strictly responsible for the damage created by their "non-negotiable" demands instead of cooperatively working with colleagues at all levels in rebuilding the profes-

sional esprit de corps of former years never before attained by any organization.

Yes, I will remain a member of AFSA, but will no longer remain silent just because I am an old retiree.

GLENN G. WOLFE

New York

I trust Mr. Macomber's straightforward message of October 21 on labor-management relations in the Department will signal the end of AFSA's meretricious pursuit of labor unionism.

In the event the Secretary of Labor should deny State's request for exemption of the Foreign Service from Executive Order 11491, however, I should like to comment on the current campaign of the AFSA Board to secure "exclusive recognition" for AFSA as a union.

AFSA's leaders have produced no evidence that their ability to exert a positive influence on Management would be diminished if AFSA remained a professional organization, or destroyed if the American Federation of Government Employees became the "exclusive bargaining agent" for employees of State and its satellite foreign affairs agencies. As the only professional organization of the Foreign Service, AFSA has only needed energetic officers to engage Management's attention. The last two "activist" Boards have included several such individuals, and they can take credit (or blame) for inspiring (or embarrassing) Management to undertake several worthy (or worthless) experiments, including the current overall review of the system.

The effort of certain members of AFSA's current Board to turn AFSA into a union suggests that what they may really want is greater authority to "force" actions by—rather than merely to influence—Management. Mr. Macomber is absolutely right in pointing out that this would be incompatible with our professional status and our relationship to the President.

According to Mr. Macomber, AFSA has notified the Department and the Department of Labor "of its intent to seek exclusive recognition. . . ." As a member of AFSA, I do not recall being polled on what would be a fundamental change in the nature of AFSA and require extensive revisions of AFSA's statutes. In fact, the current statutes prohibit AFSA from union-type activity. A number of us in Washington recently were invited to listen to the Board describe certain aspects of the "exclusive recognition" question, but that occasion hardly authorized the Board to notify the Department or the Department of Labor about anything.

The AFSA Board, and its immediate predecessor, have been brooding and dreaming about unionism for a long time. Last year there was an unsuccessful attempt to broaden the active membership of AFSA to include Civil Servants, ostensibly because as Associate Members our GS colleagues were being discriminated against somehow.

The real reason for seeking the membership change was never explained to us. It was that with a broadened membership AFSA would then be in a position to seek "exclusive recognition"—i.e., become a union.

Even if State's position that unionism and diplomacy are inherently incompatible is overruled, AFSA should not become the union. AFGE, with the support of thousands of other Federal employees could do the job better, and would be in a position to exert considerable pressure on Management. If some of AFSA's leaders lust after more personal power, they ought to join AFGE and take over its direction (now in the hands of fairly junior individuals).

More power to them, but not through AFSA.

EVERETT ELLIS BRIGGS

Washington

AAFSW Book Fair

The expanded five-day Book Fair exceeded the wildest dreams of its AAFSW sponsors this year when it netted over $18,000 for the FSA scholarship fund. With a slight increase over the number of books collected last year (45,000) the great increase in profits over the $13,000 netted last year was due largely to the extra two days of selling.

Other innovations included handsome and serviceable bookshelves designed and built by Visual Services division in State, which enabled twice as many books to be displayed as before.

Several firms in town donated valuable services and helped keep costs down. Foremost was the District Moving and Storage Company, which cheerfully transported 500 cartons of books from an uptown depot to the Department Exhibition Hall.

Nearly 300 persons work on the Book Fair each year, of whom nearly 100 work on the various committees throughout the year and the remainder during the Fair itself. All profits go to scholarships which are given in the name of the AAFSW and are open to children of all the foreign service agencies of the government: State, USIA, AID, ACDA and Peace Corps.

AFSA Open Meeting

At the open meeting of some 500 AFSA members called by the Board of Directors on November 4, Chairman Charles W. Bray III gave a report on the progress to date of the balloting for exclusive recognition under E.O. 11491. Donald Easum followed with further explanation of the procedure and a plea for members to vote and to solicit voting by non-AFSA members of the foreign affairs community. He also reported that AFSA had petitioned the Federal Labor Relations Council to be permitted to intervene in AFGE's request for exclusive recognition in five units in State and AID on the basis that the units were inappropriate within the terms of the Executive Order.

The meeting was then opened to questions from the floor. Many of the questions involved the request, submitted by the Department which also represented AID and USIA for this purpose, that foreign affairs personnel be exempted under Executive Order 11491 on the basis that the Order is incompatible with the unique relationship of the Foreign Service and the President and should be revised. The Board of Directors had discussed this with Mr. Macomber and had reported the presentation of a four-point requirement designed to give personnel of the services essentially the same rights they would have under the Order in the event the exclusion should become effective. It was reported that no agreement had been reached so far, and none seemed probable. The majority of those present indicated that they did not wish to have the Board hold further discussions on this phase, and, instead, it should vigorously protest the proposed exclusion and press heavily for recognition of AFSA as the exclusive bargaining agent under E.O. 11491. It was also the expressed desire of a majority of those present that if any alternative agreement was reached, the membership would be polled.

Fete de Noel

Bob Sivard's covers have appeared on many issues of the JOURNAL over the years, in black and white as well as color. He has been Art Director of USIA since December of 1966. A one-man exhibition of his paintings at the Midtown Gallery in New York closed late in November.

Notice: The Foreign Service Club will be open to all AFSA members effective December 1.

ROCKEFELLER AWARDS

Two officers in the foreign service community received the $10,000 tax-free Rockefeller Awards for 1970, given annually since 1960 in recognition of distinguished service to the United States Government and the American people. They are Dr. Ben Posner, Assistant Director (Administration), United States Information Agency (USIA); and Spurgeon M. Keeny, Jr., Assistant Director, Science and Technology, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). The awards were conceived and financed by John D. Rockefeller 3d.

Dr. Posner, 56, and the fifth ranking USIA officer, received his award in the field of Administration. His 33 years of Government service began as a typist and clerk in the Navy's Hydrographic Office. It continued at the National Labor Relations Board (interrupted by naval service as an enlisted man and officer) and the Economic Stabilization Agency.

In 1953, he joined State as a consultant in setting up USIA, and became its budget officer. He assumed his present position in 1964. He plays a major role in all Agency policy decisions as a member of the executive committee, personnel policy committee and other ad hoc groups. His special responsibility includes management, program and budget, finance, contracting, administrative service and emergency planning.

A native of Tucson, Dr. Posner received his doctorate from American University. He lives with his wife in Silver Spring, Maryland.

Mr. Keeny, 46, is one of the youngest ever to receive the award. His was in the field of Foreign Affairs or International Operations.

Before joining ACDA he served in the White House for 12 years as technical assistant to five presidential science advisors. He was also senior staff member of the National Security Council.

His 21-year Government career started in 1948 as an analyst in the Central Intelligence Agency. He was an officer and civilian in US Air Force intelligence. Later he served on the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, and in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering.

Mr. Keeny, at ACDA since 1969, heads the Bureau of Science and Technology. Its responsibility includes development of arms control proposals involving technical issues. His B.A. from Columbia University was earned in two years, his M.A. in physics two years later. He also studied at Columbia's School of International Affairs and Russian Institute.

Other award recipients, their agencies and the fields in which the awards were given are: Dr. Aaron M. Altschul, Department of Agriculture, (General Welfare and Resources); David L. Norman, Department of Justice, (Law, Legislation or Regulation); and Dr. Robert J. Huebener, National Institutes of health, (Science, Technology, or Engineering).

CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL RESEARCH AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Fifty scholars and government officials explored means of improving the contribution research can make to foreign policy-making in a conference held October 16-18 at Airlie House. The conference, sponsored jointly by the State Department, AFSA, and International Studies Association (ISA), grew out of an AFSA-ISA proposal to Secretary Rogers in 1969. It was one of the most important products to date of the efforts of AFSA and the Department to build improved communications with the academic community and other foreign affairs professional groups.

The central topics explored at the conference were the Department of State's present research program efforts; developments in the social sciences of particular relevance to the Department's interests and responsibilities; the problems of relating research to the decision-making process; and alternative arrangements for research collaboration among government officials, university scholars, and independent research institutes. Among themes touched on repeatedly were the contribution that the social sciences can make to consideration of current policy issues, particularly through newly-developed analytic techniques, and the need to provide operating officials a more thorough appreciation of the ways research can strengthen their ability to do their particular jobs.

The conference report and recommendations will be issued before the end of the year.

Marriages

LEWIS-SCHOEN. Mary Beth Lewis, daughter of Minister and Mrs. Verne B. Lewis, was married to John W. Schoen on September 6 in Tacoma, Washington.

YTURRALDE-PALMER. Patricia Ann Yturralde was married to Hunt Foster Palmer, son of FSO-retired George E. Palmer and grandson of CM-retired E. E. Palmer, on October 4 in Chula Vista, California.

Births

CECIL. A son, Thomas Clifford, born to FSO and Mrs. Charles O. Cecil on September 28 in Nairobi. The Cecils are stationed at the American Consulate, Zanzibar.

Deaths

BERZ. Lorant B. Berz, FSO-retired, died on June 15 in Austria. He is survived by his wife, Henriette, of 2603 Felixdorf, Bahnstrasse 61, Austria.

CHASE. Augustus Sabin Chase, FSO-retired, died on November 14, in Washington. Mr. Chase entered the Foreign Service in 1925 after winning the Purple Heart in World War I, graduating from Yale University and teaching for Yale in China. He became China language officer in Peking and then saw service in Berlin, Tsingtao, Mukden, Canton, Dairen, Shanghai, Harbin and Manila. When in the Department he worked mainly on China affairs, serving most recently as a research consultant from which work he retired in 1962. He is survived by his wife, Helga, of 1711 22nd Street, N.W., a daughter, Jessica (Mrs. David Taylor) of Boston, two sisters and a brother.

CREEL. Robert Calhoun Creel, a Senior Foreign Service Inspector, died on November 4, at San Jose, Costa Rica. After serving in the Army in World War II, Mr. Creel joined the Department of State with the Office of the Foreign Liquidation Commissioner. He entered the Foreign Service in 1947 and served in Bucharest, New Delhi, Berlin, Beirut, Vientiane and Munich. He is survived by his wife, Marianna, of 4828 Woodway Lane, N.W., two daughters Elizabeth Calhoun and Margaret Evans, and a brother.

Due to circumstances beyond our control, the American Foreign Service Association finds it impossible to publish the list of retired members this year. We hope to resume publication next year and regret the inconvenience to our members.

AFSA PROPOSES BROADENED COMMUNICATION

AFSA is moving ahead on a far-reaching proposal designed to build much-expanded communications between foreign service officers and the broader US community concerned with foreign affairs problems. The aim is to create lively working relationships with a number of private organizations which share some of our professional concerns. These relationships would be supported by a small permanent secretariat which would work with members of the various organizations in spurring a wide range of joint activities.

The need for greater contact between the foreign service and the broader American society has long been recognized. But two recent trends make the need even more urgent. One, oft-noted, is the fracturing of the post-war "consensus"; no longer can we assume that the main lines of our foreign policy have broad public support. The second is the movement away from a period when the most important international issues were handled between national governments, to a time of proliferation of relationships crossing national boundaries—between individuals, between multinational corporations based in the US and foreign citizens and governments, between related economic and professional groups. Both of these developments demand increased sensitivity on our part to the views and actions of many other Americans actively involved in foreign affairs matters. Both likewise increase the concern of those on the outside about government activities and policies.

AFSA's approach to meeting this need draws on our experience in the highly-productive relationship with the International Studies Association begun two years ago. Out of a joint AFSA/ISA Committee came proposals to Secretary Rogers for scholar-diplomat seminars, a foreign affairs research conference, increased Washington - campus exchanges, and a State Department Fellows program. The first two of these were accepted for immediate implementation.

The AFSA/ISA experience has highlighted both the benefits of collaboration among professionals and the need to reach out to other professional groups outside both the governmental and academic worlds. There is a special opportunity for dialogue with our professional counterparts to advance mutual understanding of some of the emerging issues of international relations: the impact of science and technology on the conduct of diplomacy; the newly important environmental questions; the effects of the continuing communications revolution; the need for active discussions with academic and other professional groups and youth representatives on the implications of a "low profile" approach to political-military questions. Not only are joint efforts necessary to understand these problems. Their resolution will increasingly require collaboration among those inside government and those on the outside.

The AFSA proposal in its present form contains two stages. The first would be an intensive, one-year effort to work with outside foreign affairs professionals in identifying 1) a limited number of dynamic, concerned organizations with whom we can productively work, and 2) a list of specific projects giving practical meaning to the openness concept. If Stage One were successful, it would be followed by establishing a central secretariat to promote and backstop a variety of common endeavors. Outside funding would be sought for both stages.

The AFSA Board has established a tentative steering committee under Erland Heginbotham's chairmanship to review and further develop the proposal. Members wishing to contribute ideas or time to this effort should contact Erland, or Mac Destler at AFSA.

Evan M. Wilson, former Minister and Consul General in Jerusalem, autographs a copy of his book, "Jerusalem, Key to Peace," for FSO Ben Woods at the AAFSW Book Fair.

AFSA COMMITTEE ON REFORM

The first stage of the Department's efforts at reform and modernization is complete. The thirteen Task Forces have submitted their reports to the Secretary. The second stage, specific proposals for implementation of the Task Forces' recommenadtions, is about to begin.

AFSA's initiative, starting with "Toward a Modern Diplomacy" in 1968, was the catalysis which produced the current reform movement. The Association, through its Committee on Career Principles, worked closely with the Task Forces in developing their proposals. Yet the job is only half done. As we move toward implementation of the Task Force reports, the Association must be able to consult frequently and candidly with the Department and present the views of its membership on the large number of complex and detailed changes which have been proposed. Indeed, the content of these measures and the way they are carried out will largely determine the ultimate success or failure of the Association's efforts during the last three years to produce a modern Foreign Affairs Community.

AFSA's Board of Directors has appointed a Committee on Reform to study and analyze in depth the Department's plans for implementing the recommendations of the Task Forces. The Committee, which will report its findings to the Board of Directors, also has the responsibility for insuring that the Department's specific plans for reform fairly and adequately meet the changing needs of the Foreign Affairs Community and its personnel. The Committee will act as a means of communication; and anyone wishing to present his views is urged to contact the Chairman, Thomas M. Tracy.

As this notice went to press the membership of the Committee was not complete. However, the Committee will be divided into three subcommittees.

1. Subcommittee on the Foreign Service Staff Corps and the FSRU Program.
2. Subcommittee on Management and Interagency Relations.
3. Subcommittee on Personnel.

AFSPA Health Plan Premiums For Individuals to Drop

Despite a total increase in premium rates for American Foreign Service Protective Association health insurance in 1971, those insured under the plan will pay less because of the increased government contribution. AFSA supported legislation in the Congress that resulted in the higher government contribution.

Under the new schedule, a self and family plan will cost $8.98 per pay period, a saving of $1.01 compared with 1970; self only will cost $3.30, a saving of 30¢. The government's increased contribution is calculated on a formula based on the average cost of insurance under the five largest government health insurance plans.

Income Tax Question and Answer Service

AFSA is pleased to announce that the Internal Revenue Service will undertake to answer a few questions each month, submitted by members.

It is emphasized that the answers should not be considered as rulings or binding on the IRS as to the individual taxpayer asking a question.

Members may submit their questions in an envelope marked "Tax Question." AFSA will forward these to the IRS. As soon as an answer is received, it will be published in the next issue of the AFSA NEWS. Probably not more than five or six questions and answers can be published, but all answers will be forwarded to the questioners by AFSA.

Above—the new look of the Foreign Service Club with its red, white and blue awnings.

MINUTES *continued from page 6*

They will meet with Mr. Macomber this afternoon regarding the Hall survey team and to express concern that no junior officer participated in the survey.

5. *Open Meeting:* Following the ISA/AFSA/State Department Research Conference at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia (October 16-17-18) an open meeting will be held at noon on Monday, October 19, in the Department of State, to inform the membership on conclusions reached by the conference and to follow up on recommendations made.

6. *Amendments:* The following have been appointed to the Amendments Committee: George Lambrakis, John L. Hirsch, and Theresa Healy.

7. *Staff Corps:* The Staff Corps Advisory Committee will meet at the Foreign Service Club tonight to discuss a draft letter to Mr. Macomber as a follow-up of Mr. Bray's letter on Staff Corps problems of August 19, 1970.

An AFSA welcome is planned for the new class of Staff Corps personnel at the Foreign Service Club on October 23rd. The reception will be attended by members of the AFSA Board.

8. *Members' Interests Committee:* Mr. Nevitt was requested to invite Mr. Herman J. Cohen to the Board meeting next week to report on the activities of the Members' Interests Committee of which he is Chairman.

9. *October 13 Board Meeting:* The AFSA Board will meet in Room 3519, Department of State on October 13, instead of in room 1105 as previously announced. The meeting is scheduled for 12 o'clock noon.

KEYMEN

Mr. Bray directed attention to the importance of picking up energetically on organizing the network of keymen in Washington.

Action:

Messrs. Nevitt, Lambrakis, Heginbotham to submit names, office addresses and telephone numbers of people in every bureau of the three agencies who are known to be interested and responsible to act as Keymen. Required action to be completed by October 20.

EXECUTIVE ORDER No. 11491 (Labor-Management Relations)

Drafts were distributed of material on the Executive Order: a covering letter to all members; the paper used as the basis of the analytical presentation by the Board at the business meeting on September 23; a summary of the problems with the recommendation that the Board be authorized to seek exclusive recognition for AFSA; and a ballot form to indicate support for the recommendation. Each member of the Board was given from ten to twenty copies to be distributed to members and non-members of the Association. It was pointed out that in order to avoid a skewed sample of opinion, reaction should be sought from those who are known to be opposed to the Board's position and contact should be as wide as possible with those whose reaction is unknown. An effort should be made to obtain a critical opinion on the paper itself to avoid omission or lack of clarity. When the returns from this "sample poll" are received, the total paper will be put in final form and sent to all members so that they may inform the Board of their views and desires.

Actions:

1. Ballots are to be returned to the Executive Director by 3 P.M., Friday, October 9.
2. *Coments* on the paper to be forwarded directly to Mr. Easum by 3 P.M. Friday, October 9.

On Tuesday, September 29, AFSA representatives conferred in the office of our legal counsel, Covington and Burling, with Mr. Clagett and Messrs. Ackerman and Singer, attorneys of the firm. Association members present were Messrs. Easum, Sandman, Harrop, Estes, and Miss Marian Nash of the Legal Committee. All aspects of the problems related to the Executive Order were explored, including the possibility of setting up an AFSA-affiliated, but totally independent, labor organization. An AFSA member made such a suggestion at the General Business Meeting on September 23. The Executive Director had already been exploring this matter, having ascertained that another professional organization was following this course. It was the conclusion of the legal advisers that it would be perfectly legal for AFSA to follow the same course if it wished.

AFSA will testify before the Federal Labor Relations Council on October 7, and will take the position that as a professional organization it has no rights under the new Executive Order. It will be requested that the Order be amended to provide that this and other professional associations be able to consult and negotiate with management as a matter of *right*.

It was reported that at least three Petitions to hold secret elections in units of State and AID, have already been filed by the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) as of last Monday. It is the Board's understanding of the regulation under the Order, that copies of these regulations should have been served on AFSA as an "interested party." It was agreed that the necessary legal steps should be taken to ensure that AFGE complies with all the requirements under the Order insofar as AFSA's interests are concerned.

Action:

The Executive Director to obtain legal advice regarding compliance with the Order for the protection of AFSA's interests, including the steps AFSA should take to intervene with regard to the AFGE Petitions if this should be necessary or desirable.

The Board expressed appreciation to Mr. Easum and to his secretary, Miss Louise Farnus, for their dedicated work in preparing the draft circular.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:30 p.m.

Minutes of the Meeting of October 13

All members of the Association were invited to this meeting. Mr. Bray welcomed those present, suggesting that each one bring a new person to the meeting next week. Mr. Achilles suggested that easels be set up at the entrances to the building on days when the Board meets, announcing time and place. Bulletin boards are located in the executive dining room and in the cafeteria and will carry similar notices.

MEMBERS' INTERESTS COMMITTEE

The Chairman introduced Mr. Herman J. Cohen, who reported on the activities of the Members' Interests Committee, of which he is Chairman. The Committee has endeavored to maintain AFSA's image as champion of employee rights on bread-and-butter issues. Inquiries and problems have been handled by the Committee itself rather than through referral to the Ombudsmen or Task Forces because in this way they could serve the AFSA membership more directly. Many more inquiries have been received lately and it is believed the members realize that the Committee is effective.

Mr. Cohen outlined issues which he feels are the most important ones to be undertaken by the Committee in the future. He said he believes the only way to reach a position whereby the Association will be consulted on budgeting and management is to apply for exclusive recognition under Executive Order No. 11491 (Labor-Management Relations). Although AFSA's relationship with management this year has been good, he suggested that the best possible relationship would be one of "controlled tension." Mr. Cohen also spoke of the importance of developing a separate channel for AFSA to the Congress, independent of positions taken by the Department of State. AFSA should develop its own image and be able to testify before appropriations and other committees, even on issues where there is no difference of opinion between AFSA and the Department of State. The increased transfer allowance which AFSA recommended (from $175—$800) may be an issue on which AFSA will not agree with the Department's position. If the new allowances are not strongly supported by the Department, Mr. Cohen felt that AFSA should go to Congress to testify and urge approval so that the Foreign Service would have the same benefits as the Civil Service in this matter. Other issues requiring attention relate to out-of-pocket expenses. Among those being studied are temporary duty, home leave, and travel and packing regulations. The Committee is working to simplify procedures which will not result in any greater cost to the Government than complicated procedures presently followed. Members are encouraged to voice grievances, some of which the Committee has resolved merely by directing management's attention to them. The new income tax laws are being studied to determine how changes in them will affect personnel in the foreign service and a check list of possible tax deductions may be prepared. A Committee member will examine the rules regarding moving costs paid by the government.

On behalf of the Board Mr. Bray thanked Mr. Cohen for his report and for the splendid service provided by the Members' Interests Committee.

STAFF CORPS

Miss Good described a memorandum to Chiefs of Mission and Principal Officers signed by Mr. Eliot as President of the Association on October 12, outlining avenues of approach to Staff Corps problems which have been analyzed by AFSA's Staff Corps Advisory Committee. The memorandum directs attention to the most frequently cited complaints and suggests measures to overcome them. Copies of the memorandum have been mailed to Mr. Macomber, Mr. Burns, Governor Dwinell (AID) and Mr. Lionel S. Mosley (USIA). A summary of the letter will be carried in the AFSA *News* for November.

OPENNESS

The President of the Association, Mr. Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., will make the opening address at the Research Conference to be held at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia, on October 16-17-18. The conference is sponsored jointly by the Department of State, AFSA, and the International Studies Association. The subject to be explored is "The Use of Research in Foreign Policy." Mr. Heginbotham introduced Mr. Irving M. Destler, who has recently been employed by the Association on a part-time, short-term basis, to backstop all activities related to the Openness Program (sources of funds, academic relations, etc.) Mr. Destler may be reached at the offices of the Association.

EXECUTIVE ORDER No. 11491 (Labor-Management Relations)

Messrs. Bray and Harrop discussed problems of the Executive Order with members of DACOR on Monday, October 12. The Board's recommendations and the material to be sent to the membership is being printed.

Mr. Ackerman, of Covington & Burling, has been consulted on proccdure to be followed in response to the petitions for exclusive recognition filed by the American Federation of Government Employees. Coordination will be the responsibility of Mr. Harrop.

Action:

Keymen in the Washington area to be invited to a meeting on the Executive Order.

REFORM PROGRAM

Mr. Eliot asked what the Association is doing to stimulate action on the recommendations made by the Task Forces several weeks ago. He suggested that the Career Principles Committee work on this and enlist others who are interested. It was proposed that AFSA invite Messrs. Macomber and Burns to an open meeting of the association at which some of the issues might be discussed. It was reported that Mr. Macomber is aware of the uneasiness and concern felt by many members of the foreign affairs community due to the lack of information on the reform program and the findings of the Hall Task Force. It is understood that in an effort to correct this he is completing a statement and expects to publish a report soon with specific recommendations for implementation.

Action:

Mr. Bray to contact Mr. Macomber and set up an open meeting on Reform.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Finance Committee*: Mr. Bradford, Secretary-Treasurer, announced that in view of the slow response to the membership campaign, which so far is about 25% below the estimated total membership, expenses for the current year must now be reduced to the level of actual income. The Executive Director will prepare a series of recommendations for Board Action next week.

2. *Women's Committee*: The *ad hoc* Committee to Improve the Status of Women in the Foreign Affairs Agencies will meet with other organizations on October 22 to consider whether to combine with other groups or to continue as a separate committee. AFSA has accepted their invitation to send a representative to the meeting.

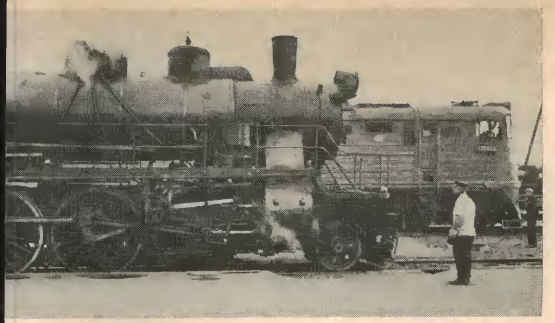
3. *AAFSW Book Fair*: Response has been poor to a memorandum sent on September 30 to Board members, officers of the Association and all committees of AFSA asking for volunteers to collect books and set up stalls for the forthcoming Book Fair of the Association of American Foreign Service Women. Those present were urged to offer their services to Mr. Harrison Holland, Chairman of the Men's Committee (Ext. 23242). A special request was made to the JFSOC representative to enlist the services of younger officers in this good cause.

BOARD REPLACEMENT

The Board met in Executive Session to receive nominations for the replacement of Mr. Richard T. Davies as a member of the Board of Directors. Mr. Thomas M. Tracy was unanimously elected. Mr. Tracy is in A/A, Room 7239A, Extension 28063.

Nominations were then made for a Vice Chairman in Mr. Davies' position. Mr. William Harrop was unanimously elected. Mr. Harrop has been a member of the AFSA Board since January, 1970.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:40 p.m.



As the Trans-Siberian heads East, it goes from diesel to steam power

RUSSIA *continued from page* 26

miles from Moscow, we changed from electricity to steam. Already the electrified portion of the line is the world's longest, yet the Kremlin is bent on electrifying it all the way to the Pacific. How soon it will achieve this goal depends on how high a priority it gives to the Trans-Siberian.

We had expected a diesel engine to haul us the rest of the way, since diesels outnumber electric locomotives on Soviet railroads by almost two to one. The old electric slipped off and away, the new engine was hitched on with the usual bumping and clanking, and the train started again. But the motion at starting was the series of jerks that recalled an earlier age of railroading. And when we looked out of the corridor window, low-hanging trails of steam and smoke blew past. To be pulled by steam treated two old-time passengers to an experience they thought they would never have again.

Why steam? More than two thirds of all Russia's 31,000 steam locomotives had been scrapped since 1960. We could only guess that diesels were needed for more urgent tasks than hauling passengers across Siberia. So, for the next two and a half days, we were to hear the oddly comforting sounds of a big steam engine. The penalty was soot that blew into our compartment onto the blankets and pillowcases, even though the window was closed. The reward was recapturing one of the joys of steam-train childhoods. The whistle was the wail we used to hear through the night across the American prairies. And when we caught our first sight of the engine, as it rounded a sharp curve ahead, we could see that ours was a monster of its kind. Two vertical slabs, to deflect smoke, had been built on the sides of the locomotive boiler. Otherwise it looked like a first cousin, if not a twin, of heavy-duty steam locomotives in our own country, something American children no longer see unless they visit a museum.

The walk to the Rossiya's dining car took us over five steeply arched bridges. They join the cars of the train together. You climb two steps uphill, run two steps downhill, as though you were crossing a bridge in a Japanese garden. The diner has a familiar old-fashioned look. No snack bar or vinyl-topped counters, but eighteen tables for four, dressed in white linen cloths. You can indeed buy things from the glass display counter at the end of the car: boxes of candy and biscuits, Bulgarian grape juice, apples when in season, Russian beer, and wines from Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Romania. Unlike European diners, there are on set mealtimes, no calls for lunch or dinner, no tickets for tables. From eight in the morning until eleven at night, the staff feeds a continuous stream of customers.

At lunchtime the tables were half empty. This puzzled us, but we soon caught onto the eating habits of the Rossiya's passengers. Foreigners like ourselves, with food coupons to spare and money already spent, trekked to the diner three times a day in a futile effort to consume all that the coupons provided. Most Russians stoke up on one hot meal a day. The rest of their eating and drinking —stress drinking—goes on in their compartments. Russians bring food and drink with them, and also buy them along the way at station stops. That very morning we had watched them at one station hurry off the train and across the platform to a food stall. It was stocked with chickens, sausages, and eggs, all cooked, as well as buns and apples. Behind the stalls stood three ancient women bundled up to their chins, their faces red, their hands blue with the cold. Between trains—there might be six a day—the women took refuge in a shed down the platform. Smoke rose from a pipe in the tin roof of the shed, and we guessed that they spent their spare hours inside, knitting and talking around the stove. Meanwhile, our first lunch in the diner was satisfying: hot cabbage soup, an omelet, black bread, and a glass of tea. It sustained us through a long afternoon of corridor watching.

As daylight faded on the first day of our Siberian crossing, Lake Baikal swung northward and out of sight. The steam locomotive pulled us eastward and then southward across rolling wheat and cattle country. This is the only large-scale farming area in the Trans-Baikal region, and the last one we would see for almost a thousand miles. Long white barns in the distance showed where the animals were sheltered during the fiercely cold winters. The average January temperature in this part of Trans-Baikalia is sixteen below zero, which is as cold as at Barrow, the northernmost settlement in Alaska. In October, the month we passed through, the average is just below freezing. Yet the country east of Baikal looked more like southern Minnesota than Alaska. We saw a bus bringing children home from school. Home appeared to be a collective farm of vast extent, with log houses strung along an unpaved road. Somehow the sight of the school bus was as reassuring as that of another ship at sea; for it meant that there really were children, and families, in this sparsely peopled land.

By five-thirty, we were giving some thought to the bottle of vodka cushioned in our hand luggage. But before we could do anything about it our attendant came down the corridor bringing two glasses of steaming tea with lemon. It was our first sample of this service and of his skill at brewing tea. Twice a day, at eight in the morning and five-thirty in the afternoon, he was to bring us fragrant tea at four kopeks (about five cents) a glass. Just outside his niche, at the end of the car, he kept a brass samovar boiling over a charcoal brazier. His spare charcoal he kept in a pail on the platform. At stations it was replenished from a cart that supplied the whole train.

The tea ritual that first afternoon caused all the compartment doors to open, and most of our four dozen companions emerged from their cocoons. The train's cast of characters was improbable and varied enough to have sprung from the brain of Alfred Hitchcock. Whoever

A village in Siberia with the train passing through

remembers his film *The Lady Vanishes* would not have discounted the possibility of a thriller. Hitchcock could have taken his time, this being the longest train trip in the world. We were already acquainted with the Russian engineer and the New Zealand farmer in our compartment. Now we met the neighbors on one side, a Japanese law professor, his pregnant young wife, and his son of about seven. On the other side were lodged three Russian army officers, with the son of one of them. The two boys, Japanese and Russian, now worked up a ball game in the corridor. In no time a small Russian girl attached herself to them. She and her mother, a startling blonde, shared a compartment with an Australian couple in the middle of the car. Before long, the blonde had attached herself to the best-looking of the army officers. He was a handsome fellow, though on the portly side.

Late in the afternoon, with much wailing of the locomotive, we passed more log houses and small warehouses on the approaches to a city. One puzzle was a dazzling sheet of light off to the side of the train, under light poles like those at baseball stadiums at home. The setting sun was reflecting in a glass cold frame at least a hundred feet long, under which the government grew vitamin-bearing vegetables during the long, dark winter. The tea party in the corridor was suddenly suspended as the train steamed into Ulan Ude, the capital of the Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Buryats are a partly Mongol, Mongolian-speaking people. They and their herds were roaming this region just north of Mongolia when the first Russian Cossacks came in the mid-seventeenth century. We saw two of their broad, slant-eyed faces, but only two, in the crowd of Russians on the station platform. Buryats are still a majority in the wooded hills and steppes of their so-called republic. But like the Kazakhs in Alma Ata, they are already outnumbered by Russians in their capital city. The chief reason is that the city is booming industrially. In czarist times, when its name was Verkhne Udinsk, it was noted only for having one of the best-kept prisons, and for its mud and backwardness. Now it is a factory town of about 175,000, with the biggest railroad equipment plant in Siberia. It is sure to grow, partly because of coal and iron ore in its hinterland.

Railroads as well as geography give the place added importance. For if our train had been bound for Ulan Bator, the capital of the Mongolian People's Republic, and on to Peking, this is where we would have branched off from the main Moscow-to-Vladivostok line. (A train was still running once a week on the Moscow-Mongolia-Peking route in 1970, in spite of the quarrel between the Soviet Union and China.) Our own train, still rolling eastward, by the next morning reached Chita, which is a second important junction. Until 1916 the train to Vladivostok had to branch off Russian territory near here and use the tracks of what was called the Chinese Eastern Railway, on Chinese soil. This shortcut was more popular with travelers than our all-Russian route that rounds the curving northern frontier of Manchuria instead of crossing it.

For most of our second morning on wheels we followed the partly wooded, partly cultivated valley of the Shilka River, a tributary of the Amur. We were to meet the Amur itself and cross it at Khabarovsk in the Soviet Far East.

At breakfast time, as the track twisted along the Shilka, the dining car began to fill up with Russians as well as foreigners. We chose for our first breakfast *kasha manle*, which is hot cream of wheat with fresh butter, followed by fried eggs and tea. A young Russian couple across the table were already halfway through their main meal of the day: meat stew, potatoes, and cabbage, all glistening with fat. Another Russian across the aisle was starting the day on sausages and buckwheat groats cooked in lard. They would probably come back in the late evening for beer or a glass of tea. The canned music served throughout the day was least bearable at the morning meal. The program seemed then to assume that passengers had sleepwalked into the dining car and needed to be shaken out of their comas. A baritone bellowed military songs with the aid of an army chorus. Lunch and supper music concentrated on Russian opera and sentimental ballads, which one could both bear and enjoy.

All morning the collective farms and occasional clusters of log houses grew poorer. On one hillside near the tracks we passed some gravestones overgrown with weeds. The crosses leaned at crazy angles as if nobody had taken care of them for years. Not far north of here the czars and their successor, Stalin, had run the infamous Kara mines, where thousands of prison workers died. By afternoon the train was headed northeast, beginning to round the Manchurian border. Nowhere along our entire route did we sense such isolation, such closeness to the wilderness. Mountains we saw in the distance, to the northwest, are not yet fully explored. For the villagers here, as for others

along the line, the railroad and the river are the only means of communication. We saw no roads; the rivers are their highways—by shallow-draft barges in summer, by sled or jeep along the ice in winter. Nothing, it seemed, had happened here to make life easier since the building of the railway—nothing, that is, except the coming of electricity for lighting and power.

Why would anyone have settled here? The answer is perhaps what lured Americans and Canadians to the frozen Klondike at the end of the nineteenth century. Gold drew free settlers to this part of Siberia even before the railroad made the journey easy. Some stayed, panning the rivers if not working in the mines further north, and doing enough backyard farming to keep their families fed. Once, in the gathering darkness, the train crossed a bridge near a string of lights in the river. The light came from a dredge which was anchored there, our first evidence that gold digging was going on. We were not far from Nerchinsk, just off the railroad, a place with two claims to be remembered in Siberian annals. It was, first, a kind of base camp of the gold-mining companies in the late nineteenth cetury. It was also the place where Russia and China signed a boundary treaty in 1689, the first treaty with "barbarians" ever made by the ruler of the Celestial Empire.

Towns and station stops were few on this stretch of the line. One advantage of the timetable on the corridor wall was to alert us to the chance of getting a breath of air and a run up and down the infrequent station platforms. For Russians, of course, it was the chance to buy food at the stalls across the platform. This was the busy time for our hard-working attendant. He was always first off the car, heaving baggage to the ground, helping passengers off, hustling new ones aboard and assigning them to the vacated bunks. Through this scramble, his face never lost its sweetness, sadness, or patience. In the remaining time before takeoff, if there was any, we found him polishing the metal Moscow-Vladivostok letters on the outside of the car. Once we humbly suggested that if he would be so kind as to clean the car windows instead of the letters, one might get a clearer view of the glorious Russian countryside. He merely shook his head and polished harder.

A stop along the way on the Trans-Siberian. The boy is carrying bottles of Russian "lemonade."

If he took first prize for charm, another member of the train crew surpassed everyone in self-importance. She was the Party Woman. In Hitchcockian terms, she was "The Lady Who Seldom Vanishes." Whether every Trans-Siberian train is equipped with an official of the Party, we do not know. But our Rossiya, with its international passenger load, did apparently rate one. Her ostensible job was to supervise all the linens on the train, a superior housekeeping responsibility. In dispensing and collecting bed linen, she had a chance to confer with the attendant on each car. In doling out table linens, she kept in touch with the dining car personnel. Thus she had to roam the train, keeping an eye on the passengers. At every major stop she left the train and disappeared into the station, presumably to file her report.

Hitchcock could not have done a better job of casting. She was big, blond, and bossy. She could also be sickly sweet, as when she detached two Russians from our table in the diner. She all but pulled them from their seats with, "I am sure you don't want these gentlemen to bother you." Her uniform was a starched white blouse and a dark blue skirt, a bit tight over the hips and conservatively below her knees. Her hair was always pressed into a wad on the exact top of her head. She had a splendid complexion. She radiated health, the kind that comes from doing calisthenics every time the official radio tells you to.

During a longish stop, perhaps fourteen minutes, the Lady vanished into the station, doubtless on Party business, and by a stroke of good fortune missed a scene in the dining car. It was a moment in which Hitchcock introduced one of the irrelevant bit parts at which he excels. We had just finished a meal and were about to take a walk on the station platform when a young Russian, a stranger to the train, boarded the dining car. With his tousled hair and his face of fun, he might have been Danny Kaye in a heavy quilted jacket. He found an empty seat and asked the waitress for a beer. She chose to flounce by and ignore him. He tried to waylay the other waitress, who did the same. The fourteen minutes of our stop began to ebb, and the man began to appeal to the waitresses for a beer.

Finally, he rose and put his case to the passengers. It was eloquent. "Why should I be treated in this way? All I ask for is a beer. Why should I be different from all of you? I am not a hooligan, just a thirsty human being. Believe me, I am sober. I have money. I don't ask for anything free. Is this justice?"

The crowd was with him. "Give him his beer," they urged the waitresses, who remained stony-faced. The train began to move and the young man dived for the platform. It was over. When he disappeared, the cause of social justice went with him. The passengers went back to their food and drink. The Party Woman would have expunged him, atomized him. We were glad she had been somewhere else.

(Continued in an early issue)

"Ours is probably the only organization in the world which discards its best people along with its worst."

What happened to the career Foreign Service?

MALCOLM CHURCHILL

Mr. Churchill entered the Foreign Service in 1961 and has served at Hong Kong, Manila and Djakarta. He was assigned to FSI for Indonesian language training in 1961 and for economics in 1968.

THE United States Government is needlessly wasting resources. If this doesn't bother you as a taxpayer, it should bother you as an FSO, since the Foreign Serivec is the resource being wasted!

"Up or out" has since 1967 become up *and* out. In 1967 reduced time-in-grade limitations were announced, and in mid-1968 the new system was put into effect. When combined with the already adopted principle of large intake and rapid promotion of junior officers, large-scale disruption of the career Forcign Service was inevitable. Statistical evidence of the impact is now available, although the full squeeze is still to come.

In ten years the Foreign Service has been reduced in size from about 2,600 officers to about 3,000. Actually, the drop has been even sharper, since it is concentrated in the last five years. There were 3,733 officers on July 1, 1965, and only 3,070 officers in August 1970.

During the ten year period, about 1,800 new officers were brought into the Service, both at the junior level and by lateral entry. The net intake appears to have been about 1,500, as resignations of junior officers appear to have included about 300 of the new entrants (the resignation rate for junior officers has tripled under the present system).

With 1,500 new officers and a reduction of 600 in the size of the Service, it has been necessary to eliminate 2,100 people. Six hundred and fifty officers reached age 60 during the ten years, and most have left the Service, either at age 60 by mandatory retirement or earlier by some other route. Another 200 departures appear to have been accounted for by resignations of junior officers (FSO-5 and below) from the group already in the Service ten years ago.

While retirement at age 60 or resignation as a junior officer may be considered a more-or-less voluntary exit, this leaves 1,250 departures which can for the most part not be so construed. A portion represents the selection out of junior officers; the remainder comes from that group of 2,750 officers who were in the Service ten years ago and neither reached age 60 nor resigned as junior officers. The latter group constitute the core group of mature, experienced FSOs who form the backbone of the Foreign Service and are in an age category where voluntary resignation or retirement would be unusual.

Figures on selection out are something less than crystal clear, but it appears from one set of figures that as many as 400 officers may have been selected out, or resigned under threat of selection out, from that group of 1,500 new officers (net) taken in during the past ten years.

If the number of new junior officers selected out is as large as 400, then the number of departures from the group in the Service ten years ago, less than age 60, and not resigning as junior officers could be as low as 850. But even 850 officers out of 2,750 is an attrition of nearly one out of three officers in ten years!

This state of affairs is not unexpected or unplanned. A 1966 personnel study projected the number of FSOs who would reach time in grade over a 5-8 year period under the old system and under thc new system then

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"the true poetry of life—the poetry of the commonplace" reaches out to a returning Foreign Service officer.

Commonplace Thoughts on Home Leave

JACK PERRY

Our author, a former newspaperman, came into the Foreign Service in 1959 and has served in the Department, Moscow, NATO, Paris and is now in the Department again. On his first tour in Washington, Mr. Perry was a member of the JOURNAL*'s Editorial Board.*

HOME leave is peculiar to diplomats. It is the coming home between stays abroad, the time of finding out that home is alien and the last Embassy is home. It is the time of recognizing that America has moved ahead and left you behind, even while you have moved ahead and left America behind. It is the seeing of the familiar through eyes grown foreign. It is the thrill of being back among kin and the shock of finding that old ties go slack. It is a suspension between rediscovery and rejection. Home leave is a floating.

ANYONE can have a vacation, you say to yourself, and you watch the tourists around Washington and tell yourself that you are merely a tourist in your own country. But this is a lie. They do not have alien eyes, they are not floating. They can go home again. You are desperately trying to be home and not making it. Home leave is the time you cannot get home.

I walked outside the State Department building into a summer heat haze and stared up at the cool windows with all their inhabitants trapped inside schedules and programs and commitments. What a wonder it would be if one of them could walk outside and shed his schedule like a snakeskin; but he cannot. He is being paid to wear a snakeskin, but I am on home leave. And even I, feeling uncommited, unscheduled, even unshackled, did not feel free. Floating, but not floating free.

I went down to the fountain by the Federal Reserve, where I used to slip away at lunchtime to be solitary and dream of joyous things, poems, trips, going to Bukhara. The sound of water falling on water was as good as ever, but I felt not so free as before. Not so ample and undefined. In the intervening years I had diminished not only in years left to live but in things I might do with those years. I had experienced joyous things, had taken trips, had seen good times. Now the potentialities were diminished by that much, the possible seemed less probable. I had already been to Bukhara.

HOME is the place where you worry about money. Washington is the ingathering homecoming place where middle class people return to the middle class. Overseas there are perquisites and allowances and servants and general services and all of that, but mostly it can all be subsumed under the heading: no worry about money. We are not rich, overseas, not even close to it; but like the rich, at least the rich of legend and envy, we are free overseas from having to fret about dollars. The alien currency is so quaint anyway, spending it seems unreal. Things can be bought on the spur of the moment. Larks are possible. It is a life of using money for what it was meant for, to buy things, not to worry about.

But in Washington the greenbacks are familiar and real, like the dollars of one's youth but worth inconceivably less; and those dollars demand to be spent not on larks but on necessities. You find your friends talking about money and soon you find you are too. Home is learning how to worry about money again.

IN France the smaller villages still have signs that say "Vagabonds may not camp here." These signs make me uneasy for as a diplomat, a vagabond of career, I feel sympathy for all those gypsies who cannot find a place to camp. Floating through home leave, I am constrained to recognize that we are all merely camping out. Some of us are in standardized government quarters; some in plush town houses; some within the housing allowance, most above it; some in palaces, some in suburbs; but all of us are merely camping out. That is what the Foreign Service is. We visited friends at one of the famous Foreign Service residences, a jewel of a mansion; but they were there only until the new Consul General arrived, and were hardly unpacked: just camping out.

We visited a Service friend at a splendid Washington apartment; but he vaguely felt he might go abroad again on short notice, and was living in the apartment from day to day only: just camping out. Even those with enviable Washington homes in a mowed and shaded suburb were, after all, only between foreign assignments and had about their homes a vague aura of temporariness: just camping out. After a career of this, retired diplomats probably keep trunks handy and are always emotionally prepared to move on. I can see the whole lot of us arriving in heaven after judgment day—if that could ever happen to diplomats—and collectively eying the heavenly mansions with the suspicious eye of the short-termer. We will still be camping out.

NOT only Americans have trouble finding home on home leave. An English diplomatic friend went home and spent what sounded like an idyllic month on a remote sheep farm in Wales. But he was disturbed—this was his first sojourn to Wales—to find anti-English slogans lettered up around the neighborhood, and to encounter in his rambles some local patriots who insisted on trying to make him speak Welsh. My English friend got that uncomfortable feeling, all too familiar to diplomats, that things were shifting out from under him.

DIPLOMACY is the apotheosis of dilettantism. It looks at life with highest regard for form, and history is an art rather than a sermon; moreover, there is more to consider than one can consider, and so amateurism is unavoidable. Those who think they can go beyond this and understand the infinite processes are, in the Tolstoyan sense, inviting the mockery of history.

At its height, diplomacy is the hourly brooding over of a universe of constantly shifting interrelationships and the formation of judgments about the emerging patterns. This is good hard work. But in its daily endeavor, diplomacy is doing more than is possible as well as possible; trying to read too much, to know too many people, to interpret too much, to consider too much, and trying to fit all this halfwayness into some coherent pattern. That is diplomacy, and thus we are all dilettantes. Home leave catches us up short. Cut off, unproductive, floating between a home that is alien and an alien home, the diplomat retreats from a feeling of irrelevance to a nostalgia for fading concepts. He erects an image of Foreign Policy as refuge—then realizes that for those around him in the streets, foreign policy is what you do when real work is finished. Home leave is a time of truth and unease.

GLAMOR, romance, joy. If we do not have time for them what is time for? Kenneth Grahame said, "Mankind's most precious possession is the wonder of the world." Home leave is a time not given to most professions, a time when a hand is clapped on the head and one is forced to gaze at the passing of life. Under this forced gaze, truths come out that the settled man, the non-diplomat, the dweller-in-one-place, might avoid throughout a lifetime. But this kind of gazing is not only disconcerting, it is devastating; we were probably not meant for it. We struggle until we succeed in averting our eyes.

Instead of becoming wise, therefore—which we might do if only we could keep from averting our eyes—we become sophisticated, and we become worldly-wise. Home leave is a good time for this kind of bittersweet wisdom, for by our very travel in the world we can see its illusions and deceptions. Being diplomats, we are always going inside new rooms, instead of standing back all our lives and looking through the windows. Emily Dickinson, who somehow could look at truth without blinking, wrote about standing outside windows and the folly of going in:

> . . . Nor was I hungry. So I found
> That hunger was a way
> Of persons outside windows
> The entering takes away.

The diplomat, both in going abroad and in coming home, makes the mistake of entering the room he should have looked at through the window.

DIPLOMATS are experts on cultural relativity. They know that sunrises look different depending on which side of the International Date Line you come at them from.

My favorite example is Helsinki, which can look like a rather charming provincial capital, or else like the Paradise of the Western World, depending on whether you come to it from Western Europe or from inside Russia. Or take a Howard Johnson motel. I have seen American diplomats, back from tours in an underdeveloped or unfriendly place, watching their children swim in a spotless pool while they watch baseball on color television and their wife bathes in a gleaming bathroom, greet Howard Johnson as a sturdy friend and fine host. I have seen other American diplomats—or the same ones a few years later—back from service in a venerable European capital, find Howard's service non-existent, his food inedible, and

his taste execrable. In our business, most things vary depending on where you are coming from going to.

DIPLOMATS are addicted to information. On home leave, the American diplomat, deprived of his massive daily intake of information, flounders and gasps and much resembles a drug addict deprived of his drug. Especially if he goes off into the hinterlands, out of reach of the NEW YORK TIMES, cut off from the more serious periodicals, having no Eastern Establishment types to converse with, he finds himself gasping. And he must take care. If he stays too long, he may begin to realize how much of his diplomatic personality is composed of those hot cables and profound Intelligence Community insights and secret sources. He may begin to notice that after a month away, talking to a bright young skeptic, his own conclusions begin to sound thin, not nearly so solid as when he discoursed so earnestly last month with the Rumanian chargé. He may begin to feel like a voice without a body. He may wonder if he feels anything to go with what he knows. He may recall George Kennan being asked why he did not write novels and replying that his whole training as a diplomat was to conceal feeling rather than to express it. He may begin to wonder what he is. Another peril of home leave. So we hurry back to our offices and devour stacks of cables and TIMES and instant knowledge, eager to become someone again.

COMING back to Washington is like coming back to a house and finding all the furniture changed, or coming back to a hometown and finding Main Street the same but all the old familiar people gone.

The streets in Washington change little, and if Foggy Bottom is renewed, still much is familiar, including stiff, sterile, glassy-eyed New State. In fact the trees and the grass of Washington are welcoming. But the friends are not there. They have gone. They just left for Caracas. They are in Rome, or Brussels, or left behind in Paris. Not here. Or those who are here will not be part of our lives as they were overseas. They will be busy, and no one entertains, and if you do you do not let your hair down, and anyway we are older and . . . and those who would say "to hell with that" and have fun anyway, they are working late, or just went overseas.

The Foreign Service is where you find out that there is nothing to anything except friends, but the friends are usually somewhere else.

THE diplomat is a professional alien. He tiptoes through life for fear of sinking too deeply someplace. He must be American enough to go up on the Hill and explain what the hell we are up to in Quixotia, but foreign enough to explain to a French Minister in Paris what the essential aims of our long-term policies—not prejudicial to French interests but based on a pooling of resources and returns—are in that same Quixotia. He is an interlocutor in the old-fashioned sense of the middle-man in the minstrel line who questions the men on the ends; and often he must feel as false as a man in blackface. The longer he stays home, the more American he gets, the more he can set aside the daily habit of looking through another man's eyes.

The shock is at the start of home leave, upon first arriving, when the eyes are still alien, and the country seems strange but it is yours.

THE other side of home leave is the recognition of independence. The diplomat comes home and finds his friends living in sumptuous homes with pressed lawns and driveways full of sculptured automobiles, knowing where all the country clubs are, occupying executive positions, drawing salaries to make Foreign Service people gasp, leading a tax-deducted social life, doing very well indeed. Those first few days, the diplomat feels like a rootless, wind-blown thing, maybe a tumbleweed, blown by chance into a forest of flourishing oaks. He feels bad.

Thank God, there is a statutory minimum for home leave. The diplomat stays on, and looks harder, and impressions change. He finds pretty soon, to his surprise, that his contemporary stay-at-homes envy him. Looking closer at his home town, he finds patterns he had overlooked—barriers, limitations, constrictions. He sees that his old friends do not have the privilege of moving every few years into a new environment, with new acquaintances, new opportunities, a new language, a new culture—maybe even, one may always hope, a new life. Or to put it another way, he sees that his friends are incapable of getting out of their old patterns, and his freedom becomes more real. And he feels good.

I became infatuated with Gandhi, the Great Soul, when I was young, and have never got him out of my system, including the idea that India, with its overcrowding and its poverty and its famished environment, may be the image of the future, not California as we knew it twenty or thirty years ago. Gandhi said, "The woes of Mahatmas are known to Mahatmas alone." I think that the woes of diplomats, even those who have not great souls, are known to diplomats alone. And perhaps for a root-losing, drifting, teeming, cosmopolitan world, where Heathrow looks pretty much like Dulles or Sheremetyevo or JFK, where a superhighway to Caracas looks pretty much like one to Rome or Pittsburgh, where a suburb is a suburb, a crowd a crowd, perhaps we uprooted cosmopolitan diplomats are the image of the future.

TO think about home leave without thinking about the technical impossibility of the thing is most difficult. I mean the moving around of a whole family without the means to do it comfortably, squeezing into places not big enough physically or spiritually, putting everyone out, feeling so homeless that the term home leave becomes a sour joke. But in this sense home leave is a microcosm of the diplomatic life, which on the surface cannot be done, or at least cannot be done without frequent disaster. Yet some people do it.

Home leave makes us aware of the high opportunity of the diplomatic life and the usually sad realization of it. Our friends envy us the opportunity, and we mourn how sadly we fall short. If both the chance and the missing of it are somehow grand, I suppose we had better not complain. ■

The Russian presence in the Mediterranean is not new, nor even news, having been felt there over 200 years ago.

Catherine the Great's Oriental Project

RICHARD B. PARKER

Mr. Parker entered the Foreign Service in 1948 and served at Sydney, Jerusalem, Beirut, Amman, Cairo and the Department. He spent a year at Princeton as a Woodrow Wilson fellow in 1964.

In these days of concern over the Soviet naval presence in the eastern Mediterranean, it is interesting to recall that the Russians first sent a fleet into that sea 200 years ago, in combat against the Ottoman Turks, and that they enjoyed naval supremacy there for four years. They even went so far as to occupy Beirut for four months, ninety years before the French made their 1860 landing, and almost two before the Americans made theirs.

This early instance of great power intervention in the Levant is scarcely remembered today, largely because the Russians did not exploit the occasion to establish a permanent presence in the area, and therefore left few scars. The episode was, nevertheless, evidence of a growing Russian interest in the eastern Mediterranean, an interest which has been manifested off and on ever since.

Too many parallels between then and now should not be drawn, but there are some intriguing similarities. Then, as now, the Russians exploited local discontents. Then, as now, they were not nearly as effective as they might have been. Then, as now, military assistance was the primary instrument of penetration. Then, as now, they were not too fastidious about the ideological credentials of those they supported.

At the same time, there are some even more striking differences between then and now. The most obvious is the great difference in scale and coordination between the Soviet effort and that of the Imperial Russians. There is also the apparent permanency of the Soviet presence today, as compared to the temporary and episodic character of the Czarist presence. The most important distinction, however, is that in contrast to the Czarists, the Soviets have carefully avoided, so far, the overt commitment of personnel to offensive operations. There were unconfirmed reports of Soviet pilots flying ground support missions on behalf of the Yemeni republicans in 1967, and the Soviets are participating actively in Egyptian anti-aircraft defenses, but so far there have been no Soviet troops taking part in military operations, irregular or otherwise, against Israel. This presumably reflects the inhibitions of a nuclear age more than concern for world opinion.

The story started in 1768 with the outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey. Catherine the Great attacked the Turks on all fronts, and, as part of her grand strategy, sent a fleet from the Baltic to the Eastern Mediterranean to engage the Turkish Navy. Half the Baltic fleet (seven ships of the line, one frigate, and seven smaller vessels) under the command of Admiral Spiridov left Kronstadt on August 6, 1769, and after numerous delays arrived at Vitulo, in the Peloponnesus, on March 1, 1770.

In the meantime, a second Mediterranean squadron was formed under Rear Admiral John Elphinston, a Royal Navy captain who had just joined the Russian service. Composed of three ships of the line, two frigates and three smaller vessels, it left Kronstadt on October 20, 1769 and arrived in Greek waters the following May.

After a series of minor engagements in and around the Peloponnesus, the combined squadrons, under Count Alexis Orlov, engaged and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Chesme, opposite Chios, on July 5. The Turks lost twelve ships of the line and six frigates plus 56 smaller craft and an enormous number of lives. Russian losses were some 660 men plus one battleship.

R. C. Anderson's "Naval Wars in the Levant," (Princeton, 1957) which is the source of much of my material on fleet activities, comments that "the destruction of the Turkish fleet gave the Russians absolute command of the sea as far as the Mediterranean was concerned. The history of the next four years was to provide a good illustration of the limitations of sea power without a corresponding military strength to complement its work." Indeed, one looks in vain for a conclusive agreement. The fleet saw a series of actions—blockades, minor battles, sieges and captures of towns, mostly in the Aegean, but the main fabric of Turkey, and its army, were untouched.

To compensate for their lack of land forces, the Russians supported the activities of local dissidents against Turkish rule. To this end, in May of 1772 they sent a detach-

ment of ten of their smaller ships under General Adjutant Georgio Rizo (one of a number of Greeks with the fleet) to Damietta, where he was to make contact and cooperate with Ali Bey al-Kebir, former governor of Egypt, who was then in rebellion against the Turks.

Ali Bey was a familiar Egyptian phenomenon—a mameluke, or slave soldier, who seized power for himself.[1] Born of Christian parents in the Caucasus, he was captured by brigands at an early age and eventually sold or given to the governor of Cairo. After his master's death, Ali consolidated his own position by one means or another and was made Shakyh al-Balad or commander of Cairo, in 1758. The Shaykh al-Balad was the actual ruler of Egypt, the Turkish governor being essentially a prisoner of the mamelukes.

Ali Bey's enjoyment of his office was erratic. He was forced to flee Egypt in 1761 and returned to power with Turkish assistance in 1763. The story was repeated in 1765 and Ali went into exile in Syria. While there, he established a friendship with Shaykh Zahir al-Umar, who was later to be his and Russia's ally and who was a remarkable personality in his own right. A Bedouin leader from the area of Safad in northern Palestine, Zahir had established a little princedom which stretched from Sidon in the north to Ramleh (near the present Tel Aviv) in the south. He defined the authority of Constantinople for over a quarter of a century and was still fighting vigorously at the age of 90-plus. (As evidence of Zahir's vigor, Francois Charles-Roux, in his *Les Echelles de Syrie et de Palestine (Paris* 1928) records that Zahir had an agreement with the Franciscan custodians of the Holy places that they would pay out 1,000 ecus to him for the expenses of each of his weddings. In order to get this sum, he married a young girl of 13 or 14 each year up until his last.)

Ali Bey returned to power in Egypt for the second time in 1766. Two years later, when Sultan Mustafa declared war on Russia, he sent a letter to Cairo ordering the levying of troops, Egypt being a feudatory province of Turkey. Ali began complying with the order, but his enemies wrote the Sultan that Ali was aetually raising troops for the Russians. When Ali learned of this, and heard that the Sultan was demanding his head as a result, he fomented a revolt and expelled the Turkish governor. He then got Zahir to thwart an attack on Egypt by the Pasha of Damascus, while he sent his own mameluke, Abu Dahab, to seize Mecca and Medina in 1770.

By this latter action Ali's revolt became irrevocable, and, in for a penny, in for a pound, he sent Abu Dahab off on an expedition against Syria in April 1771, while he himself entered into correspondence with the Russians, whose fleet was still in the Mediterranean. In about December of 1771 he sent a messenger to Count Orlov on the island of Paros with a request for aid, presumably against the Turks in Syria. Orlov had left for Livorno, but Spiridov forwarded the message to him and it eventually reached Catherine herself, who approved the Egyptian request. The result was the arrival, referred to above, of General Adjutant Rizo at Damietta in May 1772 with an unspecified quantity of military equipment for Ali.

Catherine the Great

The slowness of communications was such, however, that by the time Rizo arrived at Damietta, Ali had been forced out of power by his erstwhile mameluke, Abu Dahab. The latter had suddenly abandoned the conquest of Syria soon after it had begun, and returned to Eypt so quickly that the news of his return preceded him to Cairo by only three hours.

Abu Dahab's retreat has been ascribed to various causes: to the home-sickness of his troops, to resentment at Ali Bey's rumored connections with the infidel Russians, to a Turkish offer to put him in Ali Bey's place, and to bad blood between Ali and himself. It may have been some or all of these, but whatever the reason for his retreat some months after his return to Egypt Abu Dahab forced Ali to flee to Syria in April 1772. Thus, by the time the Russian ships under Rizo reached Damietta, Ali was no longer in Egypt. (I am indebted for such understanding as I have of this confused period to the unpublished Ph.D. thesis of John Livingstone, "Ali Bey al-Kebir and the Mameluke Resurgence," which is on file at the Firestone Library, Princeton University.)

We do not know what orders Rizo had. But he seems to have been given considerable latitude. On learning that Ali had gone, he sailed into Damietta harbor and attacked the Turkish shipping he found there, and then sailed for Haifa, where he picked up Ali on June 3. A few days later they were at Acre, Zahir's capital, where Rizo was received with honors, and where he and Ali had a council of war with Zahir. In addition to the forces commanded by Rizo and Zahir, Ali still had under his control some Egyptian troops sent to Syria in September of 1771. We do not know what Rizo, Ali and Zahir agreed on in terms of an alliance, but they obviously agreed on their immediate goals and lost little time in moving up the coast with their forces. The Russians destroyed a

[1] *In their famous correspondence, Voltaire and Catherine followed Ali Bey's progress closely and were given to extravagant little jokes about him. Voltaire usually referred to him as "mon cher Ali Bey," and Catherine wrote the following on January 12/23 1771: "Prenez plutôt monseigneur Ali-Bey d'Egypte, qui est tolérant, juste, affable, humain. Il est parfois un peu pillard; mais il faut passer quelques défauts à son prochain. Les lampes d'or de la Mecque l'ont tenté; eh bien! Il en saura faire un bon usage. Il en reviendra de la besogne à (Sultan) Moustapha gazi, qui ne sait faire ni la paix ni la guerre."*

Documents of Catherine the Great, *W. F. Reddaway, Cambridge, 1931—9.94*

Turkish merchantman off Tyre on June 8, and on June 10 they bombarded the Turks and their Druze allies, who were besieging Sidon, while Zahir and Ali attached the besiegers from the land. The battle was over quickly and the Turks, who outnumbered Zahir and Ali 30,000 to 7,000, were routed. The French Consul, M. de Taules, commented: "Deux heures après on se souvenaint à peine qu'il y eût eu une bataille, si ce qui se passa peut mériter ce nom."

Immediately after the victory at Sidon, the Russians sailed north to Beirut, which they began bombarding from the 18th of June, and where they landed a force which did not succeed in taking the town. The bombardment was continued until the 23rd, but Beirut remained in Turkish hands. The shore party was re-embarked and the squadron departed. In the meantime, Ali and Zahir moved south to Jaffa, which the Turks had taken (along with Ramleh) during the confusion of Ali's flight from Egypt. They beseiged the town but found the task more difficult than anticipated. According to Charles-Roux, Ali Bey thereupon sent another request for help to Orlov, and the latter responded by sending, in November 1772, a small force commanded by the Greek corsair, Panayotti, who bombarded the town as well as bringing supplies and munitions to Ali. The bombardment did not do the trick, and Jaffa was not taken until February of 1773, when the garrison was starved out.

After the fall of Jaffa, which completed the rebels' control of the Levant coast as far as Sidon, Ali began to plan his return to Egypt, for which he wanted Russian help. Although he was reportedly given promises of a Russian squadron which would take him to Damietta and provide troops and artillery for his advance on Cairo, it did not materialize. In April of 1773, led to believe that his return to Egypt, even without Russian assistance, would stimulate an overwhelming revolt against Abu Dahab, who was by then Shaykh al-Balad, Ali tried a comeback of his own. Leading a force of some 6,000 men, he reentered Egypt and was met in battle by Abu Dahab at Salihiyya (about 20 miles northwest of Ismailiyya), on May 1, 1773. Ali was defeated and taken prisoner. He died a week later, either of his wounds or of poisoning, and so ended the saga of Ali Bey, the Caucasian adventurer.

Following Ali Bey's death, Zahir, once he had some assurance that Abu Dahab was not planning an expedition against him, marched against Beirut, which was still held by the Turks. On this occasion, the Druze, who had formerly been allies of the Turks, were allied with Zahir. This was because of their anger at the blood-thirsty Bosnian governor of Beirut, al-Jazzar (the Butcher). Zahir and the Druze were joined in their assault on Beirut by another Russian squadron, and I cannot do better than extract from Charles-Roux's account of what happened:

"The Druze and the Safadis (of Zahir) invested the town by land. A force of eleven vessels, originally designated by Russia to carry Ali Bey to Egypt, blockaded the town by sea. This force was scarcely Russian except for its flag, if one judges by the fact that of a thousand men of the landing force, there were only twenty Russians, including the commandant. The motives which animated these pirates accorded with their condition: they wanted to take Beirut only to pillage it, and their principal fear was that Jazzar had escaped with his wealth (extorted from the town). But the Druze would not hear of destroying their city, and this disagreement almost spoiled their alliance with the corsairs. The latter undertook, nevertheless, not to sack the town, on condition that Zahir and Yusuf (Shihab, leader of the Druze) give them 600 purses. After the skin of the bear was thus divided, they thought about bringing him down. The Russians bombarded Beirut: this made a frightful noise and fire; Sidon, where the echo carried each report, trembled from it. Since Jazzar did not surrender, the Russians debarked their largest cannons and thus made a breach in the ramparts. They then invited the Druze to make the assault, but the invitation was not to the latter's taste. There was a quarrel for some time at the foot of the walls over who would have the honor to scale them, and finally the Russo-Greeks re-embarked their artillery while the Druze decamped.

"Jazzar profited by this disagreement. Having only his own fortune in mind, he cared little whether Beirut fell into the hands of the Russians or Druzes, or remained in those of the Turks. What he wanted was to preserve an army and the appearance of victory. Zahir, to whom both Russians and Druzes had appealed over the quarrels, thus saw arrive first an emissary from Jazzar and soon thereafter Jazzar himself. The honors of war were accorded the defender of Beirut and his troops, who were thenceforth under Zahir's orders and fought for him. 'Beirut is in the hands of the Russo-Greeks since the 18th of October,' wrote de Taulès. 'They have stationed there 300 Albanians until the 600 purses promised them for their services are fully paid.'

"They remained there until February 1774, and during that time the Muscovite flag floated above Beirut, the portrait of the Empress was raised over the principal gate, and passersby were required to pay reverence to it, horsemen being required to dismount. The Druze made a treaty of alliance with St. Petersburg, whither they sent an emissary with six beautiful horses for the Empress." Derek Hopwood in "The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine 1843-1914," reports that the Druze Emir, Yusuf Shihab, actually requested Russian citizenship, so great was his gratitude, but that the commandant of the Russian fleet refused the request.

The capture of Beirut, which took from July 6 to October 10, was the last regular action by the Russian fleet in the Levant, but the coast from Alexandretta to Jaffa continued to be plagued by privateers, mostly Greeks or Balkan Slavs flying the Russian flag until after the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (July 1774). As to Zahir, he got no further support from the Russians and was betrayed by just about everyone—the Druze, the Shia, his sons, and the governor of Sidon. He was finally shot in the back by a Moroccan mercenary while he was besieged

(*Continued on page 53*)

Japan—A Crisis Year

JAPAN: THE STORY OF A NATION, *by Edwin O. Reischauer. Knopf, $6.95.*

SEVERAL years ago the SATURDAY REVIEW said that if you could read only one book about Japan you should read Professor Reischauer's "The United States and Japan." This would now, I believe, be superseded by his present book which is a revision, brought completely up to date of his earlier work, "Japan: Past and Present." Dr. Reischauer in this latest work has done something which most scholars either cannot or will not do. The book has really covered the ground from pre-historic times to the Sato-Nixon agreement on the reversion of Okinawa and the results and significance of the last national elections in December 1969. The last book on Japan I read, also published in 1970 and written by a highly thought of scholar, made no mention of the Sato-Nixon agreement, the elections of 1969 or even the Nixon Guam doctrine of mid-1969.

Members of the Foreign Service going to Japan for the first time should be required to read, study and inwardly digest this comparatively short book which also contains an excellent bibliography for those who wish to pursue their studies furtber. Some may feel the author gives a bit too much space and consideration to the merits of the Japanese case against America but sharp criticism of Japanese bureaucrats, business leaders, intellectuals and students is by no means lacking. And I'm sure the State Department will see to it that the side of the Americans is not neglected.

While tbe last two chapters will be of most immediate interest to the American going for the first time to Japan and will help him to understand the thoughts and attitudes of the people among whom he is living and working, the earlier chapters should not be ignored. The reasons for much of what happens today often are found deep in past history. Dr. Reischauer emphasizes, correctly I believe, that Japan's traditional culture has survived the transition to a modern, industrialized society and he states this is one of her principal problems in the world of today. To understand what he means it is only necessary to read the early chapters of this book and learn how Japan's isolation and distinctive character came about.

The author writes at length of the crisis in Japanese-American relations and says:

> ". . . one of the dangers in the situation was that 100 million Japanese felt 1970 was a crisis year in the all-important relationship with the United States, while 200 million Americans seemed quite unaware of this."

Anyone who reads this book will no longer be unaware of the crisis and what it means for both countries and probably the peace of the world.

—JOHN M. ALLISON

Reminiscences of a Scientist

PIECES OF THE ACTION, *by Vannevar Bush. Morrow,* $0.00.

PIECES OF THE ACTION by Vannevar Bush is the personal record of a distinguished scientist and public servant — engineer, inventor, educator, Dean of MIT, Director of the World War II Office of Scientific Research and Development, President of the National Academy of Sciences, and principal scientific adviser to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman.

This informative, witty and highly individualistic work is neither autobiography nor memoirs, but rather a collection of reminiscences about a professional lifetime in science, technology and public service. The relation of technology to warfare, international relations and the problems of society receives special emphasis, and there are useful insights into the problem of getting the bureaucracy, both civilian and military, to accept innovation. Especially interesting are the chapters on the development of new weaponry in World War II and the vital part played not only by radar and the atomic bomb, but also by the proximity fuse—in blunting the German V-2 rocket threat—and by the amphibious DUKW.

More specialized are the chapters on invention, the patent process, and new civilian technology. Dr. Bush is a firm believer in the steam-powered automobile, particularly in its new light and efficient turbine-propulsion form. He is convinced both of the liberating potential of the computer (which he helped to invent) and of the impossibility of its yielding a product one whit less fallible than the mind of the programer.

Nor is the human element neglected. Here Dr. Bush gives free rein to his prejudices. He has an aversion bordering on mania to the ambitious free-wheeling tyro in any organization who steals the authority of his "boss" to push ideas of his own. He gets along best with scientists, industrialists and military men; not so well with lawyers and journalists. He admires Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, but reveals some distrust of Winston Churchill's judgment, particularly on technical matters. He has absolutely no comprehension of Europeans generally and General Charles de Gaulle in particular.

Indeed, Bush's observations on foreign affairs generally display the same limitations that he accuses politicians, admirals and diplomats of showing when forced to deal with technical matters. His is a classic case of C. P. Snow's two cultures, and a salutary warning that the shoemaker should stick to his last. But these are minor drawbacks in a fascinating set of recollections which every person interested in the impact of science and technology on recent history should read.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

Two on Russia and the World

UNDERSTANDING THE RUSSIANS: *A Citizen's Primer, by Foy D. Kohler. Harper & Row, $10.00.*
RUSSIA AND THE WORLD: *A Study of Soviet Foreign Policy, by Sir William Hayter. Taplinger, $4.95.*

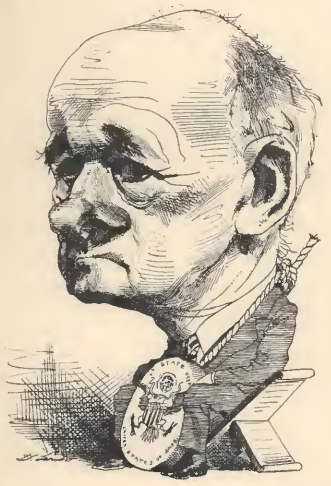
STUDENTS of Soviet foreign policy felt for years that there was a dearth of comprehensive, explanatory books on their field. In the last few years some excellent comprehensive works have begun to appear, but most of them—for example Adam Ulam's "Expansion and Coexistence"—have been meant mainly for the specialist. The dearth of helpful works for the non-specialist continued, but this is now being filled, and these two books are good examples. They can be well recommended to diplomats wanting a global view of Soviet policy, or to interested citizens desiring an understanding of Soviet foreign policy without examining its history in exhaustive detail.

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL readers will already have an idea of Ambassador Kohler's book because the introduction was published in the August issue. Those who read that, and anyone who ever worked with Ambas-

sador Kohler, will know before they read the book that it will be carefully done and easy to recommend. He subtitles it "a citizen's primer" by way of showing that he has not done an original work of scholarship, but the subtitle is too modest because the author has provided a review of Soviet affairs—and especially recent Soviet foreign affairs—that would repay perusal by anyone working in the field, in addition to the interested citizen looking for an introduction. The first part of the book is a survey of Soviet history. The second half, starting with a useful chapter on "instruments of Soviet power," goes into the major areas of post-war Soviet foreign policy, concentrating on American-Soviet relations.

Sir William Hayter was British Ambassador in Moscow, and he has given us what may be the most penetrating short (only 130 pages) survey of Soviet foreign policy that we have. Every word seems to have been carefully weighed, and each element of Soviet policy seems to have been given the right part in the overall balance. His description of Soviet theory (in only eight pages) is masterly, and his summation of Soviet practice equally so. In a most provocative concluding chapter, he describes the Soviet bureaucracy as *"inepte à tout, excepté à la conquête du monde"* (citing de Custine on this as on several other subjects—Ambassador Kohler does the same), and discusses the chances of whether the Soviet Union will change importantly or not. This is a brief but very well thought-out book, and together with Ambassador Kohler's it will give any reader a good insight into Soviet foreign policy.

—JACK PERRY



Limned in Acid

NO KNOWN SURVIVORS: *David Levine's Political Plank, Introduced and Selected by John Kenneth Galbraith. Gambit Inc., $7.95.*

THE dust jacket on this latest collection of David Levine's works bills them as political cartoons, which they are, but I think they should more aptly be called caricatures from the pen of one of the most sought after, skilled (and copied) caricaturists in the art. The political bite in Levine's work is mordant. At the same time the likenesses, if that is a proper description, usually are uproariously funny.

The drawings of John Kenneth Galbraith, James J. Byrnes, and George W. Ball are from "No Known Survivors," published by Gambit, Incorporated © 1970 by David Levine.

In 194 pages, with some carrying more than one piece of work, Levine covers the leading characters on the American political scene from Joseph McCarthy to President Nixon; those on the Continent and in England receive generous but less complete treatment.

In a brief and cogent introduction, Galbraith said, "I have a suggestion about this book. It is not one to be leafed through. . . . This is a book of pictures that is meant to be read." He's right.

—DONALD DRESDEN

"Men-over-weapons" in China

THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY, *by Samuel B. Griffith II, McGraw-Hill, $10.95.*

BOTH as an academic student of Chinese history and as a US Marine long stationed in China, General Griffith is exceptionally well qualified to write an authoritative history of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA). It would be hard to overstate the excellence, timeliness and interest of this work.

In the first part of his book, he sketches the growth and operations of the PLA from its birth in the Nanch'ang uprising of August 1, 1927, to the end of the dynamic phase of the Korean War. In the second part, he deals with the PLA's current state and seeks to assess "China's capabilities to project a developing military power beyond her borders." His discussion of Chinese military affairs is within the broad context of the Chinese Communist Revolution, for military and political developments are inextricably related. As Mao Tse-tung has said: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The Chinese military establishment operates from a limited defense-industry base, possesses few strategic options, and faces hard choices; this situation should not, however, be expected to continue for the indefinite future. "Any assessment of Chinese military capabilities . . . must take into account the fact that the Communist Party of China is imbued with a martial spirit and driven by international revolutionary ambitions." An important, unpredictable variable in the Chinese military equation is the Maoist guerrilla concept of "men-over-weapons," the faith that sheer willpower and ideological correctness can overcome formidable objective difficulties.

While the US, USSR and other countries distant from China may not feel immediately threatened by China's military capabilities, "to her weaker Asian neighbors—not excluding Japan—she is something more than a 'bean-curd' tiger." In the foreseeable future, given her power position vis-a-vis the US and the USSR, China's language will continue to be provocative but "her actions will be dictated by a prudent appreciation of her vulnerability."

General Griffith agrees that we must learn to live with a militant, totalitarian China. "But it is equally true that China must learn to live with us and the world community. At the present time she shows slight indication of wishing to do either."

—ROBERT W. RIDEN

Managing the Media

POLITICS AND THE PRESS, *edited by Richard W. Lee. Acropolis Books, $6.95.*

IT is now nearly ten years since President Kennedy began to be castigated for "managing the news" and his Pentagon spokesman was defending the right of the Government to lie to the public in the interests of national security. At that time Richard Rovere made the point that complaints against the Administration often came from those, especially Congressmen, who were thereby frustrated in trying to manage the news themselves for their own ends.

Now Spiro Agnew has added a new dimension to the debate, and the "Distinguished Journalism Lecture Series" of the University of Maryland has produced in this new volume a symposium whose contributors agree that neutrality and detachment are no longer possible in political journalism. Such eminent practitioners as Herbert Klein, David Broder, and William Rasperry provide the reader with new anecdotes to spice up the already hot debate. "Politics and the Press" is not a profound book, but it will arm the argumentative Washington-bound FSO with new material to throw into the next cocktail party wrangle over the influence of politics on the press and vice versa.

—DANIEL NEWBERRY

Geopolitics—American Style?

NAIVE QUESTIONS ABOUT WAR AND PEACE, *by William Whitworth. Norton, $4.95.*

MANY Americans and almost all Foreign Service officers will think this book infuriating yet fascinating. It is mandatory reading for anyone connected with international relations because it seriously attempts to treat fundamental questions of national interests, goals, and purpose in a dialectical manner. No monologue this—rather an in-depth dialogue between former senior State Department official Eugene Rostow and NEW YORKER reporter William Whitworth.

Americans are often accused of failing to deal with such basics, with preferring to treat foreign (and every other kind of) policy on a pragmatic, day-to-day basis. Even Henry Kissinger, touted as the Administration's geopolitician, has argued this line in his academic writings. "Naive Questions . . ." is in this sense a landmark undertaking. The result is disappointing, however, because it just doesn't come off the way either "professionals" or concerned citizens are likely to think it should. Some will disagree with the arguments; some with the conclusions —this is straightforward enough. Others will criticize the exercise itself.

First the strength of the book: it *does* try to get to fundamental issues, it *is* a dialogue in which statements are challenged, points are argued, and the "unthinkable" thought about. It is a passably argued first attempt, and needed doing.

The dialogue is flawed, however. The "naive" questions are not necessarily naive, though some seemed so) but certainly oriented around one note: why bother with foreign affairs? The answers do not seem much better to this reviewer (It might be noted here that others were asked to perform the Rostow role [see p. 15]—former President Johnson, the Bundys, Rusk, and Eugene's brother, Walt Rostow—they can have no kicks coming if they are unhappy, for all declined to play.) Unfortunately, Rostow seems to stay within, or too close to, the Whitworth frame of reference. While his answers seem well argued at times, they neither lead Whitworth to better questions nor satisfactorily (for the reader) resolve the questions asked. A good slice of the fault is Whitworth's, but Rostow seems reluctant to meet some of the questions head-on when it seems he could or should. It is on this point that this reviewer thinks most Foreign Service officers and many knowledgeable citizens will fault his performance.

Despite this basic problem, there are some nuggets of gold among the rhetoric, on Vietnam, the Mideast, irrationality, China, and the balance of power. Still, in all, one is left with a powerful sense of uneasiness—where are the connections between organizational (people) outputs and policy ideas? Perhaps it is just the former law dean's style of response, but the discussion seems to remain at the level of an intellectual manipulation of concepts,

with little attention given to how people function in the organization of modern government. Whitworth shows almost no awareness of this factor, and Rostow lets lapse several opportunities to enlighten him. There is so little here about the impact of events on people—a phenomena hard to measure, and difficult to articulate. Its absence will irritate those of all political persuasions and particularly undercut the intellectual validity of the dialogue for those who have to make intellectual concepts live through people working in organizations.

One concludes the book eager for more, eager to see the same thing tried on a more systematic basis, with advance preparation and research on factual questions included. An exercise of this sort would make an interesting prerequisite for senior-level employment in the foreign affairs community.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

Oswald's Motive?

THE ASSASSINATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY: THE REASONS WHY, *by Albert H. Newman, Clarkson N. Potter, $10.00.*

AT last! A book for those who have not been satisfied by the various self-serving conspiracy theories woven tortuously out of whole cloth by writers of the Left or Right. The product of six years of painstaking research, the book goes beyond the Warren Report's conclusion that Oswald planned and executed the assassination alone to construct a carefully documented, logically developed and highly plausible explanation of the killer's motive and intentions.

Unable to get to Cuba to experience Castro's Communism for himself, as he had done in the Soviet Union with disappointing results, Oswald assumed Cuba to be the realization of his Marxist ideals. He admired the Rosenbergs as heroes who had died for those ideals and were endlessly worshipped for their sacrifice by Communist propaganda. His value and devotion to the cause would be belatedly appreciated and similarly canonized if he would destroy the men vilified as "enemies of Cuba" in the broadcasts from Havana which he listened to every night.

Stated thus in a few words it sounds almost too simple, but dispassionately developed in 622 very readable pages it is utterly convincing. The author, a former managing editor of THE REPORTER, does not just select those facts which support his postulate. He gives the reader the benefit of his entire research, including the inconsistencies, unanswered questions and blind alleys.

—JACK SULSER

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minimum, we should agree to the steady escalation of our assistance efforts to triple the proportion of our GNP represented by our aid to less developed countries. In view of the anticipated increases in the GNP of our two countries, this would mean increasing our aid by four or five times by 1980, while still permitting significant improvements in the standard of living of our own peoples.

Both our countries could do much more for the less developed countries in the field of trade. A really bold policy in this field is particularly necessary, since 80 percent of the foreign exchange of the developing countries comes from trade, and only 20 percent from aid. The developed market economies of the Atlantic region and Japan should, in my view, eliminate *all* their restrictions on the exports of the developing countries in agreed stages over a period of 10-20 years. As part of a global program of trade development, I would hope that the socialist countries of Eastern Europe could agree to undertakings of equivalent significance in view of the different character of their economic systems. I have in mind either global purchase commitments by the socialist countries on behalf of the developing countries or the progessive lowering of the prices at which the state economic authorities offer imported goods from developing countries for sale to the consumer.

The working out of such a global program of assistance to the developing countries through measures of aid and trade would be assisted if the socialist countries could be associated in some mutually acceptable way with certain international economic agencies in which they do not presently participate. I have in mind the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Development Association, the International Monetary Fund, and the Asian Development Bank. If full membership should prove impractical for the time being, perhaps there are ways in which the socialist countries could associate themselves with certain selected activities of these agencies. For example, the Soviet Union might participate in the World Bank consortium for India, since all of us have a stake in India's political stability and development. If we examine the work of these agencies on a pragmatic and case-by-case basis, I am confident we could find possibilities for fruitful cooperation.

I CONCLUDE on the same basic theme on which I began. Let us focus on those things that unite us rather than on those things that divide us. Let us remember that we belong to one human family and that this brotherhood is more important than any national, racial or ideological differences. Let us constantly remind ourselves that we are fellow travelers on a common spaceship—planet earth—and that we can easily wreck our ship unless we work out cooperative ways of steering it. ■

WHAT HAPPENED?

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being discussed. In 1970 those reaching maximum time-in-class under the present system were expected to total 200, compared with 80 under the old system. For the years covered by the study, 539 were expected to reach time-in-grade under present regulations, compared with only 193 under the previous arrangements.

Many good officers have resigned rather than edure the capricious uncertainty of selection out for time-in-class. Nevertheless, figures for those officially classified as selected out confirm the expected trend. Twice as many officers were selected out in 1969 for time-in-class as were selected out for the same cause in 1968, and the 95 officers reaching time-in-class in these two years compares with only 15 officers in the previous seven years.

The rationale for selection out for time-in-class was its supposed humaneness. Yet the drop in numbers selected out by bottom ranking has declined relatively little, so that the 102 officers selected out in 1969 by both means is 40 percent more than the average number selected out from 1961 through 1969.

According to the current wisdom, junior officers are less concerned with distant perils and more concerned with immediate salary levels and responsible positions. Rapid promotion was instituted as a means of providing them with higher salaries and more prestigious positions.

As suggested above, rapid promotion does not provide junior officers with immunity from selection out. Indeed, present junior officers stand a particularly good chance of being selected out at the 0-6 level. Unfortunately, 0-6s are being selected out, not because they are deemed unfitted for the Foreign Service, but simply because there are too many of them to promote to 0-5 within the four year time in grade limitation.

Because of the large intake of junior officers and rapid promotion to 0-6, the pressure in class 6 has been building up. Last year, few 0-6s were completing their fourth year in grade, but one-third of the class was completing three years or more.

A majority were not promoted. Although one-third of the class was promoted by the last selection board, the average 1.4 years time in grade of those promoted closely paralleled the average 1.3 years time in grade for the class as a whole. Based on these figures, it appears that the number of 0-6s facing the four year limit on time in grade this year will be nearly triple that of last year, and that 15-20 percent of the present 0-6s not promoted by the last selection board can be expected to be selected out unless the ban on tombstone promotions is lifted. Many have already resigned instead.

It would be one thing to have a conscious policy of selecting out each year the 15-20 percent least promising 0-6s. It is quite another thing to select out a minute fraction one year and 15-20 percent another year—simply because the demographic composition of the class has changed in the meantime due to excessively large intake and too rapid promotion from below.

With rapid promotion of the junior officers who survive the system, the average age of the more junior classes has been dropping significantly. The average FSO-6 is now 29, and with a four year maximum time

in grade, should be promoted to FSO-5 by 32 at the latest. Even now, the age of the average FSO-5 has dropped to 34, five years younger than before the policy of rapid promotion. Promotions out of class 5 have been coming on the average after two years in grade (despite an eight year maximum time in grade), so that the typical promotion to FSO-4 presently comes at age 36 and may soon come at age 34.

Promotions to FSO-3 now come on the average 3½ years after promotion to 0-4. Thus, the competent officer promoted to 0-4 at age 34-36 will be nearly 40 as an 0-4, or over 40 and an 0-3, before he gets the first concrete indication as to whether he is likely to run into trouble in his Foreign Service career.

Another inevitable consequence of rapid promotion has been that the Foreign Service has become increasingly top-heavy. While the number of officers has shrunk from 3,600 to 3,000, the number of officers 0-4 and above has grown to 2,000. Ten years ago only one-half the Foreign Service was 0-4 and above; today the figure is two-thirds.

There are slightly more than 300 FSO-1 positions to which 3,000 FSOs aspire, and 1,700 of these FSOs are at grades 0-4 through 0-2. Because of reduced time in grade restrictions, there are fewer years for waiting to make 0-1 (six less, or an 18 percent reduction, for FSO-4s). Because of rapid promotion, more officers are continually poured in to join them in the scramble. Most of the 1,700 will be squeezed out of the Foreign Service in middle age, when employment elsewhere is no longer easy.

Severe pressure currently begins at the 0-3 level, although 0-4s may soon be duplicating the 0-6s predicament.

Whether or not there is deadwood in class 3 which deserves to be moved aside, it should be apparent that much of the 0-3 bulge consists of younger officers promoted precisely because they were deemed ready for 0-3. Once having been promoted, they immediately become surplus commodity, destined in many cases for selection out.

Because of the rapid promotion policy for grades below 0-3, the number promoted into class 3 each year has recently been from one-fourth to one-half larger than the number promoted out. The average promotion rate for 0-3s has been about 10 percent. Maximum time in grade is ten years. From a statistical standpoint, it appears that 50 percent of FSO-3s are destined to be selected out. Already the number forced out of class 3 each year has soared to a level two to three times that of the period prior to reduced time in grade (about equaling the percent promoted).

This means that the typical FSO, in most cases of high calibre, once having reached 0-3 will have a 50-50 chance of being selected out in his 40s, when his job prospects have dimmed and his expenses for his children's education are at their peak!

The officer promoted to class 2, probably in his early 40s, is confronted with much the same situation as the class 0-3 officer. The main difference, other than his somewhat greater age, is that the promotion rate is even lower and the discrepancy between number promoted in and number promoted out is even larger!

The goal of the typical FSO is the peak of the

career ladder, FSO-1 and, hopefully, Ambassador. We pride ourselves on a competitive system in which superior performers are promoted, often very rapidly, to this pinnacle. But if an FSO survives to make FSO-1, both the Foreign Service and the individual are penalized for success. With the 1967 reduction in time in grade for class 1 officers from 15 years to 12 years, a large proportion of the best class 1 officers will be selected out of the Foreign Service on time in grade before reaching the normal retirement age of 60. The more outstanding the officer, the younger he is likely to be when he completes his twelve years time in grade.

Prior to the last round of promotions, 56 of our 324 FSO-1s were 48 or under. The average age of the 35 FSO-2s promoted by the last Board was just under 48. Allowing for those presently over 48 but who will have completed twelve years time in grade before age 60, it seems possible that as many as one-third of our present FSO-1s will be lost to the Foreign Service through selection out at a time when they should have the most to contribute.

As the system is now constructed, then, virtually everyone who is not promoted to 0-1 will be selected out along the way. Of those who do reach 0-1 many will be retired before age 60. It appears that the odds for completing a full career in the Foreign Service are no better than 1 in 10.

Is this the kind of career Foreign Service we want? Our younger officers are either being selected out or resigning in discouragement. Those who have not departed as junior officers are being selected out in middle age. And those few who have been elevated to the top positions of responsibility and authority are, in too many cases, discarded before they have made their full contribution to the Service. Ours is probably the only organization in the world which discards its best people along with its worst.

We have until now kept silent as we watched our colleagues leave, perhaps fearing that to raise our voices would be interpreted as a request for special favors or an admission of inability to compete with our peers. But clearly, the time to speak out is now if we are to speak out at all.

Is there any reason we cannot have a rational personnel system? Rigorous screening of candidates for entrance; a limited intake tailored to the needs of the Service; a weeding out of substandard officers as junior officers, and by bottom-ranking rather than time in grade; extension of time in grade so that competent officers 0-4 and above will have a reasonable assurance of completing a full Foreign Service career. These reforms are both necessary and feasible. They imply a slower average promotion rate, but continued rapid promotion for the superior officer. They imply a lower rate of selection out, particularly for time in grade, but no lessening in competition for advancement. Officers personally and the Foreign Service as an organization would both be certain to benefit.

AFSA should, I believe, have taken the lead in urging reforms of this nature. Since it has not, it is up to concerned FSOs to provide the necessary push. I urge that all who are concerned with this problem let their feelings be made known. The time will never be better than it is now. ■

CATHERINE THE GREAT

continued from page 44

at Acre by the Turks. He was succeeded there by Jazzar, which is another story.

IN brief, during the years 1772 and 1774, in addition to preying on the coastal trade, the Russians participated in combined land-sea attacks on Beirut twice and Sidon and Jaffa once. They provided a limited amount of material support to Ali Bey and Zahir al-Umar, but contemporary reports indicate the Russians were longer on promises than performance. Far from rushing in to do good works for free, they were interested in profit and made the Druze pay for the help they received at Beirut in 1773. Nor was there any indication of deep Russian interest in the local politics of the region. If the Russians had a coordinated, long-range policy of support for national liberation, it did not show. Rather, they gave occasional, *ad hoc* assistance, and were not very quick about doing it. Their aid seems not to have been decisive in any event—they were unable to take Beirut by force either time they attacked it, and they occupied it the second time only by luck. Their bombardment of Jaffa did not produce surrender, and their bombardment of Sidon probably was secondary in importance to the coordinated cavalry attack of Zahir and Ali.

It is interesting to speculate what might have happened had the Russians been prompter and gotten their squadron to Jaffa in time to pick up Ali Bey and take him to Damietta in 1773. If, as appears from the seige of Beirut, the Russians had 1,000 troops plus artillery on board, the story of Ali's return to Egypt might have been different. He might have regained control of the coast from Alexandria to Beirut, and eventually all of Syria. Had the Russians then wanted a foothold in the area, they could have had it. Indeed, they could probably have had one even if they had only continued their support for Zahir after the capture of Beirut. Their failure to exploit this situation must go into the category of missed opportunities, of which the area has offered numerous examples.

The Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji brought a close to this particular episode, but it did not end Catherine's interest in the Eastern Mediterranean. According to contemporary accounts she tried, unsuccessfully, to negotiate a treaty with the mamelukes of Egypt in 1783 under which the Russians would support Egyptian independence in return for the right to station garrisons at Alexandria, Rosetta and Damietta (see Halford Hoskins "British Routes to India," London, 1928, pp 37-50). In 1788, during Catherine's second war with Turkey, the Russians sent a frigate of forty guns accompanied by two transports carrying arms and gifts to Damietta, apparently hoping to encourage a general revolt against the Turks. This effort too was unsuccessful, but it at least established the priority of Russian claims to have invented the modern military assistance program. ■

Comment on Kennan

I would like to comment on a few of Ambassador Kennan's observations. With regard to political appointees as ambassadors, the point is certainly well-taken that they should possess qualifications essential for their assignments. I do not believe anyone would quarrel with this view. However, I would argue that in an open society such as ours which literally bristles with politics, an ambassadorial appointee who has strong political support within the Congress and enjoys the President's friendship probably would be more effective in terms of US domestic support for his Embassy's policies than those of our colleagues who do not enjoy these assets, Moreover, many foreign governments are sensitive to these considerations and respond accordingly in their dealings with ambassadors.

In contrast, I would say that the very career nature of a professional Foreign Service precludes men of honor and integrity from playing the political game for the purpose of seeking a Presidential appointment. This viewpoint raises serious questions as to realistic career objectives for Foreign Service officers and the kind of training they should be given in this respect. Admittedly, Foreign Service officers have been appointed as chiefs of mission to scores of countries, but the relative importance of many of these countries should be considered and the fact of these assignments should not becloud the setting of reasonable career targets. By reasonable, I mean those positions which are readily within the prerogatives of the Department of State to bestow. It would seem that facts of life point to senior deputy chiefs of mission, consuls general, and deputy assistant secretary of stateships as falling within this purview. If an ambassadorship comes along the way for a deserving and well-qualified officer, so much the better; but it should be remembered that it is the President's prerogative to make such appointments and that the State Department can merely make recommendations. Admittedly, all Foreign Service career appointments are made by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, but ambassadorial assignments are the private and personal province of the President and let us not forget that circumstance.

On the other hand, desirable as it would be that political appointees have the necessary qualifications, in practice this frequently has not been the case, and I doubt that it ever will be in every instance. The President must react to enormous pressures and ambassadorial assignments are one way to respond. More importantly, the President must be free to assign to certain important posts at home or abroad persons in whom he has great personal confidence. But we can all help a new political ambassador succeed by solidly and frankly supporting him. We can also urge that neophytes to ambassadorial responsibilities be detailed to the Foreign Service Institute for special seminars tailored to their special needs. This practice would make professional life easier for both the appointee and the people who have to work with him. I have no doubt that the Foreign Service Institute has the capability to train all ranks of officers including new ambassadors.

Ambassador Kennan's plea that the present policy of closing Consulates be reversed is worthy of the strongest endorsement. It is no secret that the most notable failing among senior officers lies in management. Most Foreign Service officers share this weakness with professors, lawyers, doctors and others who have had little opportunity to administer structured units in earlier career days. Too frequently senior officers enter broad managerial responsibility for the first time at a Class 2 or Class 1 level. And we all know what happens as a result —poor morale in the Embassies or units under their care and inadequate use of resources. On the other hand, experience as principal officers in Consulates offers ample management experience.

Lastly, Ambassador Kennan touches upon the questions of the role of the Department of State in the management of foreign affairs. I wish to remind our colleagues that the President selects his own Secretary of State, determines what his role should be and the latter in turn decides upon the responsibilities of the Department under his charge. Since each President has a different style, as has also his Secretary, it is unreasonable to attempt a clear-cut delineation of what the Department of State's participation should be in the foreign policy process, particularly when there are well over 30 agencies of the Government with foreign policy interests, plus the Congress, lobbies, minority groups, etc. I would say, stop worrying about what the Department's role should be and that of the Foreign Service and let us get on with the job as each President decides what he wants from us and his Secretary. If, as in General Marshall's time, our participation is an important one, so much the better. If not, let us do the best we can on behalf of the President and the Nation, albeit we should let it be known that we are always ready to step in and meet whatever responsibility is placed on us regardless of level.

JAMES N. CORTADA
Barcelona

Requirements of Diplomacy

AMBASSADOR KENNAN'S reference to the great French Ambassador, Jules Cambon, in the interview in the August issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL prompts me to forward the following extract from a recent LONDON TIMES obituary notice on his son, M. Roger Cambon, former Minister of the French Embassy in London:

"In his view what counted first in diplomacy, before all else, was character; secondly came the power of calm judgment; and, far behind these, came intelligence and contacts. He himself had the character, the judgment and the intelligence in full measure. He had great kindness too . . .

"The chief failings against which a diplomat should guard himself, he used to say, were the desire to please, the temptation to be hasty, and the tendency to lower one's sights. He himself was always outstanding for the breadth and depth of the view which he took of problems. He thought in decades rather than days, and taught himself to see several moves ahead when foretelling the consequences of any proposed action."

A wise, man, indeed.

WILLIAM M. OWEN
London

and Education

DRAFTS of the Macomber Task Force Reports available to me contain a puzzling omission: they make no reference to a potential cone for Cultural Affairs Officers (CAOs).

Our Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs is the second largest in the Department. If we indeed have a Foreign Service of the United States, not merely of the Department of State, CAOs may be fairly considered as representing the number one industry in our country, in terms of capital investment and manpower. I refer, of course, to the educational world. Indisputably, however, in terms

of Departmental support and prestige, cultural affairs officers remain near the bottom of the scale. Evidence abounds: the Slater Report to President-Elect John F. Kennedy, the studies by Coombs and Frankel, the proceedings of the American Assembly, and what has been revealed by the Rusk Committee of 1967.

USIA, which administers the cultural program overseas on behalf of CU, including the selection, assignment, and promotion of CAOs, is logically preoccupied with information and, lately, psychological warfare. The grade structure of the Agency reflects this preoccupation: although two of the last three top USIA Career Officers have been CAOs, only 16 CAOs are ranked above Class Three. Career Legislation for USIA Foreign Service Information Officers in 1968 has complicated rather than resolved the problem of the CAOs. Although CAOs were blanketed in with their Information Officer colleagues, the lumping together of the two functions is increasingly distasteful to the educational and intellectual community which the CAO is supposed to be representing. Surely, in the era of the Scranton Commission and the Heard Report, the moment has come to observe the vital distinction between propaganda and education in the structure of our government.

Reportedly, one of the Macomber Task Forces believes that CAOs should be included within the political officer cone. Such a recommendation disregards the dreary history of the past three decades—of the virtual swallowing up of cultural affairs in propaganda programs and thereby needlessly jeopardizing the reputation of American scholarship throughout the world. In fact, the Nixon Doctrine would seem to implicitly call for the depoliticization of our education and cultural programs.

At the swearing-in for John Richardson, Secretary Rogers called the leadership of CU "one of the most important jobs in the Department." Apparently Assistant Secretary Richardson has already reversed the downward spiral in the CU budget. Would it not be good administration as well as good politics to pay more attention to the status of the men who run this program overseas?

ROBERT BROWN

Silver Spring

Cultural Program as Cover?

ROBERT BROWN (see above) has opened up a subject too long ignored by the Foreign Service Association, not to mention the Department. While the Cultural Affairs Officer has attracted the serious attention of such organizations as the Brookings Institution, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the American Assembly, AFSA has maintained an over-polite silence on the topic. Moreover, because the CAO is in the awkward position of having to accommodate two lines of command (State and USIA), the dimensions of the problem have never been openly ventilated even at CAO conferences, nor for that matter at PAO conferences. (PAOs almost never have previous experience as CAOs). Besides, CAOs who point out the potential hazards of commingling propaganda and education often find that they are marked down for being "insufficiently objective-conscious."

In my judgment, the compelling reason for divorcing the cultural program and CAO from USIA and attaching him unequivocally to State is plain good management. After all, other foreign services have found a way of coordinating information and education without subordinating the second to the first.

The domestic political obstacles to modernizing CU's administrative position and giving it control over its field representatives are actually more imaginary than real. Under the executive reorganization authority accorded shortly after his inauguration, President Nixon could almost certainly put this reform into effect without special legislation. Not only Senator Fulbright but Senator Hugh Scott, the Minority Leader, have made clear their personal support of a change. As long as the CU budget continues to come under his purview, Congressman Rooney should not object. And no additional costs would be entailed. Indeed, USIA could abolish the jobs now needed to make out the annual bill to CU for support services!

One deterrent to solving the problem is the widespread illusion among FSOs and FSIOs that only a program labeled political information-intelligence serves the public interest and deserves tax support. Thus as one recent USIA Director said in a Congressional hearing, "USIA needs the cultural program as a cover for our informational activities." Of course, such a view of the function of international education is shockingly parochial. It should go without saying that cultural activities, by fostering person-to-person relations, have a deeply political function and thus carry their own justification. But because of the prevailing excessively narrow definition of the national interest, many of their colleagues in the Department and even USIA look on the role of CAOs with, at best, amiable contempt.

Academicians and cultural people, who are the constituency of the CAOs, wish to pursue their work without political constraints or adherence to a line. USIA officers naturally feel that if they are not "putting something in" or "leaving something out," they are failing in their duty. The tension between these two approaches is basically irreconcilable. There is mounting evidence of serious conflict in the critical field of American Studies. The Scandinavian American Studies Association has formally decided to have no more cooperative projects with USIS, and the American Studies Association in Australia is known to be considering breaking off relations with USIS in that country.

Of course, the unspoken but root reason for delaying this long-overdue reform is the feeling that cold war agencies "that have been admitted to the Club" have a right to survive intact. Certainly this is an unworthy basis for perpetuating an administrative anachronism and continually compromising the credibility of American scholarship, both at home and abroad. The State/USIA relationship needs up-dating every bit as much as the State/AID relationship, now being reshaped.

The CU set-up poses a simple test of the Department's will to self-renewal. Here's hoping that the Department will not flunk that test, out of a misplaced emphasis on inter-agency harmony.

JOHN KING

San Francisco

Inspector's Life of 35 Years Ago

ON page 3 of the Department of State BULLETIN for August, 1970 (No 112) an article dealing with the Foreign Service Inspection Corps begins, "The first FSO-4s ever sent out by the Foreign Service Inspection Corps are now working in Saigon."

The first part of that statement is at least 36 years too late. The record will show that on October 23, 1934, the undersigned, then an FSO-4, Consul General and Secretary in the Diplomatic Service, was designated Foreign Service Inspector and instructed to inspect all Foreign Service posts in Latin America and the West Indies. A year was to pass before I made Class 3; and I did not reach Class 2 until after my tour as Inspector was ended.

In those days an Inspector was on his own—no assistants, no administrative inspector, no secretary. To be sure, posts were much smaller than they are today, but even so the work load on the lone Inspector was considerable. The relatively low rank made

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it no easier when inspecting Embassies presided over by such towering pillars of the career Service as Jefferson Caffery in Habana, or such prestigious non-career Ambassadors as Josephus Daniels in Mexico City.

Fortunately my wife was able to accompany me and was an invaluable unsalaried aide. We started at Ensenada, Mexico, in February, 1935, and reported back to Washington in June, 1937, having completed 88 inspections in 20 countries and a clutch of colonies.

Just a bit of history for officers of the seventies.

NATHANIEL P. DAVIS
Glen Falls, N.Y.

The Dialogue Continues

To reply briefly to the more salient points raised by my good friend Alex Davit concerning my article in the May JOURNAL:

1. While "everyone has his own views on Junior Officer training," the basic issue is what the responsibilities of a world power demand of its diplomatic and consular officers, young and old. Novitiates know too little of these to possess a useful opinion. Too many of even our seasoned colleagues have acquired blinders. One must take care that his thinking on this subject is not limited by his personal experience. The issue is a broad one.

2. As to "leveling" with newly commissioned officers, Alex will recall how the CIA's contribution to the Basic Officers Course completely ducked the CIA itself and its role in our international responsibilities, restricting its brush-off presentation to generalities concerning communist philosophy. That is one example, in a crucial area. Another was military diplomacy. There were others, including the respective roles of the President and the career diplomatic establishment in our international relations. The CIA evasiveness has been somewhat rectified in recent years, I understand.

3. Relatively few newly commissioned officers are qualified for "Foreign Service work," and none for participating in diplomatic strategy and tactics. This is what the whole issue of responsibility and morale (raised for many years by junior officers) is about.

Only in a limited sense did candidates for the Foreign Service "pass" the written examinations in the years in which we were taking in some 200 officers. Suspecting this, I requested an assignment to the Board of Examiners and found that as many as 35 points were being added to candidates' raw scores on the written examination in order to "pass" the number which would yield in the oral-examination process the number we wanted to take in. For further on this, see my article "Reform At Last? New Sprint in Foggy Bottom" in THE NATION, March 16, 1970.

4. The self-confidence of novitiates that they are qualified is not the real question.

5. I do not now, nor ever did, for practical reasons, recommend a "two year course" for newly commissioned officers. In my report to Mr. Crockett on this subject in 1966, which Alex then read and heard discussed at a meeting of the resurrected Training Advisory Committee, I recommended simply reverting from the newly-established six weeks' to the old eight weeks' duration, but using these eight weeks in an intensive professional approach to our role in international affairs.

6. Alex's reference to evening sessions of the Basic Officers Course mystifies me. I knew of no such sessions and the minutes of a meeting of the Training Advisory Committee of the time record Alex's objection to the proposal that these be introduced. Perhaps the idea caught on later, but I am informed by an FSI staffer who has been with the BOC for years that such "sessions" were limited to informal get-to-gethers at supper and wine-tastings for various institutes of American vineyards.

In conclusion, let me say I am not, of course, as my colleagues generally understand, interested in propagating the Foreign Service Institute with Ichabod Cranes. But neither am I interested in propagating Sleepy Hollow (sometimes known as Foggy Bottom) with any more heedless horsemen.

SMITH SIMPSON
Washington

Gigantism in Washington

MAY I respectfully draw the Board's attention to the article "What Is To Be Done—Gigantism in Washington" by John Franklin Campbell in the current issue (Oct. 1970; Vol. 49 No. 1, pp. 81-99) of FOREIGN AFFAIRS?

Mr. Campbell, an FSO on leave of absence and currently editor of FOREIGN POLICY has "put it all together." His article is a brilliant statement of the need for institutional reform in our foreign affairs bureaucracies, together with practical suggestions on—precisely—what is to be done.

I suggest that the article should be of great interest to every AFSA member. Perhaps consideration should be given to either reprinting in the FS JOURNAL, or to obtaining reprints from FOREIGN AFFAIRS for distribution with the JOURNAL. Perhaps the Editorial Board would be interested in making editorial comment on the argument advanced by Mr. Campbell. I am sure that his views will be "controversial" to many foreign affairs bureaucrats—and am equally sure that the majority of FSOs will heartily concur with his analysis and proposed remedies.

"Right on," Mr. Campbell!

MATTHEW D. SMITH, JR.
Miami

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By S. I. Nadler

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