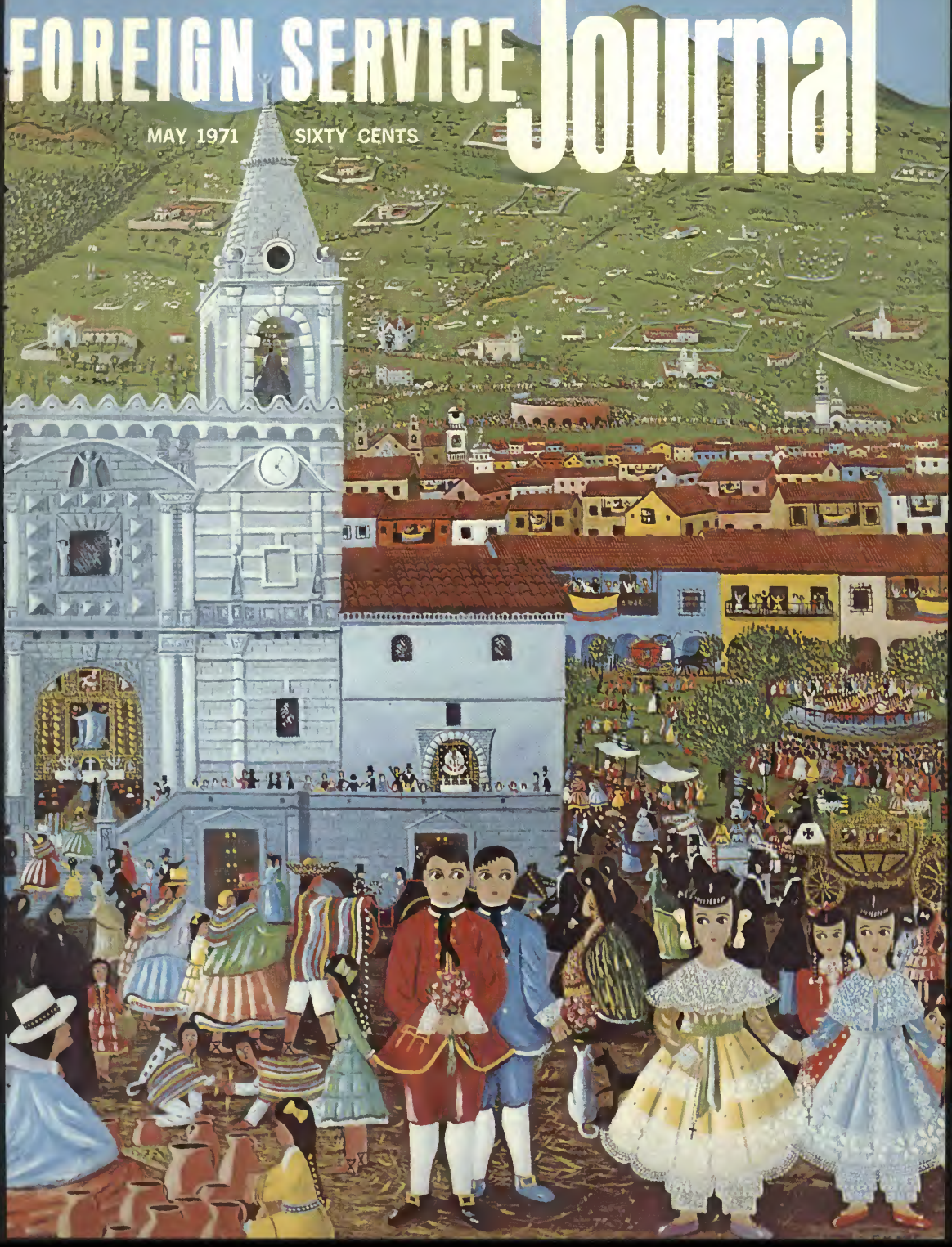
FOREIGN SERVICE Journal

MAY 1971 SIXTY CENTS



the better way...

There is a *better way* to do everything . . . François L. Schwarz, Inc. is celebrating its twenty-fifth year of providing *the better way* for manufacturers of top quality products to put their brand names on the shelves of stores operated throughout the world by the U.S. Armed Forces and Foreign Service.



FRANÇOIS L. SCHWARZ INC.

500 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

FOREIGN SERVICE Journal

MAY, 1971, Volume 48, No. 5

12 **Piercing the Veil**
James Symington

URBAN AFFAIRS

14 **Dark Satanic Mills and Diplomacy**
Jerome K. Holloway

19 **Our Urban Ills**
John Burns

22 **As New York Goes . . .**
Alexander Campbell

31 **Home Rule for the District**
Henry B. Day

35 **Musings on Suburbia**
Carlos C. Campbell

OTHER FEATURES: Great Moments in Bureaucracy, page 4; Senator Fouls Rogers, Kissinger, by John P. Leacacos, page 49; Coming To, by Patrick O'Sheel, page 50.

DEPARTMENTS

2 **Editorial**
—The FSO and FSIO Promotion Lists

37 **Special Book Essay—The Global City**

38 **The Bookshelf**

52 **Letters to the Editor**

53 **AFSA News**

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS: Gordon S. McCoun, cover; Library of Congress, illustration, page 37; Henry J. Paoli, "Statuary Rape," page 40 and cartoon, page 49; S. I. Nadler, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 52.

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

THEODORE L. ELIOT, JR., *President*
JOHN E. REINHARDT, *First Vice President*
C. WILLIAM KONTOS, *Second Vice President*

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

WILLIAM HARROP, *Chairman*
F. ALLEN HARRIS, *Vice Chairman*
ERLAND HEGINBOTHAM, *Secretary-Treasurer*
BARBARA GOOD, *Assistant Secretary-Treasurer*
DONALD EASUM
GEORGE B. LAMBRAKIS
PRINCETON LYMAN
ROBERT NEVITT
MICHAEL PISTOR
THOMAS M. TRACY
JAMES D. WILSON

STAFF

JAMES K. PALMER, *Executive Director*
MARGARET S. TURKEL, *Executive Secretary*
CLARKE SLADE, *Educational Consultant*

JOURNAL EDITORIAL BOARD

ARCHIE BOLSTER, *Chairman*
AMBLER MOSS, *Vice Chairman*
CLINT E. SMITH
M. TERESITA CURRIE
JOHN F. LIPPMANN
JAMES D. PHILLIPS
JOHN D. STEMPEL
MICHAEL P. CANNING

JOURNAL

SHIRLEY R. NEWHALL, *Editor*
DONALD DRESDEN, *Associate Editor*
McIVER ART & PUBLICATIONS, INC., *Art Direction*

ADVERTISING REPRESENTATIVES

JAMES C. SASMOR, 295 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 532-6230
ALBERT D. SHONK CO., 681 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94105 (415) 392-7144
JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD., 5 Winsley Street, London W.1. 01-580 6594/8. International Representatives.

©American Foreign Service Association, 1971. The Foreign Service Journal is published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037.

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

Printed by Monumental Printing Co., Baltimore

EDITORIAL

THE FSO AND FSIO PROMOTION LISTS

THE 1971 promotion lists have been published, and we extend our congratulations to those whose efforts and performance have been recognized.

There was inordinate delay in issuance of the promotion lists this year. Worse than the delay itself was the lack of any firm information about the lists' status. The careers of many officers are at stake, particularly those who must look for alternative employment if not promoted, and yet they must be content with rumors and corridor gossip until the fateful day arrives. At the very least, the lists should be scheduled for a definite time each year and any dclays should be explained. Anything less is unfair to the members of a dedicated career service.

The USIA List

In 1971, thcre were 17.12 percent total FSIOs, FSLRs and FSRUs promoted (not including probationcrs) as compared to 15.8 percent in 1970, and 14.3 percent in 1969. However, the percentage promoted in 1971 from cach class showed striking variation:

FSIO,	FSLR,	FSRU —	2	—	1.9%
"	"	"	3	—	3.5
"	"	"	4	—	20.1
"	"	"	5	—	18.4
"	"	"	6	—	47.7
(non-probationers)			7	—	57.1

The younger officers did relatively very well indeed in USIA. But is the Agency in risk of recreating the well-known FSO bulge among FSIOs? We look forward to USIA analysis of the list and of the structure of the Service.

The State List

This year's FSO list (including probationary promotions) contains about 16.5 percent of all FSOs as compared to an historic average of 21.8 percent for the years from 1963 through 1970. The effects of this reduction fell unevenly on various classes. For example, the average percentage of FSOs promoted are as follows:

	Average % 1963-70	1971
FSO-2	8.1	6.6
FSO-3	9.8	7.7
FSO-4	14.6	8.5
FSO-5	23.9	18.4
FSO-6	38.7	38.0

Clearly Class 4 suffered a heavy reduction in promotions.

The situation in Class 3 presents a different problem. The average FSO-3 promoted in 1971 spent 6.8 years in grade. Since time-in-class requirements permit only 10 years in Class 3, there is little headroom between promotion and selection out. There is pressure upon selection boards which are, after all, composed of human beings, to pass over the brilliant younger men in order to save the careers and livelihood of competent older ones. Yet in these times of accelerated change, the nation needs its finest *young* officers in positions of responsibility. The average age of all our Chiefs of Mission is *55.1*, with non-career appointees averaging 56.1 and career appointees 54.3. AFSA believes the average age of career Ambassadors should be several years younger.

The promotion policies study group, headed by the Director General, is currently reviewing, among other questions, the problem of time-in-class requirements for FSO Classes 3, 4 and 5. We hope that study group will develop new promotion policies to meet the changing needs of the Foreign Service. ■

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

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

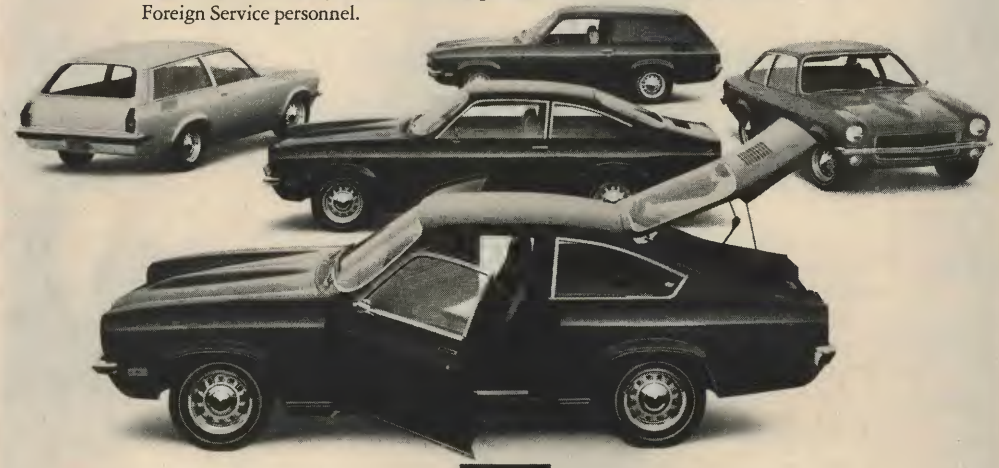
Membership in the AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION is open to the professionals in foreign affairs serving overseas or in Washington, as well as to persons having an active interest in, or close association with, foreign affairs.

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

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

The Diplomatic Choice.

A compact car is frequently the wisest choice for United States Foreign Service personnel and their families. Now Chevrolet has a compact: American style, to fill that need. The new Chevy Vega moves well, stops well, rides well, handles well, travels well—on any kind of road. Vega has economy in gas mileage and maintenance, and a definitely competitive flair in international styling. New car buyers in the United States call Vega the best little car in the world. You will, too. And because your order begins with a franchised General Motors dealer or distributor you enjoy the advantages of dealing directly and locally. If you are transferring, another authorized GM dealer or distributor handles delivery. You get the same reliable GM maintenance and parts, too, anywhere in the world. Choose from sporty hatchback coupe shown open and closed in the foreground; sedan at right; Kammback wagon at left, or compact utility truck, rear. Then see what your local GM representative has to offer in service for U.S. Foreign Service personnel.



GM ODC

General Motors Overseas Distributors Corporation
767 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022, U.S.A.

Great Moments in Bureaucracy

From the Archives of the Grand Army of Federal Bureaucracy

HISTORY has dealt recklessly with many men, but few have been so shamefully ignored as Gilbert Pinchley.

Gil, or Gillie to a few intimates, had taken a bronze in the quantum jump at Chapultepec in 1912, and shortly thereafter Woodrow Wilson personally recruited him to furbish a manly image of the Department of State. Putting misgivings aside, the old Olympian leaper took to diplomacy like a duke to brandy, despite his enormous biceps and a tendency to transposition.

(One amusing slip of his in 1914 led to the dispatch of a battalion of Marines to Wales, where they remained for nearly a year, payless, looting, raping, and foraging in the countryside until rounded up by a regiment of the Royal Welsh Rifles and sent home as a liberty loan. [See Etherington-Backwitch's "Lost Battalion."])

"History contravenes inadvertence," Culponious tells us; so it was with Pinchley one August day in the Secretary's office.

William Jennings Bryan had effortlessly taken a summer lunch of greens, grits, dumplings, and a family-size bucket of fried chicken, specially prepared for him by his aide-de-camp, a lieutenant named Sanders with a bent for experimental cuisine.

The young Kentuckian had, in fact, been tinkering with the spices that day, leaving Bryan, who had a chronic case of gaseous diffusion, in more-than-usual distress.

The Secretary was propped up in a lounge chair, his belt at the loose and his fly at the open, behind a Filipino rattan screen that Arthur MacArthur had carelessly left in the State-War-Navy building some years before.

At that time, Pinchley headed a division called East of Iceland. He had just finished telling Bryan that the Russians and the Austrians were bluffing when the Secretary's phone rang.

Bryan hated the damn thing, but would ordinarily lumber over dutifully each time some fool called. The post-lunch recovery provided the only exception. The Secretary flatly refused to adjust his clothing and button his shoes simply to take a call. In those few hours, Miss Knitsch, a young Bulgarian immigrant, sat near the phone. She would call out urgent messages to the Secretary and he would call back the reply.



How to order wines you can serve with pride and confidence.

If you buy for Embassies or other American delegations abroad, you will want a copy of our specially prepared "Export Guide" to The Christian Brothers Premium California Wines. A superb selection of California's fine varietal wines are always available for your needs from this noted Napa Valley vintner. We offer complete service anywhere in the world.

CHARLES J. CANDIANO, DEPT. F.S.
FROMM AND SICHEL, INC.
1255 POST STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94109

the Christian Brothers

Please send me a copy of your "Export Guide" to The Christian Brothers premium California Wines for foreign service buyers.

NAME

TITLE

ADDRESS

Worldwide Distributors: Fromm and Sichel, Inc., San Francisco, Calif.

New Zenith TRANS-OCEANIC®

obsoletes imitations with the finest integration of power, tuning ease, and professional features ever designed into the world's most famous radio!



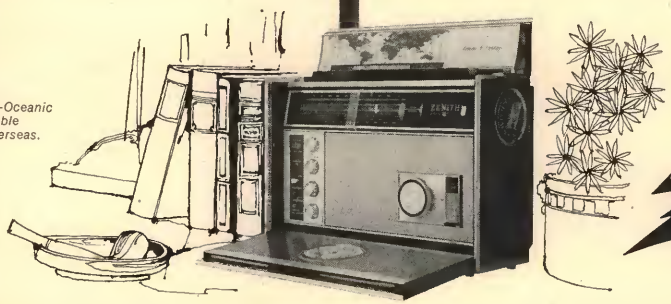
It's powered to tune the world, this newest Zenith Trans-Oceanic.

Tunes bandspread on the most popular 31, 25, 19, 16, and 13 meter International Shortwave bands . . . also local broadcasts on medium, FM, and European Longwave . . . plus Marine, Weather, Ship-to-Ship and Ship-to-Shore transmissions . . . Time Signals, FAA Weather Navigation . . . Amateur, CW, and SSB signals . . . and the new crystal-tuned VHF weather band broadcasts.

Also incorporated for the first time in this latest in a series of world-famous Trans-Oceanic portable radios: a new solid-state chassis; a Beat Frequency Oscillator (BFO) Control; RF Gain Control; "Norm-Sharp" IF Switch; Tuner Output Jack; Tuning Meter and a host of features already acclaimed universally for their overall dependability.

No wonder the list of owners of Zenith's Trans-Oceanic portable radio reads like an International "Who's Who." Works on either 115V or 230V AC . . . with up to 300 hours of listening pleasure with "D" cell batteries available anywhere.

Write now for free, full-color literature featuring this most distinctive of all Zenith Trans-Oceanic portable radios!



The new Zenith Trans-Oceanic Royal 7000-1 is available at Post Exchanges overseas.

ZENITH®

The Quality Goes In Before The Name Goes On®

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

The news was grim.

"Who says so?" said Bryan.

Back at the phone, Miss Knitsch gave forth with, 'May I call him who's telling, please?"

The phrasing startled Pinchley. Thus he missed the opening shots of the First World War, but his titanium-trap mind snapped shut on Miss Knitsch's words, instantly transposed them, and "May I tell him who's calling, please?" emerged on a wary world.

Pinchley left the Secretary's office in a daze. Back in his own cubby, he stared at the phone on the wall, almost praying it would ring.

Then, in despair, he realized he had something new but no Knitsch. Happily, Mrs. Mulhaney's broom soon flashed in front of Pinchley's door and the charwoman herself then came into view. She had been with the Department in EUR/Char, ever since her husband, Sean, had been axed by mistake over a bowl of chop suey during a Tong war. She and Pinchley never spoke and rarely saw each other, save for Bryan's weekly staff meetings.

Pinchley felt bold and gay. "Mrs. Mulhaney," he said. "I've a head, and I'm terribly busy with these papers. If the phone should ring, would you answer it for me?"

Mrs. Mulhaney paused, weighing fear against intrigue. She had never touched a phone before, believing the connection led to the other world. In the end, the prospect of giving Sean one last tongue lashing was overpowering.

"I will," she said. "And what should I say?"

"Simply say, dear lady, if someone should ask for Pinchley, 'may I tell him who's calling, please?' "

Of course it rang.

"Hallo," said Mrs. Mulhaney.

"Pinchley?" said Bryan. "Are you ill?"

"It's Pinchley you want then, may I tell him who's calling please?"

"Lord and heaven, the world's on fire; it's Bryan, tell him it's Bryan."

Only then did Pinchley uncross his legs and move toward the phone. "Yes, Chief," he said.

The rest is history, but it wasn't easy. Pinchley found it damned troublesome, whenever his phone rang, to run up and down the corridors looking for Mrs. Mulhaney. It was on one of those searches, incidentally, that he missed the news about the *Lusitania.*

But Pinchley persisted and for years he carried on his crusade alone. Then Watrous in cellar supply caught the mood one day after calling Pinchley about a pencil. Since everyone phoned Watrous about pencils and pads, a circle of ever-widening diameter came into being.

The whole happy adventure hung in the balance briefly under the ridiculous practicality of Secretary Stimson. Mr. Stimson invariably answered the "who's calling" question with one of his own: "Is he only speaking to certain people?" But Stimson soon went off to War, leaving State to pursue its own destiny.

Philosophizing years later to a squad of admiring subordinates, when his innovation had won widespread acceptance, Pinchley reflected, "It was important for me to know who was at the other end of the line, to collect

City

What Is a City?

In the U.S., it's a crisis. It's also the name of a magazine that helps you to understand the complexity of the crisis and what can be done about it.

CITY was launched by Urban America Inc. in spring, 1967, at a time when the phrase "urban crisis," far from being a cliché, represented a fresh and frightening concept for many Americans. CITY's chosen role was to explore and define the nature of the crisis and to report and analyze the nation's response.

One of the most positive aspects of this response reported in CITY's early issues was formation of the Urban Coalition of national leaders. Now Urban America and the Urban Coalition have merged to form the National Urban Coalition which has assumed publication of CITY.

In many respects CITY's mission remains the same, but it has been given a new format and a broader scope. The latter is expressed in the subtitle "magazine of urban life and environment."

Thus, the term "urban" in the subtitle refers to urban, or urbanized, or metropolitan areas, rather than to central cities only.

Metropolitan areas have become the basic units of American life. The ways they have developed (and are developing), the ways they are governed, the resources and problem-solving capacities they command, importantly determine the quality of American life for nearly three-fourths of the nation's population.

CITY's concerns extend to national problems and phenomena that are also significant determinants of the quality of life for residents of urban areas: poverty, racial discrimination, the workings of the federal and state governments, population growth and movement.

Similarly, CITY's concerns extend beyond the present to the nation's increasingly urbanized future. One of its major concerns, in fact, is the process of urbanization itself: the ways, planned or unplanned, conserving or wasteful, healing or divisive, in which urban growth and development occur.

The term "environment" in the subtitle also is used broadly. It encompasses man's use (and abuse) of nature's resources, and the quality of what man builds, both of which will be given significant coverage in CITY; but it also encompasses many less tangible, less visible, but no less real influences on urban life. CITY will continue to point out that the nation's most pressing environmental crisis is in the urban slums and ghettos, and that it is compounded of such things as fear and social disorganization as well as littered streets, fetid air, and decayed housing.

The National Urban Coalition
2100 M St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

Please send me CITY for the period checked:

☐ 1 yr. at $10 (6 issues)
☐ 2 yrs. at $15 (12 issues)
☐ 3 yrs. at $20 (18 issues)
☐ Check Enclosed ☐ Bill Me

(Outside U.S. and Canada add $10 per year)

Name _____
(please print)

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Job Title _____

Organization _____

For Publisher's use only

RD:	Ex:	D:	CD:

FSJ-1

Over there, when someone asks about the Ford that was quieter than a Rolls-Royce...

BE DIPLOMATIC

Hand them the keys to your LTD



1971 LTD Brougham

Ford Quiet speaks for itself. All it takes is one ride to put the message across: Noise is out. Designed out through an intricate process of computer engineering. The same design process that made this one of the strongest, most durable cars that Ford has ever built. Strong. Safe. Smooth ride. And luxuriously silent. LTD for 1971. Take advantage of your Diplomatic discount. Order now and pay no U.S. excise tax on any American-made Ford Motor Company car when shipped abroad. For full information:

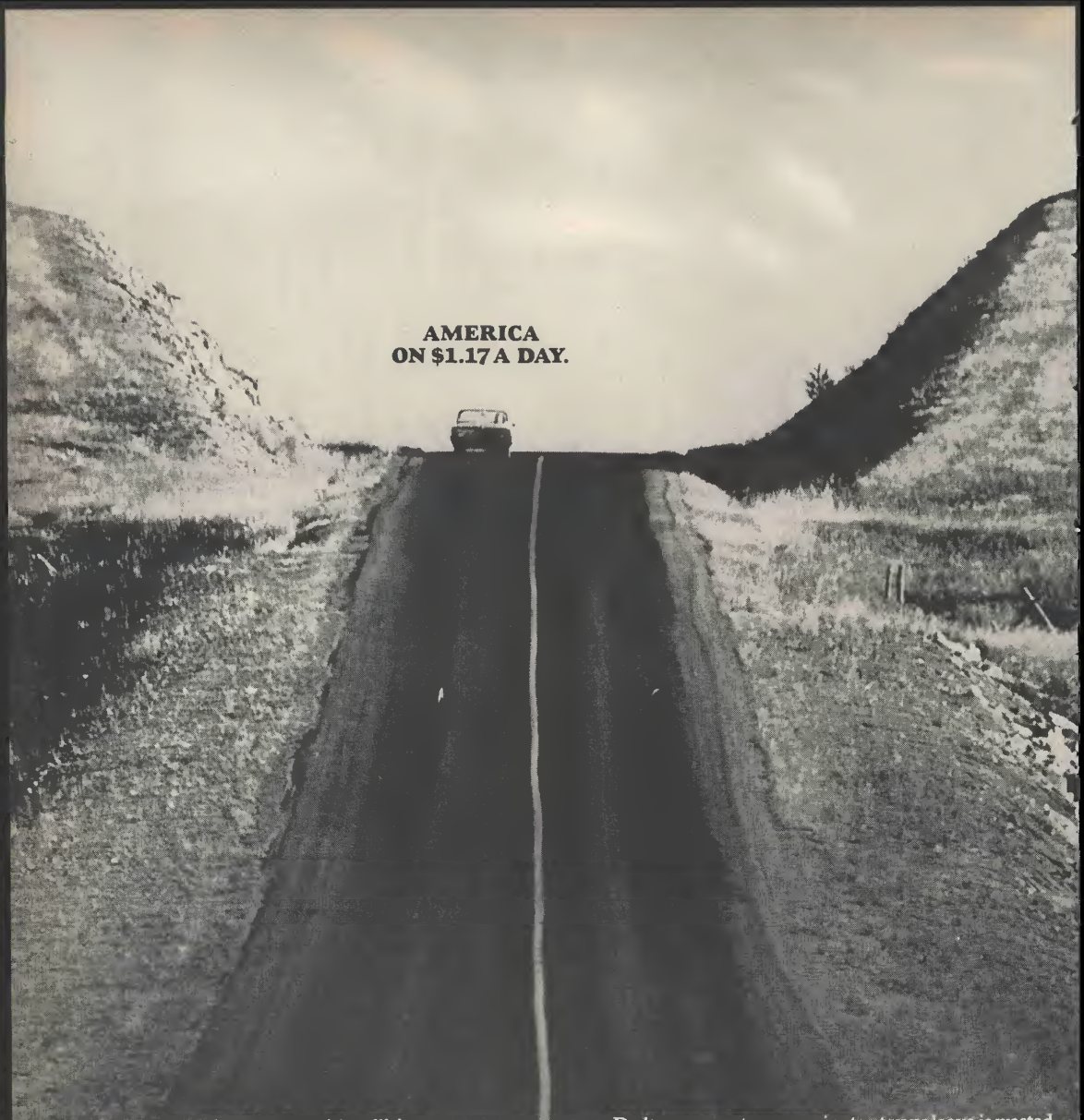
In the Washington area, contact Diplomatic Sales, Ford Motor Company, 9th Floor, 815 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington D.C. 20006. Phone—298-7419.

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

FORD • TORINO • THUNDERBIRD • MUSTANG
MAVERICK • PINTO • MERCURY, MARQUIS
MONTEREY, MONTEGO, COUGAR, COMET
LINCOLN CONTINENTAL
CONTINENTAL MARK III

Ford

Use your diplomatic discount to advantage. Order now!



Or America on $1.63 a day with collision.

That's all it has to cost for the auto insurance you need to drive through your beautiful country when you're home on leave. And for the same prices, you get Canada, too.

Add a little more to cover shipping insurance if you're taking your car over with you.

How little it costs is only outdone by how easy we make it to get.

Simply fill out the application at the bottom of the page facing this ad, send it to us with your check and we'll mail you your policy.

Do it now so not even a minute of your leave is wasted.

A.I.U. claims facilities will be at your service 24 hours a day and, if you should have to collect on a claim, we won't keep you waiting.

America on $1.17 a day is based on a 60-day leave. Thirty days and the price goes up a little to $1.73.

If somehow you've managed to accumulate three whole months, we give you America on $1.00 a day.

American International Underwriters, 1511 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, U.S.A., Telephone: (202) 737-6855.

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL UNDERWRITERS

AMERICA ON $1.17 A DAY.



TOURIST PREMIUMS UNITED STATES AND/OR CANADA.

CHECK DESIRED TERMS IN DAYS AND COVERAGES DESIRED	POLICY TERMS IN DAYS										
AUTOMOBILES Excluding operators under 25 and/or sport cars	☐ 30	☐ 45	☐ 60	☐ 75	☐ 90	☐ 105	☐ 120	☐ 135	☐ 150	☐ 165	☐ 180
A ☐ COVERAGE — INJURY OR DAMAGE TO OTHERS Bodily injury liability $25,000/50,000 Property damage $5,000 Medical payments $1,000	$52.00	$59.00	$70.00	$80.00	$90.00	$101.00	$111.00	$122.00	$134.00	$145.00	$155.00
B ☐ LOSS OR DAMAGE TO YOUR VEHICLE including Fire and Theft— Subject to $25 Deductible except Collision subject to $100 Deductible	$21.00	$23.00	$28.00	$32.00	$36.00	$41.00	$44.00	$49.00	$53.00	$58.00	$62.00
REFER TO COMPANY FOR PREMIUMS FOR 1) AUTOMOBILES VALUED IN EXCESS OF $5,000 2) RENTED AUTOMOBILES											
C ☐ MARINE SHIPMENT OF YOUR AUTOMOBILE ONE WAY TRIP $1.60 per $100 of value War Risk $0.05 per $100 of value Round Trip—double the rates above											
D ☐ TRAILERS Coverage Mandatory with *House Trailers* (Third party coverage is automatically provided on *utility trailers*—free of extra charge) Bodily injury $25,000/50,000 Property damage $5,000	$13.00	$15.00	$18.00	$20.00	$22.00	$26.00	$28.00	$30.00	$34.00	$36.00	$39.00

OPTIONAL DAMAGE TO ALL TYPES OF TRAILERS

E ☐ COMPREHENSIVE—$25 Deductible	$1.00 per $100 OF INSURED VALUE—SUBJECT TO ADJUSTMENT FOR SHORT TERM—MINIMUM 25% OF ANNUAL PREMIUM
F ☐ FIRE ONLY—	$.50 per $100 OF INSURED VALUE—SUBJECT TO SHORT RATE TABLE OR 25% OF ANNUAL PREMIUM
G ☐ THEFT ONLY—$25 Deductible	$.10 per $100 OF INSURED VALUE—SUBJECT TO SHORT RATE TABLE OR 25% OF ANNUAL PREMIUM
H ☐ COLLISION—$100 Deductible	$1.50 per $100 OF INSURED VALUE

AIU AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE APPLICATION

(Completed information must be accompanied by check and/or money order for full premium (U.S. Dollars) and mailed to AIU, Investment Bldg., 1511 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005)

Name of Applicant _____

Overseas Address _____

Mail Policy to _____

Effective Date of Insurance _____ Term _____ days

Coverages: A B C D E F G (circle coverages desired)

Has any insurance company or underwriter declined to accept or refused to renew your insurance? _____ if yes, give particulars on separate sheet. (yes or no)

Have you or any other persons or members of your household who will drive your car had any accidents during the past two years? _____ if yes, give particulars on separate sheet. (yes or no)

Do you plan to travel in Canada? _____ (yes or no)

IMPORTANT: This must be completed.

Date of Birth _____ Occupation _____

Make and Model of Motorcar _____ Value _____

Year of Manufacture _____ Motor-Serial No. _____

Name and address of Mortgagee, if any _____

_____

_____ _____

Signature of Applicant Date

my thoughts and possibly my papers, and, frankly, to decide if the fellow was worth bothering with As often as not, he was and was not."

Pinchley died in 1939 of shrinking parameters, shortly after dispatching a fresh battalion of Marines to Wales.

The work a man does, *does* live after him.

Footnote: *Watrous, curiously, figured in another telephonic chronicle. In those days, the Secretary customarily congratulated long-time employees on memorable occasions. The anniversary of Watrous's 35th year in cellar supply chanced to fall on December 8, 1941. On being told that Mr. Hull wished to speak to him on the phone, Watrous replied, "You're putting me on."*

"I'm putting him on," the Secretary's secretary said absentmindedly.

"Yes, put him on first," said a weary Cordell Hull.

Somehow it seemed to Miss Knitsch like a good idea. She has been doing it that way ever since.

A couple of definitions overheard in Vienna:
A happy diplomat has: an English country house;
a Chinese cook;
a Japanese wife;
and an American salary.

An unhappy diplomat has: a Japanese country house;
an English cook;
a Chinese salary:
and an American wife.

(*Reprinted with permission from "Talk of the World,"* ATLAS, *March, 1971.*)

For good or ill, the senior civil servant is like a great granite rock deposited in the middle of a lake carved by some long-vanished glacier. He never makes waves, but watches with cool detachment as each new administration comes pouring in like a mountain stream during the spring thaw, swirls about for a time, muddying the waters, and then trickles quietly down to the sea of oblivion.

This little volume is not for him. The career official can accept with biblical resignation the slings and arrows of successive generations of political appointees because he knows with perfect certainty that this, too, shall pass. If he appears at all in these pages, it is because we have stolen here and there some small portion of his accumulated wisdom to share with those May flies of government of whom I was once one: the presidential appointees, the cabinet officers, the under-secretaries, the bright young men, the speech writers, the aides and assistants who seem to spring from nowhere and for one brief day are allowed to fling themselves against the windows of the White House, obscuring the view. . . .

The need for spending long hours in the office has no necessary connection with the number or nature of your responsibilities. Dean Rusk once suggested that the reason for late hours in government offices is simply that the earth is round. Only one-third of the human race is asleep at any given moment. The other two-thirds is awake—and usually up to some kind of mischief.

That may explain it for the State Department, but what about the Department of Housing and Urban Development? With all due respect to Mr. Rusk, I suggest that the real secret lies elsewhere. The real reason for marathon hours as a *routine* is that government is essentially unproductive.

—From "Who Talked to the President Last," by Will Sparks. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc, copyright (C) 1971.

Worldwide All-Risk Insurance Coverage For Government Employees

Special rates for American Foreign Service Association members

The annual Government Service Policy was designed more than 40 years ago especially to meet the personal property insurance needs of all employees of the United States Government. It covers *all* household and personal effects — including, as declared, furs, jewelry, silverware, paintings, antiques, cameras, liquor —against fire, theft, mysterious disappearance, windstorms, floods, breakage and general average—at any location in the world including accompanying luggage.

The premium is the same throughout the world. Yearly premium computed as follows: first $1.000, 2%; next $4,000, 1½%; and 1% for any value thereover. Thus, for $10,000 valuation, you pay only $130 yearly. Lower rates available to AFSA members.

The policy may be extended to cover goods in transit—premium charge dependent upon origin and destination—always one-half or more off the normal transit rate.

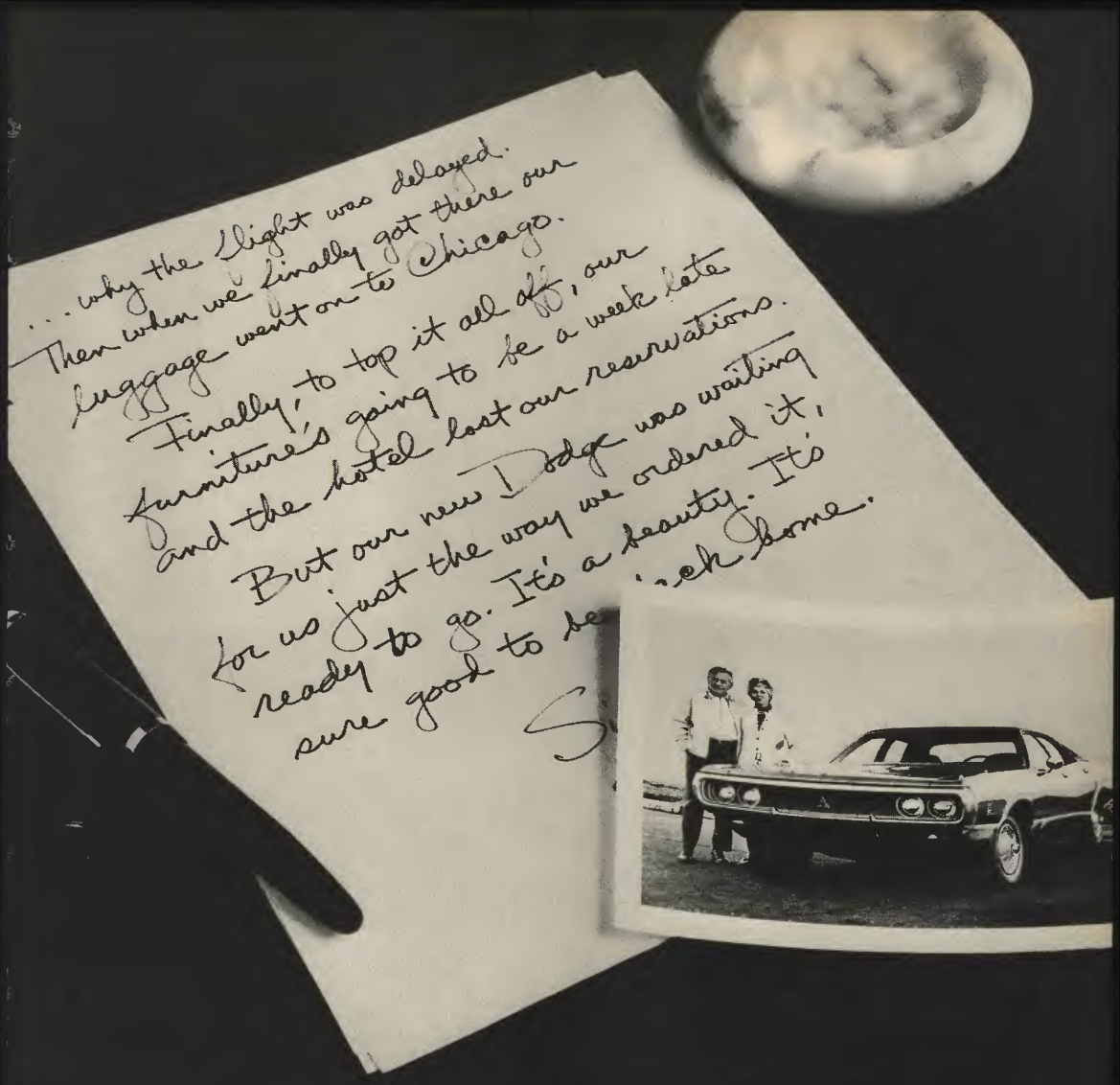
AUTOMOBILE TRANSIT COVERAGE: **Security also writes an all-risk automobile transit policy with a $50.00 deductible to any destination in the world. Contact us for rates.**

For more information, without obligation, call or write today . . .

Security Storage Company of Washington

INSURANCE DEPARTMENT
Tel. (202) 234-5600

1701 Florida Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20009 Cable: STORAGE



Why the Foreign Service likes our foreign service:

Life has enough problems. So we do our best to make sure that getting a Chrysler-built car delivered when and where you want it isn't one of them.

Like some brochures on the new 1971 models? Just drop this coupon in the mail.

To us, everybody's the Ambassador.

Chrysler Export Division, P. O. Box 1688, Detroit, Michigan, U. S. A. 48231

I'd like information on:

PLYMOUTH
- ☐ Valiant/Duster
- ☐ Barracuda
- ☐ Satellite
- ☐ Fury

- ☐ CHRYSLER
- ☐ CHRYSLER IMPERIAL

DODGE
- ☐ Dart
- ☐ Challenger
- ☐ Coronet/Charger
- ☐ Polara/Monaco

Name_____ Post_____

Address_____

City_____ Country_____

FS

EXPORT DIVISION CHRYSLER CORPORATION

One father is more than a hundred school-masters—George Herbert (1593-1633)

Piercing the Veil

JAMES SYMINGTON

James Wadsworth Symington, now of the House of Representatives, served in the Foreign Service from 1958-60 and as Chief of Protocol at the Department of State from 1966-68. An ex-Marine, Mr. Symington served as assistant city counselor of St. Louis, deputy director, Food for Peace, administrative assistant to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and director, President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

Excerpted by permission of The Macmillan Company from "The Stately Game" by James Symington. Copyright © 1971 by James Symington.

THE next best thing to agreement is courteous disagreement. Even anger can be courteous if it is not infected with hatred. Yet opposition without hatred is a necessary condition for peace, that state of equilibrium between what men or nations want and what they can be induced through reason or compassion to believe others could credibly claim for themselves. Hatred robs them of their capacity to be so induced. Worse, it robs them of compassion. If only love were as blind.

How does one come to an understanding of the part hatred or the conquest of it plays in the ordering of human affairs? More through example, I think, than precept. I learned it, among other things, from my father, a competitive man. In any argument or challenge, of minutes or months, he displays a solidity of determination that matches the jaw lines of Mount Rushmore. Yet familiar to his adversaries, in addition to his persistence, is his courtliness, his humor, and the uncanny absence of grudge regardless of the strain of the struggle or the outcome.

It is unfortunate that a father's life cannot be rerun before the eyes of a grown son who missed the first show during his oblivious childhood. Too many boys grow to manhood without knowing the challenges their fathers faced. And not knowing their fathers' challenges, they do not know their fathers. Such knowledge takes time and luck.

In growing up I saw my own father as a kind of Titan, or demi-god, moving irresistibly upward and onward as the family crest prescribes. Company presidencies and government secretaryships came naturally to him. Cover stories in LIFE and TIME seemed natural forms of recognition. Away at school and college, immersed in team sports, boxing, dating, and song, I found my father's honors comforting but remote. His confrontations with some of the less selfless cronies of President Truman, the fight for a separate Air Force, defense of the B-36 (which interrupted the first and only family trip we had ever planned), the mobilization problems of the Korean War, and his "goldfish bowl" administration of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, six successive unanimous confirmations by the Senate he would one day join—such matters would rise and fall like moderately heavy waters before the prow of a proud ship.

It was not until his first race for the Senate in 1952, when he asked for my help, and my brother's, that he suddenly came into focus for me as a natural man—not an ordinary man, to be sure, but a mortal one at least. For him the transition from boardroom to hustings was abrupt and demanding. In that hottest of summers we drove some twenty thousand miles together as a family throughout the state of Missouri. We came to know the agonies as well as the satisfactions that cram a candidate's album of memory. My brother and I discovered what our mother doubtless already knew—that it was possible for our father to become grim, to make mistakes, to misspeak himself, to suffer reverses. We began thinking of him in a new way—because to an extent, he needed us. To discover that possibility, in my case at the age of twenty-three, was a curious sensation, unsettling yet strengthening. Aside from rare illnesses, I had never been solicitous about my father. He was the one individual who could take care of himself. Now, beleaguered by predictions, first of primary defeat by Mr. Truman's handpicked candidate, second of being swept away in an Eisenhower landslide, he walked unwavering into the contest. I see him standing in a rumpled seersucker suit, hair blowing in the hot summer wind, on a hundred courthouse lawns; jumping out of the car to visit an isolated farmhouse; bending the ear of an elderly country newspaper publisher behind the clutter of a roll-top desk while among drowsing cats a grease-covered boy worked the press.

The inevitable political charges of past errors were made in full measure by my father's two opponents, one of whom, as an incumbent Senator, had written him a letter upon his resignation from Government, in unstinting praise of his public service.

It would be inaccurate to say my father maintained an even temper during this period, in spite of the guiding steadiness of his great and close Missouri friends, former Governor Forrest Smith, Judge Tipton, Jim Meredith, Stanley Fike, Sid Salomon, Clark Gifford and others. But even in the most desperate moments when we had all run out of comforting things to suggest, he would not, or perhaps could not, reply in kind. Any thought that this Jobian forbearance was mere dogged political strategy was dispelled two years later when my father went out again to meet an adversary he, like many other senators, could have avoided.

This adversary posed no immediate threat to my father's political position. He merely threatened the country. He did so by his implication in both substance and tone that half of it was traitorous. The threat was deadlier in that, as my father perceived, it was believed by many to benefit the land. Senator Joseph McCarthy himself certainly entertained the thought that his investigations in substance and style were good for the country. At least he saw no great harm in them. According to William J.

Evjue, the aging publisher I met in Madison, Wisconsin, during the 1960 campaign, McCarthy "got" the communist issue while lunching with two priests. He had asked them, "What would be a good issue at this time?" Later, said Evjue, they rued their advice.

But once unleashed in that aura of Korean stalemate, of iron curtain intransigence, of lost freedoms in East Europe—in short, of a growing communist conspiracy with "agents and sympathizers" in the United States—it did not seem prudent to challenge McCarthy's clarion cries. This was the apparent judgment of the incumbent President, and at least three future contenders, a "silent majority" as it were of Presidential hopefuls, in addition to certain stalwarts of the Senate and House.

Some matadors prefer to give the picadors a full opportunity to wound the bull, before entering the ring with sword and cape. In politics, should the bull dispatch the pics, perhaps an accommodation can be made whereby the arena is shared by a snorting bull tossing spectators in one corner, and a covey of cape flourishers in another. Here a gladiator with but two years of senatorial experience behind him, and armed only with a clear national perspective, avoided the horns, or at least their fatal thrust, and earned the rose of respect, which seemed too distant and risky a prize for the more seasoned toreadors of the time. The latter live, of course, to fight or feed other bulls.

When I first saw my father with Senator Joe McCarthy, I felt that somehow they were on a collision course. It was a hearing in New York, in 1953. The circus had come to the big top. I went downtown from Columbia Law School to see it. Reed Harris, author of "King Football" in his undergraduate days at Columbia, was defending his record with the USIA. McCarthy went for him with an easy, cynical assurance. It was his special format, not in the orderly spirit of inquiry, but a kind of good-natured, rollicking inquisition, played to the gallery. Harris acquitted himself well. It put McCarthy in a bad mood. But he offered a ride for us all back uptown, my father and I in the back seat, with the columnist Leonard Lyons, and Lyons' young son, not over twelve, in front between the driver and Joe. Draping his arm along the seatback, McCarthy spoke abusively to the driver in language unfit to be spoken in the presence of a child. But it seemed to relax the chairman; he laughed and winked at us, oblivious to the boy. We sat in stony silence. The ride was too long. The moments ticked like the first snowflakes of an impending winter. And winter came. It lasted well into spring when McCarthy's challenge to the integrity of the Army polarized him from at least one Senator, Stuart Symington.

As a member of a subcommittee that McCarthy chaired, my father had already displayed—without rancor or contentiousness—his concern for the victims of the unceasing scythe. When an elderly black woman, Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, was called to account by McCarthy for past, allegedly communist leanings, she denied the charge. While McCarthy looked on, bemused, Missouri's Junior Senator brought a hush to the hearing by saying quietly to Mrs. Moss, "I believe you. And if because of these proceedings you become unemployed, come see me. I will get you a job."

"History," wrote John Crosby, "turned a small but important corner" in that moment. My father never came back to that intersection for another look. He was on a straight road that led relentlessly to the televised contest with McCarthy at the crest of the latter's power.

It must be remembered that the Army-McCarthy hearings placed in opposition a Republican senator and a Republican Cabinet officer, Army Secretary Stevens, appointed, of course, by the Republican President. Accordingly, as the President stood aside, it was considered the better part of Democratic valor to do likewise, at least until the Administration played its cards face up. Nor had the role of the vice presidency been yet elevated to that of national moral adviser. The silences of the President were not broken by the vice president.

In the meantime, what had been wistfully looked upon as broad farce by responsible men had become a clear threat—a juggernaut. Yet as luckless colleagues were mowed down, reputations tarnished, careers ruined, most "responsible" men had joined the silent two at the top, hoping for the Wisconsin Senator to fall in a hole yet unwilling to be caught with a spade. They sensed what my father articulated in the warning to Secretary Stevens —that the Wisconsin Senator would not fight by the Marquis of Queensbury rules.

But, as Michael Straight wrote in the NEW REPUBLIC of June 21, 1954:

"Symington was neither judicious nor cautious; he was a participant by instinct, and bold—above all in this case . . . Organization Democrats were privately appalled at disclosure of his intervention in an internal Republican fight. They felt it obscured the Republican responsibilities, and deprived the Democrats of the full benefit of the dispute. But Symington was not acting as a party man. To him Army morale and the Subcommittee Chairman were not party affairs. . . . In the drama he became what Stevens could not, and none other would become—the protagonist."

That had been, in a way, his life's role—for failing companies, a separate Air Force, strong defense, efficiency in business and government, and fairness. Under his stewardship the Air Force was the first service to implement President Truman's integration order. To defend Annie Lee Moss was natural. To defend the integrity of the military was visceral. And it cost much. In addition to the skepticism of the old pros, fringe detriments included obscene phone calls to my mother, threats, curses, and strong opposition to further political progress.

I had been married a year and was living in a West Side apartment while finishing law school. During the Army-McCarthy hearings the ten-block walk to the Columbia campus was an eerie experience. The usual bustle of morning sounds was missing. The only noise to be heard from the numberless windows of the tall buildings was the droning voice of Counsel Ray Jenkins, or McCarthy's nasal querulousness, or Stevens' injured indignation. The city was mesmerized. Something was happening to people. It was fear.

Our service at neighborhood grocers, tailors, and other stores improved measurably. "You any relation to the Senator?"

"He's my father."

"Good boy."

(*Continued on page* 43)

Japan is plagued with extraordinary ecological difficulties, but the chances are good for a substantial repair of the environment, which point to some international aspects of an environmental restoration.

Dark Satanic Mills and Diplomacy

JEROME K. HOLLOWAY

Mr. Holloway has been a Foreign Service officer since 1947 and has served at Rangoon, Shanghai, Bremen, Hong Kong, University of Michigan, Tokyo, in INR and EUR, at Stockholm, Harvard University and is now Consul General at Osaka-Kobe. His most recent appearance in the JOURNAL *was in November, 1970.*

POSTING to Osaka-Kobe confers instant but only partly fraudulent status as an expert in environmental pollution. The narrow, 19-mile long coastal strip between Osaka and Kobe includes some of the modern world's most unlovely scenery, foulest air and filthiest water.

In December 1970 the Japanese Health and Welfare Ministry announced that of 34 cities whose sulphur dioxide level was too high, the worst was Oyodo ward in the center of Osaka where the average annual level was 0.095 parts per million, nearly double the national safety standard of 0.05 parts per million.

That same month over one-third of 95 rice farmers in Yao city, an Osaka satellite town, were found to be suffering from dangerously high levels of cadmium as a result of eating rice contaminated by industrial wastes of a nearby metal factory. In what the English language press called a month (November 10 through December 9, 1970) of "reinforced prevention of public nuisances," Osaka authorities turned up 52 per cent of Osaka factories in violation of ordinances on pollution. In neighboring Hyogo prefecture, whose capital is Kobe, cadmium polluted rice has been found in wide areas of the prefecture and has been condemned to be used only in industrial alcohol production.

To many people, Osaka's environmental excrescences are the deserved deserts of a people whose daily greeting is not, "Good morning," but "Are you making any money?" To others such hells are not solely the fault of Osaka and its tradition of business, first, last and always; the Japanese government, the business world and the people as a whole have chosen consciously to become "economic animals" who must live now in stables that would daunt any new Hercules. Others would trace much of today's havoc to a millennium-old culture unconcerned with civic cleanliness (as contrasted to an almost fetish-like concern with personal and ritual cleanliness).

No matter what cause is ascribed, the problem is monstrous. Even the notoriously, if necessarily, unsentimental Foreign Service Inspection Corps has recommended that steps be taken, including some that would cost money, to protect consular people at Osaka-Kobe from the ravages of their assigned environment.

At first sight and smell Osaka may indeed be the "ecological Hiroshima" that the New York TIMES sees (a tasteless simile for an American newspaper to use). This observer, no less assailed physically and esthetically, sees much more reason to hope for a better fate for Osaka and Japan. But, a successful Japanese fight against pollution may bring in train (no pun) consequences in American-Japanese relations that may delight the President's Council on Environmental Quality but also may dismay some policy planners in the Pentagon and in the Department.

The industrial world is homogeneous; a steel plant is a steel plant whether in Katowice, Gary or Kyushu. The environmental suffering caused by these plants is gener-



View from about 3,000 feet above Osaka on December 18, 1970. Note the clear sky above the Osaka smog. Courtesy of Yomiuri Shimbun.

ally the same, but in Japan, some factors have aggravated the hazards:

• Only 17 per cent of Japan's land is level enough for agriculture or industry, and for centuries Japan's farmland has been utilized fully. Hence, industry has had to be heavily overconcentrated on coastal fringes (northeastern Kyushu, the Inland Sea and the Kanto plain around Tokyo and Yokohama) which has compounded the environmental damage.

• Japan has long been a crowded island. Cities such as Kyoto, Osaka and Tokyo (the Edo of old) probably all reached a population of a million long before any American city did. Even after the bombings of World War II, Japanese cities (Nagoya and Hiroshima excepted) were not rebuilt in any but the most haphazard manner, and all the ills of over-crowding were repeated. Today, over two-thirds of Tokyo is still not hooked onto sewage lines.

• The rapidity of Japan's industrialization after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 brought enormous human and ecological costs. The latter have been more than duplicated in the rush to the world's third largest GNP that has taken place since September 1945. The growth rate for 1971 is generally predicted at 10-11 per cent, down from the 11.5 per cent of 1970. Such growth rates, even if they reflect in large part increased productivity, cannot be made without environmental damage.

• A former Japanese ambassador, Ichiro Kawasaki, has written of his countrymen that "cleanliness stops abruptly on the threshold of their own home or at the confines of their immediate environment." This was put more pungently for me last year by a Japanese friend who had just climbed Mount Fuji (waiting until he was 63 to do it): "By the end of the decade the crater will be filled in with *mikan* (tangerine) skins and ice cream wrappers." Whatever the reason or the expression for it, Japanese have not been conditioned to taking care of that which is not theirs. In an overcrowded country with a high living standard the cost of this in terms of beer cans, plastic containers and junk has been high.

• There is a long tradition of government/business cooperation in Japan which has meant that industry has generally had a freer hand for a longer time than in any Western *laissez-faire* era. Whether for industrialization in the Meiji reign, for war in the Taisho and early Showa reigns or for the god of GNP in the post-war era, industry has had government sanction, even direction, to do what was considered necessary; the public has truly been damned.

Now that TIME magazine has declared the environment to have been the "issue of the year" in 1970 we can all be wise. But just as TIME was careful not to note that it once derided Rachel Carson's warnings, we cannot assume that recognition

of the environment as a potentially disastrous problem by itself will atone for past sins.

Nowhere is this more true than in Japan. A perceptive colleague once commented that the Japanese public can take only one issue at a time and then for only a short period; thus, 1969 was the year of Okinawa, 1970 was the year of textiles and 1971 will be the year of pollution. There is something to this, and it can be applied to any highly integrated, modern society with a free, skilled and pervasive communications system; the national attention span becomes shorter and shorter, whether or not the problem becomes less and less. One wonders if that isn't what happened to the civil rights campaign in the United States. Only *Neues Deutchsland* and the *Jen Min Jih Pao* for obvious reasons seem to be capable of really sustained campaigns. But just as there were special factors which contributed to the hideousness of environmental pollution in Japan, so there are other factors which may make Japan the first nation capable of really dealing with ecological problems while still maintaining an expanding economy. Here they are:

• As in the United States, concern for the environment has become heavily identified with what American industry still likes to call "consumerism." Japan has never had more than a minuscule consumer movement, but now it has a strong nucleus for a successful one. It may be that the many instances of the pollution of rice may have brought this about; to older Japanese there is an almost spiritual element to rice. The United States Treasury Department also may have helped by suspending valuations on Japanese TV sets pending investigation of charges of less-than-domestic export prices; the backlash was not against the Treasury (except among TV producers). A vice-president of the largest TV manufacturer who had once scoffed at "consumerism," left the firm at the end of 1970, a direct casualty.

• The Japanese press has traditionally been a carping one when it could. It was founded as an anti-government movement and soon after muzzled; it regained its freedom briefly in Japan's experiment with democracy after World War I; and, after the gaggings of the militarists and the Occupation, it has once more regained its voice. It is generally a critical voice, though not, as too many American diplomats have implied, a communist inspired voice. The environmental issue has been made to order for this press. Daily newspaper circulation in Japan is 36,000,000, the population is for all practical purposes 100 per cent literate and Japanese papers are less reliant on advertising revenue than their American counterparts. Previous press campaigns against the security relationship with the United States, against the conservatively-oriented government in Tokyo, have all foundered on the realities of the international world and the common sense of the Japanese voter. Now, the environment issue enables the press to muckrake, criticize, feel self-righteous and at the same time be popular. Pollution is not going to be allowed to die easily as an issue in Japan.

• The ruling Liberal-Democratic government in Japan has shown itself remarkably quick in sensing the political implications in any anti-pollution campaign. The Liberal-Democratic Party's (LDP) long and intimate association with Japanese big business would make it the inevitable victim of fall-out on the environmental issue. Thus, the government has had passed through the last session of the Diet fourteen major bills on environmental control. There were strong attempts by business factions to dilute these bills, particularly on criminal liability for pollution damage and on the standard of proof in damage cases arising from pollution injury. Nonetheless, the 14 bills have become law and the government has now announced that a national administrative agency on environmental control will be established April 1, 1971. Whatever cynics may hint about the staying power of the LDP government on the pollution issue, for a politician there is no way around the realities of a situation such as that in an under-developed town in Oita Prefecture in southern Japan where there was a successful recall action against the mayor for inviting a lime manufacturer and a cement company to put up factories in the town. In the subsequent election the incumbent was returned with a greatly reduced majority but not before both companies had signed agreements on compensation for possible damages plus agreements on the hours during which raw materials could be transported. Nor could a politician overlook a successful petition fight in Chiba City, a town about 90 miles from Tokyo, where anti-pollution groups collected 18,252 signatures demanding an anti-pollution ordinance; in Japan, one-fifth of the registered voters (in Chiba this would have been 6,383 signatures) can request enactment of a local ordinance. The campaign for signatures was featured by comparisons between Chiba's regulations with those of cities with "Socialist or Socialist-backed mayors."

• There are cultural considerations in Japan that weigh more heavily in environmental control than similar considerations elsewhere. The social cohesiveness of the Japanese makes them capable of a truly massive communal effort once a consensus has been reached. This cohesiveness, born of racial homogeneity, isolation, the memory of rigid and pervading discipline and the lack of a humanistic or individualistic tradition, has made the Japanese capable of feats of united action with few parallels in history; the modernization of Japan, the war against the West and, most recently and probably more appositely, the successful limitation of population increase.

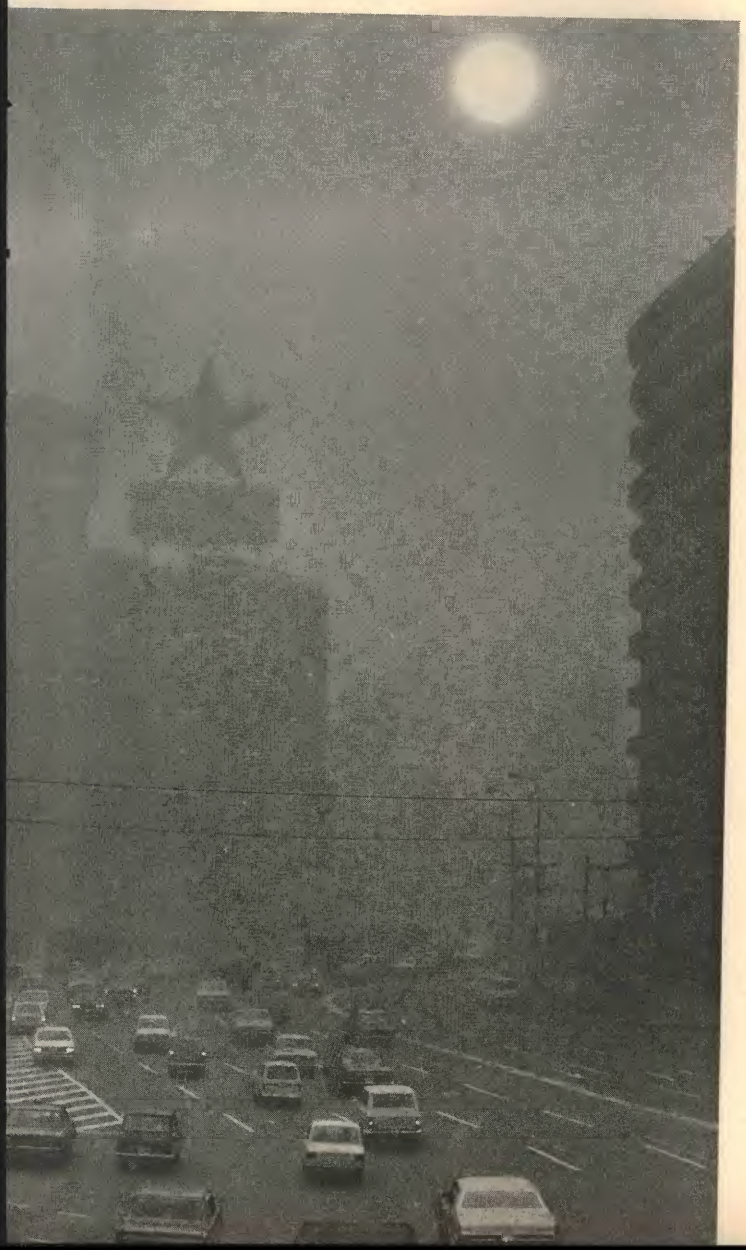
Thus, if a real consensus is developed that the environment *is* the issue, the Japanese people have prodigious energies to put into that issue.

One measure of a possible consensus was seen in the *Mainichi* newspaper's survey for New Year's Day 1971 on "to what extent life is worth living." Of 4,552 Japanese surveyed, over 80 per cent expressed disquiet that the destruction of nature would continue and that traditional Japanese sentiments would be lost owing to uncontrolled economic development. Another measure is in a survey by the Japan Recruiting Center of the attitudes of 3,329 students in 43 state universities and two large private universities in Tokyo; 70 per cent knew about

the basic anti-pollution laws, the same percentage had read with much interest newspaper and magazine articles on pollution and 91 per cent said that blame for pollution lies with "enterprises that lack a sense of responsibility." When it came to job hunting, 41 per cent said that they would not work for a firm that was a major pollutant, while 17 per cent said they would seek jobs in such firms just to see what could be done about the problem.

Related to this in a way is the shame-not-guilt culture. Ruth Benedict's pioneering study, "The Chrysanthemum and the Sword" may have overdone this aspect of Japanese life, but it is a potent fact in dealing with those believed responsible for environmental damage. This had a tragic cultural overtone in the suicide recently of a 20-year old girl in protest against the suffering of her town from the *Itai-itai* (it hurts, it hurts) disease which affects the kidneys of those whose cadmium intake is too high. But often those whose factories are responsible for pollution can be shamed into corrections or at least resignations and temporary retirement. Had the president of General Motors been a Japanese he would not have survived the Nader harassment incident with just a wigging from Senator Robert Kennedy and an out-of-court settlement; he would have had to apologize publicly, resign and retire from business life for a while.

Area near the Consulate General on December 18, the day a smog alert was issued in Osaka. Courtesy of Asahi Shimbun.



• The last and uniquely Japanese factor is the government-business relationship that has been described already as having had so much to do with the sorry state of the Japanese environment today. Critics from the American Old Left or New Left who denounce as sinister the alleged alliance between business and government in the United States are thought by Japanese who have compared the two systems merely to have overly-tender sensitivities or over-developed imaginations.

Here the alliance is reflected less in laws, regulations and other factors than in devices such as "administrative guidance," which can become so detailed as to become outright dictation of investment, sales and credit operations. It may not be as bad as Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber described it to the United States Congress: "In Japan, industry and government are in the same hands, largely speaking." Then presumably still speaking largely, he went on to blame all of Japan's pollution trouble on this alliance. What Servan-Schreiber forgot was to apply Bismarck's observation that in every alliance there is a rider and a horse; in Japan the government is very much the rider. Thus, if the government makes a decision for improvement of the quality of the environment, it has already gone a long way

toward implementing the decision.

No Japanese automobile maker would echo Detroit's plaint that a pollution-free engine by 1975 is technically impossible and downright absurd. He might think it at some stage in the development of such a requirement, but by the time the regulation would be promulgated, the manufacturer would have been co-opted, berated and then submerged in a consensus that such an engine was socially desirable. What should frighten Detroit is that this seemingly complaisant manufacturer might also produce that engine by 1974.

We predict too often in the Foreign Service; it matters little if we're right (because no political master is going to act on a prediction), while if we're wrong, we have the indignity of watching the next promotion go to some clod who is adept at writing "on the one hand, but then on the other." But for a long shot, who will quote the odds that Japan will do better eventually at environmental quality control than the United States? No one expects complete success and everyone must expect mistakes in priorities and some unforeseen and confusing side effects, like the English lady professor who thought the sign on a Chicago expressway, "Think before you litter," was just coarsely expressed birth control advice. In sum, though, I think a combination of (a) the environment as an idea whose time has come, (b) the social discipline of the Japanese people and (c) the institutionalized capacity of the central government to channel business investment and operations could make Japan the model for all of us in ecological protection.

What then of the international complications? As the President has proposed, there are certain elements of environmental control that can be made a fit subject for international law and practice, particularly oceanic controls. Then, there is the need to exchange experience, data and personnel; Prime Minister Sato and the President had this in mind in their agreement of October 6 on meetings to discuss intensified Japanese-American cooperation in solving mutual air pollution and broader environmental projects; under this agreement Russell E. Train, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, visited Japan in October 1970. At that time he saw, among other things, the sophisticated Environmental Pollution Control Center operated by the Osaka Prefectural government.

Obviously, in an integrated world economy standards on exports must be mutually agreed to. What are internationally acceptable limits of mercury in canned tuna, pollution in automobile exhaust?

Then, there is the broader question of whether a nation's expenditures to improve environmental quality should have the effect of putting its exports at a competitive disadvantage. This is a problem that could be dealt with bilaterally in a relatively limited number of cases, but, given international consensus on the environment, it might well be handled multilaterally.

And, then there is the question of the Soviet Union, its allies, ideological helpmates and reluctant collaborators. Pollution is no respecter of creeds, and there is the abundant eyewitness testimony of many travelers, East and West, that the Communist world's environmental problems are in about the samc ratio as that world's economic development. *Komsomolskyaa Pravda* reported last summer that Ural River fish stocks that once seemed inexhaustible are dying; "The river is perishing, poisoned by the wastes from the industrial enterprises of the towns." Yet, it is still not clear that the Soviets will not denounce international agreeements to limit environmental damage as "capitalist schemes to limit the development of peoples' democracies."

The Stockholm United Nations Conference of 1972 on pollution will undoubtedly see many of the less developed countries arguing that environmental controls are only a pretext to limit their economic growth. There will be many temptations, ideological, political and practical for the Soviets to echo such arguments.

In Japanese-American bilateral relations there are also dangers in environmental diplomacy. The Japanese claim, for instance, that our Department of Agriculture restructions, under which their citrus fruits are kept out of many states on sanitary grounds, are actually an arbitrary non-tariff barrier. It would be useful if there were some disabuse of the Japanese idea that all American governmental actions are synchronized and coordinated to a common end; any American administration would be flattered to think that it was capable of orchestrating the bureaucracy with the delicacy and sureness that the Japanese (obviously from ethnocentricity) attribute to it. It has been depressing to find Osaka businessmen correlating a Food and Drug Administration finding on the amount of mercury in swordfish imported from Japan with White House efforts to find a solution to the impasse on textile imports into the United States.

Finally, a word about the larger implications of a major Japanese effort in the environment. One of the articles of faith in State and AID is that Japan's economic assistance is of great importance to the successful economic development of Southeast Asia; in some circles this is broadened to include South Asia. True, the Japanese have agreed to increase their aid to one per cent of GNP by 1975. But a repair job to the Japanese ecological scenc is going to be costly, and whether for political or economic reasons, it could limit possibilities for Japanese aid to Asia after 1975.

Then, there is the problem of Japanese defense. At present its cost is a little less than one per cent of GNP; it will rise somewhat in absolute terms in the next defense plan and as Japan takes over responsibility for the defense of the Ryukyu chain after reversion in 1972. But there are many who are predicting a major Japanese military effort in the future. Such people are liable to be disappointed when they see the ecological bill that Japan has run up. Again, whether for political or economic reasons, a Japanese government might well point to that bill should it be suggested that Japan's disproportionately small share of the common defense effort be increased. In both the aid and defense cases there is a potential for serious misunderstanding. The diplomacy of both sides must now take into account the environment; one wonders if that was the next generation squalling, "And, about time." ■

OUR URBAN ILLS

JOHN BURNS

Mr. Burns is an editorial consultant in urban affairs, education and the environment for such clients as the National Urban Coalition, the United States Office of Education, the United States Environmental Health Service and the Kettering Foundation.

Copyright © CITY Magazine, published bi-monthly by the National Urban Coalition.

Our environmental and urban ills both stem from the same sources: the way we shape, or do not shape, the world we share in common.

LATE and soon, getting and spending, we lay waste not only our rivers, lakes, land, and air, but our cities, schools, neighborhoods, streets, people.

Now that environment and ecology have become everybody's bag, some have begun to open it and to really examine its contents. And they have found that it contains a lot more than they imagined. For one thing, it just isn't possible to be concerned with plants or open space without, at the same time, being concerned with people and urban slums. So in the eastern United States, for example, the Sierra Club is placing more of its emphasis upon the problems of the urban environment.

But it goes a lot deeper than that. Our environmental and urban ills both stem from the same source: the way we shape, or do not shape, the world we share in common.

We treat those things that belong to all of us together—air, water, land, the cities and suburbs we live and work in—as if they belonged to each of us alone, or to nobody at all. We make our most important decisions concerning these things not deliberately or directly, as matters of common and conscious choice, but indirectly and accidentally, as by-products of thousands upon thousands of individual decisions to consume. We make them, in short, by the blind balloting of the marketplace.

To take a single, simple example: no family considers a move to a suburban home with a two-car garage as having any consequences beyond the benefits it brings them. Yet it is decisions like this, multiplied millions of times over, that have helped mutilate metropolitan areas all over the country. To begin with, it has largely been the reasonably well-off white who could afford to make this decision. Since World War II, millions upon millions have done so, in the process draining our cities of their most valuable human and financial resource, the middle class. Beyond the city's boundaries, they developed their own relatively self-sufficient communities: schools, shopping centers, recreation areas, public services. Industry and trade followed them into the suburbs, further depleting the city's financial resources as well as its reservoir of skilled and unskilled jobs. Outside of an occasional oasis of affluence, the only people left in the city were those who could not afford to leave: the poor, the black, the brown, the aged, the infirm, the ethnics—people more and more dependent on public services the city was less and less able to provide. As the suburbs spread out further and further, more and more freeways tore into the city from all directions. More valuable urban land had to be devoted to the care and feeding of the automobile (which belonged, in the first place, to people who did not live in the city).

There are other consequences: the almost insupportable strain on public services generated by "leapfrogging" and urban sprawl, the pollution of air, earth, and water as industry, autos, residential developments proliferate without plan or purpose across the countryside. It's a thoroughly depressing story. Where it will end nobody knows. But it begins with what most Americans would insist is an utterly ordinary, innocent, nobody-else's-business exercise of individual choice. (This choice and its effects have, of course, been supported, even stimulated, by federal housing and highway policies and programs, local zoning and building codes, the fragmentation of local jurisdictions, and the like. And these, by and large, were designed to serve a particuar, private clientele —middle- and upper-income whites for the most part— and to exclude all others. For example, by setting the "entrance" or "membership" requirements so high—large lots, three or more bedrooms, etc.—many suburbs have effectively excluded the black, the brown, and the white who could not meet the initial price for such large lots and homes, let alone the upkeep and the taxes.)

Americans are not unaware of urban ills, especially those from which they personally suffer, such as traffic congestion. They fuss and fume. And wonder, "What did we do to deserve all this? We're decent, godfearing, do our jobs, obey the law, take care of our wives and families, pay our taxes, and mind our business." They do not see the problems of our cities and our environment as in any way the consequence of their own choices—or more precisely, of the way in which they make these choices.They did not *intend* these consequences; therefore, they share no responsibility for them.

Nor does any polluter ever intend to pollute. Nobody ever intends any of these things. And that is precisely the trouble: we make the most far-reaching decisions about our physical and social environment without ever realizing that we are making them. In a real sense, we don't make them. They simply happen as the largely unintended consequences of our individual decisions to consume or not to consume. These consequences, when we do become aware of them, seem to come out of nowhere. And they do, really, come out of nowhere: out of a vast network of decisions that nobody deliberately made.

But we've now reached the stage (and the state) where we can't escape the consequences (although we continue to display an uncommon agility in sidestepping any responsibility for them). As a result of our rampant individualism in these public matters we find, ironically enough, our own individual freedoms increasingly restricted, our own individual choices increasingly reduced. (To take a mundane example: now that the landscape is literally littered with highways and the highways literally lined with cars, none of us can use these cars with anything like the freedom that we bought them for in the first place.)

A number of economists and social scientists have begun to address themselves to this problem, but for the

most part only peripherally and in utterly mind-boggling prose: men like E. J. Mishan, Anthony Downs, Robert Dahl, Charles Lindblom, and Kenneth Arrow (who speaks mostly in mathematics). Probably the most comprehensible of these is Daniel Bell, who has summed things up in this way: "More and more we are becoming a 'communal society' in which the public sector has a greater importance and in which the goods and services of the society—those affecting cities, education, medical care, and the environment—will increasingly have to be purchased jointly. Hence, the problem of social choice and individual values, the question of how to reconcile conflicting individual desires through the political mechanism rather than the market, becomes a potential source of discord."

In short, in a world where everything relates to everything else, in which we live in increasingly close quarters, in which our interactions with each other are multiplied and magnified by our various forms of technology, we have to make more and more choices in common. Each of us, to take an often used example, can buy his own suit of clothes or his own car, but none of us (although we rarely seem to realize it) can buy his own share of clean air or his own stretch of clear highway. And we can no longer afford to leave to the "invisible hand" of the marketplace—that most elusive and most powerful body of city planners, highway engineers, real estate developers, polluters, what have you—decisions that affect the lives of all of us.

But Americans don't take easily to doing things in common—not things that matter. Everything may well relate to everything else, but the unfortunate corollary is that, in this country, nobody relates to anybody else. As White House adviser Daniel Patrick Moynihan put it in an earlier incarnation: "The millionaire who owns a plant and pours soot into the air does so because he doesn't know who you are and doesn't feel he has to act as if it matters to him. He doesn't have a sense of community. He's no different from the half-crazy kid snatching purses in the ghetto."

The fragmentation in our society needs no illustration. It is increasingly reflected, like stigmata gone wild, on the skulls of our citizens. Thus far, all we have come up with to heal our wounds and make us all friends and neighbors again was the great big come-together day on the Fourth of July, cochaired by Bob Hope and Billy Graham and surely coordinated, inevitably, by an anonymous gentleman from Walt Disney Productions. Which, if nothing else, underscores the wry remark of sociologist Philip Slater that "our approach to social issues inevitably falls back on cinematic tradition, in which social problems are resolved by gesture."

In his recent book, "The Pursuit of Loneliness," Slater suggests, among many other things, that American culture "deeply and uniquely" suppresses three human desires:

"(1) The desire for *community*. . .; (2) The desire for *engagement*—the wish to come directly to grips with social and interpersonal problems . . .; (3) The desire for *dependence*—the wish to share responsibility for [one's own desires and direction.]"

He traces this suppression to "our commitment to individualism," whose roots lie "in the attempt to deny the reality and importance of human interdependence." Thus, he elaborates, "we seek a private house, a private means of transportation, a private garden, a private laundry, self-service stores, and do-it-yourself skills of every kind. An enormous technology seems to have set itself the task of making it unnecessary for one human being ever to ask anything of another . . . ." As a result, "our encounters with others tend increasingly to be competitive. . . . We less and less meet our fellow man to share and exchange, and more and more often encounter him as an impediment or a nuisance."

And we have, indeed, become a society increasingly segregated and stratified by race, class, age, income, occupation—almost any category of exclusion we can think of. Our superficial gregariousness and bonhomie tend to cover up our resistance to any sort of real relationship with others. We are becoming, as a result, more isolated, insulated, alienated, angry. To overcome all this we try group therapy, encounter groups, Woodstocks, discotheques. Or failing these, we have at each other in the streets (violence is after all, a kind of communion, especially when in the form of face-to-face confrontation).

Never have so many of us seemed to have so little in common, or so great a need to act in common.

Everything cries out, therefore, for some far-reaching changes in both our attitudes and our institutions (both public and private). Our attitudes and institutions are, of course, interdependent; we cannot change one without, in some way, changing the other. Which is why institutional change cannot wait upon changes in attitude, and vice versa. Many of us over 50 remember how, up until the Supreme Court decision of 1954, and even after that, the favorite official excuse for doing little or nothing about the denial of the most elemental civil rights to blacks was that it was impossible by legislation to alter people's attitudes.

Often, in fact, our institutions have an uncanny way of aping our attitudes. "Each locality," wrote planner Paul Davidoff recently, "assumes that its behavior affects only its own residents." And some of our most basic attitudes have, in a real sense, become institutions, institutions that most resist and impede change. It seems clear, for example, that we're wasting our breath when we call for cooperation, community, unity, harmony and, at the same time, embrace and extoll an ethic that places such a high premium on competition and conflict, often of the most destructive sort, that we seem to be saying that trying to beat the other guy out and down somehow brings out the best in everybody. Dr. Moynihan, who has often lamented the loss or lack of community in America, has also remarked that in America you are what you do: we achieve our "identities" through our "occupations." And we succeed, in our occupations, largely by competing with others and looking out for our own personal interests.

Our society offers all sorts of incentives for getting ahead at the expense of others, or without them, or despite them, but very few for cooperating with or helping them. For example, we all know that the federal tax structure (which, like the federal budget, is a pretty good gauge of our national sense of values) is unfair. But we rarely see it as, beyond that, an intricate system of incentives that, as Philip Slater remarks, "rests on the principle of rewarding single-minded devotion to self-

aggrandizement [deductions for charitable contributions notwithstanding]." It rewards "the man who devotes his life to making money" and leaves "the man who devotes his life to service" to "pick up the check."

Since, in fact, our mechanisms for public choice are largely market mechanisms, a good part of our strategy must be to reform as well as to replace these mechanisms. Urban economist Wilbur Thompson, for example, has often argued that "the failure to use price—as an *explicit* system—in the public sector of the metropolis is at the root of many, if not most, of our urban problems." Others may find more and deeper roots, but Thompson is undoubtedly right when he describes the city as a "distorted price system."

"We treat," says Thompson, "the scarcest things in our cities, street space at rush hour, as if it were free goods." We subsidize urban sprawl by setting the price of using urban fringe space far too low, "well below the full costs of running pipes, wires, police cars, and fire engines farther than would be necessary if buildings lots were smaller." "Residential developers," Thompson goes on to say, are seldom discouraged (penalized by price) from leapfrogging over the contiguous, expensive vacant land to build on the remote cheaper parcels."

We might also consider the example of the British. Since the value of a developer's land is largely created by public improvements such as streets, transportation lines, utilities, etc., the British charge the developer a fee roughly equal to the increase in land value that results from public improvements. In this country, planner William Finley has, in fact, suggested that enough profit can be generated by public improvements of previously undeveloped land—thus changing rural into urban land—to pay for the public costs of "planning and development of a large new community, including the installation of public facilities, [with] something left over at the end."

One of the most attractive ideas for financing pollution control and, at the same time, discouraging pollution is the so-called "effluency fee" (or abuser charge) which would be levied on a given industry in roughly the amounts required to clean up the pollution that industry generates. Wisconsin Senator William Proxmire has sponsored a bill that would levy a federal fee of 10 cents per pound for industrial wastes poured into the nation's rivers. Half of the money would be used to subsidize municipal waste treatment. As opposed to direct financial aids, such as tax credits (which simply reward polluters and offer no incentives for finding cheaper ways of cutting their pollution down), this method has some real advantages: it pays for at least some of the clean-up, it gives industry a genuine incentive (the need to offset the cost of the fee) to find more efficient and less effluent ways of operating, and it gives the public a disincentive (in the form of higher prices) for buying products and services that pollute.

There are, then, lots of ways of using the price system to ration and rationalize the use of public services and facilities to reflect the true social cost of the private use or abuse of things that belong to us all. But there is one other important area in which it makes sense to use the market mechanism for public purposes: when so many public decisions are made, and public services distributed, on a market basis, those who have the greatest buying power are best served, and those with least buying power are served least well, if at all. Money does, unfortunately, do much of our most important talking, thinking, deciding, voting, planning. To give the poor more buying power in the market (as well as to make an end run around bureaucratic and other bottlenecks) we have seen the emergence of such techniques as the creation of public markets in housing and the issuing of performance contracts to private industry in education; income rather than service strategies for helping the poor; "voucher" systems for enabling poor families to choose, as more prosperous families do now, among a variety of public and private schools.

But important, even essential, as these moves may be to make the market meet public needs, they do not get to the real guts of the problem: the way we don't make genuine choices about our cities, transportation systems, land use, air, water. They do nothing to remedy the utter diffusion of responsibility we suffer from. The fact that the market is a great cop-out, that it relieves anybody of any real responsibility for its results, is surely one reason we're so fond of using it. Nor do they serve as mechanisms for making conscious, coherent choices in common.

The kinds of mechanisms that we need must do at least two things: first enable us to understand and evaluate the costs and consequences of alternative courses of action as well as the impact of any given action upon other aspects of our environment. And second, they must enable all those affected by their operations to have a real voice in developing the alternatives and deciding among them. Simply, they must reflect the fact that everything relates to everything else and that (within limits) everybody relates to everybody else.

Some of our most passionate calls for such mechanisms have come, lately, from some rather surprising places. FORTUNE magazine, for example, has counseled "such drastic innovations as restructuring the market, the government, and the university" and the invention of "political, economic, and intellectual processes that will give us, as a society and as individuals, more real choice." (FORTUNE senior editor Max Ways, a man of immaculately conservative views, has argued with unanswerable cogency that "the use and value of one man's land depends on what his neighbor does with his land," and that "if this new reality is not reflected in our laws and other social institutions, then actual freedom of choice diminishes.")

All our efforts to isolate ourselves from others and insulate ourselves from the impact of our actions (often adverse) upon them has, in a curious way, come full circle. Now all of us, poor and prosperous alike, find ourselves being pushed and pulled about by forces that we cannot really comprehend, let alone control. Our reluctance to exercise any common control over the world we share in common has resulted in a society that generates a terrific amount of centripetal force, bearing down upon our individual lives from what seem like a thousand hidden sources, while it offers little opportunity (short of violence or some other form of direct, dramatic action) for any reciprocal influence upon all those outer forces that seem sometimes to overwhelm us.

Sometimes, therefore, we react blindly and brutally. But we are also starting to assert and exert ourselves in

(*Continued on page* 44)

"America's Troubles have grown too large and lumpy to be kicked under the rug yet once more. A Silent Majority that tried to walk on such a rug would soon trip and fall, probably breaking its neck."

AS NEW YORK GOES

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

Alexander Campbell, until recently the managing editor of the NEW REPUBLIC, *has written three "Heart" books (about Africa, India and Japan) as well as a recent critical study of American policies in Vietnam, "Unbind Your Sons."*

"Girding for the reaction to his assault on Americans and their troubles, he says, 'I may escape lynching the way the wedding guest did in Glasgow. Things got ugly when he was accused of having raped the bride. He didn't deny it but he appeased the crowd with an apology.'"

From the forthcoming book, "The Trouble with Americans," by Alexander Campbell. Copyright © 1971 by Praeger Publishers, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

So that's what they mean by the Birth of a Nation," observed my Edinburgh friend Dr. Willie Macleod, as we gazed through the morning mist at the Statue of Liberty. Seen from the Battery, she does look pregnant.

For a whole day, all the time he had to spare, Willie Macleod and I went about New York City, peering up at its tall towers and sometimes ascending them, walking its broad avenues and crossing on or under its bridges, overwhelmed by its vast artifacts, our ears assailed by its unending racket. It was like picking one's way across the huge floor of a dirty boiler room in some inconceivably tremendous factory.

We paused briefly in a busy restaurant for a hasty meal, and Willie told the waitress, with mild authority, "Lassie, this table needs a wee dight." That means "wipe," and the table girl got it; the black girl seemed amused to be called a lassie. She was the nicest person we met that day. The people on the hurrying streets appeared tired and bemused, and an amazing number of them, Willie remarked, were moving their lips as they walked, talking to themselves.

Most of our short time we spent in Manhattan, where the skyscrapers seemed rooted in acres of squalor and there were some very dark patches indeed, of sweaty sex and worse, off Broadway. At the end of our day, as we waited on a windy corner, where grit and bits of paper were tossed about, for the bus that would take him to the airport from where he would fly to Canada and then home, my Scottish friend said, "What this town needs is a big dight." And so, of course, it does.

New York is huge, filthy, on the whole friendly, but greatly Troubled. And the city's ills reveal much of what troubles the country. As New York goes, the United States goes, for the majority of Americans now live in metropolitan regions that follow in New York's footprints. But the city nowadays symbolizes the American Nightmare, not the American Dream it once did. For many of its citizens, New York has become a kind of Vietnam—violent and also ungovernable.

TIME magazine boasts that, by comparison with New York City, "almost any place is Oshkosh." The city has more people than forty-five of the fifty states: eight million. Yet sheer size is one of its problems. New York may be a Pathopolis, a city dying of its diseases. Or it may be a sort of huge, man-made forest where many trees die even as more grow. In places, the vigor of growth literally shakes the earth; pneumatic drills bite the soil, more tall buildings roar up. The brand-new 110-story twin towers of the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan, the highest edifice on the planet, have ended the long reign of the Empire State Building (102 stories).

New York is the financial center of the world and the front office of nearly every major corporation. Manhattan's new black aluminum and brown and blue glass buildings represent colossal wealth. The nine New York banks stand for the highest concentration of economic power in history. Chinese emperors and pyramid-building Pharaohs were small stuff compared to New York bankers.

New Yorkers would like to think that they lead in culture and intellect as well as in wealth and in size. The New York Public Library on Fifth Avenue can seat 800 readers, and has 5 million books (also two stone lions, which are said to roar when a virgin or similar mythological creature passes by). The Metropolitan Museum of Art has thirty-two Rembrandts—nine more than the Louvre. The Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts cost $160 million to build. The Ford Foundation on the East River has white-oak parquet floors and is profuse with marble and bronze. The walls of the elevators are softened by steer hides; offices are paneled in costly Belgian linen; desks are of Honduras mahogany. The Foundation dispenses charity in an atmosphere of leisured luxury contrasting with the conditions of worldwide hardship and poverty it seeks to ameliorate.

Does all this and more make good New York's claim to cultural and intellectual as well as financial leadership? Across the avenue from the Ford Foundation (on land donated by the Rockefeller family) is the United Nations. Saudi Arabia's representative, Jamil M. Baroody, denounced New York as being a home of gangsters, and



"lacking in atmosphere conducive to normal thought and action." "Manhattan must have been a beautiful island when the Indians lived here," he added. "It was lovely even in 1940. But things have changed since."

New York has other critics. The Lincoln Center, which stretches along Broadway for half a dozen blocks from Sixty-third Street, has been dismissed as a piece of "pompous snobbery" by the urban critic Wolf von Eckardt. Broadway, once an Indian war path, has long symbolized the theater, but in New York this now generally means a dozen or so long-running comedies that gross about $1 million a week, with seat prices geared to the credit card and the expense account. The real theater moved off Broadway, and there it underwent an exciting rebirth. But according to the distinguished critic Robert Brustein, writing in the NEW REPUBLIC, its *marketable* product is "erotic exhibitionism. Each production attempts to nudge further back the collapsing boundaries of what is allowable on the stage." (To illustrate, Mr. Brustein described one dramatic episode in which a bucolic swain strangled his girl friend in a fit of envious rage, on hearing in an adjoining barn another yokel joyously disporting with a pig.) Broadway itself, "The Great White Way," is thoroughly tawdry by day and by night is just neon laid solidly on cheap-looking movie theaters offering raw sex. Jacquelin Robertson, Mayor John V. Lindsay's director of midtown development, told McCandlish Phillips of the NEW YORK TIMES that "the thing about Times Square that is so wonderful is its haphazard vitality," and she compared it proudly with a "great, outdoor fun palace." Mr. Phillips gallantly played up pointing out to his readers that a stroller in Times Square

> can as the whim seizes him go bowling, drink coconut champagne, watch flapjacks being flipped on a window grill, be analyzed by a perceptive computer, buy foreign periodicals, play billiards, roll rubber balls into slots in Pokerino parlors, trip the light fantastic with amenable lovelies at the Tango Palace . . . eat a chow mein sandwich at Nathan's, buy a Swiss hat with his name stitched into it, survey 51 kinds of pocketknives in the window of World Wide Gifts, watch an animated cartoon unfold in flashing light bulbs . . . buy leaking highball glasses in a joke shop.

Yes. But when the late Gilbert Keith Chesterton first saw Broadway and surveyed the long melancholy kaleidoscope of colored lights advertising everything from pork to pianos, *he* said, "What a glorious garden of wonders this would be, to anyone who was lucky enough to be unable to read." Chesterton put the cup of coconut champagne from him.

In the 1970s, Times Square and Broadway are likely to be engulfed by glass offices and marble banks. Skyscrapers have already moved like glaciers along Park and Third avenues to usher in a dull architectural Ice Age. One of Mayor Lindsay's task forces calls them "tall expressionless buildings, almost always totally empty of character—dull symbols of business," whether office buildings or apartments.

When the City Planning Commission proposed another 30 million square feet of office space in Manhattan, there was opposition from several quarters. In one protest, sixty black and Puerto Rican militants invaded a luncheon given by the planners at the New York Hilton Hotel in honor of New Jersey Governor Richard J. Hughes. According to Karl Meyer, writing in the WASHINGTON POST of Sunday, November 23, 1969, the militants stomped up and down shouting, "Damn the master plan!" and the enraged planners threw hard rolls at the militants.

In spite of the great Manhattan building boom, scores of blocks east and west of Fifth Avenue are like rows of blackened teeth. They smell. Elsewhere in New York, according to the city chapter of the American Institute of Architects, "mile on mile" of physical decay outpaces new building. A study group of the Institute of Public Administration told Mayor Lindsay that, in New York, "affluence and poverty, power and frustration, progress and stagnation exist side by side and in heavier concentrations and starker contrasts than anywhere in the nation." Stewart Udall, when he was Secretary of the Interior, described New York as "people jammed together in polluted air, and surrounded with polluted water, with no place to go." Later, the City Planning Commission concurred. "The air is polluted," said an official report. "The streets are dirty and choked with traffic. The subways are jammed. The waters of the rivers and bays are fouled. There is a severe shortage of housing. The municipal plant is long past its prime. Greatest of all is the problem of the slums."

These conditions relate directly to excessive concentration on the creation of high-profit, high-rise buildings in Manhattan. Putting roofs over ordinary people's heads was not as profitable. An apparent total absence in New York City of reasonable priced housing has created what the National City Bank calls a "pathological condition." The bank's July, 1969, newsletters reported:

> The streets of Brooklyn, the Bronx, and upper Manhattan abound with boarded-up, broken-windowed, burned-out, empty eyesores. The contrasts between well maintained strects containing excellent middle-class housing and other areas with exactly the same basic structures that bear the scars of neglect, abuse, and vandalism present convincing evidence of social malaise.

New York City loscs human shelter at an annual rate of 21,000 units to the exigencies of business, culture, and philanthropy. Additionally, about 3,000 buildings are simply abandoned each year. The reasons for abandonment are not complex. Once people become poor, neither they nor their slumlords are likely to make much pretense of keeping up either property or appearances. And, once a city area declines below a certain level of decency, the banks and other lenders begin to write it off. As far as mortgage lenders or insurance companies are concerned, the area ceases to exist, and even the city sanitation department, it has been said, pretends it is no longer there. This process of first neglect and then abandonment has gone on long enough for some parts of New York City to look like the bombed-out areas of a war-torn country, given over to vandals and scavengers, looting, arson, murder, drugs, and sexual vice. Meanwhile, the city's waiting list for public housing includes 135,000 near-destitute families.

In Manhattan, apartments continue to be built, but at rents that make them available only to the wealthiest one per cent of Manhattan's population. Even they may sometimes feel that a $300-a-month rent for a one-bedroom apartment is steep.

However, New York City has other Troubles, some of them still graver.

New York's violence is appalling. Every day, on the average, five women are raped. The annual total is thirty times more than in London. When George Romney mentioned this fact in a speech to university students, the entire hall rang with cheering. Mr. Romney's many gifts do not include a sense of humor; the students no doubt were having their fun. But, for New York's rape victims. it is no laughing matter. Each year, too, the city reports some nine hundred murders (London has about 36).

New York is the heroin capital of the world. There are about a hundred thousand addicts, and supplying them with heroin is said to be one of the city's biggest businesses. The retail sales of heroin total about $220 million, and the profit may be as high as 275 per cent. One supplier boasted to the TIMES that in less than two years he made a profit of $1.3 million. No special skills are required for this trade. Even schoolchildren in New York peddle dope. The bigger ones bully the younger ones into buying, threatening to cut them up with knives if they don't. In some high schools, a number of pupils seem to spend most of their time in the lavatories, smoking pot or getting fixes. These children may end up as part of the city's annual nine hundred or so heroin deaths. The heroin comes from the poppy fields of the Middle East via Marseilles and is of course smuggled in, then adulterated; a pound of pure heroin is worth about a quarter of a million dollars in New York City. The number of people who engage in the traffic for money is increasing by leaps and bounds, but not faster than the number of addicts, mostly young, who then proceed to make addicts out of other youngsters. The progression is like multiplying vampires.

New York's drug traffic, like New York's gambling and usury, is controlled at the top by the network of criminal "families" of the Mafia, the sinister organization of Sicilian origin that allegedly leads organized crime throughout the United States as well as in New York. It has in the country as a whole some five thousand members, and grosses around $40 billion a year—*$40,000,000,000*—out of narcotics and gambling chiefly (though other crime, such as forging, uttering, theft, kidnaping, and murder, is not disdained). These figures come from the Research Insitute of America, a business advisory service with seventy-five thousand clients, which warns that the Mafia has begun investing its fast-growing capital in legitimate firms, either to milk them dry or to use them as fronts for disposing of stolen goods. The Institute significantly advises businessmen who suspect the Mafia is trying to get them to seek help from a US Attorney but on no account to seek it from city, county, or even state police, who may be on the Mafia's payroll.

In New York City, the Mafia controls parts of the huge construction industry. Henry Fried, the head of a construction firm, had to pay over to the Mafia the sum of $40,000 (as a kickback on a city contract). As well as being a prominent builder at the time of his fall from grace, Mr. Fried was Commissioner of Correction for New York State and a director of the National Democratic Club. Nevertheless, he admitted that to him the Mafia's word was law: "If you can't fight them you got to join them." According to Fred Cooke in the Sunday NEW YORK TIMES, April 12, 1970, the New York State Commission of Investigation, headed by Paul Curran, has evidence of Mafia control of the construction labor unions as well as of firms. The union members apparently receive Mafia loans—at 260 per cent interest. Union officials who attempt to interfere are murdered.

Attorney General John Mitchell told the New York City Bond Club that the Justice Department had discovered that the Mafia had applied to Kennedy International Airport the techniques it had used so successfully with the New York construction industry. That is to say, it had got hold of both the labor union that controls most of the work of the airport and the trucking association that handles all the freight. The Mafia-controlled truckers' association compelled truckers to join, then proceeded to charge them a $5,000 entry fee, which represented a 750 per cent increase in membership dues. The association has threatened more than once to shut down the whole airport. Meanwhile, goods shipped through Kennedy are looted and taken into New York City, where the Mafia operates its own trucking company and has its own warehouses for storing stolen goods pending their disposal in the United States or abroad. In 1969, at Kennedy, losses by theft amounted to $3,387,317. Many additional

thefts were probably not reported by shippers who preferred standing the loss to either incurring the wrath of the Mafia or hurting their insurance status.

The airport workers who are controlled by the Mafia had no say in the matter when the Mafia took them over. Word came down from the top, and overnight the men found themselves members of a local whose charter gives it exclusive jurisdiction over the air-freight trucking of the New York metropolitan area.

The Mafia began looting securities from banks and brokerage houses in 1969, when over $45 million was stolen. The organization, however, plans to try to acquire banks and brokerage houses of its own, partly as legitimate investment outlets for huge criminal profits, partly in order to be able to dispose of stolen securities with less risk. It was his knowledge of these plans that caused the Attorney General to declare that the Mafia "is aggressively moving into the area of big business." Mr. Mitchell was of course aware when he made that statement to the New York City Bond Club that the Mafia had done so already and that the Pentagon has awarded military contracts worth millions of dollars to armaments firms controlled by leading Mafia figures.

Nothing is too large for the Mafia it seems, and nothing is too relatively small. The world-famous singers of New York's Metropolitan Opera are threatened with booing claques or even physical injury if they do not buy off gangsters (the intrepid Birgit Nilsson set her fellow artistes a fine example by throwing one of the ruffians downstairs). And not only does the Mafia bully the opera stars and have its grimy, bejewelled fingers at the throat of Wall Street, but it also virtually controls sections of the city. Some of the gang leaders occupy $250,000 homes in suburban Westchester County. Their garbage-removal trucks used the Yonkers city incinerator while that municipality's own trucks were compelled to go elsewhere, a practice that cost the citizens of Yonkers about $1 million a year. The Mafia also runs a $70 million gambling operation in Yonkers, and according to a Westchester grand jury the gangsters have managed to induce "servility, favoritism, mismanagement, inefficiency, and waste" in the Yonkers city government. One of the high-living Westchester residents is incidentally the Mafia family head who controls the trucking business at Kennedy International Airport; back in 1965, he received a $400,000 loan from the United States Government's Small Business Administration.

Americans and foreigners who nowadays regard New York City with growing horror and revulsion believed for a long time that the city was the Mecca of the twentieth century and that its inhabitants were extremely fortunate to live there and so be in a position to seize its many golden opportunities for material advancement. Young men and women everywhere else dreamed of going to live and work in New York as the first essential step toward becoming rich and famous. But the great majority of New Yorkers have in fact been the reverse of rich or famous—perhaps never more so than now. The United States Government's Bureau of Labor Statistics announced in 1969 that a family of four living in New York City required an income of more than $10,000 a year in order to be able to live within a drearily restrictive budget that would enable the husband to afford one new suit of clothes every four years and the family to afford a two-year-old used car. Most New York families have incomes of a good deal less than $10,000. The indefatigable statisticians also worked out that the minimum tolerable income for a city family of four was $6,000, but the minimum wage was $3,328. However, an astute New York household head who affected to "abandon" his family could keep on earning the minimum, while enabling the family to go on welfare and receive perhaps as much as $3,000. Thus, their real combined income, unless he were found out, would be $6,328—still not nearly enough to enable them to run a two-year-old used car, but almost double the officially estimated tolerable minimum. Not surprisingly, then, one person in eight in New York City is on welfare, and three-fourths of those on welfare are women and children who appear to be lacking husbands or fathers.

Were the additions to the city's welfare rolls to continue at recent high rates, about 20,000 cases a month, it is estimated that by 1980 half the population of New York City would be on welfare. This gloomy outlook naturally perturbs the Committee for Economic Development, a study group that represents 200 corporation presidents and chairmen. But when that group assembled in the Roosevelt Hotel to discuss what should be done—including replacing the welfare system with something else—the hotel entrance was picketed by welfare recipients carrying placards insisting, "Change the welfare system but let the clients say how." The picketers represented the Welfare Receivers' Union, an organization that regarding welfare as a right rather than a privilege, insists among other things that people on welfare ought to have credit cards. Most New Yorkers on welfare would of course prefer to be off welfare and in jobs that paid livable wages. In the meantime however, welfare is costing the city about $1.5 billion a year and, according to Mayor Lindsay, would cost a good deal more if another million or so New Yorkers who because of their poverty ought to be on welfare but for a variety of reasons are not eligible to receive it were to become eligible.

New York is by far the richest city in the world, but the concomitant of this is that living there now costs so much that in New York City there are poor people everywhere—including Long Island, of whose 2.5 million inhabitants at least 200,000—more than 40,000 families—are living on subsistence incomes. Welfare has made great inroads into Long Island's Nassau Country, as is also the case in Suffolk, Westchester, and other New York suburbs. In all of them, the cost of welfare is rising faster, much faster, than population—a ratio that suggests growing poverty. The Council of Social Agencies reported that in "wealthy" Westchester, one-twelfth of all families lived in "abject poverty," but only a fifth of those poverty-stricken families received public assistance.

John V. Lindsay was re-elected Mayor of New York City in November, 1969, when he ran as an Independent and beat both the Democratic and Republican candidates. Mr. Lindsay had been to that time a Republican, and at this writing still professes to be, but not one who fervently admired his party leadership at either the state or the national level. It was his view that New York City was being shamefully kicked around and shortchanged by

both Albany—where the State of New York was governed by Nelson Rockefeller, a Republican—and Washington, D.C., the nation's capital, where the White House was occupied by a Republican, Richard M. Nixon.

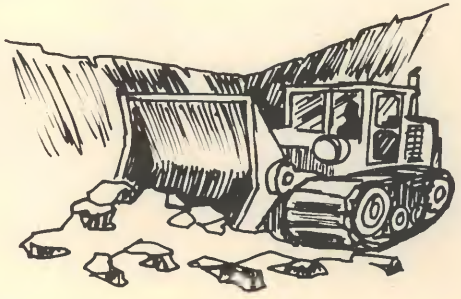
New York City pays taxes to both the state and federal governments and gets little back, but this discrepancy is only a beginning of the Mayor's Troubles. He has to contend with not one but three state governors. For who or what is a "New Yorker?" Richard M. Scammon, a former director of the Bureau of the Census, has pointed out that the term has to include residents of Stamford, Connecticut, and Tenafly, New Jersey, though they live fifty miles apart in different states. Furthermore, the Mayor of New York has to wrestle with an often refractory City Council, and with a Board of Estimate of the five boroughs, and to work with officials of no less than seventeen surrounding counties, all of whom usually find it hard to agree with either him or one another. He also must somehow control those who share City Hall with him and who have been described as the kind of men who wear dark glasses indoors under electric light.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Rudyard Kipling observed that the government of New York City was a "despotism tempered with occasional insurrections of the decent folk." The blame, Kipling thought, lay less with the bosses than with the citizens, for the bosses "find a people made to their hand—a lawless breed ready to wink at one evasion of the law if they themselves may profit by another, and in their rare leisure hours content to smile over the details of a clever fraud." George Washington Plunkitt, a Tammany Hall ward boss at the turn of the century, archetypically remarked, "I might sum up the whole thing that I seen my opportunities and took 'em." Kipling and Plunkitt have both been dead a long time, but in 1969 a Brooklyn politician told the NEW YORK TIMES that, to his way of thinking, patronage is a mechanism that rewards the pressures and interests on which a democracy rests and is essential to maintaining a two-party system. It is a simple axiom of this type of thinker that public funds are the successful politician's to do with as he pleases, which means rewarding friends and depriving enemies. Or, as the late Charles A. Buckley of the Bronx said (Buckley was a boss who spared no cent of public money to ensure that loyal henchmen were rewarded with places at the public trough), "Everyone is in on the pie."

New York City employs some 350,000 people, of whom thousands are hired without civil service examinations. The Mayor himself has an enormous patronage machine in agencies (including ones supposedly fighting a war on poverty) whose payrolls amount to around $35 million. Politicians who in former times had control of the distribution of coal and potatoes to the poor now control millions of dollars in welfare checks. Then there are appointments of judges and district attorneys, and there is lucrative insurance of city projects. Insurance rates are fixed and uniform, by law. However, as one politician candidly told the TIMES, "The price is the same but nevertheless you pick a friend; it's all in friendship and who you want to give it to." Urban renewal contracts are also profitable, and political connections are helpful in securing them. Architects' firms and the ubiquitous insurance brokers as well as contractors are in on the pie. Edward Costikyan, a venerable Tammany Hall politician, observed that the chance to build a project was worth a million dollars or so to someone, who therefore ought to be willing to pay something for it, to "someone in government." Then there are the city's revenues. The budget is well over $6.5 billion. Vast sums of money stream into the city's coffers and are deposited in banks that pay a federally fixed, official rate of interest but lend the money out at a much higher rate. Prominent stockholders in banks, by no coincidence, include City Council members.

Some city politicians and officials have liaisons with slumlords, drug traffickers, and the Mafia. New York's slums have always been among the most noisome to be found outside the Orient. They also tend to be big money-spinners for their owners. The profitability of the slums has increased since welfare began paying most of the rents. Until they abandoned a building altogether, slumlords generally ignore an expensive nuisance like maintenance, but happily pocket depreciation allowances permitted them by the federal income tax structure. Some find paying sidelines in the fertile pastures of prostitution, gambling, and narcotics. The slumlords require protection—from building inspections, rent controllers, welfare agencies, and the criminal law. This is where compliant politicians and corrupt policemen come in. No wonder Mayor Lindsay once remarked that his chief function in City Hall was "to protect the people from government."

It's no easy chore. For example, one of Lindsay's less happy appointments was that of James Lewis Marcus as Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas, and Electricity, at a salary of $30,000. Just before his fall from grace in late 1967, Marcus was to have moved up to administer Lindsay's proposed Environmental Protection Administration. (That spot doubtless would have offered his acquaintances in the Mafia further scope for their pressing demands on his services.) The very day that Marcus took the oath of office as Water Commissioner, the Mafia told him to award the earlier-mentioned Mr. Fried a reservoir-cleaning contract. For this service, Marcus asked a $16,000 kickback, the money to come out of a $40,000 fee that Fried's firm had paid to the Mafia in order to secure the $840,000 reservoir contract. Long before Lindsay appointed him Water Commissioner, Marcus had associated in the labyrinth of New York City's patronage politics with labor-union racketeers, dope-pushers, blackmailers, and strongarm men. But apparently he felt no insecurity over his connections. His



father, a respected Jewish lawyer of Schenectady, had been fined $10,000 for income-tax evasion. It had never been held against him. People in Schenectady appeared to feel such things could happen to anyone. Marcus, Jr., had told his friends he intended to marry a rich gentile girl and, when he did so, many important people attended his wedding to the daughter of a former Governor of Connecticut and Ambassador to Spain. At the time he first came into Mayor Lindsay's life, Marcus had begun an Episcopalian family and said he wanted to "clean up" New York City. Lindsay, no doubt naïvely, took this in the sanitizing sense and enlisted Marcus as one of his campaign workers and unpaid special assistants. But such unpaid posts are offered and accepted in the spirit of political patronage, meaning that come victory the spoils will be shared, and so Marcus finally got his water commissionership at $30,000 and was apparently headed for still loftier positions when his previous secret entanglements in New York's political underworld caught up with him.

The Marcus story is told here solely for the purpose of illustration. A century ago, when "Boss" Tweed was in the process of robbing the city and its trusting voters and taxpayers of an estimated $200 million and when the NEW YORK TIMES, the TRIBUNE and HARPER'S all attempted to expose him, an infatuated electorate enthusiastically approved a city charter giving him almost single-handed financial control. New York City has waves of political reform. Nevertheless, scandals recur with regularity.

The Troubles of the Mayor of New York embrace both banks and blacks. The latter term is somewhat fanciful, because most black Americans probably have some white blood, ensured by even a modest degree of racial intermingling over a period of more than four centuries. But, using "black" in a looser popular sense, almost one New Yorker in five is black.

Formerly, the city's 860,000 Italians constituted its largest single ethnic group. Now the Italians come third, after approximately one million Puerto Ricans and about 1.5 million blacks. The blacks, however, are outnumbered by the Jews. Every fourth New Yorker is Jewish (which is not an ethnic term), and to that extent New York is a very Jewish city. (Among Americans as a whole, only one in twenty-five is a Jew.) New York sanitation workers are by and large Italian; policemen and firemen, largely Irish; and schoolteachers, largely Jewish. In some New York schools where almost all the children are black, the Jewish teachers have been brought into sharp conflict with blacks.

As a result of feelings that surfaced during the school shutdown growing out of the confrontation in May, 1968, at Ocean Hill-Brownsville between the predominantly white, and Jewish, teachers' union and the largely black Ocean Hill community, Mayor Lindsay found himself in a tough racial situation. Belligerent blacks shouted at Jewish teachers, "I ain't on your plantation no longer, man!" Shaken teachers responded with anger against white liberals (including, of course, Jews) who showed sympathy for the blacks' demand for community control of schools. I sat in Madison Square Garden beside the white liberal newspaper columnist Murray Kempton while New York teachers shook fists at him. It was a sad decline from the time, not remote, when Jewish teachers and black parents had jointly protested inferior schools and the president of the teachers' union had declared that "teachers and students are both being destroyed by a rotten system."

Since 1910, blacks have climbed from only two per cent of New York City's population to 20 per cent. This increase, like the Puerto Rican influx, is largely due to recent immigration. The blacks come from the South, and the quality of their general abilities throws interesting light on conditions there. When Kodak and other big firms in New York and New Jersey began fashionably hiring black workers, they made appalling discoveries. A trainee who was told to drill a series of holes a foot apart asked, "What's a foot?" Others were unable to make change for a dollar. The Ford Foundation invested more than $1 million in a project in Greenville, Mississippi, to train Delta families for jobs—no doubt with a thoughtful eye to presenting them with an alternative to emigrating to New York and other cities in the North or at least to try to ensure that if they did decide to emigrate, they might have some prospect of finding work. This experiment of the Foundation's was not a success. The Mississippi State Legislature opposed it; Representative Horace Harned of Starkville denounced it as a "Communist experiment" with a "predominantly Negro advisory board"—the two things evidently being indissolubly linked in his mind. And the wretched breadwinners whom the Foundation proposed to try to train had already been reduced to the inhuman level of what the WALL STREET JOURNAL called "surplus tools." The JOURNAL reported that some of the Delta families concerned were so poor that they did not eat from plates and did not own as much as a table, though some of them did possess chairs.

As late as 1960, the population of Brownsville in Brooklyn was largely white and Jewish. By 1970, it was almost 100 per cent black. And in the process of going black, Brownsville has been severely pounded by a bumpy descent into abysmal poverty and unemployment. It was always rather a tough place, hence its old nickname, Spearville, invented by some wag who remarked, "When someone suggests going for a walk there, you say, 'Wait till I fetch my spear.'" That was in the late 1920s. But forty years later, Brownsville had 500 completely abandoned buildings. Perhaps the most characteristic noise a person makes on a Brownsville street is the crunching of broken glass under his feet. Parts look like a scene from "On the Beach," a movie about the end of the world, with nobody in sight and apartment buildings with neither windows nor doors, and only traffic lights moving, through red, amber, and green, but no traffic. Elsewhere, a few crumbling stores are still open, and signs in their grimy widows proclaim tersely, "Welfare welcome." On welfare-check day, they raise their prices. Vincent Negron, the director of the Good Shepherd Mission, told Steven V. Roberts of the TIMES. "If there is a hell, many people here will take it in their stride."

Adjacent to Brownsville is Bedford-Stuyvesant, in which elegantly named area almost half a million people are crowded in 653 blocks of homes, which some own. From an upperstory window in Bedford-Stuyvesant, the grimy Manhattan skyline can be seen across the river, through a thick screen of smoke. Then the eye drops to



nearer vistas: scratched and defaced buildings with rusty fire-escapes, flat roofs thick with thrown litter, and, down in the streets, which are strewn with beer cans and paper, battered automobiles lumbering like tanks on a battlefield. Despite the general air of debris, the sidewalks are wide and the avenues broad and straight. The litter and the decay seem somehow foreign to the environment, because Bedford-Stuyvesant was once well-to-do. Now its infant death rate is twice the national average, and juvenile crime is twice the average city figure. Teenagers drop out of school and find no work. One of the task forces of the Mayor reported to him that Bedford-Stuyvesant is "a racial stockade."

About 750,000 blacks live in Harlem, an area that may be roughly defined as extending from 110th Street to 168th Street but focusing on 125th Street and Seventh Avenue. Just after World War I, many thousands of blacks flocked into Harlem. They preferred New York City to Chicago as well as to Southern cities like Atlanta, because in those places there had been recent lynchings and burnings of Negroes. In New York City, or so Konrad Bercovici wrote in HARPER'S in 1924, "a 'nigger slaughter' is not so frequent an occurrence." (The atmosphere of the time may be inferred from his remark, in the same article, that in New York there had recently been a spate of little notices pinned on To Let signs, saying *Keine Juden, und Keine Hunde.*) But the sudden large influx of blacks into Harlem had its usual consequence. According to Bercovici: "The white population fled as if in dread of a contagious disease. Block after block was deserted by the white tenants." In this way, Harlem became the black ghetto it remains today.

Harlem is not a slum, though it includes slums. It has some good restaurants and bars, some imposing churches, stores, and solid middle-class housing. Nevertheless, as in Bedford-Stuyvesant, the infant mortality rate is twice the national average, most of the city's addicts live here, the murder rate is six times the rate in the rest of the city. For these and similar amenities, the residents of Harlem have to pay monthly room rents of $50 to $70, which are considerably higher than in New York's white slum areas. The rents are nowadays paid largely out of welfare checks, and on the days the city mails its welfare checks, the first and sixteenth of each month, the Harlem mailmen are escorted on their rounds by plainclothes policemen.

Harlem is anything but content politically. Negro newspapers sold on its streets foretell "white America's doom." Large elements of the population here and elsewhere in the city are apt to give at least passive support to the Black Panthers and similar militant groups—who are armed—and to offer no assistance to the forces of law and order—who are mostly white and whom they despise—declaring that the police are hand in glove with the slumlords, the dope-pushers, the gamblers, the loan sharks, and the Mafia. This being the case, some whites and some blacks long anticipated the kind of guerrilla warfare in city tenements that has since begun. It is expected that police, who now habitually use walkie-talkies and have for some time been armed with revolvers, will soon have rifles and mortars, and that helicopters will be employed against rooftop snipers. Such warfare would involve the use of spies and informers by both sides—this is now done; the government's informers would tip off the police to plans for uprisings and would also lead them safely through the maze of tenements with fire escapes and cellars, and through alleys and even sewers. The probability would be for the police to be supplemented or replaced in times of direr emergency by troops and the National Guard. The Army has had special studies made of the details of all major American cities' layouts, including New York's, and in the Pentagon a department already exists for the efficient handling of urban unrest anywhere in the United States.

Growing tension has had the inevitable effect of reducing racial tolerance (never really great) in New York City. Figures compiled by Oliver Quayle tell the story. Toward the end of 1963 (and, as it turned out, the end of the Kennedy Years) 89.9 per cent of New Yorkers seemed prepared to express at least verbal approval of integration and to condemn Sothern intolerance. By 1967, this figure was down to 53 per cent, and by then only 51 per cent believed that a black had a right to a home in a predominantly white neighborhood; in 1963 this latter figure had been 72 per cent. All that is really surprising about this sad change is that for a time the tolerance figure should have appeared as high as it did. For, in the course of its history, which is quite long, New York City has suffered severe bouts of extreme racial intolerance. The famous wall of "Wall Street," originally built by the burghers to keep out the Indians, was by 1711 the site of a Negro-slave market, and within another year Manhattan had its first Negro uprising. Negroes who were caught were roasted slowly over large fires, but, in spite or because of such barbaric punishments, there were further uprisings in 1741, 1834, and in 1863. In 1865,

Negroes were lynched as part of the protests against Lincoln's draft law, which angered the city's Irish mobs. The Democrats, whom the Irish supported politically, were no friends to the blacks, and in those days the Irish, not the blacks (then a tiny minority in New York), were responsible for the major portion of the city's crime.

Thomas Jefferson's gloomy view both of American cities and of relations between whites and blacks comes to mind. "I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, health and liberties of man," he wrote to James Madison. And he predicted that if America's black slaves were not emancipated and returned forthwith to Africa, a race war must ensue:

> Deep-rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections by the blacks of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or other race.

It is to be hoped that the great man was being unduly glum.

New York City's slumlords have in general been able to maintain high values for their loathsome properties, because racial segregation has squeezed heavy influxes of blacks and other minorities on top of blacks who were already grossly overcrowded. After the last drop of profit has been wrung from a slum property, it is abandoned in order to avoid the payment of further taxes.

Mayor Lindsay wondered why "somehow it is socialistic or un-American" to help a poor family to move into an apartment, while it is in the best American tradition to finance expensive suburban homes for middle-class families. One answer is that the generous mortgage arrangements that lure city people to the suburbs have the not unconsidered effects of raising land values there, and thus putting large sums in the pockets of developers, highway builders, and the automobile, rubber, and gasoline producers. Mayor Lindsay sensed correctly that "to offer massive highway funds to the cities is like offering sugar to a diabetic." He found it "just incredible" that billions of dollars went to highways while public transport expired. The explanation surely is that highways, and suburban development, pay off while mass transit and genuine slum clearance are costly.

In twenty-five years, 800,000 New Yorkers, mostly white ones, have quit the city for the suburbs, where, Stephen Macdonald has written, they "talk about their lawns and about the stock market like it was their sex lives." A Presidential report on suburbs talks of wholly inadequate services, misuse of land, and total absence of planning and coordination. Around New York City there are more than 1,400 separate government units. They have no intercommunity relations, no effective planning of social services or of land use, no plans for healthy future growth, none for a joint attack on rapidly worsening pollution. Yet suburbanites prefer these conditions to what they left.

New York City has been transferring more than $9 billion each year to the federal government, as its tax share of the Vietnam war and other Pentagon costs. Mayor Lindsay declared, "If it is really important to spend $80 billion a year on the military-defense empire, then let Congress begin to tax the profits of the companies involved, not drain money out of the schools and neighborhoods of the city."

But, in New York City, people with yearly incomes of $3,000 pay almost the same portion of those incomes in taxes, of one kind or another, as persons with annual incomes of $15,000. People with vastly greater incomes may actually pay smaller portions as tax. Who controls New York City, and who controls Congress?

Mayor Lindsay's clamor for vast public spending on projects that promised no profit was received by the banks and corporations with a noticeable lack of enthusiasm. The skillful men in charge of those institutions detected that the massive aid for which Lindsay appealed in order to save New York City would probably have to come out of the pocket of themselves and their stockholders.

Nevertheless, it was not entirely foolish for Lindsay to direct his appeal to save New York to institutionalized profit, in the form of the nine banks and the large corporations, and to institutionalized philanthropy, in the form of the large foundations. The men in charge of those institutions are the same men. They are the men with power.

These prosperous men are not wholly without a sense of shame as they look on the decline and degradation of New York. It is their city, where they toil and, for some part of the year, where they live. There must be moments, no doubt fleeting, when they wonder pensively what it would be like to have Times Square transformed from a human gutter into a Piazza San Marco, or to put up buildings of genuine architectural quality.

Another force may impel them even more strongly, as time runs on. In the Great Depression that struck America with unforgettable tornado effect in 1929, the late Joseph Kennedy felt the country to be teetering on the brink of revolution. He therefore was heard to mutter that he would willingly give away half of his huge fortune if only he could be assured of keeping the other half "in law and order." Forty years after, the powerful bankers and business leaders of New York have not yet grown quite that desperate. But they may.

As early as 1882, James D. McCabe wrote, in "New York by Sunlight and Gaslight":

> What a working man pays for his two or three rooms in a New York tenement would give him a separate house, and a comfortable one, in almost any other American city. Persons of moderate means doing business in New York . . . are as a rule obliged to reside out of the city. They come into New York in the morning and leave it in the evening.

The commuter problem is not new. But today the island of Manhattan threatens to collapse under the load of the constant addition of automobiles. The city has 721 miles of subways. But Mayor Lindsay's task force called the system "dank, dingily lit, fetid, raucous, one of the world's meanest transit facilities." Six commuter railroads bring about a quarter of a million passengers into Manhattan each day. But the railroads are in crisis through decades of neglect.

The bridges and tunnels of the Port of New York Authority are used by 133 million vehicles each year. The Authority was established in 1921 and is tax-

exempt. It has the stout backing of the banks, which respect the strength of its bonds and lend it money gladly. But the Authority has become a profitable empire and has entered upon a headlong exploitative phase, which has led to its being condemned as a "dangerously short-sighted money machine."

The commuter railroads have been hit hard by the competition of the Authority instead of being assisted by it. The Authority and the banks resolutely shut their eyes to the fact that one railroad track carries as many people as eighteen highway lanes, and one trainload of commuters require four acres of parking space if they use automobiles.

The commuter railroads' air-conditioning fails often. So do the lights. Often, all the power fails. The TIMES has reported that the wise railroad commuter in the New York metropolitan area begins his day by tuning in as many radio reports as he can, in order to check quickly on track conditions, strikes, delays due to accidents, and other adverse factors. Commuters may find themselves abruptly being smothered, plunged into sudden blackouts, dangerously stranded in darkness. And these may soon be the least of their perils. The commuter trains have been targets for cinder blocks dropped from overpasses, have had rocks thrown at them, and have had bullets fired at their windows as they passed through New York ghettos, many of whose black inhabitants are ever anxious to express their dissatisfactions with white suburbanites.

This latest peril may have some impact on the bankers, some of whom are themselves railroad commuters. It could induce them to contemplate measures for their own as well as New York's self-preservation. They have left it late, and such steps must now prove costly. It would have been cheaper as well as nobler to have acted sooner, in the spirit of the oath that the citizens of ancient Athens took to pass on their city to the next generation "greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

Mayor John V. Lindsay remarked of New York that "the ultimate problem is money." Nothing could be truer. Nevertheless, the statement merits elaboration. When Lindsay complained that land in Manhattan cost as much as $15 a square foot and that the city was compelled to pay as much as $600,000 an acre in order to be able to proceed with slum clearance, he merely measured the dimensions of a problem without probing into its causes. Similarly, he further complained that urban renewal in New York means replacing low-cost housing with high-cost high rises and offices.

Reasonable public control of land would have made it less easy for the late Joseph Kennedy, the father of the late President, to make enormous profits from speculative purchases of New York real estate. It might even have prevented "urban renewal"—meaning the shoving of poor people and small merchants from areas where a handful of ruthless, energetic men then proceeded to make fortunes. Such control would, however, go against the grain of enterprising personalities such as the late Charles R. Buckley, the Bronx boss whose estimate of human nature was that "everyone is in on the pie." The late Senator Robert F. Kennedy did not scruple to wish Buckley another thirty years in office, in expectation of Buckley's continuing support of the political ambitions of the Senator and others. Exchanges of greetings and pledges between honest men and corrupt men are commonplace in the politics of New York and account for much of its Troubles.

New Yorkers are a hardy, gutsy tribe. The immigrants who formerly came through Ellis Island at a rate of 5,000 a day were poor and often barely literate. They survived their poverty and illiteracy, survived being fleeced of their life savings by the city slickers who lay in wait for them, and survived being cursed at as dirty krauts, wops, micks, and sheenies.

This generation's blacks and Puerto Ricans will survive enforced segregation and being called dirty nigs and spics. (Their mood is such that some who call them names may not.) There will still be black, Puerto Rican, and other communities in New York after illegal segregation ends. New York has Polish and Ukrainian districts (Fourth Street to Fourteenth Street between Second and Third avenues), Hungarian churches and Magyar newspapers (Second Avenue and Seventy-ninth Street), a German district in Yorkville, ten thousand Hasidic Jews just across the bridge in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. Harlem, Brownsville, and Bedford-Stuyvesant won't vanish when color bars elsewhere do.

But the city that is home to all these vigorous people is being strangled to death by dubious politics and organized crime. Before it can begin to function better, it has to get the heroin out of its system.

Mayor Lindsay told an unbelieving Congress that it will cost $5 billion a year for at least ten years to straighten out the city. Congress, of course, told Lindsay that such a sum was more than President Kennedy asked for the whole of Latin America and therefore couldn't be found. As New York and other cities erupt in increasing violence and chaos, Congress probably will change its mind, but still may come through with too little always too late.

New York businesses have job-training programs like MEND (Massive Economic Development), QUEST (Queens United Education and Social Teams), SNIP (Special Neighborhood Improvement Program), BET (Business Experience Training), and JOBS (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector). These acronyms are drops in the bucket.

Cities are engines for producing wealth and also are man's most expensive artifacts. Maintaining them in decency requires vast sums. Manufacturers who fail to plow back profit into upkeep of expensive plants risk bankruptcy. The United States has neglected its cities even more than other parts of the American environment. Furthermore, the national ledger has been dishonestly juggled to overlook those debits and to highlight only the credit side. This has contributed to the illusion of affluence. The bill for making the cities once again livable and for healing the sores of pollution is going to be very large—enough to prevent Americans from kidding themselves for some time to come that they are really stinking rich.

New York is the test case for American cities. If it is not saved, others will share its fate. That is the import of what Mayor Lindsay was trying to tell Congress. Americans may, of course, decline to pay the bill. If they balk, the odds are heavy that they will have to find some way of doing without cities. ■

"For how can tyrants safely govern home,
Unless abroad they purchase great alliance?"—King Henry VI.

Home Rule for the District of Columbia

HENRY B. DAY

Henry B. Day, who writes about home rule in the District of Columbia, retired in 1955 after 25 years of foreign service, mostly in the so-called Pacific area. After a brief period of woodworking and life insurance, he worked for over five years at the American Foreign Service Association. Until recently he prepared the "Twenty-Five Years Ago" column for the JOURNAL.

PREOCCUPATION with foreign affairs may not be an altogether valid reason for remaining aloof from the complex of conflicting interests at play in the efforts to achieve some measure of self government for the District of Columbia. Foreign Service personnel living in the District may be called upon to vote with other residents in a referendum on home rule and later be free to participate in local election activity. The subject may be of more than academic interest to those who have homes in the Washington area and others who plan to retire there. The legislation (S-1118) that barely failed of enactment in 1965, like others before it, called for prior approval by referendum and exemption of District elections and political activity connected with them from the Hatch Act. The new District Delegate to the House, Walter Fauntroy, has vowed to press for home rule. It seems likely that the move for self-government will once again gather momentum.

The recent achievement of District representation in the House is the latest step in a move for national representation that began in 1882. But national representation and self-government should not be confused. A single representative in a "City Council" of 436 is hardly a satisfactory form of self-government. The representation would be a little better if he had a vote and there is general support for a constitutional amendment that would allow the District to have voting representation in the House and possibly in the Senate. It should be remembered, however, that in the past some opponents of home rule have put national representation in the forefront as a distraction from home rule or as a substitute.

On April 28, 1969, President Nixon urged Congress to set up a commission to draw up a blueprint for self-government for the District of Columbia. On October 1, 1969, the Senate passed a bill for this. On July 28, 1970, an unfavorable vote in a House District Sub-Committee apparently killed the proposal. The law providing for election of a non-voting District Delegate to the House also provides for a so-called "little Hoover commission" to study means of improving the efficiency of the District government, a task that seems to carry no mandate to suggest any means of affording District residents effective self-government.

Essential Ingredients of Home Rule

From Congressional hearings, press commentaries, and special studies one can conclude that there is general agreement that legislation that will not provide the following ingredients will not justify any reasonable expectation of improvement over the present system: (1) Municipal suffrage that includes election of an executive head or mayor and legislative council; (2) separation of legislative from executive powers; (3) an annual payment from the Federal Government that makes up for loss of revenue resulting mainly from exemption from taxes of federal property once said to have an assessed value of 43 percent of the total and of property of foreign governments and tax-exempt national organizations; and (4) a delegation of powers by the Congress that includes review and approval of the annual budget, fixing of local tax rates and property assessments, issuance of bonds for special purposes subject to referendum approval, and executive power to re-organize and co-ordinate agencies, boards and commissions handling District functions. The extent of delegated power could be as broad as that delegated to a territorial government.

In the Thompson Restaurant case (346 U.S. 100, 1953), the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of such delegation of authority. There would have to be safeguards such as veto power, first in the mayor's hands and then in the President's. Any system would have to leave in the hands of Congress the ultimate legislative power vested in it by Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution.

Slow Evolution

From 1871 to 1874 the District had a territorial form of government with an appointed Governor, an with an appointed Governor, and elected House of Delegates, and an elected non-voting Delegate to the House. Alleged irregularities in public works led to replacement of this system by a quite different one headed by a Board of three appointed Commissioners who divided supervision of city departments three ways and combined legislative and executive powers. A year-long study in 1947 led to a bill for a territorial form of government. From 1949 to 1965 numerous hearings were held and the Senate passed six

home rule bills. The House did not pass one until 1965. The Senate and House bills could not be reconciled. An Act of Congress in 1955 allowed city Democrats and Republicans to vote every four years for convention delegates, for the party's District Central Committee, and for the party's District representatives on its National Committee. In 1961 the 23rd Amendment enabled District residents to vote in presidential elections. In April 1968 Congress passed the law under which District residents have twice voted for candidates for the Board of Education. And last year Congress passed legislation approved by President Nixon on September 22, 1970, under which on March 23 District voters elected a non-voting Delegate to the House.

President Johnson found a means of eliminating some of the defects of the Commissioner form of government. In the Reorganization Act of 1949 Congress granted the President power to make changes in the executive branch. President Johnson used these powers in 1967 to re-organize the District government and put the present system into effect. The District now has a Commissioner-Council form of government. The Commissioner is generally called the Mayor. He and the Council are appointed by the President.

Present Municipal Authority

The Commissioner-Council system has the advantage of executive control in the hands of one official instead of three. Executive and legislative powers have been separated. The Commissioner has been able to reorganize city agencies to some extent and has been responsive to public opinion and urgent needs. The Council is broadly representative of different groups and sections of the city and has held many hearings to give the public a voice. But much of the criticism leveled at the Commissioner form of government is still applicable. The structure is still unwieldy. Handicaps attributable to retention of powers by Congress that could be delegated remain. In March Senator Eagleton told the Senate of District minutiae that received the attention of members of Congress without participation of any spokesman for the District: authorization to fly kites, a registration fee of 25 cents for each dog, permission to add a spouse's name to a trailer registration, and more significantly, provision for construction of a velodrome. In a hearing back in 1963 it was brought out that in the 87th Congress there were 996 public laws passed requiring the President's signature of which 111 were laws dealing with the District. In that year Congress legalized ice cream bars, regulated examination of dental hygienists and provided for a municipal theater.

Although the reorganization was supposed to give the Council quasi-legislative functions the Council has been handicapped by lack of power. This was illustrated in the case of the Three Sisters bridge. In December 1968 the Council excluded the proposed bridge from a transportation plan, reflecting public opposition to the bridge and respecting a decision by the United States Court of Appeals that halted freeway plans pending hearings and public participation in the planning. But after the Chairman of the House District Appropriations Sub-Committee made it clear that there would be no funds for construction of a subway until work on the bridge had started the Council was obliged, in August 1969, to reverse its position and vote in favor of the bridge. Another illustration of impotence was a United States District Court ruling in July 1969 that the Council lacked authority to enact the consumer credit regulations it had approved six months before. The court held that the Council was trespassing on an area reserved to Congress.

Not much more power rests in the hands of the Mayor than was held by the former Commissioners. His difficulties may be observed in his efforts to bolster sagging city finances by a tax on commuters. Opposition of representatives in the Congress from Maryland and Virginia has played a big part in thwarting the proposal.

Defects in the present system do not necessarily constitute arguments in favor of self-government. But they must be taken into account in evaluating arguments for and against home rule.

Arguments in Favor of Home Rule

In Federalist paper No. 43 Madison wrote of the necessity of complete authority at the seat of government. Turning to the rights of the citizens inhabiting the federal district where the Constitution says the Congress has the power to exercise exclusive jurisdiction he wrote—

> a municipal legislature for local purposes, derived from their own suffrages, will of course be allowed them.

In one of a series of articles in the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER, written over the signature Epaminondas, Augustus Woodward, a Virginia lawyer, had this to say:

> No policy can be worse than to mingle great and small concerns. The latter become absorbed in the former; are neglected and forgotten . . . It will impair the dignity of the national legislative, executive, and judicial authorities to be occupied with all the local concerns of the Territory of Columbia. (Quotation in Mrs. Constance Green's history of Washington, Vol. I, p. 391, taken for NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER No. 29 of December 31. 1800)

One of the arguments for home rule is the sense of injustice that public spirited citizens of the District have experienced as a result of reverses or failures in management of the city which they attribute to the power of Congress over local affairs.

On August 26, 1959, John B. Gilliland, past President of the D.C. Congress of Parents and Teachers, appeared before House Subcommittee No. 3 on the District of Columbia. Part of what he said was this:

> Coming before you as supplicants is not in keeping with the rights and dignity of American citizens . . . We are tired of having men elected from every State of the Union decide for us how much and for what purposes our own money should be spent.

The following portion of a statement by Lloyd L. Cutler of the Washington Home Rule Commit-

tee, at a House Subcommittee hearing on March 18, 1952, reflects the sense of injustice:

> we have a fundamental moral objection against being denied the right to vote for our own city officials. . . . We are American citizens. We live under the United States Constitution. But we are the only American citizens within the continental United States who cannot vote for their own officials. Yet, on the authority of James Madison, the founding fathers intended that we should have our own municipal legislature. You . . . ought to concede us this fundamental right.

It is argued that city administration under home rule would be more efficient. A good illustration of the manner in which this argument has been put forward is a letter published July 11, 1965, that Mrs. Anthony Schwartz, President of the League of Women Voters wrote to the press. She sees home rule as a synthesis of the principles of democracy and the quest for good government. She describes the city government as fractured and compartmentalized and its operation often ineffectual and wasteful. Her letter closes as follows:

> Under an elected mayor-council government, authority for local affairs would be centralized. Budget procedures would be simplified. Lines of authority would be clarified. The local government would have the initiative to legislate. The people of the District of Columbia would at long last resume their partnership role in the responsibility for this city while the interests of the Federal Government and the Nation as a whole would be safeguarded.

Clinton N. Howard, Superintendent of the International Reform Federation, put forward the argument that home rule would put District residents on terms of equality with their neighbors:

> The population of Washington is not limited to the District area. The metropolitan area numbers more than a million people, 250,000 of whom earn their living in this capital city, are paid by their government, who sleep across the Potomac in Virginia and in suburban Maryland . . . divided by an imaginary line, have the right to vote and to representation in Congress while those on the District side of that line are politically deaf and dumb, burdened with a crushing weight of taxation and denied representation, the very thing that our colonial forefathers rose in successful rebellion against.

At times the opinion has been put forward that with self-government matters could not help but improve. This feeling has usually arisen from frustration experienced during efforts to solve a problem, meet a need or persuade authorities to respond to public opinion. Here are a few instances:

• In August 1963 the District asked Congress for 344 more teachers for the 5,125 additional children about to enter its schools. Congress replied that the money had not yet been appropriated. The District then asked for provisional permission to take on 220 new teachers pending final approval of the budget expected between Thanksgiving and Christmas. Congress refused.

• In August 1965 Wesley S. Williams, President of the Board of Education, described the Shaw Junior High School as a "veritable dump, rat-infested and rotten and not suitable to daily use by children." He said the situation in the community was critical and something had to be done. Every attempt to replace the school was blocked by the House District Appropriations Subcommittee. The Chairman made it known that he had not been sufficiently consulted when a square block of vacant land, paid for by the city, earmarked for the new school had been converted temporarily into a playground in memory of President Kennedy. The plot was at this time considered too small for the new school. The playground had become so popular that the school board asked for funds for a new site. The Senate approved the $1.4 million request for a school on an adjoining site. But the House Appropriations Subcommittee refused, saying the school should be built on the playground site. The old Shaw Junior High School building is still in use.

• For some years now District residents have felt growing frustration and a sense of oppression over what appears to them to be a tendency of members of Congress to disregard reiterated objections of citizens and citizens' organizations to the construction of the proposed Three Sisters Bridge over the Potomac and to proposals for construction of a North Central Freeway.

• Until 1969 the city Welfare Department was hampered by a condition which the Chairman of the Senate District Appropriations Subcommittee, Senator Robert C. Byrd, (D-W. Va.) insisted be attached to budget authorization of relief payments to needy families. The restriction was known as the "man-in-the-house" rule. To enforce the restriction and ostensibly to save money thereby the Welfare Department was obliged to use funds for which there was such a crying need to maintain on its staff a number of investigators larger, in proportion, than in any other city. An editorial in the NEW YORK TIMES of June 22, 1965, said, in part:

> As matters now stand an unemployed father has to desert his family to qualify his children for welfare assistance in the nation's capital . . . it could be asked why is a Senator from West Virginia trying to be Mayor of the city of Washington? There has never been a stronger argument for home rule for the District of Columbia than the case of the dependent children.

Many Washington residents have found themselves in difficult situations as a result of urban renewal and the shortage of housing. The public hearings that have been held by the City Council since it was set up in 1967 have provided a link between citizens and officials and the Mayor has sought to open lines of communication with citizens. But until recently many citizens found that it was only the private

citizens' associations and other organizations to which they belonged that they could turn to short of attracting notice by protest meetings, boycotts, marches, picket lines, and appeals to the press.

Arguments against Home Rule

One set of reasons for opposing local self government in the city of Washington rests on the priority of the federal interest and the "national constituency." These are some of the arguments: Local interests must be subordinated. The District cannot be maintained and developed by local private interests alone. Its government depends on federal financial and administrative support. Interests of the local community would at times run counter to those of the people as a whole as represented in the Congress. Federal government priorities would become entangled in local conflicts. Elected local officials would be torn between duty to the Federal government and obligations to District citizens. A chaotic situation could follow. When the founding fathers set up the capital in the first place their purpose was to place the capital where the Congress would be free of local influences and pressures and mob violence.

Proponents of home rule answer that Congress could delegate powers over a large number of local matters without sacrificing primary jurisdiction. By doing so its members would relieve themselves of the burden of serving as city aldermen. If the city government's responsibility is limited to local affairs there is no more reason for anticipating an intolerable degree of conflict with the interests of the naton or other states than there is in any other city. In conferring on Congress the power to exercise exclusive jurisdiction in the District the intention was to exclude the jurisdiction of Maryland and Virginia from legislative authority within the District, not deprive the residents of municipal suffrage and of elected local officials.

Opponents of home rule claim that the reasoning in support of it rests on a false premise; that local interests can be separated from federal interests.

Advocates of home rule maintain that one of the reasons the city administration has grown so complicated and cumbersome is duplication and overlapping of authority resulting from failure to separate local from national functions. There will always be difficulties of this nature but if local affairs can be separated from national and state affairs in other cities it can be done in Washington.

Opponents of home rule deny that Congress would be relieved of a burden of time-consuming chores and details if it delegated powers to a locally elected city government in Washington. They say that Congress would still have to keep close tabs on taxes and spending and would have to review every ordinance and resolution passed by the City Council. Furthermore, every time the Council or the Mayor did something that citizens considered injurious to their interests the dissatisfied people would carry their complaints to members of Congress.

Supporters of home rule reply that if Congress delegates adequate powers to the local government neither residents or non-residents with interests in the District would very often have grounds for complaining to Congressmen instead of to the responsible local authority. Unless a complaint should concern his own constituency a member of Congress would not normally find that he would be under obligation or even find it expedient to become unduly involved.

Home rule bills have included safeguards such as a Presidential veto of Council ordinances, a final general review by Congressional District Committees of the Budget and proposed taxes, and an independent post-audit by the General Accounting Office. Home rule advocates do not see how Congress could help but benefit from no longer acting as "budget officer, banker, bookkeeper, disbursing officer, and fiscal control officer for the District."

Opponents of home rule have maintained that a grant of self government would mean loss to the city of some or all of the Federal payment. Some regard this as a possibility; others as a certainty.

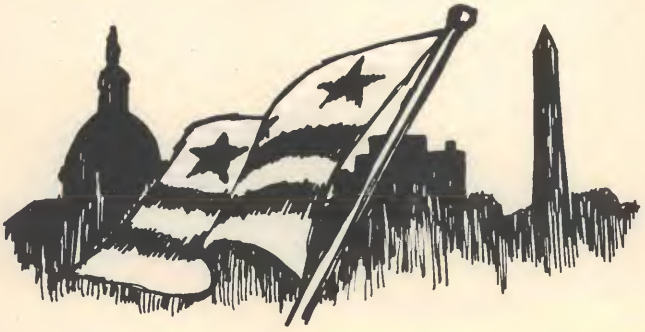
Fearing this possibility, opponents of home rule have urged that no home rule legislation be approved unless it contains a specific guarantee that an annual federal payment will be forthcoming, preferably under a formula that will ensure equitable treatment.

Proponents of home rule also favor a guaranteed annual federal payment. But to them it is inconceivable that the Federal government would reduce this payment further than it already has or eliminate it. They say the argument is premised on the assumption that Congress will abdicate its responsibility. It suggests that Congress would retaliate against District citizens for asking for self-government.

Opponents of home rule argue that if Congress enacts home rule legislation for the District which includes a formula for guaranteeing and determining the amount of an annual Federal payment the Congress will lose too great a part of its legislative authority. Its power could also be eroded by the Council and Mayor passing ordinances before the Congress could become aware of the consequences, by which time it would be difficult to overturn or amend the local legislation.

Advocates of home rule see this argument premised on an assump-

(*Continued on page* 45)



Will it take disaster to make the nation realize that the present character of the suburbs is central to our most crucial problems?

Musings on Suburbia:

Seeds of Rebellion and Concentric Rings of Slums

CARLOS C. CAMPBELL

Mr. Campbell is a city and regional planner, who, since May of 1969, has served as special assistant to HUD's Assistant Secretary for Metropolitan Planning and Development. He was formerly with the consulting firm of CEIR, Inc.

Copyright © CITY Magazine, published bi-monthly by the National Urban Coalition, 1971.

Suburbia Is: Where whites stand around at cocktail parties and impress blacks with their wonderfulness.

Where blacks stand around (same cocktail parties) and impress whites with their importance.

Where you negotiate for land by the acre as opposed to the city where you negotiate by the square foot.

Far out and getting farther.

Overwhelmingly white and getting whiter.

Where you live but not necessarily where you work.

Where you work but not necessarily where you live.

The outer edge of potentially concentric rings of slums.

A mid-20th-century form of optical pollution.

Homogeneous, flat, sterile, and expensive.

The Mainstream of America. Suburbia exemplifies the most crucial problem our society faces: the divisiveness of people along socioeconomic lines within the metropolitan areas of this country. This is a problem which involves factors other than race and economics, although they are the predominant ones.

The cities are not in a competitive position with the suburbs. With the interstate system weaving throughout our various urban conurbations and with the availability of cheaper land, industry continues to relocate in suburbia. In addition, there is no definitive policy for use of federal leverage to balance growth between cities and suburbs.

The Corridorization of Man. We live in a switch-flicking, knob-twisting, handle-turning, dial-setting, button-pushing—totally mechanized and dehumanized—generation. We live in a corridor with the city at one end and suburbia at the other. Within this corridor we become isolated and are unable to sense the feelings of our fellowman. For example, on a hot summer day we wake up in suburbia in an air-conditioned home. After flicking a few switches, turning a few knobs, twisting a few handles, setting a few dials, pushing a few buttons, we get into an automobile which is also air-conditioned and ride down a horizontal corridor into the center city. Once out of the air-conditioned automobile, we are immediately into an air-conditioned office building. After pushing a button and waiting for a door to open we ride up a vertical corridor, and then exit to our air-conditioned office. Now I ask you, if we can isolate ourselves from the heat that we normally would be exposed to, how could we expect to be sensitive enough to deal with the problems of our fellowman?

Stone-Age Mentalities Dealing With Space-Age Problems. Consultants view government as an organizational entity engaged in PPBS—Planning, Programing, and Budgeting Systems. If you're a ghetto dweller living in a rat-infested tenement (in a renewal area, of course), and you've just attended your 10th meeting in citizen pacification—oops, *participation*—then government seems more like an entity engaged in PBBS—The Perpetuation of Bureaucratic Bullshit!

The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, chairman of the United States Civil Rights Commission, has charged that the "Federal Government isn't really serious" about providing equal opportunities for blacks. Edgar Cahn of the Citizen's Advocate Center in Washington, D.C., has charged the federal government with condoning "official lawlessness." Both are right; the question is only one of degree depending on the subject agency.

Ignorance notwithstanding, the day-to-day bureaucrat tends to be gutless and indecisive. Impacting the decision-making process is not as difficult as people make it out to be. Assuming slightly better than average intelligence, and the right combination of age, race, religion, sex, political affiliation, and timing, getting through the top at various levels of government is really no sweat. Decisions are, for the most part, made in a vacuum and reflect a SWEMM (Suburban-oriented, White, Economically advantaged, Middle-aged Male) bias. There is a noticeable absence of blacks, young people, and females in decision making at all levels of government.

And then there's the committee approach to getting things done. This is practiced more to avoid individual responsibility than to encourage much-needed debate with those who may have a different viewpoint—who, as previously mentioned, are usually not present. Consequently, meetings within the bureaucracy represent an exercise in intellectual masturbation in which people sit around and attempt to deal with complex problems with-



out the dedication, concern, professional experience, or knowledge to exercise good judgment. Although there is a strong cry for local control, it is probably at the local level where bureaucracy does its best to perpetuate its mediocrity.

Instead of exercising both internal and external leadership to improve the delivery of programs in appropriate locations, our government has engaged in isolated acts of charity—as if to give a false sense of hope to those who may otherwise seek to turn this nation on its edge. We have not been, we are not presently, and probably never will be serious about housing the poor, be they white, black, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, or Indians. Certainly we will not get serious until we recognize that poverty in itself is not a sin; that dignity is an American entitlement; that the destiny of the poor is the destiny of America.

To attempt to solve the problems of housing, education, and employment within the limited space of the "city" is to engage in an exercise in sheer futility. When and if the American attitude changes, perhaps through disasters of varying degrees, the real thrust will be toward the greater urban area which will include both suburbia and open land areas contiguous to it.

Where Our Heads Are At . . . On the Brothers and Sisters. No one individual or group is representative of "black thought" in this country; however, the late Malcolm X came forth with what I regard as the most eloquent statement of where and how we want to live:

"The black masses want not to be shrunk from as though they are plague-ridden. They want not to be walled up in slums, in ghettos like animals. They want to live in an open, free society where they can walk with their heads up like men and women."

This doesn't say anything about living in suburbia or living in the city. The important thing is that we create a society in which there is a real choice so that we can live either in the "city" or "suburbia." All things being equal —quality of schools, access to employment, opportunity for ownership—I think most of us (blacks) would prefer the city. Since things are not equal, and don't appear to be moving toward equality, many of us are joining that flight to the other end of the corridor, to suburbia, just as soon as we get the economic wherewithal.

This only serves to drain off much-needed black leadership—and is all the more reason why programs to rehabilitate existing neighborhoods should be increased, along with efforts to upgrade the quality of city schools and other municipal services. Only in this way do we move toward a choice.

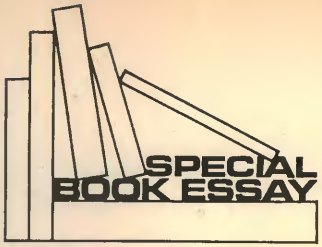
The White Man's Hangup. In all probability, there will always be a small percentage of "super (white) liberals" and a similar percentage of bigots. The large body of those in between, those who have passively supported a racist system, are the ones who will have to be changed. The thrust toward suburbia has resulted primarily from a desire to get away from blacks. This attitude, plus an obsession with a certain cultural lifestyle, has been the prime mover. Whites give the impression that once in suburbia, with all the barriers surrounding them in the form of zoning, building codes, residency requirements, and a variety of economic barriers, they can isolate themselves and live alone in peace and quiet. Isolation and polarization are things that are being done by and for the white man with continued assistance from the federal government. One day the whites are going to recognize that the brothers and sisters are in a totally different bag and that we don't really give a goddamn about their whiteness. We dig spacious homes, quality schools, and shopping centers—especially those where the goods are not overpriced and the meat is unspoiled. Living next door to whites is at best a coincidence, a consequence for wanting the same bang for the buck—the buck that we have to work twice as hard to get.

Toward Four-Fifths of a Man. If change comes within the next decade it will not come as a result of advertising any more mumbo jumbo "game plans" or "sideshows," whether they are called "urban renewal," "model cities," "operation breakthrough," or "new communities." It can only come as a result of making a definite commitment: a commitment which recognizes that 80 per cent of the goods and services produced in the private sector of this society are controlled by less than five per cent of the population; a commitment which recognizes that a shift in power is going to be necessary in terms of those who have an equity position in this country. Therefore the commitment will have to go far beyond jobs and welfare. To quote Charles de Gaulle: "To stick to wages alone is to maintain a permanent class struggle."

We therefore have to increase the equity position of the masses. To provide land and ownership is to get away from the actuality of a black man being three-fifths of a person, as we were in the original draft of the Constitution, and as we were as famliies in 1968 when the median income of blacks was three-fifths that of whites. Perhaps we should have a pass-through goal to become four-fifths of a man by 1980! This would dramatize where we really are and what we have to go through to get to be equal as families on an economic basis. Of course four-fifths goals may be unrealistic by 1980 since we haven't changed that much in the last few centuries.

The Structure of Government Will Have to Change. The various forms of local government have not operated efficiently or effectively. They have allowed the land to be

(*Continued on page 47*)



THE GLOBAL CITY, *Freedom, Power and Necessity in the Age of World Revolutions, by Theodore H. Von Laue. Lippincott, $6.95.*

NOT often is a volume of history forthcoming so broad in its interpretation and so strikingly original in its content that it will serve for decades ahead as a benchmark against which other contemporary historians must measure their own efforts. Such a book is Theodore Von Laue's "The Global City," a major work which invites comparison with Giovanni Vico, Max Weber, and Arnold Toynbee in the total freshness and originality with which it treats its subject and the surgical precision with which it isolates the alarums and excursions of the moment from the deeper forces at work in history. It is also a book that so far has been misunderstood or escaped the interest of most academic reviewers.

Theodore Von Laue came to his present volume by way of a critical study of Leopold Ranke, the most influential German historian of the 19th century; a biography of Serge Witte, the czarist Minister of Finance who helped bring modern industry to Russia; and a well-received study, "Why Lenin? Why Stalin?," which suggests that the economic development and industrial expansion of 20th century Russia have contributed as much as Communist ideology to modern Russian behavior. In "The Global City" he sets out to do something new. His point of departure was to see "myself and my times in the grand perspective of human destiny, at whatever peril and however dimly. . . . If the perspectives here raised prove anywhere near correct, the academic works now so prevalent will soon become another variety of 'so what?' history, brilliant but irrelevant monuments of a past that is being drastically reshaped by the urgencies of the present."

It is not easy to select an isolated example from a provocative volume of 289 pages whose arguments are carefully interwoven, but one of the book's central topics discusses the modernization process as it affects Western and non-Western societies, a subject of frequent but as yet inconclusive discussion in the foreign affairs community.

The west represents "a conclike volcano, an endless variety of cultural achievements which spread . . . downslope . . . transforming all cultures and ways of life that lie in its path." The volume and intensity of the outpourings have risen and fallen through the centuries. "On the slopes the older deposits that have blended into the local scene are constantly overlaid by new ones . . . Traditional ways, earlier forms of westernization, and the most up-to-date imports exist side by side in dissonance and tension."

The cultural slope down which the volcano of westernization proceeds is a highly uneven one. It more affects metropolitan than rural areas; the process follows rivers, trade routes, and railway lines, and created islets around centers where there were radios, TV sets, or other access to mass communications. It bypassed more inaccessible spots, such as sections of the interior of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Von Laue's conclusion is that the most important outgrowth of this volcanic process is the western metropolis, which has accomplished nothing less than a gigantic world revolution, compared to which the more commonly identified revolutionary movements of our time such as fascism, national socialism, and the various brands of communism have been "second-rate, contrived, imitative, inwardly uncertain, and futile."

For the author "there can be no question that a global community, a global city of sorts, is a solid reality now." Its key ingredients are a far-flung network of power relationships among countries sharing common standards by which power is measured, a set of economic relationships, of currencies, goods, prices, corporations that overlap national boundaries, and efforts at international economic regulation involving groups of countries.

He acknowledges an antiphonal force to the emerging global city existing in "a variety of cultures not coordinated and perhaps incapable of coordination in their present form.'

Von Laue, in suggesting the sort of reactions expected of man to the emerging global city, believes that any attempt to solve the problems of our time will have to be a collective action. "The individual by himself is now more powerless than ever, dwarfed almost out of existence as one in tens and hundreds of millions of other human beings. . . . If he is to accomplish anything, he must do so through cooperation." Unavoidably the individual is faced with effectively functioning in a large organization if he expects to see his will or ideas carried out.

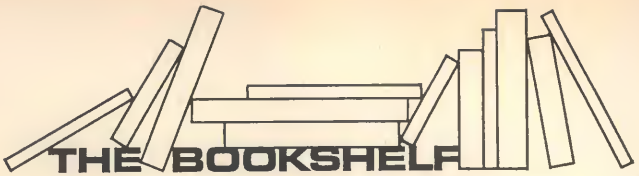
Von Laue believes that in an age when bureaucracies are large and will become larger, an individual "must strive not only to make the organization conform to him but also to conform himself to it." He says "this does not mean that he should accept specific organizations as they exist now—all must become more responsive to individual need." But the individual must accept organization as such and make himself a more perfect organization man, more open-minded, flexible of will, capable of fusing his innermost energies with those of others; he must become a more socialized being."

This is not the sort of book with which a reader will immediately agree or take issue; the first requirement is to live with the ideas awhile, react to them, and then make up one's mind. In this process, a reader of "The Global City" will find that some of the concepts and part of the language of this important volume will add significantly to his framework for looking at himself and his times.

—FREDERICK QUINN



The Global City, a 16th Century German Woodblock



Plea for Unity

EUROPE AND AMERICA: *The Next Ten Years, by Ambassador W. Randolph Burgess and James Robert Huntley, with an introduction by Ambassador Livingston T. Merchant. Walker, $8.50.*

EVERY person interested in our relations with Europe, as well as those specialists in other regions who appreciate the primacy of the Atlantic Community in our foreign policy planning, will want to read this book. It is the work of two highly qualified individuals who have had personal access to some of the best thinking available on the subject, as well as the most current literature. The text is well organized and highly readable.

The book relates the problems and prospects of the Atlantic Community with respect to such highly fashionable subjects as restive youth and ecology and also explores more traditional fields such as economic, political and defense integration. The tone is generally optimistic but rarely slips into the utopian cliches about Atlantic unity we normally expect to encounter in books of this type.

As might be anticipated, the theme is a plea for greater unity among the Atlantic powers, particularly NATO members, as a means of solving most of the world's pressing problems, including the economic development of the Third World. This unity can be accomplished by what the authors call

—**functionalism,** an approach already well developed by multinational businesses, customs and monetary agreements, among others and which has almost infinite capacity for additional development

—**partnership,** which is essentially the "two-pillar" conception (the US being one pillar, united Europe the other) and which contains some significant pitfalls

—**union,** which is also not particularly new but is capably analyzed from both European and American viewpoints and is found to be promising.

The authors do not rule out an evolutionary combination of the three approaches cited above.

—JOHN W. STEPHENS

Student Revolt

THE UNIVERSITY CRISIS READER, *Immanuel Wallerstein and Paul Starr (eds.) Random House, $10.00 (two volumes).*

OR those readers seeking a coherent view of a most disordered subject—US student revolt in the 1960s—there's now a book for you. Immanuel Wallerstein, professor of sociology at Columbia, and Paul Starr, a recent graduate of the same school, have compiled "The University Crisis Reader," a mass of items totaling over one thousand pages and covering most areas anyone could want to know about the turmoil on American campuses in the last decade.

This is not stuff for light dipping. It's a two-volume reference book of polemic, of charge and countercharge. The first volume treats "The Liberal University Under Attack" and concentrates on the radical critique of the university in the familiar areas of educational reform, university ties with corporate capitalism and government, university links to racism, and relevance in the classroom. The second volume, "Confrontation and Counterattack," looks at the politics of confrontation.

The second volume offers a major section on the strategic debate among radical students (principally within the SDS) through the late '60s. This 220-page section provides a useful survey of wrangles on the student left, compiled mainly from NEW LEFT NOTES and SDS statements.

The authors do not pretend to a rigorous concern for ideological balance. Their aim is to present debate, polemic, "hassles," the cutting edge of recent criticism of academia, and that they achieve.

—MICHAEL P. CANNING

The European Lesson

THE RECOVERY OF EUROPE, *From Devastation to Unity, by Richard Mayne. Harper & Row, $8.95.*

GIVEN the affluence of Western Europe today, one tends to forget that at the end of World War II Europe was a prostrate continent where the scarcity of food was the major problem followed by inflation.

The struggle to rebuild Europe is ably, lucidly, and interestingly presented by Mr. Mayne. The hero of his book is Jean Monnet, the Frenchman who more than any other European in the past 25 years nudged European leaders toward the unity now universally recognized as important to economic progress. The hero-nation, perhaps, is the United States, which since the end of World War II consistently encouraged and abetted European unification. The country that missed the boat, in Mayne's opinion, was Great Britain.

Mr. Mayne admits that while Europe has come a long way, the new element in the European equation is technology, which enabled the United States to leap so far ahead. Can Europe do likewise, he asks? Mr. Mayne concludes: "If there is one respect in which Europe differs from the Europe of the past, this is its willingness, however fitful, to limit the self-righteousness of nations—its sense that a common interest binds even those who passionately disagree."

With that we can agree, but when he goes a step further, concluding that "Today the name is Europe. Tomorrow, it could be the world," he is in for some disagreement, when we think of the problems of other continents.

Still, the European lesson is there—25 years of moving from devastation to a far greater unity than the Old World had ever before experienced, thus contributing to today's affluence. The Marshall Plan, the Soviet Threat, Europe's unique history, and Jean Monnet were also there.

—ALLEN C. HANSEN

Social Demolition

THE RIOT MAKERS: *The Technology of Social Demolition, by Eugene H. Methvin. Arlington House, $10.00.*

THE RIOT MAKERS, The Technology of Social Demolition," by Eugene H. Methvin, and recently published by Arlington House should be in the library of every US mission overseas and is *must* reading for all persons whether serving overseas or in the government at home who are concerned with political violence. Methvin, an Associate Editor of READER'S DIGEST, spent ten years gathering material for this study of such major outbreaks as the Bogatazo in Colombia in 1948, the troubles in Baghdad in the same year, Panama in 1964, the Dominican Republic twelve months later, and Saigon over the last decade. In addition, he has assembled many new or pertinent details on the more serious riots in the United States, including Harlem, Berkeley, Detroit, Newark, Chicago, Atlanta,

Columbia, and Washington.

But this book is more than an accurate and detailed report of these political explosions. It goes into the reasons for their happening, including the grievances which triggered them and the new and improved technology of what he refers to as "social demolition." After tracing the early history of violence from Roman times through the French Revolution and the upheavals of the 19th and 20th centuries, Methvin develops the seven stages which in his opinion show how a riot can be created. This has resulted in interesting and well documented chapters on Organization, Preconditioning, Sloganeering, and the Creating of Crowds. He then brings his unusual experience and writing ability to bear on Crowd Management, Confrontation, and the Creation of Martyrs. This part of the book culminates in a case study of the violence of Columbia University where as a first-hand observer, Methvin was fortunate to escape serious physical injury.

The final four chapters deal with the democratic response to this new technique in which he concludes that democracy itself has developed but little over the past two centuries while the techniques for its demolition have been greatly expanded. Methvin's final conclusion is that riots *can* be prevented, but only if those charged with defending the democratic position understand both the causes of worldwide discontent and the techniques now being used by extremists of both the Left and the Right to destroy them. Thus "The Riot Makers" contains both useful reference material, and is a source of constructive ideas on one of the more alarming political problems of our times.

—RICHARD H. SANGER

Wars and Peace

DISSENT AND THE STATE IN PEACE AND WAR: *An Essay on the Grounds of Public Morality, by Morton Kaplan. Dunellen Co., $6.95.*

THE PEOPLE VS. PRESIDENTIAL WAR, *ed. by John M. Wells with Maria Wilhelm. Dunellen Co., $5.95.*

THE two books reveiwed here represent strikingly different political and literary styles. Though I would argue that Kaplan's "Dissent and the State in Peace and War" is far better and much more comprehensive than "The People vs. Presidential War," each reader will doubtless have his own view.

Those who strongly feel commitment, both in mind and heart, will be very much taken with "People vs.," a collection of essays by individuals concerned with passage of Massachusetts' Shea Bill, which challenges the right of the President to send American draftees to fight in "undeclared wars." The passion of participation exuding from its pages will be reward enough for many—no matter that the Supreme Court later knocked the bill down; no matter the ultimate implications of the bill for national government.

Kaplan's book will appeal much more to those who appreciate a first-rate philosophical treatise written in English (as opposed to philosophese) and dealing with current political and moral problems in a highly intelligent and penetrating fashion. Interestingly enough, it is those to whom "People vs." will seem most appealing for whom Kaplan has written his volume, and who stand to gain the most from reading it. Obligation and legitimacy in democracy, the crisis of education, pressing problems of public morality, and the real nature of our world and choice in international politics are the substance of "Dissent and the State."

The chapters on international politics, Kaplan's professional field, provide the most stimulating reading for those in the foreign affairs community. Though he disagrees with many aspects of US Vietnam policy, his critique of Senator Fulbright's position on presidential power in foreign affairs is the most lucid one around. Decisions should be related to actual choices, not tied to a "tyranny of principles," if there is to be any success in foreign affairs. His treatment of the Munich situation and its aftermath, a much-considered analogy recently, is insight-provoking and worth pondering.

"Dissent and the State" is a very good starting point for those who worry about a lack of US national purpose, or who wish to concern themselves with basic issues that underlie all policy, but especially foreign policy today.

— JOHN D. STEMPEL

Papa Doc's Turf

HAITI, THE POLITICS OF SQUALOR *by Robert I. Rotberg with Christopher K. Clague. Houghton Mifflin, $10.*

HAITI, The Politics of Squalor" shows many of the characteristics of Robert Rotberg's earlier books on Africa, a thorough bibliography and documentation, careful attention to the development of points, glaringly obvious conclusions. The book, despite its attractive features, is a lumpish, wooden volume cast in the foundation study mould. In 1941 James Leyburn published "The Haitian People," a short perceptive study of Haitian history and society. The book badly needs updating, but the present study does not accomplish that task.

—FREDERICK QUINN

Ordeal in Mao-Land

HOSTAGE IN PEKING, *by Anthony Grey. Doubleday, $7.95.*

IN mid-March 1967, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was in full flood, Anthony Grey, the Reuters correspondent, arrived in Peking. Four months later he was under house arrest—to be kept in solitary confinement for 26 months. His incarceration was a reprisal for the sentencing to prison of some Communist newsmen in Hong Kong for offenses connected with rioting in the British Crown Colony.

In describing his ordeal as a hostage, he tells of the physical abuse he suffered at the hands of the Red Guards, the petty, senseless hostilities of his warders, the harassment of constant, disturbing surveillance, and a plethora of cruelties and indignities. He relates, too, how he strove to keep his sanity and morale by his "Determination" programs—yoga, keeping a diary, even learning the sanctified thoughts of Chairman Mao. "Learning Mao's thoughts by heart helped stave off claustrophobia too!"

The story of his imprisonment is supplemented by his impressions of the Cultural Revolution (based on his four months of freedom in Peking) and by a number of photographs.

Grey's account of "man's inhumanity to man" is well told—with British *sang-froid*—and it has a happy ending.

". . . at an investiture at Buckingham Palace, Her Majesty the Queen said to me, 'I am very glad to see you here today. This is just a small token for what you have been through.'

"I replied: 'It is wonderful to be back home. I am very happy to be here.' "

In short, this *mémoir* makes for interesting, instructive, and depressing reading. It won't start any tourist rush to Mao-land.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

Through Russia with Expert Guides

RUSSIA ON OUR MINDS *by Delia and Ferdinand Kuhn. Doubleday, $6.95.*

THE technique employed by the Kuhns with such success in this book is to blend essays on aspects of Soviet society into chapters about different parts of the Soviet Union. For example, the chapter on Moscow contains

six pages on the role of Soviet women. Chapters on Central Asia and the Caucasus provide the natural opportunitity to discuss Soviet colonialism or Soviet nationalities' posture. The "new" Soviet man turns up fittingly in the section on Siberia, for this reader the best part of the book. The authors back their descriptions and opinions with useful and colorful references to Russian history.

Having become increasingly impressed with the Kuhns' ability to present a balanced picture of Soviet reality, I was surprised to find some dubious judgments in the Epilogue. I doubt if many readers of the Soviet press, Soviet or Western, would agree with their conclusion that "ideology has ceased to be a lively issue." If true, the Soviet Government is wasting appalling amounts of money and energy on a dead issue.

Nor are dissidents sueh as Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn "ineffectual introspective dreamers," as the Kuhns believe. Like their nineteenth-century predecessors, they represent a larger segment of opinion than the numbers of identified dissidents would indicate.

The reasons for the "elosed, secretive nature of Soviet society" that troubled the Kuhns are not all that difficult to find. Nevertheless, the authors deserve full credit in this reviewer's opinion for calling attention to the achievements of the Soviet Union in many areas without glossing over the unpleasant aspeets of the system.

—PETER SEMLER

Questions in Japan's Future

JAPAN'S POSTWAR DEFENSE POLICY, 1947-68, *by Martin E. Weinstein. Columbia University Press,* $7.50.

WITH little fuss Mr. Weinstein shows Japanese defense poliey to have been based for over two decades on the assumption that American protection of Japan from external attack is a mutually beneficial trade for Japanese responsibility for internal security plus American use of bases in Japan in the defense of Korea.

A case can be made that Japan's diplomaey has been extraordinarily skillful in getting US nuclear protection while resisting the US "conception of mutuality" resting on regional defense—and. getting it at an annual cost of around one per cent of GNP. Mr. Weinstein may seem to try a little too hard to show that Japanese leaders planned it that way, but certainly he shows the Japanese to have been remarkably and suecessfully consistent.

The point of departure for Japanese defense policies now is the Nixon-Sato communique of 1969, and Mr. Weinstein's pithy study is an excellent background for any look at that future. His questions for the future are key:

1. Can Japanese leaders continue to get public support for a defense policy that has little root in that public's understanding? FSOs might note in this regard the reviews of Richard Neustadt's "Allianee Politics" in the February 1971 JOURNAL.

2. Can these Japanese leaders persuade "the Americans to give up entirely their efforts to make Japan into a militarily more powerful and active ally?"

—J. K. HOLLOWAY

Security Information

THE LAST OF THE GIANTS, *by C. L. Sulzberger. Macmillan, $12.50.*

THE NEW YORK TIMES is an institution of pre-eminent prestige. It is only proper, therefore, that Mr. Cyrus Sulzberger, the paper's principal foreign affairs commentator, should everywhere be privy to the private opinions of the great of the world of foreign affairs. His position, in protocol terms, falls somewhere between that of a roving White Housc Special Assistant and of an Assistant Secretary of State without Portfolio. To all appearanees, he receives drop copies of all of the more interesting NATO Cosmic cable traffic. He never attends agency and department briefings, however, and is never called upon to draft instructions or to draw up position papers. Indeed, the less he writes, the better he is reeeived.

In the nature of things, then, this new book of Mr. Sulzberger's, a selection of material from his private diaries from 1954 to 1963, is a work of great interest. The reader who has followed the development of foreign affairs over these years will find in it a wide variety of enlightening off-the-cuff political comments by such giants of the age as Churchill, Eisenhower, and de Gaulle, as well as by such relatively lesser lights as Bohlen, Bruce, Harriman, and Herter. General de Gaulle is the star of the book, both in the journal entries and in an 87-page introduction given over to a thoughtful and original interpretation of the French President's political career. General references to the Foreign Service and the Department are less frequent than one might expect, which is perhaps just as well, for they are not uniformly flattering. American embassies are seen as prone to send weasel-worded telegrams on controversial subjects. And, as General Lucius Clay remarked upon hearing Sulzberger's characterization of the Embassy staff in Warsaw in October 1956: "We seem to have a talent for never having a good man in the right place at the right time."

The journal's emphasis on the tra-

STATUARY RAPE by *Henry J. Paoli*



"I still think it was the fish!"

ditional preoccupations of foreign affairs specialists—on treaty politics, on summit political meetings, on military deployments, and the like—gives the work a somewhat old-fashioned air. Its summaries of conversations about Anglo-Russian or Franco-German relations, for example, have their earlier parallels in the not dissimilar accounts of the conversations of de Tocqueville and other 19th-century statesmen recorded in the journals of Nassau Senior. Even the occasional light anecdotes about the fancies and foibles of the great which Mr. Sulzberger has preserved for us are not unlike those accumulated so conscientiously a century and a half ago by English admirers of the Duke of Wellington.

If it is unlikely that the book may be taken as a reliable guide to the real thoughts of the author's distinguished associates—for what politician or diplomat can afford to let his guard down completely in the presence of a newspaperman, even one so discreet and well-vouched for as Mr. Sulzberger—present-day readers and future historians will nevertheless surely agree in judging the journals to be a rich source of revealing insights into the characters of the great political personalities of our age. One cannot but look forward to the time when the unedited original journals from which this attractive volume has been prepared will be made available to a wider public.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

Britain and Egypt

EGYPT AND SINAI, ETERNAL BATTLEGROUND, *by Gregory Blaxland. Funk and Wagnalls, $5.95.*

ORIGINALLY published in England, and titled more accurately "Objective Egypt," Gregory Blaxland has sought to provide in this chronicle of foreign military intervention in Egypt beginning with the Persians, a background to the 1956 Suez crisis. In the American edition, he has added a chapter and under a new title, "Egypt and Sinai," attempts to tie in the recent "June War." His ambitions have somewhat exceeded the space available.

Blaxland's story concentrates very largely on the British campaigns of Abercromby in 1801 against Napoleon's brief occupation, of Wolseley against Arabia in 1882, of Gordon against the Mahdi two years later, and lastly the final thrust of it all, Suez in 1956. While the pre-Napoleonic period of Egypt's trials is covered in six pages, the pace slows to a more reasonable trot thereafter and the descriptive passages and the planning and execution of Operation Musketeer against the Canal Zone some seventy-four years later, make full and exciting reading.

Through it all, Blaxland has endeavored with some success to weave the thread of political factors and rationale, both in England and in Egypt, behind the military operations. The rise of nationalism as the overriding modern force in Egypt, culminating in Nasser's revolution, is adequately recognized and followed.

But it is really the Anglo-French intervention in 1956 that has fascinated the author; and his only real analysis of the events, political and military, making up his story relates to this episode and, in particular, to Anthony Eden's role in it. The military operations he compares unfavorably to those under Wolseley's leadership, concluding that "Neither the planning nor the thinking of the British was flexible enough to convert the set piece invasion they had prepared into swift exploitation of the victory already won by the Israelis." Nor does he treat kindly Eden's handling of the political aspects. Here he feels the specifics of the ultimatum given Tel Aviv and Cairo as a prelude to military action might have been couched so as to have successfully separated the "combatants" for years to come and so to have avoided the recent "June War." The specifics here I leave for discovery by the reader of this good, but somewhat disconnected and overly ambitious tale.

—DAVID G. NES

Kenya Today

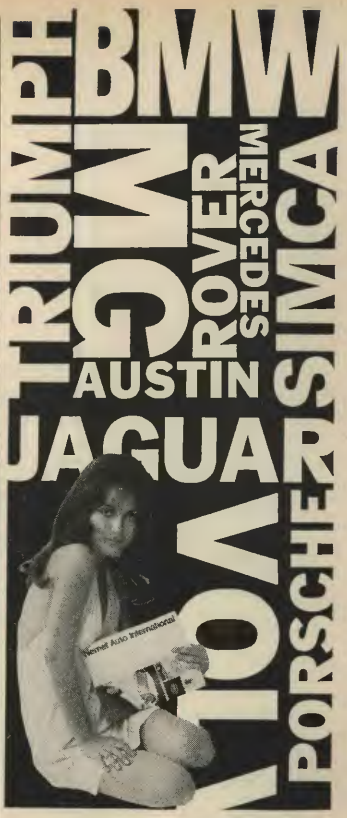
A LAND FULL OF PEOPLE, *by John S. Roberts. Praeger, $6.50.*

A STUFFED giraffe would make a perfectly satisfactory Cabinet Minister provided that the civil servants under it were highly qualified, and that it was content to make the speeches which other people write for it."

Thus British author John S. Roberts sums up the dilemma of Kenyan leaders in facing up to the problem of giving representation to each of the country's several major tribes—regardless of the qualifications of the individuals involved.

But Kenya's human needs are not limited to competent civil servants, administrators, and officials. There is an urgent need, the author says, for more and better teachers, technicians, doctors, nurses, and skilled workers.

Asians, reluctant to become citizens of Kenya, may leave the country in great numbers—provided British authorities allow them to enter freely



Beat Stateside Prices

Since 1916 the Nemet Organization has been meeting the needs of Americans throughout the world. Your car is where you want it, when you want it, serviced and ready to go, on your return Stateside or in Europe.

Save up to 30% over U.S. prices. Our comprehensive Master Catalog contains 60 pages, over 150 illustrations, low factory prices, options, colors, complete specifications.

Nemet Auto International
153-03 Hillside Avenue
Jamaica, New York 11432
near J.F.K. Intl. Airport

NEMET AUTO INTERNATIONAL

Please send me a FREE copy of your 60 page Master catalog. I am interested in:

☐ Austin ☐ B M W ☐ Datsun ☐ Fiat ☐ Jaguar ☐ Lotus ☐ Mercedes
☐ MG ☐ Opel ☐ Peugeot ☐ Porsche ☐ Renault ☐ Rover ☐ Saab
☐ Simca ☐ Sunbeam ☐ Triumph ☐ Volkswagen ☐ Volvo ☐ Avanti

Name .....
Social Security Number .....
Address .....
.....
Date of Rotation FSJ571

If you can wade through some extraneous (but funny) material on post reports, selection out, assignments and representation allowances, you will find some valuable tips on etiquette in



An introduction to foreign service life for the student contemplating the career, a chuckle for friends and relatives back home, this 64-page book is only $1.00 from:

American Foreign Service Assn.
Dept. L, 2101 E St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

Please send ..... copies of Life and Love in the Foreign Service at $1.00 per copy to:

Name .....

Address .....

Advertisement

In a Proud Tradition

To Mr. Thomas Griffin, November 23, 1943.

"I am informed that upon the completion of 33 years of faithful and efficient service to your country in the Department of State you wish to avail yourself of your well-earned prerogative to retire . . . you have maintained the high tradition of patriotic selflessness established by your father in his 55 years of devotion to duty in the Department . . . A total of 88 years of service by father and son is a record of which your family can be justly proud . . ." *signed Cordell Hull.*

(Mr. Griffin's father entered on duty with the Department of State when William H. Seward was Secretary of State, in 1866 and served under 23 Secretaries and Secretaries ad interim, during his 55 years.)

Mr. Griffin's son, **Bill Griffin,** wishes to serve members of the foreign affairs agencies at **Chevy Chase Chevrolet,** where he is transportation specialist. He can be reached at **(301) OL 4-6100** and his address is **7725 Wisconsin Avenue,** Bethesda, Maryland.

into the United Kingdom. This mass exodus, Roberts says, will be tragic. He adds simply: "The Asians developed areas which otherwise would have remained untouched."

But the author is less sure that all European influences on Kenya have been for the good.

"You know, Bwana," he quotes a Kipsigis tribesman, "we Kips are awfully like you Europeans. We love to watch other people work."

This volume deals candidly with the complexities of Kenya's competing (and sometimes non-competing) tribal groups, the failure of political concepts to sift down to the man on the land, and President Jomo Kenyatta's efforts to maintain national unity.

The author, incidentally, admits to Kenyatta's "chairmanlike" performance of his executive duties, but maintains this is to his credit for it will bring Kenya "to a position where he is no longer needed."

The author feels that Kenyans are a gifted people, perhaps more so than any other African nation, and that they will make a success of their new-found statehood.

"The people of Kenya," he writes, "with all their faults, seem to me admirable in their drive, their tolerance and their sense of purpose. Their problems are great and their spirit in tackling them equally great."

—JAMES O. MAYS

Investors Take Note

DACEY ON MUTUAL FUNDS, *by Norman F. Dacey. Foreword by Rep. John E. Moss, Crown, paper $4.95.*

NORMAN DACEY, a professional estate planner, is known for his best seller "How To Avoid Probate." This book should also be popular, and can be recommended to the many who own mutual funds but should know more about them.

Unlike some treatises on investing, this volume has both practical application and a lively, not to say pugnacious style. Dacey calls the shots on some fund managements, and more particularly on the insurance industry whose feet he holds to the fire mercilessly, as he sees them. He also describes his war with the Securities and Exchange Commission. And he includes four forms to establish a "living trust" that are quite useful.

Dacey is not muckraking funds; he is all for them—but you should know what you are doing. His book, with its detailed tables, comparisons with different kinds of life insurance, and commonsense guidelines, will certainly help.

—LEWIS C. MATTISON

CHINA TRADE PROSPECTS AND U.S. POLICY

Edited by Alexander Eckstein

With contributions by Jerome Alan Cohen, Robert F. Dernberger, and John R. Garson.
Preface by Robert A. Scalapino

Major Asia specialists discuss the obstacles to, and prospects for, U.S. trade with China. Among the issues dealt with are the history, rationale, and nature of the American embargo on trade with China; China's retaliatory trade restrictions; and the relationship between China's economy and its foreign trade. *Published for the National Committee on United States–China Relations. Praeger Library of Chinese Affairs.* $10.50

Order directly from

Praeger 111 Fourth Avenue New York, N.Y. 10003

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER

GENERAL ELECTRIC -U.S.A-

Refrigerators • Freezers • Ranges
Washers • Dryers • Air Conditioners
Dishwashers • Radios • Phonos
Small Appliances
Available for All Electric Currents
Local Warehousing for Immediate Shipment

General Electronics, Inc.

SHOWROOM: 4513 Wisconsin Ave., Washington, D. C. 20016 EMerson 2-8300

WRITE FOR CATALOG. Our catalog is sent to administrative officers of embassies and consulates throughout the world.

PIERCING THE VEIL

from page 13

The silent majority at that time consisted, as it does today, of some who had read and understood enough of history to fear its repetition. When McCarthy put Roy Cohn on the stand, and asked him if he could understand Symington's position better if he knew he had "communist cronies," I knew he was closing the ring, and not one drawn by the Marquis of Queensbury. McCarthy himself cheerfully espoused the morality of "Injun Charlie" who would kick senseless any person approaching in an unfriendly manner.

I watched my father's expression. It reminded me of the composure of the Spartan general who, on hearing that the enemy were drawing nearer, remarked, "Good, then we shall be nearer to them." Cohn had no desire to be caught between hammer and anvil, and evaded the question. But McCarthy swung again, implying cowardice. My father answered:

"You said something about being afraid. I want you to know from the bottom of my heart that I'm not afraid of anything about you or anything you've got to say anytime, anyplace, anywhere."

There were few men in America who would have said that to Joe McCarthy at that time. There was none who had. It separated a man from a good many boys. It was followed by my father's characterization of McCarthy's files as the "sloppiest . . . in government," and the suggestion that McCarthy's own finances merited inspection. Still, these remarks were made in anger, not in hate.

At the conclusion of the hearings, few Americans still occupied themselves with the question, "Who promoted Perez?" (McCarthy's opening challenge). Most wondered, on the contrary, how such a quixotic figure as McCarthy's could bestride the nation for so long, and breathed relief to know the genie had been wrestled back into the bottle and turned over to the Watkins Committee for analysis. Lawyer Joseph Welch had a hand in it, as did Senator Flanders. But the man who held at Thermopylae, "in obedience to his country's laws" and his own conscience—was Stuart Symington. Yet, as there was no bitterness on his part in the struggle, he took no particular pride in the outcome. Lesser participants, some journalists, and certain summer soldiers figuratively circled the city of Washington, dragging the body from their chariots. Former hovering backslappers hovered no more. Joe knew who they were. His desk seemed to have an invisible moat around it. And when, in his lonely isolation, he thought to phone a colleague for a roast chicken dinner, he called my father. When the tide of despair and illness closed over him, among the names listed on a resolution recognizing his better claims was my father's. Criticized by the curious kind of liberal opinion that despises generosity of mind, he replied that it did not seem appropriate to carry the struggle beyond the grave.

Early in my first campaign for Congress, I received an irate letter from a gentleman who asked me to consider if I had ever done anything in my life without my father's help. I recalled, in reply, George Washington's assertion that everything he was he owed to his father and mother.

"Me, too," I concluded. ■

Your New Mercedes-Benz Overseas or Stateside:

Easy to arrange—here. Easy to enjoy—there.

Just stop in to see us about the time you get your overseas orders. You can test-drive various Mercedes-Benz models, and decide which one is just right for you. Then select the color, trim and options you want. And that's the hard part. The rest we do.

Our Overseas Delivery experts will schedule delivery almost anywhere in the world. And handle all the details—documentation, licensing, insurance, the works.

As a member of the foreign service your **diplomatic discount** will save you money.

Come in today and we'll figure out exactly how much you can save. Or mail the coupon below for your **free guide to overseas** delivery. It has all the facts, plus a handy worksheet to help you to compute savings on the model of your choice, equipped the way you want it.

John C. Metcalf, Jr., Diplomatic Sales
McNey Motors, Inc.
4800 Elm Street, Bethesda, Maryland 20014, USA, Phone 301-656-4444

Please send me a free Mercedes-Benz guide to overseas delivery.

Name .....

Address ..... City .....

State ..... Zip ..... Telephone No. .....

Association of American Foreign Service Women

P.O. Box 4931, Washington, D. C. 20008

For information & membership form
Call 632-3573 or stop
at the Office, Room 1248
(next door to FS Lounge)

Lunches, tours, languages, education,
scholarship fund-raising, housing information

CONSULTANTS ON EUROPEAN SCHOOLS
Established 1953

A service for parents who are seeking information on suitable European schools for their children.
Personal recommendation of private elementary, high schools, finishing schools and post-graduate programs for school year or summer. Boarding or day.

MRS. GEORGE J. NELSON
MRS. FREDERICK VAN PELT BRYAN

12 East 93rd Street
New York, N. Y. 10028
Telephone
(212) 369-7560

FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL

IF YOU'RE SURE YOU DON'T NEED ADDITIONAL INSURANCE TO PROTECT YOUR FAMILY, DON'T BOTHER TO READ THIS AD; BUT.....

WAEPA stands for Worldwide Assurance for Employees of Public Agencies, Inc., a mutual non-profit corporation whose sole purpose is to provide life insurance at the lowest possible cost to its members.

WAEPA insures exclusively civilian federal employees serving abroad or in the U.S. in overseas related operations.

If you are under 41, you may qualify for $30,000 group life insurance and an additional $25,000 AD & D coverage for $100 per year. If you are over 41 but under 60, you can be covered at higher but still reasonable rates. WAEPA is underwritten by the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U.S. and Mutual of Omaha and administered by Government officials who serve without compensation.

WAEPA has no "war clause." We also provide dependent coverage for a small additional cost. For full details without obligation, write or call John D. Noble, General Manager 667-8955

waepa

1720 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

WHERE **DIPLOMATS** DINE

THE FOUR GEORGES RESTAURANTS—Four distinctively designed dining rooms, each created in a mood and motif reflective of its culinary achievements. Located in the famous Georgetown Inn in the heart of Georgetown—luxurious accommodations. 1310 Wisconsin Ave., N.W. Free Parking. 333-8900.

☆ ☆ ☆

GOLDEN TABLE—A handsome restaurant a short distance from the State Dept. in Columbia Plaza. Enjoy elegant dining amid "golden" theme highlighted by crystal chandeliers and sconces. Continental cuisine features duckling a l'orange, crabmeat en chemise and veal parmegiana. Complimentary dinner parking. Mon.-Sat. 11 am-11 pm; Sun. 4-10 pm. 528 23rd St., N.W., 293-1272.

☆ ☆ ☆

LA FONDA, 1639 "R" St., N.W., AD 2-6965. For years the favorite of true aficionados of delectable Spanish and Mexican food served in a romantic atmosphere. Complete bar. Lunch and dinner parties. Credit cards honored. Open daily 11:30 to midnight, Sunday, 2 to 10 p.m.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE SKY ROOM . . . Hotel Washington, Penn. Ave. & 15th . . . A panoramic view of the Washington scene is a breath-taking backdrop to sophisticated atmosphere here . . . International menu, with a French accent, includes flaming sword medallions of beef tenderloin bourguignonne.

☆ ☆ ☆

FOREIGN SERVICE CLUB, 2101 E St., N.W., 338-5730. Membership open to all members of the American Foreign Service Association. Open weekdays for lunch, 12-3. Reservations accepted for lunch, dinner, cocktail parties for twelve or more. Continental menu and daily buffet. Phone 338-4045 for membership information.

OUR URBAN ILLS

continued from page 21

some extremely productive ways. The pressure for participatory democracy (mainly from the suburbs) and for community control (mainly from the inner city) have begun to shake up institutions whose rigid resistance to change had come to resemble nothing so much as the last stages of rigor mortis. Our young people have had an incalculable impact upon our schools and universities, our corporations, our political process. Their resort to radical methods of protest has seemed, sometimes, to lend legitimacy to the forces of reaction and repression. But the young have also, and almost unerringly, focused our attention upon precisely those aspects of our national life that are most insufferable and insupportable, and which most of us had come rather easily to accept as irremediable, if sometimes regrettable, facts of life. Without the young, we would have gone on doing so; now, we no longer can.

Finally, there is the environmental movement in all of its dimensions, which, more than anything else, has made us aware of how closed, really, is the circle of life, of how interrelated and interdependent are man and his world, people and things, cities and suburbs, blacks and whites, and so on. No aspect of that movement is more important than the call for a national urban growth policy which President Nixon issued earlier this year, which various private advisory groups have recommended, and for the establishment of which legislation has been introduced in Congress.

Our lack of any effective mechanism for making genuine, not to speak of intelligent, choices concerning the use of our land is probably the single most serious flaw in our public decision-making process. Most of our current urban and environmental problems might never have occurred, at least in such aggravated form, had we been able to exercise some control over the pattern of urban-suburban land development. We hear a great deal, for example, about the virtues of mobility; it has become, for us, an end in itself. Yet transportation planner Alan Voorhees has pointed out that rather than trying to increase mobility we should be trying to reduce the need for it. He has estimated that proper land-use planning can reduce the need for mobility by 20 per cent or more, compared with prevailing patterns of land development, without any reduction in the range of opportunities for jobs, housing, or other services. Landscape architect Ian McHarg, to cite another example, has shown how intelligent land-use planning can preserve ecological values, prevent pollution and, at the same time, fully meet the industrial, residential, and other needs of developing communities.

The early institution of an effective urban growth policy must rank high on the national agenda. Without it, we will undoubtedly make piecemeal kinds of progress. But we will still be making some of our most important decisions in the same wasteful way, with a diminishing range of individual choices, each of which will seem less worth making.

"We pays our money and we takes our choice" no longer works—if it ever did—as the basic principle of public choice in America. We may be starting to realize it. ■

HOME RULE

continued from page 34

tion that locally elected citizens will act irresponsibly. They do not see any reason to fear this would happen and point out that, in any event, Congress will always have the power to amend or rescind home rule legislation by which Congress delegated authority or allowed local suffrage in the District.

One of the most commonly heard arguments against home rule is that locally elected officials, influenced by a majority of the less affluent residents who elected them, would raise taxes higher and higher and place a disproportionate share of the tax burden on the minority of more prosperous citizens and business establishments. An inflated bureaucracy and graft would increase the costs of government. Bonded indebtedness would increase to unmanageable proportions. With the federal payment reduced the tax burden would be still heavier.

Friends of home rule point to the successive increases in taxes that have already taken place. They doubt if taxes would increase under home rule any faster than now. They question the grounds for believing that a body of local officials responsible to the residents would act contrary to the interests of their own community or be less honest and efficient than they are now. Some see a distinct possibility that elected officials would be more inclined than appointed ones to effect economies and achieve efficient administration. Irresponsible administrators would face the possibility of being voted out of office. As for the likelihood that the more substantial citizens and enterprises would be hit for more than a fair share, the consideration that such persons or enterprises could move away or suffer losses and no longer provide revenue would act as a brake on attempts to penalize those who are in the best position to contribute to the city's welfare.

Opponents of home rule associate another argument with the preceding one. They maintain that rising taxes and political finagling would so disgust the more substantial residents who pay the highest taxes that many would move out of the District and for the same reason new arrivals would be discouraged from moving into the District and would settle in the suburbs. The effect would be to cancel out any benefit anticipated from increases in tax rates.

The supporters of home rule are more optimistic and see taxes rising no faster or higher in the District than in the suburbs or in other cities, so that the more substantial residents and prospective newcomers would gain nothing by forgoing the conveniences and advantages of living in the District.

Turning to citizen participation, opponents of home rule question how much responsible civic participation there would be. Many citizens retain voting rights in their home states so would not vote in the district. Restrictions quite properly imposed by the Hatch Act on political activity by Civil Service personnel would prevent a segment of the community from playing a part in the political process, much less running for office.

These are admitted drawbacks that at different times advocates of home rule have sought to remove

World wide all risks coverage underwritten at Lloyds of London

NO CLAIM BONUS TOO!

For very many years U.S.O.I.B. Ltd., have insured members of the Foreign Service. First class service and claims settlements.

Enquiries to:

UNITED SERVICES OFFICERS' INSURANCE BROKERS LTD.

Clanville Lodge, Andover, Hampshire, England.

Telephone: Weyhill 609 Cables: Adsuranbro Winchester

WHAT'S YOUR NEXT MOVE..?

. . . if you're an in-between investor—one who finds mutual funds too remote and big counselling firms uninterested. (We're interested). For individuals with $15,000 to $250,000 or more we provide personal, flexible investment management at reasonable cost.

Interested?
For our brochure call or write . . .

MERSEREAU, MEEK & CO., INC.

Investment Management and Counsel

in Washington, D.C.
5530 Wisconsin Ave. (20015)
(301) 654-3434

in New York
59 E. 54th St. (10022)
(212) 421-4450

by provisions in draft legislation allowing so-called "dual voting rights" for residents who vote in home states (in 1947 State governments said they would cooperate) and for making the Hatch Act inapplicable to elections held under the legislation or to political campaigns connected with them. The acceptability of such provisions in any future legislation is admittedly uncertain.

Some opponents of home rule who have appeared before Congressional Subcommittee hearings have contended that residents of the District are not ready to assume the responsibilities of suffrage and self government.

One of the reactions of those who have thought it necessary to grapple with this contention has been to ask in what respects the residents of the District differ from the people in other cities and at what point in a democratic society the level of education and capacity to exercise judgment is high enough to justify abandoning a system of colonial administration.

One last point should be touched upon in this discussion of pros and cons of home rule. It cannot be denied that fear plays a part in the opposition to self-government for the District of Columbia. There is fear of the consequences of local suffrage. A majority of the elected officials would probably be representatives of the poorer, less educated, and possibly less civic minded elements of the city. Through these officials the less responsible majority would be able to exercise an oppressive and intolerable domination over a minority of more responsible and substantial citizens.

This fear, of course, has racial overtones. Well, past experience and recent developments should help put these fears to rest. At no time in recent years has any very large number of residents belonging to any economic, racial, religious or age group acted as a solid bloc. Meetings have been marked by expressions of strongly opposed views. Citizens' associations have had internal disagreements and have disagreed with each other. Campaigns of liberal elements and of dissidents have been characterized by internal differences of opinion, competition, rivalry, and the usual tension that develops in any attempt to enlist large numbers of supporters. These could be regarded as healthy signs of political awareness and democratic freedom. This lack of cohesion is revealed repeatedly in press accounts of even the most militant activist movements. Past experience really supplies insufficient grounds for supposing that if the District citizenry were to be accorded self-government any one group would find itself powerless in the face of ambitions and aspirations of other groups.

The cleavage between friends and foes of home rule seems to have its origin in a different view of the ordinary man's capacity to submit to the general good and exercise responsible judgment. Home rule may never come. Concepts supported by advocates of home rule may some day reshape the environment of the city for the better. Realization of home rule may transform the bad dreams of its opponents into reality. In any event, the subject will probably continue to crop up in the months ahead. ■



Worldwide Common Market

If you don't have time to shop the world for out-of-this-world gift ideas, shop your embassy's W. Bell & Company catalog. An exciting selection of more than 7,000 domestic and imported items is at your fingertips, stateside and in 56 countries overseas. Shop from home away from home. Make your choice at *considerable savings* and we'll ship it anywhere on the globe. W. Bell & Company is the world's most uncommon marketplace, serving the diplomatic corps at home and abroad.

12401 Twinbrook Parkway
Rockville, Maryland 20852

W. Bell & Co.



Richard C. Blalock
(Foreign Service Officer-Retired)

YOUR MAN FROM EQUITABLE HAS E.S.P.

At Equitable, ESP stands for Electronic Security Profile—our computer-age insurance programming service.

Here's what ESP can do for you:

1. **Organize your security objectives.**
2. **Determine how adequately these objectives are met by existing insurance, Foreign Service or Civil Service benefits, Veterans benefits, and capital assets.**
3. **Develop and recommend an insurance program tailored to your projected needs—from now, right through retirement.**

Want to find out if your present security program is all you think it is? Call Your Man from Equitable, today. There is no obligation.

Richard C. Blalock
Suite 404, 1660 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone: 223-6350

THE EQUITABLE

The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, New York, N.Y.

MUSINGS ON SUBURBIA

continued from page 36

raped, misused, and abused. Metropolitan forms of government are going to be necessary, with planning actually linked to decision making. Zoning should be virtually eliminated and replaced with a uniform planning system consistent with a national growth policy. Aside from the planning and programmatic aspects the business of municipal finance will have to be changed markedly in terms of both resource distribution and revenue collection. Block grants and revenue sharing programs are a must.

Housing: The Crux of the Whole Matter. Not only is it necessary to deal with the qualitative and quantitative aspects of housing, it is just as important to deal with the locational aspects as well. An interesting penetration has taken place in this country. In 1964, Howard County, Maryland, voted for George Wallace for President. Today within this same county is the new city of Columbia which is approximately 17 per cent black. In terms of the socioeconomic mix, Columbia is the most viable new city in this country. The present population is around 11,000 and is moving toward 100,000 by 1980. This experiment gives rise to new hope through private industry and governmental cooperation.

Public housing in the United States should be discontinued in its present form. Individuals presently living within public housing should be given large subsidies so that they can relocate to other areas of their choice and possibly purchase homes. Their present habitations should be turned over to private industry for rehabilitation and resale on the open market *after* the individuals are rehoused.

Both Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and Title VIII of the 1968 Civil Rights Act provide a strong legislative mandate for alleviating discriminatory practices in housing and federally assisted programs. But governmental agencies have been reluctant to vigorously enforce this mandate. Without developing any "new" legislation, we could improve significantly the distribution of resources to blacks and minorities by being more forceful with respect to existing legislation. When government chooses to provide federal assistance to municipalities which willfully deny opportunities to blacks, it only adds to the very divisiveness it professes to denounce.

The real question is not whether this country will change its attitude toward blacks and provide housing choices in *all* jurisdictions, urban or suburban—along with the needed quantitative increase—but how the changes will be brought about. We seem to be motivated more by fear and greed than by constructive efforts and love.

Playwright Christopher Fry once noted: "Strange how we trust the powers that ruin and not the powers that bless."

For now, the change toward creating a choice in suburban locations for all citizens will have to recognize the "new urban math." That is PE/SR and EN/EA—Political Expedience takes precedence over Social Relevance and Economic Necessity takes precedence over



"SHOP IN AN AMERICAN DRUG STORE BY MAIL"
"AN ICE CREAM SODA" is one of the few items we cannot mail. **Drugs, cosmetics, sundries** mailed daily to every country in the world.
We Maintain
"Permanent Family Prescription Records"
"SEND NO MONEY"
Pay only AFTER satisfactory receipt of order.

WORLD WIDE PRESCRIPTION SERVICE

Western Pharmacy
1665 35th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

ASSIGNMENT WASHINGTON

TOWN OR COUNTRY: Top Virginia locations for city, suburban or rural properties. "TOWN & COUNTRY" has an excellent selection of available homes in beautiful Northern Virginia. FHA In-Service, G.I., and Conventional Financing. Six offices to serve you.

A complete property management and rental service.
Write for our free brochure

TOWN & COUNTRY PROPERTIES, INC.
REALTORS

3807 Mt. Vernon Ave., Alexandria	TE 6-8915
4701 Old Dominion Dr., Arlington, Va.	525-6900
4205 Evergreen La., Annandale, Va.	CL 6-9100
1384 Choin Bridge Road, McLean	EL 6-1323
6556 Bocklick Road, Springfield	451-0111
9637 Lee Highway, Fairfax	591-7000

Play the PERCENTAGES

8½	8½	8½

Annual percentage rate now effective on new loans. When you borrow, let the percentage work for **you.** Our **one** low rate for **all loans** is better than you'll find most anywhere.

SDFCU

YOUR STATE DEPARTMENT FEDERAL CREDIT UNION
Come in and talk it over or send a letter

Emotional Anxiety.

I question the applicability of these formulas in bringing about massive changes and fall back to Fry's line, "Strange how we trust the powers that ruin . . ."

It seems that we habitually wait until we get a toothache before we go to the dentist. While we recognize that we have problems with air pollution, water pollution, mental pollution, and all the other types of pollution, we aren't really doing anything about them on a massive basis.

We could probably shape some major decisions by testing the impact of a temporary ban on automobiles. We could walk to work and explore all of the options that exist between the three miles that formed the radius of the early pedestrian-oriented cities and the 30-mile radius which forms the automobile-oriented metropolis. If we explored all of the options in between we would begin to recognize the psychological and economic good that could come out of walking to work and having people live in close proximity to their jobs. If we did this, which may seem a bit too rational, we could avoid a lot of chaos (not that this in itself should become an end). Unless we can become rationally responsive, it will take a visible crisis to set major changes in motion with respect to housing locations and other problems that fall under the urban umbrella.

Imagine what would happen if 50,000 people died in one day within the New York metropolitan area as a result of water or air pollution. I'll bet we would get a noticeable priority shift.

For years man has been warned about problems of the cities and race. As far back as the 24th chapter of Isaiah it was noted: "Broken down is the city of chaos. Every house is shut up so that no one can enter. In the streets there is an outcry for wine. All joy has reached its even tide. The mirth of the world is gone. Desolation is left in the city and its gates are battered to ruins."

One of the most notable warnings came about 80 years ago from Lewis Harvey Blair, the Virginia aristocrat and Confederate veteran, who noted: "White men can keep the Negro in his present degrading condition, but they cannot do so without at the same time laying the ax at the root of their own welfare; they can crush but while doing this they will be like Samson who could only destroy his enemies by destroying himself. . . . We may continue to crush and we may delight in the exhibitions of our arbitrary power, but every oppression and every denial of the equal rights of the Negro will be at our own expense."

This rings a note which is both frightening and timely; this essentially is at the center of the urban-suburban dichotomy.

Perhaps a new momentum toward relevance will emerge and out of the agony of revolution will come new ideas and new men. Together we may be able to cement a thrust toward constructive change. Change is inevitable; like a pendulum, the measure of the swing to the right is a measure of the swing to the left. It will happen. The questions are how and when. In moving toward it my concern is that suburbia—not the city—may very well turn out to be the garden in which this country has for so long chosen to sow the seeds that will bear the fruits which will form the basis for a popular rebellion. ■



The Kyrulian ambassador's wife ignored me until I started reading the JOURNAL. She still ignores me but I can smile to myself over Life and Love.

STUART & MAURY, Inc.
REALTORS
Sales • Rentals • Insurance
Specializing in Residential Properties
Northwest Washington • Bethesda, Chevy Chase and Potomac in Maryland
Member: Multiple Listing Service
5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20016
Telephone: (202) 244-1000
Let Us Know You Saw Our Ad In The Journal

REAL ESTATE
Specialists in
TOWN HOUSES
CAPITOL HILL • GEORGETOWN
FOGGY BOTTOM
202-546-2676
RHEA RADIN, Inc.
REALTOR
220 SEVENTH ST., S.E.

SENATOR FOULS ROGERS, KISSINGER

John P. Leacacos

Plain Dealer Washington Bureau Chief
Reprinted with permission of the Cleveland Plain Dealer

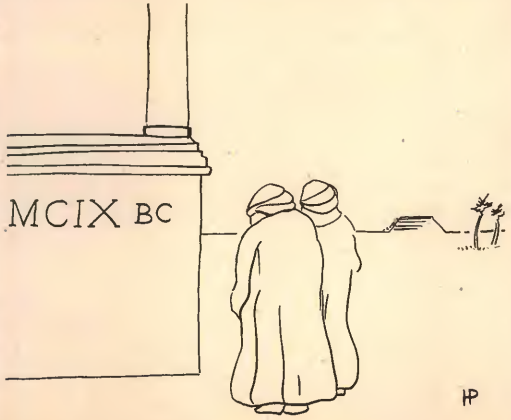
THAT was a low blow that Sen. Stuart Symington, D-Mo., dealt two good men and true, Secretary of State Bill Rogers and presidential assistant Henry Kissinger the other day when he puffed up Kissinger and badmouthed Rogers as to who carried more clout in foreign affairs.

Fundamentally, the Missouri senator misread the roles of the two officials. Both serve the President: Rogers as his senior cabinet member and officially designated chief adviser on foreign policy and, even more so, as a long-time intimate friend and tried counselor in the political arena: Kissinger as a learned academician whose instincts are on the same wave length as the President's as one whose powerful intellect has created a rationalized structure to cover the process of foreign policy germination, but whose practical political experience has evolved only from on-the-job tutelage under President Nixon, a master mentor in the art.

Rogers and Kissinger dovetail, rather than conflict. The mythology pumped by the mass media pictures it as rivalry; a more realistic question would be to ask who is more expendable politically. The artificial sideshow that results forgets the main point that the system of Rogers and Kissinger in tandem serves the President in the way he wants to be served. Rogers has private communications with the President that even Kissinger is not always privy to. But nothing done officially by Kissinger as the President's agent can fail to be known by Rogers.

The strategic concepts which mark the Nixon foreign policy were talked out for political application by the President, Rogers, Defense Secretary Mel Laird and Attorney General John Mitchell before the inauguration, including the withdrawal gambit from Vietnam, the even-handed policy in the Middle East and the drawing in the United States belt around the world, i.e., the Nixon Doctrine.

Kissinger went along with these ideas when he took the job as national security assistant; he has never claimed to have originated them. What Kissinger did do, in obedience to the orderly predilections of the President's working habits, was, more than to resuscitate and refine the National Security Council system, to promote the gospel of rigorous



"CONTAINERIZATION" . . .
it's yours without cost or obligation just call 779-4900

"Containerization" is the title of a beautiful illustrated brochure, compliments of District Moving & Storage, that tells the complete story of Custom Containerization . . . the modern advanced method of packing your most valued possessions.

If you want the assurance of a safe, reliable move . . . you'll want "Containerization." Call 779-4900 for your free copy . . . you'll be glad you did.

DISTRICT MOVING & STORAGE, INC.
3800 Kenilworth Avenue, Bladensburg, Md. 20710

For all your real estate needs, call
HICKS Realty, Inc.
3706 Mt. Vernon Ave.
Alexandria, Virginia
King 8-3111



Serving beautiful Northern Virginia since 1946
Alexandria, Arlington, Fairfax County etc.
Sales, Rentals, Financing
Picture book of homes FREE on request

RENTAL HOUSES
Chevy Chase-Bethesda
Massachusetts Avenue Extended
A. C. Houghton & Son, Inc.
An Accredited Management Organization
1418 H Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005 — DI 7-9057
6400 Goldsboro Road, Bethesda, Md. 20034 — 229-5750
Washington Real Estate Since 1907

FRANCIS SCOTT KEY HOTEL
The Nicest Small Hotel in Washington
600 - 20th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006 628-5425
Why Foreign Service Personnel prefer the Francis Scott Key Hotel
(1) It is only two blocks from the State Department
(2) It offers family accommodations
(3) One room, kitchen, dinette and bath, completely furnished efficiency suites
(4) Completely air-conditioned
(5) Restaurant with excellent food at moderate prices
ROOMS
One Person $10.00—Two Persons $13.00
Efficiency Suites—Double Beds or Twin Beds
One Person $11.00 & Up—Two Persons $14.00 & Up
Additional persons $1.50 each.
10% discount for weekly occupancy.
Rowena F. Ward, Mgr.—Gladys L. Warner, Asst. Mgr.

Copenhaver

Fine Stationers and Engravers

Members of the Foreign Service of the United States of America can depend on ***Copenhaver*** for quality, service and correct counseling on questions or protocol for their calling cards, informals and invitations, etc.

Urgent requests filled promptly

ADams 2-1200 1518 CONNECTICUT AVE.
Member Park and Shop WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

Calvert

The school that comes to your child

Complete home-study course for elementary-level students. An American education anywhere in the world; an enrichment program. Home is the classroom, you are the teacher with Calvert's approved instruction guide. Start any time, transfer to other schools. 125,000 kindergarten-through-8th graders have used the Calvert system since 1904. Non-profit. Phone: 301-243-6030 or write for catalog.

Calvert School
Box F5-1, Tuscany Rd., Baltimore Md. 21210

Parent's name .....
Address .....
City ..... State ..... Zip .....
Child's Age ..... Grade .....

DESTINATION WASHINGTON?

Our PICTURE GALLERY OF FINE HOMES and DESTINATION WASHINGTON with complete information on financing, taxes, insurance, schools, etc., plus the do's and don'ts of buying or renting, sent free for the asking. Our 75 full-time associates can provide real service to your family. Offices in Alexandria, Arlington, Fairfax and McLean.

Crowell & COMPANY, INC.
REALTORS
2160 N. GLEBE Rd.
Arlington Va 22207
Phone (703) 524-3131

BOSS AND PHELPS, INC.

REALTORS FOUNDED IN 1907

CAN HELP YOU:
BUY SELL RENT
A HOUSE

NORTHWEST WASHINGTON—BETHESDA—
CHEVY CHASE—POTOMAC

We MANAGE your properties when you are overseas.

3830 VEAZEY ST., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016 **362-9300**

analysis of facts, objectives and tactics which could give the President real-life alternatives, instead of gimmicky options.

While the President's foresight, as far as it can pierce the murky future, lays out the distant or near goals, Kissinger in another sense keeps both a watching brief and a corrective hindsight follow up on the bureaucracy. He has often shortcut the paper-shuffling, so he President can get in advance the bent of the best thinking from his senior officials in the department. Formal organizational lines tend to crumble a bit as administrations get older, thus a lasting living relationship like that of Nixon-Rogers becomes even closer when major presidential decisions are on the line. Inevitably by propinquity, Kissinger has many chances to get his two cents in, and does, but more on tactics and timing, and hardly ever, if ever, in a direct adversary confrontation with Rogers.

Because he is a private man, like the President himself, Rogers does not blow his own horn. For that matter, neither does Kissinger, though his self-deprecatory humor, read out of context as it usually is, sometimes weaves a web of popular misapprehension about the man's genuine intellectual humility. On the other hand, very few know the moment-by-moment arduous labor Rogers had gone through to keep the Middle East peace hopes alive, how he cuts to the heart of a problem operationally, how he jabs his staff to the realities of what can be done in actuality instead of indulging in plausible speculative ring around the rosies.

Moreover, in his own shop, Rogers has done what others only talked about for a decade; he allowed his own officers to execute their own self-catharsis in analyzing the department's shortcomings, and to institute those reforms themselves, now in process.

In talks with Rogers and Kissinger, men, infrequent to be sure, one characteristic is common to both: a distrust of easy intelligence. Disputes about the evaluations of intelligence are at the heart of what later develop as policy controversies. In the foreign field above all, hard facts are scarce or shrouded in uncertainties. Moreover, rival bureaucracies produce evaluations motivated by the missions they theoretically are responsible for; impartial objectivity, how it really is, is rare indeed.

As a result, most intelligence evaluations upon which policy is based concern judgments of probabilities only. Yet the President, perforce, must come to a fix because of hastening circumstances; he falls back on his instincts, and the best help he can get. Rogers and Kissinger each provide that help, each in a uniquely irreplaceable way.

COMING TO

Awake now for it's time to look,
Smog permitting. Your eyes
Will smart, for there's no blinking
The fetor of gorgeous garbage,
Wastes of the straining corporate body,
High-piled, wreathed in authentic fumes
Where some meadow might otherwise
Intrude upon the concrete countryside
Or mock the leaping overpasses
There Firebirds and Barracudas blur,
Breaking the wind en route to obsolescence
In communally combusting panic migratory swarms
Down to the oily oceans, racing to see
The last wave sludge its way ashore
Before the tides seize up and stop,
Swollen with gook.
There now: wasn't it worth a look?

—PATRICK O'SHEEL



The Why of the Predicament

By way of comment on Ambassador Briggs's article in the March issue, it seems to me that more should be said about the responsibility of Secretaries of State for the present predicament. It is not as if those officials lacked power or influence during the times they held office.

The slide downhill began with Cordell Hull, whose position with Congress, and in the political arena generally, was impregnable. Yet he allowed President Roosevelt repeatedly to undercut him, and to transact diplomatic business outside the State Department. For example, Roosevelt sent unaccredited emissaries all over the world, about whom the Secretary of State learned only when they fell into the Volga, or wound up in a police station charged with disorderly conduct. Roosevelt handed over Latin American affairs to a boy scout who did not know the difference between the Andes and the Amazon. Yet except for a few comments in his memoirs, published after he left office, Secretary Hull did nothing.

Leaving aside Stettinius, whose contribution was limited to painting doors a shade between alligator pear and pistachio, later Secretaries of State were men of considerable stature.

Yet one was corroded by thinking, every time he looked across the street: There, but for the grace of God, goes me.

Another, in addition to assenting to the exile of American diplomacy from the elbow of power to the wastes of Foggy Bottom, viewed the world through a knothole in a fence surrounding the Pentagon.

Still another, perhaps the ablest Secretary of State since Charles Evans Hughes, nevertheless allowed CIA and other freshly-hatched magpies, to fly away with his baton.

It remained for a fourth, with the confidence of the White House in his pocket, to permit an obscene bully to brutalize the professionals of American diplomacy, doing them and our country irreparable damage. That Secretary permitted the proliferation of so many supernumeraries that to this day, three or four people are employed to perform the simplest operation, which one competent individual could accomplish in fifteen minutes.

Some of which explains, but none of which excuses the present situation. The present represents the past, plus failing to come to grips with essentials.

J. Sediment Peachpit,
Vice and Deputy Consul, at Large

Room at the Top?

Ellis Briggs wasn't even close when he said in the March 1971 Journal that some posts have "as many counselors of Embassy as there are Vice Consuls." In the Embassy at which I am now serving there are three Minister-Counselors, seven ordinary Counselors, and not a single Vice Consul or Third Secretary.

Name withheld by request

A Warning Note

I was intrigued to read on page 9 of the February Journal a "letter to Hanoi" on American prisoners of war, together with an invitation to cut it out, sign it, and mail it to North Vietnam.

Readers should be warned that the Vietnamese letter is a poor translation of the English version, containing spelling errors, misuse of words, and at least one reversal of word order so serious as to obscure the meaning of the Vietnamese sentence. More serious, however, is that we are invited to refer to the North Vietnamese President as "anh" (literally "big brother"), a term commonly used among close friends, but which when used to a stranger carries a very definite implication of the speaker's superiority. The effect is to address the Honorable Mr. Thang as if he were a chauffeur or a waiter.

J. Richard Bock

Saigon

Dissent on Dissent

The letter from Charles W. Bray III in the April Journal suggests that dissent is acceptable only if uttered by a Bray.

Elbert G. Mathews

Washington

Suppressed? Please Write

I regret very much that the Foreign Service officers on the task forces felt it necessary to subscribe to two misrepresentations of the Foreign Service that have been bruited about by our unknowing critics for several years.

These misrepresentations are (1) a so-called value system in the Foreign Service that respects conformity above all else, and that conformity has been the best guarantor of advancement in the Foreign Service, and (2) that ideas are suppressed and that supervisors do not welcome creative initiatives by their subordinates.

I suppose that each of us must speak principally from his own experience on these points, and I will so do. Two years ago I retired from the Foreign Service at age 50, entering at the lowest FSO class at the rather advanced age of 29. Thus, I spent almost 22 years in the Foreign Service, about two-thirds overseas and one-third in Washington, and never felt pressure from anyone to conform. During that period I served under some rather strong men, men who have excellent reputations in the Service—Ambassadors Murphy, Riddleberger, Heath, McClintock, Tuthill, and Godley. I do not feel I was held back as I advanced from the lowest rank to FSO-1 in 18 years. Maybe some would think I am a natural conformist and did not need to be pressured. Well, now I did try to wear a clean shirt at work at all times (although often my shoes were not shined well enough), and did shave every morning before going to work.

However, I presume what is being talked about is conformity of ideas and methods, and on these points I felt no pressure which I considered detrimental to my attempts to promote United States interests. I wonder who in the Foreign Service did think they felt such pressures, and if they were justified in so feeling. Let them speak up.

Incidentally, I note that the New York Times article of March 23, 1971, concerning my last supervisor in the Foreign Service makes the same point. Mac Godley, one of the youngest career ministers in the Foreign Service, is characterized as a living contradiction of the adage that to rise in diplomacy you conform, or do not make waves. Mac is credited with making waves since he joined the Foreign Service in 1941.

As far as suppression of ideas is concerned, the implication is that ideas did not get a hearing. Again, I did not feel that I failed to get a hearing. Sometimes I knew I had failed to convince others, and I thought they should have been convinced. Looking back, I see some cases where even now with the benefit of hindsight I believe the ideas I advocated would have made some difference. Most such instances happened in Washington in the give and take with other departments and agencies involved in Foreign relations. In this milieu, ideas and proposals often fail to receive the necessary acceptance and clearance, or become so diluted or mutilated in the process of

clearance, that they are no longer applicable or workable.

I might add, also with the benefit of hindsight, that I am glad some of my ideas and suggestions were not accepted. The outcome would not have been at all helpful.

Then there is that old canard of even more ancient vintage, the reported fear of creativity or accurate reporting because of the shadow of McCarthyism. I never knew a Foreign Service officer who suffered from this. If there were any, let them speak up. I mean, report their own fears, not those of others.

I believe, but have no personal knowledge, that officials in the United States Government, including some at the highest levels, did not and do not make full use of the Foreign Service because of the McCarthy attacks, and the even more pervasive and continuing attacks by others on the motives and integrity of Foreign Service officers. Such attacks will not cease, but must we lose hope that the Foreign Service will increasingly be used by high officials as the tool for which it was designed?

HOYT PRICE

Allison Park, Pa.

The Failure of Liberalism

READERS of the JOURNAL deserve better than Charles A. Maechling, Jr.'s review of "Nixon Agonistes" in the current issue. He fails to communicate the real intent of this important book.

Garry Wills wrote "Nixon Agonistes" not merely to present "striking vignettes of the trials and tribulations of politics," nor to draw a "stark and compelling appraisal of the contemporary political scene." The book is more than a series of carefully etched political portraits. It is a serious critique of liberalism as a political philosophy, especially as practiced in America under the Nixon administration. Arguing from the "observed particularities" in the American political experience, Mr. Wills concludes that the triumph of Nixon represents the failure of liberalism. Nixon is the archetypal American, the perfect self-made, synthetic product of a market place society. His struggle, his "agon" is to prove that the philosophy of the market place, the liberal heritage of Locke, Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, can still provide the necessary social values and norms to hold the community together. Mr. Wills thinks Nixon will fail because too many have seen that liberal myths obscure rather explain reality. The competitive imagery of liberal discourse has not bred a confident race of self-made men who nourish themselves daily with healthy chunks of positive thinking. But, as Wills states:

> "Nixon's victory was the nation's concession of defeat, an admission that we have no politics left but the old individualism, a web of myths that have lost their magic."

The correctness of Mr. Wills's opinions is debatable, but readers of the JOURNAL are entitled at least to know what the debate is about. We cannot continue to feed ourselves on cotton candy.

STEPHEN O. LESSER
(former FSO-6)

Los Angeles

A Tribute to Professor Barth

JOURNAL readers who have been involved in the student exchange problem, particularly in Europe, will be saddened to know that a man who played an important role in getting it started and was an active participant for many years died recently in Oslo.

In the summer of 1945, just after USIS had set up shop in Oslo, Professor Tom F. W. Barth of the University of Oslo came in to ask if the United States could take some of the students whom the University, shut down by the Nazi occupation and with a three-year backlog, could not accommodate.

I dumped the problem on the Office of War Information in New York. Professor Barth set up a committee to sift applications. OWI/New York—or specifically a resourceful and indefatigable young woman named Elinor Goodfriend who was our equivalent of a desk officer—circularized American colleges and universities. And incredible as it may seem, more than 500 Norwegian students matriculated on American campuses that fall.

For several years afterward Norway, population 3 million, had more students at US universities than any other country except one or two in Latin America.

In 1947 Norway decided to express its gratitude by establishing an American Summer School in Oslo. It is still flourishing, though it has opened its gates wider and is now the International Summer School, with entrants from 30 or more countries.

Tom Barth served on the Fulbright Foundation board in Oslo for a number of years, and was also active in the Norway-America Association. His affection for the United States dates from the 1920s, when he did graduate work at Harvard and was on the staff of the Geophysical Laboratory in Washington. Later he held a professorship at the University of Chicago. An internationally-known mineralogist, he had lectured in Europe, Africa and the Far East; he last visited Washington in 1966 on his way home from Australia, and was pleased to find that the house where he had lived many years before had not yet been bulldozed into rubble.

A letter from his daughter tells me that he died at an Oslo hospital March 7, at the age of 71.

TED OLSON

Washington

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

by S. I. Nadler



"The facts are, simply, (a) he said it, and (b) everybody heard him say it. The problem—which we have to solve in the next 15 minutes—is how to convince the press that he didn't *say it."*

AFSA NEWS

MAY, 1971

published by the

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037



AFSA Launches Expanded "Openness" Program

Effective involvement in foreign policy-making today requires sensitivity that spans economic, scientific, technological, social, and political trends. It also requires attunement to American domestic politics and to the concerns of informed citizens. Has the Foreign Service formed this essential web of domestic give-and-take relationships? How are we doing? Frankly, not well enough.

A Task Force Report in "Diplomacy for the Seventies" sums up the shortcoming bluntly: "The Foreign Service officer's world consists essentially of an international community of individuals practicing the same or a closely related profession."

The enlargement of that "world" is what AFSA's openness program is about.

The Association's concern with combating insularity in the government foreign affairs community grew out of the reassessment of the needs of the new diplomacy by concerned AFSA members in the mid-1960s. Some feared that the Foreign Service was undergoing "unplanned obsolescence." Others saw the problem reflecting a conflict between the need for expertise in a rather specialized calling and the role of general foreign policy leadership.

As the AFSA Openness Subcommittee reported in "Toward a Modern Diplomacy:"

> Specialization of the work of the modern professional man increases the danger of fragmentation of his outlook precisely at a time when the increasing interdependence of groups, organizations, and whole nations is constantly being demonstrated . . . The foreign affairs profession is no exception to this need for wide, clean windows open to the country that it serves and to the world in which it operates. (116)

In addition, there was the long-felt lack of a "constituency," and a resulting desire to build relations with a group of Americans particularly concerned with foreign affairs. Such a group could contribute to foreign policy-making, and provide government foreign affairs officials and programs with a stronger public base.

A gift from John D. Rockefeller III in July 1968 supported AFSA's reform efforts. In October 1968 a grant from the William H. Donner foundation gave $33,000 toward several activities aimed at dialogue within the foreign affairs community. A public conference was held that November. A productive relationship with the International Studies Association started in early 1969. An AFSA/ISA joint Steering Committee met several times that spring and recommended several State Department efforts to improve dialogue and collaboration between governmental and academic foreign affairs professionals. One of these was the Scholar-Diplomat Seminar program, now in its second year. Another was the Conference on Social Research and Foreign Affairs, which took place in October 1970.

To support and develop this expanded program, AFSA added to its permanent working groups a Committee on Openness. Its primary aim: to help "create among those in foreign service an attitude vastly more open to new ideas, techniques, and opinions from within government and from without." Erland Heginbotham, its Chairman, now Secretary-Treasurer of AFSA, proved both a fertile source of ideas and a tireless pusher for their enactment. FSOs and Capitol Hill staffers now meet monthly at the Foreign Service Club. AFSA's campaign led to the Department's Openness Task Force within the 1970 reform program.

Our experience since 1968 showed that new openness ideas were readily forthcoming from both inside and outside the Association. More difficult was finding the time to develop them. As the number of AFSA-sponsored projects increased, so did essential administrative support traditionally supplied by AFSA volunteers and moonlighters. In early 1970, the AFSA Board discussed with interested outside persons and potential donors the possibility of AFSA's developing a comprehensive program of dialogue with the wider American foreign affairs community, buttressed by full-time staff support.

In the summer of 1970 the AFSA Board of Directors decided to seek funding for an ambitious openness program. Mac Destler, recently an International Affairs Fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations, became a part-time consultant to help bring the effort to fruition. Participants agree that the program should be related to two major trends of the 1970s that urged openness.

The first new trend was the breakdown of consensus. The commonly perceived threat of the Cold War had led public spirited Americans to focus overwhelmingly on external problems; the Vietnam War and the present national reappraisals have sharpened divisions among interest groups and generations, and have required a long-overdue internal public debate over goals and means.

The second critical trend was less noted but equally important: the passing of an age in which important international issues were primarily between national governments. Instead a proliferation of international relationships now cross traditional state boundaries. They include dealings between New York-based corporations and foreign governments, and between related economic and professional groups. All of these are stimulated by a revolution in communications and transportation.

Both of these major trends demand that foreign affairs officials abandon for good that traditional mode of communicating with the public that was less dialogue than monologue, when we "briefed" out-

siders or "told" them what the problems were and what the government was doing about them, in exchange (we hoped) for public understanding and support. Now the public refuses to be told. And the increasing complexity and change in today's world have discredited the notion that the "diplomat generalist" can go it alone on his intuition and experience.

These general phenomena underlined the need for an expanded openness program, and provided certain guidelines for it, but that did not assure its success. Many foreign affairs professionals are enthusiastic supporters of "openness" in principle, but powerful forces in government, business, and academic communities pull men toward narrower orientations. Immediate effectiveness on the job requires responsiveness more to immediate problems and close colleagues than to broader international developments or the larger foreign affairs community. Professional success results from good performance according to standards defined and enforced not by this wide community, but by specific government services or agencies, academic disciplines, or business firms.

It is not surprising, then, that "subcultures" develop in each of these fields, and one's organization or professional group can become more "real" than the world to which it must relate. Thus government officials consider outside research "irrelevant," academics see FSOs as ingrown or insensitive to critical policy issues, and relations between both and the US international business community are probably even less fruitful than their relations with each other.

Given a general situation demanding increased openness and strong specific forces working against it in practice, the strategy to be followed in developing a program becomes critical. Through a process of internal debate and discussions with many experienced private officials in New York and elsewhere, AFSA decided to build its program around three central principles. These are reflected in the program proposal "Opening Up the Foreign Policy Process," which can be obtained at AFSA headquarters.

1. Dialogue will come about not when sought for its own sake, but rather when keyed to important current foreign affairs issues that can engage serious interest in and out of government.

Substantive communication is the essence of "openness." And on the tactical level of developing interest in such communicat on, the most effective attraction is a serious confronting of important specific issues. The issues chosen should reflect changes in the world environment, in the public mood, and in American understanding of the policy process. Topics AFSA has proposed include:

- Management Tools in Foreign Affairs
- Transnational Problems of the Environment
- Perceptions, Bureaucracy, and Foreign Policy Behavior
- Overseas Commitments and the Waning of the Cold War
- The Multi-National Corporation as a Foreign Policy Problem
- Career Mobility in Foreign Affairs

2. Efforts to develop dialogue on issues like these should aim at collaboration with institutions or organizations which have roots in various parts of America's foreign affairs community.

One example of such collaboration is AFSA's relationship with the International Studies Association. AFSA must look for professional associations, private institutes, research centers and other organizations that could engage the involvement of exceptionally qualified persons from professions relevant to emerging foreign affairs issues. A further priority would be groups with whom we could join in building bridges to people particularly alienated from present policies and institutions, including many young people and intellectuals.
3. The program must be experimental, seeking to use a variety of formats.

In some cases, efforts to illuminate a particular issue might take the form of a central study group which would produce one major substantive product. In other cases a wide range of insights and competing views might be elicited at a conference or series of seminars, with their synthesis and application left to participants in their regular working lives. The program should be experimental in the sense of being initially established for a limited time period. Thus AFSA seeks funding for two years, with further efforts to depend on lessons learned during that time.

Within this general framework, further development of the program will depend on progress made.

Critical, of course, is outside funding. We are seeking $53,000 a year for two years. Initial contacts with foundations have brought positive expressions of interest, and we expect to have assurances of funding before summer.

As the financial foundation grows firmer, we need to concentrate on further development of particular substantive project areas, and to intensify our search for organizations with which we can effectively work. AFSA has established an Executive Committee to move this effort forward, and hopes to establish working groups for particular topics in the near future. Among those on this committee are Board Chairman Bill Harrop, Vice President Bill Kontos, and our new Openness Chairman, Charlie Thomas.

Ultimately, the success of the openness program will depend on whether we can engage sufficient interest and energy among those in the government and the broader foreign affairs community. We believe that we can build on a phenomenon of unique importance in government, a bureaucratic climate congenial to experimentation. The 13 Task Forces showed that departmental officials in all ranks could collaborate creatively in seeking reform of the system from within. We believe we can capitalize on this climate to reach outward and engage other Americans in substantive foreign affairs dialogue, and we welcome the participation of all readers of the Foreign Service **Journal** who wish to join in the effort.

Seven Point Agreement Approved

The Seven Point Agreement concerning labor-management relations which was negotiated between the AFSA Board of Directors and Deputy Under Secretary Macomber, acting on behalf of State, AID, and USIA, was approved by a majority of members voting in the special referendum that ended March 31. The margin was approximately 59 percent for the Seven Point Agreement to approximately 40 percent for the alternative of proceeding under the Executive Order. On the second question, an overwhelming 88 percent of those voting and not abstaining favored AFSA seeking exclusive recognition under the provisions of Executive Order 11491 if the Foreign Service were not exempted. The exact results appear in tabular form below:

Question 1

Total Valid Votes	2,233
For the SPA	1,305
For E.O. 11491	891
Against Both	12
Abstain	25

Question 2

Total Valid Votes	2,241
Yes	1,925
No	258
Abstain	58

MEMBERS' INTERESTS

AFSA Memorial Plaque

The AFSA Memorial Plaque Committee, under the Chairmanship of Ambassador Harry Symmes with Reed Harris (USIA) and Milton Field (AID), has completed a review of overseas deaths among Foreign Service personnel between 1963 and 1969 (it is AFSA policy to wait two years after death before deciding in each case). The war in Southeast Asia has made this an especially sad duty. After a thorough study of our individual losses from each foreign affairs agency, and utilizing the established AFSA criteria that "only those who died under heroic or inspirational circumstances would be considered for inclusion," the Committee recommended to the Board of Directors that the names of twenty-one persons be inscribed on the memorial plaque of the Association in the Diplomatic entrance to the State Department.

These happen to be one officer of USIA, three from the State Department, and seventeen from AID. Nineteen of these tragic deaths occurred in Vietnam, one in Laos, and one in Guatemala. The names follow:

Frederick J. Abramson—Vietnam
Norman L. Clowers—Vietnam
Robert K. Franzblau—Vietnam
George B. Gaines—Vietnam
Thomas M. Gompertz—Vietnam
Kermit J. Krause—Vietnam
Robert R. Little—Vietnam
Hugh C. Lobit—Vietnam
Jeffrey S. Lundstedt—Vietnam
John T. McCarthy—Vietnam
John R. McLean—Laos
John Gordon Mein—Guatemala
Stephen H. Miller—Vietnam
Michael Murphy—Vietnam
Dolph B. Owens—Vietnam
Dwight Hall Owens, Jr.—Vietnam
Carroll H. Pender—Vietnam
Richard A. Schenk—Vietnam
Don J. Sjostrom—Vietnam
William D. Smith III—Vietnam
Jack J. Wells—Vietnam

The Board of Directors believes it is appropriate for members of the Association, by their donations, to bear the cost of engraving (approximately $100 per name). The Board believes that colleagues and associates of the individuals to be honored will particularly want to participate. Contributions for this purpose should be mailed to AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, or sent through the diplomatic pouch to AFSA, clearly marked "Memorial Plaque Contribution."

Insurance on Personal Effects

We goofed in the March issue of **AFSA News** by indicating that the Government's insurance program for personal effects provides a maximum of $10,000 in coverage. The maximum is still $6,500 pending the enactment of legislation raising the amount to $10,000. Our recommendation that documentation covering content, value, and condition of effects be carefully organized before transfer still holds, however.

Travel on Foreign Airlines

As this issue was about to go to press, a change in the regulations eliminating penalties on foreign flag airline travel for personal convenience was imminent. Although this constitutes a happy development, we should not forget that Congressional intent, as indicated in a number of joint resolutions, continues to require maximum use of American flag airlines by employees traveling at government expense. Employees are entitled to annual leave, and should be able to take leave in foreign areas enroute to or from official duty assignments. That is the main reason penalties for foreign flag airline travel are being eliminated. This new freedom, however, saddles us with the obligation to bend over backwards in avoiding any abuse of this privilege. Whenever a foreign flag airline is utilized on official travel for personal convenience, therefore, there should be no reasonable basis for stating afterward that use of an American flag airline was possible. Let's all cooperate to keep this freedom alive.

Appeals Mechanism on Travel

The Committee on Exceptions to the Foreign Service Travel Regulations has traditionally concerned itself only with appeals on packing and shipping decisions. The Committee's jurisdiction has recently been expanded to include appeals on claims concerning the transportation of people as well. AFSA members should keep this in mind for future reference in the event problems arise with claims disallowed because of differing interpretations of the travel regulations.

Per Diem Survey for TDY Assignments to FSI

Most employees assigned to Washington on lengthy TDY are usually taking courses at FSI. Per diem payments in such cases are made to employees only and not their accompanying families. In addition, the per diem payments decline drastically after the first three months, and disappear completely after 120 days. In our view, the per diem schedule for such TDY is unrealistic, especially if we consider that in most cases the family has no other place to go except to accompany the breadwinner to Washington. The absence of a transfer allowance to cover extraordinary expenses of moving makes the lengthy TDY in Washington between overseas posts all the more of a financial hardship. We are pleased to report, therefore, that an official study is now being made of actual costs involved in such situations with a view toward reform of the per diem schedules. Fortunately, the study is being done by employees actually assigned to FSI on TDY. We will be most interested in the results.

Unpaid Transfer Allowances and Tax Deductions

AFSA was extremely disappointed to discover that management failed to include increased and expanded transfer allowances in the FY-72 budget, despite our pressure, and despite the legislative authority for such an allowance since 1960. AFSA has appealed this omission to Congressman Rooney. In the meantime, we have prevailed upon management to send a circular to all posts indicating Internal Revenue's agreement to consider tax deductions for expenses that would normally be paid if the transfer allowance were appropriately funded. IRS, of course, reserves the right to judge each claim for a deduction on its own merits as a legitimate business expense. There are no assurances, therefore, that all such claims will be allowed. But this caveat is not a new concept with IRS, and we hope that members will help establish a new area of benefits by keeping accurate records of unpaid transfer expenses (i.e. extraordinary clothing requirements, extraordinary appliance and furniture changes, insurance premiums covering effects in transit), and by claiming these as deductions.

The JOURNAL Cover

Our cover artist, Gordon McCoun, is with the United States Travel Service of the Department of Commerce. Mr. McCoun, a much decorated Air Force pilot in World War II, has had 25 years of airline experience in South America and the United States. He is a founding member of Confederacion de Turista Americana Latina.

Foreign Service People

MARRIAGES

Fisher-Pabst — Miss Sally Gorton Fisher, daughter of Mrs. William Dale Fisher, was married on Saturday, February 27, 1971, to FSO David Avery Pabst, at the American Embassy in Vientiane, Laos.

Morin-Levine — Miss Ann Dunstan Morin, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Laurent E. Morin of Washington, was married March 21, in New York, to Mr. David Levine.

Twardy-Burris. Deborah Elizabeth Twardy and Phillip H. Burris, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Phillip Howell Burris (Department of State), were married in Alexandria, Virginia on December 19, 1970. The couple will reside in Blacksburg, Virginia.

DEATHS

Blancke. Honorable W. Wendell Blancke, FSO retired, died March 14 in Washington. Ambassador Blancke had served as the first Ambassador to the Republic of the Congo, Brazzaville, as well as Ambassador to the Republics of Chad and Gabon and the Central African Republic from 1959 to 1963. He began his Foreign Service career with the Embassy in Buenos Aires in 1942, following ten years experience in Argentina in journalism and art advertising. Subsequent assignments took him to the Office of the Political Adviser, SHAEF, to Berlin, Havana, Hanoi, Rangoon, Vientiane and Frankfurt. Following his return from Africa about 1964, he served as a Senior Foreign Service Inspector, and completed his career as Consul General at Monterey until his retirement in 1967. Ambassador Blancke is survived by his wife of 2732 Woodley Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

Blumberg. Warren Philip Blumberg, FSO-ret'd, died March 26 at his home in New York. Mr. Blumberg joined the State Department Bureau of German Affairs in 1950 and served at Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Bern and Berlin. From 1967 until his retirement in 1970 he was a politico-military affairs officer with the Bureau of NATO Affairs. Survivors include his wife, a daughter Karen, and a son Philip, all of the home, Barnegat Road, Pound Ridge, New York 10576.

Bowman. Howard Arthur Bowman, retired, died March 4, in Carmel, California. He had completed 34 years in the Foreign Service when he retired in 1954, and had been a member of AFSA for more than 50 years. Mr. Bowman joined the Department in 1919. He held many consular positions in Europe, serving at Danzig, Saloniki, Trieste, Glasgow, Posnan, Gdansk and Bergen, as well as at Sault Ste. Marie, Cali, Mexicali, and Hamilton, Bermuda. His widow may be reached at P.O. Box 1092, Carmel, California 93291.

Havens. Harry A. Havens, retired State Department employee, died in Washington on April 7. Mr. Havens entered the Department in 1908 and retired in 1950, following an assignment as Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Foreign Service. Mr. Havens helped start the present American Foreign Service Protective Association. In 1924 he was part of the Executive Committee of AFSA contemplating a plan for group insurance and by 1929 the program had become an accomplished fact, with Mr. Havens as an Assistant to the Association's Secretary-Treasurer. He served also as an assistant to the Business Manager of the Foreign Service **Journal**, and his 33 years of devotion to these duties was recognized when he was made an honorary member of AFSA in 1942.

His departmental assignments included Assistant Chief of Foreign Service Administration and Vice Chairman of the Department's Conciliation Commission, an appeal board for personnel matters. A daughter, Mrs. Roger W. Beales, 204 Kathleen Avenue, Severna Park, Md. 21146, and two grandchildren, as well as two great-grandchildren, survive.

Kerwin. Harry W. Kerwin, Foreign Service Reserve Officer (AID) ret'd., died at his home in Sacramento, California on February 21. Mr. Kerwin had been a public school teacher prior to beginning his government service in 1955. He served with FOA and AID at Benghazi, Isfahan, and Ankara as an education and training adviser until his retirement in 1969. Survivors include his wife, of the home address, 6205 Riverside Blvd., Sacramento, California 95831, a son, Keith W. Kerwin, a daughter, Mrs. Kathleen Moore and six grandchildren.

Koenig. Myron L. Koenig, retired, former Dean of the School of Foreign Affairs, FSI, died of a heart attack at his home in Iowa on March 20. Dr. Koenig joined the Foreign Service as Cultural Attache and Chairman of the US Educational Commission in London in 1954 while on leave from his duties as Professor of History at George Washingotn University. From 1958 to 1965 he served as Associate Dean and Dean of the School of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Service Institute, and from 1965 to his retirement in 1970 was Dean for Academic Relations, FSI. Dean Koenig is survived by his wife of 210 19th Street, N.E., Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52402, and two daughters.

Lloyd. Rupert Alstyne Lloyd, Jr., FSO retired, died at Argeles-sur-mer, France, in March 1971. He was a long-time member of the Association. Mr. Lloyd joined the Foreign Service in Monrovia in 1941. He served at Paris, Budapest, Karachi and Abidjan. In 1962 he was detailed to the National Defence College at Paris and thereafter served as Consul at Lyon until his retirement in September 1964. Mr. Lloyd is survived by a brother, Dr. Sterling M. Lloyd, 2510 Irving St., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20018.

Reveley. Paul Jefferson Reveley, FSO ret'd, died in Miami, Florida on February 1. He was 70. Mr. Reveley joined the Foreign Service in 1924 and served at many posts until his retirement in 1961, including Munich, Leipzig, Palermo, London, Mexico City, Habana and Rotterdam. He was Director of the Office of Middle American Affairs and an FSO-2 Career Development Officer in the Department of State at the time he retired. He was a member of AFSA for almost 40 years. Mr. Reveley is survived by his widow and two daughters. Letters of condolence may be addressed to his daughter, Mrs. Edith R. Remoy, 47 Lowndes Square, London S.W.1, England.

Reynolds. Conger Reynolds, former FSO and Director of the Office of Private Cooperation, U.S. Information Agency, at the time of his retirement in 1961, died in La Jolla, California following a long illness. He was 79. Mr. Reynolds was a teacher of journalism and a journalist overseas early in his career. Following his service with the Army during World War I, he entered the Foreign Service in 1922, and served at Halifax and Stuttgart as a vice consul. He returned to private employment and was director of public relations for Standard Oil Company for many years. He was employed by USIA from 1956 until his retirement in 1961. Mr. Reynolds leaves his widow, the former Daphne Goodenough, 7766 Fay Ave., La Jolla, California, a son, Conger Reynolds, Jr.,

of College Park, Maryland, a daughter, Mrs. James Lyon of V'rginia Beach, and three grandchildren.

Wilson. Jane Lane Wilson, wife of Edward C. Wilson, FSO ret'd, died January 25 in Biloxi, Mississippi. Mrs. Wilson had accompanied her husband on his many overseas assignments for the Department of State. In addition to Mr. Wilson, who resides at One Baysweep Circle, Ocean Springs, Mississippi, two sons, James W. Wilson of San Diego, and Thomas E. Wilson of New York City, and a sister, Mrs. Genevieve L. Shack, of Ocean Springs, survive her.

AFSA CHAPTER NEWS

The **Santa Isabel Chapter,** writes Chargé Al Williams, "proudly boasts of 100% membership in AFSA. This distinction, moreover, has been so ever since Santa Isabel was officially established, in August 1969, thus making Santa Isabel the only Embassy which has always had 100% AFSA membership among its staff."

No other Embassy can make that statement. Congratulations to all three of you from AFSA!

The **Tripoli Chapter,** led by Jim Holmes, continues to be one of our most active and committed. AFSA's Board of Directors is particularly grateful to Tripoli for the Chapter's imaginative and constructive attention to Staff Corps problems.

The **Recife Chapter,** with Jess Clear as President, has 22 members and earns this month's "M" for militancy. Recife has successfully brought together the State, USIA and AID membership in discussion of subjects of common concern. AFSA continues to advocate the rational unification of personnel systems in the foreign affairs agencies. Progress is gradual but continuous. For instance, USIA is coordinating with State in parallel implementation of many of the task force recommendations on personnel, and AFSA's proposals that the Foreign Service Act personnel system be utilized in the proposed new foreign assistance agencies appears to be accepted by the Executive Branch. Meanwhile, many AFSA chapters abroad, like Recife, are demonstrating practical integration in the field.

New JOURNAL Editorial Board Member

Michael P. Canning, an FSIO-5 and desk officer for Chile and Bolivia in the United States Information Agency, is a new **Journal** Editorial Board member. In 1962, he graduated from North Dakota State University in his native state (B.A. in mathematics) and took advanced courses in Germany at Tübingen University and the Free University of Berlin. He was a mathematical statistician for the Bureau of the Census before joining USIA in October 1965.

Managua, Nicaragua was his first post, followed by Lima, Peru, where he served as Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer. The Seminar and Youth Programs Office for Latin America in the Agency was his next assignment, then the Latin American area office as a desk officer. He won a Merit Honor Award in 1969. During 1970-71 he served as the chairman for the Agency's Young Officers Policy Panel, a young officer activist group.

Mr. Canning is a contributor to the **Journal** and a frequent book reviewer.

He and his wife, the former Judith Jones, are parents of one child.

Memorial Scholarship

A memorial scholarship has been established in the name of Mrs. Louise Moore Rawlings by her friends and colleagues. Contributions to the Louise Rawlings Memorial may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Mrs. Rawlings was long associated with USIA Binational Centers. She retired in 1967 after serving in Colombia, Chile, Paraguay, Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela and Iran. She died in California September 5, 1970.



The Honorable Maurice H. Stans, Secretary of Commerce, spoke to the American Foreign Service Association on March 25. In a wide-ranging speech on the interaction of State and Commerce, he said, "Mr. Eliot mentioned that I have traveled quite a bit, perhaps more than any other Secretary of Commerce. Although I haven't checked the statistics of my predecessors, I have been in 24 countries to discuss trade and investment since I've been in office, and I am leaving next month for another six. This kind of contact is a very important contribution to our understanding of the problems of American business in foreign countries. Also in the course of those travels overseas, I have met, as you know, with Ambassadors in each of these countries, with members of the Foreign Service, and I have nothing but the highest of respect for them. I would be hard put to find more than a few exceptions in which I could not extend the highest commendations to their activities and to the relations which exist between what they are doing, and what we are doing, in Commerce."

Secretary Stans is shown at the head table at the luncheon, with, clockwise from the left, Kenneth Youel, President of the Public Members Association, Philip Tresize, William B. Macomber, the Secretary, Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., U. Alexis Johnson, Peter G. Peterson, Assistant to the President on International Economic Affairs, and C. William Kontos.

STAFF CORPS NEWS

Upward Mobility in the Staff Corps or just Horizontal Movement?

I was delighted to learn that you have been elected a member of the AFSA Board to represent the Staff Corps. Your appointment was long overdue.

It was also a great satisfaction to read in the summary of Mr. Bray's questions and recommendations to Mr. Macomber that secretaries will no longer be ignored.

During the past ten years we have been neglected and downgraded to the point where an 18-year-old just out of high school and a college graduate with ten years experience and a knowledge of one or more foreign languages are doing precisely the same work with precisely the same degree of responsibility. The senior secretary makes more money and works for a higher-ranking officer, but there the difference ends. This is frustrating for seniors and discouraging for juniors.

Ten years ago secretaries were able to move into other fields—consular work, personnel, budget and fiscal, or as personal assistant to an Ambassador or Assistant Secretary. Now, when each senior officer has a "staff aide" even the latter avenue of advancement has been closed. As a result there is a bottleneck at the top, with Grade 3 and 4 secretaries taking jobs which should be filled by 5s and 6s. There is no place to go but out.

Mr. Bray's recommendations offer a ray of hope that an intelligent well-educated person who does not necessarily want to be an officer can still find a challenging place in the Foreign Service, and a large body of talent can be utilized.

According to those recommendations the new, improved Staff Corps will offer secretaries a chance to become an "executive secretary." This sounds wonderful, but is it just a title? Will the work still consist of typing, filing and answering the telephone? Or does it mean that an executive secretary can really be that? In other words, can she fill the position of "staff aide," a position for which her training and experience would so amply qualify her?

And why does the recommendation stop with the two career ladders of secretary and communications and records offices? Why not consular, personnel, budget and fiscal? In any well-managed organization promotion is from within. Why does the Foreign Service continually bring in raw recruits, ignoring its capable and experienced employees in the Staff Corps? Why must secretaries stop at Grade 3? Of course in no organization can everyone be a chief—Indians are needed too—persons of limited ambition or limited ability. Every Foreign Service officer does not become an Ambassador—but he at least has the privilege of trying. Why can't the Staff Corps, including secretaries, be permitted to advance to the limit of their capabilities?

Carolyn W. Tinsley
Secretary to the Ambassador.

Carolyn Tinsley's letter raises a question uppermost in the minds of the Department's 1200 Foreign Service secretaries these days—what is the real meaning and intent of the proposed Executive Secretary Program? And, what will the duties of an Executive Secretary involve? Will the establishment of this new category mean the demise of the Staff Aide? In private industry, the duties of a staff aide are normally performed by an executive secretary but oddly enough in the Foreign Service these are the duties of an FSO.

The Task Forces recommended FAS status for Communications and Records personnel as they move up the career ladder and AFSA recommended similar status for secretaries as they move up in rank. As the plans for Executive Secretary still appear to be on the drawing board, it is impossible to determine now if the AFSA recommendation will be implemented and secretaries at the executive level permitted to move into officer ranks, i.e., FSRU.

Miss Tinsley also wonders why secretaries can no longer move into consular and personnel jobs. According to a recent **Newsletter** item, two Foreign Service secretaries accepted into the FSO Corps are "harbingers of the mustang program." What the **Newsletter** failed to make clear was that both women passed the FSO written and oral exam in order to move into professional level jobs.

Perhaps the Department will not relent and allow Staff Corps personnel to move into these specialities until it discovers that the super bright FSO will not be content in a visa mill or filling out T & A cards. A good percentage of these jobs are not considered very challenging even by Staff Corps standards, and the Department will be lucky to have the Staff Corps to fall back on when the present system proves unworkable—which we honestly believe it will.

As for the challenging consular and admin jobs, the ambitious staff corps employee would be best advised to bone-up for the FSO exam because it does not appear the Mustang Program will offer a real avenue of advance.

As the **Journal** goes to press, AFSA has been advised that there are now position papers on both the Mustang and Executive Secretary programs. The Staff Corps Advisory Committee has requested and been granted an opportunity to study these papers. We look forward to working with the Department on the formulation of these programs.

Barbara J. Good
Staff Corps Representative
Board of Directors

Orchids to AFSA

I deeply appreciate the interest and support the AFSA displayed in following up the status of my disability compensation claim with the US Bureau of Employees' Compansation, Department of Labor. The repeated inquiries by Ambassador Estes and then by yourself helped greatly to assure me that my interests were being looked after during the lengthy period it evidently takes to settle a case like mine, where the disability was due to illness rather than injury.

I am sure my colleagues in the foreign service will be pleased to know their Association stands ready to assist them in such matters, and to do it so ably. Those in the AID Foreign Service, still lacking the protection of Foreign Service Retirement should be particularly interested to know of potential benefits in case of work-connected illness or injury.

Again my thanks for AFSA's interest and help.

Carroll S. Hinman

The Art of the Foreign Service

The current art exhibit at the Foreign Service Club is the work of Margarita Sauer McCombs, a Foreign Service daughter, married to a State Department illustrator, who is a distinguished artist in his own right, Solomon McCombs.

Mrs. McCombs has studied in Paris, Lausanne and Copenhagen, as well as in Maine, New York and Washington. She has been a pupil of Richard Lahey, Peggy Bacon, Eliot O'Hara, Andren Pietro Zerega and Andre Lhote. She has captured several national and regional prizes while participating in group exhibits in this country, and has had several one-man shows in Washington and New York prior to the present one.



BOARD ACTIONS TAKEN

FEBRUARY 16 (Continued)

Staff Corps: A meeting was held with Deputy Director General Howard Mace and other senior officers of State personnel to discuss the small number of Staff Officer promotions and to ask why publication of FSSO promotions had been delayed. Mr. Mace explained that the size and timing of the FSSO list were geared to the FSO list. Members of the AFSA committee asked a number of other questions to do with FSS and FSSO promotions and will obtain the Department's written reason. Mr. Mace said that performance evaluation and promotion polices for the Foreign Service were presently under intensive study.

Openness: Mr. Destler distributed copies of the final proposal "Opening up the Foreign Policy Process."

AID Reorganization: Members of the AFSA Board had a useful and helpful discussion with the Under Secretary on coordination of the reorganized US Foreign Assistance Program. The Under Secretary was receptive to the view that high level State Department coordination of foreign assistance must be planned. AFSA urged that the Foreign Service Act personnel system be utilized to the maximum in setting up new agencies. The problem of the appropriate personnel system was also discussed with representatives of the Office of Management and Budget.

Finances: The Association will borrow the cash it needs from the Scholarship Fund at this time rather than from the Riggs National Bank. This will provide a higher interest rate (7½%) to the scholarship fund resources now drawing over 5½%. Legal counsel has advised that this can be done without endangering the tax status of the Scholarship Fund.

FEBRUARY 23

Grievance Procedures: Under the present wording of the FAM regulations, it seems that Mr. Harter may not be entitled to a hearing, but only to contest the decision to select him out on the grounds that his file was incomplete. The Board discussed selection-out problems after hearing an interim report on Mr. Harter's case. A further discussion will be held with Samuel W. Lewis, Special Assistant to the Director General, on March 1. AFSA representatives have proposed to AFGE closer cooperation on grievance questions. The AFGE reaction was reserved.

Communication: Mr. Heginbotham asked the Board to consider the use of sample survey techniques to get a feeling of membership opinion on important issues on which Board action is required.

MARCH 2

Legal committee: The following members of the Legal Committee were presented by Miss Marian L. Nash, Acting Chairman: Terry Leitzell (L); William R. Salisbury (L/PMO); F. Allen Harris (L). Miss Nash directed the attention of the Board to the rumor that a Special Review Board may be appointed to review promotion recommendations for officers who are approaching end of time in class. She pointed out that such a procedure would be illegal.

MARCH 9, 1971

Committees: The Board unanimously approved the nomination of Miss Marian Nash, L, as Chairman of the Legal Committee. Messrs. Lambrakis and Hansen-Sterm are forming a Membership Committee.

MARCH 16, 1971

Finances: Mr. Edward J. Justis, Accountant for AFSA, analyzed the heavy indebtedness of the General Fund. The Finance Committee was asked to prepare a more realistic budget for next year, preferably in simple and easily understood form. One of the means proposed to increase revenue was to offer Supporting Associate Membership to a limited number of American international firms and organizations. Mr. Bray is developing this proposal. A new dues structure is also being studied.

Labor-Management Relations: Following the President's decision to exclude the Foreign Service from the provisions of Executive Order 11491, an alternate program for Foreign Service personnel must be submitted to the Federal Labor Relations Council by June 1, 1971. Mr. Harrop pointed out the Board's responsibility to clarify certain aspects of the seven-point agreement and to take a firm position that the FLRC approve comprehensive regulations, not just a general framework. Mr. Heginbotham noted that the seven points omitted certain important areas, among them a suitable grievance mechanism. Mr. Harris was delegated to establish a working group of each of the seven points and one to study grievance problems. The Board approved a motion to write a letter to the FLRC apprising them of the seven points and the results of the AFSA referendum, and informing the Council that the Association will work with them and with the Department of State to implement matters on which the seven-point agreement is not clear.

Miscellaneous: Messrs. Harrop and Harris met with the acting representative of the Canadian Foreign Service Union. Canadian Union activity covers a wide range of problems and "rights" have been extended to the negotiation of salaries and the right to strike. About 85 per cent of Canadian foreign service employees are union members. The Canadian Union will send material to the Associat for AFSA's information.

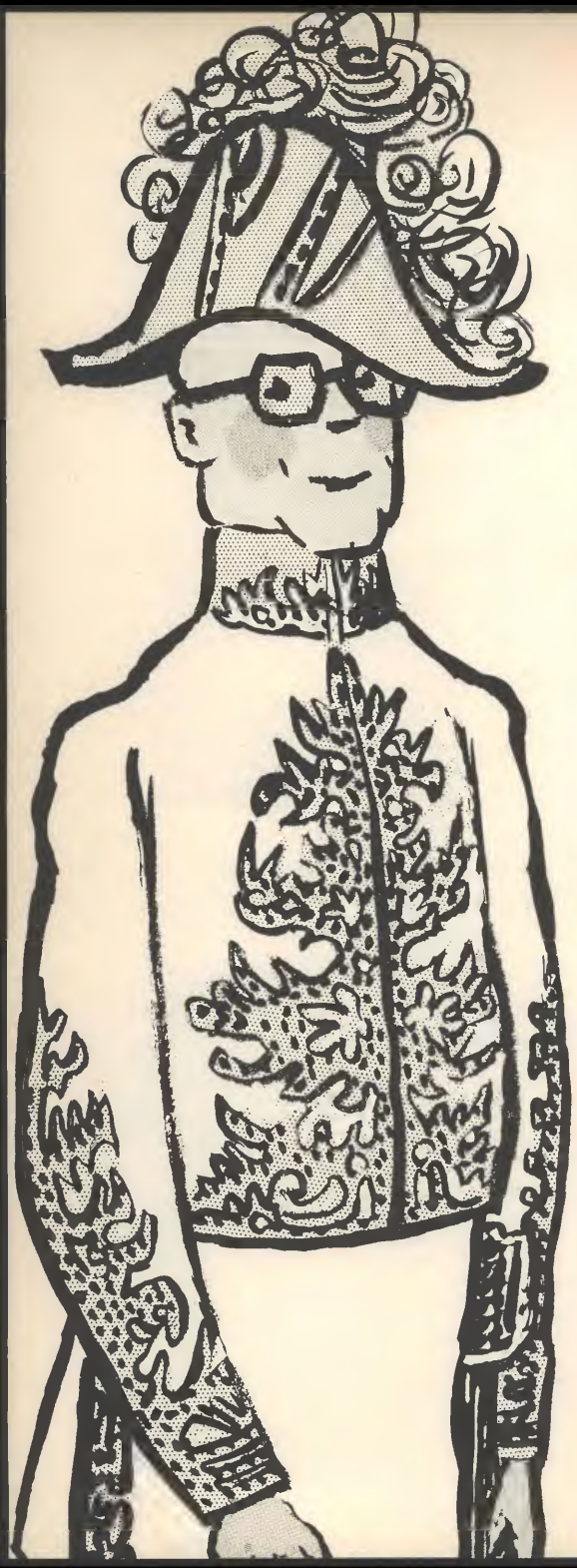
MARCH 23

The Board discussed problems involved with the Memorial Plaque with Ambassador Symmes, Chairman of the Memorial Plaque Committee. The Board's discussion on **Labor-Management Relations** concentrated on the problems of outside arbitration, exclusivity, and communication with the membership. There was general agreement that the inclusion of provisions for exclusive representation and greater external participation in appeals procedures would unify the Service on the Labor-Management issue.

Grievances: The AFSA Legal Committee circulated a draft of proposed new regulations for State, AID and USIA grievance procedures. As of April 1, Foreign Service personnel will be excluded from coverage under Civil Service grievance regulations. The Association must take the lead in promoting the establishment of appropriate independent procedures for the Foreign Service.

MARCH 30

Grievances: The Chairman of the Legal Committee reported that Mr. Jerome Ackerman, of Covington & Burling, had made some constructive suggstions on the draft of proposed new grievance procedures for State, AID and USIA, among them that the permanent member to serve as Chairman of the proposed Board of Foreign Service Employee Grievances and Appeals be designated by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service instead of by the FLRC. JFSOC approved of the draft; Mr. Heginbotham and Mr. Samuel Parleman also commented on it. Mr. Parelman pointed out some weaknesses in the draft. The Chairman of the Board will transmit the revised draft to the Department. The Board also designated as temporary members for AFSA's grievances committee Norman Barth, Emmett Coxson, Lynn Cato, Frank Hodsell, Lars Hydle, Michael Royle, John Scafe, Harrison Sherwood, James Watson, and Alan Hardy.



The Foreign Service of the United States once had a uniform that looked like this.

Instructions to Diplomatic Officers included:

The Department of State prescribes no fixed rule as to the offices for the transaction of business of a mission. The general custom is to set apart convenient rooms in the representative's private residences, to be used wholly for the business of the mission and for its archives and property. . . . Considerateness should prevent the incumbent from entering into engagements in this respect which may be inconvenient to his successor.

The text proper of all dispatches to the Department of State should begin upon the third page of the sheet and be written on every page thereafter until the signature is reached. When the dispatch is typewritten, however, it should be on alternate pages.

The following is established, determined and made public as the maximum amount of time actually necessary to make the transit between each diplomatic post in the countries named and the city of Washington, going or coming:

Argentine Republic (Buenos Ayres), forty-five days.
Bolivia (La Paz), fifty days.
Colombia (Bogota), thirty-five days.
Greece (Athens), thirty-five days.
Persia (Teheran), sixty-five days.

No advance of salary or allowance in the nature of an outfit is made either for a diplomatic officer or for his family, nor is transportation furnished by the Government.

Foreign newspapers, not exceeding three in number, are allowed to a mission and are a charge against its allowance for contingent expenses.

No allowance will be made to diplomatic representatives for expenditures for the following objects: Repairs, carriage hire, foreign flags, telegrams, or for copying or translations.

Times have changed and the American Foreign Service Association and the Foreign Service JOURNAL have changed with them.

The uniform has changed and so has the life-style of the Association and the format of the JOURNAL.

The Association supports today's Foreign Service in an effort to make the Service better in all ways—for all its members. **Support your Association now.**

travel-pak

Your best buy in overseas personal effects and liability insurance

TRAVEL-PAK is a comprehensive personal effects and liability insurance plan specially designed for businessmen, government employees, students, servicemen and others living overseas.

CONFIDENCE—Travel-Pak is underwritten by Lloyd's of London and administered by the James W. Barrett Company which has insured more than 10,000 Americans and other foreign nationals living in more than 75 countries.

COMPREHENSIVE—Travel-Pak insures your personal property against "All Risks" of physical loss or damage anywhere in the world and protects you against personal liability judgments.

CONVENIENCE—Travel-Pak provides the simplicity of dealing with one experienced firm and Lloyd's for all your property and liability insurance needs; one easy-to-understand application and package policy.

COST—Travel-Pak premiums are low because the savings from volume sales, the package insurance concept, and special premium discounts are passed on to you.

CLAIMS—Travel-Pak claims are handled by the world's largest personal insurance claims network with representatives in more than 200 cities throughout the world, including Eastern Europe.

JAMES W. BARRETT CO., INC.
1140 Connecticut Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 296-6440

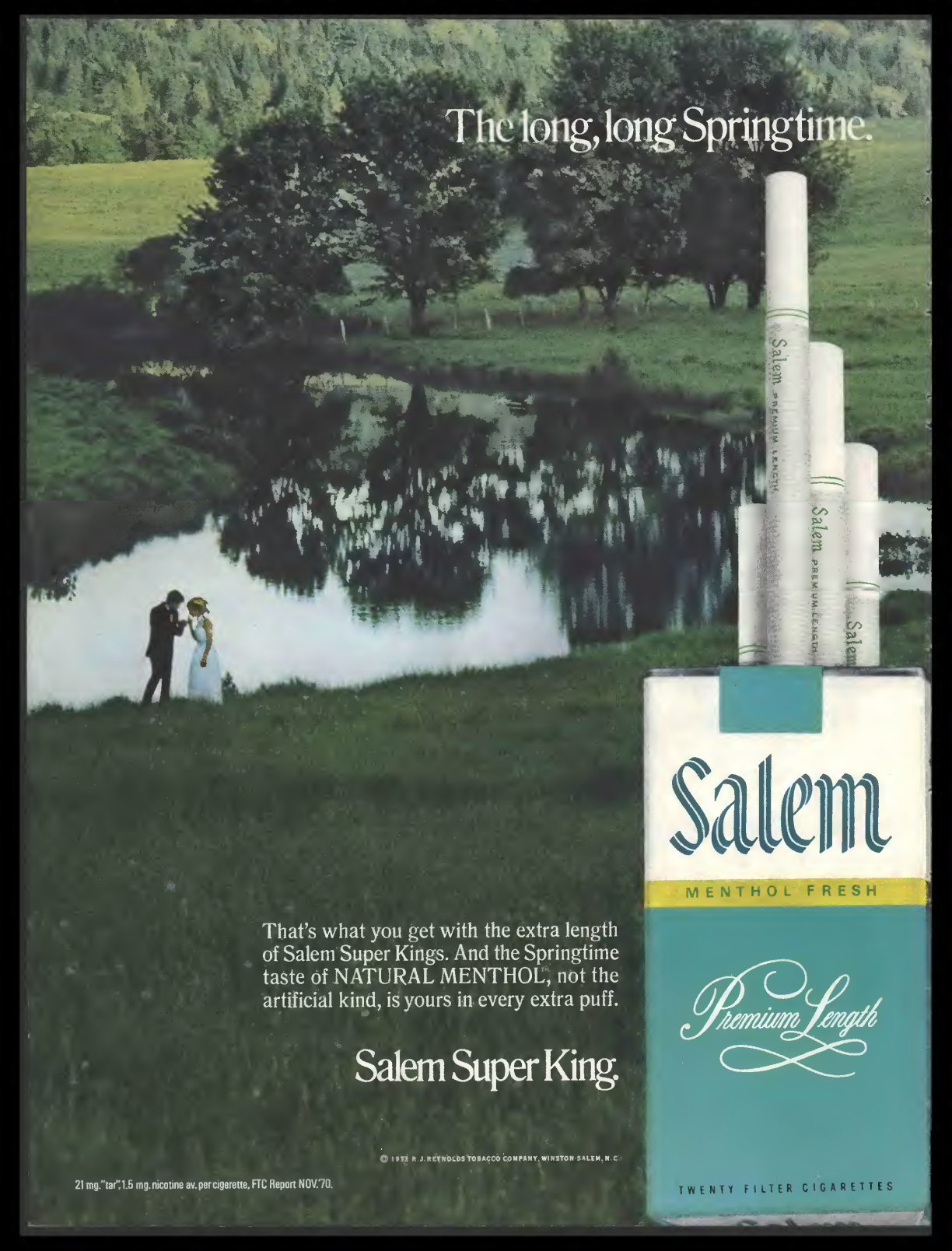
WHY DO YOU NEED TRAVEL-PAK?

You need specialized insurance coverage while living overseas because:

- Your property is *exposed to hazards* not normally encountered at home. The ordinary marine or residence policy is *not adequate* and may leave significant perils uninsured.
- You will find it *very difficult, if not impossible, to understand* the various laws of liability in each of the overseas areas where you may reside. Further, each country's liability laws are quite different and ordinary personal liability policies *may not cover certain events* which could easily occur while you are overseas.
- You want the *peace-of-mind* that comes with the type of policies you would ordinarily have at home. Local policies quite often have *exclusions* which do not appear in policies you are familiar with and, in many countries, United States Dollar policies are not available.
- Travel-Pak provides the *broad coverage and flexibility* which produces the security to help you better fulfill your mission.

HOW DOES TRAVEL-PAK WORK?

- You are *protected immediately* by mailing your completed application and premium payment.
- By declaring all of your personal effects for their full value when you apply you will be assured of *full coverage.*
- *$25,000 liability coverage* is automatically included in your Travel-Pak policy. Larger amounts are available for small additional cost.
- *Substantial savings* are available if you buy Travel-Pak for two or three years.
- Underwriters *cannot cancel* your Travel-Pak policy during the policy term.
- Since it is not the purpose of Travel-Pak to pay for the inconsequential loss, but rather to *cover the large loss,* every claim is subject to a $50 deductible.
- Travel-Pak covers shipment of baggage and household goods. You get a *renewal credit* for each year this coverage isn't used: 1-year policy—20% credit of original premium; 2-year policy—10% per year; 3-year policy—7½% per year.


The long, long Springtime.
Salem
PREMIUM LENGTH
Salem
PREMIUM LENGTH
Salem
MENTHOL FRESH
Premium Length
TWENTY FILTER CIGARETTES
That's what you get with the extra length of Salem Super Kings. And the Springtime taste of NATURAL MENTHOL, not the artificial kind, is yours in every extra puff.
Salem Super King.
© 1973 R.J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO COMPANY, WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
21 mg. "tar", 1.5 mg. nicotine av. per cigerette, FTC Report NOV.'70.