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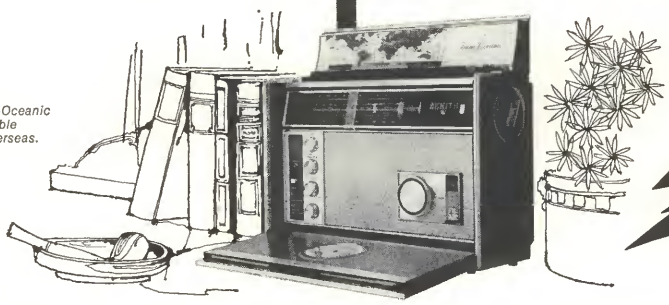

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FOREIGN SERVICE Journal

AUGUST, 1971, Volume 48, No. 8

DEPARTMENTS

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Communication from the AFSA Board

July 6, 1971

Honorable Robert E. Hampton
Chairman, Federal Labor Relations Council

Dear Mr. Chairman:

With reference to my letter of June 16, I have the honor to submit an analysis of the draft Executive Order transmitted to you on June 16 by the Department of State. I also enclose an alternative draft Executive Order prepared as a model by the American Foreign Service Association.

The Association is convinced that the overwhelming majority of Foreign Service employees want a system which allows employees to choose by majority vote whether they shall be represented by an exclusive organization or not. AFSA feels that it would be a mistake to impose on the Foreign Service an employee-management system which the employees believe denies them this basic right. This is the central weakness of the agency draft Executive Order. Without a single employee representative, other elements of the agency draft seem to us unworkable, particularly the concept of "consultation and appeal."

We share many of Deputy Under Secretary Macomber's views on the nature of the Foreign Service, as expressed in his letter to you of June 16. Specifically, we agree that the "rank in person" concept, the high degree of mobility in personnel assignments and the centralized administration of the Foreign Service require that employee participation be based on a unit no smaller than the foreign affairs agency—indeed, we would take that argument to its logical conclusion and base participation on a unit including the entire Foreign Service.

We agree that there is no clear-cut disparity between supervisors and non-supervisors in the Foreign Service, and welcome the elimination of the concept of "supervisor" from management's draft. We are not seeking an annual contract relationship.

We agree that there are sometimes questions of special interest to particular groups of employees; it appears to us that paragraphs (a)(2) and (d) of Section 4 of the agency draft provide adequate protection to individuals and groups against any danger that an employee organization would ignore their views or cut them off from access to agency management and the appeals body.

However, we believe that management has greatly exaggerated—in fact, misunderstood—the prospects of impairment to the "special mission" of the Foreign Service because employees might come to look upon foreign affairs agency heads as adversaries in personnel policy matters.

The Foreign Service requested exemption from E. O. 11491 because the provisions of 11491, it was argued, would "introduce a formal adversary relationship between the Secretary of State and the Director of USIA on the one hand, and the personnel of the Foreign Service on the other." This argument was based on the fact that under 11491 the employee organization and the agency (including the agency head) would negotiate agreements, with disputes taken outside the respective agency to independent bodies and individuals (e.g., the Federal Labor Relations Council, Impasses Panel, the Assistant Secretary of Labor).

The agency head is automatically in the position of being on the side of management. The adversary relationship arises from the "outside" and the fact that the Secretary is an integral part of the management with whom the employees negotiate. Hence, it can be eliminated by eliminating "outside" appeals, removing the Secretary from the negotiation table and making him part of the appeals process.

"Inside" appeal, such as envisioned for the Foreign Service, separates the agency head from the management officials with whom the employee organization (or organizations) negotiate (or consult). Neither the person, nor the prestige, nor the influence of the agency head is committed on the side of management. It is only subsequently, when no agreement between employee organization and management officials is reached, that the agency head enters the picture. He, by remaining apart from the prior proceedings, has no interest in being either on the side of *his* managers or on the side of *his* employees in every case. The dispute is presented to him by an impartial staff and his decision can be made impartially.

This new proposal thus avoids any "adversary" relationship between the Secretary and the Foreign Service, or between the Director of USIA and the Foreign Service.

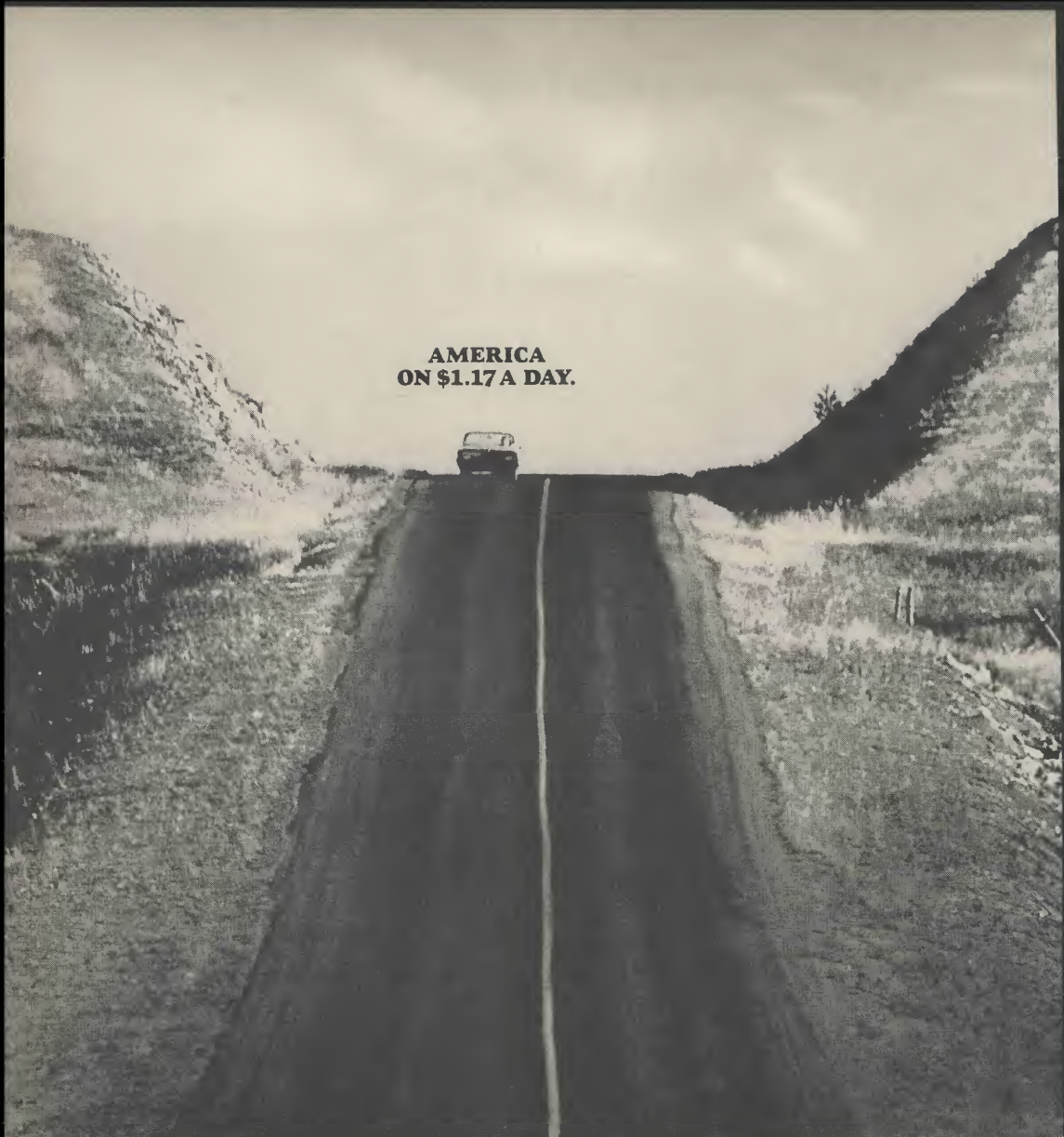
The Association is prepared to accept an in-house employee-management system if it provides a balance of power and responsibility between subordinate agency management officials, on the one hand, and employees on the other. Unfortunately, the State/AID/USIA draft does not provide such a balance. It denies employees the right to decide how they shall be represented, including the right, by a majority of employees voting, to elect a single organization as their exclusive representative, with the responsibility of aggregating employees' various special interests and articulating and defending them in dealings with management. This is a fundamental principle of employee relations in the American private sector and under E. O. 11491. In thus making it difficult for employees to unite on a program and strategy, the draft divides and weakens employee representatives at the conference table in comparison to the monolithic and disciplined management.

The multipartite consultation and appeals which management proposes as a "practical alternative" to exclusive recognition would, we believe, promote competitive militancy among employee organizations, reduce the likelihood of management-employee agreement on personnel policies, and lead to an excessive resort to appeals procedures.

We understand that such a multipartite system was tried unsuccessfully in American municipalities in the '30s and '40s, and that the failure of the similar concept of formal recognition in E. O. 10298 led to the the adoption of the exclusive recognition concept in E. O. 11491.

In short, the Association believes that the management of the foreign affairs agencies, lacking the experience of the Council in these matters, may have misunderstood

(*Continued on page* 48)



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ON SPEAKING THE LANGUAGE

GINNY CARSON

I GAINED ten pounds the first year we were in West Africa, all because I couldn't speak the language.

Not that I couldn't speak one of the African dialects mind you, because of course I couldn't, but neither did anyone else. It was French that I couldn't speak, the diplomatic language, the language that anybody who is civilized should know, and that made it doubly humiliating.

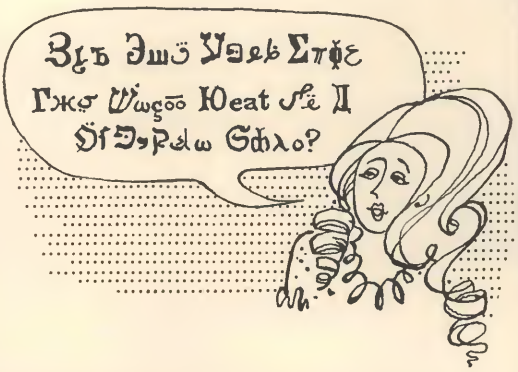
There were a large number of Frenchmen living in Cotonou. They occasionally wore bedroom slippers to the local cinema and served drinks in glasses decorated with Black Label advertising. But they certainly spoke French. And they ate exceedingly well.

"My dear," one old lady confided to me, emphasizing the pre-civilization hardships she had endured as a colonial wife twenty years before, "I was here *before cheese*."

Even in that tropical heat, we were often served five- and six-course meals, with lots of wine and lots of conversation. What can you do during a five-course meal when you can't talk and don't even smoke, for God's sake? You smile and nod and wonder if the thing will ever end. And you eat.

After a while, when you've learned only a bit of the language, it's almost worse, because talk is on a sort of "me, Jane-you, Tarzan" level—so elementary that all you can discuss is how humid it is here in Dahomey, and how many children you have.

Sometimes, glass in hand—particularly, glass in hand—you venture into something more complex. Once in Cotonou I found myself part of a circle surrounding the Dahomean foreign minister, a charming and affable man. Everyone was chattering, even I, then someone else



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joined the group, silence ensued, and the newcomer asked politely if I spoke French.

Weary of the no-but-I'm-learning response, and fortified by champagne, I replied, gaily, "Oh, yes, I speak French." I turned to the Dahomean secretary of state.

"You understand me, don't you, Mr. Minister?" I inquired.

"Yes, madame," he said with a little bow. "Often."

For a time after that I lapsed back into silence. Then I went back to the safe but tiresome, "How long have you been here?" No one, it seemed, African or Frenchman, had spent more than a few years in the country, so I could ask the question safely, knowing that talk would flow for a minute or two while I mentally composed some more stimulating repartee. Once I gasped out my question simultaneously with another guest, she also desperately searching, I suppose, for a conversational opening.

It was my non-smoking that led me to a ploy which I discovered inadvertently but found very useful. The hostess of the evening was passing the ubiquitous tray of cigarettes. For some reason, I remembered a line from an old but never-to-be-forgotten movie: "Stage Door" in which Katharine Hepburn says she quit smoking when she was ten. I had been not quite ten years old myself, when I saw it, and I'd been impressed.

"Cigarette?" asked my hostess.

"No," I said coolly, "I gave them up when I was ten."

I omitted the reflexive "je me suis" in the "I stopped myself" which my teacher later told me was proper, but the lady seemed to understand. She moved on, paused, then turned to me again and said hesitantly, "*Ten* years old, Madame?"

Which leads me to another conclusion, which I will mention here. If you don't understand the language, you must control the conversation. Just get people's attention and *keep talking.* They will either think you amusingly quaint, or awfully stupid, but they won't act *as if you aren't there.*

Also, if you introduce the subject, you will at least not blurt out, while trying to get in the conversation, "I have a friend who loves tomatoes, too, she" . . . when they—you discover later—were talking about having little Jacques' tonsils out.

But back to my ploy. I then memorized my remark about quitting smoking, making sure the grammar was impeccable, and used it again and again. People, after all, are always offering you a cigarette, even if they think you are deaf and dumb.

Conversation usually led then to reminiscences of childhood, methods of quitting smoking, or, if I was really clever, to my quoting an amusing ad for "Gitanes" that I'd seen in the NEW YORKER.

Then one evening when my French was almost adequate but my imagination not so estimable, I found an even more provocative remark.

My dinner partner and I had covered every topic—the humidity, the number of our respective children, and Jack Nicklaus, whom he admired. I noticed his wife eyeing him anxiously, plainly indicating that he was neglecting his duty in not talking to poor foreign Madame Carson.

Finally, annoyed at her reproaches, he turned and hissed almost the length of table, *"Mais j'ai déjà parlé d'Oregon."*

Searching madly for a topic, I recalled yet another film. This was a recent French movie depicting the Seven Mortal Sins. I asked brightly if anyone at the table could name all seven of them.

To my astonishment, the table became a scene of veritable uproar. Guest challenged guest as to the mortality of the fault; greed and sloth were dismissed, as lust and avarice were introduced.

All I had to do was sit back and look interested, as conversation swirled around me.

And then I realized what I had done. There I was, nodding and smiling again. And eating. ■

AFSA Board Comment:

AFGE's Legal Defense Fund

In the spirit of openness, the AFSA Board of Directors and the JOURNAL Editorial Board accepted the advertisement on the facing page. This advertisement solicits contributions to finance court action against the Foreign Affairs Specialist program and against the principle of selection-out. We advised representatives of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO) that the AFSA Board would print a comment for our readers.

AFSA, in contrast to AFGE, does not oppose the concept of "selection up or out" established in the Foreign Service Act of 1946. We feel this can and should be a strength to our Service if properly administered under wise safeguards and due process.

AFSA supported the new FSO career system which establishes tenure in the middle grades. AFSA supports H.R. 9365, introduced by Congressman Wayne Hays on June 23, to extend retirement annuity coverage to officers selected out in Classes 4 and 5 (as well as Class 3 and above as at present). AFSA is pressing vigorously for enactment of S. 2023/H.R. 9188 to provide impartial grievance and appeal procedures under due process for the entire Foreign Service (see editorial in July JOURNAL and "AFSA News" in this issue). We are consulting with Department representatives on the establishment of greatly improved interim procedures for all Foreign Service Act personnel pending enactment of legislation. We feel these are the effective reforms in the best interest of the Foreign Service.

AFSA, unlike AFGE, has publicly supported the Foreign Affairs Specialist program in State and USIA, under which qualified officer-level Civil Service and FSS personnel may be integrated, voluntarily and under equitable regulations, into the Foreign Service Reserve Unlimited career system. AFSA was consulted in the preparation of these regulations which assure broad protection for converting officers.

AFGE has already brought suit against the Department and USIA to prevent implementation of Foreign Affairs Specialist conversions; AFGE is preparing to challenge in court the legality of any selection out. The union has now renamed its fund-raising program after the late Charles W. Thomas.

The AFSA Board does not agree with the purposes of these law suits, whether funds are raised in the name of Mr. Thomas or in the name of AFGE directly.

This is a paid advertisement by the Foreign Affairs Employees Council of the American Federation of Government Employees.

THE CHARLES WILLIAM THOMAS MEMORIAL LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

For two years Charles William Thomas, an outstanding Foreign Service Officer, tried to get the Department of State to review the facts in his case and to let those facts speak for themselves. He believed that his dismissal was a grave injustice—and so do we—but he was prepared to abide by the results of an objective, impartial review. That review never took place.

The tragic death of Mr. Thomas in April of 1971 shocked Foreign Service employees into the realization that, under current personnel practices, the individual employee has no guarantee and, indeed, scant prospect of an objective, fair hearing to review the facts and judge the merits of any complaint.

Taking the foreign affairs agencies to court is the effective way to reform this cruel capricious system now. A legal defense fund named in memory of Charles William Thomas has, therefore, been formed and will stand as an enduring symbol of the rights he sought in vain—simple fairness and justice.

A BRIEF HISTORY

The Foreign Affairs Employees Council was formed in June of 1971 by the two American Federation of Government Employees local unions which represent over 3000 employees of the Department of State, the United States Information Agency and the Agency for International Development. They felt that the *entire* foreign affairs community, regardless of organizational affiliation, should have an opportunity actively to participate in correcting the abuses in the personnel practices of the three foreign affairs agencies.

The Council has therefore established an active legal defense fund to enable dedicated employees and former employees of these agncies to help underwrite the costs of several major court challenges and to be joined by citizens throughout the United States who also welcome this opportunity to support the cause of genuine reform of Foreign Service personnel policy.

Even though the initial decision to establish this non-profit legal defense fund with an independent advisory board was taken in early April 1971—before the tragic death of Mr. Thomas—the Council felt that his determined but vain efforts to gain due process through the present system most eloquently illustrated the urgent need for such a legal challenge.

It is in this spirit that the fund was named in his honor.

AN INVITATION

We invite every member of the foreign affairs community and every American who believes in genuine due process to contribute to this non-profit fund and thereby help underwrite the costs of these court actions:

- A class action now being readied against the selection-out system as now practiced in the three foreign affairs agencies. Despite recent administrative modifications in selection-out, Foreign Service employees can be—and will be—dismissed without any hope of recourse to fair, impartial, and enforceable third party review.

We will continue to support the bills now before Congress which would legislate review rights and procedures for Foreign Service Employees. However, we must be realistic about the months and perhaps years it may take to enact these measures.

In the meantime we need a binding court decision which will finally bring constitutional due process safeguards to the present arbitrary, antiquated procedure. *Selection-out must be replaced with a system of earned tenure, merit promotion, and dismissal only for just cause.*

- A second suit already filed to enjoin the Department of State and the United States Information Agency from forcing domestic Civil Service employees to become Foreign Service employees. These "converted" General Schedule employees will not only lose their present Civil Service protection but will be subjected to the arbitrary Foreign Service personnel policies we have just described. We believe that until the courts abolish selection-out and until the domestic civil servants of these agencies are given adequate career security, no such mass conversions can be justified.

If necessary more individual and class actions will be filed after these initial suits are underway.

With the help of the foreign affairs community and the support of responsible Americans concerned with justice for Foreign Service employees, we can make a change.

Your moral and financial support is, therefore, needed now. Thank you.

National Advisory Committee:

The Honorable Charles Burrows
Former American Ambassador

The Reverend Walter Fauntroy
Member of Congress, District of Columbia

The Honorable Fulton Freeman
Former American Ambassador
President, The Monterey Institute of Foreign Studies

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Enclosed please find my check made payable to the Charles William Thomas Memorial Legal Defense Fund (Mailing address: The Charles William Thomas Fund, P.O. Box 19443, 20th St. Station, Washington, D. C. 20036)
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Signed .....

In looking for reasons why some American overseas investors often violate their own long-term self interest, the primary cause . . .is ignorance.

American Overseas Investment: A Policy For The 1970s

SAMUEL F. HART

The author, an FSO since 1958, has served in Montevideo, Djakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Washington, and San Jose in a variety of political, economic, and consular jobs. Mr. Hart has a master's degree from the Fletcher School, a master's in economics from Vanderbilt and is a graduate of the FSI Economics Course. His current assignment in San Jose is as Chief of State/USAID Economic and Public Administration activities. Many of the points in this article were discussed spiritedly and in detail at a recent Regional Economic/Commercial Officers Conference in Panama which the author attended. Mr. Hart received AFSA's William R. Rivkin Award on June 24.

THE shaping of American foreign policy involves not only the United States government, but also private organizations, especially American businesses with foreign investments. And the actions of American owned business abroad obviously have an impact on the host countries' attitudes toward the United States.

The rules of the game for foreign investors have changed greatly in the past 40 years, which some businesses have failed to recognize and thereby jeopardize the well-being of other investors. This article will survey the prevailing practices of some US overseas investors, assess their effects on US foreign policy, suggest what control the United States Government should be exercising over American businesses abroad and recommend some policy changes to move us from what "is" to what "ought to be."

Post World War II US policy, implicit if not stated, concerning the investment of American capital abroad has rested on a number of assumptions: (a) often in the short-run and certainly in the long-run, overseas investment benefits the US economy; (b) the capital and accompanying inflows of technology and managerial skill help the economy of the receiving country; (c) US companies operating overseas are the best judges of their own long-term interests and, therefore, should be subject to minimal United States Government guidance or regulation. This writer subscribes to the first two assumptions with only a few minor reservations. Point (c), however, is certainly questionable considering the growing difficulties of a considerable number of US investors in less developed countries (LDCs) in recent years.

We can begin by enumerating a few simple and rather obvious rules for operating in a foreign country which, given the long experience of American companies in foreign operations, should have become second nature to all but are still ignored by many.

WHEN a foreign company makes a sizable investment overseas, particularly in a country with an underdeveloped economy, it normally negotiates with the host government the terms under which it will operate, including import and export taxes, quantitative investment obligations, internal tax rates, profit remittances, local capital participation, and employment practices. Reaching an agreement on these matters that will stand the test of time requires that both the investor and host government have available the best technical advice on the true economics of the enterprise. For example, the terms of a contract to exploit mineral deposits will depend on whether the ore is high or low grade. But many LDCs do not have local talent to make this assessment, which results in their negotiating important agreements while figuratively flying blind. So, if the investor has competent technical advice, the negotiation is a highly unequal contest with an equitable agreement likely only by the wildest of chances. If the government, through ignorance, insists on an unreasonable price, the investor will walk away; if the asking price is too low, this will become evident in time and likely result in pressure for renegotiation or abrogation of the agreement. The point to be stressed is that the long-run interests of both parties require access to all available information and the investor should encourage the host government to hire good advisors should this be necessary to achieve parity.

The manner in which the contract is negotiated is nearly as important as its substance. In initial bargaining stages technicians may be adequate, but the final negotiations require a representative from the home office

of the investor possessing both considerable authority and an appreciation for public relations.

A negotiator with insufficient authority inevitably appears inflexible, especially on minor issues where compromises are easiest if arrived at quickly. When such matters can be resolved without referral to headquarters, a climate conducive to finding answers to the more serious problems is created.

As to the public relations aspect, it can hardly be expected that American companies with worldwide operations should have top executives fluent in all pertinent languages. It does seem reasonable, however, that training negotiators competent in Spanish and perhaps French would not impose too heavy a burden. Furthermore, whatever his language of expression, the negotiator's job is made easier and his company's interests are best served by explaining to the people of the country the benefits the contract will bring. The era of "the people be damned" has passed in most places and foreign investors should have been among the first to recognize this. Simple? Obvious? Yet, there are still many investors who are unaware of or insensitive to public relations.

THE provisions in a contract to maximize long-term operational viability vary from one type of business to another. Still, some have general applicability. First, it seems that the leaders and public in capital-poor countries are becoming increasingly aware that a foreign capitalist must expect to amortize his investment and make a reasonable return for his efforts within a fairly short period to compensate for risk-taking. Troubles with host countries arise, however, when contracts worded to achieve these results in a relatively few years are in force for extended periods. The author suggests that foreign investors in mining and similar enterprises should be willing to write contracts whereby the company shares profits on an increasing scale with local interests or reduces profit repatriation to a predetermined level once the project has yielded a mutually-acceptable and reasonable return. Such a clause is essential in extractive industries where technological advance may turn a marginal undertaking into a bonanza. When this occurs, modification of the contract will be demanded, but a better course is to agree to some such arrangement at the outset.

Another point of substance concerns local participation in the project. The poorer the host country, the more likely it is that the government will have to be the local partner. Furthermore, the longer the expected time span before the investment is likely to yield profits, the less attractive equity participation will be to local capitalists. However, having local participation, government or private, is inexpensive and useful insurance for the foreign investor against a number of risks. But it is not always easy for investors to find a local partner for reasons such as lack of cultural adjustment from the family to the corporate concept. An amazing number of foreign investors never even try.

For those who want local participation in their operations a number of little-tried options are available. One is to offer high-yield convertible bonds to make the pre-dividend period more appealing to local capitalists. A promising approach, whether singly or in combination with one of the above, is a profit-sharing plan for employees similar to that used by Sears, Roebuck in the United States and overseas. Under such a plan, employees can invest a portion of their pay in their employer's stock, which can be matched by the company. This approach, in addition to spreading the action widely, strengthens employee identification and eventually assists in creating a market for the stock within the country. The latter not only facilitates wider participation, but in the longer run would help in raising equity capital.

Finally, the possibility exists of the central government or an autonomous government agency becoming a partner. While this prospect often makes American businessmen uneasy and can occasionally be troublesome, it is preferable to give away 25 percent (or even more) of equity when undertaking sensitive operations in an LDC (having the normal number of ailments in its body politic) to having the enterprise completely foreign. Creating a local constituency is the name of the game and the penalty for neglecting this consideration can be costly, at times up to 100 percent of investment.

Another common sense rule has to do with employment practices and can be stated as: "The number of foreign employees should be kept at a minimum and equal pay should be awarded for equal work, irrespective of employee nationality."

A final guideline for the large foreign capitalist is that he should avoid investment in fields where there are already strong local interests. For example, the attempted entry of a large international corporation into food processing in an LDC where many small canners and packers are already operating will predictably earn the latter's undying enmity because of the real or imagined threat posed. Moreover, while vertical organization has its attractions in circumstances where ancillary services are poor, the better course for a foreign firm is to encourage and perhaps assist host-country nationals to engage in such enterprises as trucking, machinery repair and servicing and preliminary processing of raw materials, thereby making these people constituents.

THE above list of rules is no more than a primer for those with experience in this field, but the sad fact is that a surprising large number of overseas US investors ignore them completely or pay them only lip service. In looking for reasons why some American overseas investors often violate their own long-term self interest, the primary cause which emerges is ignorance. Corporations which spend millions on pro-

duction research will embark on an enterprise in a foreign country where their appreciation of the realities of the political and social aspects of the environment is about as profound as a Hollywood travelogue. A second reason seems to be that US firms operating on foreign soil often lose the social consciousness learned so painfully at home over the past decades. Undue concern over setting precedents for future operations or moving counter to prevailing practice locally are frequently used as excuses for failure to engage in social innovation. The foreign operator fails to see that because of his foreignness, and in many cases his large size, he is not just another businessman. His operation is an especially inviting target. While being a model employer, taxpayer and contributor to social advancement will not inoculate him against all who wish his destruction, failure to play these roles materially assists his enemies.

ALTHOUGH gunboat diplomacy is currently out of vogue in most circles and arguments over whether business follows the flag or vice versa are no longer heard, the protection of US business interests abroad remains an important foreign policy objective of the United States Government. Most of the operational responsibility for protecting US overseas investment falls naturally on the State Department, specifically on diplomatic missions abroad. Although never clearly enunciated as policy, both American businesses overseas and the executive and legislative branches of government in Washington have made clear that these diplomatic posts should avoid deep involvement in the affairs of US businesses (not violating US law) unless specifically invited to do so. In most cases this has meant that unsolicited advice by an embassy on the way US investors should conduct their affairs in the host country has generally been unwelcome. "Don't call us, we'll call you" has been the business attitude, but when those calls have come they are usually for help in situations that have already become extremely grave. In fairness it must be acknowledged that many overseas missions have been reluctant to become involved between investors and the host government. They must, therefore, share some of the blame for the lack of dialogue that sometimes prevails.

Many of the crises that involve US overseas investors could be avoided if farsighted policies were followed. Moreover, companies often do not have the necessary expertise in individual countries to make good policy judgments; this expertise frequently is available from various sources, including the United States Government (in Washington and overseas) but is not widely utilized because outside, especially official, interference in overseas business operations is discouraged unless the patient is *in extremis*.

Those with experience in economic/commercial work are aware that US businesses abroad frequently fail to consult with the Embassy about company policy decisions that affect not only their own operation but those of the entire American business community and official relations. Some firms which have operated overseas for many years like to go their own way without availing themselves of the experience of people specifically trained to evaluate the economic and political realities of foreign cultures. These are precisely the operations which most need advice because their executives have often been trained in environments that reflect past illusions more than present realities.

This is a foolish situation. Shouldn't more preventive medicine be practiced by the United States Government? Cannot a way be found to encourage US investors abroad to seek guidance on major issues, to encourage their acceptance of such counsel and yet preserve their ultimate sovereignty over their own operations? At least two methods of achieving these ends come to mind. First, US investment guaranties (formerly from AID, now from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation) are sought on a large percentage of new US investment in LDCs. In the law creating OPIC, the organization was told "to encourage and support only those private investments in less developed friendly countries and areas which are sensitive and responsive to the special needs and requirements of their economies and which contribute to the social and economic development of their people." OPIC should enforce this provision strictly, even when only exchange convertibility and expropriation insurance are involved. Furthermore, methods of operation which the United States Government considers desirable could be written into the guaranty contract and failure by the investor to live up to these conditions would be grounds for cancellation of the guaranty. This would assure continuing consultations between US investors and the diplomatic missions.

Another lever is available to the United States Government to exercise some influence over the policies of the great bulk of US businesses abroad not covered by investment guaranties. When a US company operates in a manner that the Department of State believes will cause severe friction with the host country, the matter should be discussed with the company by the United States embassy in the country involved or with United States Government agencies in Washington. If the foreign investor persisted in a policy against which he had been advised, he would be entitled at most to minimal official protection should the policy lead to the troubles against which he had been warned. The investor would, of course, keep his option to ignore the preferred counsel, but he would do so at some risk.

The purpose of these proposals is to eliminate the present ridiculous situation where our government is often called upon to pull an investor's chestnuts out of a fire which need never have been ignited had a dialogue been established earlier.

Let there be no mistake about the difficulty of gaining acceptance by US overseas investors and the Congress of these ideas. The investors would be reluctant to give up the "best of both worlds" position they currently enjoy and congressional pressure would undoubtedly be exerted to assist a company in trouble, even if the difficulties had arisen as a result of pursuing policies against which it had been advised. Nevertheless, the impact of American investment abroad on the recipient countries in underdeveloped areas and on US foreign policy is simply too great to leave to *laissez faire*. ■

There can no great smoke arise, but
there must be some fire.—Lyly

SHIP AFIRE

"SEÑOR Vice Consul!"

The voice was accompanied by a loud rapping at the door of my small apartment next to the Consulate at Santa Rosa. I glanced at the clock on the sideboard and threw my napkin on the table, my heart sinking. Seven o'clock! Whenever someone knocked at my door while I was still at breakfast it meant trouble, and the last thing I wanted at the beginning of my first 48 hours of being in sole charge of a Consulate was trouble. I hoped fervently as I went to the door that whatever it might be would be covered by the regulations.

I recognized the small, dark, shabby man who came in gesticulating as Hernando, the runner from the Port Captain's office.

"Incendio!" was his first word. "Fire!" There followed a flood of rapid Spanish which informed me that I had trouble with a capital T. An American ship had arrived at the port of Santa Rosa with an uncontrollable fire smouldering in its holds.

J. W. SCHUTZ

Our author is now a fulltime resident of a small farm and vineyard in the south of France, producing his own wine through the local cooperative. Mr. Schutz writes, "I am a member of the Rotary Club of Sanary/Bandol, France, with the category of 'writer.' I owe this title to the fact that I have realized a long held dream and have become a professional writer of science fiction. My work has appeared in such magazines as FANTASY AND SCIENCE FICTION, GALAXY and VENTURE.

I tossed a few words to my wife from the kitchen doorway as I struggled into my jacket, and hurried to the Consulate offices next door for my copy of the volume of regulations on American shipping and seamen, Hernando the runner babbling in my ears.

Thank God for the regulations. They covered nearly everything a person could think of and I depended heavily upon them. But, despite the diligence with which I had studied them, I found as I stuffed the heavy volume in my briefcase that I could not recall a single thing in them about how to deal with ships on fire. If the Consul were here no doubt he could find the appropriate pages, or draw on something useful from his vast experience. But he was gone for two days on the neighboring island of Cruz Grande with Sr. Martinez, the owner of the local Coca Cola Bottling Company. Neither could I draw on the advice and comfort of brother officers on the mainland without at least two days of telegraphic delay.

On the way to the harbor in a rattling taxi I questioned Hernando.

"What are the port authorities doing about it?"

"Nothing, señor," Hernando replied. "The señor captain refused to let anyone on board until he has seen the Consul himself."

I wondered if this suspicious seaman would be satisfied with a mere Vice Consul and patted my pockets anxiously for my credentials.

I need not have worried. One glimpse of me on the gangplank and the señor captain, a huge hairy man in dungarees, was hustling me almost bodily to his cabin saying, "This way, Mr. Consul. Watch your step, Mr. Consul. Watch your head," as I stepped over the high sills of the ship's companionways and ducked overhead pipes.

In the captain's cabin was an incredibly dirty little man with a long thin nose and close-set eyes whom Captain Harris introduced with a jerk of his thumb as "Feinberg. Chief Engineer," then plunged at once to the heart of his problem.

"Look, Mr. Consul. All I want you to do is to tell this sonnuvabitch to let me use his . . . .ing CO_2 to save my ship!"

Mr. Feinberg looked murderously stubborn and set the Coke he was drinking down on the cabin table with a snap.

"And I say he can't touch my goddam CO_2. It's for engine room fires only and the underwriters'll have my ticket if I use it someplace else. There ain't enough anyhow to put out fires in no three goddam holds!"

Things were going too fast for me. I hadn't even had time to open my impressive book of regulations. Timidly I made my first suggestion.

"Why not let the port authorities put out the fire?" I said.

"Because the bastards want to pump water on it, that's why," the captain replied.

"What's the matter with that?" I said.

The captain told me with a good deal of picturesque profanity.

The ship was carrying a full cargo of oil cake loaded in bulk in Nigeria. During the voyage up the African coast the weather had been blistering hot with only patches of cloud around the horizon and the oil cake had begun to stink unbearably. The captain ordered the hatch covers taken off to air the holds. One day during the noon watch when most of the crew were at lunch one of those harmless-looking patches of cloud opened up suddenly over the ship and spilled a five-minute tropical downpour into the open holds. The sun came out again while the hatch covers were being replaced over the damp oil cake and within an hour the ship was again hotter than something unrepeatable.

Oily paint rags left in a closed closet will often catch fire spontaneously, and even more readily when damp. The greasy brown crumbled rubble of bulk oil cake is much the same in the closed holds of an overheated ship, and on an incomparably larger scale. Unfortunately no one thought of that.

The hatch covers were kept closed and it was not until thirty-six hours later, almost in sight of the island port of Santa Rosa, that the men noticed that the steamy atmosphere of the ship's interior contained something that made throats raw and eyes smart. When the hatch covers were taken off again the air fanned the patches of glowing spontaneous combustion in the cargo to actual flames.

The water which was poured into the holds doused the flames but made the firmly packed cargo swell, straining the ship's bulkheads and plates. The added water seeping through strained hull seams into the hot cake started new areas of combustion. At this point Captain Harris had demanded that Chief Engineer Feinberg use his precious carbon dioxide for fire fighting. When it was refused he put in to Santa Rosa and called the American Consul. Me.

As Santa Rosa was not a producer of CO_2, it seemed to me that to use the supply of that gas in the engine room was the only solution, despite Feinberg's shortsighted stubbornness. I scrabbled through my volume of regulations hoping to find something giving me the authority I needed to make him come to heel, and found nothing. Under Feinberg's suspicious eye I took out a pocket slide rule to check his statement that his six cylinders of gas were not enough to fill three holds.

My school chemistry courses had taught me that one gram-molecular-weight of any gas would fill 22.4 liters of space at sea-level barometric pressure and at zero degrees Centigrade. The engineer's cylinders were rated in pounds, full and empty. This gave me the weight of the liquid gas, in pounds. Carbon dioxide in the amount of 44 grams would fill 22.4 liters of space. The sizes of the holds were known, in cubic feet. The temperature of the holds was known, in degrees Fahrenheit. To convert all of this either into the metric system or to the conventional English system of weights and measures was sufficiently complicated without Mr. Feinberg's "help." It was a lot hotter in the holds than zero degrees Centigrade (32° F.), therefore a given amount of CO_2 would fill a lot more of the holds. That was my opinion. Mr. Feinberg held that the gas came out of the cylinders cold enough to produce dry ice (which was true), therefore it would fill a lot less. My opinion—the heavy gas would lie on the surface of the oil cake smothering the fire without necessarily filling the whole space. Mr. Feinberg—convection currents from the fire would stir up the gas, bringing in fresh supplies of air even from outside the . . . . holds.

While this discussion was at its height and scratch paper was overflowing the table, interfering with our consumption of cigarettes and soft drinks, a seaman ushered the local Port Captain into Captain Harris's cabin.

Don Emilio, the Port Captain, greeted me politely. Then he spoke to Captain Harris with a brevity and un-Santa-Rosan directness which showed clearly that he and the American were not friends.

"*Señor Capitan*," Don Emilio said sternly, "I have been obliged to move other ships away from yours for safety. The paint on your hull is blistering above the water line. If your fire spreads you will be endangering harbor installations. I must insist therefore either that you allow my fire brigade to take appropriate measures or that you take your ship out of the harbor."

I intervened before Captain Harris could fire his first salvo of blasphemies. Don Emilio was a stiff-necked man and would not have taken them well. If the ship were to be removed from the harbor or even moved away from the pier it would become impossible to bring shore based fire-fighting equipment to bear. American lives and property might be endangered, and as American Consul (acting) I must definitely prevent that.

Ruefully aware that the suddenly shrunken regulations did not cover the case, I plunged into deep water.

"The Consulate would take a

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Perspectives Of Reform

SMITH SIMPSON

Mr. Simpson, a retired Foreign Service officer, is author of "Anatomy of the State Department" and editor of a forthcoming monograph on diplomacy to be published by the American Academy of Political and Social Science this fall.

THE first sustained effort to modernize our diplomatic establishment in this century was catalyzed within the State Department by a civil servant, Wilbur J. Carr. Born on an Ohio farm, Carr began his government career as a clerk-stenographer in 1892, landing entirely by chance in the State Department. There he served until 1937, when he was appointed Minister to Czechoslovakia —a span of 45 years.

Almost immediately upon his admission to the Department Carr became aware of the need of reform. Being a civil servant, his interests and efforts were not dissipated by rotation and changing Administrations. He learned by an ever-lengthening experience and acquired a keen sense of what could be done, when and by what means. He got to know intimately the people who could make or break the needed changes and how best to approach them.

The diplomatic-consular establishment of Carr's time was much smaller and less complicated than today's. A continuing civil servant could, in a variety of assignments, circulate through the various offices and thus pick up a detailed familiarity with the Department's work, procedures, problems, personnel and organization which is virtually impossible today. Even as a stenographer, Carr was constantly in and out of the offices of Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and others of considerable experience, knowledge and influence. He supplemented this familiarization-through-circulation process by projects and studies of his own. He promptly undertook a compilation of United States treaties and read works on treaties, international law, as well as history and biography. In those days there was little reading material on diplomacy. Carr had no college education but he graduated from law school, by attending evening classes—and became a member of the bar. This awarded him a broader base and standing in the Department.

Seeing the consular service in dire need of reform, Carr began to tackle that intricate web of political patronage, tradition, personal favoritism, inefficiency and corruption. He worked his way up to Chief of the Consular Service, the Chief Clerkship of the Department (which corresponded to today's Deputy Under Secretaryship for Administration) and finally Assistant Secretary (for administration). Throughout this career, he quietly and persistently pressed to upgrade the performance of the consular and the diplomatic services and, finally, to fuse and upgrade the two.

The Department being small, Carr could concentrate his tactics and powers of persuasion on a few men. Even so he had his periods of discouragement. The price of progress was long-sustained, unflagging persistence. Sometimes, when change seemed too slow to be worth his great and persistent effort, he considered resigning.

One of the principal reasons for this was the difficulty of winning over to his cause successive Secretaries of State. Each new Secretary had to be educated and persuaded. Each was invariably a man of broad political experience, knew public affairs, had political connections and alliances which could be either useful or inhibiting to Carr, depending on his ambitions.

A broad sector of the government had been screened off from political patronage by the Civil Service Act of 1883. But the diplomatic and consular services were not under that Act, and thus offered possibilities for political appointees. Neither Presidents nor Secretaries of State could wholly resist Congressional pressures. Even a Chief Executive like Theodore Roosevelt, who had espoused civil service reform, resisted Carr's pressure to remove consular posts from Presidential dispensation. Carr could present his views to the top officials, but he was also exposed directly to their political sensitivities.

Two factors came to Carr's aid. One was his inclusion in small luncheons and soireés. To be identified with the State Department was a social advantage and with his emergence as a chief of the Consular Bureau Carr found himself increasingly at small get-togethers which included Representatives and Senators. Since he also began to appear on the Hill to represent the Department at appropriations hearings and in connection with his efforts to reform the consular service, his acquaintanceships began to provide him political leverage outside the Department.

The second factor to help Carr was the ferment for social regeneration that had been going on for decades and had as one of its objectives improvement of government service. Both civil service reform advocates and business groups had been insisting that the consular service be severed from political patronage and greatly improved. The Civil Service Reform League also kept a watchful eye on the nomination of ambassadors, publicizing and sometimes frustrating the appointment of large financial contributors to the party in power. Then, in 1906, some eighteen universities announced plans to prepare men interested in the diplomatic and consular services. Harvard even attempted, unsuccessfully, to establish a diplomatic, consular and colonial service school.

When Elihu Root became Secretary of State and Carr sought his collaboration in applying the merit principle to the consular service, Root was not only quick to point out the relevance of the 1883 Act but, for reasons of political tactics, insisted that the Executive Order Carr wanted should be cast in its mold. This took President Theodore Roosevelt by a flank maneuver. The Order, which he signed on June 27, 1906, committed his Administration to three principles: admission to the consular service by examination; promotion solely on the basis of ability and efficiency; and opening the examination to all, not just to designees of the President (as was the case under earlier Executive Orders). The first two principles had already appeared in earlier Executive Orders, but had been vitiated by the absence of the third.

On the whole, Carr was fortunate in his superiors. He undertook his first essay in reform when Richard Olney was Secretary of State, from 1895 to 1897, but Carr was then too junior to make much of an impression. In later years, Olney could not even recall meeting Carr. After two short-lived Secretaries came John Hay, whose long survival in diplomacy had made him the equivalent of a career diplomat. Unluckily for Carr, he was typical of a long and still-continuing tradition of the genre. He was exclusively interested in foreign policy and the day's work,

"In this he received far less than the enthusiastic cooperation of the diplomatic officers who were losing their elite, favored position."

and not at all in confronting in any systematic way the problems of ensuring the resources—personnel, administrative and diplomatic—needed to carry out policies. Moreover, Hay had benefited handsomely from the going system, and was not concerned about remedying its shortcomings. So Carr received no visible help from Hay, but perhaps no hindrance either, and this time he had some steam of his own, generated by his multiplying contacts with Congressmen and outside urgers of reform, including businessmen who wanted better information, more cooperation in promotion of trade and more adequate service generally.

It was with Hay's successor, Elihu Root, that Carr picked up noticeable steam. Root was not only a cultivated man and thoroughbred statesman, but he also came to the diplomatic establishment with the great prestige of a reforming Secretary of War who had been able to carry Presidents and Congress with him in modernizing the nation's military resources.

The two men got along well. Root greatly respected the quiet, unassuming, competent civil servant who marshaled his facts meticulously and appeared at departmental meetings and Congressional committees thoroughly prepared, but Root was not the reformer at State that he had been at War and the only reforms Carr was able to engineer under Root dealt with the consular service. The diplomatic service went untouched and the State Department virtually so.

Carr thus found himself patiently elaborating, through regulations and procedures, the advances registered in the 1906 Executive Order and a federal law enacted in the same year which brought some system to the chaotic consular service. As a result of the legislation, consular officers and posts had to be classified and graded, inspectors of posts selected, their biennial inspections funded and supervised, their reports reviewed and operational improvements suggested. Consular fees had now to be accounted for. Entrance examinations had to be devised, examiners appointed, their decisions reviewed. A promotion system had to be designed based upon "ability and efficiency." Carr, being a continuing civil servant, could see that these follow-up reforms were pushed and that all officers were imbued with their spirit and familarized with their substance. The consular service was thus propelled on a path of more acceptable performance.

Elihu Root's successor was Philander C. Knox. Carr proposed to him that the demonstrably practicable and effective consular corps reforms be extended to the diplomatic service. This was done by Executive Order signed by President Taft on November 26, 1909. A significant thrust was this and it did not endear Carr to the free-wheeling diplomatic dukes. Once more, it was Carr who elaborated the needed regulations and procedures and provided the leadership in instilling into the diplomatic officers the spirit and criteria of the new order.

In the meanwhile, a long overdue reorganization of the ramshackle, anachronistic Department had got under way. Carr had no part in this, having his hands full with the consular and diplomatic services. It came from Huntington Wilson, a diplomatic officer young and impatient, in the fashion of the "Young Turks" and junior officers of today. His personality had not set well with

Root, who viewed Wilson as arrogant, suspicious, overly ambitious and possibly a cut-throat type.

Wilson, who had served seven years in our Tokyo embassy, was "horrified at the methods" of the Department and considered its "antiquated organization pitifully inadequate for the conduct of foreign relations in sorry contrast to the other great powers." One of his thoughts was to introduce geographic bureaus in the Department to be headed by men with extensive overseas experience, rather than by civil servants with whom the Department was preponderantly staffed. For personal reasons, it seems, he could extract from Root permission only to experiment with his design through the establishment of a pilot bureau—Far Eastern Affairs—with Wilson as its chief. He promptly established the pattern he had in mind for all such bureaus by ordering home from their Far East posts a diplomatic and a consular officer to serve as his assistant chiefs.

Through the chanciest fluke, Wilson, who was appointed ambassador to the Argentine in 1909, met the new Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, before departing for post. Knox asked him his views on modernization of the Department and was so impressed that he invited the young officer to serve as his number two officer and to get going with his ideas. Reorganization thereupon blossomed, in accordance with a carefully devised plan which Wilson had formulated over four years, discussed with colleagues, and demonstrated in a pilot bureau under Root. He shook up the entire Department. Among the innovations were the geographic bureaus which became the cornerstone of Departmental development and power from that time on. Organizational and operating innovations, fresh, imaginative thinking, systematic recognition of the value of overseas experience and new criteria of educational requirements, and performance all now combined to provide the diplomatic-consular establishment with a new lease on life.

Wilson resigned in a tiff with the Woodrow Wilson Administration in 1913. His ideas about modern diplomacy were sound, but he was emotional, egotistical and often arrogant, which made it difficult for him to collaborate effectively with others over a sustained period.

Carr, a Republican high in the government, somehow survived the Administration of Woodrow Wilson and in 1915 was responsible for Federal legislation that embodied earlier reforms attained by Executive orders, among which were efficiency reports and entrance examinations for diplomatic officers, and new ones, such as appointments to class rather than to specific positions in overseas missions, cross-assignments between the diplomatic and consular services and transfers of departmental personnel to "the foreign service." (Thus, from Taft's Executive Order of 1909, appeared the legal term "the foreign service.")

Six years of patient persuasion and negotiation by Carr were thus rewarded. But the 1915 Act far from achieved his goals and he now headed for the landmark Rogers Act of 1924. In this nine-year effort he was assisted by the Republican electoral victories of 1918 and 1920 which brought into a pivotal position one of Carr's solid collaborators on the Hill, Congressman John Jacob Rogers.

The 1924 Act was largely the work of Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, Congressman Rogers and Carr. It fell to Carr again to elaborate the directives and procedures to make the Act a living document. In this he received far less than the enthusiastic cooperation of the diplomatic officers who were losing their elite, favored position. They were no longer rulers of the diplomatic roost; and, to add insult to this injury of dispossession, were being obliged not only to consort with consular "characters" but to accept a civil servant in the Department as their chief, for Carr was now made an Assistant Secretary (for administration).

Under Carr's leadership, entrance examinations for a single service were drafted, a board selected to conduct them, and a set of performance standards established for a unified overseas service. He insisted upon fair and equal treatment in assignments to the Department, in assignments abroad, in home-leave orders, in promotions and in allocations of the newly provided representation allowances. He also strove to make something of the newly provided representational allowances and of the newly provided Foreign Service School. He saw to it that instruction in that School for all new officers was made a one-year affair, a minor miracle which is still impressive 46 years later. By this time a person of considerable political prescience and leverage, Carr got many of these moves underpinned by an Executive Order signed by President Calvin Coolidge. He was taking no chances.

Even with the support of this Order, Carr found the going hard. The diplomatic officers' resistance and tactical resourcefulness in frustrating him were considerable. Moreover they had one of their own as Under Secretary of State, Joseph C. Grew, and he was one level higher in the hierarchy than Carr. With tact, skill born of long experience and personal contacts on Capitol Hill, Carr worked with interested Congressmen to press the reforms provided by the legislation and to supplement them with the Moses-Linthicum Act of 1931. His modernization efforts were still a long way from fruition then but without his continuity of service and persistence they would have shriveled and blown away many times over. As it was, his ideas were still alive and struggling, if much circumscribed in application, by the time the next reform surge came along in 1943.

Before leaving Carr and his reforms, I must add a word concerning one other factor in his career. This was Alvey Augustus Adee. Adee was more than an official: he was a rare phenomenon in the State Department. True enough, William Hunter had provided the Department with an extraordinary underpinning of continuous experience and skill for many years, having served as Chief Clerk, except for a brief period, from 1852 to 1866 and then as Second Assistant Secretary from 1866 until his death in 1886. Adee prefaced his years in the Department with seven years as a secretary and chargé of our legation in Madrid. Returning from overseas, he entered the Department in 1877 as a clerk, in a year became chief of the Diplomatic Bureau, four years later became Third Assistant Secretary, succeeded Hunter as Second

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The escalators in the Moscow subways are the world's fastest and deepest.

In which the Sangers revisit their haunts of the 30s on a tour of rediscovery

PART THREE

Life as a Russian Worker

RICHARD H. SANGER

This completes the story of Richard and Marion Sanger and their return to the USSR as tourists in 1967. They revisited almost all of the places where they had worked and lived in the early 30s.

Photographs by the author.

Moscow Revisited

By 1967 I had retired from the Foreign Service and a full generation had passed since our previous stay in the Soviet Union. Those 33 years had been momentous for the whole world but particularly for the USSR that had seen a series of trials which resulted in the death or exile to Siberia of top Party members and thousands of ordinary citizens. There had been the catastrophic Nazi invasion, penetrating to the Volga, in which the Russians say 20 million of their countrymen died. The damage done by the invaders had required rebuilding much of western Russia from Leningrad to the Black Sea, followed by a tremendous effort to raise the standard of living above the pre-war years.

In the West we were getting conflicting reports on conditions in the USSR; once again I wanted to get the answer for myself through on the spot observations. I questioned, however, whether the Russians would let me in, and if they did, how much I could see. To my gratification the Department of State saw no objection to the trip, and after some delay, Moscow also approved. I found this surprising in view of the fact that I had written and lectured against Communism. But when I asked about this, the Russians took the position that I had attacked the excesses of the Stalin period and not the current leaders or their policies.

Thus in the spring of 1967 we once again found ourselves in Moscow for a three week stay in the capital and a 10-week tour of the USSR. One of our first goals was to revisit our old room, which proved difficult because so many new buildings had gone up in the area behind the Bolshoi Theatre. However, using a little church we remembered as a landmark, we located it; the street had been renamed in honor of Chekhov. It made us nostalgic to find the old green wall with the billboard still listing plays and movies and the rusty gate into the bare courtyard. The mansion on the right had been freshly whitewashed but the stable over which we had lived looked much worse, with the plaster peeling off the bricks and the metal window bars rustier than ever.

Our arrival created quite a stir and one old crone began cursing and waving her walking stick in our direction; it was the *rabotnitza,* the

servant, who had taken care of the flat and had also been an informer to the secret police. Although her mind was failing fast, she apparently remembered us unfavorably.

The doctor and his family had long since left. Our room was occupied by a young dental student. He had furnished it with articles he was buying on time. The community kitchen was still crowded, but from what we saw the amount and quality of food was much improved. We talked with the dentist for a while, telling about our stay and how cold the room used to get. "There is plenty of coal available now," he said, "but I still keep the double windows in place—it's such a bother to take them down." We had felt just the same way. At this another roomer joined us, who was also studying to be a dentist. With typical Russian assurance he said they would soon be transplanting live teeth. "Can you do that in capitalist America?" We said we doubted it, and the two of them went off to a class smiling. When they had left, more people gathered around us talking angrily among themselves. We had a definite feeling of not being wanted and pushed our way out into the street with an overtone of sadness we felt nowhere else in Russia. I think the old crone told them we were spies.

We got quite a different greeting at the ornate mansion which had formerly housed the MOSCOW DAILY NEWS. The facade was newly painted and the building looked better than it had a generation ago. But Borodin, Ashleigh, and the others who had given the place such a feeling of excitement over building Socialism were gone and the place was now part of the State Publishing Combine, for which Marion had worked.

A friendly young official took us on a tour of Borodin's office where so many interesting conferences had taken place, and through the cubbyholes in the rear, now much expanded, where we reporters had worked, consumed endless glasses of tea, and argued the progress of Communism. After inviting us to sit down for a drink, he launched into a speech to the effect that now almost everyone in European Russia was literate and anxious for reading material. All sorts of papers and magazines had sprung up or expanded from IZVESTIA with a print run of 8,500,000 copies a day to a weekly radio and TV guide which carried frank comments on artists and programs. The humorous sheet, KROKODIL, was now read by four million people a month; a magazine called ABROAD carried stories and cartoons from non-Russian but usually Communist sources, while a monthly publication, FOREIGN LITERATURE, featured the works of writers such as Steinbeck, Hemingway, Tennessee Williams, and Faulkner.

My old paper had become the MOSCOW NEWS and I went through its new and bigger quarters near Pushkin's Statue on Gorki Street, where English, French and Spanish editions were being put out. The offices not only had new desks, each with a Russian typewriter, but an interoffice communications system and Russian made filing cabinets in place of the wooden packing boxes we had used in 1933. I felt something had been lost under this new efficiency, where all was orderly and where even the wall newspaper seemed impersonal. Rather than emphasize individual contributions to Socialism, the NEWS was featuring stories on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Revolution, statistics on the rising standard of Russian living, and American atrocities in the "aggressive war" in Southeast Asia.

One of our most enjoyable excursions had been on the May Day weekend in 1934 with "Aunt" Olga Tolstoi at Yasnaya Polyana when she had regaled us with personal reminiscences of her father-in-law, the great writer. We had gone by crowded local train and creaky wooden cart along a muddy post road, little changed since Tolstoi's time. In 1967 we drove down in a Russian made automobile, escorted by a tightlipped guide who looked like a policewoman and undoubtedly was one. The road to the rapidly growing industrial town of Tula was paved and clogged with trucks, buses, and an occasional passenger car.

At the white gates of Yasnaya Polyana the policewoman turned us over to a local guide—just learning English—who led us up the long path past the house where we had slept in 1934 and then on to the central mansion. She told us the war had come so close to Moscow that German officers lived there for several months, and had set the main house on fire when they left; prompt action by the villagers had

July, 1967, the Sangers at door of Moscow house where they lived for six months in 1933-34.

put out the blaze before it could do much damage. The house and furnishings looked much as we remembered, plus two new portraits of the famous author and an exhibit of his carriages and sleighs. The estate is now a national shrine and we waited while three delegations of school children put on heavy slippers and shuffled around the rooms ahead of us. Tolstoi's simple grave in the quiet wood beyond the mansion was as impressive as ever.

If the opening of the Kremlin indicated in a small way the relaxation of the Communist dictatorship, and the beautiful and efficient subway proclaimed the Russian victory in the field of city transportation, the towering mass of Moscow University personified the new Communist drive for higher education. All Soviet Republics and most major cities now had their own universities; at the top stood the University of Moscow, the most prestigious school in the USSR.

In 1933 I had attended some lectures at its intown campus, a cluster of nineteenth century buildings on Manege Square. They are still in use, but much of the University has been transferred to a magnificent site on the Lenin Hills which in 1934 had been covered by woods and summer cottages. The new campus covers 250 acres and includes formal gardens, an artificial lake, playing fields, and a 780 foot building of white and brown stone which stands near the spot from which Napoleon watched Moscow burn.

Once the red tape was cleared away, we spent a full day at the University, which has a student body of over 25,000 men and women working in twelve different departments under the guidance of almost 2,000 professors. The bedrooms we were shown compared favorably with those in American dormitories, while most of the students we met came from the top one percent of their school classes. They told us they received their rooms rent-free plus about 60 rubles a month for food, a sum frequently expanded by tutoring.

The library, laboratories, and over 150 lecture halls are modern and grandiose, a fitting setting for the training of Russia's new elite. There was little classs spirit among the students, and no fraternities, but a high degree of university pride which showed when they talked of athletics and grades. We were told that there were over three times as many college students in the Soviet Union as in Italy, West Germany, France, and Great Britain combined, but there had been no student riots. As one senior said, "We know they would be the end of our careers; and besides there is no need for them—every student is close to someone on the faculty."

Back to our Zinc Plant

To my surprise Moscow saw no objection to our going back to the zinc plant in Ordzhonikidze. The center of the town was much as it had been in 1934 but was now surrounded by new apartments made from the same plan as those in Moscow and topped by a forest of radio antennae. The apartment where we had lived seemed tired by comparison, and our rooms still looked crowded.

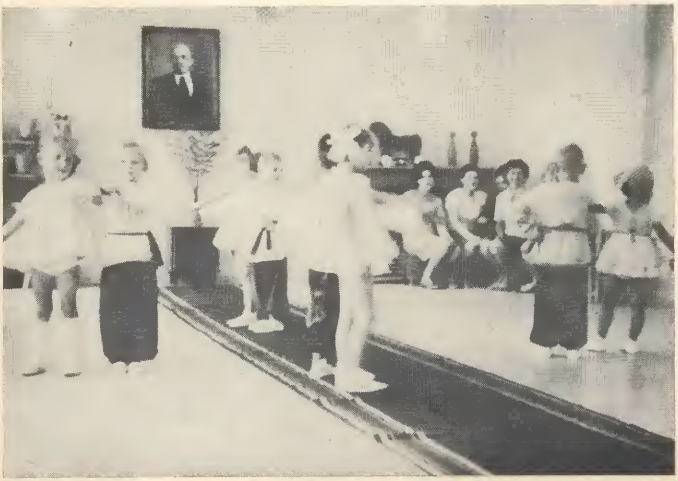
Armed with the proper passes we drove through the main gate in the old brick wall of the zinc plant and were met by one of the Assistant Directors who, it turned out, had attended the factory day nursery when Marion was working there. This coincidence got us off to a good start, and we spent a busy day touring the plant.

Most of the sections which had been put up in 1933 were still in use, often expanded and quite well maintained. The streets inside the factory area which had formerly been deep in mud were now paved and traversed by railway lines. The old machine shop where I had worked at first was being used as a store room, supplanted by a new, brightly lighted building humming with Russian-made lathes, drills, and presses. It needed half the number of workers required in 1934, no longer filed down busts of Lenin, or straightened nails, while the folk dancing had been transferred to a new Palace of Culture in the center of town. The old factory rest home up the Georgian Military Highway was still in use for "average workers"; the Directors, Brigade Leaders, and outstanding workers had a new and better one with its own swimming pool, volleyball and tennis courts, and a big theatre.

Moving on to the roasting department where there were many fewer workers than a generation ago, the guide explained, "Our workers are more efficient now because they are graduates of the Ordzhonikidze Zinc Technicum; besides, look at all the new Russian-made equipment we have received in the last ten years, including efficient electric cranes." When Marion told him she had been a manual crane operator but found the work too hard, he said, "You could make it today—all one does is push buttons."

In the leaching department where our brigade had struggled so hard to repair broken pipes, we were told that the new ones were made to carry chemicals and had welded,

Lenin watches over kindergarten children staging an exhibit of folk dancing.

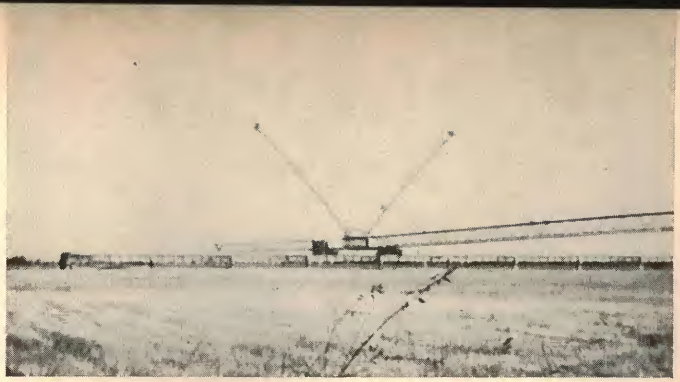


rather than screwed, joints while a Russian engineer (it is always a Russian who makes such improvements) had invented a simpler and more reliable pump. There was much emphasis on better ventilation, improved masks and a six hour shift, with longer vacations and higher pay for those doing dangerous jobs.

In contrast to the bottleneck that used to occur in the dipping vats, usually caused by insufficient electric current to coat the plates, we found the production line moving smoothly. Our engineer guide explained the whole north Caucasus was now tied together in a unified power grid. Furthermore electrified railways and specially designed tank cars brought in the acid regularly from recently built chemical plants beyond the Urals.

In a corner of the stripping shed we were introduced to a gray haired man who had been working there in 1934. He said he remembered me and showed us the new conveyor belts with much pride. Later we visited the modern showers and dressing rooms, well supplied with hot water and soap which had been a rarity in 1934. We had lunch in the new dining hall which was still split into four rooms, graded according to job importance. Our guide tried to steer us into the directors' section, complete with tablecloths, cotton napkins, rubber plants, and waitresses, but we chose to eat in the ordinary workers' cafeteria. There, like the others in the line, we got a creamy potato soup, a vegetable stew with a reasonable amount of meat, and a sweet dessert. It was better than the food served in the directors' dining room a generation ago.

Much of the afternoon was spent in the offices of the plant, now equipped with good looking Russian typewriters and secretaries, plus a few electric calculators. There we went over the ledgers showing that many workers made over 150 rubles a month and that the plant ran at a profit. In contrast to the rigidity of the 1930s, Moscow provided only broad guidelines—the local management made most of the decisions, and they were getting results. Production was at last up to the 50 tons a day mark.



Experimental "butterfly water sprinkler" on farm in the Ukraine, 1967.

The New Look in Farming

Because of the military "forbidden zone" around Moscow, we were not allowed to visit the Sovkhoz where we had worked in 1933, but were sent to a farm in the Ukraine of about the same size and type. Leaving the last of Kiev's new apartment buildings we motored east across the fertile Ukrainian plain, its deep black earth yellow with the stubble of recently harvested wheat. At a crossroads where we turned off the pavement onto a 60,000 acre wheat Sovkhoz, the Deputy Director was waiting for us in a shiny new Russian truck. He explained that the farm was divided into five units of about 12,000 acres each with overall direction coming from an operational center where he was the number two man.

He said that 1967 was a good year for farming, a sharp change from the droughts of 1963 and 1964 when the USSR had to buy wheat from Canada and Australia. To prevent being caught in such a bind again, the National Grain Trust was conducting experiments on very large sprinklers that would guarantee adequate wheat production. He showed us one of the biggest and most unusual of these—two railway tracks raised on cement supports ten feet above the ground ran down the edges of a wheat field about a third of a mile apart. Between them stretched a steel frame which moved along the rails on large wheels. From this frame two metal arms in the shape of a V reached about 150 feet into the air supporting the pipes from which a rainstorm of water arched down on the field below.

"This is the first of its kind," the Director said. "We call it the big butterfly. It is too heavy, moves too slowly, and uses too much water. But by next spring we will have a second model without these defects, and we plan to extend the railway tracks for miles to insure a well-watered wheat crop. Ordinary irrigation does not work in this black earth. The butterfly is expensive, but it will be worth the cost."

When we asked about the water he said, "We get it from the Dnieper River. Canals lose too much moisture from seepage and evaporation so we use cement pipes six feet in diameter. They require an occasional pumping station but we have plenty of electricity for that. Give us ten years to get the bugs out of mass watering and our wheat crop will be safe from drought."

As we moved on to the farm center, the assistant director pointed with pride to where work was beginning on a macadam road. "Remember," he said, "here in the Ukraine the black earth is so deep we have to go for miles to get crushed stone and gravel. But we are bringing it in by barge and by 1980 all the roads on this farm will be hard-topped." A 20-minute drive brought us to the center of the Sovkhoz where we went through a newly built office building with a planning staff of 22, plus a supply of electric typewriters and one electric calculator, none of which had penetrated to the farms we saw in 1934.

We had lunch with some of the administrative staff who spoke of their freedom in planning compared to even six years ago, flexibility which was producing more crops and higher profits which could be used for new buildings and equipment and even higher pay. They admitted, however, that the wages

paid the average peasant on the farm were about 80 rubles a month in contrast to 150 rubles in many factories. The wage difference was covered by the farmers tilling private gardens and orchards and raising small amounts of livestock. Such private holdings involved only three per cent of all cultivated land, but produced approximately 30 per cent of Russia's farm produce apart from large acreage crops such as wheat.

Later on we toured the center and two of the farm sections. Each one had new living quarters which, though not up to city standards, were definitely better than the wooden barracks in which we had been housed in 1934. Each section had a workers' club—rather run-down and dirty we thought—its own dining-hall, and a clinic, clean and bright but short on medicine. Serious injuries were taken to the central clinic that even had an X-Ray room, while thanks to the better roads, the workers could be driven to Kiev for major surgery. The head nurse at the center boasted that within a year each clinic would be staffed by two fully trained graduate nurses.

The central machine shop presented a sharp contrast to the one in which I had worked 33 years before. It was brightly lighted, as against the twilight atmosphere in all the buildings on the old farm. Its equipment, from wrenches to lathes, was reasonably new and well maintained while the supply of spare parts in the storeroom was impressive. The days of keeping machinery running by cannibalization were clearly over. So were the days of amateur workers learning on the job. As the head of the machine shop told us, all his foremen and brigade leaders had graduated from a specialized technical school in Kiev.

Scientific chess play at Moscow's culture and rest center, 1967.

We were struck by how much better the clothes of the average peasant looked than 33 years ago. Suits and dresses were not stylish, and the quality was below the level in the big cities, but when we talked to workers they said the supply in the Sovkhoz store was adequate and prices were in line with earnings. Furthermore the output expected of a farmer during an "official working day" had been readjusted so that the average man or woman actually got a day's pay for a day's work.

The younger people we talked to were largely living in the future. As one of them said, "within 15 years we will be housed in new apartments connected to big stores, a theatre, and athletic facilities. We will go to the fields by bus, use modern machinery and work from six to eight hours a day. Thus by the 1980s we will not be peasants but 'rural factory workers.'" This sounded good, but farming in Russia still has a long way to go. As of 1966 an acre of Russian farmland produced only 69 percent as much wheat, 50 per cent as much sugar beets, 40 per cent as many potatoes, and 30 per cent as much hay as did an acre in America. Until the Communists solve the problem of greater farm production, few agricultural areas of Europe will vote to become Communist. The real problem is one of motivation. Since 1934, Communist farmers have come a long way; but they have not yet come far enough. America's slums are in her cities—Russia's slums are still on her farms.

Socialist Vacations

Once again we had a pleasant and relaxed vacation along the Black Sea. By 1967 the Russians had discovered bathing suits or, to be more accurate, the Clothing Trust was now producing them. Our first impression was how crowded everything had become; the rest homes, hotels, and buses were jammed to overflowing and one had to get up early to get a place on the beach. There was an ornate spa housing the springs at Matsesta but the water tasted as bad as ever.

The rest home where we had stayed at Sochi had recently been modernized and was full to capacity with zinc workers from the north Caucasus and the Urals who all said they were having a wonderful time. Greater Sochi now stretched some 35 miles along the Black Sea, received almost two million holiday makers and invalids a year and was highly regarded by middle-income groups. Somewhat better paid workers were crowding Yalta; the real elite had recently discovered the beaches on the Baltic and went there for their holidays. Class distinctions are still pretty noticeable in the USSR.

In Yalta we spent an interesting day at the International Youth Camp called Sputnik, with young men and women from all of the satellites and many other countries including Africa and the United States. The young people we talked to said their all-expense round trips were the biggest events of their lives and almost all of them would go home sold on socialism.

We walked around the grounds but were not allowed inside Livadya, the Czar's playground which was now a workers' rest home. Apparently the Soviet historians did not want to give undue prominence to Stalin's "victory" there over Churchill and Roosevelt at the famous conference.

Any visitor to the Black Sea coast is struck by the amount of good music to be heard. One day, for instance, we heard music in a little park and found it was the superb Moscow Symphony, practising for a concert under the palm trees. Western visitors are amused by the fact that each morning loudspeakers along the beaches call out "Exercise time." At this, literally thousands of women and girls rise up from their wooden sun mats (the beaches are quite rocky), line up in rows, and put in twenty minutes of strenuous calisthenics. Each generation of girls is getting taller and more slender, but given the Russian diet, most women have a long way to go.

We sailed to Odessa on one of the better Russian cruise ships; in first class, at least, it compared favorably with a Western liner. The great Black Sea port was badly damaged in World War II but has been well restored. The Ukrainians are particularly proud of their Opera House

Skyscrapers rise on Moscow's show street, Kalinin Boulevard.

Mrs. Sanger confers with guide at the Metropole Hotel.

and the fact that the bustling seaport, where Gorky once worked as a stevedore, is now largely mechanized.

Before going out to the beach where we had met Ambassador Bullitt, we stopped by the city's most ornate Wedding Palace where we were introduced to a young couple and invited to their ceremony. The groom was dressed in a new dark suit with white shirt and a black tie, while the bride wore a knee-length white organdy dress, low-necked and sleeveless, with high-heeled white shoes, white lace gloves, and carried a bouquet of gladioli wrapped in waxed paper. There was a best man and a maid of honor plus about thirty relatives on hand for the civil ceremony, conducted by three solemn faced middle-aged women who wore sashes across their chests and looked surprisingly like delegates to a DAR convention. The organ music was impressive, the bride's mother cried quite properly, and the etiquette of the ten minute ceremony was scrupulously observed including photos afterwards and a champagne breakfast at a near-by hotel. Marriage in Russia had come a long way since 1934 when William Henry Chamberlin, the brilliant Moscow correspondent for the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, could say he had visited the two small rooms of a Marriage and Divorce Bureau. Over one there was a sign "Workers of the World Unite." Over the next door, a similar sign said, "You have nothing to lose but your chains."

Conclusions

Leaving Russia this time presented few difficulties. But when we walked through Checkpoint Charlie into West Berlin we again sensed the feeling of relief that comes from leaving a Communist dictatorship. Several things stood out clearly. Russia was no longer in the grip of a famine, though the food could not compare with that in Europe. Clothing was vastly improved, both in style and quantity, but not in quality. The Russians had made a substantial breakthrough in the field of prefabricated housing and were putting up thousands of new apartment units, most of them still third-rate. There had been a great expansion in health and medical facilities, from huge impersonal hospitals to small clinics on farms and in villages. And there was plenty of entertainment ranging from top quality ballet and Olympic skating and skiing to local amateur groups. Radios were universal and television spreading fast, all of course, government controlled.

Compared to the excesses of the slightly mad Stalin, the government has made substantial progress. There was still, however, tight censorship of books, articles, newspapers, and even private conversations. The average Russian was not too unhappy at this, since that is the way life has always been in Russia. The intellectuals, however, particularly those from minorities, felt oppressed and bitter at the lack of intellectual freedom. Many of them were most eager to emigrate, an act to which the government was strongly opposed.

In terms of economic development the progress had been fantastic; steel production, for instance, going from about 1,000,000 to a 100,000,000 tons a year. And there was a growing sense of Russia's imperial mission, headed largely towards parts of the Middle East and the Indian Ocean.

With few exceptions, the Russians are convinced that Communism is the wave of the future, that their form of Communism is the best, and that sometime in the next two generations the Capitalist countries of the world will collapse from their own "inner contradictions." If I had not worked in Russia in 1934 I would not have realized how bad conditions were. If I had not revisited it in 1967 I would not have realized how much economic progress the Russians have made and the appeal that their system may have to the masses in the underdeveloped countries of the world, after a few more years. ■

"... as prized and permanent a possession of the Federal Government as the Great Seal of State which his department is charged with keeping." James G. Blaine, Secretary of State

Anchor Man of the Department: Alvey Augustus Adee

R. GORDON ARNESON

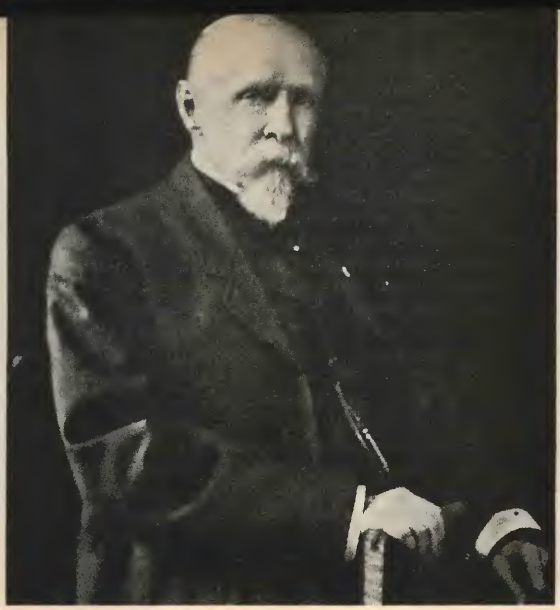
A previous contributor to the JOURNAL, *R. Gordon Arneson, a retired FSO, also devotes much time to painting. He has won awards for his works in acrylics and has had several one-man shows in the greater Washington area, with another scheduled for December, 1971. He will exhibit at the National Arboretum in 1972. Eight of his paintings are now on loan to the Department's Art in the Embassies program. His work is also represented in the Corcoran rental collection.*

IN the middle of the ten hundred block of 15th Street, N.W., on the odd-numbered side, is an asphalted parking lot, until recently the site of three houses, one numbered 1019. Here lived Alvey Augustus Adee (ā′dēē) during the 46 years (1878-1924) he served in the Department of State, where he made himself as much the truly indispensable man as the gods will allow.

It is highly unlikely that modern methods of personnel recruitment and selection could have come up with such a perfect pairing of man and function. Adee started out in life without the faintest notion that he would end up in a career of diplomacy. As a child Adee was a victim of scarlet fever which left him so nearly deaf that no formal schooling was feasible. However, the death of his father in 1844 left him a "competency," and he was able to secure a broad education with the help of private tutors. He had a bent for languages and mathematics; his studies of the former, augmented by extensive travel in Europe, made him fluent in French, German, Italian, and Spanish. His flair for mathematics set him on the path of becoming a civil engineer under the tutelage of an uncle who was surveyor of the port of New York City.

Adee's civil engineering career came to an end in 1869 when President Grant appointed the flamboyant Major General D. E. Sickles minister to Spain and Sickles asked Adee to go along as his private secretary. Adee served in Spain for eight years, seven as secretary of legation and frequently as chargé. These years developed and honed his diplomatic skills. He bobbed buoyantly as a cork on troubled waters through the period of the Spanish provisional government after the downfall of Queen Isabel, the two year reign of King Amadeo, the short-lived republic, the dictatorship of Marshall Serrano, and the Bourbon restoration under Alfonso XII. In 1876, he cut his eye-teeth in extradition matters on no less a figure than Boss Tweed. Tweed had escaped the jovial company of his guards while taking an airing outside the confines of Ludlow Street Jail and had fled under an assumed name via Cuba for Vigo. Although the United States had no extradition treaty with Spain at the time, semper paratus Adee, who had established a firm position for himself in Madrid, persuaded the Spanish authorities to make him a present of the mysterious passenger aboard the *Carmen*. Tweed was promptly returned to Ludlow Street via an American frigate. The incident prompted Adee to urge the Extradition Convention and Protocol of 1877.

What other adventures of a more personal sort Adee may have had while in Spain can only be conjectured from the detritus chanced upon in his rolltop desk more than thirty years later. His secretary, Blanche Halla (neé Miss Rule) was tidying up his office in the Department against his impending return from one of his annual springtime bicycle tours in France. Among the usual paraphernalia one would expect in a rolltop desk, such as some Smith Brothers cough drops, she found a set of exquisitely wrought cuff links set with diamonds and sapphires. When Adee returned, Miss Rule, recalling their mutual interest in jewelry, mentioned to him she had come across the cuff links and spoke of their fine workmanship. Adee replied, "Oh yes, they were given to



me long ago by the Countess So-and-So in Spain." Adee never married; the blur of time and the obscurantism of diplomacy leaves it unclear whether the cuff links may have been connected with foreign relations or foreign affairs.

In August 1877 Adee handed over his legation to James Russell Lowell and returned home. He had intended to retire, for the strenuous years in Spain had affected his health, and he was considering the less arduous life of a banker. But his tact, his diligence, his dignified style—the qualities of the compleat diplomatist—had not gone unnoticed by Secretary Hamilton Fish nor by his successor W. M. Evarts, who offered Adee a "temporary" position in the Department where his special skills in drafting diplomatic correspondence could be given full sway. Adee accepted and became successively chief of the Diplomatic Bureau (1878), third assistant secretary of state (1882), and second assistant secretary of state (1886) in which capacity he served for 38 years. He could have gone higher, but preferred a post less conspicuous and less subject to political and social pressure. With his deafness and a somewhat slurred diction—the second doubtless brought about by the first—he much preferred to apply his skills to the written rather than the spoken word. Thus his very physical handicaps served to rivet him exactly where he belonged.

Though absent from the cocktail circuit, Adee and his bicycle were a familiar, if inconspicuous, sight on the streets of the Capital. He pedaled to and from the Department and about the city and countryside in season and out. A slight, erect man with a small paunch, perhaps not more than five feet four inches tall and weighing not much more than a hundred and twenty pounds, with graying auburn hair and beard, clad in gray knickerbockers and Norfolk jacket, a Scotch cap pulled down over his brow, he must have cut a rather odd figure as he wheeled sedately along. One day, when he was in his seventies, he was knocked off his bicycle by a car as he was proceeding along Corcoran Street in northwest Washington. As reported in the NEW YORK TIMES on October 15, 1913: ". . . thrown from his wheel and badly shaken up, he declined the offer of the motorist to take him to the State Department. Mounting his bicycle, Mr. Adee rode away as if nothing unusual had occurred. He put in a full day's work at the Department." Mr. Adee, the story went on, kept himself in trim by open air exercise and every summer made a bicycle tour of Europe. His other favorite outdoor exercise was canoeing. An amateur of professional calibre in the use of that new-fangled gadget—the camera, the discoverer of several new species of diatoms with the aid of the microscope, an acknowledged Shakespearean scholar, and a lesser poet, Adee had little time or inclination to suffer the cacophony of the social whirl.

In nearly half a century of service in the Department Adee became absolute monarch of the outbound written word. Papers he did not himself write he rigorously edited. Whenever he deemed necessary, he sent back drafts to be reworked. On attached green slips his comments or directions were conveyed in red ink: sometimes tart, often witty (here and there a dash of Lewis Carroll's "Alice in Wonderland,") always constructive, informed, and to the point. Of this traffic: diplomatic notes, draft treaties, instructions, commendation for the praiseworthy, reprimands for the erring, Thanksgiving Proclamations, condolences to heads of state on somebody's death, congratulations for something or another, Adee himself wrote a fabulous quantity. Moore's "Digest of International Law" (1906) indexes no less than five pages of state papers from his pen.

He invented complicated formulas for the solution of tangled problems, composed intricate minuets of pro-

tocol and precedence, and had a consummate skill in reducing the meat of a document to a paragraph and giving directions for reply in the briefest of compass.

Perhaps the best known example of his drafting skill—done on the double—is President McKinley's reply to the ambassadors of the six Great Powers, who on the eve of the Spanish-American war counselled moderation and delay. Sensing what was to come when the ambassadors foregathered at the White House, Adee wrote the reply on the back of an envelope in ten minutes. The President approved it on the spot, and read it aloud to the checkmated emissaries. Before the penciled original could be officially recorded, it had to be retrieved from the President's wastebasket. The six-power intercession was a plea for further negotiation. The United States, while expressing appreciation for "the humanitarian and disinterested character of the communication," went on: "The Government of the United States . . . for its part is confident that equal appreciation will be shown for its own earnest and unselfish endeavors to fulfill a duty to humanity by ending a situation the indefinite prolongation of which has become insufferable."

The formal proclamation of April 26, 1898 setting forth the rules under which the war with Spain would be waged by the United States went out over the signature of Acting Secretary Alvey Augustus Adee. He was present at the signing of the Peace Protocol between the United States and Spain.

On several other occasions Adee was again Acting Secretary of State, notably in the summer of 1900 during an acute stage of the Boxer Rebellion. The brilliance with which the United States comported itself in this complicated affair as compared to the tangle-footed performance of the other major powers is in no small part due to him. It was he who insisted that the rebellious Chinese leaders should be punished by the Emperor himself and by no other agency, for, he asserted, "It is the Imperial degradation that tells—making the offender *anathema maranatha.*"

Adee's awareness of the importance of saving face was demonstrated not only in this instance but also in dealing with US claims against Turkey arising from the Armenian massacres in the late 1890s. To a proposal that £20,000 be added to the purchase price of a cruiser which the Sultan was buying from a private American firm, this amount to be used to indemnify the American losses, Adee instructed "an attitude of discreet receptivity."

In handling another problem in the domain of the Porte his penchant for punning, which was considerable, came into play. One Miss Stone, a missionary in Macedonia who had been kidnapped, was finally released after much negotiation and the payment of a large ransom. Subsequently, Acting Secretary Adee wrote in his daily accounting to his ailing and absent Chief, John Hay, about the incident: "I have been worse off than [Saint] Stephen—I have been Stoned all the time with a continuous but unfatal result. I sent you a long telegram this morning *super hanc petram.*"

Secretary John Hay, the first to call him "semper paratus," said: "Adee would make a good Bible. He can begin at the Creation, tell me just how everything has been done in the past, and wind up with instructing me in my duties as head of the Department. And the beauty of it is that I know I shan't go far astray if I follow him." And if Secretary Hay might have had occasion at times to go astray, no one would have learned it from Adee. Once—again at the time of the Boxer Uprising — when pressed about what had happened at a momentous meeting between the Secretary and the Chinese emissary Wu Ting Fang, Adee said: "Well, Mr. Hay was rather hazy and Mr. Wu was rather woozy."

Secretary Philander Knox, who knew much law, little history, and even less the practice of diplomacy, relied on him unfailingly. When pondering the question of possible recognition of the new regime in China, for which Adee had earlier coined the term "administrative entity" to jell the inchoate, Knox sent for Adee to learn his views. Adee arrived, erect and spare, dressed in his usual brown tweeds, ear trumpet in one hand and a few stray notes (mostly dates) in the other, sat down and began to talk. As was his wont, he started at the Creation. He fully explained every question of the recognition of new governments and states from 1792 up to the case in point, disposing of—by way of example—the French Revolution, Empire, and Republic. He concluded with firm recommendations on how to proceed in the case of China and departed. Astounded that any one head could hold so many facts, Knox made a personal study of the matter only to find that every statement Adee had made was correct, every nuance had been explored, and his recommendations were sound and solidly based on firm precedent.

In those days when the conduct of foreign policy was less complicated and proliferated than today, when earth was closer to heaven, Adee ran a very tidy ship of state. As long as he was around, he was able to see to it that no conflicts in policy occurred between different divisions of the Department, and as William Roscoe Thayer put it: "Presidents ignorant of diplomacy and international law felt reasonably safe in appointing as their chief secretaries gentlemen as ignorant as themselves because they knew Adee was there to guard against blunders." Gaillard Hunt, who served with him in the Department, added: "Perhaps his greatest service to his country has been not in the things he has done, but in the things he has prevented others less experienced than himself from doing."

Adee's wish that he might die "in harness" was granted. In failing health for many months, no longer able to thread his bicycle through the congested streets of Washington, his last day at the Department was Thursday, July 3, 1924. He died "from a complication of diseases incident to old age" on Saturday, July 5. In marking his passing, a NEW YORK TIMES editorial expressed sentiments not found in the official encomiums but which might well be applied to other public servants—past, present, and future—in such degree as befits: [Mr. Adee's departure] ". . . leads those deeply interested in the ongoing of government to exclaim that we might better have spared more famous men."

Remember that you ought to behave in life as you would at a banquet.—Epictetus

"Diplomatic List"

CHARLES & LISA CERAMI

Charles A. Cerami, Foreign Affairs Editor of the Kiplinger Publications, also writes for many national and European magazines on economic and political subjects. Several of his books have been translated into foreign languages. The most recent, "Alliance Born of Danger," was a study of the Atlantic Community. Lisa Cerami, his wife, is an authority on travel and dining. The authors have collaborated on numerous articles reflecting Tallyrand's belief that diplomacy and gastronomy are inseparable.

CONTINUING our look at European restaurants that are favored by many experienced diplomats, we turn first to the city which—if there were no Washington—would still be the hub of the world: London. England's fortunes may have declined, but London remains not only the banking, financial and trade center of Europe, but also the city that most often elicits the comment from foreign diplomats, "After serving here every other capital seems rather parochial."

As dreary as Britain's culinary reputation is, the opportunities to dine well in London are far above average. Fine establishments specialize in British, Italian, Greek, Oriental, or more often Franco-Continental cuisine.

LONDON's Mirabelle is perhaps the most posh example. Down a graceful stair and through two elegant lounges, one comes into a long dining room that might have been designed for a movie of pre-war London. Lightly divided by an arcade resting on small, twisted Byzantine columns, its sloping ceiling features delicate pastel paintings in niches that glow with white light from invisible fixtures. And at one end, a series of large bow windows open onto lighted flowering plants, an explosion of beautiful colors.

Britishers and foreigners alike think of Mirabelle as one of *the* places to go. We were delighted when we were first taken there several years ago by some British Foreign Office friends. On our most recent visit, we took an American couple who had just come to live in England, and they were equally happy to be initiated into one of London's most elegant dining places.

Mirabelle's menu is one of the grandest in existence anywhere. Apart from a staggering list of hors d'oeuvres, *potages, poissons* and entrées, there is a large section called "*Les Plats des Gourmets*" that

The Mirabelle

preserve the real meaning of that badly-abused term. One could go every night for two consecutive weeks and each time have a new selection as distinctive as *Quenelles de Homard Nantua, Les Aiguillettes de Caneton aux Truffes,* and *Filet de Boeuf Lucullus.*

But how finely a kitchen prepares a simple dish is often the key to a restaurant's true quality. And when we recently were presented with a *Sole Meunière* that was so delicately browned, moist and light that it rivaled the *Soufflé Rothschild* at the end of the meal, we were convinced that Mirabelle's widely-spaced tables, giant glasses for Burgundy, and generally elegant ambiance are not a facade. As it should be, the kitchen is the brightest ornament of all.

ONE of the delights of being in London is going out of London. Despite the city's sprawl, there are so many routes along which the green countryside soon appears and the feeling of old England successfully competes with evidences of the present century. Nothing so well epitomizes this as The Bell Inn, less than forty miles northwest of London, in Buckinghamshire.

Young Michael Harris, who runs this inn, took a degree from Georgetown University, giving him something in common with us and with many Foreign Service officers. But he has put his international training to work in the unique project of making this ancient posting house more renowned than in the days when the Duke of Buckingham stopped there to change horses.

The Bell Inn is in Aston Clinton, near Chequers, the prime minister's country residence. This once was the favorite region of the English branch of the Rothschild family, whose many large mansions are still pointed out to the visitor. And it saw a lot of one colorful Prime Minister, the Duke of Roseberry, because he married a Rothschild—making good his old tutor's insight that this young man "wanted the palm without the dust."

Here again, the cuisine is predominantly French, prepared and served by a staff that is largely continental. But we decided to try the fine old British standby, roast beef, which is served from a carving trolley. Like every other specialty of the inn, this is carefully chosen by Harris and brought from the area that can assure the best. Just as he goes to France each year to select wines personally, he makes it his own business to see that the beef, always Scottish and barley fed, is the finest of its kind. The flavor is a full repayment fo his time and trouble.

Diplomats stationed in London and visitors from other parts of Europe often motor along the A 41 to dine at The Bell Inn. And in less than an hour they travel backward three centuries—in time, gracious attention, and quality.

The Bell Inn reflected in a carving trolley cover.

IN the first of these two articles, we mentioned one great restaurant in Paris. But the world's culinary balance of power demands that more of that city's galaxy of fine dining places be recognized.

None is a likelier choice than Taillevent, situated on the astonishingly quiet rue Lammenais, even though it is just off the bustling Champs Élysées. Until 1940, this elegant town house that was built for a businessman in the 19th Century, was the Paraguayan Embassy. Today, giving the impression of a fine club, it houses a superb restaurant that is named for a 14th Century court chef, Guillaume Tirel. Known mainly by the pseudonym Taillevent, Tirel was also author of one of the oldest books on cookery.

When a knowledgeable gastronome hears the word Taillevent today his mind turns to one of France's greatest wine cellars. Its more than 100,000 bottles make it one of only four restaurants in the country that are recognized by l'Académie du Vin de France—and it is the only one in Paris. The wine list is like an encyclopedia of French wines from great to pleasant. There is always a temptation to dwell on the 1806 Lafite Rothschild or the 1869 Château d'Yquem, at $225 and $125 respectively. But the well-selected wines that sell for $4 a bottle—the better recent vintages of Châteauneuf du Pape, Meursault, or

St. Emilion—are a more meaningful indication of how Taillevent takes care of its clients.

And the Taillevent cuisine is a match for its wine cellar. Some of the classic specialties are named for Guillaume Tirel, others for Curnonsky, the late "Prince of all gastronomes." When we last dined there we had the *Pain de Brochet Curnonsky*, which is made from pike, pounded to a smoothness and lightness that float high above any descriptive words. Over this is poured the distinctive *beurre blanc* sauce that only the finest chefs even attempt.

Another specialty is the *poulet au vin jaune*. Over the small and succulent sautéed chicken is a pale yellow sauce with a zesty flavor that comes from adding the unusual and sherry-like yellow wine from the Jura.

The establishment is attentively managed by a distinguished father and a charming son, both always on hand—the surest sign of a carefully-run restaurant. We have been there at crowded lunchtime, when extra tables had to be put out near the entrance. We have come with a party of friends. And we spent a New Year's Eve there. Each time, the Messieurs Vrinat made each individual in the group feel personally and genuinely welcome.

Espadon Grill

IT is curious that most famous restaurants become known either for their lunches or for their dinners—seldom for both. So it is with the Espadon Grill, on the rue Cambon side of the Hotel Ritz, in Paris. For lunch, there is no smarter place. On almost any day you will find bankers, tycoons, and women dressed by Dior, St. Laurent and Givenchy. But an envoy of our acquaintance revealed a diplomatic secret that we pass on to you: If you want to enjoy a really superb meal with the finest of service, yet with a little less than the usual overpopulation, try dinner at the Espadon.

One night, acting on this counsel, we talked to the Espadon's maître d'hôtel a bit before dinner time to place our order, then moved to the celebrated Ritz Bar a few steps away. After our apéritif, we walked back past the great buffet and the nebula of round tables that spill into the lobby, and found all in readiness in an enchanting atmosphere. The Espadon—which means swordfish—was inspired by Charles Ritz, who is an ardent fisherman, and many fish dishes are among its specialties. In the daytime its beamed ceiling and *trompe-l'oeil* beach murals give a very marine impression. At night this is very much softened by lowered lights and the glamorous glow of little candelabra that put a pool of light at each table.

Being sated with a succession of great French meals, we ordered a light soup and then roast chicken as our entreé. It was first shown to us whole and impeccably browned. Served without embellishment, but only lightly spiced and perfectly roasted, it proved to be as memorable as more elaborate dishes. The tenderness, moistness and delicacy of flavor showed that the Ritz is still overcoming the plasticizing wonders of modern marketing and procuring fresh *poulets de Bresse*.

A sommelier who proves his greatness by recommending truly appropriate wines without fanfare and serving them with quiet precision gave us a remarkably light Château Talbot. And the effect of this fine combination was that we found ourselves with much more appetite than we had supposed. The Espadon is one of the few places where it is literally true that *"l'appétit vient en mangeant."* So we proceeded to have a cheese course, followed by the stuffed crêpes that the Ritz has inherited from the great Escoffier, its chef at the turn of the century. On this night it was *Crêpes Roxelane*—which is a light and creamy lemon soufflé wrapped in a paper-thin pancake. This is puffed in the oven, dusted with sugar, and then served with a fresh raspberry sauce. How well Escoffier deserved his reputation!

Perhaps more astonishing than anything else at the Espadon is the service. There is an exactness and attentiveness that can hardly be associated with the present century. No waiter ever stands near enough or watches so obviously as to intrude on privacy; yet the quietest request, the slightest lift of a client's finger brings immediate response. In jest, we wondered whether such prescience might mean that the tables were electronically bugged. Even if they were, any diplomat should find it worthwhile to dine at the Espadon. Let the discussion of state secrets wait until later, by which time the problems will seem far easier to resolve.

I'VE served in most of the capitals of Europe, but the stay I enjoyed most was in the capital of the food world—Vienne," a veteran diplomat told us. In that little French town near Lyon stands the Restaurant de la Pyramide, which has often been called the greatest in the world.

During two and a half Elysian hours at this restaurant, such exaggerated sentiments begin to seem like understatements. The delicacy of each dish is in a class that even

(*Continued on page* 37)

Recommended Reading

By Martin F. Herz

Martin F. Herz, a former member of the JOURNAL *Editorial Board (1949/50) and of the AFSA Board of Directors (1960/63 and 1967/68), began his career in the Foreign Service in 1946 as FSO-Unclassified C "than which," as he puts it, "there never has been a lower grade in the Service." He is now Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs.*

USEFULNESS to the practitioner of foreign affairs was the main criterion in my compilation of two previous lists of current books on foreign affairs for the JOURNAL, and the following one, which is complete at the end of this article.

In the three instances, professionals in the government and the academic community were asked for recommendations (attribution withheld if requested) that would stress usefulness.

To qualify for the list, a book had to be more than just interesting, original, or even important. It had to contain insights or information that would help the Foreign Service officer whose time is limited, who is bewildered by the large number of publications, and who wants help in choosing a few books that will keep him abreast of the professional literature.

This list differs from the previous ones because very little consensus was achieved: nominations were scattered over too many titles, and few books were recommended with much emphasis or urgency. I think this indicates that while a lot of important and interesting books have been published on subjects related to foreign affairs in recent years, not many have been must reading. This also meant that I had to take a larger role in deciding what titles to include. It has been an interesting task, requiring discussions with the people who made recommendations. Any inadequacies and omissions are my own responsibility.

First on the list, I put Richard E. Neustadt, "Alliance Politics," which several respondents rated very high for usefulness, perhaps because it includes case studies. The cases (Suez and Skybolt) are used to develop useful insights into the whole policy-making process. The book was ably reviewed in the February 1971 JOURNAL by FSO Clint E. Smith and also by FSO John D. Stempel. Mr. Stempel said: "To say [the book] is about Anglo-American politics is like saying that 'Macbeth' is about a bitchy woman . . . Neustadt has produced a book of fundamental importance for every Foreign Service officer . . ."

Next comes a group of books surveying recent history, one of which suffices. Much as I enjoyed reading Dean Acheson's "Present at the Creation," I would not rate it as useful as another book covering roughly the same period, Louis J. Halle, "The Cold War as History" (which I reviewed for the JOURNAL in December 1967). I believe Halle's book also provides more insights, and a broader view, than the interesting "Origins of the Cold War" symposium by Gardner, Schlesinger and Morgenthau. A wider focus is provided by the more comprehensive book by G. F. Hudson, "The Hard and Bitter Peace," which reviews and analyzes the whole sweep of history since World War II.

Books critical of American foreign policy greatly outnumber those favorable to it. Among the plethora of intelligently critical works, three in particular have been recommended: Stanley Hoffmann, "Gulliver's Troubles" which appeared on several lists and was described as "the classical approach at its best;" "Power and Impotence" by E. Stillman and W. Pfaff, which would make you feel that we haven't done anything right for generations; and, on a more popular and superficial level, Ronald Steel, "Pax Americana." I would rate Hoffmann's book as a better intellectual effort, but it is quite long; his critical perspectives are developed at unnecessary length. If you want much the same points without the benefits and handicaps of academic discipline, then the Steel book is for you (sorry about that, friends in academe).

From another quarter, I may be criticized for recommending "The Arrogance of Power" by J. William Fulbright. It seems to me, however, that every FSO should be acquainted with the views of the chairman even if he won't always be convinced by them. Upon re-reading the book now, I was struck by the much greater currency that some of the Senator's views have received since they were published almost five years ago. Some of his caricatures of American policy are cruel, and some of his own positions could also be caricatured. But over 300,000 copies of "The Arrogance of Power" have been published in nine languages. The practitioner needs at least to be acquainted with this document.

A plethora of books about Vietnam have appeared. It is hard to see any of them as really useful at this time. Most, of course, are polemical. Some are excellent as history, but perishable and too close to the events described. I recommend one book that would be useful if, Lord please forbid, we were to be called to fight another war in similar circumstances. The book, Sir Robert Thompson, "No Exit from Vietnam," criticizes several aspects of our war effort—but the author, who fought a successful anti-guerrilla war in Malaya, explains better what it is all about. The fact that some of the things in Vietnam that he criticized have meanwhile been changed makes the book less useful as a status report on Vietnam, but only reinforces the author's credentials as an incisive observer and analyst of the problem.

In the field of theory one book in recent years towers above the others: Raymond Aron's "Peace and War." I do not think it is must reading but it is the only major, systematic work on foreign policy since Hans J. Morgenthau first pub-

lished his "Politics Among Nations" in 1948. If you are interested in only dipping into theory, I would recommend "Contending Approaches to International Politics," edited by Klaus Knorr and James N. Rosenau because it gives a good perspective on the state of the art. Each reader should decide the usefulness of such a dip into theory. This is a delightfully controversial question that the book illuminates. As many of us know from experience in the Foreign Service Institute, the high-prestige theories of foreign relations are currently those that involve quantification and computer technology. Professor Hedley Bull put the cat among the pigeons by debunking the behaviorist and quantifieras in a paper entitled "The Case for a Classical Approach." The book, "Contending Approaches," contains that paper, and some of the voices in the great controversy that it created. The contributions are of uneven quality but give you an idea of what you have been missing by not keeping up with theory. The best general survey of the theoretical literature is contained in Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, "Contending Theories of International Relations," which has just been published. Complete yet succinct, fair and lucid, it provides flashes of insight—and inevitably, stretches of utter boredom.

One important survey of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is "Expansion and Coexistence" by Adam B. Ulam. It is a good book, especially for someone who wishes to start at the beginning and go over the whole record. But no doubt the controversial "Khrushchev Remembers" is more exciting and, in a way, more instructive reading—but you have to be careful. While almost all of it is likely to be genuine Khrushchev, it is probably an artful cut-and-paste job and seems to contain some spurious passages, especially toward the end. Also some inaccuracies occur in the footnotes and commentary—but in most of the pages Khrushchev himself is doubtlessly speaking to you.

A most useful little pamphlet, available for 45 cents, was published by the Jackson Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, under the title "The Soviet Approach to Negotiations." Here you will find the raisins —in some cases, the quintessence taken from a number of other books, by Kennan, Leites, Mosely, Acheson, etc., including one essay entitled "How Shrewd are Soviet Negotiators?" by Professor Fred Charles Iklé. Under the same imprint, the Subcommittee has published a separate contribution by Professor Iklé, entitled "American Shortcomings in Negotiating with Communist Powers," which I found enjoyable as well as profitable—and it costs nothing to order. (He is the author of "How Nations Negotiate," also a useful book.)

I've canvassed some China experts on the really useful books on China published during recent years, but nominations were desultory and almost tentative; so I'll recommend another committee print, this one entitled "Peking's Approach to Negotiations," also available for 45 cents, which contains the raisins or plums from a number of authors including Collis, Dean, Hsieh, Taylor and Young, plus some instructive excerpts from Chinese Communist sources.

And while I'm on pamphlets that we owe to the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations (Jackson Subcommittee) of the Senate Government Operations Committee, a real little treasure trove is the one entitled "Negotiation and Statecraft." It consists of passages culled from the works of famous writers ranging from Hesiod and Thucycides to Clausewitz, Hans Christian Anderson, Nicolson, Churchill, Kissinger plus items from Professors Neustadt and Iklé whose more extensive publications have been mentioned above. Much of this is merely enjoyable rather than useful, but some of the citations convey real insights. The booklet costs only 30 cents.

Every Foreign Service officer should also know more about the problems of the environment, about the new technology—and about the exciting things that are going on in his own country, including developments among our youth and in our cities. I felt that recommendations on these subjects would transcend the purpose of this list, which has to do with foreign affairs, but I should answer, or rather, anticipate, one objection. Why is so much of what has been recommended here critical of the policies of our government? How can one counter or compensate for this? Should there not be at least one book surveying our present policies, giving the rationale for them, and explaining how we got here, where we want to do and how we propose to get there?

Available in your Embassy or agency—or perhaps right next to your desk—are two books . . . recently published . . . authoritative . . . interesting and well-written.

My answer to this is: read your mail. Available in your Embassy or agency—or perhaps right next to your desk—are two books that do exactly that, which were recently published, are authoritative—and, amazingly, are actually interesting and well-written. To say that they are useful would be an understatement, for it behooves all of us to know just what the United States Government is trying to do in the various fields of foreign affairs around the world, and how it all fits together. For this purpose I need hardly recommend the President's report to Congress, "U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's," and the Secretary of State's "United States Foreign Policy, 1969-1970."

Only a very foolhardy man would, as long as he's still in active service as an FSO, presume to choose between two such versions of the holy writ. However, since I promised to try to apply the yardstick of usefulness and to single out what best meets that criterion I will reluctantly say that you'll really have to read the longer book. You must read both, of course, but the Secretary's report covers more ground and thus gives a more rounded picture.

Covering a two-year period, "United States Foreign Policy 1969-1970" provides a somewhat wider focus. Furthermore, since it describes the same problems from the same vantage point, it picks up all the important points in the earlier, higher-level, shorter document. The President's report, on the other hand, discusses more how policy is

made and the considerations that go into it, and is more reflective of his general philosophy of foreign affairs. But then, most of our colleagues will of course already have studied both these documents and thus will have made their own comparison.

I. BOOKS RECOMMENDED

ALLIANCE POLITICS, *by Richard E. Neustadt. Columbia, $5.95.*

THE COLD WAR AS HISTORY, *by Louis J. Halle. Harper & Row, $6.95.*

GULLIVER'S TROUBLES, *Or the Setting of American Foreign Policy, by Stanley Hoffmann. McGraw-Hill, paperback, $3.95.*

THE ARROGANCE OF POWER, *by J. William Fulbright. Random House. Vintage paperback, $1.95.*

NO EXIT FROM VIETNAM, *by Sir Robert Thompson. McKay, Revised Ed., 1970, $5.95.*

CONTENDING APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, edited by Klaus *Knorr and James N. Rosenau. Princeton University Press, $8.50.*

KHRUSHCHEV REMEMBERS. *Little Brown, $10.00.*

THE SOVIET APPROACH TO NEGOTIATION, *Selected Writings. Compiled by the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations of the Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate. U.S. Govt. Printing Office, forty-five cents.*

PEKING'S APPROACH TO NEGOTIATION, *Selected Writings. Compiled by the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations of the Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate. U.S. Govt. Printing Office, forty-five cents.*

NEGOTIATION AND STATECRAFT, *a Selection of Readings. Compiled by the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations, Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate. U.S. Govt. Printing Office, thirty cents.*

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE 1970s. *A Report to the Congress by President Richard Nixon. Washington, Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, $1.00.*

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY 1969-1970, *A Report by the Secretary of State. Department of State publication 8575. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, $2.75.*

II. OTHER BOOKS MENTIONED

PRESENT AT THE CREATION, *by Dean Acheson. Signet, paperback, $1.95.*

ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR, *Gardner, Schlesinger and Morgenthau. Ginn & Co., college paperback, $2.95.*

THE HARD AND BITTER PEACE, *by G. F. Hudson. Praeger, paperback, $2.95.*

POWER AND IMPOTENCE, *by E. Stillman and W. Pfaff. Random House, Vintage paperback, $1.95.*

PAX AMERICANA, *by Ronald Steel. Viking Compass, paperback, $2.95.*

PEACE AND WAR, *by Raymond Aron. Praeger, paperback, $4.95.*

POLITICS AMONG NATIONS, *by Hans J. Morgenthau. Knopf, fourth edition 1967, $12.95.*

CONTENDING THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, *by James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. Lippincott, $6.25.*

EXPANSION AND COEXISTENCE, *by Adam B. Ulam. Praeger, paperback, $4.95.*

AMERICAN SHORTCOMINGS IN NEGOTIATING WITH COMMUNIST POWERS, *by Fred Charles Iklé. Committee print of the Subcommittee on National Securiy and International Operational Operations of the Committee on Government Operations, U. S. Senate. Available free by writing to the Subcommittee.*

HOW NATIONS NEGOTIATE, *by Fred Charles Iklé. Harper & Row, $5.95.*

"Shine, Perishing Republic . . ."

THE TROUBLE WITH AMERICANS, *by Alexander Campbell. Praeger, $6.95.*

U. S. JOURNAL, *by Calvin Trillin. Dutton, $6.50.*

SUBLIMATING a melancholia peculiar to wandering Scots, Alexander Campbell has written a scarifying politico-literary tract based on nine years in Washington (for THE ECONOMIST and NEW REPUBLIC). In "The Trouble With Americans" massive doses of unhappy facts are rendered with a laughter variously despairing and sinister. Our mood is placed between self-disgust over Vietnam and a vague feeling of being cheated that our wealth and power have produced so much social inequity, ugliness and violence at home. Americans, Campbell argues, "have no right to have Troubles"—whereon he adduces corruption on all sides, national priorities deranged by moon-missile splendors and military conceit, and devil-take-the-hindmost pursuit of the almighty dollar. He sees our schools stressing values and ideals but ignoring social realities, so that our aspirations grow into myths of accomplishment —with the danger that Americans "may decide, since they are the greatest nation in the world, they don't need to bother" with the drastic reforms needed to insure against race and class warfare, and *1984* itself. The book is a harsh purgative, recommended for the more stubborn cases of complacency. Foreign Offices probably already have copies.

A contrast to this synoptic view is Calvin Trillin's pointillist technique in "U.S. Journal": 32 reports on a gallery of real-life citizens caught up in "middle-sized events" in grass-roots America, all originally published in THE NEW YORKER. Understated, funny—and disturbing.

—PATRICK O'SHEEL

For Which We Stand

AMERICA, INC.—*Who owns and Operates the United States, by Morton Mintz and Jerry S. Cohen, with an introduction by Ralph Nader. Dial Press, $10.*

THE tone is shrill, the conclusions are too sweeping and often wrong, but I admire the scope and purpose of this significant contribution to the analysis of bigness as a social evil and an impediment to managerial efficiency. The authors' basic argument is that major corporations have become so huge and diverse that government no longer can restrain their activities when the good of the public is at stake. They say that control over the agencies of government that have jurisdiction over these corporate giants is bought by substantial contributions of wealthy individuals and corporate donors to carefully selected political candidates.

The book's authorship was a team approach which blended the legal background of Mr. Cohen and his experience as chief counsel of the Senate Anti-Trust and Monopoly Subcommittee and the reportorial background of Mr. Mintz. Among their targets are:

• Banks whose "loans" to key Congressmen are used to influence

Service from the Civil War through World War II

That's what the State Department received from two members of the Griffin family. The first Thomas Griffin entered on duty with the Department in 1866 and served for 55 years. His son served continuously from 1910 to 1943, working as a research assistant in the Treaty Division after that Division was organized in 1928.

The son and grandson of the two Thomas Griffins who established this record, **Bill Griffin,** wishes to serve members of 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 20014.**

them to produce legislation which permits one-bank holding companies that have the potential for overwhelming non-bank competitors with less capital strength. The practice of some unscrupulous bankers of coercing borrowers of the loan is noted.

- Drug companies, whose capacity for producing and distributing harmful drugs is too loosely supervised by the government.
- Mass Media, whose dependence upon advertising revenues limits their objectivity and in the cases of some metropolitan areas, subjects the public to a monolithic point-of-view through joint ownership of radio, television and press facilities.
- Multinational corporations that attempt to influence foreign offices to grant favors to particular companies. The book did not explore this problem area thoroughly enough; only a case involving a quinine cartel was well presented.
- Manufacturers that knowingly produce shoddy and unsafe products behind which they will not stand.
- Steel Companies that encourage an influx of imports through systematic price increases which attempt to cover up bad management decisions, such as a refusal to install more efficient production equipment.

The authors must be faulted in their disregard for the possibility that some large corporations consider the public's best interest when making major decisions, refrain from corrupting legislators and regulatory bodies, insist upon honest advertising and stand behind the products they sell.

—JOHN W. STEPHENS

Which Game?

THE STATELY GAME, *by James W. Symington. Macmillan, $5.95.*

THE real question about "The Stately Game" is whether it is part of another game, the political game of James Symington. Readers of the JOURNAL will remember the excerpt published in the May issue describing the Stuart Symington-Joe McCarthy relationship as seen by the author—that was pure "political game."

The earlier chapters of the book (Part I) recount the author's tour as Chief of Protocol. They amuse, in-

form, and (hidden dividend) create a good deal of sympathy for his current successor and his associates. The second part of the book comes close to being political philosophy—written by a practicing politician with style and verve. It's too bad the links between the parts are not stronger, though this will not diminish Foreign Service enjoyment of the book much.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

Collective Shame

NUREMBERG AND VIETNAM: AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY, *by Telford Taylor. World, paperback, $1.99.*

THIS year and last, we have been confronted with the massacre at Son My, and a growing realization that a reduction in American troop strength and casualties by no means carries with it a parallel diminution of the horrors of dislocation, injury and death visited now upon the peoples of all Indochina. As a moral people, and, as Professor Taylor recalls, "the principal sponsor, organizer and executant of the Nuremberg Trials . . . more deeply committed to their principles than any other nation" it is not surprising that Americans have sought to apply "the principles of Nuremberg" to what their own government and armed forces are doing in Vietnam. Of some 33 works on this or related questions discussed by Neil Sheehan in the New York TIMES BOOK REVIEW of March 28, "Nuremberg and Vietnam" is probably the best starting point for a foreign service officer wishing to explore the issue of war crimes in Indochina.

Taylor gives a history of the laws of war, and of war crimes. He gives a good analysis of which of our actions in Vietnam have violated established rules of war, and which have not. But most important, he notes that responsibility for Son My and other criminal acts in Vietnam cannot be left with their perpetrators alone, but must rest also with those who created the conditions under which they could be considered "no big deal." While noting the direct responsibility of the US Military Command in Saigon, which certainly has far greater facilities than General Yamashita had in the Philippines, he suggests that the devastation in Vietnam was also an inevitable consequence of the decision to fight the war in the manner we have since 1964. This decision, and hence "major responsibility for the war and the course it took," Taylor attributes to "the Rusks, McNamaras, Bundys, and Rostows."

His analysis is in this respect incomplete: it was President Johnson who heeded their advice; and the American people who elected him, and whose representatives have continued to make appropriations for the war. Moral responsibility is not criminal guilt, to be sure, for the latter cannot be attributed to an entire people, as Karl Jaspers pointed out after World War II relative to the Germans. But Jaspers also suggested that a people could well feel "collective shame" for the evils done in its name. We might ponder his words.

—REYNOLD A. RIEMER

The late Fernand Point in front of his restaurant.

"DIPLOMATIC LIST" *from page* 31

other three-star dining places seldom approach.

All this is presented in an atmosphere of unpretentious ease. The main dining room has walls of light-and-dark brown woods, small flower-topped minipartitions between tables, and long, rectangular windows appropriate to a French country setting. Unlike some dimly-lit "French" restaurants on this side of the Atlantic, this one has groups of bright cylindrical lights along the walls, making the food entirely and proudly visible. In summer, most of the dining takes place on a large outdoor terrace, lit by globes atop two high pylons. There, under stately trees, the ladies are loaned soft chiffon scarves to put around their shoulders if the night becomes cool.

The menu is small and the dinner is huge. La Pyramide is disdainful of those enormous menus "that make the client lose his sanity and the kitchen lose its honesty." There are only a few alternate choices, all of them just prepared for that very moment. Fernand Point, the great chef who founded this restaurant and who died while still a young man, ordained: "Every morning you must start from zero." He meant it literally and figuratively, too, for he abhorred the idea of resting on laurels. And his philosophy, which has made him a legend and caused a boulevard to be named for him, is strictly followed by his remarkable widow, who has kept the kitchen and the service at its peak.

When we were last in Vienne we stayed at the Résidence de la Pyramide, a charming guest house owned by Madame Point, that is just a short walk from the restaurant. M. and Mme. Duranton manage it with that sense of solid personal interest in each guest that makes the French *concierge* so unique. It is an old mansion, built in the last century for a wealthy industrialist, and it still has delightful stained-glass windows over the staircase and elaborately-carved boiserie in the room that serves as a bar. By stopping there, we were able to have two consecutive dinners at the restaurant. That would be too much of a good thing in many French dining places; but not here.

Each dinner begins with *two* appetizers, followed by a fish course, meat or fowl, a variegated cheese course, ice cream or sherbet, *friandises*, a rich cake, and a fresh fruit basket. One of our meals began with

brioche de foie gras that was totally devoid of the heaviness usually associated with such an opener. Part two of the first course was a light-as-air mousse made from trout. And as a fish course, we had *saumon au champagne.* The salmon and the champagne sauce over it were a perfect blend. Then came a *poularde de Bresse* with a tarragon-flavored cream sauce and rice pilaff. Surely, we thought, this fourth plate of the night would be rich enough to make us wave away any more courses. But somehow, the Point kitchen can produce a cream-covered chicken that literally seems to melt in the mouth. As the last of it disappeared we looked forward to the cheeses, the sorbet, and even to the *Gâteau Marjolaine*—an almond cake filled with three different creams: chocolate, *Chantilly,* and *pralinée.* All of this came to only about $12 per person, exclusive of wines. And even the wines tend to be inexpensive because one of the Point traditions is to emphasize local products. So the sommelier is apt to suggest something that he has known from its birth, rather than a costly label from the Médoc. One that we especially remember was Château Grillet 1968, the extraordinary, full-bodied golden wine from a tiny vineyard just south of Lyon, which produces less than 100 cases a year.

Greatest restaurant in the world? All that really matters is that Chez Point is more than great enough to merit a special trip to Vienne. No one who has been there once ever stops planning for his next visit.

We would not think of ending our small survey of fine eating places without mentioning a restaurant where you can get that favorite American entreé—steak. We had always been convinced that nowhere other than the United States could one find beef as succulent and tender. But all this was changed one lovely autumn evening when we were taken to La Fontanella, in Rome.

Athough we have been back many times since, we'll never forget that first night when we sat outside and looked across at the imposing Palazzo Borghese, which Pope Paul V had built in the late 16th Century. It was huge and silent and somewhat at odds with the laughter, the noise and the hurrying of the waiters on our side of the *piazza.*

The proprietors of this restaurant are Osvaldo and Tosella Falsi, a husband and wife from Tuscany. He is the chef and she is the maître d'hôtel, cashier and general factotum. She is small, lively and ubiquitous. Together, they make an excellent team. And together they have decided on a menu that features Tuscan specialties.

Chief among these is *bistecca fiorentina alla griglia*—grilled Florentine beefsteak. It is similar to our T-bone steak, and it is grilled over a charcoal fire. The result, and we have had that result many times, is the best steak we have ever eaten anywhere. Someone at our Embassy must have thought so too, because when Secretary of State William P. Rogers was in Rome last year he was taken there for dinner, as Tosella proudly informed us. ■

serious view, Don Emilio," I said in as firm a voice as I could command, "if any such action were taken hastily. Captain Harris must be given time to control the fire and the Consulate must have a voice in the final decision whether an American ship is to be put to sea in a dangerous condition."

Don Emilio regarded me speculatively for a moment.

"Very well, Señor Schutz," he said formally, "But I too have my responsibilities to my port. I will give Captain Harris six hours to get the fire under control."

I had begun the day with the hope for 48 hours of peace until the boss returned. Now I had, by implication at least, defied the authorities of Santa Rosa and had, in consequence, only six hours to solve an insoluble problem.

As soon as the Port Captain was ushered ashore I returned to my slide rule and took up the battle again against Mr. Feinberg's adamant stupidity. The captain joined in with more fire than persuasiveness.

In vain the captain roared and I argued patiently that the owners and the underwriters would not hold it against him if Mr. Feinberg made a concession to save the ship; that, in fact, they would blame him and him only if the ship were to sink either at the pier or on the high seas with neatly unburned engine rooms. The most the Chief would concede were three of his cylinders, and that only after half a case of Coca Cola and three of our six hours of grace were consumed in futile dispute.

I discarded my jacket and tie. The captain had torn off his undershirt and was stalking, hairy-chested and sweating, from side to side of the cabin. The table was littered with calculations on the volumes of holds, cylinders of gas, temperatures and pressures. Our tempers were thin, our eyes were smarting from the film of stinking smoke, and it was getting hotter in the cabin by the minute. Suddenly the captain strode up to the table glaring.

"All right, dammit! We can't put out the fire. If we stay here we set fire to the harbor master's offices and a couple of warehouses, and we sink and obstruct the harbor to boot. If we try to make another port we'll likely all be killed and lose the ship anyhow. I'm going to take the bloody ship a mile outside the harbor and scuttle her so these bastards can't claim salvage. And you, Mr. Vice Consul Schutz, will have my crew ashore on seamen's relief until the owners and the insurance people can settle this mess!" He slammed his fist down on the table, upsetting a bottle of warm Coke over the mass of papers.

He was right. It was a solution of sorts. It would mean that the next year or two of my assignment to Santa Rosa would be miserable with dispute and litigation that I might somehow have prevented. I stared at the bubbling mess of wet paper and soft drink. If only . . .

"Wait!" I said.

The Coca Cola bottling plant was an American business. The cargo ship was part of another. I was darned sure that my blessed regulations would have nothing to say on saving part of one American business at the expense of another. But desperate problems called for desperate solutions.

"There's CO_2 in Coke," I said.

"You don't expect to put out a ship's fire with Coca Cola, for crap's sake?" The captain was red-eyed with smoke and fury.

"No. But the man who makes this stuff has a month's supply of bottled CO_2 in his warehouse."

There was a moment of complete silence and then the captain very softly said a surprisingly mild word.

"Cripes!"

The three of us went ashore under the brooding eye of the Port Captain. My taximan, still hopefully waiting, cheerfully took us to his brother-in-law who rented us a truck. From there we went directly to the Coca Cola warehouse on the edge of town.

The warehouseman at first thought we were drunk and kidding him. Finding that we were cold sober and dead serious, he refused to consider selling any CO_2 at all. Sr. Martinez, the owner, would cut his throat, then fire him. Perfidiously I assured him that Señor Martinez, who was in the business of selling this bubbly gas disguised in sweetened water of several kinds, would have no objections at all.

Our six hours of grace before the ship would have to be moved had almost expired by the time a price was agreed upon which I, if not the captain, thought was astronomical.

The warehouseman had ten cylinders about five feet long and a foot thick. We took all of them. I remembered that the owner of the Coke plant was Don Emilio's cousin and that the plant was the only source of soft drinks or even of soda water on the island. But the deed was done; there was nothing further I could do about it.

Our truckload of carbon dioxide quickly brought the fire under control, but to appease Don Emilio the ship was moved into the center of the harbor from which I watched it sail the following morning with a feeling of immense relief.

My boss came back an hour after the ship had left. The owner of the Coke plant, Sr. Martinez, was with him. When the boss asked me how things had gone I confessed all—while keeping an anxious eye on Sr. Martinez' slowly reddening face. When I got to the price that Captain Harris had paid for the gas, Martinez visibly relaxed, then smiled.

"I can take that trip to Madrid at last," was all he said.

The Consul laughed and so did I, a bit nervously, but it was not altogether funny. Word got around, and none of our friends among the many local British residents of Santa Rosa would offer us soda in our whiskey for months after the inevitable shortage was over.

But I didn't care. I had learned that not everything is in the regulations, and that a bold gamble sometimes pays off. ■

PERSPECTIVES OF REFORM
from page 19

Assistant Secretary, and died in office as Assistant Secretary in 1924. This came to a total of 54 years in the diplomatic establishment.

Adee was no reformer except in draftsmanship. He was a resourceful, farsighted diplomatic operator as well as a genuine, warm-hearted, witty, aboveboard human being. A thorough student of diplomatic practice and foreign policy, he was a continuing and sagacious adviser of Secretaries of State and Presidents. He took an interest in Carr, encouraged his efforts to broaden his cultural and political base, and, above all, imparted his remarkable insights derived from his lengthening experience in foreign affairs. No doubt more than one of the reforming Executive Orders which Carr extracted from the White House were facilitated by Adee.

The remarkable span of 72 years of continuous service which Hunter and Adee brought to the State Departent refutes the oft-repeated legend that no Administration has accepted, or is likely to accept, the notion of a "general manager" of the Department. In a quiet way it acquired in Hunter an identifiable management focal point and, in the diplomatic field, a succeeding one in Adee. Then, from 1909, when Carr became Chief Clerk, to 1913, the Department had an effective managerial team in Huntington Wilson, Adee and Carr; from 1913 to 1924 a dual managerial team through Adee's continuity in the diplomatic and foreign policy area and Carr's in the administrative and consular. No reform movement engineered this accomplishment: it just happened that way. And our diplomatic establishment was fortunate that it did. As one reviews the foreign policies, diplomacy and establishment management of that long period, he is made aware of how much they owe to the continuity of service and the balanced, mature views and institutional memories of these men.

When Carr left the Department in 1937 to accept appointment as Minister to Czechoslovakia, the only overseas service he ever performed (and it was to prove short-lived), reform lost its one consistent continuing champion. No other civil servant since his time has been able to match his stature and length of service. Like all officers who have taken the broad view and kept in mind the national as opposed to personal interest, Carr saw too much to be done to leave the Department with exultation over the reforms he had wrested from a reluctant government. He left, indeed, a disappointed man. Like most who have sought reform, his reach exceeded his grasp. He would have been an even more disappointed reformer had he been able to peer ahead, for henceforth, devolving upon migratory officers, reform lost all continuity.

In Support of H. R. 9463

THE State Department has sent to Congress a draft bill which would prevent the import of pre-Columbian monumental and archeological sculpture, murals and any fragments or parts, unless accompanied by a certificate from the country of origin certifying that their export did not violate its laws.

My husband and I hope that this proposed law might be extended to cover all archeological purchases. Turkey has been increasingly pillaged during recent years. (It is difficult to understand how respectable and honorable institutions such as the Metropolitan, Boston Fine Arts and Dumbarton Oaks can justify such under-the-counter transactions.) If such a law were passed, however, the museums probably would readily observe it.

I think we should all do what we can to help this bill pass through Congress.

MRS. FREDERICK P. LATIMER, JR.
Antrim, N. H.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Mrs. Latimer suggests writing to Congressmen in support of the bill, which is: H.R. 9463.*

Poli Sci Applauded

PAUL KATTENBURG'S "On the Education of Diplomats" attempts to face some educational dilemmas of the foreign service and by political officers. However, his derogation of the role of the study of political science in the education of a diplomat, I feel, is ill advised.

Mr. Kattenburg is certainly on firm ground when he pooh-poohs the relevance of the more esoteric research being undertaken by political scientists. However, a work such as William Riker's "The Theory of Political Coalitions" is relevant.

Kaplan's systems theory, Rosenau's work with linkages in international politics and the work of scholars such as Almond, Powell and Mitchell are important.

Mr. Kattenburg's traditional approach misses what I consider to be the focus of the dilemma of professionalism and expertise in the foreign service. Vast bodies of historical and anthropological knowledge abound, but ability to synthesize them does not.

Until diplomats know current developments in political science, particularly in methodology, we will be guilty of relegating ourselves to a role which we don't seem to be too content to play—that of the well-informed and dedicated but expendable dilettante who is something of an anachronism in this day of the global village and computerized technology.

RAY L. CALDWELL
Guadalajara

Wives of the '70s

I WAS most disappointed to read Management Reform Bulletin No. 20, "Guidelines for Representational Responsibilities of Wives in Our Posts Abroad," and find that the role of a foreign service wife in "Diplomacy of the '70s" will continue to be The Charming Hostess, the same role she has been playing for the past hundred years.

This is hardly a reform! What about learning the language, history, arts and politics of the host country? And keeping informed about what is going on in the United States? Aren't these as important representational responsibilities as assisting guests to the DCM's buffet table?

Instead of any "reform," what I found in the bulletin was a circumloquacious re-hash of "Social Usage Abroad" and a muddled delineation of intra-embassy responsibilities. I think perhaps we should ignore the whole thing and ask the committee to try again.

RIKA SCHMIDT
Prague

No Volunteers

IN the April issue of the JOURNAL the Board announced a "landmark advance for AFSA and for the Foreign Service" in the payment of overtime. Progress in obtaining rights set forth in regulation and law is always welcome. However, the Board should not be in such a hurry to pat itself on the back.

The last paragraph of Section 3 of the Department's notice of February 24 entitled "Administration of Overtime" reads as follows: "Often an employee will volunteer to perform non-compensatory overtime. Supervisors should recognize such exemplary devotion to duty, including references in the employee's performance rating and appropriate commendations." Such a practice is clearly in conflict with 31 USC 665 (b) which states that: "No officer or employer of the United States shall accept voluntary service for the United States or employ personal services in excess of that authorized by law, except in cases of emergency involving the safety of human life or the protection of property."

The illegality of the practice encouraged in the notice should be sufficient reason for the Board to request management to withdraw the notice for correction. Another employee organization has already done so.

If the Board is in any doubt about the illegality of the practice encouraged in the notice, there is another aspect of Section 3 which shouts for rectification. Ours is a very competitive service. Since almost nothing negative appears in anyone's file, a policy of noting voluntary overtime makes such overtime compulsory, for no officer can afford to be without such mention if he is to compete with his peers who have "voluntarily" donated extra time.

If the Board seeks to represent employees in personnel matters such as overtime, it must do its homework and it must keep after management to make it stay within the law, its own regulations and the traditions of the Foreign Service.

JOHN M. BESHOAR
Washington

Must Youth Be Served?

THIS year, for the first time, I hesitate about renewing my membership in AFSA. I am not ungrateful for the recent accomplishments of which AFSA boasts, such a doubling the Washington temporary-

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lodging allowance and eliminating penalties for foreign-flag airline travel.

It is more a question of doubts about the extent to which AFSA represents *me* nowadays. These doubts have been growing gradually, and they were fed by items in the April and May issues of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL.

The April issue of the JOURNAL contained a remark by Charles W. Bray III. In order to refute an article by ex-Ambassador Briggs in a previous issue, Bray simply expressed his boredom with Ellis Briggs. Bray must have believed that to be a devastating tactic. It saddened me to see such a new low in arrogance displayed on a page of the JOURNAL.

My discrepancy with an editorial in the JOURNAL's May issue, however, deserves more attention, because my disagreement is with a statement that is not smart-alecky but seriously written. Commenting about "The State Lists," your editorialist says: "There is pressure upon selection boards . . . to pass over the brilliant younger men in order to save the career and livelihoods of competent older ones. Yet in these times of accelerated change, the nation needs its finest *young* officers in positions of responsibility."

Why does the nation need its finest *young* officers in positions of responsibility? Doesn't it make far more sense to say the nation needs, in positions of responsibility, its *finest* officers—be they young or old? In fact, can it not be argued that, precisely because we *are* in "times of accelerated change," the experience and continuity that older officers can offer become all the more valuable?

Naturally I am talking about older officers who put their experience to good use while adapting to "accelerated change." I am not in favor of "dead wood," and I would like to add that I have seen "dead wood" at all levels and age-groups in the Service.

Believe me, I have nothing against youth. I inveigh against the *cult* of youth, all-pervasive in modern American society and faithfully reflected by your editorialist as he offers the stereotypes about "brilliant younger men" and "competent older ones." In the cult of youth, only younger men can be "brilliant." (Nobody ever speaks of a "brilliant middle-aged man," for example.)

Not everyone gets wiser as he gets older. I'm not for a cult of the aged any more than I am for a cult of the young. AFSA and its JOURNAL owe more enduring quality to its members of all ages than is revealed by the things I have criticized. But if AFSA is so painfully conscious of a generation gap as its editorial suggests, perhaps separate ASFAs should represent separate generations.

KENEDON STEINS

Buenos Aires

To Inform the Future

I REALLY can't agree with Philip W. Bonsal's judgment of Charles W. Bray. Bray never bored me over the years when he was active in the Association. On the contrary, I thought he and his colleagues breathed life into a stuffy organization.

As to Bray's comment about Ambassador Briggs, I don't think he was just being impertinent, but he had also successfully and succinctly "adumbrated the iconoclastic gesture" which I guess is Bonsal's translation of Bray's call for present tense discussion.

My study of the June issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL leads me to believe that it is again on the old course, the course of the past tense. There is Ambassador Bowles's article, for example, on how his ambassadorial recruitment program initiated a veritable golden age in American diplomacy. Then there are Sanger's reminiscences of life as a worker in Russia four decades ago, proving conclusively that Lincoln Steffens was wrong; Ware Adams on the 15-year-old Austrian miracle; and finally the Ceramis, telling us how diplomats wine and dine in Europe.

But nothing about that most exciting place—the real world in the month of June in the year 1971.

JORMA L. KAUKONEN

San Francisco

The JOURNAL *welcomes the expression of its readers' opinions in the form of letters to the editor. However, space is limited and brief letters will enable the editors to print a wider variety of opinions and information. All letters are subject to condensation if necessary.*

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

by S. I. Nadler

"Well, sir, before leaving the office, I did as you suggested. I re-read my job description, and you were right, so here I am."

AFSA NEWS

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Due Process on Grievances and Appeals

Our editorial in the July **Journal** supported S.2023, a bill introduced by Senators Bayh, Humphrey, Scott and Cooper to amend the Foreign Service Act in order to assure an impartial hearing for Foreign Service personnel who believe they have been unfairly treated by the personnel system. Such rights of due process have been guaranteed to other federal employees, including the armed forces, for years.

The four distinguished sponsors have been joined by many others as co-sponsors, including Senators Beall, Brooke, Case, Church, Cranston, Hart, Hartke, Kennedy, Mathias, Mondale, Moss, Pastore and Stevenson.

An identical bill has been introduced in the House by Representative Lee Hamilton of Indiana, and Congressmen Frelinghuysen and Fraser have already joined as co-sponsors.

The Board of Directors urges all members of AFSA to write the sponsors and particularly to write their own senators and representatives. The Board has written the co-sponsors to express the Association's deep gratitude and support. If these distinguished legislators are not assured that the Foreign Service appreciates what they are doing for us, we can hardly expect them to take time away from other pressing business in our behalf.

The following model is the sort of letter which is needed:

"Dear Senator/Congressman ——————:

"As a constituent of yours from **(town or city),** and as a member of the Foreign Service, I would like to call to your attention S.2023/HR.9188, creating a procedure for Foreign Service employee grievances and appeals.

"I believe that S.2023/HR.9188 fills an urgent need for the Foreign Service employees of the State Department, AID and USIA. It provides for an independent Board to correct injustices complained of by Foreign Service employees. Surely foreign affairs employees should at long last be guaranteed basic due process rights in presenting their grievances at an impartial hearing, rights which are already enjoyed by other federal employees including the uniformed services.

"I urge you to give S.2023/HR.9188 your close attention and strong support.

Sincerely,

——————————"

Senator Fulbright has informed the Association that he plans to hold public hearings when he receives the comments he has requested from the Department of State. He has noted AFSA's interest in testifying. AFSA Legal Committee representatives are scheduled to meet with the Department to discuss the language of the bill. AFSA has urged that the Department, AID and USIA themselves support S.2023/HR.9188.

Ambassador Robert C. Hill was recently honored by a special "tienta," or trying of the calves for bravery, at the finca of Manolo Benitez, "El Cordobes." The Ambassador is shown with one of the matador's prize calves.

Foreign Service People

MARRIAGES

Dearborn-Smith. 1st Lt. Richard R. Smith, USMC, son of FSO-retired Donald W. Smith of Venice, Fla., and Mrs. Barbara T. Smith of Arlington, Va., was married to Patricia Dearborn in Chapel Hill on June 12.

Dobyns-Gulley. Donna Elizabeth Dobyns, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Edward P. Dobyns of Monterrey, Mexico, was married to John Anthony Gulley, Jr., on May 1, in Bethesda. Mr. Dobyns was a former Executive Director of AFSA and Mrs. Gulley is employed with BEX. The bride is shown below.

DEATHS

Brumby. Ruth E. Brumby, wife of FSO-retired Paul R. Brumby, died on June 2, in Washington. She is survived by her husband, 6215 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C. 20016, two sons, two daughters and two sisters.

Heath. William W. Heath, former Ambassador to Sweden, died on June 22, in Austin, Texas. Ambassador Heath served from 1967 to 1969, during a very trying period of American-Swedish relations. Before and after his service as ambassador, he practiced law in Austin. Survivors include his widow, c/o 202 Perry-Brooks Bldg., Austin, Texas and two daughters.

Jenkins. Cecile Hvale Jenkins, wife of Kempton B. Jenkins, assistant director, Eastern Europe, USIA, died on June 16 in Bethesda, Maryland. She is survived by her husband, 7204 Marbury Road, Bethesda and three sons.

Macfarland. Audrey H. Macfarland, wife of FSO-retired James M. Macfarland, died on June 29 in Boonton, New Jersey. The Macfarlands were posted in Montreal, Istanbul, Ankara, Geneva, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Tel Aviv and Dusseldorf. Mrs. Macfarland received a special citation from the Ministry of Social Welfare in Israel for her work with handicapped children. She is survived by her husband of 3010 North Garden Ave., Roswell, N.J. and a daughter, Mrs. James E. Bradley, Boonton, N.J.

Richards. Charles A. Richards, AID-retired, died on June 30, in Washington. Mr. Richards retired from AID in 1961 at the age of 80, receiving the distinguished service award at that time. He is survived by a sister, Mrs. Alexander Orr, Edgartown, Mass.

Russell. H. Earle Russell, political counselor at the Embassy in Rabat, Morocco, died of sunstroke in mid-June when his car broke down in northern Mauritania. Mr. Russell's wife and his 15-year old son, Scott, with a friend of the son's, were traveling in the same car. Mr. Russell had been stationed in Rabat since 1967. During the 1950s he served in Addis Ababa, Tunis, Beirut and Jidda, Saudi Arabia. In addition to his wife and son, Mr. Russell is survived by a daughter, Christine, and by his parents, Mr. & Mrs. Earle Russell of 915 Sligo Creek Pkwy., Tacoma Park, Md.

August Cover

Our cover is by Richard F. Wolford, AID. His daughter, Mimi, was responsible for the recent exhibit by three Nigerian artists in the Foreign Service Club. Mrs. Wolford has written and lectured on African art and the Wolfords have arranged for several exhibitions all over the country.

Clint E. Smith has been named Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Foreign Service **Journal**, effective July 1, 1971. He replaces Archie M. Bolster, who has been assigned to university training.

Smith, who has served on the Editorial Board of the **Journal** for the past two years, has a background in journalism and publications work, and has been an active Editorial Board member. He is now assigned to the Office of Mexican Affairs in the Department.

The new Chairman joined the Foreign Service in 1957, and has served in the Department, Buenos Aires, and Madrid.

FSOs in Academe

Six Foreign Service officers from State, USIA and AID have been selected, along with 13 additional officers from other Federal agencies, to study at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs during the 1971-72 academic year.

John P. Owens, FSO-3, American Embassy, Helsinki, and Robert M. Ward, FSR-3, USAID, Islamabad, were selected as Princeton Fellows in Public Affairs under a program begun in 1961, to bring to the Princeton campus government officials of "high competence and unusual promise."

Four Mid-Career Fellows, individually sponsored by their agencies to carry on similar studies, all members of the foreign affairs agencies, were chosen. They are: Richard T. Arndt, FSIO-3, Cultural Affairs Officer, Tehran; Robert G. Houdek, FSO-4, National Security Council; David A. Korn, FSO-3, Chief of the Political Section, American Embassy, Tel Aviv; Dwight N. Mason, FSO-4, Staff Assistant to the Director, ACDA.

AFSA CHAPTER NEWS

AFSA's Laos Chapter is now active under the following Board members: Edward Ceaser, President, seated, from l. to r., Elwood J. McGuire, Paul E. Kelly, James B. Chandler, Frank E. Rhinehart, Richard M. Hughes and Leroy Rasmussen.

Elections in the **Tripoli** Chapter resulted in the following officers: President, Terry Day; Vice President, Tom Sinclair; Members of the Board, Charles Marthinsen and David Mack (Benghazi representative). Through the efforts of Jim Holmes, outgoing president, now due for transfer, the chapter now has 94% membership. Congratulations are in order.

George Harris, keyman, reports 100% participation in **Genoa.** Mr. Harris also earns the appreciation of the membership office for updating members' addresses.

The latest post reporting 100% membership in AFSA is **Khorramshahr.** Joseph C. Snyder, III, notes that the application from James W. Roodhouse raised the membership by 50%.

The **Paris** Chapter of AFSA elected the following officers and board members: John E. Clak, president; Milton L. Iossi, vice president; Louis F. Janowski, secretary-treasurer; and H. Allen Holmes, Lawrence R. Raicht, Clifford L. Brody, David T. Jones, Elton Stepherson, Jr., Howard W. Hardy, Christopher Jones, John Hughes, A. Lucille Thomas, Stanley P. Harris, board members.

And in **Bangkok,** a general meeting resulted in the election of Milton J. Wilkinson, later named chairman by the Chapter Committee, Edward Perkins and Willis Sutter, vice chairman, Donald Ferguson, treasurer, Mary Jane Timmins, secretary, David Krecke and Larry Thompson (co-editors of the Chapter Newsletter), William Campbell, Dwight Cramer, James Kraus, H. R. Malpass and Jack Juergensen. (AFSA hopes to be on the mailing list for the Chapter Newsletter.)

Board Resolutions

Resolutions passed at the AFSA July 13, 1971, Board meeting are as follows:

1) "The Board of Directors commends and thanks the Awards Committee and its Chairman, Mr. Howard B. Schaffer, for the splendid work they did soliciting nominations, appointing and servicing the judges' committees, and arranging a 1971 Awards Luncheon which reflected great credit on the Association and the Service."

2) "The Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association, noting that Elizabeth Haselton, wife of FSO-retired Norris Haselton, has served as AFSA's Girl Friday on an unpaid basis for 14 years, and noting that she celebrates her birthday this week, wishes to extend its heartfelt appreciation to Mrs. Haselton for numbering AFSA among her favorite charities—and to Inspector General Haselton for sparing her to us."

Women Mobilize

The Women's Action Organization (WAO) is undertaking a membership drive among overseas personnel. Flyers explaining WAO's purpose and application cards will be sent to all working women at Foreign Service posts. WAO, in seeking to end discrimination against female officers and staff in State AID and USIA, welcomes the support of wives and men in this effort. As it costs only one dollar to join, WAO urges you to do so. If you fail to receive the mailing in a reasonable period, please write to Mary Olmstead, BEX, or Barbara Good, CU/UCS, State Department.

New AFSA Board Member

David W. Loving, FSO-5, was born and brought up in the Washington area. He received a B.A. from Yale and a M.A. from Princeton, both in European history.

Since joining the Foreign Service in August, 1966, Mr. Loving, a bachelor, has served in Embassy, Brussels as a first-tour rotational officer and as Executive Assistant to the Executive Director of EUR. He is currently serving as Assistant Country Officer for Benelux Affairs in EUR/FBX.

Mr. Loving has been active in the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club, in which he served as coordinator of Committees for an 18-month period ending in May, 1971. He is encouraged by the more active role that AFSA has taken in the recent past on questions of personnel policies and hopes that AFSA will continue to speak clearly and unambiguously in defense of career principles and the interests of all Foreign Service personnel.

BOARD ACTIONS TAKEN

April 20, cont'd.

Employee-Management Relations. Members of Subcommittee I of the Committe of 40 discussed their draft recommendations on Conflict of Interest and Units. The Board expressed concern that the Committee's draft on units ran contrary to the goal of a unified Foreign Service. Both positions will be put on paper for the Board's consideration.

May 4, 1971

Appointments. John C. Scafe of USIA was elected to the Board to replace Robert Nevitt, who resigned because of conflict of interest in his new position as Director of Foreign Service Personnel, USIA.

Employee-Management Relations. Messrs. Harrop and Harris reported on a meeting with Howard Mace on the draft of the Department's Executive Order. This draft will be circulated to interested organizations.

A final report from the AFSA Committee of 40 on labor-management relations will be presented to the membership at an Open Meeting on May 12. Mr. Harrop extended the Board's commendations to the Committee for the report and for the work done on a suitable alternative to E.O. 11491.

May 19, 1971

Employee-Management Relations: AFSA representatives met May 18 with Samuel W. Lewis and James H. Michel, of the Department, to clarify points in the draft State/AID/USIA executive order. The Department will make no written comment on the AFSA draft executive order and has requested the Association to submit written comments on its draft by May 21. The Board endorsed the AFSA draft and authorized the Chairman to present it to Under Secretary Macomber as the AFSA Board's position. An open meeting for discussion of the issues was set for May 28.

Scholarships: The generous contribution by Ambassador Jefferson Patterson to the AFSA Scholarship Fund was acknowledged, and a resolution passed naming a scholarship for Ambassador Patterson in perpetuity.

Vacancies: The Chairman of the **Journal** Editorial Board, Archie M. Bolster, submitted his resignation; Clint Smith was elected to replace him. Erland Heginbotham, of the Board of Directors, resigned. Both Mr. Bolster and Mr. Heginbotham are being transferred.

May 25, 1971

Employee-Management Relations: The Association is seeking signatures on Foreign Service employee rights prepared by JFSOC. This statement calls upon employee organizations and the management of the foreign affairs agencies to negotiate a new Executive Order providing for exclusivity, negotiation, impartial appeal and the right to keep up with future progress in employee-management relations in federal service. The Committee of Forty is preparing comparisons of Executive Order 11491, management's proposal, and the AFSA proposed Executive Order. Members of the Board, officers of JFSOC and sub-committee chairmen of the AFSA Committee of Forty will meet with Under Secretary Macomber for preliminary discussions on May 25.

Appointments: John K. Ivie was elected to replace Erland Heginbotham on the Board of Directors.

JFSOC: Robert Boettcher is resigning from the Foreign Service to take a Congressional staff job, and Lars Hydle will replace him as President of the Junior Service Officers Club.

June 1, 1971

Employee-Management Relations: The Chairman announced a positive response of AFSA members to the employee-management declaration. Copies of cables from 30 posts with 1200 signatures, including seven Ambassadors, were presented to Mr. Macomber. This response was instrumental in obtaining a postponement of the submission date for a draft Executive Order to the FLRC.

June 8, 1971

FSO Personnel Proposals: The Board of the Foreign Service intends to meet on June 18 to discuss the proposals. Comments received from 50 posts indicate agreement on job tenure in classes 3, 4 and 5, strong support for the threshold examination, and belief that changes once made should remain stable.

Employee-Management Relations: Negotiations between Management and AFSA are continuing and Mr. Harris reported on concessions made in line with the AFSA draft executive order.

June 15, 1971

Employee-Management Relations: Mr. Harris reported accord between Management and AFSA on the preamble, definitions and application sections of the executive order, but not on exclusive representation, rights of negotiation and appeals and grievances. The Chairman has been in communication with the FLRC on AFSA's problems with the management draft.

S.2023: The Board unanimously passed a resolution supporting S.2023, introduced by Senators Bayh, Cooper, Humphrey and Scott to establish a grievance and appeals procedure with due process for the Foreign Service (see Editorial, July **Journal**).

June 22, 1971

S.390: Mr. Harrop briefed the Board on S.390, "U.S. Foreign Service Scholarship Program", introduced by Senator Peter Dominick.

Communication from the Board

(*Continued from page* 2)

the implications of exclusive recognition. We believe that the principle of exclusive recognition is every bit as much in management's interest as in that of the employees. We do not believe that the sort of separate system for the Foreign Service defined in the State/AID/USIA draft will function without exclusive recognition.

We urge the Council to review this aspect of the agency draft with particular attention.

Association representatives will be pleased to discuss their viewpoint before the Council or with your staff at your convenience.

WILLIAM C. HARROP
Chairman, Board of Directors

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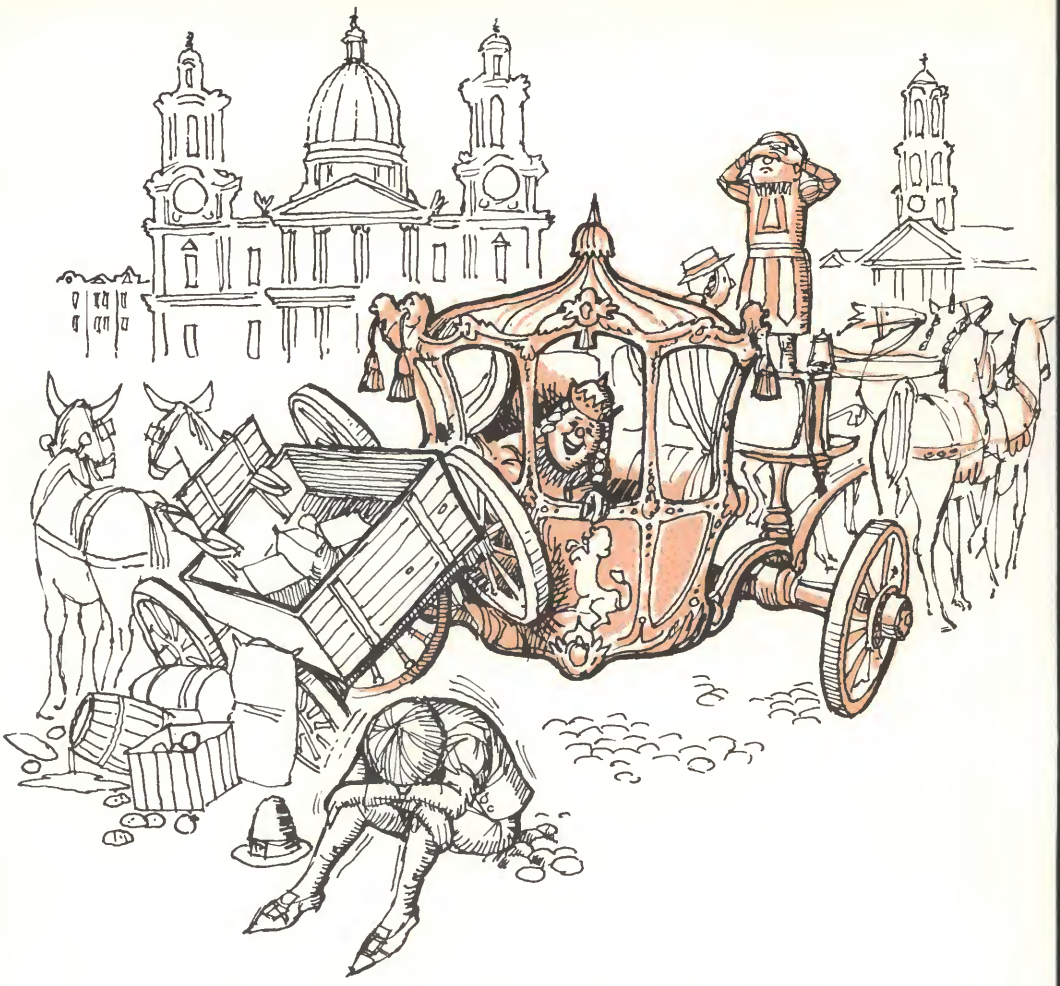

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