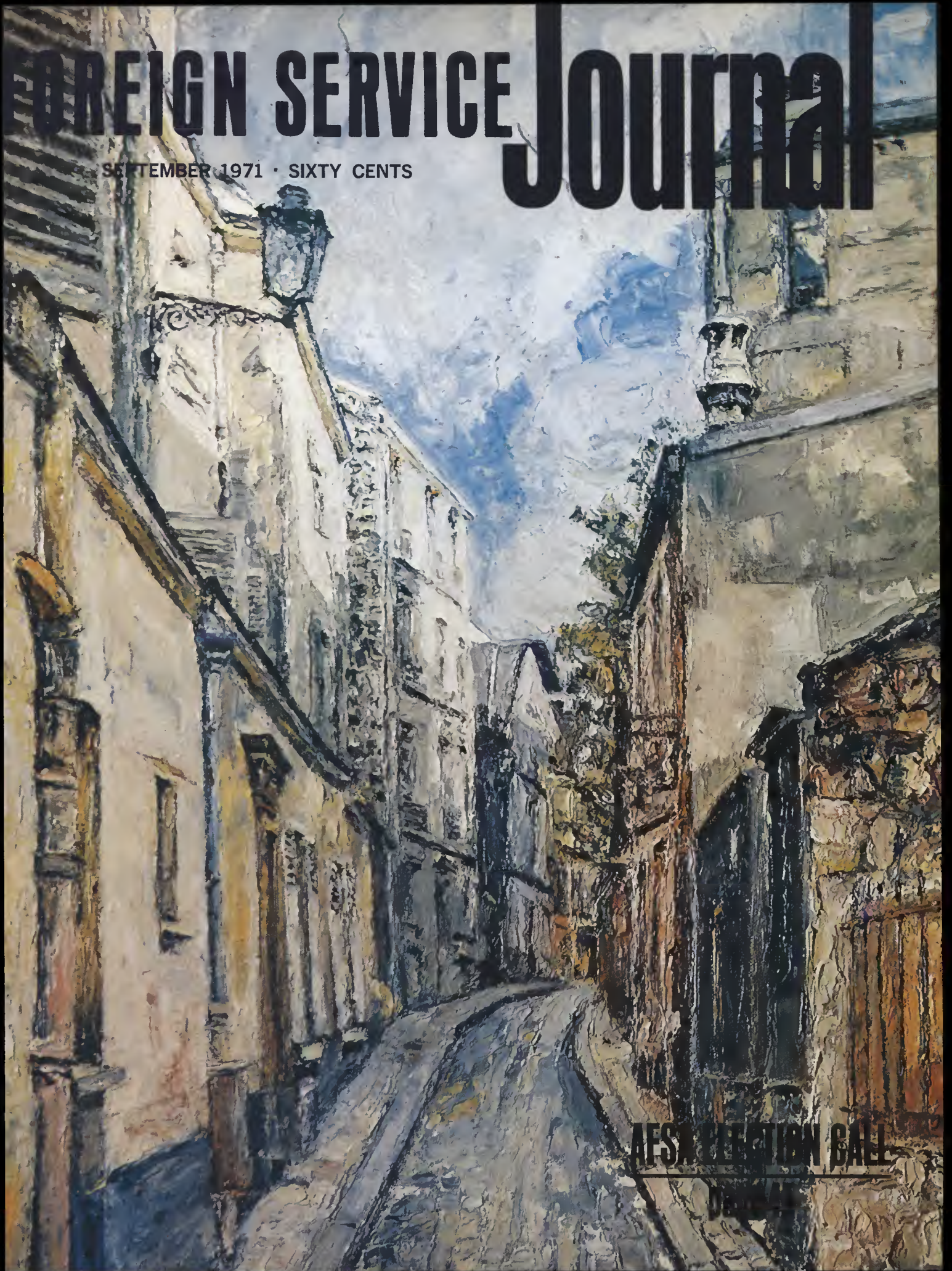


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EDITORIALS

The relationship between the President and the Foreign Service is discussed by Mac Destler in political and organizational terms on page 30. The AFSA Board of Directors here points to imperatives of our own: professionalism, discipline and loyalty.

The Missing Link

THE FOREIGN SERVICE has come a long way in five years.

We have conceded that we are badly organized, parochial in outlook, overly traditional and not very innovative. We have carried off a peaceful—if modest—palace revolution to correct some of our more obvious shortcomings. We are in the throes of shaking off a debilitating paternalism. These changes are to our credit; we should be proud of them.

But not too proud . . . for the heart of our problem remains either unnoticed or knowingly untouched.

The heart of our problem is still what it was when President Roosevelt bypassed the Foreign Service during World War II. It remains what it was when President Kennedy was willing to use individual desk officers, but not the Foreign Service as a whole.

At heart, our problem is one of ownership.

To whom do we belong? To whom do we owe our loyalty?

The dominant view within the Foreign Service underscores our separateness. We have been proud to be independent in government service. We have set and we play by our own rules. We are governed by our "old boy" net. We claim we are the President's men—but by that phrase we seem only to assert our distinction from other government servants or to imply that the President has incurred an obligation to the Foreign Service because *it is* his. The lord is liege to his vassals!

But have you noticed the liege lord's reaction lately? The plain fact is that he doesn't always trust us. He doesn't always trust our conceptions, our imagination or (particularly) our discretion in matters of great moment. He often turns to others to execute his foreign policy.

Indiscretion is not permissible in diplomats. Leaks to the press about sensitive negotiations like SALT do not always come from the Foreign Service, but talk is too free with outsiders.

And what about classified Foreign Service communications from Saigon, from Nairobi, from Dacca, cited at length in the morning paper on the White House breakfast table? Why this betrayal of confidence? Why this breakdown of professional ethics and discipline?

By an ironic twist, much upon which we compliment ourselves compounds the crisis of confidence and weakens the essential link. Our separateness has given us strength; but to the liege lord our sense of cliteness looks

like condescension. By setting our rules we *have* avoided the rigidity of the Civil Service. But to the liege lord our flexibility may appear a way of eluding his control. And our "old boy" net? Well, from the liege lord's perspective it must seem passing strange that the penalties for bad judgment, even for disobedience, should be so mild. Strange, indeed!

As for being the President's men, the question is: "Are we?" It is not clear that he sees it that way. It's not even clear that the Foreign Service does, except in the most self-serving sense. Our loyalties go first to "The Service," and only then to the Secretary of State and then the President. We have not developed in our officers enough sense of the President's perspective. At our worst, we tend to see Presidents as temporary interlopers, amateurs in a game of professionals. But who are the real amateurs and who the professionals in this context?

Who under our Constitution is responsible for foreign affairs? Did the American people elect us?

A career service by its nature imposes on its members certain responsibilities and restrictions. There are ways to express dissent within the system. They need improving, and AFSA is working to improve them. But while within the Service, an officer must live by its ethics.

The next round of reform should see to it that the Foreign Service in fact belongs to the President; otherwise there will have been no profit from reform of any kind. ■

Right On!

WITH Circular Airgram 3745, of August 11, 1971, the three foreign affairs agencies announced policies designed to offer full equality of treatment to women employees, whether married or single.

There will be no further questioning of women applicants about marital status or intention to marry, and this subject will not be included in performance evaluations.

Women earlier required to resign from the Foreign Service because of marriage will be given opportunities to re-enter. If two Foreign Service employees marry, and both wish to continue working, each may retain regular status, if available for worldwide assignment, and the agencies will make every effort to assign husband and wife to the same post in appropriate positions. Couples will be consulted on alternatives when ideal assignments are not available.

The AFSA Board of Directors congratulates State, AID and USIA on these progressive new policies. We will all watch to make sure they are faithfully implemented in the fine spirit in which they were written. The AFSA Board congratulates Elizabeth J. Harper and her Women's Program Committee, and the Women's Action Organization and its President, Mary Olmsted. ■

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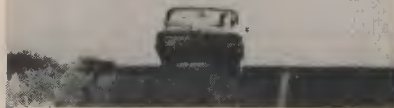
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Of moral revulsion, historical alternatives, righteous indignation and the consequences

A Foreign Service Parable

JOHN W. BOWLING

ONCE upon a time a big civil war was raging over a period of several decades in an important region of Asia, sputtering down and then flaring up again, with political, propaganda, guerrilla, and conventional warfare techniques being employed in various mixes. For a long time it was only in the peripheral vision of the United States government, but slowly it became evident that Uncle Sam would be forced to some decisions as to what, if anything, to do about it.

The problem was immense and many-faceted, involving a definition of America's world role, aspects of a rapidly-changing and dangerous international environment, and even domestic politics and passions. At the core of the question lay different judgments as to the intentions and capacity of the warring forces.

Both sides in the civil war wrapped themselves in the banner of nationalism. One side held to a comprehensive political ideology which led to its continually expressing an ultimate objective of doing in the United States and its whole value system by any means whatever. This side

trumpeted its moral revulsion against the United States and bragged of its ties with the international movement, which happened to be Marxist-Leninist.

The other side in the civil war was also revolutionary, but more in the standard nationalist mold. It appeared to be gradually losing, and, noting that its opponents were getting both moral and material assistance from the world centers of the ideology, it turned to the United States for all kinds of help, including military forces. The civil war had been muddied by the earlier presence of the armed forces of another external power, which had eventually been driven out after trying unsuccessfully to impose their direct imperial control on the country.

The United States was gradually forced into the decisions which it had tried, typically, for a long time to waffle and avoid. The problem was terribly complicated. To what extent was the United States justified in terms of its own national security in mounting differing possible degrees of support for the non-Leninist side in the civil war? Politicians, military men, and diplomats were all caught up in the debate and in the flurry of paper which accompanied it.

The decision was finally made. No one knows whether or not it was the right, or even a right, decision, because there are no alternative time tracks which can be examined to discover in retrospect the nature of historical "might-have-been." It was made by fallible men. Some may have been stupid. Some may have been partially dazzled by bureaucratic advocacy, by personal ambition,

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by domestic politics, or even by ideological blinders. It was difficult to advocate intervention with all its risks and dangers. But it was also difficult to argue against intervention when that course would lead to a triumph of men who loudly proclaimed not only a distasteful and unpleasant set of political and economic doctrines, but also their deep and undying hatred of the United States and everything it stood for and the indissoluble nature of their unity with the international Leninist "camp," which in turn regarded anti-Americanism as a litmus test of virtue.

But, a decision *was* finally made. Within a brief time, the results of that decision were such as to be extremely troubling to what appeared to be a majority of the American people. The situation in the Asian region was, in terms of American interests and in terms of "right" and "wrong" as elementally interpreted by the public media, repulsive and dangerous. No one could really know what the situation might have been if the United States had taken some other decision, but the conviction grew that it could not have been worse.

Naturally, in accordance with the American political tradition, the political party in power when the difficult decision was made found itself in serious trouble. It was blamed for the situation which bothered the population. But something else happened which was not in accordance with the political tradition: a search began for career diplomatic and military personnel "guilty" of having contributed to the unpopular decision. Then, imperceptibly, what had once been regarded as a matter of judgment became a matter of ethics and morality.

The search for scapegoats gradually took on the characteristics of a hunt not for fools but for the "morally depraved."

As the baying of the hounds got louder and the search for purported moral perverts became more intense, the bureaucratic mechanism, in a reflex defensive reaction, tried to maintain secrecy with regard to the written record of the crucial decision. It tried, as it should have, to deflect public anger to the political leaders who had taken responsibility for the decisions. This raised screams of "cover-up." Civilian and military bureaucrats who had been on the losing side of the decision, motivated by God knows what combination of righteous indignation, arrogance, and ambition, began leaking documents and allegations of the decision-making details to the press and congressional committees. Some left the executive branch to work for those committees.

The pack of hounds were a mixed bag, indeed. There was the opposition party of course. There were a few super-annuated "grand old men" who had participated in all the decisions from ambassadorial and higher levels apparently without any thought of resigning but who after losing these positions speechified and published their moral revulsion and disapproval of the unfortunate decision. And, of course, there were the priests of the public media, who felt they had a high professional duty to publicize what the bureaucracy was trying to cover up in terms of the details of how the decision was made.

Individuals were caught, exposed to the public gaze, pilloried, and destroyed in terms of their careers. Some of them were hacks; some were politicians running the

Before...



After...



I was the strong silent type at cocktail parties until I started reading the JOURNAL. I'm still silent but I can no longer tear the phone book in half.

The Way It Used to Be

(Adams, then Secretary of State, is describing in his diary the farewell call of the departing British Minister, Charles Bagot.)

The principal feature of his character is discretion, one of the most indispensable qualities of a good negotiator; but neither his intellectual powers nor his acquisitions are in any degree striking. . . No English Minister has ever been so popular; and the mediocrity of his talents has been one of the principal causes of his success. This is so obvious that it has staggered my belief in the universality of the maxim that men of the greatest talents ought to be sought out for diplomatic missions. Bagot has been a much better Minister than a much abler man would have been: better for the interest of England—better for the tranquility of this country—better for the harmony between the two nations, for his own quiet, and for the comfort of those with whom he has had official intercourse here. For a negotiation that would require great energy of mind, activity of research, or fertility of expedients, such a man would not be competent; but to go through the ordinary routine of business and the common intercourse of society, to neutralize fretful passions and soothe prejudices, a man of good breeding, in-offensive manners, and courteous deportment is nearer to the true diplomatic standard than one with the genius of Shakespeare, the learning of Bentley, the philosophical penetration of Berkeley, or the wit of Swift.—*Memoirs, Volume V, p. 339—April 14, 1819.*

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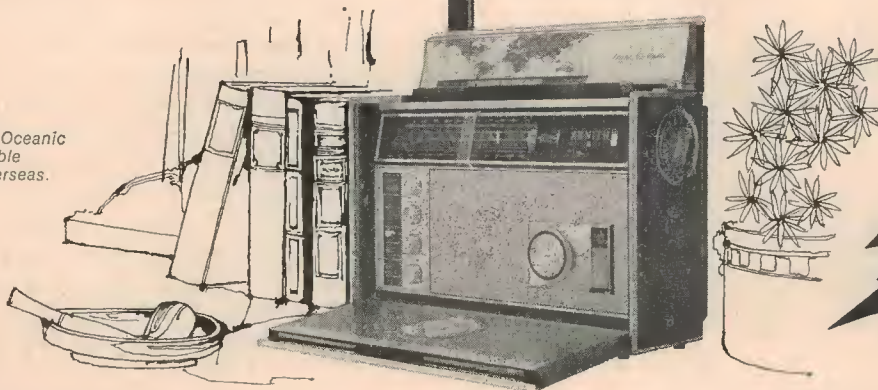
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risks of the game, and some were dedicated professionals whom the country could ill afford to lose. For the following decade, Foreign Service officers, military leaders, and other bureaucrats were terribly handicapped and the United States was handicapped because every word written, every contribution to policy formulation, had to be done with either a complete disregard of one's personal fortunes or with one eye as to how the contribution might look on the front page of a newspaper or in the report of a congressional investigation.

But the saddest part of the parable goes far beyond the professional milieu of FSOs or military officers or minor politicians. The public discontent and rage was soon exploited by demagogues who went yet a step further—they alleged that the immoral criminals who had made the decision represented not a malfunctioning, an imperfection, in the political structure, but an example of its normal processes. From this one could be led to revolutionary conclusions, since clearly a governmental structure dominated by conspirators inimical to the populace should be destroyed.

These last doctrines reflected the attitudes of a group of ambitious mid-Western Senators who had long been providing the loudest voices in the pack. One of them, perhaps searching for a good political issue, began a brilliant campaign to literally subvert United States institutions by persuading the population that its army, churches, foreign office, etc. were in the hands of evil conspirators. The very foundations of the Republic trembled.

His name was Mc—it doesn't matter. Anyway, they called him Joe. ■



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From one consul's morning mail
(Reprinted from the AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL,
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Richard C. Blalock
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Baber the Birdwatcher

MANY values are changing but Absolute Truths remain. One of these is the axiom that birdwatchers are mild and amiable persons, peaceful and singlehearted, strictly minding their own affairs. They delight in sitting all day long in bogs, or stalking the windy moors, sustained by the wild hope that they may yet see the Lesser Crested Acorn Snatcher, or the ringtailed Tyrian Purple Hoopoe, with its orange feet, scarlet head and green tail feathers, singing its fabled coloratura aria—an innocent dream, one would think.

I too believed this implicitly till recently, when I had occasion to examine again the lives of the conquerors of Hindustan, and then, like a flash, the true nature of the birdwatcher became crystal clear to me. I went down the list of my birdwatching friends, and realized, with ingenuous surprise, that in each

ENID S. CANDLIN

Mrs. Candlin is the wife of A. H. Stanton Candlin, a frequent contributor to military publications. She has written two books, a history of Chinese paintings and a volume on Oriental religions and philosophies.

heart there lurks the spirit of the Great Moghuls.

Birdwatching ran in that family. Zehir-Ed-Din Muhammed Baber, the founder of the dynasty, finally, after many attempts and setbacks, seized the rich lowlands of Hindustan, the lush and tempting country which lay south and east of his own smaller domain.

On the one hand he doted on birds, and indeed on nature herself. He was so sentimental about melons, for instance, that when he was living in India (a country he hearti-

ly disliked) and was sent a melon from Afghanistan, he could hardly eat it for his tears.

Yet, on the other hand, the supple right hand holding the flashing blade, he was constantly descending upon some kingdom or other and laying it waste, often in a highly ruthless manner. Incongruous? Perhaps. Or is it, in point of fact, characteristic behavior for a birdwatcher?

Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, adored birds too. In the intervals between strangling Persia and creeping up on the Central Powers he used to spend whole days watching mandarin ducks.

Baber was not so fortunate as his great-grandson, Jehangir, in being able to command the brush of a court painter like Mansur, always in attendance, ready to paint any fowl which happened to catch the imperial eye. But he had something just as effective—the ability to set down in his Memoirs all the important events of his remarkable career: battles, raids, birds, conquests, melons, slaughters, glory, birds, loot, tri-

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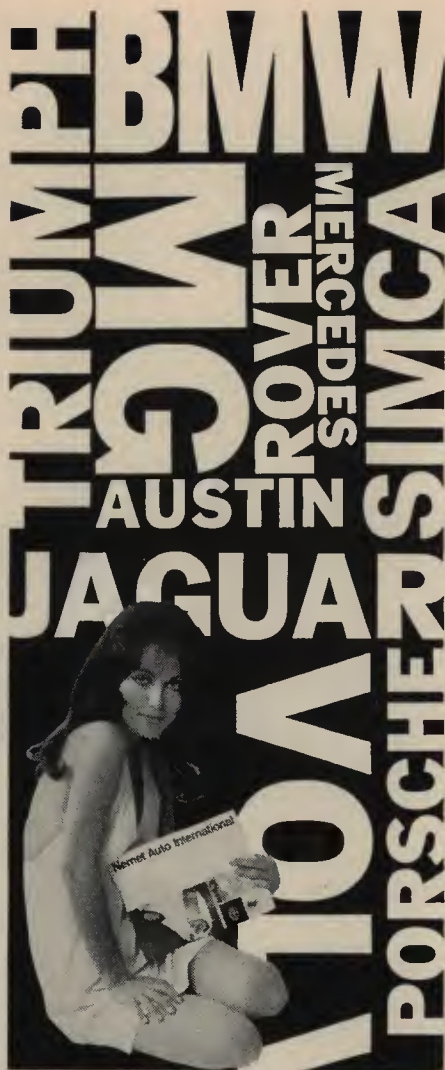
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umph, birds, birds, melons, birds...

His poor father, the late lamented Omer Sheikh Mirza, you remember, according to his son "a prince of high ambition and magnificent pretensions . . . always bent on some scheme of conquest" actually met his untimely end while ministering to his pigeons. They were housed in a dovecot which had been built, like most of the buildings of his mountain fort of Akhsi, on a precipice, and on a day in 899 (or, in our prosaic rendering, 1494) when he was engaged in feeding and training them, the supports gave way and "he was precipitated from the top of the steep, with his pigeons, and pigeon house, and took his flight to the other world."

Omer Sheikh Mirza had been a nobleman of Samarkand, and Baber as a child was used to the most delectable countryside in Central Asia, where orchards were full of apple and apricot trees, where glorious melons grew. And birds. He was only twelve when his father and the pigeons flew out into the void, and he, the heir, mounted the modest throne of Ferghana.

How romantic it sounds to us, waiting in queues, pushing carts in supermarkets, sticking carbons between papers.

In fertile Adejan, the capital of Ferghana, Baber says that the pheasants were so fat that "four persons may dine on the broth [really a stew or jelly] of one of them, and not be able to finish it." One wonders if the Soviet Republics have been able to keep up this rewarding strain of fowl.

Akbar, Baber's grandson, although highly endowed, was illiterate. But he never neglected any of his talents, and became a much more famous and remarkable man than his relative from little Samarkand. He assumed the reins of power early, from an ineffectual father, who had let Baber's great inheritance—the continent of India—fall into confusion. Akbar had to get it back. He was provided with a plethora of readers and scribes, but somehow he never got around to learning to read and write himself. We are sometimes told today that the flashy computer will do away with this necessity for us, that we will surrender our chief pleasure to this clacking nonentity. Not I.

However, be that as it may, Baber was a literary figure, a master of prose. Let us look at one section where (in company with some thirty other birds) he describes the peacock in his own bewitching simplicity:

" . . . On the head of the peacock, and of the peahen, there may be about twenty or thirty feathers, rising two or three fingers' breadth in height. The peahen is neither richly coloured nor beautiful. The head of the male has a lustrous and undulating colour. Its neck is of a fine azure. Lower down than the neck, the back is painted with the richest yellow, green, azure, and violet; the flowers or stars on its back are but small; below they increase in size, still preserving the same colour and splendour, down to the very extremity of the tail. The tail of some peacocks is as high as a man. Below these richly-painted feathers of its tail, it has another smaller tail like that of other birds, and this ordinary tail, and the feathers of its sides, are red. . . ."

How does this consort with such sentences as, "We took a number of prisoners whose heads I ordered to be struck off?"

But his heart was clearly with birds, and, with animals too. Near the watery Ab-istadeh he observed a "singular phenomenon" . . . "between this water and heavens, something of a red appearance was seen, like the ruddy crepuscule, which again by and by vanished, and so continued shifting till we had come near it. When we came close up, we discovered that this appearance was occasioned by immense flocks of wild geese, not of ten thousand or twenty thousand, but absolutely beyond computation, and innumerable; and in their flight, as they moved their wings, their red feathers sometimes appeared and sometimes were hid."

Predatory and dangerous though they may be, in part, it is clear that we could do with a lot more bird-watchers. The Great Moghul in them ought to be able to defeat pollution, if given a free rein. If of Baber's mettle they will not listen to "foolish predictions" and use "every exertion to put (themselves) in a fit state to engage the enemy," but at the same time, we, forewarned, ought to be watching them also. ■

One constant . . . was a determination to free Cuba from that American presence he regarded as his own major competitor.

First Encounter with **CASTRO**

DURING my first weeks in Havana I endeavored through as many channels as possible to convey good will and a readiness to enter upon serious negotiations on any matters the regime might wish to raise. I took the unusual step of making publicized calls on each of the Ministers in Castro's Cabinet. I tried to develop with each one of them a relationship of cordial confidence and to instill in them a belief that the Government of the United States was prepared to give the most sympathetic and constructive consideration to any proposals of the new Cuban Government in the field of relations between the two countries. I emphasized to these men and women, many of whom were new to official responsibility, the elements of mutual and reciprocal advantage inherent in the existing relationship between Cuba and the United States. I made every effort to avoid the attitude of thinly disguised paternalism which these people had been taught to believe had characterized some of my predecessors. These calls, as well as those I made on the directors of the mass media, including those set up by the new regime but excluding the communist organ HOY which Castro had allowed to reappear, were designed to and, I believe, did help to create an atmosphere of cordiality toward me and my mission.

It was evident to all of us at the Embassy that Castro himself would be the main channel for any real progress in substantive matters. This was also the view of Doctor Roberto Agramonte, the Minister of State (Foreign Affairs) with whom I at once entered into a close and friendly contact. The Minister was an internationally famed professor of sociology. With Eddy Chibás, a passionate single-tracked anti-corruptionist, Dr. Agramonte had founded the *Ortodoxo* party in 1947, a

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splintering off from the ruling *Auténticos*. He had become the party's leader when Chibás, in order to underline the vehemence and the sincerity of his views, shot himself fatally as he was ending one of his highly popular broadcasts. Agramonte was the *Ortodoxo* candidate for the Presidency in the elections scheduled in 1952, but never held because of Batista's coup.

In 1959 it was the accepted wisdom that the Agramonte ticket would have won seven years earlier if the elections had been held; this judgment may have reflected in part the fact that Castro had been a member of Agramonte's party and a candidate for a seat in the lower house in 1952. In any case Agramonte had an aura of real if dated popular support. He had played an active part in the fight against Batista and had succumbed to none of the latter's blandishments. His inclusion in the Cabinet, even though Castro had long abjured his *Ortodoxo* ties to put himself at the head of a movement that recognized only one leader, was considered an indication that the Revolution intended to rule the country with the help of personalities significant in the politics overthrown by Batista.

Agramonte was a scholar, a patriot, a man of maturity, integrity and intellectual achievement. But

he was not the man for the times, not the man to influence Castro and the young men around him. Agramonte's knowledge and his reasoned approach to the problems of the day prevented him from achieving that reputation for revolutionary dynamism so much more important to Castro than mastery of specific subjects. Agramonte's incompatibility with the Castro circle soon became as evident as the touching faith he then had in Castro and in the Revolution that had overthrown the tyranny of Batista.

Agramonte and I were agreed as to the urgency of my initiating an exchange of views with Castro. My first interview with the Maximum Leader—as he became known—took place early in March, a day after I had presented my credentials to President Urrutia. It was arranged by Agramonte who was present and was held at the suburban villa in Cojimar where Castro then and later spent portions of many of his days and nights.

The occasion was, as I had anticipated, more in the nature of a "public event" than of a serious conversation about current affairs. I endeavored to convey to Castro the good will and the hopefulness with which my government envisaged the relations between our two countries. We cordially noted the generation gap between us: I had come to Cuba for the first time as a young trainee with the telephone company a couple of weeks prior to Castro's birth in August of 1926. After our private talk we emerged to confront the reporters and the photographers. As we chatted informally with the newsmen we conveyed the impression of being pleased with each other and hopeful for the future. I was encouraged

to believe that we could establish a working relationship that would be advantageous to both our countries. Castro had gone out of his way to express a warm desire for frequent meetings with me. He appeared gratified to find that my Spanish was adequate for rapid and colloquial conversation. Next day on television he spoke favorably of our first meeting.

A few days later Agramonte gave a lunch for Castro at which Ernesto Dihigo, the newly appointed Cuban Ambassador in Washington, and I were present. On the sincere assumption that his largely unannounced plans for the welfare of his people would turn out to be rational and practical, I tried to convey to Castro my own conviction that the Cuban American relationship and American interests in Cuba could play a constructive part in those plans. I described the realities of the relationship and of the interests as I saw them and endeavored to combat some of the slanders and calumnies of which he was so willing a victim. I avoided anything Castro might regard as paternalistic and offered no advice except in reply to specific questions.

I saw Castro on other occasions of a social nature. But conditions were unfavorable to the conduct of any serious business with him or with Agramonte either for that matter. The disorganization of the administration had to be experienced to be believed. Castro was functioning primarily as the mouthpiece and the stimulant of a popular enthusiasm having his own glorification as its objective. The separate Ministries with the exception of the Treasury (the government had to have money!) were paralyzed by lack of direction from the Prime Minister or the Cabinet and by fear that any initiative might draw down upon them the displeasure of their whimsical chief. There was a sense of waiting, of expectancy, of inaction.

The grotesque incident in late March involving José (Pepe) Figueres of Costa Rica illustrated Castro's extreme sensitivity to advice even from a friendly source. Figueres was a former President of his country (elected again in 1970) with a record as a fighter against

dictatorship and communism. In the Inter American world he was highly respected both as an exponent and as an exemplar of the virtues of democracy. In the United States he was admired by many people who thought of him as belonging in the same category as Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela and Luis Muñoz-Marín of Puerto Rico.

Figueres came to Cuba at the Cuban Government's invitation and was asked to address a mass meeting in Havana. He appeared on the platform wearing the overseas cap and the khaki shirt and trousers in which he had fought the forces of tyranny in the backlands of his own country. He was greeted with an ovation. In the course of his remarks he said that in the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union there could be only one place—at the side of the United States. He made the mistake of advising his Cuban hosts to take that side. David Salvador, then the leader of Cuban labor (currently in a Cuban prison), interrupted the speaker after which Castro called him down publicly and rudely. The scene was a painful one. The conclusion we then drew was not so much that Castro did not intend to continue the Cuban foreign policy of support for the Western cause—his public statements up to that time had been reasonably satisfactory—as that he resented any attempt by anybody to tell him what to do and that his resentment would be particularly explosive if the advice was delivered in public.

By the end of March, though I had been unable in my conversations with Castro to come to grips with specifics or to obtain any idea of his programs, I believed that I had conveyed to him the good will and the flexibility that would inform American policy toward his government. I hoped that my words had been reinforced and my sincerity confirmed by the course I had followed with respect to the intervention of the telephone company. I had responded affirmatively to a request from Castro's Minister of Justice for an opportunity for some of his men to visit with the Department of Justice in Washington to familiarize themselves with certain

law enforcement techniques. I noted with satisfaction that the communist daily HOY which Castro had allowed in the context of a short lived policy of freedom of the press to reappear was increasingly concerned at evidences of cordiality and understanding between the United States and Cuba; it attacked Doctor Agramonte as a "plattista," that is to say as one who in spite of the abrogation of the Platt Amendment a generation earlier thought and acted as though the amendment which gave ultimate authority in Cuba to the United States was still in force. (Though the charge against Agramonte was unjustified, I was to appreciate in the months to come what an enduring and negative a factor was the "plattista" mentality.)

MY narrative will, I hope, prove less baffling to the reader than the experience was to me if I insert at this point some notes on Castro as I eventually came to understand him, recalling, however, that in the spring of 1959 he was far from having fully discovered himself. Castro's major motivation since adolescence has been his drive for absolute personal power. He cannot endure any sharing of authority, any subjection of his will to that of any other individual or body of people. This drive for power is a far more constant element in his make-up than is the philosophy behind any particular revolutionary panacea he may be peddling. Castro has now attained his goal. Everything in Cuba hinges on him. He is subordinate to no legal or institutional structure. He holds his job at his own pleasure.

I did not achieve any intimacy or friendship with Castro. I do not believe he has any friends in the commonly accepted meaning of that word. My definition of friendship does not cover the master-servant relationship that exists between him and the men and women in his personal entourage. He is not lacking in charm or versatility of personality. His mental and physical gifts are phenomenal. He was in my time a vigorous practitioner of such normal sensual pursuits as eating, smoking, drinking and sex. But he seemed to derive from these ac-

tivities none of the human sociability that usually accompanies them. Castro achieves intimacy only when he addresses the masses in the Plaza de la República or over television. It is only then that he experiences that flow of ideas and sentiments characteristic of deep personal ties between human beings.

Castro's major talent—and it is a major one indeed—is manifest in the dialogue he has carried on over the years with hundreds of thousands of Cubans. I use the word dialogue advisedly though only Castro speaks. His speeches represent a process, emotional much more than intellectual, in which his hearers participate. These speeches do not give the impression of having been prepared in any serious sense: neither advance copies nor even summaries are made available. Castro seems rather to be reacting emotionally and vocally to ideas and facts and notions of facts in a process in which the minds and hearts of his hearers participate. His impact is not vitiated by the repetitiousness, the fallacy, the inconsistency and often the hatefulness of what he says. Each hearer, particularly if he belongs to the masses, shares an experience with Castro in which Castro's chain of emotion-thought becomes his chain of emotion-thought. He reaches the Castro conclusions simultaneously with Castro and not through an absorption of what Castro has said and the subsequent application of his own powers of reasoning and analysis. Popular faith in the Castro "dialogue" is immense; it is unrelated to the success or failure of whatever Castro may be advocating at the moment from cane cutting machines to artificial insemination to the subversion of Latin American governments. This is magic of a high order!

This sorcery becomes all the more miraculous when viewed in the context of the political mood of the bulk of the Cuban people pre-Castro: ironical, cynical and apathetic. If any one had prophesied as late as the mid-50s that from 1959 on millions of Cubans would often be absorbed for three or four hours at a time (often beginning well after midnight!) in the words of one of their number and that they would

develop a fanatical enthusiasm for the man that would erase their own powers of judgment, most competent observers of the Cuban scene would have been highly sceptical.

I have come to reject the condemnation of Castro as the conscious betrayer of the various revolutions he has from time to time propounded though the evidence in favor of such a condemnation is strong. Castro has delighted his followers by picturing himself as the crafty deceiver of people who deserved to be deceived. Yet such a role would imply his possession of intellectual and moral powers and failings comparable to those of other men. I do not believe he has them. He is not a thinker or a planner; such plotting as he does is in the narrow field of personalities. He is rather the vehicle of a mysterious force that drives him on to his goal of personal power. He is endowed with a mystique, a charisma, that relieves him from the demands of doctrine and consistency that to some extent govern most politicians.

Castro has an intuitive faculty that reveals to him the weakness or the strength of the obstacles with which he may be confronted at any particular time. His forward movement is comparable to that of a flow of lava or of a torrential stream in full spate. His course too is governed by the lay of the land and the solidity of the obstacles encountered rather than by a directing human conscience. In Castro's case the obstacles proved weak; there was little that could not be destroyed.

In the short space of two years, Castro preached the restoration of Cuban democracy under the Constitution of 1940 with elections and respect for private property and then a vague "humanism" that would avoid the terror the Maximum Leader then associated with communism and the insecurity and hunger which he regarded as the fruits of capitalism. At the end of the third year he became a high priest of "Marxism-Leninism" giving lessons in the true faith to the pundits in Moscow and to communist leaders everywhere.

The key to Fidel Castro is not to be found in the domain of theoretical politics but in that of the tactics

of power. The irresponsible myths of the anti-imperialists which Castro so eagerly absorbed produced the Castro conviction that the major barrier to his own ambition was not so much the desire of his countrymen for that participation in the political process denied them by Batista as it was the role of the United States and of American interests in the Cuban decision-making machinery. He found that his personal magic readily overwhelmed the not too self-confident aspirations of his fellow Cubans for the share of power he had promised them. It followed that the one constant in all his gyrations was a determination to free Cuba from that American presence he regarded as his own major competitor. He swallowed the gospel of the anti-imperialists because he sensed that that American presence was inimical to his own drive for absolute power. In attaining his objective he has, ironically enough, subjected his country to dependence on the Soviet Union.

Early in 1959 the masses from whom Castro drew his strength looked to him as the guarantor of long desired social and economic reforms. Beginning with the restoration of the political processes contemplated in the Constitution of 1940 these reforms included the full implementation of that constitution. They embraced land reform, tax reform, administrative reform, perhaps the nationalization of the public utilities, a stimulation of industrialization and of agricultural diversification, a serious attack on the structural and seasonal unemployment that was such a blight on the community, the elimination of the corruption that had so disfigured the civic life of the Republic and a dilution of the American presence. But as Castro began to weave his spells the specifics of the desired reforms became blurred. Castro received a blank check to proceed as he wished with the assurance of mass support for his every action. No sooner had the Cuban masses achieved a prospect of asserting their own responsibilities for their destinies than they abjured that prospect and turned over the control of their fate to a relatively unknown young man with an extraordinary television presence. ■

Diplomacy has too often ceased to be a search for peace and . . . has become the conduct of war by other means.

A MISSION UNACCOMPLISHED

Some Thoughts On An Organic Role For The Department of State

ANOTHER spate of commentary on the perennial question of who makes our country's foreign policy, has appeared recently. Most of it is superficial. State's secondary role in formulating American foreign policy seems so evident that it is difficult to understand why members of the press, legislators, Foreign Service officers, or anyone else, raise the issue.

State's contributory but not primary role in foreign policy is understandable. It derives directly from the enormously increased attention in the last 25 years to foreign affairs, or, more correctly, operations outside the borders of the United States, by the President, the Department of Defense, and an important number of other federal agencies and departments, including Congress and the public.

Foreign relations, in the traditional diplomatic sense, is now but one aspect of a larger concept—national security affairs—which reflects the greatly expanded world role we as Foreign Service officers have taken for ourselves and the great diversity of influences bearing upon our overseas relationships.

This misunderstanding of the FSO position is unfortunate not so

REYNOLD A. RIEMER

The author joined the Foreign Service in 1962 after graduate studies in Germany and at SAIS in Bologna and Washington. He served first in Ouagadougou and with USAID, Vietnam, in Pleiku and Saigon. During 1968 he was staff assistant, and, he says, "an apt if later wayward pupil" of Under Secretary Eugene V. Rostow. Mr. Riemer recently finished two years service in the Office of Monetary Affairs and is currently on leave completing course work for his Ph.D. at SAIS. During 1962 he will be assigned to Paris for study at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration.

much because of the needless frustration. Rather, it has greatly contributed to failure to recognize, and seek general acceptance of, a role for State Department counsellors and advocates for non-military approaches to problems of United States foreign policy. Should FSOs persist in denying themselves this role, which is our very *raison d'être* as diplomats, I suggest that in the not so distant future we may find ourselves out of business. The continued need for a separate Foreign Service is not sustained in a current Congressional study on reorganization of the Civil Service—and a

good proportion of the nation's concerned youth have already written us off as irrelevant.

PRESIDENT NIXON, unintentionally but unmistakably, confirmed my premise at his March 4, 1971 press conference. He said that the Secretary of State is "the adviser" and "chief spokesman" on foreign policy, while the President's "White House Adviser," Dr. Kissinger, "coordinates" foreign policy with national security policy.

President Johnson also considered his national security policy distinct from foreign policy. But is not the defense of a nation's security a primary objective of foreign policy? I suggest that President Nixon was just stating the obvious, that the State Department's views about the guts of foreign policy are but one factor among others that he must consider when deciding on US foreign policy.

Since at least the outbreak of World War II, all of our Presidents, by force of circumstances, if not by choice, have had to devote time to extra-territorial questions, at least as great, if not greater, than that given to domestic affairs. In foreign

affairs, no less than in domestic, the President will therefore have claims and inputs from a host of agencies, determined basically by their constitutional responsibilities. Thus the precepts of the Presidential system have to be applied to foreign affairs as much as the domestic concerns. Central among these precepts is the President's authority, indeed, obligation, to make the final decisions between the conflicting demands represented by the various departments of his executive. The Department of State cannot pretend to contest this role with the President relative to extra-territorial questions, any more than any one of the other departments could do so in domestic affairs: Neither can we therefore express dismay that the President should engage advisers to help him sort out the best course among conflicting claims presented him, on foreign matters, no less than on domestic.

In persisting to claim for ourselves a position of "primus inter pares" or arbiter on all political questions touching upon foreign lands, we have been attempting what amounts to usurpation of the President's own prerogatives. I am particularly distressed about this abortive effort, but especially that it has carried with it an effective abdication of the kind of influence we really ought to be exercising.

In the years immediately following the second world war, a case might well have been made that the assurance of an adequate military defense was the clearly overriding goal of national security policy. But this is far from evident today. Indeed, the military orientation of foreign policy has become excessive. State must bear the responsibility for having failed to pose a sufficiently strong counterweight to the foreign policy claims of our vast military establishment. We can no longer deny our obligation.

The President has stated our foreign policy as one of transition from confrontation to a more active search for peace through the reduction of tensions. This is essentially a recognition, however belated, that national security is far better assured through disarmament and a resolution of conflicts than through primary reliance on a balance of ter-

ror maintained through constantly increasing military appropriations. State, as a body of professionals whose *raison d'être* is this very search for non-military solutions, could well claim for itself the role of philosopher and pathfinder in this search for peace. But, as long as our present habits persist, it is unlikely that we will grasp the opportunity. On the contrary, we seem determined to steer ourselves towards bureaucratic redundancy.

To be sure we do send telegrams of instructions. Sometimes we get our choice of words if we work at it. Sometimes we even deliver the messages on the other end (if they are neither so important as to require a meeting with the President, the Secretary of Defense, or the Joint Chiefs of Staff, or so technical as to better be left to other experts).

But all that this might suggest to a student of recent American foreign policy is that while the traditional duties of reporting, representing and negotiating continue to be preserved for the State Department, thinking about foreign policy and influencing its direction on the basis of our calling are duties for which we seem to have lost most of our inclination. While most of us may

feel that we are contributing to international understanding, the effect of the whole of the Department on the nation's policy is generally seen as substantially less than the sum of what we believe to be its parts. And if this is the view of us which now prevails, it is likely we will increasingly be seen as little more than a collection of unnecessary people.

With jet travel and rapid communications, and the growing realization that we need neither have our hand in the all the world's pots nor even be aware of all the spices stewing in them, these diplomats' roles as negotiator and reporter will soon have little meaning in themselves.

The suggestion has already been made that the tasks of the foreign affairs community might as well be executed by members of a uniform Civil Service, in which a career of duty in Indianapolis might well be considered as good a preparation for an ambassadorial post as one spent in the Department and posts overseas. This is the essence of a report now in preparation for the House Civil Service Committee. We can expect to hear it from other sources as well.

In the face of such views within the government, and a growing in-



difference if not hostility among the nation's youth, it will not suffice for us to point with pride to the Department's leadership in the search for peace in the Middle East, or to our advocacy, however lukewarm and sporadic, of a reduction in the barriers to increased contacts with the Socialist states. Memories are short, and appreciation of these efforts alone will not guarantee our future if we cannot establish for ourselves a real organic purpose, a purpose which is political and not merely functional, and have that purpose accepted and understood by the President, the Congress, and the people as a whole.

The mission of the Department of Defense is to provide the maximum possible military protection for the security of the United States. In budgetary terms, this means that although DOD is responsible for assuring that we obtain maximum value for our defense dollar, it is most certainly not required to set the limit beyond which its estimated "needs" must be sacrificed to other pressing goals. It must ask for the maximum it feels it should have; it is up to the President, and the Congress, to weigh this against other needs.

So too, in the overseas aspects of defense policy. The duty of DOD is indeed to plan for every contingency that might face it, request every base it might consider useful, and, when engaged in actual conflict, support any policy that it feels will best attain its military objectives. Likewise, it is the duty of the Treasury to advocate the application of policies overseas that are most consistent with what it sees as the requirements of our economic situation at home, and the protection of our balance of payments. Commerce supports the overseas interests of American business, Agriculture those of the American farmer, and Justice, for example in the ease of control of international drug traffic, the interests of US law enforcement agencies. But what about State?

State too has an interest to represent. I have already suggested that this interest derives directly from its very nature as a diplomatic agency, an agency charged with understanding the causes of interna-

tional conflict and seeking to resolve them by peaceful means. While it is of course true that détente and international cooperation are goals to which the whole of the executive branch would subscribe, the primary constitutional duties of others lie elsewhere.

Ours is the responsibility for peace. But, in too many cases, we seem to have forgotten this natural function. Despite some achievements to the contrary, for 20 years and more, diplomacy has too often ceased to be a search for peace, and by a gross inversion of Clausewitz's classic doctrine—has become the conduct of war by other means.

We can be charged with a sad dereliction of our duty in that the professional body at the State Department and in the Foreign Service did not do more to question the wisdom and technique of our involvement in Vietnam as it developed over the years. While we may have questioned the continued need for this or that military installation, we cannot claim to have questioned the continued validity of much of our vast panoply of alliances, bases and overseas troop contingents, upon which so much of our foreign policy has too long been centered.

Most important of all, have we, as diplomats, as people entrusted with understanding the motives and the political forces behind other nations' policies, pressed sufficiently hard for understanding that the "threat" from the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China might better be understood by examining the interactions of their aspirations and ours, rather than by counting divisions? Surely no one else in the executive should be expected to do so. And to the extent that world peace, as well as our own standing as a corporate body, suffers from the failure of such arguments to prevail, we cannot escape responsibility.

It is high time, therefore, for us to right the imbalance too long prevailing in the US executive. I suggest that while it is perfectly correct that the Defense Department base its planning on the assumption of possible conflict involving the United States, we at State must consciously and consistently operate on the opposite assumption—that a will

to peace also exists among the great powers, and that the causes of potential conflict could be eliminated through the exercise of our profession as well as by mutual deterrence.

Our aim should be the creation of a situation where enormous defense requirements, which draw upon the world's wealth as the grossest of all human parasites, could all but disappear. Our advice should consistently point to the option least likely to cause conflict or bloodshed, and most likely to contribute to international cooperation and interdependence. While this does not theoretically preclude short term warlike actions to secure longer term peaceful goals, our recent history suggests that only rarely has such recourse been justified in the past, and even less so is it likely to be effective in the future.

Translated into policy, such a role for State could require a move away from rather comfortable fixation with NATO and the Warsaw pact, and wholehearted acceptance of a policy goal of setting aside this dichotomy of alliances in a peace which recognizes realities in all European states.

In Latin America, and elsewhere in the Third World, it could mean acknowledging the need for revolution, where it exists, and paying less heed to shibboleths about "stability" and the menace of Communism.

In our economic policies, we might urge a strong effort to remove obsolete restrictions on trade and investment involving Communist nations, and a decreased willingness to tolerate discriminatory practices on the part of our allies on grounds of national security. The list could be extended, probably with enthusiasm, by any reader of this article. But, we must also be aware of the meaning of such advocacy to us as officials.

To constitute ourselves publicly as such a body of peace advocates will be no easy matter. We will attract to ourselves a myriad of echoes from an unhappy past, cries of being "soft on communism," of being "panty-waists for peace at any price."

But we cannot avoid a decision on these grounds. Our choice is to

(Continued on page 44)

Reform leadership must not only be strong at the outset; it must continue so.

Perspectives of Reform

Part II—The Post-Carr Period

WHEN Wilbur J. Carr left the State Department in 1937, reform devolved upon migratory officials. The first of prominence was Under Secretary Edward R. Stettinius. Unlike Carr and Wilson, Stettinius was under no necessity of generating pressure for reform. This had slowly developed from the evidenced incompetence of the diplomatic establishment to deal with the complex international problems thrust upon the nation since 1929. Reform should have proceeded along three lines: (1) assembling knowledgeable people to identify and study the international demands upon the establishment and thus the skills and organization it needed, (2) concrete proposals for producing such skills and organization, and (3) ways of achieving the follow-through needed over the years. Only the second was tackled.

This self-defeating shallowness lay partly in Mr. Stettinius, whose impressive appearance was not matched by his intellect. His positions in industry had resulted from paternal friends rather than from personal capacity and while his depression and war-time experience in Washington had culminated as Lend Lease Administrator he was far from what the diplomatic establishment needed for modernization. When he was named Under Secretary in September 1943, replacing Sumner Wells, President Roosevelt intimated that he was designated "to raise hell in the State Department." Stettinius at least did that.

He and his associates worked

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hard and fast for 14 months at their task of "raising hell." But they knew little about (1) the Department or the Foreign Service and the linkages between the two, (2) foreign affairs, especially upcoming post-war problems, and (3) the nature of diplomacy itself. The result was a focus on symptoms rather than originating deficiencies and, upon organization rather than attitudes, skills and performance. Few objectives were therefore realized. When Stettinius became Secretary in December 1944, he was promptly immersed in war and postwar business, and was out of office the following June. Many of his associates disappeared with him; and their successors became much too involved in postwar crises and international meetings to think much about what needed to be done to enable the Department to fulfill its new global responsibilities.

The time was ripe for a reappraisal of the Foreign Service. Some of its more alert officers who had anticipated this desired to seize the

reins of reevaluation and reform before unknowledgeable outsiders got hold of them. They had received a premonitory signal from a perceptive civil servant, Lawrence Duggan, who had persuaded Sumner Welles to introduce Labor Attachés into the Foreign Service Auxiliary; and in 1943-44 the Labor Attaché Program, which I had some part in setting up, rapidly crystallized. This democratizing move greatly amplified the Service's resources of observation, evaluation and persuasion abroad.

As these developments took place, Service reform received support from an unexpected source. A continuing dispute between the Department and the Foreign Economic Administration over the allocation of funds for commercial reporting in South America led to the establishment of an interdepartmental Joint Survey Group to review the needs and procedures of the controverted reporting. Under the chairmanship of Alan N. Steyne, an energetic, imaginative Foreign Service officer, this group began to explore related problems. On March 1, 1944, Mr. Steyne was appointed head of the Office of Foreign Service which replaced the two divisions of Foreign Service Personnel and Foreign Service Administration. He established in that office the first "planning staff" the Service had ever had. The idea of reform now acquired a tremendous boost.

The planning which Steyne envisaged necessitated the creation of several bodies: a Commission of Inquiry on the Foreign Service, com-

posed of eminent representatives of the public, an interdepartmental committee, and a strictly departmental Steering Committee to guide the planning. In addition, three teams, each consisting of a Foreign Service officer, Budget Bureau official and representative of the public were despatched to missions abroad to review their conditions and needs.

In December 1944, Julius C. Holmes, a career Foreign Service officer, was named to Wilbur Carr's old post of Assistant Secretary for Administration. This officer had taken a leave of absence for war-time military service and at this time held the rank of general. He had given some thought to updating the Foreign Service and, before assuming office, took the prudent step of getting his principal ideas approved by Secretary Stettinius.

On December 18, 1944, a Committee on Foreign Service Legislation was created in the Department to crystallize proposals for an interim law embodying some of the more urgently needed authorizations. This was passed by Congress May 3, 1945, thus clearing the way for basic, long-term legislation. To work on this, Holmes chose as director of the Office of the Foreign Service, Monnett B. Davis, with Selden Chapin as his deputy. Both were Foreign Service officers.

On May 16, Davis was succeeded by Chapin, who appointed as his deputy Julian F. Harrington, a Foreign Service officer who had started as a clerk in the old consular service, thus bringing to the effort some of the kind of thinking that had characterized Carr's own approach to a "new foreign service." In the meantime, Julius Holmes acquired access to President Truman and got his blessing for the concept of a single unified Foreign Service and the need for basic improvements. The President also approved the elaborate committee structure developed by Alan Steyne. With this solid support from the White House, Holmes circulated a memorandum throughout the Department, inviting legislative suggestions.

Twelve studies and sub-studies, with suggested drafts of implementing legislation, emanated from Steyne's Planning Staff. James F.

"Not only new skills but new concepts of diplomacy were now needed."

Byrnes succeeded Mr. Stettinius as Secretary on July 3, 1945; and six weeks later Holmes resigned to enter private business. He was succeeded by Frank J. McCarthy (not related to the Senator), a bright young aide of General Marshall during World War II, but with no experience in the diplomatic establishment. The appointment startled the in-house reformers and the Service reacted unfavorably. Mr. Byrnes added another unsettling move: he requested the Bureau of the Budget to prepare a report on State Department organization, thus reviving the Stettinius organizational reform effort.

The Bureau's report included recommendations on the Foreign Service, one of which was to merge the Department's civil service and the Foreign Service. Mr. McCarthy swung behind most of the recommendations, including this one. Responsive to an overwhelming Service opposition to such a merger and trying to adjust to a new and poorly informed Assistant Secretary, Mr. Chapin found his position increasingly difficult.

In the midst of all this the Department was inundated with over ten thousand employees from the Office of War Information, the Office of Inter-American Affairs, and the Office of Strategic Services. What to do with them demanded urgent decisions. New officials were hastily appointed in the Department to direct the programs of the dismantled agencies and the chaos which now overtook the diplomatic establishment was augmented by an unfortunate blow. Alan Steyne, who had driven himself unmercifully, had a breakdown; he went on extended leave; and when he returned was assigned to other duties. The

sails of the legislative project lost considerable wind.

Suffering from bursitis, plagued by his own ignorance and the departmental confusion, and floundering badly, Mr. McCarthy resigned on October 11. His place was taken by Donald S. Russell, a long-time associate and former law partner of the Secretary, also totally unfamiliar with the diplomatic establishment; and his deputy, J. Anthony Panuch, a New York lawyer, could do little to reduce Mr. Russell's ignorance of foreign affairs. These two appointments perpetuated the insiders' loss of high-level leadership that had begun with Holmes's resignation.

Russell's initial decision was to fully support McCarthy's views on Foreign Service modernization, including merger of Departmental and Service personnel and abandonment of all legislative effort. But Chapin, by his considerable talents of persuasion, managed to get himself authorized to resume the legislative effort based on a continuance of the established Foreign Service separate from the departmental service. The new spurt was joined by Andrew B. Foster, Carl W. Strom, Edward T. Lampson, Lionel M. Summers, Marion L. Neustadt and Edmund A. Gullion. Apart from Miss Neustadt, none of this group had any background or formal training in the mass of technicalities on which reform was beginning to concentrate, such as leave, pensions, promotions, and classification of personnel. They set to work to master these. Many of the broader corridors which Steyne had inspired the Joint Survey Group to open up were abandoned.

Before Mr. Chapin could send a bill to Capitol Hill he was attacked formidably from four quarters.

"Die-hards" in the Foreign Service wanted no significant change at all, and objected particularly to proposals such as lateral entry.

The "Special Assistant to the Secretary" heading the new intelligence office wanted to be free of the proposed Board of Foreign Service Personnel in despatching and administering his staff abroad, yet he wanted that staff in the Foreign Service and not, as proposed, in the Foreign Service Reserve.

William Benton, Assistant Secretary, whose informational and cul-

tural officers were viewed by FSOs as "a dubious and unassimilable group" both in the field and the Department, demanded their immediate assimilation.

Finally, William Clayton, Assistant Secretary for economic affairs, objected to the details of Chapin's bill. He resisted the proposed discrimination against specialists (who would be consigned to the Foreign Service Reserve) and vigorously attacked Chapin's concept of the proposed Director General of the Foreign Service. Clayton strongly felt that this official should not be a Foreign Service officer, a genre, he held, altogether too resistant to change.

All but the "die-hards" considered Chapin was only going through the motions of reform and really had in mind only the preservation of "the Foreign Service guild." The "die-hards," of course, considered him to be gravely jeopardizing "the guild."

The frenetic battle that raged over these issues contrasted to the quiet, long-sustained, undramatic efforts which characterized the Carr period of reform. There was a contrast in the scope of effort, also. Depression and war had revealed many inadequacies in the diplomatic establishment that Wilbur Carr had not approached and some of which, perhaps, he had not grasped. Not only new skills, but new concepts of diplomacy were now needed. A whole new vision of education and training for policy-making and diplomacy was therefore demanded. Little of these emerged. The 1946 Act failed to rise to these, although Chapin's compromises left many possibilities wide open, exploitable in time if reform could be sustained. For this, years of patient, consistent development were needed.

This, however, did not eventuate. One by one, the reformers were rotated to other assignments. Some, exhausted, deliberately sought less strenuous berths overseas to recuperate. Gradually, their thinking was dissipated, their studies were filed and forgotten. No Wilbur Carr was left to carry on. Thus, almost a quarter century later, the Young Turks found the terms of the Act so unfulfilled as to provide ample room for the reforms they wanted.

To the dissipating effects of rota-

tion was added the failure of the reformers to professionalize the standards for admission to the Service or even to require the newly established Foreign Service Institute to incorporate in its orientation of officers a study of the Act and its objectives. Such a study could have included an analysis of the problems involved in achieving those objectives and the performance criteria which officers themselves had to measure up to in order to reach those objectives. Thus the impact of rotation could have been challenged. But there was all too prevalent a disposition to regard the Act as "a great legislative achievement" and to overlook the crucial problem of continuing implementation.

Another factor was the post-war economizing that overtook the diplomatic establishment along with the rest of the federal government. Funds were not always available for the reforms proposed. The first director of the Foreign Service Institute, for example, made manful efforts to get that agency headed in the intended direction of an academy. He undertook a number of imaginative projects. However, he found himself confronted not only by a lack of funds but, in consequence, a dearth of officers who could be spared for educational and training programs. The survivors of the economy drive were too hard worked to have much time or energy for anything beyond the day's requirements. In two years, the first of FSI's long succession of rotating directors joined the Foreign Service and left for overseas. All along its broad front, reform eroded and crumbled.

During the ensuing period in which three secretaries presided over the Department, only General Marshall proved to be an organizational innovator. In a department still functioning as a coalition of those area dukedoms which Huntington Wilson had created, the General instituted a Central (now called an Executive) Secretariat to effect an orderly presentation of problems to him and a systematic follow-through on his decisions. He also set up a Policy Planning Staff.

General Marshall's influence upon his deputy, Dean Acheson, and the latter's fortunate succession

to the General made these innovations enduring reforms. But with policy planning understood neither by their successors nor underpinned by appropriate instruction in the Foreign Service Institute, "planning" never evolved in a way to meet the nation's global requirements. As for diplomatic planning, any that evolved was accidental and fragmentary.

When General Walter Bedell Smith entered the Department as deputy to Dulles, he was aghast to find that, after successfully pleading on Capitol Hill the cause of more adequate education and training, there were not enough officers to make the reform possible. Nor were there enough even to carry out the 1946 Act's principle of frequent departmental assignments. He resorted to the quick expedient of fusing the Civil and Foreign Services, an idea which had long simmered in Carr's and others' minds and had been recommended in 1950 by a committee of James H. Rowe, Congressman Robert Ramspeck and Ambassador William E. DeCourcy. Thus, Wristonization came about. Being executed by bludgeoning of people rather than by long-range planning, it stigmatized itself as less reform than recourse to chaos.

No effort at broad-scaled reform developed for 15 years after the 1946 act. When the Kennedy Administration began, I talked with Adolph A. Berle about needed reforms and the usefulness of creating a group of practitioners and knowledgeable outsiders to undertake a broad-scaled study of the establishment's needs and come up with recommendations for action. Mr. Berle was close to the President and occupied an influential position in the Department. He passed the suggestion on to higher echelons. Perhaps others had the same thought. In any case, the Herter Committee was born. It was a kind of Steyne "Commission of Inquiry" but without either the departmental or interdepartmental underpinning which Mr. Steyne had imaginatively engineered. No State Department official and only one Foreign Service officer was included in the twelve-man committee. It not only met infrequently but its focus was largely limited to personnel problems, which

was a good deal less than what was needed.

The Committee's report, "Personnel for the New Diplomacy," presented to Secretary Rusk and published in December 1962, betrayed a formalistic, public-administration rather than a realistic, dynamic approach to diplomacy. It reflected little grasp of the art and none of the science of diplomacy. It had correspondingly limited impact and generated no reform movement. Its various staff reports, however, were published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (which had helped to set up and fund the Committee). The reports assisted in keeping alive the Committee's rational approach to various personnel problems and shattering myths that had bedeviled establishment thinking over the years. Some of the reports were drawn upon by the Young Turks who emerged as a spearhead of reform five years later.

In the interim, a significant in-house reform effort developed independently of the Herter Committee when the post of Deputy Under Secretary for Administration went to William J. Crockett in 1963. Mr. Crockett had had five years in the Department and, before that, six years in the Foreign Service, all in administration. Earlier, he had acquired overseas exposure as an administrative representative of the Maritime Commission in Naples, and executive officer in Beirut for the Technical Cooperation Administration. Notwithstanding this seemingly limited experience, he had picked up a good working knowledge of foreign policy and diplomacy, and being endowed with a nimble, inventive, reform-oriented mind, he gave the faltering Kennedy effort to modernize the diplomatic establishment a second wind. For almost four years—from 1963 to 1967—Crockett sprinted hard. He imported management experts, created an Office of Management Planning, brought in consultants (who were sometimes, like myself, retired reformers) and pushed along a far-flung perimeter of modernization. But his reforms were frustrated by senior officers who felt that they had done well in the Service and resisted change, by the lack of a well-thought-out-plan of reform and

by the failure of his superiors to give him needed support.

Crockett tried hard to carry out the Herter Committee's recommendation of bringing into a "family of compatible services" the various overseas corps of the Government. But the recommendation stalled in Congress: Messrs. Rusk and Ball would not press for it, influential senior and retired Foreign Service officers lobbied against it. Weary and disheartened by all this, Crockett retired to the rewards of private industry. Once again, rotation of officers, resignations and retirements set in and dissipated patiently assembled staffs. The effort quickly disintegrated.

A group of Foreign Service officers, mostly mid-career but with a few senior and some junior, still believed reform had to be pressed. Lacking a base in the Department, they took over the American Foreign Service Association in 1967, and converted it into an instrument of reform. One of them took a leave of absence to devote full time to the Association's effort to produce a reform movement. A year of hard work on the part of all produced a study, "Toward a Modern Diplomacy," and collaboration in a volume of THE ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science on "Resources and Needs of American Diplomacy." Copies of both publications went to various echelons of the Nixon staff immediately after the 1968 election, to Secretary William P. Rogers and Under Secretary Elliot Richardson, to the press, Congressmen and a broad sector of opinion makers.

Persuaded that reform should get under way, Mr. Richardson searched for a suitable Deputy Under Secretary of Administration and on October 3, 1969, William B. Macomber, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, was installed.

Mr. Macomber had an impressive preparation for reform, perhaps not the least valuable part of which was his lack of identification with the Foreign Service. He had thus escaped its parochialisms, its defense mechanisms, its fear of efficiency reports and its inclination to routine performance. More positively, he had been thoroughly seasoned in the "new diplomacy." In 18 years of

experience in public affairs he had served with the Central Intelligence Agency, with State as a Special Assistant to Secretary Dulles and Under Secretary Hoover, with Senator John S. Cooper as administrative assistant and back with State as Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations. President John F. Kennedy decided that Mr. Macomber was a Republican he should retain and named him Ambassador to Jordan. Following that tour he was Assistant Administrator in the Agency for International Development for the Near East and South Asia, and then resumed his former responsibilities for State's relations on Capitol Hill.

With this background, buttressed by substantial studies and recommendations from 13 task forces of 250 officers, and a solicitation of suggestions from overseas missions, what are Mr. Macomber's chances of pulling off meaningful reform?

In the light of the record of earlier reform efforts, I fear the chances are dim. Mr. Macomber has the support of his Secretary. That counts for something. However, Mr. Rogers is an unknown quantity as a reformer and his fulcrum at the White House on which to rest the lever of reform is, to say the least, of dubious solidity. John N. Irwin II, the new Under Secretary, like most of those who cluster at the Department's summit, is a lawyer and the *genus advocatus* is not distinguished for its interest in organizational and management problems. Former Under Secretary Elliot Richardson is a rare type of the genus. His successor will have to go a far piece to equal Mr. Richardson's comprehension of both the importance and the precepts of good management and to give Macomber the kind of aggressive support he needs.

A factor to Macomber's advantage is that the 250 officers in the Task Force groups were the most broadly representative ever to analyze the diplomatic establishment and propose reforms. He is now implementing their proposals, not his, but he is free to choose the proposals he likes.

The task force exercise has had the salutary effect of educating the participants and, through the publication of their reports, many others.

Therefore, all concerned see somewhat less subjectively both problems and options. Publication of the reports, which never had a parallel except in the cases of the Wriston and Herter Committees, will help ensure that they will not be buried. They are in the public domain, and therefore invite widespread and continuing support.

But inviting support is one thing. Providing leadership is another. How much of the latter will the Secretary and his deputy encourage and along what lines? Will it stop short, for example, of making the Secretary's Committee a truly coordinating and integrating device? How much leadership will the President permit? He has people at his elbow who can pooh-pooh the whole thing or even cast doubt upon it as constituting a threat to his own position in foreign affairs, which would be a tragic misinterpretation of the effort.

Neither the Secretary nor his Deputy Under Secretary for Administration enjoys the easy access to the President which enabled earlier heads of the Department and their subordinates like Wilbur Carr to carry to the political summit their advocacy of improvements. Unlike Messrs. Carr, Stettinius and Holmes, Mr. Macomber cannot himself get to the President to cultivate that understanding and reassurance of what he is about, which could generate the support he badly needs in the battles he must inevitably wage with the Bureau of the Budget and on Capitol Hill. It would be helpful if Secretary Rogers saw to it that his associate acquired such access to the President.

While Mr. Macomber has standing and contacts on the Hill, it is doubtful if he has that quiet, sustained social relationship which proved so advantageous to Wilbur Carr. Representative John J. Rooney is also a factor. While Wilbur Carr eventually came to have his Rooney in the person of Congressman Edward T. Taylor, this was late in his career. Mr. Macomber has his Mr. Rooney here and now. One Congressman can check chances of maneuver on Capitol Hill. Here is an opportunity for the American

"Reforms must also reach to such basic issues as the respective roles in . . . foreign policy of the diplomatic establishment and the President, the military establishment . . ."

Foreign Service Association to fortify the chances of reform on Capitol Hill, but the Association has not been so strikingly successful in developing close relations with members of Congress as to offer much hope of this. Extra-establishment groups to supplement Mr. Macomber's efforts are as essential as the National Civil Service Reform League and the National Board of Trade had been to Mr. Carr. But these are hard to find and harder still to get moving. The problem of finding or germinating an outside reform "constituency" is a real one for any aspiring reformer.

Reform leadership must not only be strong at the outset: it must continue so. This requires a tempering of our rotation fetish, certainly insofar as key positions of management are concerned. Diplomatic officers will have to be educated out of their predilection for the glamor of overseas service and brought down to the firm earth of political reality here at home. They must be brought to recognize that Washington inputs are as important to their profession as anything they do abroad and to put professional interests before personal.

This requires a far more rigorous education and training of truly professional character. No reform effort can produce desired results without a greatly strengthened, more dynamic Foreign Service Institute operating on a higher intellectual and professional level than heretofore. Such an Institute could do much to temper the dissipating effects of rotation which have eroded every reform effort after Mr. Carr's time.

If the Task Force—Macomber reports, along with others, were made required study by every incoming officer (civil servants included) with a thorough discussion of the pro-

posals injected at all levels of our educational-training program, officers would have a clearer idea of what "reform" consists of, what objectives it must seek, and what kind of performance by them it exacts. Just as Mr. Carr personally imbued officers with the spirit and meaning of his reforms, so Macomber must seek to do this by institutional means, since he and his associates are themselves subject to rotation. Only such efforts can reverse the all-too-prevalent inclination of officers to (1) put their own careers foremost, rather than professional standards of performance; (2) become immersed in substantive duties so that their intellectual energy is diverted from the basic needs of the establishment itself; and (3) overlook the steps they themselves must take to overcome the dissipating effects of rotation.

This review plainly suggests that reform is not a one-volley affair. It is a long, sustained series of reforms. It therefore demands the strategic planning and tactical follow-through that any campaign demands. This can only come from a continuing, high-level strategist and tactician high enough in the Departmental hierarchy to be the confidant of Secretaries and possibly Presidents. This official I think of as a "general manager" of the diplomatic establishment.

Although it is said that the Department has never had a "general manager" or "permanent under secretary," one, two or three men, as we have seen, have performed this role under 19 Administrations of varied political hue. These Administrations not only accepted the principle of continuity in administrative leadership—using that term in its broad sense—but found the practice so rewarding that they retained the individuals performing the role from 1852 to 1933, irrespective of their political affiliations. Even the New Deal, from 1933 to 1937, achieved in the diplomatic establishment a greater measure of administrative unity, in the narrow sense of house-keeping, than is generally appreciated. This was accomplished by continuing in the post of Assistant Secretary (for Administration) a knowledgeable civil servant willing and able to assume this responsibility.

State tends to end up with the worst of both worlds—neither the lead role nor a secure piece of turf

State and Presidential Leadership

EVER since President John F. Kennedy called the State Department “a bowl of jelly,” with “all those people over there who are constantly smiling,” it has been fair game for pungent statements of its deficiencies as seen from the White House. Such criticisms merit serious attention, since the movement of foreign affairs leadership to the National Security Council (NSC) staff seems directly attributable to Presidential frustrations with State. Yet attempts to draw from them a more general pattern of departmental behavior are rare. Still rarer are efforts to base reform proposals on the need to alter such a pattern, though significant change would seem indispensable to make State a serious candidate for the leading foreign policy role.

What follows is an effort to help fill this gap. It is based on the thesis that the view of State from the White House suggests a broader pattern of bureaucratic behavior. This pattern is not unusual in large organizations. But it is quite unsuitable for meeting the needs of a President or asserting broad foreign policy leadership.

Most White House criticisms of State can be grouped under two headings: failure to be “responsive,” and failure to “take charge.” Lack of responsiveness is another way of saying State doesn’t meet Presidential needs. It includes the oft-cited slowness in filling White House requests. It also includes inadequate staff work, both what

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one recent NSC staff official called a predilection for providing “only one option, the preferred policy,” and what another termed simply “bad writing.” More generally, lack of responsiveness is seen to reflect what one NSC staffer in Kennedy’s administration called State’s inclination to see the President as “a transient meddler in its business.”

Lack of leadership covers a range of more specific indictments. A central one is failure to exploit invitations by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson to “take charge of” or “direct” foreign policy. Another charge, cited often, has been a predisposition toward focusing on one part of a problem—its “political” or “diplomatic” aspects—rather than on the whole. Reluctance to challenge the expertise of others, such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) on the Bay of Pigs or the military on Vietnam, is a further indictment. And the Department is accused of a tendency to cling defensively to out-

worn policies, the so-called “curator mentality.”

State’s failure to respond and to lead has resulted in the building up of a White House staff that increasingly does both for the President. This is generally seen as counter to State’s bureaucratic interests. But the criticisms cited suggest that State has not acted as if its paramount interest were either in cross-governmental foreign affairs primacy or in giving the most useful analysis and advice to Presidents.

State’s pattern of behavior can be thought of as quite similar to that of other large governmental organizations that rank their traditional functions first and broad policy issues second. It has undertaken to secure a narrow though important area of foreign affairs ground—“diplomacy,” communications with embassies, international “political” policy—and to “exclude” other agencies from these insofar as possible. It has shied away from broad, “inclusive” coordination of foreign affairs despite a fairly strong traditional and presidential mandate.

In bureaucratic political battles with other Washington agencies, State officials could draw on two potential bargaining advantages. One is the prospect of presidential support for a comprehensive foreign policy role. The other comes from State’s responsibility for diplomatic relations, including communications with embassies and international negotiations and its network of relationships with foreign

BY-LAWS
OF THE
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION
as amended

ARTICLE I

OFFICE AND PLACE OF BUSINESS

The principal office and place of business of this Association shall be in the City of Washington, District of Columbia.

ARTICLE II

CORPORATE SEAL

The corporate seal of this Association shall have inscribed thereon the name of the Association, the year of its creation, and the words "District of Columbia." An impression thereof shall be affixed to these By-Laws.

ARTICLE III

PURPOSES AND OBJECTIVES

In addition to the general purposes and objectives of this Association as set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation the following are declared to be the primary purposes and objectives of this Association:

1. To further the interests and well being of the members of the Association and to work closely with the Department of State and other agencies toward the goal of improving the foreign affairs community.
2. To take over the property, assets, obligations, and contracts of the voluntary unincorporated Association heretofore in existence and known as the AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION, and to continue under the name of the present Association the purposes, objectives, and affairs of that predecessor Association;
3. To acquire real and personal property by purchase or lease, whether in whole or in part, to be used for this Association and its members;
4. To accept and receive gifts, grants, devises, bequests, and funds from such other voluntary associations as may be created by Foreign Service personnel, or to accept and receive gifts, grants, devises, bequests, and funds as otherwise donated to this Association by any person or persons, group or groups, and to utilize or dispose of the same for the purposes of this Association, or, as directed by said other associations or said other donors;
5. To publish the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and AFSA NEWS as the official organ of this Association in order to disseminate information respecting the work of the agencies principally engaged in foreign affairs and Foreign Service among interested persons, including business and professional men and others in the United States and abroad, and persons who may be considering the American Foreign Service as a career; to serve as a medium of exchange for personal and other news and for unofficial information respecting the agencies principally engaged in foreign affairs and the Foreign Service and their personnel; and to keep them in touch with developments which are of interest or concern to them;
6. To create, maintain and operate a Scholarship Fund or Funds or such other funds for such purposes as are commensurate with the purposes and objectives of this Association described in the Certificate of Incorporation or in these By-Laws;
7. To sponsor, through the American Foreign Service Protective Association, Inc., a group insurance plan for payment of life, sick, and accident benefits to members of this Association entitled thereto under the Certificate of Incorporation and By-Laws of the said American Foreign Service Protective Association, Inc., as are now written or as hereafter may be written;
8. To carry on such other activities as the Association may deem practicable in pursuance of the purposes and objectives set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation of this Association and in these

By-Laws, in order to serve the interests of the Association and its members.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION A

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. The property and affairs of this Association shall be managed by a Board of Directors of eleven members, who shall be elected every two years in the manner and for the term provided in ARTICLE VI.
2. No person shall be elected as a Director unless such person is an Active Member of this Association and is either on duty in Washington, D. C. or is residing in the metropolitan area of Washington, D. C. The term of duty of each Director shall be two years; however, a Director may be reelected as provided for in ARTICLE VI.
3. If a vacancy should occur in the membership of the Board of Directors, or in the office of President, First Vice President, or Second Vice President, not covered by ARTICLE V, Section B, the Board, in its discretion, may appoint an Active Member to fill such vacancy.

SECTION B

POWERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. The powers of the Board of Directors shall be those vested in the Board by the Certificate of Incorporation, by these By-Laws, by powers given them pursuant to the laws of the District of Columbia, and, by the general powers normally vested in the Board of Directors by virtue of their office.
2. In addition, the following specific powers are hereby expressly conferred upon the Board of Directors:
 - a. To appoint a Chairman and a Vice Chairman from among the members of the Board of Directors;
 - b. To appoint a Secretary-Treasurer and an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of the Association;
 - c. To appoint members of the JOURNAL Editorial Board, who shall serve at the pleasure of the Board of Directors, and who, under the general direction of the Board of Directors, shall be specifically responsible for the publication of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL;
 - d. To appoint, upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Protective Association, Inc., and subject to the By-Laws of said Association, the Directors of that Association who shall serve until replaced in accordance with the provisions of the By-Laws of the American Foreign Service Protective Association, Inc.;
 - e. To authorize and approve the employment, compensation, conditions of employment and the duties of the General Manager and other salaried employees of the Association, as may, in the consideration of the Board of Directors, be necessary;
 - f. To invest any surplus funds of this Association in recognized banking institutions, securities, real property, building and loan associations, and in the State Department Federal Credit Union;
 - g. To authorize disbursements of Association funds to carry out the purposes and objectives of this Association as set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation and these By-Laws; provided, however, that no disbursement exceeding one-third of the Association's general funds shall be made for a specific purpose unless authorized by a majority present at a general business meeting held in accordance with the provisions of ARTICLE X of these By-Laws;
 - h. To select such person or persons, firm or firms as desired from without the membership of this Association to audit and examine the accounts of this Association annually, or more often if deemed necessary by the Board of Directors, and to authorize the payment of fees and expenses in connection therewith;

i. To perform, or authorize the performance of, whatever is necessary to carry out the purposes and objectives of this Association as set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation and in these By-Laws

3. Any 25 active members or any overseas AFSA Chapter may at any time, and by written request, require the Board to discuss in a regular Board meeting an issue they deem important. The Board will report its conclusions to those submitting the request and to the membership at large.

4. It is incumbent upon the Board to seek the advice of the active membership at large as frequently as practicable on major issues before the Association. Therefore, whenever the Board believes an issue to be of sufficient importance—and other considerations of time and subject matter permit—the advice of the active membership shall be sought by written ballot, by communication with Chapter heads or by other expeditious means.

SECTION C

MEETINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. The Board of Directors shall meet at least once each month on a date determined by the Chairman, and at such other times as the Chairman may determine.

2. The Board also shall meet at the written request of five Directors made to the Chairman of the Board at least five days prior to the date of the meeting, or by notice in writing mailed by the Chairman of the Board or by the President of the Association to each member of the Board at least 5 days before the date on which the meeting is to be held.

3. A meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held only with a quorum present. Six members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum.

4. Decisions taken at meetings of the Board of Directors shall be by a majority of the quorum present at the meeting.

5. The President, and the Vice Presidents are privileged to attend all meetings of the Board. The Chairman of the Board at his discretion may invite others to attend meetings of the Board of Directors.

6. All regular meetings of the Board of Directors shall be open to all members. Accurate minutes of all meetings, including a record of any votes by the Directors, shall be available to members. A summary of such minutes shall be published on a timely basis in the Foreign Service Journal.

ARTICLE V

SECTION A

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

1. The Association shall have as Officers a President, a First Vice President and a Second Vice President, who shall be elected as provided for in ARTICLE VI. The Association shall also have as Officers a Chairman of the Board, a Vice Chairman of the Board, a Secretary-Treasurer and an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, all of whom shall be appointed by the Board of Directors.

2. The Association may also have Honorary Officers who shall be appointed by the Board of Directors.

SECTION B

POWERS OF OFFICERS

1. The President shall preside at all general meetings of the Association. In his absence, the First Vice President, the Second Vice President or the Chairman of the Board of Directors, in that order, shall preside. The President shall be a non-voting member of the Board of Directors. He may call upon the Board of Directors for information and data relating to the affairs of the Association. He shall have such other powers and duties and discretions as may be delegated to him, subject to his acceptance, by the Board of Directors of the Association.

2. The First Vice President shall be vested with all of the powers and shall perform all the duties of the President during the absence of the latter, and in case of a vacancy arising in the office of the President, he shall succeed to that office for the remainder of the President's unexpired term and, in turn, the Second Vice President shall become the First Vice President for the remainder of the First Vice President's unexpired term. The First Vice President and the Second Vice President shall be non-voting members of the Board of Directors.

3. Under the general responsibility of the Board of Directors, the Secretary-Treasurer, or in his absence, the Assistant Secretary-

Treasurer or the General Manager shall have charge of all the moneys, funds, and assets of the Association, of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and of the Scholarship and other Funds; shall be responsible for the maintenance of the accounts, collection of dues, receipt of contributions and any other funds which may be due from the members; collect and receive any moneys and other personal property to which the Association may be entitled whether because of gift, grant, bequest or otherwise; make payments out of any moneys and assets in his charge for ordinary operating expenses. All such moneys and funds shall be placed upon deposit in recognized banking institutions or, in the case of surplus funds, invested with the authorization of the Board of Directors as authorized in Article IV, Section B(2) (f). With the approval of the Board of Directors, he may delegate to the General Manager responsibility for maintaining accounts and payment of ordinary expenses within a monthly total amount as may be fixed by the Board of Directors from time to time. All extraordinary expenses and investments shall be made by the Secretary-Treasurer or his assistant upon recommendation to and approval by the Board of Directors within the limitations of Article IV, Section B(2) (g).

The Secretary-Treasurer, or in his absence the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, shall render a statement of accounts and a balance sheet of his books at each annual meeting of the Association and at such other times as a statement and balance sheet may be requested in writing by the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VI

ELECTIONS

1. On or before August 1 of each election year, i.e., every even-numbered fiscal year (July 1-June 30), the Board of Directors of the Association shall appoint an Elections Committee of at least five individuals from among Active Members of the Association residing in the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C. Members of the Board of Directors or Officers of the Association shall not be members of the Elections Committee.

2. On or before September 1 of the election year, the Elections Committee shall issue an election call by general mailing to all Active Members. The election call shall solicit candidates for election to the eleven positions constituting the Board of Directors of the Association. Nominations must be received by the Elections Committee on or before October 15 of each election year. Candidates may be presented either individually or as members of slates.

3. The Elections Committee shall ascertain whether each candidate on October 15 fulfills eligibility requirements, i.e., current residence in the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C., Active Membership, current in dues payment. Members of the Elections Committee shall not themselves be eligible as candidates nor may they accept appointment as Officers of the Association or Members of the Board of Directors at any time during the election year. Incumbent Officers of the Association or Members of the Board of Directors, if otherwise qualified, may be candidates.

4. After eligibility of all candidates has been determined, the Elections Committee shall ascertain whether there are at least 22 candidates. If fewer than 22 candidates have qualified, the Elections Committee shall select qualified candidates, with their consent, in sufficient number to assure at least 22 candidates. In selecting such additional candidates, the Elections Committee should bear in mind the desirability of reflecting the structure of the Active Membership of the Association.

5. The Elections Committee shall announce publicly the names of all candidates no later than October 15. The period October 15-November 15 shall be designated the campaign period. The Committee shall organize and publicize at least three meetings at which the candidates can present their positions. The meetings shall be well publicized and held at times and places calculated to ensure the largest possible attendance by the members. In order to facilitate informed voting, the Elections Committee shall accept and distribute platform statements from candidates to the membership at the beginning of the campaign period. The Association shall bear the attendant cost of reproduction of statements, which shall be of reasonable length, the addressing of envelopes, and postage. To help defray election costs, each candidate shall make a nominal contribution, e.g. \$10.00 to be set by the Elections Committee.

6. The official ballot bearing only the names of all qualified candidates shall be mailed to the Active membership no later than November 15. The Elections Committee shall instruct the Active Members

to vote for not more than eleven candidates as Members of the Board of Directors. These eleven names may be voted from among those appearing as individuals or as members of any slate. Slates may be voted as units, in which case each person on the slate will be recorded as having received one vote. Votes may be cast for write-in candidates, provided they fulfill the eligibility requirements on December 31 of the election year. Votes must be received by the Elections Committee no later than December 31 of the election year.

7. Within five working days from January 1 in the election year, the Elections Committee shall tally the election results. The eleven candidates receiving the greatest number of votes shall be declared as elected to the Board of Directors; the Elections Committee, by majority vote, shall decide ties.

8. The new Board of Directors shall take office on January 15 and shall itself elect the President, the First Vice President, and the Second Vice President of the Association. The Board of Directors shall elect from its number a Chairman, a Vice Chairman, a Secretary-Treasurer, and an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer.

ARTICLE VII

COMMITTEES

The Board of Directors may create such Committees as it deems necessary. The chairmen and members of Committees shall be appointed by the Board of Directors. The number on each Committee shall be within the discretion of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VIII

MEMBERSHIP

1. The Association shall be composed of Active Members, Associate Members, Honorary Members, and Fellows in Diplomacy.

2. Persons eligible for Active Membership are those American citizens serving under the authority of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, or Public Law 90-494, and any amendments thereto, or who have retired from service under these laws. Those eligible shall be admitted to Active Membership without any formality other than application, acceptance, and the payment of annual dues. Only Active Members shall have voting rights in the conduct of the affairs of the Association. Any Active Member or person eligible for Active Membership shall be admitted to Active Membership for life upon request, acceptance and payment of the prescribed dues.

3. Persons eligible for Associate Membership are those American citizens who are: (a) employees of the Department of State, AID, or USA who hold officer level positions; (b) employees of other Departments and Agencies of the Government who hold career status and who are serving or have served abroad in connection therewith; (c) in the opinion of the Board of Directors, closely associated with or actively interested in the foreign affairs of the United States. Associate Members shall be admitted to membership without any formality other than application, acceptance, and the payment of annual dues.

4. The Board of Directors may invite to become Honorary Members for specified periods such representative American citizens as they deem proper. Honorary Officers of the Association shall be Honorary Members during the time they hold office. Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

5. The Board of Directors is authorized to elect each year not more than five distinguished American citizens as Fellows in Diplomacy. Those elected should have made outstanding contributions to the field of international relations and at the time of their election should not be officials of the Government of the United States. Fellows in Diplomacy shall be exempt from the payment of dues, and election shall be for life.

6. The Board of Directors may expel a member from the Association for cause after notice to and due hearing of the member concerned.

ARTICLE IX

DUES

1. The dues of Members shall be specified by the Board of Directors. The yearly dues include a payment of \$5.00 for a subscription to the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and AFSA NEWS.

ARTICLE X

MEETINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION

1. A general business meeting of the Active Members of the Association shall be held in Washington, D.C., in the spring of each fiscal year and shall also be held whenever requested by 50 or more of the Active Members of the Association who are within the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C. General business meetings also may be held at the request of the President or the Chairman of the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors shall have a notice of the hour and place of any general business meeting sent to each Active Member who is within the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C.

2. A majority of Active Members present and voting is required for the transaction of business at a general business meeting, except in the case of amendments of the Certificate of Incorporation or of these BY-Laws, where ARTICLE XI applies. Procedure in meetings shall be in accordance with *Robert's Rules of Order*, except for quorum requirements, and provided also that these By-Laws shall take precedence over *Robert's Rules of Order* in the event of conflict.

ARTICLE XI

AMENDMENTS

1. Ten or more Active Members may submit a proposal to amend the Certificate of Incorporation or these By-Laws. A proposed amendment shall be reviewed by the next general business meeting, provided it is submitted to the Board of Directors at least 20 days before the next general business meeting. The Board shall send the text of each proposed amendment to each Active Member of the Association in the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C., at least ten days prior to the general business meeting.

2. The general business meeting may by majority vote modify the proposal, but only to clarify it, or to compromise between the existing document and the proposal, and, if the proposal is voted, may bring other portions of the existing document into conformity with the proposal. A proposed amendment shall be referred to the entire Active Membership for ratification if it is approved by majority vote at a business meeting. However, if a proposed amendment was submitted by 100 Active Members, the proposal without modification shall be referred to the entire Active Membership for ratification regardless of the result of the business meeting's vote, which shall only be advisory.

3. An Amendments Committee, appointed by the Board of Directors, shall submit any amendment qualifying for referral pursuant to paragraph 2 to the entire Active Membership for ratification by mail between 30 and 45 days after it was voted on by the business meeting. In order to facilitate informed voting by the Membership, the Amendments Committee shall encourage and accept a brief statement by proponents of an amendment and a statement of approximately equal length by its opponents, and shall include a copy of each such statement with each ballot. The Association shall also address envelopes provided by proponents or opponents who wish to send additional statements to the Active Membership at their own expense. Forty-five days after submitting an amendment to the membership for ratification, the Amendments Committee shall tally the votes. If two-thirds of the members voting approve a proposed amendment, it shall take effect.

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION
OF
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that we do hereby associate ourselves to establish a corporation, not organized for profit and in which no capital stock is required or is to be issued, under and by virtue of Chapter 6 of Title 29 of the Code of Laws for the District of Columbia, and Acts amendatory thereof, for the purposes and under the corporate name hereinafter mentioned; and to that end we do by this, our Certificate, set forth as follows:

I

The name of the Association is to be AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION.

II

The principal office of the Association is to be located in the City of Washington, District of Columbia.

III

The term of existence of the Association shall be perpetual.

IV

The objectives and purposes for which the Association is organized as a corporation are, as follows:

(a) To promote in all lawful, legitimate and appropriate ways the advancement of the welfare of the members of the Foreign Service of the United States Government, or as otherwise designated, in the American Foreign Service who shall become members of this Association including the welfare of their dependents or their designated beneficiaries; to foster among them an esprit de corps; to advance in every possible way the intelligent, efficient and skillful discharge of the duties of their occupation; to advance and safeguard their economic interests; and generally to encourage and promote better and more satisfactory employment conditions for them;

(b) To acquire such real and personal property as may be necessary for the purposes of the Association, and such other real and personal property, the income of which shall be applied to the purposes of the Association;

(c) To accept, administer, apply, and use any property acquired

by gift, grant, devise, bequest, or otherwise, in accordance with any of the purposes of the Association that may be specified by the donor thereof subject, however, to the qualification and condition to be understood and accepted in all such cases that, if in the judgment and discretion of the Board of Directors of this Association, the purposes or objectives so specified become unattainable or are obsolete or are not reasonably susceptible of attainment, then the property involved in any such case shall be subject to other objectives and purposes of this Association;

(d) To do all and everything necessary, suitable, convenient, usual or proper for the accomplishment of the purposes herein expressed or incidental thereto and, generally, to exercise and enjoy all rights, powers and privileges now or hereafter granted by Chapter 6 of Title 29 of the Code of Laws for the District of Columbia, and Acts amendatory thereof, and any other rights, powers, and privileges now or hereafter granted by law; provided, however, that no part of the net earnings or of the principal or assets of this Association shall inure to the individual benefit of any donor, grantor, or testator, or his or her heirs, representatives, or assigns, or of any member of the Association or of any private shareholder or individual other than through payments of life, sick, accident, or other benefits which may be provided for the members of the Association, and no part of the net earnings or of the principal or assets of this Association shall be diverted to carrying on propaganda or in otherwise attempting to influence legislation.

V

The management and administration of the affairs of the Association for the first year of its existence shall be by a Board of Directors of five persons. For the next ensuing years of its existence, the management and administration of the affairs of the Association shall be in a Board of Directors of not less than five and no more than eleven members, as the By-Laws of the Association from time to time prescribe.

The Board of Directors as originally constituted shall have the power to make By-Laws; which By-Laws may be altered and changed thereafter as provided in said By-Laws.

GIVEN under our hands and seals this 29th day of November A. D., 1951.

HERVE J. L'HEUREUX (Seal)

PHILIP H. BURRIS (Seal)

STEPHEN WINSHIP (Seal)

ROGERS B. HORGAN (Seal)

V. LANSING COLLINS, JR. (Seal)

LEADERSHIP *from page 26*

officials. Like domestic government bureaus that lean mainly on client groups for support, State has built its bargaining strength largely on its relations with embassies and foreign countries, rather than on the stronger but (at least in the short run) riskier need of the Presidency.

The Department's tactics in interdepartmental dealings have tended to be defensive and protective. Life is made easier by tacit nonaggression treaties; State steers clear of military problems so the military will keep out of diplomacy. State has been remarkably unassertive even with agencies like the Agency for International Development (AID) which have less capacity to fight back. The token involvement of State's Seventh Floor in aid to India in the mid-'60s is notable, especially since the food crisis there involved strong presidential interest and action, and strong US pressure on the Indians.

But State's problem is that any particular area of foreign affairs ground is deucedly hard to secure and protect from intruders. It is virtually impossible if included in this ground is something that seems very broad—"foreign policy." And in any case foreign affairs issues, particularly the most difficult and important issues, tend inevitably to be interdepartmental.

Efforts to resolve these interdepartmental problems can bring only limited success. However interagency conflict sometimes is reduced if "foreign policy" is construed as "diplomacy" as separated from "operations" that other agencies run anyway. This is also true if State focuses on "political" policies as distinct from economic, military and development policies, and rivets its attention on communicating with embassies about these "political" problems.

To the extent that problems just aren't separable into jurisdictional categories, the ancient device of the bureaucratic compromise can be brought into play. Issues can be resolved by allowing each agency that dominant voice in areas of its interest or expertise. Opening or reopening of large issues can be avoided, since this threatens intra-governmental treaty arrangements.

But more aggressive bureaucrats

do not always reciprocate. The lure of "foreign policy" is strong in Washington, and State's self-denial about jumping into the spheres of others may not be returned in kind. So, to look fondly back at the '60s, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the CIA made policy toward Cuba in 1961; Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman pressured the Indian government during the 1965 food crisis, and DOD/ISA was everywhere. State tends to end up with the worst of both worlds—neither the lead role nor a secure piece of turf.

But the crowning blow is that if State fails to exercise broad policy leadership, the President must have others who will do so. White House "interference" becomes inevitable, even in spheres State likes to consider its private preserve. And the Department's lack of responsiveness cannot but confirm the White House conviction that someone must "ride herd" on State.

The propensity to send cumbersome, barely readable documents to the White House suggests no overriding desire to meet the President's needs on a particular problem. Rather, it reflects procedures aimed at assuring representation and protection of the departmental position, as fuzzed by clearance with numerous officials relevant to that position. Responses come slow and tend to be soft. Hard-nosed challenges to the favored lines of officials whose clearances are required and whose general amity is valued are not part of the game. Neither is clear writing, which has the unfortunate tendency to pose questions in sharp, and thereby divisive terms. Nor is the close relating of analysis to current action issues, since White House action is something feared as much as hoped for.



The Foreign Service

Intertwined with this pattern is a relatively closed Foreign Service career service with its inevitable guild interests, values and behavioral norms. Much has been said, and rightly, of its diminishing ability to attract young people, and of officers' diminishing effectiveness as the years of nonresponsibility roll by.

But two further deficiencies damage State's capacity for Washington leadership. The first is that the typical Foreign Service career orientation has been toward overseas work much more than effective performance in the Washington bureaucracy. It is interesting, for example, that State's "Biographic Register" provides helpful information on particular officers' overseas histories, but often only useless personnel-type descriptions—"int. rel. off.," "for. aff. off."—to describe Washington tours. The second is that the career promotion system rewards the right mix of satisfactory experience rather than exceptional performance on a particular job.

Moreover, the very fact that rapid upward mobility is virtually impossible has tended to create a mentality in which "the risks always outweigh the opportunities," as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. said. By contrast, Presidents must judge their success or failure very much in terms of what they are accomplishing in the present. They are likely to feel they can get their best support from those with a similar orientation.

What is to be Done?

If this characterization is broadly accurate, what implications does it have for top State officials who wish the Department to play more of a leadership role? Obviously they must place very high priority on responsiveness to the President's needs. Unless they do so they cannot expect the presidential support and confidence that such a lead role requires. But the broad pattern indicates that departmental officials give other values much higher priority than serving the President. It suggests that there are strong incentives built into the system for them to do so. It suggests further that the Department will not automatically provide staff work to support the Secretary in his role as Presidential advisor (even though he may have a

strong personal relationship with the Chief Executive). Nor will the Department automatically assert aggressive foreign policy leadership vis-à-vis other agencies on the Secretary's behalf.

The earlier discussion stressed State's chronic institutional inability (or unwillingness) to:

- 1) develop and analyze the widest range of policy options;
- 2) challenge and evaluate the expertise of others;
- 3) take the broadest view of issues and its mandate;
- 4) write good, concise prose for high-level readership; and
- 5) in general, respond quickly and appropriately to Presidential needs.

It seems inconceivable that this pattern would be much affected were State to continue to follow its traditional concept of staff work—that all departmental officials are “staff” to the Secretary, and that establishment of special staff units is unnecessary, confuses lines of authority, and produces “layering.” Staffs can, of course, cause both of the latter problems. But more important is that the reliance on State's day-to-day action officials for staff work tends (and has tended) toward minimizing conflict, avoiding opening of major issues, and opting for only a narrow slice of the policy pie.

The formation of the Planning and Coordination Staff, and some recent AFSA and Task Force recommendations, indicate a significant departure from this traditional view. But one must go further and ask whether responsiveness to the President, or even to the Secretary, can best be promoted by a modest reshuffling of men who have been basically a part of this pattern, and whose primary allegiance is to the Department or the Foreign Service rather than to the President or the Secretary.

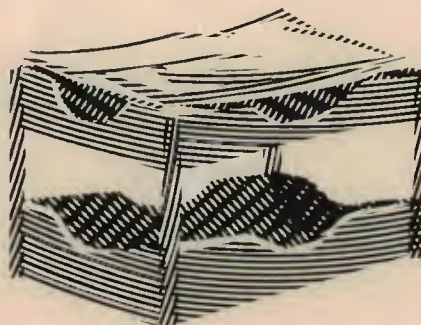
If the White House or Defense Department experience is any guide, it seems more promising to bring in men from outside of this departmental pattern, and place them in staff positions where they do the tough work of developing and evaluating options, challenging others' expertise and allied tasks. Such “Secretary's men” would, of course,

draw heavily on the rest of the Department for support, just as the NSC staff does. But they would also fight with the rest of the Department. And while they would need to be in daily touch with officials in State's bureaus and in other departments, much of the work they did for the Secretary—and for the President in his behalf—should be free from the elaborate clearance requirements that have cost departmental staff work so much in time, content, and lucidity.

One suggestion periodically made is to move much of State's Seventh Floor, plus perhaps the major Assistant Secretaries, over to the Executive Office Building (EOB). Secretary Dulles reportedly yearned thus to escape Foggy Bottom. Such a move would promote an identification with the Presidency. But it could not hope to eliminate conflict between State and the NSC staff by the neat device of eliminating the latter. For the President would still need a personal staff to handle his immediate business, supplement State's analyses of selected issues, prod State to do its job and come to the President's rescue when it didn't.

Moving State to the EOB also would create a particularly deep gulf between the Secretary's men at 17th and Pennsylvania Avenue and his Department three-quarters of a mile away. But the separation proposal does highlight one fact that seems inescapable if State is to strengthen its ties to the Presidency. This is that the Secretary and his men are going to have to think of themselves as a group quite distinct from the Department at large. They will need to be:

- far more present-oriented in terms of tying their ambitions to performance on their present jobs (but not by tying their sights to their in-baskets);



- far more Presidential-oriented toward his broad view of policy, his need for illumination of choices, his need for tough questioning and analysis of pet bureaucratic doctrines; and
- far more inclined toward maximizing their influence in Washington decision-making.

One must assume until proved otherwise that the Secretary's men—like those in other departments but contrary to State tradition—will have to be drawn mainly from outside the career service. Of course, a number of FSOs would serve the Secretary, and well. But their tasks will require them to be tougher with their colleagues than is thought wise for those seeking to rise within the system. Also, if the Secretary's staff is to attract talented outsiders in significant numbers, it must allow at least the best of them more rapid advancement in authority, salary, and status than the Foreign Service career system permits. This opportunity would be balanced by increased risk in the form of less job security.

Such a “solution,” of course, raises problems of its own. What would be the relationship of a staff of “Secretary's men” to the major operating units, especially the regional bureaus? Would there not develop much bitterness between the new men and the old? Could such a staff be built without duplicating what seems to be a problem of the Nixon system today, purchasing effective central strength at the top at the cost of a weakening of possible focal points for leadership and coordination below?

But to raise these new problems does not by itself refute this suggested step toward ameliorating the present ones. Any effort to assure a strong policy leadership role for State must start from the premise that the relationship of the Department (particularly its Seventh Floor) to the President is probably more critical for such a role than all other factors combined. A State capacity to produce strong staff work oriented to the President is indispensable to Presidential confidence in the Department. The pattern of the past suggests skepticism about whether this can be assured without changes at least of the magnitude put forward here.

(Continued on page 43)

THE STATION OF THE ROMA NORD

St. Joseph's Day, the jukebox pounds away
By the sweet girl at the bar
Waiting for the old blue train to part
Past the Virgin at the station's end,
To lurch into the tunnel toward the south end
of Etruria
And I reading "Nightwood" face again the evening
And the almond boughs are pink beyond the city
And the little birds are back, in the country turning green
To which I go now, traveling toward Easter
On a blue train to my farmhouse and my family:
Where the stars shine huge in March
And the shoddy houses multiply,
Even toward Etruria of crumbling rifled tombs
Where once the lions roamed the virgin woods.

SPRING

In the Villa Borghese the little white daisies
Are blooming again in the grass
And the winter is past
And the noontime couples kiss by the blighted pines
Habited with happy birds.

An old man in a good gray suit
Strolls down the gravel path
And I pray that thirty years from now
The sky be no smoggier for me
Than this slightly sooty blue-and-cloud
That smiles now on the aged in green parks.

VALE CAPENA

My plane was not till night.
The little birds awoke me and
I walked into the vineyard,
The world of tits and thrushes at dawn.
My old dog gamboled at all the April lizards,
My wife and sons still dreamed of beauties in their minds
While I tasted beauties of the morning.
The Sabines were dim ridges on the East,
The sky was scudding gentle clouds
As I walked down the sheep-way to the brook
And up the farther slope, into my secret glen.
Around me every bough broke into green
Except the bitter oak that kept his winter leaves;
Underfoot the flowers shined in the wet sweet grass.

From here it was ten hours to doom,
The doom of giant offices;
From here to death was little room
Despite this bird-song in the country of Capena.

LUSCINIA

Luscinia is just back from Ghana, dear girl
To the green grass of Italy wavering flowering
Where the cuckoo calls in the sweet thorn thickesses
Under a pretty mild sky.

Her husband's no gallant but God what grand songs,
Whistling and warbling to Mars and the moon
All through the blackness when foxes go prowling:
He sings pure notes, a passionate mate
Come from the red rock of Africa
Singing as bold as his fathers for Caesars
I mean for Luscinia, the nightingale's brown mate.

POEMS

P. B.

MOLE

I spent ten days on Dolomite trails
Hiking high with a dog and glorying in June gentian,
Then home to the hot hills of Lazio
And found your mountains, Mole, in my garden.
I'll gladly buy you a ticket to Selva
So you can go envy a Dolomite;
Otherwise Mole it's war day and night
I'll hunt you at dawn with my hoe on the lawn
True to my role; though I like the mole
With his warm busy nose in the earth
Hot for his worms but fond of stars too
Of Venus bright above the hills
Just before the hoe hits.

FOX

Fox was an abstract thought
In Rome where even trees are rare,
The capital of Sunday sparrow-slaughterers.
Too cramped, we moved to the country
And took up life with a lawn, a pony and some hens.
Fox now became a rumor (though wolf remained
abstract)
But we cuddled the thought of a quick brown evader
Still live and wild in the woods
Till Lizzie went to feed the hens
And found all gone but the feathers.
Now I set traps and I think I'll get a gun
And if I find his den I'll massacre them all
Mole was nothing to this
Wildlife is fine till it comes to your door
Keep up the work, sweet hunters.

The Foreign Service Wife and "Diplomacy in the 70s"

AN American foreign service wife, provided she is properly motivated, willing and able, anxious to please and remembering of her place at all times, is considered an asset to the diplomatic corps. Not only does she handle the details which her diplomat husband might otherwise have to leave to a paid servant, but the State Department considers her a working part of the organization at a foreign post—that is, short of paying her for her work. She even has her performance officially evaluated, on her husband's efficiency report.

This rather novel employer-employee relationship between the Foreign Service and the wife has been accepted with remarkable acquiescence by her—partly because she doesn't want to jeopardize her husband's career (remember that efficiency report); partly because she has been raised to believe her principal role is that of helpmate to her husband; and partly because she is hit right at the beginning with the solemnity of her responsibility as an official representative of her country, and she doesn't want to do anything dumb, or worse, unpatriotic.

Whether in a burst of conscience or as an incidental afterthought the Task Force suggested that the role of wives in the foreign service be evaluated. The results of this suggestion are contained in Management Reform Bulletin number 20, "Guidelines for Representational Responsibilities of Wives in Our Posts Abroad."

I have no quarrel with the 27

CAROL PARDON

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women whose views are represented in the report. All they did was meet and discuss their traditional responsibilities and their feelings about them. But that their discussion, as expressed in the bulletin, could come out as part of management reform is not only ludicrous but insulting to those who think that a serious examination of the role of the foreign service wife is long overdue.

Any reform study of a system must include a careful and critical analysis of the system itself. This analysis also has to include an examination of the attitudes and values which are the foundation of the system. It is clear, however, that whoever organized the group of wives for this study, which is based on unquestioned assumptions, did not even consider that such an analysis was necessary. It appears to have been beyond their scope of comprehension that these fundamental assumptions could be challenged.

"The official rank of an officer applies to his wife insofar as certain courtesies and many responsibilities come to her because of her husband's position."

This quote from the report is one of its key assumptions. It is based on the traditional view in our society that a woman finds her identity,

position and meaning for her life through her husband. Her efforts, therefore, must be channeled through and for him. Since her success as a wife in the foreign service depends on how much she contributes to his success (and on how successful he is), her guiding axiom is, "Behind every great man there is a woman." In the parallel power structure which the foreign service has set up for her, she assumes among the wives the rank and position of her husband, and the duties that go with it.

Although the report says that junior wives resent being "required to attend meetings, or told to bring food, or obliged to participate in charity work," there is no consideration that perhaps what these wives are really resenting is something much more fundamental—a system that distinguishes "junior" wives and "senior" wives in a hierarchical system based on their husbands' professional merits not theirs; and which automatically metes out rules and responsibilities to them as a result of their husbands' profession.

To say as the report does that a "senior" wife should watch what she says because her words may have a significance beyond that which she intends, or to say that a "junior" wife is within her rights to refuse to clean the Embassy hardly gets to the root of the problem. Why should there be in the foreign service a system in which a wife has power over another because of her husband's rank? This is the kind of question I would like to see a study group tackle.

Incidentally, the report does say that a wife has the right to choose those activities which best suit her interests and talents, but it fails to point out that the range of activities from which the wife can choose is decided by the foreign service. That the foreign service has the power to insist that a wife involve herself in any activity could be considered as an impingement on her personal freedom.

"There are some obligations in Foreign Service life inherent in being associated with an organizational structure with a defined purpose."

Within that quote from the report is a significant chunk of the rationale for coming up with a list of rules and regulations and responsibilities for foreign service wives in the first place. Examples of some of the responsibilities listed in the report: "The planning and execution of arrangements for VIP visits." . . . "Senior wives are generally expected to assume responsibility for the morale of families in their husband's section," and participate in "planning for wives' activities both within the staff and reaching out into the community." . . . Assisting a senior wife in such things as food or party preparation can be viewed "as a useful training experience for young wives."

What I would like to address to the study group is, why should the husband's profession automatically include the wife in its organization, assigning her status, duties and regulations and all that which is included when the State Department boasts of its "two for the price of one" policy? Just how vital to the conduct of our foreign policy is the wife's present role?

"Since it took many centuries of careful scrutiny in the development of procedures and practices in the fine art of diplomacy for men, perhaps it is appropriate to recognize that the evolutionary process must also function in developing regulations, duties, responsibilities, the what, where, when and why depending on time and place, for wives."

I would like to see a reform group consider this charge: The diplomatic organization, far from having evolved into a fine art, is exploitive and obsolete. It is riddled with irrelevancies and anachronisms that

were more fitting in the last century, when diplomats were representatives to governments which were small societies of aristocrats who were indifferent to, and isolated from, the peoples they ruled. While world revolution brought about a greater emphasis on the diplomat's role of analyzing and reporting on the political, social and economic developments and status in their foreign posts, the framework in which the diplomats work has remained unchanged. And so it is within this outmoded, aristocratic form, which is significantly dependent on an archaic view of the position of women, that the foreign service wife must function.

So what do we have? An undemocratic hierarchy for wives based on their husband's abilities rather than their own and replete with unnecessary (but necessary by the system) competition and obsessions; a system which is an elaborate network of manners and politics which are self-perpetuating and largely for their own sake, and which tend to get confused with the substance of foreign relations; forced participation by the wives in "hospitality" affairs, which, because it is demanded and expected, robs the affairs of the kind and generous thoughtfulness and friendliness which is supposed to be at the core of hospitality; and, in my book one of the cardinal sins of the foreign service, the obligation to get involved in charity affairs—these outlets for guilt feelings which, in the underde-



veloped world at least, are symbols of the last vestiges of the *patron* system to mask the exploitation of the masses.

My basic objections to a wife's participation in the foreign service can be summed up as follows: (1) The role assigned to her as an appendage of her husband, robbing her of her essential dignity and worth as an individual; and (2) the relationship between the foreign service and the wife which is basically an exploitive one, coercing her to perform assigned duties, some worthwhile and some not, and evaluating her (unsalaried) performance on her husband's efficiency report.

Here I would like to digress a little bit and illustrate how the role of the foreign service wife is especially cruel to one type of personality. This is the strong, aggressive woman who has to sublimate herself and redirect her energies and ambitions toward her husband's career. Constantly prodding and pushing him to attain success, she should be the ideal foreign service wife, according to the meaning of the traditional role. Instead, she is the one who strikes terror in the hearts of the "junior" wives, and elicits the label of "bitch" from her husband's colleagues. Her husband, if he is to maintain a shred of his own individuality, must be constantly on guard against her. And for her, because it is really impossible to live through another human being (and unhealthy to try), there is ultimately only frustration and hopelessness. Doomed to riding on the coattails of her husband, her temporary successes through him are tempered by the realization that, should he fail, it will automatically mean her failure too, and there is nothing that she can do about it.

In addition to giving some serious thought to the contentions I have made about the role of the foreign service wife, I would like to see a study group explore the feasibility of the following reforms:

1. Eliminate the wife entirely from the husband's efficiency report.
2. Eliminate from the efficiency report all mention of the activities undertaken by the *couple*. Let each couple find the way they work best

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Guidelines For The AMBASSADOR?

THE role of the Foreign Service wife has always been difficult. It was generally assumed, as the last "I do's" echoed down the church aisle, that the State Department had acquired the services of two workers in the vineyard for the price of one. It never occurred to the Department that a wife should be paid for her work, that perhaps she might even be excused from it. No, indeed! She often was ordered about like a schoolgirl, inspected by inspectors to see if she used the proper spoons, commandeered by a senior wife. If she did not accept this fate, her husband's career would suffer. I remember being told by an amiable superior that while he could not make me refuse a teaching job (volunteer), he could "break" my husband.

I approached "Guidelines for Foreign Service Wives at Posts Abroad" with lively interest. It is a commendable attempt at improvement in an area which needs improvement. Unlike its many predecessors, pronouncements handed down from Sinai, raising hackles all the way from Delhi to Dakar, this one takes a pleasant, intelligent and encouraging tone. It is conciliatory. It is reasonable. It is hortatory, and, I am afraid, it often will not work.

The reason it will not always work is simply that the Foreign Service is hierarchical, and as presently constituted, there is no control over the top of the system: the chief of mission and his wife. He is king,

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and under our system unless he polices himself, no policing is possible. Perhaps a description of only three of some of the several difficult chiefs of mission I have known over the past twenty five years may illustrate my pessimism. It is not that the "Guidelines" will not often be observed; it is that they can be disregarded so very easily by senior officers who function, alas, in the manner which, with nostalgic abandon, I am about to describe.

My first ambassador, who resembled a Peter Arno bloodhound, was a Southern gentleman of unimpeachable genealogy, who could detect where Coca Cola had been bottled, tell absurdly funny stories, cultivate Tories and make sharp and bloody distinction between the career and non-career members of his staff. He unfortunately shared the race prejudices endemic to his background and was elaborately disinterested in anybody who had not "arrived." (I assure you, his word.) "Arriving" seemed to be synonymous with packets of money and, strangely enough, a circular driveway. His "guidelines" were not transcendental.

Since this post came near the beginning of my life in the Foreign Service, I was not very perceptive. I was beguiled by new experiences and amused by what seemed to me the Trollopian snobbery of the ambassador and his wife. Kind senior wives protected me from getting my feelings hurt. But I realize in retrospect that this was a tragically unhappy post. Staff were treated with discourtesy. Several officers drank too much. One poor man committed suicide. The tone, the control set by the chief of mission was frigid, formal and pure hokum.

But by the time I encountered examples Two and Three I began to have some really serious thoughts about ambassadors and their crotchets.

Number Two was an intemperate man. Five people at our post paid their way home to get out from under him. He hated the tropics, where he found himself; he hated the natives; he drank. Choleric, impetuous, vituperative, peremptory, with bad judgment and worse human relations, he spread havoc at the post. Guidelines under him? *Sauve qui peut!*

Number Three was "big time," "first string," an "Establishment" type with "connections." He had a high IQ, a warped personality and Medea for a wife. Staff were insulted at his dinner parties before the official guests arrived. They had to bear with his brutal comments,

his vanity, his humiliating outbursts. It was then I came to see that there was no control over such men. To an American this lack of control ought to be unacceptable.

Now, before I am "eyeball to eyeball," as Mr. Rusk used to say, with the Establishment, let me hastily interject that some of my best friends are chiefs of mission! I once had the good fortune to attend a dinner party with a Pride of Ambassadors: so well behaved! Even when not associating with their equals, they remain honest and likable.

*"—simple in their homes
And splendid in their public
ways."*

We all know that ambassadors and their wives have grave responsibilities, great pressures and problems. Many of them manage to maintain emotional and intellectual equilibrium under truly horrible temptation. They handle their social eminence with simplicity and their staff with kindness. I have often been the recipient of that kindness. I cherish a particular feeling for the ambassador's wife. Of the two, she has the job-lousy. I pay these warm compliments to successful chiefs of mission known to me personally and by repute (and oh how Repute whizzes the news around the world!) so that no one will accuse me of condemning an entire group. No, I refer to bad apples only. And it is the bad apples that impair the possibilities of those reasonable guidelines.

Why are there chiefs of mission who, intending like most of us to do good, nevertheless become unreasonable? I can think of several reasons. There is at many embassies an atmosphere of crisis. Hemingway's grace under pressure is not given to us all. In striving after that deplorable frigate, the "taut ship," the ambassador drives his underlings to colitis or nervous breakdowns. Then too, the diplomatic world is a materialistic world, too full of a consider-

ation of good food, wines, clothes and social position, of who goes through the door first. Just the position as king-of-the-hill opens Pandora's box. I will forbear quoting from Lord Acton, but, from his Everest peak, the Great Man looks down at his subordinates, who cajole, smile at him, placate him, even surreptitiously kick each other, as they scramble toward the top.

The temptation to believe that one's own shining and inescapable merit, that one's infallible judgment have brought this all to pass is almost irresistible. It is a popular point of view, a soothing one, particularly for those who have made it to the top. In one Foreign Service JOURNAL there was an interesting letter to this effect: Don't worry, folks down there in the system; only the worthy prevail.

*"The unfit die: the fit both live
and thrive.
Alas, who say so? . . . They who
do survive."*

Forgotten are the happy accidents that may have helped toward the ambassadorial eminence; forgotten the sycophancy, the conformism, the calculated entertaining, the shrewd use of the knowledge of the power structure, the dogged restatement of the party line; in fact, all those other elements besides sterling worth that sometimes enter the picture. He cannot see in his mirror that his years of pressure against the top of the pyramid have left him pyramid-shaped at the top.

This growing conviction about the unavailability of one's own attitudes and judgments has a further adverse effect. Nobody, but nobody, tells the king-of-the-hill a thing or two. In fact, nobody tells him much of anything. "Yes, Mr. Ambassador"; "Yes, Mr. Ambassador"; "As you so wisely remarked, Mr. Ambassador"; "I think you hit the nail on the head, Mr. Ambassador, when you said . . ." It is the unusual ambassador who can spot the four classic Agreement Ploys. Is it

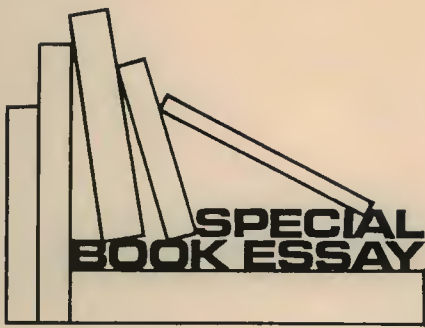
any wonder that there are embassy staff meetings which for conformity of thought and rigid exclusion of differing and abrasive opinions, for poetic restatement of the boss's point of view, leave the average military staff meeting far, far behind?

Another severe strain on the ambassador's moral fiber is the excessive ceremony with which he is treated. He becomes a sort of Pooh-Bah. While we do not actually salaam or kowtow in the American Foreign Service, or humbly back out of a room before majesty, we do other just as silly things. We conspire to inflate in private what should be reserved for public occasions. Unfortunately, at every embassy there are always masochistic types who want to multiply form and ceremony until the mind boggles. At one of our posts a dedicated administrative officer proposed that before the ambassador left the front door of the embassy to enter his car, on no matter what occasion, a Marine Honor Guard should snap to attention. This sort of thing multiplies—like rabbits. For the good of his soul, this particular ambassador needed, like the famous Roman emperor, a slave whose only duty should be a whisper in his master's ear, "Remember, sire, you, too, are mortal."

An ambassador can exercise a lot of prerogatives if he wants to: people called up in the middle of the night for trivial reasons; officers required to tell petty social lies. He can make a practice, for instance, of coming late to staff meetings. Busy men cool their heels until he enters. As a body, they rise in respect before the great man. He comes into a room, all the women rise in respect. He goes out the door first. He must leave parties before any member of his staff, and woe betide anyone who forgets it. Many a distracted subordinate has had a piece removed from him the next day, no matter the excuse. Like Alice in Wonderland, verdict first, trial afterward. His wife can demand the presence of other wives at her functions, no matter how unimportant, and she can and frequently does raise the devil over excuses like previous engagements or a sick

(Continued on page 46)

"Embassy staff meetings which for conformity of thought, for poetic restatement of the boss's point of view, leave the average military staff meeting far, far behind"



John Campbell's Fudge Factory or The Remembrance of Things Past

THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS FUDGE FACTORY, by John Franklin Campbell. Basic Books, \$6.95.

MOST professionals and students of American foreign policy—and John Franklin Campbell, an FSO on leave as editor of the sparkling new quarterly, *FOREIGN POLICY*, is both—are discouraged and frustrated by our foreign affairs machinery.

There is a familiar litany of despair: it is unresponsive and badly organized, the wrong things are emphasized, there are too many discrete (and indiscreet) bureaucratic entities, too much paper, too many clearances on the paper.

State and the Foreign Service are in particular need of repair—overstaffed, overstructured, over-stuffed; such red blood as remains slowed to a trickle by sclerosis.¹

The Reform Task Forces of 1970 correctly diagnosed most of the troubles in State and the Foreign Service, and prescribed a series of imaginative reforms. They didn't cut deep enough in some areas; they couldn't do much about the chronic failure of Secretaries and Under Secretaries to provide management leadership, and, not being psychologists, they could only indicate the direction of essential attitudinal change in the Foreign Service. Furthermore, their mandate covered only the Department, not the whole system.

¹ *The frustration and dismay of orderly minds contemplating the Department of State is expressed with special, cynical polish by Rowland Eggers in PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW, July/August 1971. Unfortunately, Professor Eggers becomes so absorbed in his elegant, waspish description that he uses up all his space before getting around to any constructive proposals, or any proposals at all.*

But what an admirable piece of work it was, and what a fine foundation to build on! Reform from within on such a scale is unknown in our society. Those who still have not read the blue book² should plow through it, and soon. It is long and uneven, but it is illuminating, and it looks to the future.

Mr. Campbell finds little merit in this reform from within, because the Task Force Reports do not stress the problem of excessive size, which he believes to be overriding. In fact, he has devoted most of a book to it.

Mr. Campbell finds surplus personnel the number one problem of the foreign affairs establishment. He is impressed by the growth of staff since Pearl Harbor, and believes the general antidote to our problems is a simple slashing of the rolls by some 60 percent.

Mr. Campbell sees other positive values in the small, elitist Foreign Service model of pre-World War II, and he wants to recreate it. But how would the Foreign Service of 1938 perform in the world of 1971? To what extent can we improve our ability to deal with an ever more complex world by returning to a simpler, smaller agency? As a practical matter, could 60 percent of those employed in foreign affairs work in the various agencies be fired by the President in any systematic fashion? Is size really the major problem? What *are* the major problems, and, as Mr. Campbell quotes Lenin, "What is to be done?"

Let us turn first to size. Anyone who has worked in the Federal Government knows that Parkinson is not a comic writer. Staff levels creep up, and the tendency must be resisted steadily. There is busy work and redundancy in the foreign affairs agencies, as elsewhere in Government; overseas, many of our missions are too large, and could profitably be reduced further. As Mr. Campbell points out, the military and intelligence staffs especially are oversized, and especially as the Nixon Doctrine supplants Cold War diplomacy.

But this particular problem is not as significant as Mr. Campbell suggests, nor would huge reductions in staff provide any panacea. Mr.

² *Diplomacy for the 70s*, U.S. Printing Office, 1970. \$4.25.

Campbell provides us (p. 38) a table of State Department staffing levels in three selected years—1938, 1948, and 1969—to demonstrate his elephantiasis theory. I reproduce the State Department totals from Mr. Campbell's table, but add some other figures for comparison in the table on the following page (footnote 3).

The world (and American interests in it) has become larger and more complicated since 1938, to put it mildly. Is the growth in State Department staffing really very extraordinary in this context? Is it extraordinary at all when you consider the Department's obligation to add expertise in dozens of new activities (multilateral political economic and technical organizations; alliances; environmental questions; atomic energy; and foreign assistance, to name a few). The Foreign Service Officer Corps has actually *diminished* by over 20 percent during the last ten years.

Let's not pretend that wholesale slashing of staffs is going to provide any magic answers. And let's not pretend that the highly selective reduction of the overseas representation of all the agencies now cluttering our embassies is a practically achievable objective, certainly not over a few years time.

The politics of government bureaucracy has become an important given. There are power balances delicately based upon relationships among agencies, and between agencies, on the one hand, and economic or geographical forces in the country and the Congress, on the other, which now circumscribe the prerogatives of any President. As a component of his dramatic program to stimulate the economy, President Nixon announced August 15 a 5 percent cut in Federal employment. The reductions, as usual, are to be *across the board*, with no apparent effort to remove the fat and save the lean.

Mr. Campbell, himself, discussing the BALPA and OPRED overseas staff reduction exercises of the late 1960s, has hit the nail on the head with this sentence:

"These two programs revealed new difficulties in the bureaucracy, showing just how tenuous are the powers of a President and his Secretary of State. For in the final analy-

sis, State and White House had no pruning weapon other than the crude and arbitrary across-the-board percentage cut. To decide where the personnel cuts were made and how they were carried out, in the end they had to rely on the 'voluntary self-regulation' of each affected department of government."⁵

There are other features of the old, small elitist Foreign Service which Mr. Campbell mourns. He criticizes the trend toward recruitment of officers with management skills, and wants to return to entrance examinations which stress the classical Ivy-League-style of education, with already-acquired knowledge of foreign languages a prerequisite. He argues against State Department programs to redress racial imbalances by bringing in minority-group officers on special probationary status. He prefers "long term scholarship and training programs" to prepare minority candidates—presumably for some vague future date—rather than "to lower entrance standards" now.

Mr. Campbell quotes with approval that extraordinary passage in George F. Kennan's "Memoirs 1925-1950," in which Mr. Kennan explains his philosophy of diplomatic aloofness which made it inappropriate for him as a Foreign Service officer to urge Administration policies—in this case, the Marshall Plan—on the Congress. If such an

escape from confrontation and effectiveness was ever justifiable, which I question, it is not so now. This sort of doctrine offers a President no choice but to turn away from the State Department and rely upon other advisers and institutions.

A corollary to this concept of a Foreign Service withdrawn from the President's political concerns, and another return by Mr. Campbell to an earlier era, is the proposal that ". . . the heavy majority of FSO's ought to be deployed *abroad*. . . ."⁶ Well, maybe this is logical; if, following the advice of Messrs. Kennan and Campbell, they are not going to participate in the domestic hurly-burly of decision making, they might just as well remain overseas.

Perhaps the crowning traditionalist/elitist theme of "Fudge Factory" is its rejection of programing, of planning, of policy papers. Deputy Under Secretary William Crockett, whose courageous experiments in the 1960s to introduce rationality into allocation of resources in foreign affairs were beaten down by "The Service" and by the usual failure of the Secretary of State to exert managerial leadership, is gratuitously attacked by Mr. Campbell.

But after rejecting planning, programing, and the definition of objectives as inappropriate to foreign policy, Mr. Campbell calls for the State Department to control a single, government-wide foreign affairs

budget! This would not be a program budget, he explains, but a "policy budget," unhampered, one assumes, by irrelevant efforts to define goals and plan resource requirements. The good old seat-of-the-pants generalist, graced with a classical education and years of experience in foreign capitals, will sense by intuition how the taxpayers' dollars should be divvied up!

But, to be more serious, we must of course agree with Mr. Campbell's objective. Improved coordination of the foreign affairs component in the various agency budgets is most desirable, and should be a realizable possibility even if the single foreign affairs budget may not be. The State Department, as Mr. Campbell suggests, should exert the needed leadership. In order to do so, however, State will have to develop, not discard, a programing methodology suitable to foreign policy implementation. Its staff must include competent budget specialists.

Individual middle level executives—country directors, deputy assistant secretaries, and assistant secretaries—must behave more like executives. They must inform themselves fully of the international programs, motivations and objectives of their counterparts in other agencies, and work to coordinate all of these parallel activities and expenditures.

No more blue ribbon study groups, presidential mandates or grants of authority to the State Department are required. What is required is hard work within the annoying bureaucratic machine, a willingness to look well beyond traditional "political" concerns, a desire to grasp the helm. (John Campbell seems to misunderstand the significance of Crockett's effort, through Chris Argyris and others, to seek a better knowledge of Foreign Service psychology and to find ways to influence attitudes and motivation!)

What else should be done in the foreign affairs agencies? Well, it's almost all to be found in the Task Force Reports or in AFSA studies: greater specialization and training in an era of technological growth and change; reforms in the personnel system to provide a unified Foreign Service, more flexible, less paternal-

Growth Indicators³

	1938	1948	1969
Total State			
Department Staffing	963	4198	6874
United States Population	130 million	147 million	203 million
Number of Independent Nations			
Formally Recognized by US	66	71	117
US Federal Employment	865,000	2.04 million	3.05 million
US International Trade			
Imports	\$2.18 million	\$7.18 million	\$35.87 million
Exports	\$3.06 million	\$12.55 million	\$37.44 million
American-owned Assets			
Overseas (exclusive of gold)	\$11.4 billion ⁴	\$29.5 billion	\$146 billion
US Federal Budget			
Expenditures	\$6.8 billion	\$36.5 billion	\$184.6 billion

Source: Various Dept. of Commerce statistical publications, figures rounded, except first item, from Mr. Campbell.

³ 1939 figure; comparable statistics not compiled in 1938.

⁵ Elsewhere in *Fudge Factory*, Mr. Campbell dismisses "the bureaucratic-politics thesis of Richard Neustadt" rather lightly. In fact, Neustadt's penetrating analysis of decision making in Washington casts real doubt upon the Campbell plan for major institutional surgery.

⁶ Page 255. Italics are Mr. Campbell's.

istic and less authoritarian; a stress upon innovation, the creation of new ideas and the willingness to challenge old ones; "openness," more two-way communication and exchange between the Foreign Service and private Americans interested in foreign affairs.

Mr. Campbell wisely quotes and develops a theme of John Kenneth Galbraith: "The Foreign Service should be a young man's service . . . it is only by being young that a bureaucracy keeps itself abreast of change . . ."

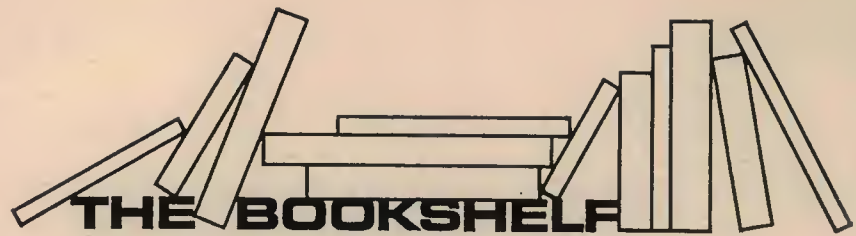
Mr. Campbell is at his best (pp. 268-70) discussing the National Security Council. He points out that its composition is weighted heavily toward military and intelligence perceptions, and that instead of concentrating on national security, it has increasingly become a foreign policy-making body. Over time, Mr. Campbell believes, a reformed Department of State should allow the NSC structure to be redirected more toward military security issues, as was originally intended.

To allow this, the Department and the Foreign Service must become more responsive to the President and must serve him better. The President will always need his Bundy, Rostow or Kissinger, but his personal staff should be small to be effective, and should not be allowed itself to become another bureaucracy and another layer.

In sum, John Campbell is well informed and reflective, a superbly clear stylist who has done his research. Unfortunately, the central theme of his book—that we should somehow return to a simpler, more comfortable era of foreign policy—does not shed great light on our concerns.

The Foreign Service, like the President and the Secretary of State, is a part of the social and political society of its time. The President and the Secretary can modify the rules of their era only within narrow limits. They cannot return to the ways of an earlier day. They have no simple options. The President and the Secretary live within a government of bureaucratic politics, and must learn to exert leadership within this system. So does the Foreign Service, and so must the Foreign Service.

—WILLIAM C. HARROP



Readable Diplomatic History

WORLDWIDE MISSION: *The Story of the United States Foreign Service*, by Ralph Hilton. World Publishing, \$6.95.

THIS excellent summary of the diplomatic history of the United States takes a sure line and one often neglected—it concentrates on the men and women who have built the Foreign Service. The interplay between the two complementary tasks that faced them—meeting the problems of diplomacy in exotic and often hostile places, and welding the organization to carry out policy—makes a fascinating book.

The author is a retired FSO who writes with authority and a nice feel for the human story embedded in two centuries of protocol and jargon. The opening scene depicts the heroic visage of Jefferson on Mt. Rushmore gazing out upon the lands brought into the Union by the Louisiana Purchase—a reminder that this was "an epochal achievement" of his foreign policy.

Anecdotes, tales and adventures keep the text lively as the narrative progresses from the first stumbling days of the infant republic, through the disaster of the Civil War which shattered the Foreign Service, to the great expansion and changes in organization that came with the nation's rise to world leadership.

The struggles of the pioneers in diplomacy, their triumphs and disappointments, are seen not as something apart from our national development but intimately related to America's role as a world power. Indeed, the book reinforces the view that we could not have become a world power without the accomplishments of the Service. This view may be currently unfashionable since it is barely discernible amid the torrent of abuse and obloquy heaped on the State Department and its execution of foreign policy.

In Mr. Hilton's pages there passes in review a really splendid company of those professionals (and some

"inspired amateurs") who helped us to survive. The result is one good story of remarkable men after another. An easy conversational style, and the generous use of well-printed illustrations, make this volume one in which members of the Service should take pride and pleasure, and one that can be highly recommended to the general reader as well.

—LEWIS C. MATTISON

Last Days of the British Raj

THE RAJ, by Donald H. Robinson. Houghton Mifflin, \$7.95.

DONALD ROBINSON, FSO-retired, has written a really excellent, blockbuster novel of the last days of British rule in India. It has everything—atmosphere to the point where the dust of the parade ground (excuse us, *maidan*) becomes tangible, characters honest enough to touch and a plot as rich and varied as the land itself. Mr. Robinson's early experience in India has paid off in a most evocative and readable book.

—N.R.S.

Eternal Russia?

THE MARQUIS DE CUSTINE AND HIS RUSSIA IN 1839, by George F. Kennan, Princeton University Press, \$6.00.

READERS of the Foreign Service JOURNAL had an opportunity to sample in the July issue an excerpt from George F. Kennan's latest work, and many will also have enjoyed a shorter version in the NEW YORKER magazine of May 1, 1971. Either or both should have whetted the appetite for more.

As the author delves into the personality and motivations, then the travels, writings and impact of the Marquis de Custine, he is, in my opinion, at his scholarly and literary best. The result is fascinating reading and political analysis so suave that the reader is hardly aware of its presence until he has finished the book and reflected on what he has read. While I say this with conviction,

tion, I would not pretend that my opinion is exactly objective. My wife and I were among those "western diplomats serving in Moscow" in the 1940s who, Kennan says, "rediscovered and read with exquisite delight" these travel accounts of the French Marquis—the Tocqueville of the Russian scene—and found them so revealing of the Soviet Union in which we were residing more than a century later. When my wife published a one volume edition of Custine's work in English in 1951 ("Journey for Our Time," edited and translated by Phyllis Penn Kohler, which continues to be available as a paperback classic in the Gateway Series of Regnery & Co., Chicago), George Kennan was one of those who hailed its appearance. Typically, in the ensuing years, he has gone on to explore the origins and character of the Marquis, a very special, sometimes tragic, frequently controversial figure. He analyzes the motives which prompted Custine to undertake his journey to Russia in 1839 and the influences which bore on the Marquis's reactions to and interpretations of what he heard and saw there. In a fascinating section Kennan examines the "strange sort of symmetry—in some respects that of precise similarity, in others of precise opposition—between the persons and the journeys of Custine and Tocqueville, within the same decade, to the two great outposts of European civilization: Russia and America."

In ensuing chapters, Kennan retraces Custine's journey in Russia, adding some intriguing details to the original author's own account; analyzes the book itself and the impact of its publication, particularly the negative and hostile Russian reaction.

Reflecting on "Custine in Retrospect" Kennan evaluates the continuing validity of Custine's observations and reaches the conclusion that: "even if we admit that *La Russie en 1839* was not a very good book about Russia in 1839, we are confronted with the disturbing fact that it was an excellent book, probably in fact the best of books, about the Russia of Joseph Stalin, and not a bad book about the Russia of Brezhnev and Kosygin."

—FOY D. KOHLER

Heroes of Japanese Nationalism

IMPERIAL RESTORATION IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN, by H. Paul Varley. Columbia University Press, \$8.00.

BETWEEN 1331 and 1336 a Japanese emperor, Go-Daigo, made a determined effort to rule over his country rather than just reign as a remote symbol of ultimate authority. Since some five centuries earlier actual power had gravitated into the hands of the great courtier family of the Fujiwara and subsequently into the hands of provincial warrior families organized along feudal lines, Go-Daigo's attempt was doomed to failure. It divided the imperial family for more than 50 years into two openly contending lines, provided ample excuse for a half century of almost uninterrupted warfare between warrior groups, and proved to be the last effort by the imperial family to assert active political leadership. But thanks in large part to two contemporary books—the *Taiheiki*, which is a romanticized treatment of this story, and the *Jinno shotoki*, a sober historical effort to support Go-Daigo's cause—he and his supporters became the heroes of popular Japanese nationalism. The proper treatment of their role in history text books was a major political issue as late as 1911.

Professor Varley has told his story with meticulous scholarly care and historical amplitude from the beginnings in the seventh century of the political system that Go-Daigo was trying to restore in the fourteenth to the historical debates about his effort in the early twentieth. Both the carefulness of his scholarship and the fullness of his presentation will appeal more to the specialist than to the general reader.

—EDWIN O. REISCHAUER

For the Consumer

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PERSPECTIVES OF REFORM

from page 25

Reform needs such a continuing, high-ranking official, or small team of officials, who share responsibilities for the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. We have on our hands a large diplomatic establishment, a sprawling federal community involved in foreign affairs. A military organization crowds us in our overseas efforts. This is so largely because of its superior professionalism, action-mindedness, and relative organizational efficiency. Also it has research capacity, linked to planning and to operations, and a general staff mode of conducting its operations. Somehow the diplomatic organization must achieve a comparable level of performance in these respects. If "reform" does not get to such basic needs through the device of a continuing "general manager," it will not get very far along the road it professes to seek.

Reforms must also reach to such

basic issues as the respective roles in the development and execution of foreign policy of the diplomatic establishment and the President, the military establishment, other executive departments and agencies, the Congress and the public. Anything less stops short of the sweeping nature of the review and the "reform" now needed to cope with the issues of the times in which we live.

Furthermore, demand for social reform in American society is now making itself felt, for the first time in our history, in the diplomatic establishment. If one listens understandingly to Junior Foreign Service officers and mid-careerists who have formed the "Ad Hoc Committee" he can grasp how this penetration has occurred through the gradual democratization of the Foreign Service.

The views of these officers, and the emotional ways in which they are sometimes presented, attest to the completely new milieu in which the State Department and the Foreign Service must function. This is no passing phase; it is no evanescent storm which we have only to "ride

out." If Mr. Macomber and AFSA do not institute the sweeping studies and reforms needed to bring our diplomatic establishment in tune with this demand, they are in—not for reform, as they intend—but for serious trouble.

It therefore seems to me that it would be a grave mistake to view the present era of reform only in the perspective of the AFSA and the Rogers-Richardson-Macomber proposals. These are but responses to a profound ferment of change in American society, such as occurred in the 1820s and 1830s, in the long period from the 1870s to Woodrow Wilson's time, and after 1929. If I am correct in this, we are on the rim of discovering a perspective of reform which we have been seeking for many years but have never consciously formulated and clearly thought through. We are being pushed to do so now and those who would lead would be wise not to permit their grasp of immediate changes to limit their reach for the larger ones demanded by the times. ■

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STATE & PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

from page 32

A Note on Domestic Politics and Resource Allocation

This essay has slighted two ways that Presidents are said to find State wanting—its failure to see foreign policy as a domestic political problem, and insensitivity to cost and hence to resource allocation issues.

Foreign policy problems range widely in domestic political implications. Some decisions involve elaborate brokerage among special interests, such as PL-480 program composition or tariff proposals and exceptions. Others have their main political impact on the President's national constituency taken as a whole, like moving troops into Cambodia.

State could well benefit from more sensitivity to the political factors in both types of decisions. On the former, a greater capacity to understand and weigh the interests of involved groups would no doubt strengthen State's hand. Yet since


these issues are a relatively equal mix of "foreign" and "domestic" policy problems, State's ability to resolve them, or even to provide the major staff work for the White House on them, is debatable. On matters where decisions affect more the President's general constituency, it is unlikely that the President would rely on State for fundamental advice on how a decision would affect this constituency, any more than he relies on his White House National Security Council staff for such advice now. But this does not mean that a better feel for these problems would not help State produce more responsive staff work for the President and win more bureaucratic battles.

As for resource allocation, an expanded capacity to analyze issues in terms of cost choices would certainly improve State's ability to influence program-type foreign affairs activities, an area where the only "Presidential" coordination is that exercised by the Office of Management and Budget, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and more recently


Henry Kissinger's Defense Program Review Committee and program analysis staff. This is not an area which has traditionally invoked the main efforts of White House National Security staffs, nor an area of primary Presidential frustration with State. But this whole field, and particularly the program analysis on which more rational resource allocation depends, is still one of the major underdeveloped segments in the over-all effort to bring coherence to our foreign involvements.

So improving State's competence in both these areas would be useful. But it would not be decisive in itself. Steps to remedy these State deficiencies would probably be less immediately fruitful in terms of enlarging State's role than an attack on the problems highlighted earlier. After all, State's weaknesses vis-à-vis the President led to formation of the National Security Council staff. Yet this staff's primary usefulness to the President (relative to that of State) has never been in either domestic political or resource allocation questions. ■

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MISSION UNACCOMPLISHED

from page 20

continue to hear, or fear, the voices of the past, or to set ourselves a new course directed to the future. Those among us who feel ill at ease about such a turn in the Department's advocacy can, if they will, perform the essential role of "adversaries" at every level of our deliberations. What is important, though, is that all come to appreciate that State as a body can no more be anti-détente than the Department of Agriculture can be anti-farmer.

Further, we must not fear the dichotomy between our advocacy and our responsibility, as the representatives of the United States overseas, to carry out whatever policies the President decides upon. I do not believe it would harm our mental balance, or damage our representational duties, if, in the councils of the US government, at home and overseas, we took a consistent advocate's role for solutions consistent with a goal of genuine peace and disarmament, and were some times overruled. The US military have

lived with restraints on what they consider the dictates of their functions without losing either sanity or effectiveness. We can learn to do the same.

Advocacy, if it is to be more than noise and piety, will also require a solid grounding in understanding. This will involve some changes in emphasis among our professional obligations. Officers of the Department and the Foreign Service should consider it an obligation to read and intellectually wrestle with the contentions of revisionist or dissenting writers on American foreign policy since the war—as well as carefully exploring the arguments of defenders of accepted policy doctrine. In the A-100 course, new officers should be encouraged to read both standard works on diplomacy, as Sir Harold Nicolson's, and works of revolutionaries such as Frantz Fanon, as well as learning Departmental procedure and management principles. Embassy officers will have to spend less time in busy-work reporting of speeches given at the latest meeting of minor political

parties, or groups of industrialists, and will have to give more time to reading, or discussions, in the culture of the country involved and the path on which its history and instincts are likely to lead it. We will all have to think more about why we are doing what we do.

These are but examples of what the new role proposed for ourselves will require of us, every day, amounting in all to a considerable change in habits and attitudes. But I suggest there may well be an end to the Department and Foreign Service, and sooner than we think, if we do not convince ourselves, and then also the President, the Congress, and the American people, that we can and should fill the role of thinkers and constitutional advocates of peace which this country so desperately needs within its government. This will assure us our future. It will, at last, give us the "constituency" we have for so long been lacking. It would also, I hope, provide a genuine and lasting satisfaction for those of us privileged to work at the Department of State. ■



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FOREIGN SERVICE WIFE

from page 35

in involving themselves with their colleagues and the locals, instead of making them feel obligated to follow the diplomatic prescriptions such as conspicuous cocktail parties, dinner parties, etc., and remove this entire area from the rating system.

3. Eliminate the ranking system and power structure for the wives.

4. Eliminate the wife from the foreign service working structure entirely. Leave it to the individual officer and his wife to work out for themselves how they will balance the development of their separate identities; their involvement with each other as individuals; and the development of their relationship as a married couple. This means making the participation of the wife in the career of her husband a *voluntary* and individual decision. Quoting from the bulletin, "It is impossible to legislate human relationships, and any effort to define specifics in relationships is doomed to failure at the outset." A fine senti-

ment which, in practice, the diplomatic corps ignores.

If a system depends on an exploitive relationship, then we have to find a new system. The United States can lead the way in the diplomatic community by announcing that it will no longer allow its citizens—to whom the US owes its first commitment anyway—to be exploited by the government, just because they happen to be married to foreign service officers. Those who cling with the most tenacity to tradition and confuse the function of diplomacy with the form of diplomacy, or hold that both are equal in importance, will probably be shocked, but the United States can stand that. Our foreign policy can stand that.

The best way we can represent our country is not by conforming to outmoded forms and practices of exploitation, but by leading the way in practicing what we preach: the superiority of a democratic system based on respect for the equal dignity and worth of human beings.

Who knows, by our actions we may even encourage a more modern, realistic approach to the conduct of diplomatic relations.

I am aware that the contentions I have made and the changes I have suggested will seem pretty wild-eyed to many. Although on the domestic front the challenge to traditional concepts of the role and status of women is gathering impetus, such a challenge to the traditional concept of the role of wives in the foreign service invades virgin territory. I am also aware that the Foreign Service does not exactly move with alacrity. After observing how painfully slow the Foreign Service is to make even minimal reforms in the system for its officers, I find the wives' predicament even more discouraging. For what Management Reform Bulletin number 20 makes so dishearteningly clear is that the most fundamental prerequisite to the beginning of the reform process—simple recognition that an alternative to the present system can actually be considered—has not yet been realized. ■

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GUIDELINES FOR AMBASSADOR

from page 37

child. Courtesy is no longer afforded; it is regulated. It is frequently a one-way street.

"Ah," but you say, "this respect is not for the chief of mission; it is for the United States government." I take such assertions with a grain of salt. Every single Foreign Service officer and his wife have a collection of horror stories, those little anecdotes which everyone collects about senior officers and their wives who have abused their power and behaved outrageously, which are recounted around the Yule log as the toddy is passed. There was the post where it was obligatory to make a "gift" (a rather expensive one) to the ambassador's wife; another, where an officer's arm was twisted until he parted with a piece or two of an interesting collection. There was the ghastly scene "back at the ranch" after the ambassador's

speech proved to be shorter by a few minutes than one delivered by somebody else at the same function.

There is little or no control over men and women who do not control themselves. Inspectors hesitate to call the score. The name of the game is evasion. I have known of unjust comments kept on a man's efficiency report for years even though the author of those comments is infamous in the service for his lack of fairness. Nobody dares remove them. There have been marriages severely strained because husbands did not protect their wives from humiliation. There have been people sent home for petty reasons. Ambassadors who otherwise might not develop into prima donnas feel no check on themselves, are not reminded that they are mortal, indeed, are convinced of quite the opposite and are corrupted in the end by their almost absolute power.

This is why I suspect that "Guidelines" for the ladies is a

bandaid when perhaps a tourniquet is needed. What can be done?

I hesitate to suggest a union, with its machinery for grievances: I can see Foreign Service officers from here to Timbuktu shuddering with distaste. I do suggest, however, that some machinery is possible and necessary: something uninfluenced, uncorruptible, detached, which can be called upon when required to redress the balance, to right wrongs. We have heard a lot recently of the ombudsman. Perhaps this concept would better fit into the image the Foreign Service has of itself. Either way, it *must* be possible to provide a neutral but prestigious agent who, on appeal, can review a grievance, who can, in a pinch, even restrain an ambassador or his lady. It seems likely that lion ambassadors will then mute their roars, sheathe their claws, and while not lying down with lambs, may nevertheless feel it prudent not to tear them to pieces. ■

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**LETTERS
TO THE
EDITOR**

**MRB-20—Words from the
Wives #1**

JOHAN KENNETH GALBRAITH in a letter to the editor in the JOURNAL of February, 1971 (carefully clipped and saved) says: "it has occurred to me to wonder how long the wives of foreign service officers would be completely content with their present functions which I take to combine decorative catering with the social and conversational graces of an exceptionally well-paid geisha."

Now we have the answer in Management Reform Bulletin #20 of June 3, 1971 on the subject of "Guidelines for Representational Responsibilities of Wives in our Posts Abroad." It would seem from the Bulletin that we will indeed be content forever to be innocuous little do-gooders and minor Emily Posts entertaining properly, handling servants astutely, with not an original or interesting thought in our heads, much less an interest in the language, literature, life and people of the country we are assigned to.

The Bulletin smacks more of Victorian England than Reform for the '70s. *What* are we coming to? It is enough to swing one completely into the Women's Liberation camp. More to the point, it is an insult to the intelligence of the foreign service wife.

MARY J. WISE

Prague

... from the Wives #2

As an ancient FSW-R (Foreign Service Wife-Retired), I read the Guidelines for Foreign Service Wives in the NEWSLETTER with much interest. I entered the Service in a sterner age, when a mere wife could hardly get a shot against some fell disease out of the Department, much less a guideline, other than to use her head, keep her mouth shut and do as she was told. We accepted

the dictates of our chefs without a murmur, at least not audibly, although we might have wondered where she got HER guidelines. I was therefore somewhat disturbed at this further attempt at standardization of work rules in an area where exceptions are the rule and the unexpected the norm.

I can well imagine for instance, a situation in which an embattled Ambassador in a country where domestic help is even scarcer than it is here, might have to send out a call for help. With Senator Throttlebottom and family arriving the next day, on a Saturday of course, and her cleaning women absolutely unavailable, she might well need the assistance of the Embassy wives and the gal who wouldn't respond promptly to such an appeal shouldn't have married a Foreign Service officer in the first place. As for the lady-in-waiting approach, if any wife of Chief of Mission thinks she can act the role of Queen Bee in this age of Women's Lib and the rights of the young, she is in for a rude shock and a justified rebellion.

The guidelines do not seem to me to emphasize with sufficient force the fact that the Foreign Service is a Service, with all the connotations that word implies. Representational responsibilities are only one element, though a very important one, of that Service. The practice of the art of successful human relations, both inside and outside the Embassy family are vital, and good sense, good manners and good taste would seem to be the basic guidelines for us all.

ANNE PENFIELD

Longbranch, Wash.

... and from the Husbands #1

THE so-called "Guidelines for Representational Responsibilities of Wives in Our Posts Abroad" is one of the most incredible documents to come out of Washington in a long time. If anyone actually believes that it deals with the basic questions that are troubling many Foreign Service wives, he or she is evidently living in a different world than I inhabit.

This is no doubt partly due to the steadfast refusal of unhappy wives to record their views, either out of inertia or fear of harming their husbands' careers. But anyone who has listened sympathetically to a num-

ber of wives knows that they are being inflected by the growing disorientation which is undermining our society.

Rather than set forth these complaints in detail, I believe the best way to indicate my view of its scope is to prescribe some antidotes. First, the Board of Examiners should interview the wives of applicants, both to help determine the suitability of the man and to assure the wife that we do not consider her merely her husband's shadow. (I understand that this is now being done sometimes on a voluntary basis.) Second, the Department should pay wives salaries commensurate with their responsibilities. (I know of at least one government that does this.) Third, the Department should encourage wives, if they wish, to work whenever possible and appropriate, either in the Embassy or on the local market. The question of her availability for employment in the Embassy should be part of the placement process.

I would hope that this letter would stimulate some of the ladies, including those who have unloaded to me on social occasions, to overcome their inhibitions enough to give us the benefit of their considered views.

JOHN C. AUSLAND

Oslo

... from the Husbands #2

RATHER than being a useful document, the recent "Guidelines for Wives" is a statement and an illustration of the problem.

Every community known to man has its leaders, and in our monogamous culture, leadership of a community often falls not simply on one half but on both halves of a marriage. Few wives wish to shun the legitimate social and representational duties that go along with the so-called leadership status, whether that be at IBM, PTA, the local Optimists Club, the local medical or bar association, or a diplomatic post. Good works and entertaining are part of the scene; and there must occasionally be an organizer of the chores associated with this form of civic responsibility.

But to convert this concept into what in the Foreign Service has been (and too often remains) a matter of brood management and make-work mickey mouse — re-

inforced by a phony concept of seniority among wives—is a perversion. Wives of senior officers are simply that; they are not, as the “Guidelines” would tell us, “senior wives.” They have no authority beyond the respect which they can command as human beings. I can sympathize with their desire to perpetuate a system which has exacted its toll on them, but that does not make it right. Wives of junior officers have no rank either, and should not be allowed to be brainwashed into believing that it is acceptable for them to be intimidated into performing chores in the interests of furthering their husbands’ careers, etc.

Let’s junk the “Guidelines,” and either abandon the project or get a new crew of writers.

HERBERT G. HAGERTY

Oslo

... from the Husbands #3

THE deluge of Management Reform Bulletins leaves one generally with sympathy for the efforts the Department is making to adapt itself to the postwar world. However, the recent Bulletin entitled “Guidelines for Representational Responsibilities of Wives in Our Posts Abroad” reveals that, regarding the role of women, the Foreign Service is having problems rounding the Horn of Victoria’s Jubilee.

JOHN W. HOLMES

Washington

See Editorial, page 2

WHATEVER else the AFSA does with regard to the “Pentagon Papers,” I strongly believe it should—as you will see from the enclosed letter to the TIMES—bear down hard on our vital need to be protected in reporting messages and other communications which disclose sources.

JULIAN P. FROMER

Norfolk

EDITORS’ NOTE: See letter below.

On a purely personal basis, permit me one observation on the press (i.e. N. Y. TIMES) treatment of the leaked “Pentagon Papers” which I believe the overwhelming majority of America’s career diplomats would share.

I refer to the verbatim reproduction of such messages as that from Embassy Saigon which discloses the Italian Ambassador’s

remarks to Ambassador Lodge.

The TIMES and other papers are most reluctant to disclose their news sources. This is equally—if not even more—important for diplomats as well. Unless our confidants feel protected, they will stop talking—and when they do, that’s the end of meaningful reporting—for both journalists and diplomats.

Authors for Book Fair

EACH year the AAFSW Book Fair features authors who appear to autograph copies of their recent publications. The committee would like to offer this opportunity particularly to present or past officers of State, AID, USIA, ACDA or Peace Corps who have published works in 1971. Any interested authors may write to AAFSW Book Fair, Box 4931, Washington, D.C. 20008. (The Book Fair will be held October 18-22 at the State Department.)

ALLENE MASTERS
Chairman

Washington

A Tribute to Herr Schmidt

IT is my sad duty to inform his many Foreign Service friends of the

death at age 50 of Herr Willi Schmidt, the Supervisor of the Motor Pool here in the Frankfurt Consulate General. Herr Schmidt started working for the Americans in 1946 as supervisor in an Army motor pool, then was transferred with his whole unit to the office of the High Commissioner for Germany in 1950. In 1954 he was promoted and transferred to the HICOG motor pool supervising approximately 300 drivers, and upon the dissolution of HICOG he took over the motor pool operation in this Consulate General, where he has been ever since.

On Saturday afternoon, July 10, Herr Schmidt lay down for a nap from which he never awoke. His cheerful presence and never-failing readiness to help wherever help was needed will be sorely missed. Since it was Herr Schmidt who helped many of our Foreign Service colleagues through the formalities of acquiring a new car or bringing their own car into or through Germany, I thought I might ask you to run this letter in your columns.

ROBERT H. HARLAN

Frankfurt am Main

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

by S. I. Nadler



“Why can’t you two settle the matter across a table, like modern, civilized gentlemen? A ping pong table, that is.”



AFSA ELECTION CALL 1971

This Election Call is issued in accordance with the Bylaws of the American Foreign Service Association which require the solicitation from all **Active** members of the Association of nominations for candidates for election to the eleven positions constituting the Association Board of Directors. The nominating and election processes are as follows:

On or before October 15—nominations to be received by the Elections Committee. Candidates may be presented either individually or as members of slates. Each candidate and each member of a slate will be required to contribute \$15 to help defray AFSA's expenses in conducting the election. (Prorated printing expenses mentioned below will be billed separately.) The Elections Committee will determine whether each nominee as of October 15 fulfills the eligibility requirements which are (a) current residence in the metropolitan area of Washington, (b) **Active** membership, and (c) current in dues payment.

Members of the Elections Committee shall not be eligible as candidates, nor may they accept appointments as officials of the Association or members of the Board of Directors at any time during the election year.

Incumbent officers of the Association or members of the Board of Directors, if otherwise qualified, may be candidates.

After eligibility of all candidates has been determined, the Elections Committee will ascertain whether there are at least 22 qualified candidates. If fewer

than 22 candidates qualify, the Elections Committee will choose candidates, with their consent, in sufficient number to assure at least 22 candidates. In selecting additional candidates, the Elections Committee will bear in mind the desirability of reflecting the structure of the Active membership of the Association—State, AID, USIA and ACDA.

From October 15 to November 15—the campaign period when the Elections Committee will organize public meetings at which candidates and slates may state their positions. The Committee will mail to all active members brief platform statements and election appeals prepared by the candidates (maximum length 200 words for individuals and 800 words for slates). The Committee will reproduce these platforms at the candidates' expense (prorated) and will combine them into one mailing together with the formal announcement of the candidates which, according to the Bylaws, must be made not later than October 15.

Not later than November 15—the official ballot bearing the names of all qualified individuals and slates will be mailed to the active membership. This mailing will also include, at the Association's own expense, copies of all election platforms.

Not later than December 31—votes must be received by the Elections Committee.

January 15, 1972—the new Board of Directors will take office.

AFSA IS YOUR ORGANIZATION.

WE URGE MEMBERS WHO WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ASSOCIATION TO PUT FORWARD THEIR CANDIDACIES NOW.

File your candidacies and send your supporting platform statements (with the \$15 expense contribution) to:

Elections Committee
American Foreign
Service Association
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
or

c/o Department of State

**REMEMBER—WE MUST HAVE
YOUR NOMINATIONS NOT LATER
THAN OCTOBER 15**

Martin F. Herz
Chairman

Elections Committee

Frank Brecher, Member
Miss Murrow B. Morris, Member
Frederick Quinn, Member
Stephen T. Johnson, Member

Foreign Service Memorial Park

The City Council of the District of Columbia has by resolution declared the small triangle of land bordered by Virginia Avenue, and E. Street and 21st Street, between the Foreign Service Club and the Department of State, a Foreign Service Memorial.

The City has no funds for improvement and, by arrangement with the D.C. Department of Highways, AFSA plans to plant and maintain grass and shrubbery and to provide a modest memorial stone. We will call upon volunteer gardener's help from Association members.

We are tentatively planning a dedication ceremony on Foreign Service Day.

Foreign Service People

DEATHS

Bucknell. Howard Bucknell, Jr., FSO retired, died at his home in Athens, Georgia on June 25. Mr. Bucknell joined the Foreign Service after his discharge from military duty following World War I. He served at posts in China, Panama, Yugoslavia, Geneva, Barcelona and Madrid. He also was the Department press officer at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace in Buenos Aires in 1936. Mr. Bucknell served in London from 1943 to 1945. He is survived by his wife, a son, a sister, brother and nine grandchildren.

Borup. Lenore Reeves Borup, wife of Edgar S. Borup of the Embassy in Helsinki, died July 29 in Washington. Mrs. Borup taught music in Chicago and Bethesda and while living in Helsinki performed

as an accompanist in concerts. Mrs. Borup leaves her husband, American Embassy, Helsinki, three sons, her mother, a sister and two brothers.

Fales. Herbert P. Fales, FSO-retired, died in Washington on August 3. Mr. Fales joined the Foreign Service in 1937, subsequently serving in Berlin, Vienna, London, Bonn, Heidelberg, Djakarta, and the Hague. In the Department, Mr. Fales served in the Far Eastern Division during World War II and later in the Division of Commonwealth Affairs. From 1961 to his retirement in 1964, Mr. Fales served as Counselor of Embassy and Consul General in Paris. He is survived by his wife, Rose, of 80 Kalorama Circle, Washington 20008, and two daughters. Contributions may be made to the AFSA Scholarship fund or the DACOR Educational and Welfare Foundation.

Gostlin. Charles Gostlin, FSIO, died suddenly in Washington on

August 4. He had been an officer with USIA for eight years and had served in Vietnam and Thailand. Previously, Mr. Gostlin had served in the Peace Corps in the Philippines. He is survived by his wife, Carolyn Lee, and two sons of 12700 Epping Terrace, Silver Spring, Md. 20906.

Hamilton. William L. Hamilton, Jr., FSO-retired, died July 13 at his home in Bivalve, Maryland. Mr. Hamilton retired in 1970 after 24 years service, having held consular posts in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Thessaloniki preceding his retirement. His wife, Janey, P.O. Box 54, Bivalve, Md. 21814, two sons, a daughter, his mother and a sister survive.

Linneman. Herbert F. Linneman, FSR-retired, died at his home in Miami on July 25. Since his entry into the Department in 1949, he had served in Teheran, Brazzaville, New Delhi and Tokyo. His wife, Luisa, survives at 665 North Shore Dr., Miami Beach 33141.

Stoaks. DuVal Stoaks died suddenly on July 27 in Washington. At the time of his death, Mr. Stoaks was serving in the Bureau for Vietnam, AID. After joining the Foreign Service in 1953, Mr. Stoaks had been assigned to Afghanistan, Pakistan and Thailand. He leaves his wife, Joyce of 1600 S. Eads St., Arlington, Va. 22202, a son and daughter.

Wilkinson. Edward C. Wilkinson, FSS-retired, died July 25 in Washington. Mr. Wilkinson had been with the Department for eight years before his retirement in 1953 and had served in the Hague and Copenhagen. Mr. Wilkinson had been active in the beginning of DACOR House. He is survived by his wife, Ethel of 2601 Woodley Pl. NW, Washington, 20008 and a sister.

BIRTHS

Quinn. A daughter, Alison, born July 29 in Washington to FSIO and Mrs. Frederick Quinn.

MARRIAGES

Martin-Jernegan. Pamela Martin was married to Jeffery Latham Jernegan, son of FSO and Mrs. John D. Jernegan, on July 12 in Seattle, Washington.



Mark Holland (left) and his father, FSO Harrison Holland, unload books at the State Department which were contributed to the upcoming annual Book Fair to be held October 18-22.

With the Hollands, the Book Fair is a family affair. Mark is the holder of a '70-71 Foreign Service Association scholarship, and has been helping with book collections for the past several months. He was recently graduated from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, and has now reported for duty with the National Guard at Ft. Polk, Louisiana. His father is chairman of the Book Fair's Men's Collection Committee. The Book Fair is sponsored by the Association of American Foreign Service women to raise money for the AFSA scholarship fund. Last year \$18,200 was raised.

MEMBERS' INTERESTS

Foreign Car Shipments—If you are planning to purchase a foreign car in its country of manufacture and have it shipped to your next overseas post at government expense, make sure that legal title to the vehicle passes to you prior to shipment. The government will not pay for the shipment of your vehicle unless you actually own it. It is not prudent, therefore, to arrange shipment through a dealer and then submit a voucher for reimbursement of transport costs. It is better to take legal possession of the car in the country of origin and ship through the nearest US diplomatic or consular establishment.

Keeping Your Overseas Leave Ceiling—When serving abroad, employees may accrue and carry over from year-to-year a maximum of 360 hours of annual leave. The ceiling for employees serving in the USA is only 240 hours. Employees in foreign service returning for an assignment in the US can continue to carry an amount of accrued annual leave between 240 and 360 hours provided they do not inadvertently reduce the total while serving in the US. The following example is illustrative.

You return to the US in June to begin a Washington assignment. You have 320 hours of accrued annual leave. Before entering on duty in Washington, you take three weeks of home leave. To supplement the home leave, you take one week, or 40 hours, of annual leave. Because you have not accrued more than eight additional hours of annual leave since returning to the US, 32 hours are subtracted from the 320 hours accrued overseas. This reduces your total accrual to 288 hours. This 288 hours then becomes your ceiling while serving in the United States in view of the 240-hour maximum for employees who serve in the US. In other words, if you desire to maintain the amount of annual leave accrued overseas make sure that you take only the number of hours of leave actually accrued after entering on duty in the US assignment. If you need more time on

home leave, request permission to charge that additional time to accumulated home leave which can be accrued indefinitely, but which is totally lost at retirement time.

Bankrupt Storage Firm—The National Capital Storage and Moving Company went bankrupt in the mid-1960s. A number of foreign service employees serving abroad had their effects stored with the company. Most of the effects were transferred to other government-approved storage companies. One AFSA member, to our knowledge, lost everything and had to go through a lengthy insurance claim procedure. If you had your effects stored with National Capital, and have not heard that they were transferred elsewhere, please let us know.

Driver's Licenses—A number of AFSA members have written to inform us that their home states refuse to renew their driver's licenses by mail. They also refuse to renew the license if the person is unable to appear at the time of expiration. Employees in foreign service whose home leave dates do not coincide with their license expiration dates are therefore out of luck. For AFSA members with this problem, we recommend that a valid driver's license from another US state, or another country, be used to obtain a District of Columbia license during the next period of consultation in Washington. The D.C. license can be obtained with the passing of a written examination (which is easily prepared for) and an eye test upon presentation of a valid driver's license from another state or another country. The entire procedure takes about two hours. The D.C. license can thereafter be renewed by mail.

Memorial Plaque

The announcement in the May issue of the names to be added to the AFSA Memorial Plaque in the Diplomatic entrance to the State Department contained an error. Don J. Sjostrom was actually killed at Nong Khang, Ste 52, Sam Neua Province, Laos on January 6, 1967.

Ralph S. Smith on Journal Board



Ralph Stuart Smith, Deputy Public Affairs Adviser, ACDA, has joined the Editorial Board of the *Journal*. Mr. Smith entered the Foreign Service in 1947 and served as PAO and Vice Consul at Patras, Greece and as second secretary of Embassy and Consul at Brussels. From 1953 to 1958, he was assistant general manager of a European newspaper feature syndicate with headquarters in Paris. He rejoined the service as an officer of USIA that year and served as PAO at Lyon. He subsequently was assigned to Paris and as PAO in Elisabethville, before his assignment to ACDA as PIO in 1966. He entered on his present assignment there in 1969.

Mr. Smith has done extensive official writing and speaking, in addition to various articles for publication on his own, and has made radio and television appearances (in English and French) in the United States and overseas.

New Career

Seymour Maxwell Finger, Ambassador and Senior Adviser to the US Representative to the United Nations, has submitted his resignation and, following retirement from the Foreign Service August 31, will become Professor of Government in the City University of New York, at Staten Island Community College. He will also serve as a Senior Adviser to the United Nations Association and as President of the Institute for Mediterranean Affairs. A career FSO for over 25 years, Ambassador Finger has served in Germany, France, Hungary, Italy and Laos. Assigned to USUN in 1956, he was designated Ambassador in 1967.

GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE

Beginning with this column, AFSA's Grievance Committee plans to inform the membership periodically about its activities. The Committee is interested in making members aware of certain personnel problems and how AFSA is trying to help solve them. The Committee is available to counsel individuals who feel they have grievances, and to assist them under the new interim regulations.

The cases described anonymously below were discussed by the Committee on August 5.

Selection Out Without Hearing

Mr. A was to have been selected out for time-in-class. At 45, he has been an O-4 for eight years. He is married, with two children; his Foreign Service skills are not in demand outside the Service. Among other things, A feels that a year of university training and another of language training in Class 4 hurt his career since he could not receive the type of efficiency reports others "on the job" receive. He contends that several provisions of the regulations regarding performance evaluation were not properly carried out.

He brought his case to AFSA believing that he had grounds for a hearing under existing Departmental grievance procedures. Without commenting on the merits of A's complaint AFSA thinks that he and every individual who wants a hearing should have one. In fact, the Department's own regulations say so. The AFSA Board has supported A's request for a hearing formally and in writing, and passed a unanimous resolution calling on the Department to establish an impartial grievance panel. The Department has refused to convene a panel, insisting that A has not defined a specific enough grievance in the meaning of the regulations.

It is not clear what effect the new interim regulations will have on Mr. A's case. This type of basic problem can apparently be resolved only through legislation which guarantees a fair hearing to all members of the F.S.

Training Refused

Mr. B works for AID, which is

currently in the throes of reorganization. He is middle-aged and fears that he will lose his job unless he is re-trained. He has applied for and was denied after-hours university training in a specialized field. He believes that he should have this education at Government expense and feels that AID has such an obligation under the Training Act of 1958, which calls upon agencies to anticipate future needs and train personnel to meet them.

The Grievance Committee felt that Mr. B had a good case for obtaining his training, and that the provisions of the Training Act of 1958 required a careful review to see if the agencies were properly executing the Act. Whether or not B had an individual grievance did not seem entirely clear, and the Committee decided to raise the problem with AID and the AFSA Board.

Unfair Rating

Mr. C is a communications staffer who was assigned to a large embassy. He says that seven months after he left his post he received an adverse rating from someone who was neither his supervisor nor acquainted with his work. As a result, C says that he received a poor assignment and has a bad mark on his record. He apprised the Committee of his problem, and was advised to begin by contacting the proper Departmental officers. He has done so, and will report to us on what action the Department takes. AFSA will assist C to pursue the matter if this seems appropriate.

Committee Grievance

AFSA's Grievance Committee needs new members. We need more people interested in helping others, and in providing the sort of organizational backing and know-how that individuals need to obtain a response from the bureaucratic system. Age, rank and sex are unimportant (at least for service on the AFSA Grievance Committee). Help solve our grievance and call your agency keyman, AFSA (338-4045) or Norman Barth (x-22524), Chairman.

Income
Tax Tips

1040

Tax Treatment of Living Expenses During University Training

If you are planning to go off to university training, you should look into the business expense aspect of your tax return. The expenses that you incur during training, which are not paid by the government, are claimable as business expenses resulting from temporary assignment under orders. The Internal Revenue Service defines temporary absence from your tax home, for business purposes, as being any period of less than a year. Most government agencies pay per diem to employees assigned to training to cover expenses other than transportation to the training site, tuition, books and typing expenses, but the Department of State does not. Hence, this business expense entry on your tax return permits you to obtain somewhat more equitable treatment until such time as the Department of State follows other agencies in giving per diem during academic training.

To claim living expenses during university training, as business expenses, you will need a letter from your employer stating that you are not entitled to per diem for living expenses during the period of training and that, had you made such a claim, it would not have been paid. The second step is to calculate your personal expenses for lodging, meals, laundry and local transportation, using hypothetical costs as necessary. (If married, you would give the estimated cost of single accommodations, for example.) Finally, you can add non-reimbursed expenses, such as books purchased above your allowance, excess typing expenditures and so forth. Tallying these expenses for the months of the taxable year in which you had such training, you obtain a total figure to be entered on your tax return as an unreimbursable business expense related to your employment.

AFSA has on file a sample calculation of the type outlined above.

AFSA CHAPTER NEWS

Our 40 members in **Beirut** are considering the creation of a Chapter and are reviewing the experience of others in establishing AFSA chapters at various posts.

Congratulations to AFSA members in **London** on their new Chapter. The officers, just elected, are: Julius W. Walker, Jr., Chairman
Hugh Muir, Vice Chairman
Barbara Van Tuyl, Secretary
Members: Gordon E. Holt, William Mills, John Moller and Evelyn Siemens.

Association activities have been followed closely by our London contingent, and we have had much useful advice and comment from members there. Ambassador Annenberg has shown keen personal interest in AFSA programs and has supported the Association. This Chapter should add focus and punch to Association representation in one of our major Embassies.

Two of our Keymen in Latin America have earned gold stars in the membership drive. Tom O'Donnell in **Montevideo** has sent in 16 membership applications and renewals, including two new Life Members. Mac Adams in **Monterrey** reports nine members out of eleven eligible at the post.

September Cover

Jeannine V. President makes her third appearance as the **Journal's** cover artist. Mrs. President, wife of Samuel R. President, was born in France, at the border of Normandie and Ile-de-France, the Cradle of Impressionism. Her art instruction began under her father's tutelage and was continued at the Kunst Schule in Hamburg and with a tutor in Saigon, during her husband's assignment there. She has participated in art exhibits in Saigon, Karachi and Washington and had a one woman show at the American Cultural Center in Khartoum. Mr. President is the new chairman of the Foreign Service Club Committee.

Scholarships—1972-73

Applications for AFSA Scholarships for the academic year 1972-73 complete with all supporting material, must be received at the Association offices by February 1, 1972.

Application material will be mailed in October on request. This material will be sent to both the student applicant and the parent, so full names and both mailing addresses must be included. Please indicate the grade in school or year in college of the applicant. These scholarships are available to unmarried children of employees of the foreign affairs agencies who are American citizens.

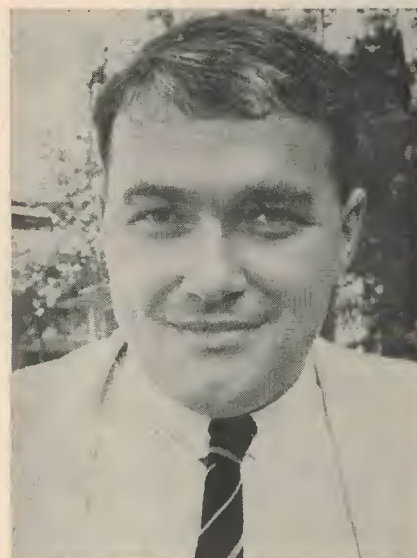
Tuition Saving

Northfield and Mount Hermon School, East Northfield, Mass., has announced a \$1,000 reduction for children of State Department employees stationed overseas. The school is the result of the merger in 1970 of Northfield School, a girls' school founded in 1879, and Mount Hermon School, a boys' school founded two years later. The President, Howard L. Jones, in announcing the reduction said, "lest our own rising costs price us beyond the reach of this very desirable group, we are designating a portion of our financial aid budget especially for State Department children because of the extraordinary travel cost." The tuition, which is \$3,750, becomes \$2,750 for children of State Department employees stationed overseas.

Another New Career

Dr. R. Richard Rubottom, former Ambassador to Argentina, has been appointed President of the University of the Americas. This is the only University of its kind in Latin America. The student body is made up of students from 42 countries and the faculty obtained their degrees in 20 countries. Located in Puebla, the fourth largest city in Mexico, the University of the Americas offers the American student an opportunity to experience a foreign culture and environment and to learn another language. Dr. Rubottom has been vice president of Southern Methodist University for the past seven years.

Fred Quinn on Journal Board



Frederick Quinn, 35, has served with USIS posts in Morocco, Haiti, Upper Volta, Vietnam, and Cameroon, as Cultural Affairs Officer, Public Affairs Officer, or Information Officer. He holds masters degrees in African studies and Modern European History, and a doctorate in history from the University of California at Los Angeles. He has been a newspaper and a radio news writer, spent a summer with New Jersey's Black History Institute as a teacher, and a season with the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service. In this latter assignment he served, under Career Ambassador Winthrop Brown, as head of a Task Force Working Group on the Recruitment, Examination, and Employment of Younger Officers, and prepared the volume "Diplomacy for the '70s, a Program of Management Reform for the Department of State" for publication. He has published historical articles and book reviews, poetry and translations of poetry. At present he is Special Assistant to the Assistant Director for Personnel of USIA, Lionel S. Mosley, working on several management reform projects within the USIS personnel system. His wife, Charlotte Alison, a former **Life** reporter, is publishing a volume on "Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia" with Northwestern University Press in the spring of 1972. Two children, Christopher, 2½; and Alison, two weeks.



AFSA Staff Members

Shana Henze, wife of Chris Henze, USIA, joined the AFSA staff a year ago. Shana's able work on the multitudinous details of AFSA membership made the transition to computer comparatively painless.

After graduation from Smith College, Shana taught school in New York and her native California. She met her husband while they were teaching at the same school. The Henzes have served overseas in South Africa and Tanzania.

Her hobbies — sewing cooking and tennis.

Academia's loss is AFSA's (and the Foreign Service's) gain.

Table Tennis, Anyone?

Come fall, the Foreign Service Club, always in step with international developments, is considering a diplomatic ping pong tournament. The scheduling will depend on the interest of AFSA members and their families in such an affair. We would probably schedule it for a weekend afternoon. Three classes are contemplated: juniors (through age 14, male and female); senior men; and senior women.

All those interested in entering should sign up with AFSA's receptionist, Mrs. Eloise Jordan.

Foreign Service Day

AFSA is collaborating with DACOR and the Director General's Office to prepare a stimulating and enjoyable Foreign Service Day this fall. The date will be Friday, November 19, 1971, and retired officers will be receiving a schedule of events and an invitation to take part. The retired members' address list for 1971 will soon be available to members on request, free of charge, from AFSA.

AFSA Annual Awards Luncheon



Mrs. Christian A. Herter congratulates Archer K. Blood on his receipt of the Herter award to senior grade officers at AFSA's annual awards luncheon in June. Secretary William P. Rogers looks on.



Secretary Rogers presents the William R. Rivkin award to Samuel F. Hart as John E. Reinhardt, vice president of AFSA, reads the citation. Mrs. Rivkin, widow of the late Ambassador to Luxembourg, Senegal and Gambia, is shown at the right.



Secretary Rogers and Ambassador W. Averell Harriman congratulate the winner of the Harriman Award, Robert Maxim. Mr. Hart appears in the foreground.

BOARD ACTIONS TAKEN

June 22 continued

Employee-Management Relations: Mr. Harris said that the special supplement **Newsletter** of June, "An Employee-Management Relations System for the Foreign Service," was the same as the earlier one which AFSA had seen. The AFSA Group of Forty will prepare a section by section analysis with a draft of changes proposed. Another AFSA open meeting will be scheduled to discuss the issues, with participation by Management if Mr. Macomber agrees to this proposal.

S.2023: Mr. Samuel Parelman, an auditor at the Board meeting, reported that action will atrophy on the Hill unless interest in this grievance and appeals procedure bill is shown by members of the foreign service.

Kidnaping: Mr. Edward Lyerly, Deputy Legal Advisor for Administration, is studying a British insurance company's proposal to insure members of the British F. S. for payment of ransom for kidnaping and life insurance in cases where death occurs as a result of kidnaping. Richard Higgins, of the Legal Committee, is following this subject for AFSA. There are a number of potential problems and dangers if such insurance policies are written, and AFSA will be kept informed of developments.

Reform: Mr. Tracy reported that the Board of the Foreign Service approved reform proposals supported by the Department and AFSA: the two-threshold concept and assured middle-grade tenure.

Miscellany: The Chairman thanked George Lambrakis for effective participation during his service on the Board at this, his last meeting.

Mr. Wilson pointed out the difficulty of presenting advantages of AFSA membership to G. S. personnel because associate members are denied the opportunity of voting. Mr. Lambrakis suggested a special committee of G.S. people might be formed.

June 29, 1971

The Board heard reports on the membership campaign and an investigation of investment counseling for the Scholarship and AFSA Funds.

Finance Committee: A finance committee was organized with Messrs. Harris, Lyman, Salisbury, Miss Good and the Executive Director to review AFSA financial and budget problems on a continuing basis. Later, Robert T. Banqué and Sam C. Thornburg were appointed.

Foreign Service Club: It was announced that the Club was now showing an average of \$600 per month operating revenue over expenditures. This is, however, exclusive of overhead expenses, and when the Club's share of mortgage, utility and insurance costs are prorated, it is operating well in the red. It was decided to discuss renegotiation of the restaurant management contract with ARA.

July 13, 1971

Committee on Education: Mr. Franklin J. Crawford, Chairman, reported the review of 250 scholarship applications and the recommendation of the committee that 68 scholarships be granted for 1971-72. The

Chairman of the Board expressed AFSA's appreciation to Mr. Crawford and his committee for the fine job they had done, and the long hours of work they had put into the evaluation of scholarship applications.

Employee-Management Relations: The Chairman reported that the FLRC will be sending a letter on its decision on the Executive Order to the Association. The FLRC will accept written testimony but will not hold hearings. The Legal Committee will study the by-laws and recommend any necessary action to meet the requirements of the proposed Executive Order.

Grievance and Appeals Procedures: Congressman Hamilton introduced H.R. 9188 in the House. This bill is identical to S. 2023 introduced by Senators Bayh, Humphrey, Cooper and Scott.

Investment Counsel: After much discussion, it was resolved that subject to a legal opinion from the Association's counsel, professional investment counsel services would be engaged for the Scholarship and AFSA Funds.

Elections: The 1971 Elections Committee was appointed—Martin F. Herz, Frank W. Brecher, Murrow B. Morris, Frederick Quinn and Stephen T. Johnson. An Election Call appears in this issue of **AFSA News**.

Board Member: David W. Loving was appointed to replace George Lambrakis.

July 20, 1971

Membership: As of July 9, 422 new members had joined the Association.

Grievance and Appeals Procedures: The Department's draft of a grievance procedure was reported to be closer than expected to AFSA's proposal but were still defective on several major points. Comments and suggestions have been made to the "O" area.

It was agreed that AFSA would maintain its strong support for the Bayh/Hamilton bill, but would continue to talk with management in an effort to improve interim proposed regulations.

July 27, 1971

Editorial Board Appointments: Ralph Stuart Smith, ACDA, and Frederick Quinn, USIA, were approved for the Editorial Board.

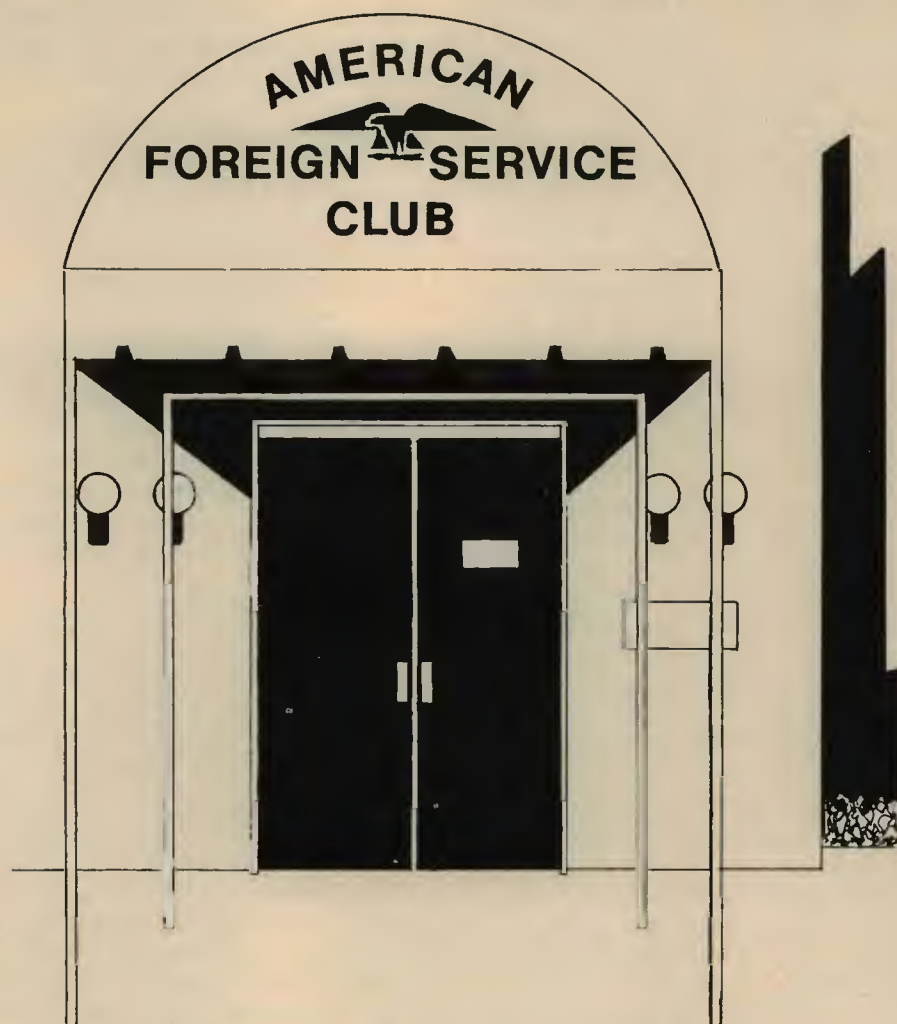
Legal Committee Appointment: Richard H. Williams was appointed to the Legal Committee, replacing Richard Higgins, who has been transferred.

Committee on Reform: Lewis D. Junior was appointed to replace Gerald Lamberty as chairman of the subcommittee on personnel. Mr. Lamberty has been transferred.

Foreign Service Day: The annual F.S. Day is scheduled tentatively for November 19. David Loving will serve as liaison with DACOR and Ambassador Hall's staff.

Memorial Park: It is planned to inaugurate the Foreign Service Memorial Park across the street from AFSA headquarters as part of the F.S. Day program. A volunteer work force will be organized by Frederick Vogel, AFSA member and retired forester, to plant grass and shrubbery.

Finance Committee: Princeton Lyman was elected as Secretary-Treasurer, and Robert T. Banqué was appointed Chairman of the Finance Committee.



International Evenings at Club Prove Popular; More Scheduled

The Foreign Service Club's International evenings have proved so popular and entertaining that the Club is scheduling two in September and two in October. On September 2, the Club will feature a Nigerian dinner, September 23 will honor la belle France, October 8 will take AFSA members to the Caribbean and October 22 means a visit to the Far East. In November and December, dates to be announced, Britain, India, Scandinavia and Yugoslavia will supply the theme for

the international evenings. Early reservations are recommended. Cocktail hour first, then choice dishes of the chosen area, together with the vin du pays—and



Music.

Club members with suggestions and ideas for international evenings should contact Club Manager Cindy O'Brien at 338-5730. She will be pleased to hear from you.

The Club is also available for special parties, on arrangement with Miss O'Brien and has been extensively used for cocktail parties, wedding receptions and dinner parties, as well as for special luncheon meetings and conferences.

Members will also be interested in the continuing exhibits by artists of the foreign affairs community. Foreign Service artists interested in exhibiting should call AFSA, 338-4045.



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