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PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS: Barrett Stephens, "Bridge of Sighs," cover; Philip (Skip) Jordan, Cartoon, page 40; S. I. Nadler, 'Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 42.

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Dean Gooderham Acheson

In the usual—and usually sanctimonious—sense of the term, Dean Acheson was not a humble man. He had nothing to be humble about; his candlepower was too great to hide under a bushel. Trained in the law under Mr. Justice Brandeis, Dissenting, his intellect was honed to produce a healthy regard for facts and, as de Tocqueville had put it, "a kind of instinctive regard for the regular connection of ideas."

Some years ago, in writing of his father's outlook on life, Acheson stressed a philosophy which applied in full measure to himself. His father, an Episcopal bishop, believed salvation was to be found in works, performed with charity, humor, zeal, and a strong sense of stoicism. On another occasion, Acheson wrote, "I shall not be a fake." He tried to apply the precept, "Know thyself." And to the question, "What do I know?" he concluded: "Not much; and I am not sure of most of it." He exemplified the ancient Greek definition of happiness: the exercise of vital powers along lines of excellence, in a life affording them scope—with elan, elegance, wit, gusto, and guts. One who has decided not to be a fake must play out the game full tilt. A false modesty is no less fakery than a puffed-up sense of self-importance.

To have been among his lieutenants in the Department of State, to have fought with him in a few of his many St. Crispin's days, was a privilege and an honor. You gave the best you had, for that was all he knew. You realized he was like his mentor, Brandeis, whose standard for the work of his staff was "perfection as a norm, to be bettered on special occasions." Acheson's courtesy was unfailing, marked by that uncommon virtue of hearing you out. If you asked to see him, he assumed you had good reason, so you always made sure you did. If your batting average on ideas was high, fine; but if you grounded out once in a while, no personal affront attached. You learned that decisions were seldom easy and consisted of a choice among nearly equally unattractive options. One story Acheson much appreciated as an example of the process concerned a bottle of gin one man had given another. When asked later how he liked it, the recipient replied: "It was just right! If it had been any better, you wouldn't have given it to me; if it had been any worse, I couldn't have drunk it."

Acheson once said he had been raised at his mother's knee "and other low joints," which of course was not intended as a reflection on his mother. More likely, it was a reference to his halcyon summer between straitjacketing private school days and college. He worked as a survey team axeman on the then a-building transcontinental railway, the Canadian National. From that summer he brought back a fund of stories which earned him a transient reputation for ribald wit. In later years his humor ran more to the mordant. Both his own stories and those he appreciated from others were apt to the existential moment, usually aimed at pointing up the mess we were in.

His scorn of pomposity and self-importance was legend, but his sense of humor helped him tolerate these traits in others. Once while strolling in Georgetown he was entreated by an overripe, overdressed, overperoxided matron to help her get her white Cadillac convertible out of a tight parking space. He did so, and when she thanked him for his help and announced: "You know, I am a member of the DAR," Acheson doffed his Homburg in mock courtesy and with a straight face replied: "Madam, my appreciation is exceeded only by my admiration."

His felicity of writing style won much acclaim, and, humanly enough, he basked in it. After "Present at the Creation" had been on the best seller list for many weeks and he had won the Pulitzer Prize, I sent him a note of congratulation. I remarked that his writings were probably more widely read than those of any Secretary of State since Jefferson. Besides, Jefferson had a head start and much of the reading of him was required by school curricula. Acheson replied: "There is no drug like flattery. It smoothes away the wrinkles and makes one forget the anguish of English composition."

On January 16, 1953 when Acheson took leave of his colleagues in the Department, an occasion none of us can remember without mist in the eyes, he left us with a farewell from "Pilgrim's Progress": "My sword I give to him who shall follow my pilgrimage. My courage and skill I give to him who can take it. My marks and scars I carry with me to bear witness for me that I fought his battles who will be my rewarder."

Tempting as it might be to compare Dean Acheson with one or another of his fellow Secretaries of State, it would be a bootless exercise. The man must be gauged in the light of his times, the forces and problems contended with, and the distractions that plagued him. When Whistler was compared to Velasquez, he retorted, "Why drag *him* in?"

Whatever history's assignments in the pecking order of greatness may turn out to be, the free world was damn lucky to have Acheson present at the creation of the instruments and instrumentalities of strength, security, and leadership after World War II. He strove for strength in order never to use it; security in which we can continue to work out our other unending problems; and effective world leadership. He strongly held such leadership would be respected, accepted, and followed only if other countries believed "that the pattern of responsibility within which we operate is a responsibility to interests which are broader than our own—that we know today what Thomas Jefferson was talking about when he spoke of the need of paying a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

In a world where the term "balance of terror" represents grim reality, we may well be approaching a point envisaged by Acheson twenty years ago: "Where the normal way to settle things is to sit down, to argue about them, to negotiate about them, and to find a solution with which all parties concerned can live, even though it is not ideal for any of us."

If by past endeavors we have reached a time when prudent, patient, and persistent steps toward accommodation may produce solid results, Acheson would be the first to applaud.

—R. Gordon Arneson

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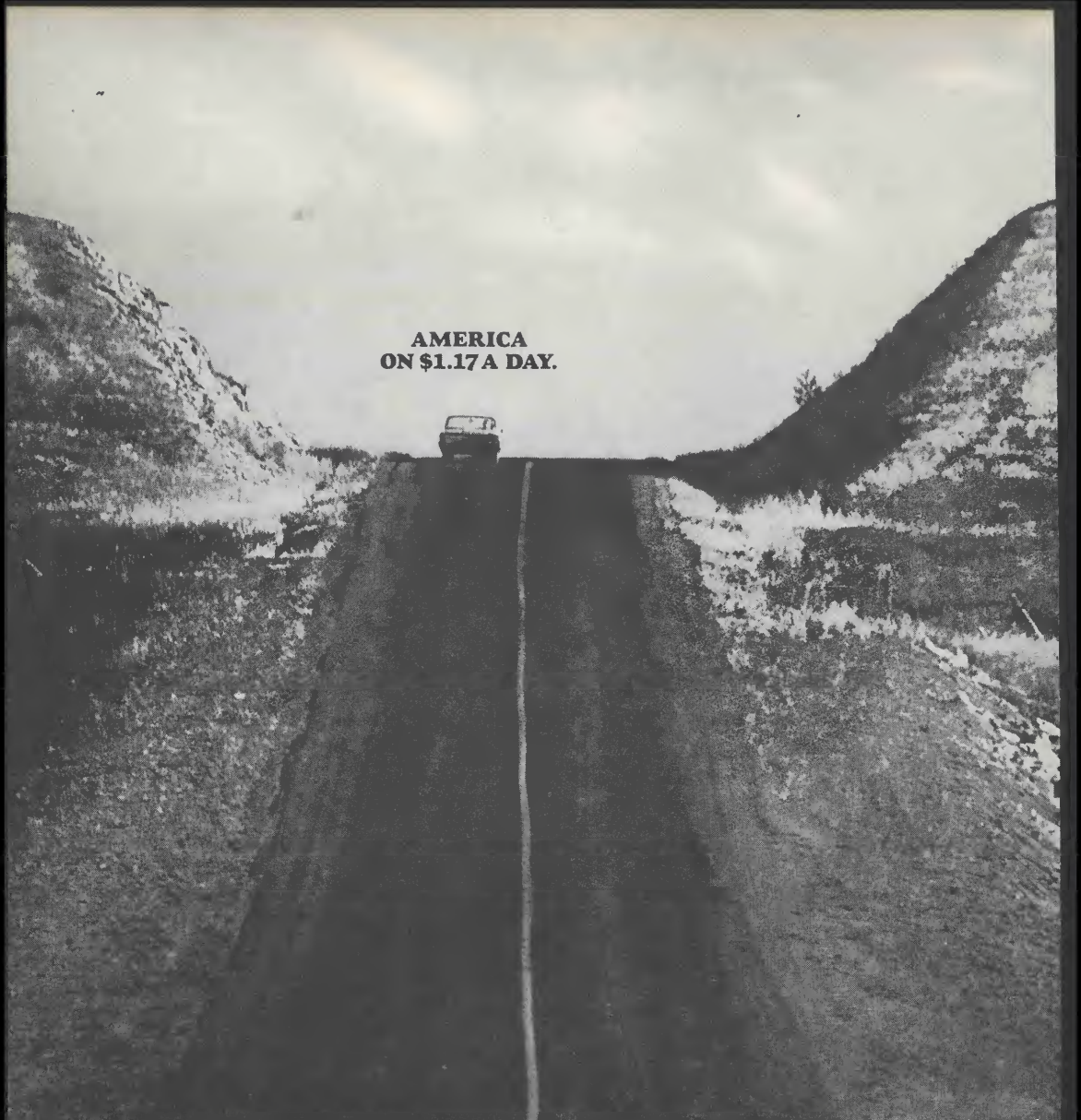

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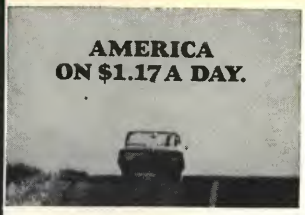

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COMMUNICATION FROM THE AFSA BOARD

Testimony Before The Senate Foreign Relations Committee

In recent weeks the Chairman of the AFSA Board has testified before the Fulbright Committee regarding the nomination of Howard P. Mace as Ambassador to Sierra Leone, and regarding S.2023 (the Bayh bill) to establish due process in Foreign Service grievance and appeal procedures. Excerpts follow.

The Mace Nomination

This is the first time a representative of the American Foreign Service Association has appeared before your Committee in connection with an Ambassadorial nomination. AFSA is keenly interested in assuring that only fully qualified Americans serve as Chief of Mission. For some time we have been seeking the most appropriate way in which AFSA's professional experience could be of service in evaluating the qualifications of prospective Ambassadors. We are continuing to explore this problem. In the meantime, AFSA is not prepared to offer a judgment as to Mr. Mace's qualifications, nor to endorse or oppose his nomination as Ambassador to Sierra Leone.

We were informed that other witnesses proposed to utilize these hearings for a critical review of the Foreign Service personnel and grievance system based upon a direct attack against Mr. Mace. We do not believe this linkage is appropriate, and for that reason I appear before you.

For the past four years the Service itself, through AFSA, has been pointing out the inequities and deficiencies of the Foreign Service personnel system. We are now beginning to see important progress in our drive for reform from within. We are building a more effective, creative and responsive foreign affairs organization.

The inadequacy of an essentially paternalistic system has been aggravated by the manner in which it has been administered over the years by a series of senior State Department officials. But the problem is fundamentally institutional. In fact, a principal structural weakness has been excessive reliance upon personal decision-making. Senior personnel administrators have made decisions of great impact on the lives of individuals, decisions based too much on personal assessments and personal values in the absence of a clear, equitable procedure with due process established by law.

Last winter, the American Foreign Service Association, as part of our general reform program, prepared new draft grievance and appeal procedures to assure due process to Foreign Service employees. Subsequently, the AFSA draft formed the basis of S. 2023, introduced by Senators Bayh, Cooper, Scott and Humphrey.

We welcome the Committee's plans to hold early hearings on this bill. The major issue will be the reform of an unfair and paternalistic grievance system, not the actions of Mr. Mace or any other individual who has endeavored to administer it.

We do not feel that today's hearing on the confirmation of an individual is the appropriate context in which to debate these issues. We oppose the utilization of this hearing to personalize the Department of State's structural problems. We do believe in reasonable accountability within the bureaucracy, and we believe that the administrative practices and principles of an individual officer are a proper consideration as one of his qualifications to be an Ambassador. But if we pretend that one man is somehow responsible for a system and for policies of long standing, he becomes the lightning rod, and we are distracted from the urgent need for reform through legislative and administrative action.

We urge the Committee to form its opinion of Mr. Mace's qualifications on the basis of his record, and not on the basis of the existing grievance system—or lack of it—in the Foreign Service.

The Bayh Bill

AFSA is the professional organization of foreign affairs personnel in State, AID and USIA. It was founded in 1918, and has been the only such organization since that time. Our membership of almost 8,000 includes over 6,000 persons of all ranks employed under the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Our membership includes 70 percent of Foreign Service officers and Foreign Service Information officers, and a rapidly increasing number of Foreign Service Staff and Foreign Service Reserve personnel in all three agencies. AFSA will seek to represent all Foreign Service personnel under a projected Presidential executive order to create a separate employee-management relations system for the Foreign Service.

The fact that those Americans serving under the Foreign Service Act of 1946 should have had no guaranteed recourse to a fair and impartial grievance and appeals system is certainly an historical aberration. Legislative action, in the form of the excellent bill before you, is required urgently to redress this situation. There is a bad gap in the Foreign Service Act, and this simple bill will fill it.

Administrative action by the agencies involved is not an adequate remedy.

The contention of Department spokesmen that management and Foreign Service employee representatives should be given a chance to work out their own system, under the anticipated Executive Order for Employee-Management Relations in the Foreign Service, is, to say the least, disingenuous.

I would like briefly to trace the fight made over the past eight months by the Foreign Service, through AFSA, to obtain equity and due process. With your permission, I will introduce some documents into the record. . .

By letter of July 30, the Association requested a hearing before the Board of the Foreign Service. In this letter we outlined some of the very real and substantive difficulties AFSA had and still has with the "interim grievance procedures."

The Board of the Foreign Service received AFSA representatives for a hearing on the "interim procedures"

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August 3, 1971. This was a historic occasion in its way. Prior to that meeting, the Board of the Foreign Service, which by statute and subsequent executive order is the senior body charged with recommending personnel policies to the Secretary of State and the Director of USIA, had learned of the views and positions of Foreign Service employees and employee representatives through the management of the agencies, and not directly.

Our testimony had limited impact upon the interim procedures. . . . In our appearance before the Board of the Foreign Service, we exhausted every recourse we would have under the proposed Executive Order on Foreign Service employee-management relations to influence the terms of grievance and appeal procedures. I repeat that we would have no additional influence or leverage upon management, and no expectation of obtaining changes or improvements in these procedures.

Our principal objections to the interim procedures, as opposed to S.2023, are described in my testimony before the Board of the Foreign Service: no right to a hearing, no guaranteed access to records, discriminatory treatment of probationers and limited appointees, excessively burdensome hurdles to be crossed in seeking access to the Grievance and Appeals Board, hearings to be closed rather than open, a Grievance and Appeals Board which is not independent and which is nominated by management (albeit after consultation with employee organizations).

There is one clarification the Association believes necessary in S.2023 as drafted. Its language could be misinterpreted as applying only to Department of State Foreign Service employees, and not to all persons serving in the Foreign Service in State, AID and USIA and on detail to other agencies. We would recommend that a clause be added to Section 691(1) as follows: "or under PL 90-494 or the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended."

This is an issue of primary importance to the men and women of the Foreign Service, and they will not be satisfied by partial solutions. They request due process guaranteed by legislation. Earlier in this hearing, Senator Pell asked Mr. Macomber what effect on the morale of the Foreign Service might be expected from passage of the Bayh Bill. Mr. Macomber replied that those who supported it would no doubt be cheered. He was right—and the Foreign Service is virtually unanimous in support of this bill.

We are a professional association and our members are Foreign Service professionals, whether counselors of Embassy, development economists, media experts or communications clerks. We want to concentrate upon our work of conducting the nation's foreign policy, and upon our drive to reform and improve the foreign affairs agencies from within. However, we must be free from the distraction and anxiety of having no assured impartial appeal should our careers be jeopardized in a way we believe unfair. Surely it is in the interest of the Department of State also to have done once and for all with this anachronistic paternalism and inequity. I urge you to approve S.2023. ■

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LEO LeCLAIR

Leo LeClair is Public Affairs Officer in Ottawa. Holder of a 25-year pin, he has had assignments in a wide variety of posts including Vietnam, Lebanon, Ceylon, Algeria, France and Greece. He is a past contributor to the JOURNAL'S *pages.*

(The title refers to a travel message authorizing someone to travel.)

ONCE upon a transfer there was a young and devoted officer who was assigned to an extremely difficult post in the (censored) Area. Although he had a hard time selling the idea to his wife, she too finally took it like a good soldier and they set off with their six small children for the post. It took a long time to get there because one of the children came down with measles almost as soon as they boarded the plane and so they had to interrupt their travel in Europe and spend quite a while in (censored) en route. The other children had a wonderful time playing and shouting in the gloomy corridors of the hotel which was the only one the Embassy could find for them because it was the height of some season or other and all the other cheaper hotels were full of rich people. The officer and his wife rested because they couldn't do anything else. It rained all the time. They read TIME and NEWSWEEK and the (censored) BOARD OF TRADE REVIEW for 1948 and the rules and regulations of the hotel and ordered more macaroni for the kids. When they ran out of rules and regulations to read, they would sometimes try to take the children out for walks to look for Chux, but the children preferred to run and holler in the halls, so they put up a pretty effective battle every time they were told to put on their rubbers. Besides most of the rubbers were in the trunks which had gone by sea. And besides it really was raining hard out. And besides there were no Chux.

After three more children had come down with measles one by one and the mother had had measles too, the father said by God I don't care if you all have pneumonia, and they all set out anew for their post.

They finally reached their destination at the capital city of (censored) which abounds in tropical foliage and lies about twenty-five miles upstream on the Aankanaa River. The Aankanaa River is famous for its ripe smell. (The climate sticks pretty close to 100° most of the year, the wife wrote home in one of her cheery letters, so the children and I don't go out much. We stick to our one working air conditioner in the kitchen. In a way it's lucky we haven't been able to find any servants.)

Anyway a nice house was waiting

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for them when they got to the post. It was almost all finished. All it needed was a roof. Before they had arrived, the thoughtful chief of mission had been trying to think of some way of occupying the place, which a previous officer had put on a three-year government lease just before his transfer. The chief of mission had thought the house would certainly be more appropriate for a junior officer than the lavish fully furnished comfortable villa which his predecessor had had. (The predecessor had been a bachelor and had lived a terribly Bohemian life. He had married a local girl, whom he had taken back to a UN assignment with him. She was on exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art during the day and getting a Ph. D. at Barnard during the night.)

Well, to make a short story short, the officer and his family had carried on bravely for their three years at the post. It was supposed to be only a twelve-month tour, but the officer had done such a bang-up job Washington had told him he was indispensable and ordered him to stay on for a few more months—twenty-four to be exact. During that time he and his family had amoebas, bacilli, scurvy, pellagra, filariasis and twins. They gave 67 cocktail parties, 32 dinners and 61 luncheons, all on a representation allowance of $78.00. Even though the officer was a little out of pocket, he felt it would look good on his efficiency report and give him a chance toward a plush post on his next assignment.

He and his wife attended two dinners at which they ate turtle eyes and one at which they drank latex. That was way up country though and during a weekend vacation.

Finally the officer and his wife were sent home on leave with excellent performance ratings. The ratings were so good that the Personnel Office for (censored) looked them over and said this guy is too good to lose. As a reward for his demonstrated ability in a tough post, the officer and his family were sent to (censored) which is about twenty-five miles upstream on the Uukqwuu River which is famous for its smell and where the climate sticks close to 100.

Now before the officer in this story had accepted his assignment like a good soldier, another officer had also been offered the job. But he had pleaded that he had a wife and six children and that he had just come from a hardship post. So Washington got sore at him and sent him instead to Rome. He and his wife had a ball there and managed to stay out of personnel sight for three years. They loved every minute of their tour in Rome and used to send home fascinating accounts of excursions to Majorca, Corsica and a charming town in Tuscany.

Finally however Washington caught up with this officer and assigned him to (censored) which is about twenty-five miles upstream on the Ug River reputed for its smell.

The moral of this story is to enjoy that hardship post while you can, you never can tell when they'll assign you to Rome, for which you'll pay dearly. ■

PRO

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The United States is not likely to choose deliberately to follow a disastrous course of protectionism, isolationism and self-indulgence.

The Trade Policy Crisis

WILLIS C. ARMSTRONG

Willis C. Armstrong is a retired Foreign Service officer, whose career started in the code room in Moscow in 1939, and whose last post was that of Economic Minister in London. After retirement in 1967 he served for two years as Associate Dean of the School of International Affairs at Columbia, and he is now President of the US Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, in New York. He teaches a graduate course on diplomacy at Columbia, and lives in Princeton, New Jersey. His wife Louise (Schaffner) was also a foreign service officer. His article does not necessarily represent the views of the Council.

BACK in 1934, when the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act went into operation, there was a happy acceptance among economists of a creed that called for tariff removal, invoked the laws of comparative advantage and competition, and proclaimed that prosperity and world peace would result.

These principles were not only right, but they served the interests of a productive US economy. They remain sound today. Comparative advantage is still a good idea. Competition rewards the successful producer and consumer; tariff barriers are not as important as they were, although other trade barriers loom large. What dismays us all is that so many things have been added, so that the international economic system, instead of being simple and serviceable, now resembles one of our enormous American automobiles, with every conceivable gadget from power-steering to air conditioning to television, and with more horsepower than the roads can safely accommodate. Such mechanisms are highly sensitive, require constant care, need frequent tuning. When they get out of order, the impact is massive and expensive.

What has been added to the international economic system? First, a multiplication of independent sovereignties, all of them represented in the United Nations, where the poorer countries use their voting power to essay world economic legislation. Second, a commitment by all countries to urban and rural social welfare, usually to an extent which far exceeds their means, even when there is full employment, another universal objective. Third, the growth of large corporations and financial institutions, with a capacity for moving money, people, and things across national boundaries with what appears to be just less than the speed of light. Fourth, a fragmentation of alliance patterns, both in the Communist and non-Communist worlds, which leaves the individual country fairly free to do its own thing without fear of much reprisal (Czechoslovakia being a noteworthy exception), so that world economics operates amid shifting sands and in shoal and uncharted waters. Fifth, an explosion of technology which in its neutrality confers material benefits and injuries in what seems a highly accidental way, and which has brought instant communication of violence to the peaceful, affluence to the poor, wretchedness to the guilt-conscious wealthy, and vicarious excitement to everyone. Sixth, a population explosion dangerous enough in its implications for human survival, and made infinitely hazardous by the advent of instant communication of exciting fact and fiction.

This list is by no means exhaustive. The result, as we all know, of increased national complexity can well be increased international complexity. The statesman who tries to steer a reasonable course receives a great deal of conflicting advice from members of his own crew, who are disinclined to recognize him as captain, as well as all kinds of signals and maneuvers from the other contestants, some of whom refuse to follow the rules of the race or decide to invent their own. The waters are uncharted and the weather forecast uncertain. An example is the

President's current effort to deal with inflation and the international monetary situation. Objections are heard from a labor movement which has appeared to be retreating into the 19th century; other groups seek exemption from the rules; some people seem pleased with the action but dubious about its effectiveness; foreign traders are distraught; international business is uncertain.

In the international dimension the new policy (or actions) will be seen as a complete reversal of role and style for the United States. In the monetary field, timely action was clearly required. The US pledge to redeem dollars with gold made no sense in the face of our balance of payments situation and our finite and dwindling gold supply. Thc causes of our problems are numerous. They include the inflation launched in 1965 by expenditures on war and the Great Society, fueled by business and consumer expectations of never-ending inflation, and not contained by the measures of the Nixon administration. Another reason for our balance of payments problem has of course been our continued outlay of funds for political and military purposes abroad, purposes important to our strength and security, and hence to our economic welfare, but expensive and not compensated for by gains in other sectors, such as our sales of goods and services in excess of those we buy. A further factor has been the enormous appetite of international traders and producers for dollars or dollar credit, with the dollar as the standard of value, and with the center of international finance outside the US (partly as a result of our own restrictions).

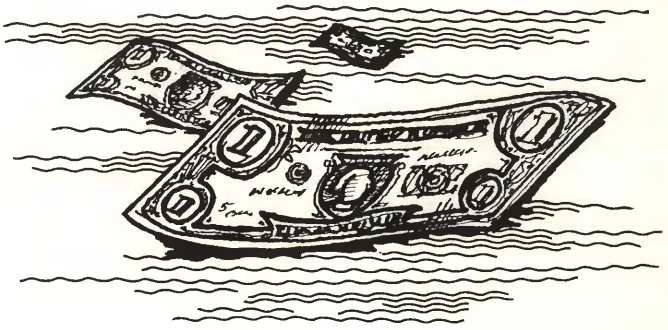
Inflation, however, is the primary cause of our deteriorating merchandise balance, for years a positive element in our total balance of payments picture. Our goods have begun to cost more, our consumers have had money to spend, and our policies have encouraged competitive imports. The tremendous expansion of imports in 1966-1969 has naturally contributed to the growth of protectionist sentiment. Until very recently, exports continued to grow at a healthy rate, but imports have grown much faster.

As another factor in our balance of payments there is the outflow of investment capital. American companies with multinational activities have rapidly expanded abroad, to improve or establish positions in foreign markets and to increase their overall profitability, in part by avoiding high and rising costs not compensated for by improved productivity. Organized labor contends that such investment amounts to the export of jobs. This contention is not proven. Some of the most vigorous foreign investors are the biggest domestic investors. But it is inevitably a part of economic change for labor-intensive functions to move away from high-cost and decreasingly productive economies. And the labor movement, driven on by the rising cost of living, has made, and continues to make its own major contribution to the increase in costs at home by high wage demands unaccompanied by improved output. There should be no surprise when companies leave the country for many of their activities.

Since World War II, the world has painfully and slowly devised a set of rules for world trade, the GATT, and a set of rules and institutions to govern world monetary affairs. Together they have constituted a fabric which held together remarkably well and which was the base for the most extraordinary expansion of trade and finance the world has experienced. The Bretton Woods assumption of the dollar as the fixed point around which the financial world revolved has gradually yielded to a more pluralistic system of basic economic power, but the dollar has remained as the international standard of value. Speculative pressure on the dollar was natural, given the way the world, correctly or incorrectly, sees the US balance of payments picture. It is not surprising, therefore, that the dollar, for some time in practice detached from gold, should have been officially detached and gold convertibility suspended. For our own arcane reasons of legal definition, however, it is still stated in gold terms, and a considerable case is being made for a modest change in its price.

With the new measures taken by the United States and the responding exchange actions by other countries, there is now no fixed rate structure, and it is hard to determine what is the international standard of value. The result is a great increase in European exchange controls, a dramatic decline in exchange transactions, a varying degree of currency floating, and considerable management of the levels at which certain currencies float. In fact, Humpty-Dumpty, whose fall from the wall was long predicted, is now in pieces. In retrospect, he looks better than the pieces. The question is who will put him together again, and how soon, because all will agree we need him in some shape or form.

When in the past a country has changed its currency value, a major change in the country's rules of trade has not usually accompanied it. In the current situation the United States has, however, in effect torn up the IMF rules and the GATT at the same time, so that both major elements in the world fabric of trade and finance have been put in jeopardy by the country which was the leader in weaving the fabric in the first place. To say this



is not to attack the need for action, which was certainly evident. For a variety of reasons, some of purely domestic origin, we needed to act to protect the dollar, to rectify our balance of payments, to improve our productivity and competitiveness, and to curb the ravages of inflation. Action was long in coming, and when it came it was massive in impact. The fact remains that it has left the world without effective institutions through which the monetary Humpty Dumpty can be put together, or within which a better set of trade relations can be negotiated, or relative defense and security burdens reconsidered or negotiated. One cannot be surprised at the consternation aroused when the largest single unit in a world system of considerable delicacy and fragility suddenly acts unilaterally to call for a new ball game, with rules not yet specified.

The surcharge on imports is of course the main punitive weapon which has been used to get the attention of our trading partners. Justification under GATT rules has been asserted, but a GATT working party has denied the validity of the justification. Essentially, however, the device of a surcharge imposed without notice in a situation where the merchandise trade statistics did not seem to warrant such action, and accompanied by the statement that its purpose was that of a bargaining weapon, is somewhat new—or of extremely ancient lineage—as a tactic in international relations. Canada and Britain used a surcharge in 1962 and 1964, respectively, but in both cases there was a massive deficit in merchandise trade accounts, and there was no use of the surcharge as a bargaining lever in connection with monetary arrangements.

The surcharge is highly uneven in its impact. It directly affects Europe and Japan, but Japan far more directly, because a much larger percentage of Japan's export trade is to the United States than is the case with Western European countries. Japan has operated a highly restrictive import policy, a system of subsidized exports, and tight control over foreign investment. It has deliberately undervalued its currency. Operating as Japan, Inc., it has maximized its terms of trade by unfair means, and perhaps the surcharge imposition is warranted in order to persuade Japan forcefully concerning the need to revamp its total policy and to play the game by the rules used by the Europeans and the North Americans.

If the problem were solely one of adjustment between Japan and the United States, therefore, one could see the logic and merit of the surcharge, because it might induce the Japanese to play fair. But the surcharge applies to the Europeans, and their faults are harder to identify. The mark, the guilder, and to some extent the pound have been floated in order to slow down the rush of short term capital from the United States. France and Belgium have adopted restrictive measures to the same end. Austria and Switzerland have revalued. European commercial policy is not at fault in our situation; our exports to Europe greatly exceed our imports from Europe, and we have no reason in logic, in the trade field, to erect a new import barrier. Nor can we have violent cause to complain on monetary grounds, once we have stopped gold convertibility. Obviously the need is to establish some new pattern of parities and get on with our business.

The Common Market has preferential trade arrangements, but they have no demonstrable connection with our current trade problems, and the surcharge is useless as an instrument of change. We do have complaints about the Europeans in the field of what are called nontariff barriers, but they have equally valid complaints about some unattractive practices of ours. None of these highly technical issues can be settled by quick negotiation, and their resolution will certainly not be achieved by holding a club over the heads of the Europeans. Furthermore, we have very large investments in Europe and should be concerned over their health and capacity to help the US balance of payments. Slapping on a 10 percent surcharge, which negates the concessions of the Kennedy Round, is scarcely conducive to a benign attitude toward our investors.

We are presumed to have complaints about the Europeans because their system of value-added taxes leads to the need for border adjustments. Perhaps the United States should have a value-added tax system, not as a counterfoil to those of others, but for our own reasons. It could replace the state and local sales tax system and would be cheaper to administer. It could tax foreign goods just as our goods are taxed abroad. But developing a V. A. T. takes time, and the tax system has little or no connection with the present crisis.

Obviously we do not like the highly protective system the Common Market uses to promote its agriculture. But this is firmly grounded in political arrangements of great delicacy in the various countries. Furthermore, it was the United States who led the way, by a GATT waiver, to the practical exemption of agriculture from GATT rules. The European agricultural system will change, under external and internal pressure, but to attack it with our surcharge will only increase its support among Europeans.

Our NATO alliance and other political-military commitments are very expensive. Other partners contribute in men and treasure, but we pay the lion's share and always have. Our interest in seeing this burden more widely shared comes at a time when our partners are somewhat disenchanted with our leadership and uncertain about the need for such a large outlay. Consequently it will be difficult to induce them substantially to increase their contribution, much as this would be in our interest. Furthermore, major budget changes are hard for any country, and neither political thought nor large budgetary change is facilitated by our indefinite use of

the surcharge as a non-military weapon of persuasion. If this is the object, how can we explain the continuance of the surcharge as it applies to the Irish, Austrians, Swiss, Swedes, or Finns, who have no mutual defense arrangements with us? And, to revert to the Pacific scene, do we really want a heavily rearmed and possibly nuclear Japan, as a matter of policy?

The surcharge furthermore applies to the less developed countries, and particularly to the kinds of exports—manufactured goods, which we have been encouraging them to produce so they can be self-supporting. They have little or no share of responsibility for our balance of payments plight, for the need to readjust exchange rates, or for any of our other problems. Some of them, particularly in Latin America, are deeply affected by the surcharge, a notable example being Mexico. What concessions in the monetary field, or in defense support, or in foreign aid, or in trade policy, are we requesting of the Mexicans as a price for removing the surcharge?

Finally, let us take note of Canada. It is lucky in that only 25 percent of its exports to the United States are affected by the surcharge. This is in large part due to the automobile pact, to which the US and Canada agreed some years ago, with the result that American companies invested heavily in new plants in Canada to produce for the American market on a duty-free basis. This changed the Canadian balance of trade with the United States from one of permanent US surplus in merchandise to one of a substantial Canadian surplus. Now if the United States does not like the results, it could call for a revision of the Auto Pact. Holding the surcharge over the Canadians to get them to revise the Auto Pact is not the way one persuades Canadians to agree to anything, as anyone who ever negotiated with them will testify. We should have no particular complaint about their monetary habits, since they floated the Canadian dollar some time ago. Canada is our largest single export market and the location of our largest equity investments. Surely our national policy must take account of these evident facts.

This review of the surcharge leads one to conclude that it could be justified only in the case of Japan, for use as a bargaining device, since in other cases it is likely to be neutral or negative in its impact on our efforts to reach announced goals. In many cases, such as the less developed countries, it has no relationship to our goals at all and represents more than a reversal of a US commitment to seek legislation for preferential treatment of LDC exports.

Naturally one must consider whether the surcharge is designed to be applied in a discriminatory way—to single countries or to single products. The thought of selective application, either by product or country, is appalling, and invokes the ghost of Dr. Schacht. There would be only political losses in our foreign relations and no gains at all.

Of course, a great deal depends on the basic philosophy and negotiating tactics of the Administration, thus far perceived only partially and in glimpses. The stated goals are worthy of much applause—improved productivity, a better competitive position, a reorganized monetary system, and the removal of barriers to trade and finance. The method of unilateral action of such harshness, in terms of its impact on the fabric of international economic relations, gives rise to concern whether a new and better fabric can be constructed. Other countries may be wary of American policy and intentions, and disinclined to respond in constructive terms. The present Washington near-euphoria over the apparent success of unilateral action may give way to anger and frustration if the other countries do not at once meet our demands. If the United States does not adopt a realistic negotiating posture, and if it relies on the threat of a continuing surcharge as the main lever in securing a better deal on defense costs, foreign aid, non-tariff barriers, monetary arrangements, and basic trade policy, its efforts at international economic change will not succeed.

Furthermore, there is an institutional question, with whom does the United States negotiate first, and about what, and contingent upon what arrangements with whom else? The administrative aspect of negotiations in this context opens up some fascinating vistas, relatively new to the practice of either amateur or professional diplomacy.

For generations American folklore has had it that when we sit down to negotiate with foreigners we get taken.

The need is for a clear and specific position, seeking certain well defined and realistic goals, providing fair treatment for partners, and some inducement — other than threats—to agree. The world is really interdependent in economics and is too plural to be governed by one country. Leadership in a plural society is not domination or dictation. And xenophobia is the poorest possible guide to realistic foreign relations. Our negotiations must be confidential if they are to succeed. After a period of open diplomacy, with open disagreements openly ventilated, the time has perhaps come for a few secret agreements, secretly negotiated, to put the international economic world back together.

A clue to governmental policy may be obtained from a reading of the Report of the "Williams" Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy. The list of recommendations is very long, and it is hard to quarrel with them or with their objectives. The Commission was appointed last year and reported to the President in July. Its full report was published on September 13. It is both nationalist and internationalist, hard-nosed and liberal, pragmatic and utopian. What it shows is the program a group of well-informed, articulate, influential Americans think desirable for the United States, as a result of hearings, intensive study and analysis, and after infinite amounts of conversation among themselves. What it lacks, and what the August 15 program lacks, is much evidence of appreciation of what the rest of the world may think and how it will react. One must consider the

Williams Report a statement of maximum goals for the United States—a favorable set of exchange rates, abolition or elimination of the restrictions on trade and investment imposed by others, a huge US surplus in balance of payments, a reduction in our overhead for defense and security, as well as foreign aid, and, in effect, an economic world in which the United States calls the tune and does not pay the full salary of the piper. One can easily applaud and approve, but the problem of how to get the best of all possible worlds is still unresolved.

In the background, behind the fine objectives of the Williams Commission and behind the toughness of the post-August 15 negotiating stance, is a sentiment as old as American history—the sense that "we wuz robbed." For generations American folklore has had it that when we sit down to negotiate with foreigners we get taken. This theme has been submerged for some years, while we played a major role in World War II, devised the security and economic structure of the Free World in the following decades, and saw our own role in the world expand by leaps and bounds. For some time we had things pretty much our own way, with our superior capital and skills, and for some time we paternally urged others to follow our excellent example. Well, they did, and now we don't like to admit that we are often outpointed by foreigners in industrial skills, productivity, and in the efficient organization of trade. Going back to being competitive is hard work, and somehow xenophobia takes over, and we conclude it must be the fault of the foreigner who is engaged in being "unfair." To some extent the foreigner *is* unfair—witness Japan—but he doesn't really think he is doing anything very different from what we do or have preached. Consequently, he may be surprised to be accused of plotting unfairly to outwit and outpoint us in commercial matters.

The current folklore of American thought on international questions is patriotic, self-righteous, and defensive. It proclaims sound internationalist objectives, and abjures protectionism, but the tone is one of injured innocence. One feels that some Americans are perhaps willing to play by international rules only as long as they are winning.

It is interesting that this defensiveness and self-doubt about the ability to withstand competition have appeared as the United States has begun to retreat from a position of politico-military power and assertiveness and to speak in muted tones about coexistence and greater attention to domestic affairs. Perhaps the assumption is the same—a withdrawal from a dominant power position in economics coinciding with the newer realities in politico-military affairs. But the trouble is that the world has become so interdependent economically, and the United States has become so dependent for its prosperity on its overseas investment and trade, that there is no retreat position available in economics, except the sterile, expensive, inward-looking economy advocated by the AFL-CIO, which would spell unemployment, high costs, and disaster. Obviously we must be internationally oriented; therefore we must have a program like that of the Williams Commission as a desirable goal, but we must be realistic in pursuing it. We must also be successful, and asserting a maximum goal without giving any sign of flexibility is not likely to lead to success. Perhaps we are in the initial stages only, and perhaps the psychology is to wait out the other side. Perhaps this can work. But the other side could organize a game of their own while declining to participate in ours, which is not necessarily the only game in town.

Regardless of trade and monetary devices, we have to rely fundamentally on superior productivity to succeed. Our productivity has been seriously weakened by inflation and domestic inquietude, by changes in government policy, and by a combination of high wage demands and a consequential tendency to move production abroad to a more productive environment. Without a firm government policy of combating inflation, labor and management will go on reacting to each other in this way, resulting in a failure of productivity to grow and in an increase in production elsewhere. Our real success in foreign trade and finance depends on success in managing our own economy. Once this is demonstrated, we can succeed in our external negotiations. Until we demonstrate our success at home, foreign countries will remain skeptical and reluctant to cooperate.

Whether the United States has the internal fortitude to avoid the self-indulgence of recent years is an open question, but it is so understood abroad. Our friends abroad—and they are more numerous than we may think—desperately want us to succeed, not as a result of what concessions they may give us, but as a result of our own efforts. In this way they can be sure of a secure world with good rules for finance and trade, and of healthy competition. If we pull ourselves together and grow in strength, we can expect a good response from other countries. We have not demonstrated this strength as yet, and we cannot expect basic success in improving our relative position until we do.

The principles and purposes of GATT and Bretton Woods are still perfectly sound, and a good guide to policy. The Williams Commission Report in effect confirms this view. But to make them work to one's advantage takes effort, of which the President, to judge by his Labor Day speech, thinks the American people are capable. If he is mistaken we are in for real trouble, and no amount of tinkering with the rules will save us. If he is right, and the country responds, we can get on with the task of producing goods and services to compete successfully in a healthy economic world, The United States is not likely to choose deliberately to follow a disastrous course of protectionism, isolation and self-indulgence, but it could be swept onto such a course. This will not happen if we are vigorous in attacking our domestic problems of productivity while being equally realistic concerning what we can negotiate abroad. If we are too hard-nosed and use unacceptable methods, however, we shall fail in our negotiations. Thereafter we could easily through self-pity blame the foreigners for our plight and stumble backward into the sea of protectionism, perhaps still holding aloft the banner of free trade. ■

It is permissible to say that possibilities for a reduction in East-West tensions in Europe seem better now than at any time since the war.

EUROPEAN DEFENSE:
A Return to Brussels?

COLIN GORDON

In May of this year, the British Prime Minister raised the question of European defense in the course of an interview published in the French periodical *L'Express*. The main theme, naturally enough, was the British application for entry into the European Economic Community; but in this context Mr. Heath declared that he looked to see the harmonization of national defense programs as the only way to make good the partial, progressive but ineluctable withdrawal of American troops from the Continent. Further, he asserted that this harmonization should extend to the nuclear field, although he qualified this by saying that there could be no question "for the moment" of a joint Franco-British nuclear strike force.

In mid-July, the Leader of the Opposition contradicted Mr. Heath on this issue in the course of his speech to the special Labour Party Conference called to consider Britain's application to join the Community. He alleged that the Prime Minister's stated view involved "a degree of defense integration that none of us in this party would accept," and that any move towards a European nuclear component (which would inevitably include Germany) would prevent "any hope of a constructive reconciliation between Eastern and Western Europe."

Given that in neither case was the defense issue a major component of the argument, it is tempting to dismiss both the views as examples of normal party-political *obiter dicta*. It would be wiser to recognize that they draw attention to matters of great consequence and complexity while overlooking the existence of a European defense institution of which Britain is a founder-member. Looking at the present background first, it is permissible to say (and Mr. Wilson has said it) that possibilities for a reduction in East-West tensions in Europe seem better now than at any time since the war. This is largely due to the number of points of contact across the Iron Curtain. At the highest level, the SALT talks stand adjourned with an agreed agenda for their resumption in the autumn. At the Four-Power level, the Berlin talks continue. Important in their own right, they not only affect the ratification of those parts of the *Ostpolitik* so far concluded on a bi-lateral basis with Moscow and Warsaw but also its further extension to Prague and hopefully to Pankow. Further, the outcome of the Berlin talks is going to determine whether the North Atlantic powers and the Warsaw Pact actually come to grips with the question of a European Security Conference; Berlin represents the micro-politics to the macro-politics with which such a conference would be concerned.

Independently of these considerations, the Brezhnev speech at Tiflis appears to provide hope for meaningful discussions between the East and the West on mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR). It has taken some three years for such a clear response to the Reykjavik communique of the North Atlantic Council in which the West emphasized its interest in this field and

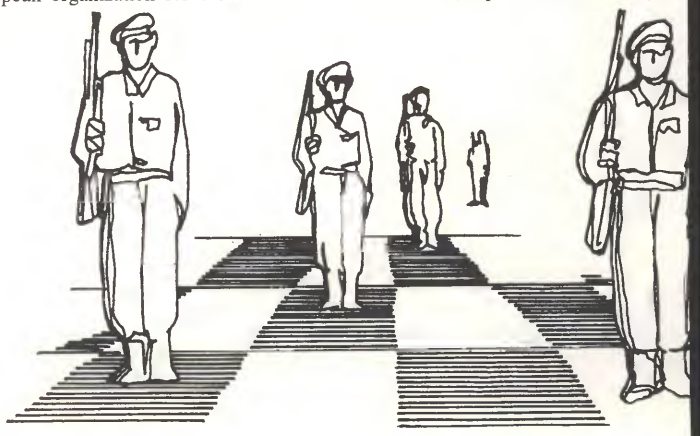
its embarkation upon studies to this end, and the passage of time lends the Tiflis speech something of the appearance of a Soviet initiative. But it equally provides the West with the opportunity of demonstrating that it is not locked in what Mr. Wilson has described as "the aridities and infertilities of the Cold War."

This is the background against which the domestic debate upon Britain's entry to the EEC is being conducted. The principal protagonists to the debate, while introducing the issue of defense harmonization, do not develop the point sufficiently to consider that in this respect as in others, the British application is not unique. Ireland stands to gain considerably from entry, but has no interest in seeing the Community become an instrument for defense integration. The other two applicants are members of NATO, but Norway has won for itself a special place within the Alliance. Like Turkey, she has a Soviet frontier; unlike Turkey she has never permitted nuclear weapons to be installed on her soil and would be loath to see the Community taking a controlling interest in nuclear matters. Like Turkey, her value to the Alliance is increasingly being measured in direct ratio with the growth of Soviet naval capability; but she is showing signs of a growing attachment to a Scandinavian balance which has to a large extent been overlooked by the continental NATO powers, preoccupied with the problems of the Central front. In short, two of the three other applicants to the European Community have little reason for wanting the Community to concern itself with defense; once inside, they would be able to prevent it from developing in that direction; and it is generally conceded that if Britain goes in, they go in with her.

Further, a close look at the EEC as it exists at the present would seem to suggest that both Mr. Heath and Mr. Wilson are taking the wish as being father to the act. Putting it less opaquely, there is no sign of that degree of political integration which would be an essential precondition of defense harmonization. Within the Council, the unanimity rule prevails, punctuated by outbursts of sturdy nationalism. The Werner proposals for full economic and monetary union by the end of the decade were given only the most restricted welcome for an initial trial period of two years, very largely because of the attitude of the French. A few months later, the German decision to let the DM float was taken without the approval of four of the members of EEC and with the vociferous opposition of one of them—France. And this despite the provisions of the Franco-German Treaty of 1963 which institutionalized regular consultations to harmonize the policies of the two states.

This being the case, there is nothing to suggest that the Davignon proposals will fare any better than the Werner proposals. It was in July 1970 that the Foreign Ministers of the Six approved a report on the first step to be taken to harmonize their foreign policies. Prepared by the heads of the political departments in the respective foreign ministries, with Belgium's Etienne Davignon in the chair, the report proposed bi-annual meetings of the Foreign Ministers; their reunions to be prepared by a political committee (in effect the Davignon group) meeting four times a year. And if there is no *prima facie* reason why proposals emanating from the Davignon committee should have any greater chance of rapid implementation than the Werner proposals on financial and economic union, there is no obvious reason why Mr. Heath's hopes on defense harmonization should prevail and Mr. Wilson's fears be realized.

And it is not, after all, as if there were not already an existing European organization for the harmonization of defense policies: an organization which predates the EEC and of which Britain, along with France and the Benelux, is a founder member. Western Union, established by the Brussels Treaty of 1948, found its role in European defense largely taken over by NATO following the nomination of General Eisenhower as SACEUR in December 1950 and the activation of SHAPE the following year. It was revivified and renamed Western European Union in 1954 with the modification of the original Brussels treaty to include both Italy and West Germany, modifications which were strenuously urged by Sir Anthony Eden in his anxiety to stave off the "agonizing reappraisals" consequent upon the rejection of the EDC treaty by the French Assembly. Conceived as the organization for the co-ordination of European defense *par excellence*, WEU was to supervise the raising of a mutually agreed number of German troops at the price of an open-ended commitment on the part of Britain to maintain a specified contingent on the Continent for as long as was collectively deemed necessary. Its organs include a Council of Ministers, a secretariat and certain permanent executive instruments and an assembly representative of member parliaments. At the ministerial level, WEU meets quarterly; at the level of the ambassadors accredited to the court of St. James it meets more or less monthly, while the Assembly meets twice a year. The main task of the Assembly on these occasions is to consider and debate reports prepared by its own subcommittees, reports which have sys-



tematically been of a very high standard; but at the June session it also considers the annual report which the Council, under the terms of the amended Brussels treaty, must make of its activities. That the Assembly is no meek and acquiescent body may be gathered from the fact that in 1967 it rejected the annual report and put its cards on the table. In the words of a German Christian Democrat: "Since our Assembly is the only European parliamentary body empowered to discuss military questions and questions of foreign policy, it is bound to regard itself as the embryo of a European parliamentary body with competence in these matters. On these grounds it claims, on the one hand, the right to supervise the work of the Council, and on the other, to be able to guide that work through its (the Assembly's) recommendations. . . ."

The presence within the European ground forces integrated into NATO of some 400,000 German troops indicates the success of WEU in its initial task; but it must be admitted that aspiration rather than achievement characterizes its wider aims in defense integration. One of its two permanent executive instruments is the Standing Arms Committee, which stands as witness to the unanimity with which the WEU members affirm the advantages of co-operation and co-ordination in the fields of defense research, development and production. It is equally apparent from the reports of the Council on the work of the Committee that whatever the advantages, national considerations have largely overridden them. If for this reason alone, Mr. Heath's vision must be deemed unrealistic while Mr. Wilson's fears are discounted as a bad dream; what the Seven have been unable to achieve is unlikely to be brought about by the Ten. The fact is that the European Community is now the major political issue affecting Britain; and consequently both party leaders are quite properly seizing on any issue which will buttress their respective cases. European defense is such an issue; and in the present context of SALT, Ostpolitik, European Security and MBFR this is inevitable.

But the very enumeration of these manifestations of the problems associated with European defense ought to be sufficient to indicate their intrinsic importance and also to suggest the not unimportant consideration that extra-European factors are central to their solution. In this respect it may be as well to recognize that just as the Common Market has dominated British politics for the last few months so the brand-new openings in respect to China and hence hopefully to the whole of the Far East and South East Asia are going to dominate the politics of the United States for the next few months. Given this, Senator Mike Mansfield has promptly welcomed the Nixon initiative, and in the interests of not rocking the boat on the China sea is not likely to embarrass the President by stepping up his campaign for a significant reduction in the American presence across the Atlantic. But the Mansfield resolution will not simply fade away; the spirit behind it will be kept alive by the growing deficit in the US balance of payments, a problem which is not helped by the German decision to let the DM float.

But the Mansfield resolution will not simply fade away; the spirit behind it will be kept alive by the growing deficit in the US balance of payments.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union seems inclined now to separate the MBFR issue from that of a European Security Conference, and indeed seems to be adding a bonus by offering to extend European MBFR considerations to include naval reductions elsewhere. It has taken the Soviet Union years to respond to the signals first hoisted in the Harmel Report of December 1967, signals which were reaffirmed at Reykjavik in June 1968 and which were not withdrawn even in the aftermath of the Czech episode of August of that year. This delay provides the opportunity for the East to appear to taking a much-desired initiative, but it has also permitted NATO extensively to examine the whole problem and to be able to respond positively. And what is true of NATO as a whole is particularly true of the West European members of NATO who must realize that one day the reduction of American forces will have to be faced and that therefore they had better come in the context of MBFR. If they do not come in that context, they will come unilaterally, and if they come unilaterally the political as well as the military leverage of the Warsaw Pact will increase to the detriment of a Western Europe which asserts the polar attraction of its economic structures.

Conventional force levels in Europe constitute, in fact, the major defense problem of the '70s. It is true that any unilateral reduction would lower the nuclear threshold, though whether to the point where its credibility would be undermined is mercifully outside the scope of this article. But as the matter now stands, and if words have any meaning at all, the statements emanating from the Nuclear Defense Affairs Committee of NATO indicate that the nuclear problems which so tormented the Alliance in the '60s no longer present any serious difficulties. (It is true that France isolates herself from the NDAC, but then she isolated herself from the Alliance problems in the '60s by "solving" her own problems in her own way.) Difficult as it has been to secure a general consensus on nuclear policy within the Alliance, it is going to be even more difficult to achieve agreement on MBFR because agreed proposals will have to satisfy not only NATO members, but also members of the Warsaw Pact. There is one and only one body with any systematic experience of and expertise in the sort of arms control intrinsic to MBFR: the Arms Control Agency of WEU. Operating on a minimal budget and with a tiny staff, the ACA was created to supervise the rearming of Germany and to verify the forces maintained for the common defense on the Continent by the Brussels treaty powers. To achieve this, it has developed budgetary and ground control systems which work

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Politicians and diplomats are quite different human beings. In training, background and professional temperament, one could say there are almost exact opposites,

ON UNDERSTANDING CONGRESS— The View from the Hill

WILLIAM SHINN, JR.

Mr. Shinn says "In writing the article, I drew on my experience last year as a Congressional Fellow. On the Hill I worked for Congressman F. Bradford Morse (R) of Massachusetts and Adlai E. Stevenson III (D) of Illinois. Hailing originally from Minnesota, I have worked primarily in the Soviet area during my eleven years in the Foreign Service. I have served in Warsaw and Moscow abroad and RSE and SOV in the Department. Before entering the corps, I was a graduate student at Moscow University under the cultural exchange. I have a wife and two children."

EVERY man up here thinks he's smarter than the President and could do a better job," remarked a leading Democratic Senator of his colleagues at a recent meeting with the Congressional fellows. Few politicians would be so candid, but fewer yet would deny, at least in private, that this is so. It takes a vast amount of self-assurance, drive and just plain courage to get elected to public office, and these qualities infuse a constant dynamism in the game of politics. A congressman who retires of his own free will is a rarity. The natural urge is to go on to bigger and better things.

I would submit that this spirit is imperfectly understood by most practitioners of the diplomatic art. We instinctively resent the power of Congress to interfere in policies we conceive to be in the national interest, and we are rankled by the budgetary power of a few men over our very livelihood. We don't like to be pushed around but are frustrated, because if we fight back we are not being "diplomatic." Indeed, at times it must seem that some congressmen take a rather perverse delight in trying to make us "lose our cool."

Relations have rarely been smooth between Congress and the State Department and various reasons have been advanced to explain the difficulty. Dean Acheson, in his memoirs, points to the narrow constituencies and interests of legislators as the main trouble-making factor. Others argue that the potential for dispute is built into the Constitution, which actually allocates more specific powers in foreign affairs to the Congress than to the Executive. Indeed, it cannot be denied that the basic constitutional principle of checks and balances is an invitation to discord.

However, what may be the most important single cause of friction has, to my knowledge, been overlooked. It is the simple fact that politicians and diplomats are quite different human beings. In training, background and professional temperament, one could say they are almost exact opposites. Politicians seek public exposure as a marooned fish seeks the water. It's their natural element—the source of their existence. They are, for the most part, outgoing, outspoken, gregarious and acutely sensitive to the feelings and attitudes of others. They are also activists and seem to relish the tug and pull of argument and debate. Most are seemingly self-assured and display all the outward signs of classical hubris, but beneath a confident exterior, like characters in a Greek drama, they are haunted by the potential Nemesis of the electorate.

By contrast, a diplomat is schooled in the advantages of anonymity, taught to curb his passion and to maintain his reserve. While there are many exceptions to the "diplomatic" style, the natural bias of the profession encourages a kind of "poker face" syndrome. One's utterances should always be understated and one's movements ever cautious. If the rewards of politics are to be found in making public declarations and inciting public controversy, the success of a diplomat is measured by his ability to work quietly, patiently and behind the scenes, seeking to reconcile differences and resolve conflicts. Political misfires are easily forgotten. In diplomacy they can be fatal.

Is it any wonder then that we have problems understanding each other? It is all too easy for a Congressman to mistake reserve for arrogance, temperance for hostility and discretion for lack of candor.

Their stock in trade is getting through to people, and in dealing with Foreign Service officers, they often feel they are communing with Buddha. Hence the temptation to seize on mistakes and errors in judgment when they occur, blowing them up out of proportion and seeking to pillory the perpetrators. More often than not, this seems done less for political effect than in an effort, born of pique and frustration, to break through the impassivity of the Department and show that it does not have a unique monopoly on wisdom in foreign affairs.

The very atmosphere of the State Department is in stark contrast to the halls of Congress. Coming from the bustling surroundings of the Hill, a visitor to State is prone to compare the place with a large metropolitan hospital—white, antiseptic and quiet. It is our special misfortune that we are located in an area called Foggy Bottom. Apart from the symbolic implication that our perceptions may somehow be dimmed by an absence of clear air, there is a troublesome connotation that the lack of elevation corresponds to our relative status with other Departments of the Government and, most of all, with the lofty seat of the Legislative Branch.

CONGRESS today is in a period of increasing assertiveness in foreign affairs and the trend seems certain to continue. The agony of Vietnam, our declining trade balance in a tight economy, the pressure to restructure our national priorities and the greater attention paid to events abroad by the public media have all contributed to make foreign policy a major political issue. No longer is Congress content to act as a mere check on the Executive. It is seeking to have a real voice in actually making policy. It is endeavoring to do what Senator Javits urged in his FOREIGN AFFAIRS article of January, 1970, when he declared that "every element of foreign policy must be totally debated."

I fear that many of us are but dimly aware of the changes that have taken place. On May 10, when Senator Mansfield suddenly introduced his amendment to withdraw our forces from Europe, I was urgently called out of a Foreign Relations Committee hearing and asked to get to work on material for the debate which was reportedly to end in a vote that very afternoon. In a quick search for up-to-date information I called several of my colleagues in the Department. Some of them were quite helpful. But for the most part, I met only with expressions of sheer incredulity. How could the Senate disrupt years of patient negotiation, throw our NATO alliance into disarray and reverse our posture in Europe in a single sweep?

Anyone who had followed attitudes in the Senate closely would have known that Senator Mansfield's position had considerable support and that the arguments in its favor were not entirely lacking in reason. As it was the vote was postponed and the amendment was ultimately defeated. However, the issue is bound to remain with us in one form or another. In dealing with it we cannot avoid the domestic political factors involved.

George Kennan and others have argued that Foreign Service officers should not consider domestic political factors when making judgments on foreign policy. I respectfully disagree. The climate of American opinion and the attitude of Congress are often crucial to the success or failure of policy initiatives. True, we cannot be experts on domestic politics, but years of experience in studying the internal affairs of foreign countries should give us some insights into our own political processes. To operate in an ivory tower, immune from political currents, is unrealistic and can only add to the popular misconception of State Department officers as elitist and out of touch with grass roots sentiments. In a democracy, the attitude of the people is always ultimately crucial.

This is not to say that popular opinion as measured by the polls or the collective wisdom of 535 members of Congress is necessarily more right than the informed and carefully considered views of diplomatic professionals on matters of foreign policy. From the tragic and misguided actions of the Athenian Assembly during the Peloponnesian War to the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles by the Senate in our own time, history has witnessed many failures of Democracy in foreign affairs. The Athenian Diodotus gave good advice when, during the debate on the Mitylenian Revolt in 427 B.C., he said: "A wise city without over-distinguishing its best advisors, will nevertheless not deprive them of their due." In the matter at hand, the advisors were heeded and a serious blunder was avoided, but in later years the rash passion of the multitude came to prevail and led in time to the defeat and destruction of Athens.

Our founding fathers were persuaded of the wisdom of a separation of power in government. However, there is a universal feeling on Capitol Hill today that the balance has tilted in favor of the Executive Branch and there is an overwhelming demand that it be redressed. This is why there is so much effort being made to reexamine the doctrine of executive privilege, to redefine the President's war-making powers and to reappraise our commitments abroad.

A real attempt is being made to scrutinize all aspects of foreign policy. The very rationale behind our departure from isolationism a generation ago is being challenged, and Senators who argued against internationalist policies then are again being quoted with approbation on the Senate floor. At the current session of Congress even the normally complaisant House Foreign Affairs Committee has bestirred itself to action, voting down aid funds for Greece and Pakistan, while expanding its activities into new fields with the help of additional subcommittees and a beefed-up staff.

The Foreign Service should not view this process as hostile to the interests of good and responsible government. It is a healthy sign of widespread concern over the problems of a world in flux and of our country's proper role in the changes taking place. A strong role by Congress in foreign affairs is not only its constitutional prerogative, but it also helps to ensure that at least the major elements of our pluralistic society have some voice in determining national policy. Congressional debate is no guard against folly, but the sense of national participation it provides can be a force for concord and unity, especially if things later go wrong.

THE overwhelming majority of

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A Foreign Service father takes his children back home—for a look at the courage and traditions of some of our early settlers.

Letter from White County, Tennessee

DANIEL BROWN

Mr. Brown has been in the USIA since 1951 and has served as press attache at Ankara, Amman, Karachi, and New Delhi with a TDY at Beirut during the 1956 Middle East War. He has received USIA's Commendable, Meritorious and Superior Service Awards and the Department's Meritorious Honor Award, for work during one or another of the recurring Middle East crises. He is currently detailed to ACDA as press spokesman at the 26-Nation Geneva Disarmament Conference.

A Foreign Service father takes his five children to his boyhood home in Tennessee. The idea for this piece originated with a story written by the late John McNulty, a star NEW YORKER *writer. McNulty went to Ireland late in his life to visit the land from which his ancestors came. The title of his piece was "Back to Where I Never Was."*

IN a sense, that is where you children have just been: back to where you never were. Your roots are deep in the rural valleys of White County, Tennessee, but you are more familiar with Rome and Beirut and Karachi and Jerusalem than you are with the hills and hollows of your origin. That is why I wanted you, after all these years of travel in the Foreign Service, to see where you came from and to meet some of the people whose ancestors were the contemporaries of some of your forebears when this part of Middle Tennessee was homesteaded.

This odyssey was stirred in part by a remarkable historical novel about this area and its pioneer people by the Tennessee authoress Lela McDowell Blankenship. Her book, "The Uneven Yoke," detailed the adventures and hardships of three families from North Carolina who set out in 1823 to clear the virgin forests and settle in what is now the Mt. Pisgah community in White County, Tennessee.

They were the Rascoes, the Knowleses and the Swindells. They trekked 1,000 miles in ox-drawn covered wagons, carrying supplies to sustain them on the journey and to see them through the first winter in a new and strange land.

The central figure of "The Uneven Yoke" is Patsy Rascoe. She was the strong-willed young mother of three who walked from North Carolina to Middle Tennessee because she did not want to go to this new land and that was her way of registering stubborn opposition. She made her point, too. She has been remembered down through family chronicles for this walk because it illustrates so well those elements of her hardy character that were to be demonstrated in her later life.

You, my daughter Martha Brown, may have a special spoonful of Patsy Rascoe in you. She was your great-great-great grandmother. Your Grandmother Brown, my mother, was named after Patsy's daughter Martha, and you are named after my mother. And are you not a little stubborn also?

Perhaps you did not notice, but when on our trip you first met your Granduncle Roger Rowland in his home on the edge of the old Rascoe settlement, his eyes misted and he whispered, "Martha Rowland." And then your Grandaunt Ethel brought out a faded photograph of your mother, his little sister, as a small girl. And there were your eyes and your mouth and your chin and your dark and curly hair.

Another half remembered fact recalled in "The Uneven Yoke" is that your father's and mother's families are directly linked in the early history of the area. One of Patsy Rascoe's sons, John, was married to the daughter of R. L. Carnes, the president of Burritt College, one of the earliest institutions of learning in Middle Tennessee. Your mother's name is Elizabeth, the same as John Rascoe's wife's, and you, Lisa Brown, inherit that old family name in its diminutive and abbreviated form.

As for you, John Brown, it may be that your name comes from John Rascoe by way of the subconscious. The story of "how Johnny got a name" is famous throughout the Foreign Service. You were born in

Amman, Jordan in the midst of the turbulence and political strife that led to the short-lived Middle East War of 1956 when Israel, Britain and France invaded Nasser's Egypt. You got your name when you were three weeks old; but because of military curfew you did not have a passport, a birth certificate, or a photograph. Moreover, you did not even have a name.

When Ambassador Lester D. Mallory ordered American women and children evacuated from Jordan within four hours the scurrying around our house was something to behold. A photographer from my office woke you from an afternoon nap to shoot a fuzzy-eyed photo on self-developing film. This was slapped onto a page of your mother's passport by the American Consul in the Embassy, John Panos, even though there was no actual proof of your birth (aside from your own indignant wails, which were indeed hard to ignore).

"What's his name?" John Panos asked.

"He doesn't have a name," your mother replied.

"He does now," grinned harried Consul Panos as he registered you as John, using his own Christian name in a procedure not exactly approved by the Consular Officers' Manual, and sent you onto the big evacuation plane.

We were all too relieved to comment, but in the back of your parents' minds there was the thought, if there was a thought about it one way or the other, that John was a good old solid family name that had run through both sides of the family for generations. Had Consul Panos been named Theophrastes after some forebear in Greece there might have been resistance from this Scotch-Irish-German Brown family. But, as it was, John was just fine, and in a matter of seconds you and Mommie and the rest of the family were off for seven months of exile in what the government called a "safe haven" while Daddy stayed behind in Amman to help sort out the war and its aftermath.

It was one of the main events of our ten years abroad in Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, Italy and Pakistan, although you went through a second evacuation from the same place 20 months later when King Faisal of Iraq was assassinated, King Hussein of Jordan was threatened with the same fate, the United States Marines were landed in Lebanon, and the United States Air Force airlifted logistical support to Britain's Red Devil paratroopers in Jordan.

So this is the background—that of your Rascoe ancestors and your own—against which we found ourselves at Mt. Pisgah, White County, Tennessee on a balmy August day.

I spent many of my boyhood days here. My grandparents, the A. V. Rowlands, owned a fine large farm extending beyond the bounds of the original Rascoe tracts. My Grandmother Rowland was the granddaughter of Patsy Rascoe. My first school days were spent in the neat, white-painted clapboard Mt. Riverette school three miles from my grandparents' house. For one year, every morning, autumn and winter and spring, I walked across the rolling cornfield in front of the big white farm house, crossed through a deep and mysterious wood often dripping with dawn's fresh dew, and joined three older cousins at their house on the other side of the wood. Then we walked along country lanes to school. And in the afternoon I walked the long path back, always glad on the hottest days to enter the cool, dark wood—but still a little bit afraid, for I was not yet six years old.

Grandfather Rowland, sensing that a small boy might have qualms about walking alone through a forest full of imagined Indians and bears, had casually strolled back and forth with me several times along the woodland path. He did not say it, but I know now that those walks were to prove to me that a little boy had nothing to fear in those woods.

I had not looked forward to those first school days, which took me away from the familiar big farm—the hay mow, the corn crib, the cedar thicket with its very real and spooky Indian mound, the fishing pond and the other things that made up my comfortable and secure world. I resented the intrusion and I must have communicated this resentment, for one day before I set out across the fields and through the wood my mother called me to her bedside (she was ill then and within the year she died in that very bed) and told me what wonderful worlds books and schools could open up for a pouting young rebel.

"Soon you will be able to read," she told me, "and that will be a wonderful gift, because the whole world will be spread before you. Actually, it is there already, because you have a grand new adventure every day. If you will only look about you as you go through the wood and along the lanes you will see something new and different and interesting each trip you take. Try it and see. And I want you to come every afternoon and tell me the new things you saw."

And I did see wonderful things. This was before the age of the disposable beer bottle and the indestructible, gaudy plastic detergent container. The roadsides were clear and clean and the wildflowers and vines and fine grass and moss came out to the edge of the gravelled road.

My cousins and I saw squirrels, rabbits, pheasants, grouse, harmless field snakes, and all manner and colors of birds. My older cousin Horace was partial to the red headed woodpecker, which he called "peckerwood," and one day he warned us all back as a mother skunk, trailed by three kits, walked across the road ahead of us, their tails hoisted like cavalry guidons.

I showed you that spot. It is now on a busy highway along which it would not be safe for a six-year-old and his country cousins to walk today. The road still leads past the Mt. Riverette school, where I began my studies under Miss Mattie Horton.

I had wanted you to meet Miss Mattie at her family home under Gum Spring mountain. But she is married now and living in Detroit. In those days, when I was a little boy, Detroit (Dee-troit, it was called by a good many people in White County, Tennessee) was an awe-inspiring, far away place. It was the large, noisy and almost assuredly wicked city of tall buildings and clanging streetcars and factories where farm youths worked for Henry Ford and learned the ways of the world.

These young bucks came back on visits, very full of Dee-troit and themselves and rather out of patience with the plodding ways of our quiet, green countryside. This high-and-mightiness was tolerated by the homefolks with a mixture of amusement and envy. After all, some of these boys had been earning the amazing sum of $5 a day.

One day in the county seat courthouse at Sparta an uncle of mine saw the stooped and aged janitor lugging heavy buckets of coal for the big pot-bellied stoves. He knew that the janitor's son, in his twenties, was back home during one of the periodic layoffs in the industrial North.

"Sam, why don't you make Sammy carry that coal?" my Uncle asked.

The old man looked up and a sad, wistful smile played at the corners of his mouth.

"Why, Smith," he said. "Sammy's been to Dee-troit."

The old school building is disused now, at least as a school, for consolidation has come to the rural school system. Progress and modernization have brought half a dozen schools together in a new, functional building a few miles distant. The students are carried to and from their doors in mammoth yellow buses that would have terrified your father and his cousins had they seen anything like them barrelling down the quiet country lane as they walked to Mt. Riverette.

As we watched on that day of our visit one of the big yellow monsters roared by. I wondered what new mysteries today's first graders look for at the roadside. Mother skunk and her regiment have long since retreated to the quiet, safe inner depths of the woodland we still see here. And, alas, the tin can and the plastic jug have come to the quiet lanes of White County, Tennessee.

The school house looks so small today. It always was. But when I was there as a first grader I used to stand by the front steps and look up at the bell tower and wonder if it were not possibly as tall as some of the buildings in New York. I vaguely knew such a place as New York and its tall buildings existed. Most of us around Mt. Riverette and Mt. Pisgah were possessed of a rather fierce parochial pride. I was pretty well convinced that my school was as tall as anything New York had to offer, by dingies, and this conviction was reinforced when I saw that my older cousin Evelyn could not throw the ball over the school house in the game we called "Annie Over." This was a game for the "big folks" of the school, primarily, for we "little folks" could barely throw to the top of the big windows. I had a special role, however, because I could run really fast and the game involved throwing the ball over the school house and then everyone on "our side" tearing out for the opposite side of the building, the object being to put a man in enemy territory before the ball hit the ground and to catch it if possible.

Cousin Horace developed a system whereby, instead of throwing the ball high over the building, he lobbed it up over the apex of the roof and let it roll slowly down the opposite incline to drop into the midst of the enemy, who by that time had been engulfed by a thundering horde from "our side." This was considered grossly unfair and unsporting by Horace's opponents and many grievances were carried to Miss Mattie. Her ace in the hole was to ring the big school bell signaling the end of recess and the resumption of studies.

Horace was the campus individualist in more ways than one. All of us brought lunches to school—sandwiches of thick slices of hickory-cured ham (you have never tasted the like and, alas, you never shall) wedged into buttered country biscuits. Ham or country sausage cakes or fried eggs, these were the sandwich fillings. Horace didn't object to these things and he brought such sandwiches, too, but the thing that set his lunch pail apart from all others was a teacup full of garden string beans.

For some strange reason, inexplicable except to those of us at Mt. Riverette School, a cup of string beans in a lunch pail was the epitome of unsophistication ("country" and "common" were some of the gentler epithets). Horace heard a great deal about this every day, the little pigtailed girls giggling behind their fingers and his older sister studiously ignoring him. He would simply stalk off, sit comfortably on a log, pull out his beans, dig in and inform the assembly that he "didn't give a damn" what they thought. Horace was in the fourth grade and therefore had a special license to use this kind of shocking language.

Things about my earliest school days are burned into my memory as if by a branding iron. Once that first year of school I transferred for some reason for a few weeks to the larger three-teacher school at nearby Quebeck (White Countians always considered themselves better spellers than Canadians are).

Quebeck was a small lumber milling town. But hard times were on the face of the land and the mills were closed. I sensed that a vast uneasiness hung over the Quebeck school and all those in it. One felt it by the things unsaid and by the taut strangeness of the teachers. I had no idea what hard times were. How could I? And how could you today? I had more food than I could eat, or even waste. I slept warmly on a goose feather mattress in a solid, cavernous farm house that frightened me sometimes by its vastness. No one told me of his worries. I was secure and safe. But I knew that something was very wrong at Quebeck School.

One day when we were playing baseball a little boy about my size with a pinched face and wide eyes entered into the game. He seemed like most of us, and yet there was something different about him. I heard that his "daddy had gone off." Somehow I learned that he never brought a lunch to school. Gradually it dawned on me that in these ballgames at the lunch hour he was playing the part of a clown, a robot, a jerky, disjointed mechanical man.

The boys would place bits of food in his mouth. He would gobble it down in a flash. Then, as if fired by some magic fuel, he would jump to homeplate, grab a bat, and swing with all his might at the pitched ball.

It came to me in a horrible flash one day that his little boy—a little boy just like me—was performing. Like an animal in a circus. For food. Because he was hungry. I was ashamed. Not just for him. Not just

for myself. Not just for Quebeck, the idle milltown. I was ashamed enough for the whole world. If I live to be a hundred I will never, never forget.

After that, my Grandmother Rowland packed extra sandwiches in my lunch pail.

The size of the Mt. Riverette school house in my recollections of yesteryear and as it is more realistically viewed today is a lesson in perspective. Another such lesson unfolded there in White County, Tennessee as you crossed the Caney Fork River a few miles from Mt. Pisgah and Mt. Riverette. You thought nothing of the river or of the bridge that spans it. But when I was six years old and crossed that river on that bridge with my uncle in the pre-dawn half-light with the headlights playing on the silvered steel girders I used to marvel: "Boy, this must be the widest river and the biggest bridge in the world!"

I can remember how massive they did look through my small and naive eyes. That was long before we began our travels together, you children and your mother and I, and we had not seen the Ganges or the Nile or the Brahmaputra or the Sind or the Thames or the Tiber. Of all the famous rivers we have seen together I suppose only the storied little Jordan is a smaller stream. But in those days of my boyhood the Caney Fork, behind its dam at Rock Island, was a mighty, all-engulfing flood.

When the John Rascoes came down out of the mountains of East Tennessee, onto the fertile flatlands of White County that autumn day in 1823 they passed through the settlement of Sparta. There they reprovisioned and forded the Calfkiller River to make their way across Gum Spring Mountain and down into their valley.

Sparta is where I was born. And it is where you, Martha and Charlotte, were born in 1951. But we went to Turkey when you were five months old and you never saw the land on which the Rascoes settled just 12 miles away. Over the years all five of you have come to know more about Mohanjo Daro or the oasis of Jericho than you know about Gum Spring Mountain and Mt. Pisgah and Mt. Riverette and the Horseshoe Bend of the Caney Fork. That is why we went "back to where you never were," so that you might walk over the land in which your roots are so firmly planted.

Sparta is where your grandmother, Martha Rowland, as a young woman, met and married your grandfather, Daniel Aquilian Brown.

Your Grandfather Brown was known throughout the county as "Quill" Brown, and for two reasons. It was both a nickname and a contraction of his formal name. He was a writer, the editor and publisher of the county newspaper, the SPARTA NEWS. He loved good books and literature and if White County, Tennessee of that day could boast of an intellectual he was perhaps it. His editorials were quoted all over the South.

Life was comfortable in Sparta in the early 1930s of my childhood, at least it was for my family. We were not wealthy in terms of money, for those were the dark days of the Depression and want and hunger and privation hovered over much of the land ("Hoovered over the land," your Grandfather Brown wrote in one of his pithy editorials). The coal mines on the mountain above Sparta had closed and we were staggering under the burden of what would today be called the "Appalachia problem." Gaunt women with babies on their hips, babies bug-eyed with malnutrition, went from house to house in the snow begging food and clothes. When they came by our house Granny Brown always saw to it that there was at least a piece of bread for them. I will never forget the look in the eyes and sound in the voices of those pitiful, wrung-out women.

Money was so scarce that the shops kept opened packages of cigarettes on their counters, so a man could take one cigarette and place a penny in the saucer at the side. Newspaper subscriptions had a low priority in any family budget. Farmers would bring baskets of eggs, sacks of potatoes, fat hens, and, at hog butchering time, spare ribs, sausages and tenderloin strips to pay for subscriptions to the SPARTA NEWS.

When merchants advertised we took out the price of the ads in shoes and sweaters and socks. My brothers and I were the envy of the boys of the entire town because we went to the movies on passes which paid for the weekly theater program published in the paper. We must have been the best fed, best clothed, best entertained family in Tennessee with less than $100 in the bank most months.

But for many, even the barter of food or merchandise was too much. It was years later, after I had come back from World War II, that I fully realized what had gone on in those years of many potatoes and spare ribs and free Laurel and Hardy movies but few silver dollars.

In those later years I would meet farmers out in the countryside and the people on the mountain and they would ask, "hain't you the young Brown from the Sparty News?" When I would reply that, yes, I was, they invariably nodded, carefully inspected their shoes or a bird in a distant tree, and said, "Your Daddy allus sent the paper." That was their laconic, White County, Tennessee way of thanking me for the fact that your Grandfather Brown never dropped a name from the subscription list if he knew a person really and truly wanted to read the "Sparty News." When I

(*Continued on page* 38)

An Interview with Ambassador Francis Russell

"We have urged support of the youth movement now manifesting itself throughout the world. . . We have intimated that all pacifists are not freaks of nature. Indeed it is the patriotic duty of every American man and woman to decide whether the ideals of America demand that he should fight or demand that he should refuse to fight. . . There should be freer discussion of sex and less prudery and false modesty. . . The examination system should be changed and marks should be given far less emphasis. . . There should be a system for marking individual professors by their classes. . . We have pleaded for no censorship of student publications, for the abolition of compulsory military training, for tolerance in government and religion, and for a sense of humor."

A 1971 student manifesto? Not even close. Excerpts from an editorial in the Tufts WEEKLY for May 1926 summarizing positions taken by the WEEKLY during the school year. The student editorial writer? Ambassador Francis H. Russell.

After Harvard Law and a Boston law practice, Russell became in 1941 chief of one of the divisions in the State Department's economic warfare program and, after the war, director of the Department's Office of Public Affairs, responsible for maintaining a two-way relationship on as many levels as possible between the Department and the American public. According to a book, "The Fifteen Weeks," which received President Truman's endorsement, Russell was the author of the March 1947 presidential address which became known as the Truman Doctrine. He was asked to prepare a draft for Truman's 1949 inaugural address and, with Benjamin Hardy, wrote the speech which enunciated the Point Four Program of economic assistance.

In 1953 and 1954 Russell was Chargé d'Affaires in Israel and later special assistant to Secretary Dulles on Israel-Arab relations when some of the foundations of American policy in that area were laid down. Later Russell became Ambassador to New Zealand, Ghana (where he played an influential role in American assistance in the construction of the Volta Dam), and Tunisia.

Last year, after retirement, he became Ambassador in Residence at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

The Foreign Service JOURNAL has asked Ambassador Russell for his comments on two questions. First, how does a young man holding the views that he did when he was in college make out in the Department and Foreign Service? Does he have to repress his ideals and assume a new and uncongenial intellectual identity? Second, how does a liberal-radical of the '20s view his counterparts of the '70s?

Ambassador Russell: It must be admitted that one's choice, or one's parents' choice, of the year into which one is born makes a difference. Anyone who believed that the United States should play its part in leading the world toward international institutions for justice, security, peace and economic and social progress would have led a frustrating existence in the State Department of the '20s and '30s, whereas the Department of the decade following World War II was a very exciting place for such a person. He was "present at the creation." And so with other convictions at other times.

Having said that, it must be added that other points are equally true. To a considerable extent an officer can choose the geographic and substantive areas in which he wishes to specialize. If he questions current policies toward China, he does not, except in rare instances, have to work in that policy area. Furthermore, while any officer, whether at the highest echelons or the lowest, must faithfully carry out policies once they are established, most policies are continually in a state of adjustment to new conditions and of response to public opinion, and most officers to a greater or less degree are in a position to incorporate into the flow of policy consideration in their area a notation of factors that they believe important. It may be a divisional meeting, in the clearance of a telegram, or a memo to a superior officer.

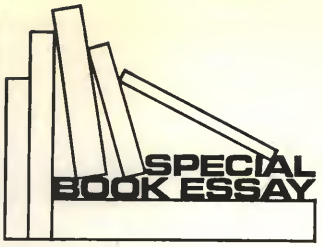
Moreover, the Department and the Foreign Service are, to a greater degree than is apparent to the outsider, a microcosm of the general attentive and concerned public. A young person who joins the Department in the expectation of quickly changing its policies to his personal specifications will meet with disappointment. But one who will settle for opportunities to advance his views within the areas of his responsibilities is likely to find the experience rewarding. In few other positions in life will he be able to make so direct a contribution.

There are, as I said, periods when policy is largely set in a mold. There are other times of flux and change. Almost certainly we are entering a period of extensive policy changes. The major lines of our present foreign policies were set after World War II: relations between the Communist world and the West; the form and extent of authority of international organizations; relations between the industrialized and the underdeveloped nations; the role and responsibilities of the United States, to name only a few.

Twenty-five years have passed. The world has changed in fundamental respects. We are nearing the end of a traumatic war. In our history it is in such circumstances that the most far-reaching changes in our foreign policies have taken place. The opportunities for contributions to policy changes during the next decade will be similar to those following World War II.

This brings me to the JOURNAL's second question, today's concerned youth and the part they are likely to play in the formulation of those changes. I have read all that I could by and about them. For the past year and a half I have met with some of them in seminars and

(Continued on page 40)



Reflections on Our Estrangement from Mainland China

THE AMERASIA PAPERS: *Some Problems in the History of US-China Relations, by John S. Service. Center for Chinese Studies; China Research Monographs, University of California, Berkeley, 220 pages.*

AT a time when Foreign Service officers are again having to wonder how their most confidential reports and interoffice memos will look in public print, it is instructive to read the reflections of one of that small group of China specialists at our wartime embassy in Chungking who had the perception to see what was happening and the courage to report it. Most, including Jack Service, paid dearly for that courage when the McCarthy hysteria drove the public to look for scapegoats for the "loss of China."

In 1949 a selected part of the record, including some of Jack Service's despatches, was published in the Department's White Paper, under cover of a letter of transmittal by Secretary Acheson who attempted to explain that China had never been ours to lose, that there were limits to our ability to affect events and that we tried, but unsuccessfully, to stem the tide.

I can recall discussing the White Paper at the time with one of New Zealand's leading political scientists, who had been particularly fascinated with the despatches from Service.

"Now," said my New Zealand friend, "Jack will certainly be vindicated, because it has all turned out just as he predicted." I explained sadly that he did not understand the mood of my country. If Jack Service reported accurately that the Communists were winning, this would be interpreted on the Hill as proof that he wanted China to turn Communist.

It is characteristic of Jack Service, who had a most acute sense of security in its true sense, that he should have waited until the essential documents were released in the "Foreign Relations" series before telling his own story of those critical years in Chungking. Perhaps the immediate occasion for this book was the appearance last year of a publication characterized by the NEW YORK TIMES as nothing more than a crude attempt of the remnants of the China Lobby in the United States and in Taiwan to prevent the improvement of US-China relations. Sponsored by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and edited by a Dr. Anthony Kubek, "The Amerasia Papers: A Clue to the Catastrophe of China," was touted by the GPO as a potential best-seller:

"These documents read like a spy thriller, but is (*sic*) all the more interesting because it is true. . . . . Part III presents an analysis of some of the documents, herein published in full text, which were written in 1943-45 as official despatches by one of the arrested six, John Stewart Service, then a young career diplomat on station in China."

Not mentioned in the GPO's blurb, and not really emerging from the 113 pages of dramatic and conspiratorial prose in Dr. Kubek's introduction, is that Jack Service, whom he chose as the central figure and evil genius in our "loss" of China, was exonerated by a 20-0 vote of the grand jury on the charge for which he was arrested, that he was cleared by each of the successive hearings of the Department's Loyalty Security Board, and that after his dismissal by the Department under outside pressure the Supreme Court, by unanimous vote, decided in his favor and he was reinstated in the Foreign Service. Few indeed of Senator McCarthy's victims have been so thoroughly vindicated. It was a triumph shared vicariously by his many admirers in the service.

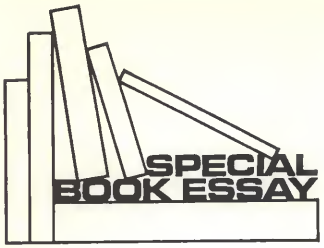
But this book, issued by Berkeley's Center for Chinese Studies, is not primarily a review of the "Amerasia" case. The bulk of this tightly written and carefully annotated volume is a scholar-diplomat's answer to the question as to the nature of our wartime policy towards China. Were Service and his colleagues opposing that policy and sabotaging it, as General Hurley, after the failure of his own inept efforts to achieve a coalition government, tried to assert? If, after Roosevelt's death and the relegating of China to a back burner, it appeared that our policy was one of unqualified support for Chiang, was this indeed the line which the Far Eastern Bureau, the Department and the White House had been pursuing throughout the war? Or was it a later aberration, perpetrated largely by Hurley himself?

With the aid of a host of Departmental position papers, the author demonstrates convincingly that our policy was one of flexible, conditional support. The United States, according to an FE policy paper of May 1944, "is not committed to support the National Government in any and all circumstances." The instructions to General Wedemeyer in January 1945 envisaged the possibility of supplying arms to the Communists against Japan and noted that "It does not necessarily follow that China should be unified under Chiang Kai-shek." State and Defense confirmed our desire for a Kuomintang-Communist coalition to carry on the war. The famous Chungking Embassy telegram of February 28, compiled by Chargé George Atcheson and the political officers of the staff, including Service, was a reaffirmation of this policy of flexibility, of keeping our options open and of avoiding Hurley's new line of unconditional support for Chiang. The Ambassador, then in the United States, was furious at this breach of his order that nothing critical of Chiang should be sent from the Embassy. Many of the collaborators sacrificed their careers for their temerity.

This was not the last time, unfortunately, that amateurs, who confuse US interests with the interests of some particular foreign regime, have sought to impose their preconceptions and stifle the independence of Foreign Service reporting and recommendations. Some day, there may be a plaque in the Department, honoring those officers who resisted these efforts at great personal sacrifice, men such as Jack Service, the finest and most capable officer I have known in 25 years.

I need hardly add that I commend this book.

—ARMISTEAD LEE



NEITHER MARX NOR JESUS, *or the New American Revolution, by J.-F. Revel. Paris, Laffont. (Now published in English, translated by Jack Bernard, as "Without Marx or Jesus: The New Revolution Has Begun," Doubleday, $6.95)*

WHEN French publicist J. F. Revel brought out his "Ni Marx ni Jésus" last year, he used two subtitles: "De la seconde révolution américaine à la seconde révolution mondiale;" and, "La nouvelle révolution mondiale est commencée aux Etats-Unis." The way was thus cleared for the book to appear in English under the title of either "The New—or Second—American Revolution," sometime this fall. (*See note above.*)

Whatever else we may say about his book, author Revel is paying us back for Robert Ardagh's "New French Revolution," published a few years ago. But except for the key word in their titles, the two books have nothing in common—certainly not in the meaning given to that word.

"Revolution" is a slippery enough concept today. It started out as a simple technical term. Historians purloined it from physics and mathematics where it described a rotation about a fixed center, as in the familiar wheel. Manifestly, one-half turn brings the lowest portion to the top; a further half turn returns everything to its original position. The literature of revolution generally employs the word in the sense of a significant change, or a departure from a previously established order. This may be gradual, as in the industrial revolution, or violently abrupt, as exemplified best by the French Revolution of 1789-1795 or the Russian Revolution of 1917-1918. However, few agree about the causes and symptoms of these two types.

Now, the bold propositions embodied in M. Revel's two subtitles inevitably compel a look at the first—or Old American Revolution, whose bicentennial is almost upon us. In that instance, we might ask, did anything revolve from bottom to top, or vice versa?

True, the British Crown, as a legal concept, was replaced by another legal factor, the American Congress; and the royal governors of the former colonies were supplanted by elected officials (sometimes styled "presidents"). But surely the American Revolution of 1776 did not bring to the top of political power the social underside of poor backwoodsmen, indentured servants, or Negro slaves. Nor did it depress to the bottom the merchants, country lawyers or plantation owners who made up the American establishment before Independence. These elements readily transmitted themselves to the new republic unchanged, along with their native language, English law (including many of its mediaeval absurdities) and a vast legacy of unaltered names of provinces, counties, rivers, towns, streets and squares that honored the previous political order.

Two of the former colonies even disdained new republican constitutions and were content to run on their old royal charters until well into the following century; and as late as 1950, the State of New Jersey had a court of *oyer and terminer*, straight out of 12th-century common law.

As perceptive a historian as Henry Cabot Lodge Sr. wrote in 1898, a time when a traditional view of American history was the normal thing," . . . there was nothing inevitable about the American Revolution. . . . America rebelled, not because the colonies were oppressed, but because their inhabitants were the freest people then in the world. . . ." No, our First American Revolution was not of the classical pitchforks-and-barricades types, as the later French or Russian revolutions.

To complicate semantics even more, time has wrought all sorts of practical revolutions, in transportation, communications, banking, newspapers, medicine, military tactics and many others. A later crop of revolutions tended to be more abstract. A. A. Berle Jr. pin-pointed the "Twentieth-Century Capitalist Revolution" and James Burnham, the "Managerial Revolution"; agronomist Norman Borland gave us a "green revolution"; Kenneth Boulding propounded the "Organizational Revolution," Melvin Belli, the "Law Revolution," while the editors of FORTUNE magazine identified the United States as the "Permanent Revolution." Other recent examples are C. L. Sulzberger's "Unfinished Revolution" (likewise the United States), Robert Shaplen's "Lost Revolution" (Vietnam), Sidney Lenz's "Counterfeit Revolution" and Welles Hangen's "Muted Revolution" (both about East Germany), Herbert Stein's "Fiscal Revolution," and the "Elusive Revolution" by Raymond Aron. The most varied kinds of revolutions are said to be going all around like the packaging revolution of plastic containers and throwaways, the Xerox revolution, the computer revolution, the sexual revolution and so on.

Thus girded with retrospect we can be more dispassionate about M. Revel's coming American Revolution. The idea, of course, is far from original. Thirty-seven years ago, George Soule published his "Coming American Revolution" to give some system and shape to the wave of New Deal reform (more recently redefined by Mario Einaudi in his "Roosevelt Revolution"). However, M. Revel adds an interesting new dimension. According to him, the new revolution, if at all, can come *only* in the United States, where there are signs that it has already begun. Only the United States offers today the prerequisites for a successful revolution. Conversely, for lack of these prerequisites, the revolution cannot possibly take place in (a) Western Europe; (b) the Communist East; or (c) in the underdeveloped Third World. The prerequisites? They are areas of criticism, of discontent, of questioning or challenging, five in number:

The *first* area is labelled merely "injustice" in social and economic relations; here America qualifies because of its disparate income levels, ethnic status, minorities and their hierarchy of inequalities.

The *second* area is more complex. It attacks the management of resources, planning—if any—the

false order of priorities, the favors bestowed on special interests, the conflict between private profit and total human benefit. It is an area where the United States offers a broad front to criticism, what with conducting an unpopular foreign war and other costly world-wide commitments in the face of urban decay, crime, a breakdown in transportation, pollution, the degradation of the environment.

The *third* area zeroes in on political power, the techniques of controlling men and ordering them about. This criticism roughly mirrors the note of contempt when we hear the word "establishment," in other words, the nexus of interlocking power lines between families, political and economic strongholds. Certainly much of this is in the United States, but not exclusively so.

The *fourth area* is extremely broad. It is labelled "cultural activities," and it challenges the whole gamut of practices of organized religion, culture, the arts, literature, and knowledge in general, and the ways in which these are disseminated, in other words, the educational system. Here the United States is a ready target—it spends such vast amounts on these activities that some of it is bound to go wrong. In contrast, France, where educational budgets are more niggardly and literary activity is stagnant, could not possibly be the object of a revolutionary attack.

The *fifth* and last area of criticism curiously invokes an apparent contradiction in the name of individual freedom. It deplores the unsatisfactory position of the modern individual, his alienation from his fellow man and from society as a whole, resulting in a crop of warped personalities, frustrations, conformism, resignation or apathy. Yet the soil of revolution must be watered with freedom. The revolutionist himself must be free to dissent, to attack constituted authority with words or stronger missiles under the shield of individual rights. America, which in recent years has resembled a giant Hyde Park, is the place for this.

All these five areas of challenge and dissent, these five "soft spots" in the national fabric, are inseparably interlaced to make a fruitful base of the coming revolution. Not one of the five must be missing. This enables the author, by sweeping induction, to spot the coming revolution in the United States. Other areas of the world may have *some* of these qualifications, but none of them have them all.

The first result of the interacting ferment of these elements is what Crane Brinton in his classic "Anatomy of Revolution" (first published in 1938) described as the "desertion of the intellectuals," like the *philosophes* of 18th-century France, the well-born scions of Tsarist society, or the Paris-educated landowners of Latin America. Their espousal of a revolution, actively or permissively, is necessary for a revolution to succeed. The social or economic hardships borne by the masses have little to do with it. Wasn't it Trotsky who said, "the mere existence of privations is not enough to cause an insurrection?" Our author admits that in the underdeveloped countries, where living standards are lowest, revolution is itself underdeveloped. It would be a luxury that those countries cannot afford. Only the United States has just the right economic well-being to bring off a revolution.

Even as subjective a chronicler as Robert Hunter ("Revolution-Why-How-When?," 1950) finds from experience and personal contacts that "misery, no matter how widespread and desperate, is not the cause of revolution." In its place he puts the element of conspiracy. "Though few in number," he recalls the pioneer revolutionaries of the early 20th century, "the conspirators later proved to be the most effective. Each minute step in the revolutions of the past was studied by them as a battle is studied at West Point . . . they were interested solely in obtaining power . . . though calling themselves socialists a few . . . were incorrigible individualists—megalomaniacs of a sort." Their archprototype was of course Lenin who introduced the "planning" theory in the manual of revolution.

As for the proposition embodied in the author's second subtitle, the Second World Revolution, it is much too remote and simplistic. Stated briefly, it foresees that once a country revolution has succeeded in the United States, a world revolution will fan out to abolish national sovereignties, replacing them with a supra-national government. This in turn will logically eliminate war and make redundant all foreign policy, power struggles and thus result in a withering away of diplomacy and of diplomats.

—C. CHARLICK

(The author wrote his review from the original French publication.)

The Bookshelf

The Big Apple

REMAKING CHINA POLICY: *US-China Relations and Governmental Decision-making, by Richard Moorsteen and Morton Abramowitz. Harvard University Press, $5.95.*

A NEW US POLICY TOWARD CHINA, *by A. Doak Barnett. The Brookings Institution, $5.95.*

IF CHINA, the world's most populous country, is the "big apple" in today's foreign policy orchard, then one of life's little ironies is the concurrent appearance of two slim (131 and 128 pages) books which complement each other nicely and lay out the basic questions at issue. Would that all problems could be so thoroughly explored in 259 pages!

Doak Barnett's book, "A New U.S. Policy Toward China," emphasizes the background, or "where we've been" aspect while Richard Moorsteen and Mort Abramowitz, in "Remaking China Policy," focus on "how to get where we ought to be going." The two books occupy considerable common ground over discussion of the next steps the United State should/will take. One cannot help wondering if the three authors arranged Dr. Kissinger's visit as advance publicity.

Never mind that the books differ on some specifics—Barnett argues for US acceptance of dual representation in the UN, for instance, while Moorsteen and Abramowitz call for a "one China but not now" thrust—the pair provide an indispensable foundation for following the ins and outs of the next few months and year. In fact, it should be a pleasant embarrassment to author Barnett that he has had to add so many footnotes on recently-taken US actions that parallel his suggestions. Moorsteen and Abramowitz will probably be able to do the same

thing a few months hence.

Differences between the two books stem from their slight variation in goals. Barnett is clearly more interested in the substance of policy as it relates to what has gone on before. Moorsteen and Abramowitz, perhaps reflecting their experience as Special Assistants to Under Secretaries Katzenbach and Richardson, are more interested in how to get government to function properly than in advocating any specific result—hence their suggestions on organizing a special China group on the policymaking level and in proposing specific research studies to spark effective policymaking.

On a subject not noted for producing consensus in US politics, it is extremely remarkable that the three authors agree on so much: better relations with China are not our most important objective in Asia; our relations with Japan will require special handling as our China policy changes; maintaining a commitment to Taiwan is necessary for Asian stability; and US moves toward China could destabilize the Sino-Soviet conflict. These are two books every Foreign Service officer should read—the problem they deal with will be center stage for some time.

—JOHN STEMPEL

Perhaps a Parallel

WOLVES IN THE CITY: *The Death of a French Algeria, by Paul Henissart. Simon and Schuster, $8.95.*

ABSORBING, illuminating, this is the meticulously researched story of France against herself during the last year and a half of the Algerian War, from early 1961 to the aftermath of independence during the summer of 1962.

The material is compelling enough in itself, the conflict among fascinating groups of Frenchmen divided over how to end a seven-year-old war: De Gaulle and his government, the French Army, the Europeans of Algeria—the *pieds noirs*—and their various organs and armies, from the original *barbouzes* of Algiers to the celebrated OAS, the *Organization Armée Secrète* which kept Algeria and Paris in terror with assassinations and *plastique* bombings for a bloody year. But the story transcends the material, for the author has done his research and his telling so well that the book becomes more art than either scholarship or journalism. We enter into the fibre of this complex history and feel we are comprehending the working out of a destiny. Strangely enough, this is not an Algerian story, at least not about any Algeria that still exists; and the Algerian Moslems, except as victims of threat, do not enter until the end, for this is Frenchman against Frenchman. And not the French Right against the French Left, either, but rather two warring concepts of France.

Since we have been fighting in Vietnam about seven years, and since our war has divided us much as Algeria divided France, there are temptations to draw parallels. Resisting these, a reviewer may at least comment that the war in Algeria continued for many months after negotiations started, for reasons that now seem somewhat tangential, and the OAS and all its horrors and enmity—the theme of this book—arose during this time. France's manner of leaving Algeria was as much debated as our manner of leaving Vietnam. One wonders how history will judge our record in comparison with the French.

The book is highly to be recommended.

—JACK PERRY

The Horrors of War

365 DAYS, *by Donald J. Glasser, MD. Braziller, $6.95.*

DR. GLASSER did his military service, beginning in September, 1968, at the Army hospital at Zama, Japan. He treated evacuees from Vietnam; this book is about them and some of their fellow combatants who put in their 365 days in Indochina. It is a collection of vignettes, as diverse as the people they are about. There are a few heroes, a few scum; there are soldiers and kids trying to be soldiers. People fight, suffer and die, or get healed. There is no narrative; no statistics; no political observations; no strategy; no big picture of any kind. It is just war—Vietnam, but really any war—and the reality it had for those caught up in it. Some readers of this review may have had their own direct experiences with that; they don't need any more. But most of us probably see war in the grander terms of statesmen—wars to end war, wars

to combat aggression, direct or indirect, wars to prove credibility, wars to maintain the power balance, or even wars just because they're there and just can't be got out of overnight. Might it not be a good thing, before we pick up another tome of Herman Kahn's, or explore with Walt Rostow the salutary effect of Vietnam on our relations with China, to meet a few people who have a literal translation of these weighty abstractions? Their experiences too are quite heavy, and ought at least to be on the scale as we make our policy judgments.

—REYNOLD A. RIEMER

Affluence and The Madhouse of Change

FIRST THINGS, LAST THINGS, *by Eric Hoffer. Harper & Row, $4.95.*

ERIC HOFFER's latest book, like his earlier ones, is small in size and large in original thought. His concern this time is with the present and future of his beloved United States and whether we wither away or weather our current crises. He fears that "we are up against the paradox that the post-industrial, super-modern age is becoming primitive and backward." He believes "the 1980 will have much in them to remind us of the 1840s," for even if we do what he thinks is necessary, "the age that is waiting for us around the corner will be not new but ancient. It will be an age preoccupied with the mastery of men." What made modern America new and different was man's mastery of machines.

Affluence and rapid change are the main ingredients causing today's problems. Unless we face reality our choice will be between two types of nonfree societies: (1) the present with its constitutional guarantees of individual freedom and its helplessness against willful individuals who mug, rob, rape, murder, bomb, riot and disrupt our institutions or (2) a dictatorship which deprives individuals of many freedoms but maintains order and security. But dictatorship is not an acceptable solution, for Hoffer or most of us, to the apparent incompatibility between affluence and order.

Philosophers, like sociologists, seldom hand out solutions. Eric Hoffer does, however, discuss some highly interesting and worthwhile guidelines even though he reluctantly admits that"America is just now completely in the dark about the future." America's destiny will be decided in the cities, he says, and presents some convincing evidence. Today's young who "want to teach before they learn, retire before they work, rot before they ripen," and who equate freedom with effortlessness and power with instant satisfaction, should be treated as what they are—juveniles. And the middle class must come out of their shell and not remain push-overs for violators of what is accepted conduct by the majority since "the unprecedented meekness of the majority is responsible for the increase in violence." But most importantly, to keep stable and healthy, a free affluent society must become a creative society. "The destructive forces released by affluence must serve to fuel the creative process." Only then, Hoffer seems to say, will American society survive this anguished moment in history.

—ALLEN C. HANSEN

Journal of a Plague Year

ENCOUNTER WITH DISASTER, *A Medical Diary of Hiroshima, 1945, by Averill A. Liebow. Norton, $8.95.*

IT would be easy to say this is a non-book. The basic text is a rather naive diary kept by an Army doctor for a few months after World War II when he worked in Japan on a team studying medical effects of atomic bomb explosions. Much of what he has later added to the diary is dull. There are lots of illustrations; many are amateurish pictures and many are irrelevant—reproductions of Japanese calling cards or hospital letterheads, for example.

Like any genuine witness to history the diary has some flashes—the pettiness of General MacArthur, the patience of the Japanese in adversity (those who visited EXPO-70 commented on that same patience in prosperity), the willingness of the air force on Saipan in 1945 to give long odds the war would be over by August 15, etc. Such footnotes don't seem enough to call the book other than an act of piety or the slaking of the author's ego. And yet, the book does catch the reader.

The doctor's honesty, his decency, his devotion to his work, his generosity to his American and and Japanese colleagues are fine. Even his clinical recounting of the horrors he handled doesn't grate on the lay reader. And, when we read his common sense approach in the last chapter to the question of "guilt" (no sympathy for those Americans who self-consciously developed a Promethean complex over the bomb) we realize Dr. Liebow has something to say. Hopefully his audience will include those FSOs who seem so sure of their rightness in planning how "to cure Japan of its nuclear allergy." At the least they might be led by the example of Dr. Liebow's precision in medical terms to look up the original meaning of allergy.

—J. K. HOLLOWAY, JR.

A Pioneer Work on The Yemen

THE WAR IN THE YEMEN, *by Edgar O'Ballance. The Shoe String Press Inc., Archon Books, $7.00.*

MAJOR O'BALLANCE pushes considerably beyond the strict limits of a military history of the Yemeni civil war in his remarkable account of the violent happenings in that little known country. His is a pioneer work of the modern history of The Yemen, even making allowances for Dana Adams Schmidt's casual and slap-dash "The Yemen: Unknown War." The author opens with a chapter on The Yemen as it was in 1948 and moves rapidly to the *coup* of as-Sallal against the Imam in 1962. He then patiently untangles all the confused developments in the civil war through to the breaking of the royalist siege of San'a in February 1968 and the subsequent collapse of the royalist coalition as an effective offensive force.

The author in addition to writing clearly had the inspiration to add at the beginning of each chapter a summary of "main events" with dates when known. The maps are especially useful and the appendix on "Personalities" is brilliant but too brief. This book is highly recommended to all those interested in the Arabian peninsula.

—EDWARD E. KELLER, JR.

VIEW FROM THE HILL

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those who make the grade in politics are intelligent, responsible and dedicated men, but with few exceptions, they bring to office little experience in foreign affairs. They are influenced by a wide array of special interest groups, concerned constituents and newsmen, they learn from reading and foreign travel, and they are advised by retinues of bright young staffers, scholars and a surprising number of former Foreign Service officers. Unfortunately the counsel of the State Department is all too often held in low esteem.

This should not be so. Congress could profit by drawing more on the vast reservoir of knowledge, experience and talent that is possessed only by those who represent our country's foreign interests on a daily basis. In dealing with Congress there are, of course, many pitfalls. We are bound, and rightfully so, to defend the policies of the Administration. There is a danger of becoming involved in political skirmishing, of being used as a foil for those with unrestrained political ambition, and of compromising one's relationships with foreign governments. There is always the possibility that secret and sensitive information could be leaked for political advantage.

The undue fear of these hazards is to a large extent a legacy of McCarthyism, which is more responsible for the lack of trust with Congress than is generally recognized today. The scars of that painful era are not easily forgotten and have produced an understandable timidity, if not outright aversion, toward association with those in political life. All this has unfortunately contributed to the "fudge factory" picture of the State Department as an organization of faceless automatons.

This image, however, can be changed. Diplomatic professionals should be uniquely qualified to comprehend the vagaries of human nature and to get along with all types of people. A politician who has won public trust in the hard crucible of the electoral process is justifiably proud of his achievement. Not many Foreign Service officers would have the fortitude to fight a political battle and fewer yet would have the special ability it takes to win one. But this does not mean that they cannot meet politicians on their own ground and deal with them forthrightly on terms of mutual respect, shedding the Delphic mask used in confrontations with diplomatic adversaries. True, there are some people on Capitol Hill who are not easy to get through to, but none of them would be where they are if they totally lacked the ability to respond in kind to an open and honest approach.

The mistrust and prejudice accumulated over the years between Congress and the State Department cannot be cleared away easily, but better mutual understanding through more frequent contact could help to improve things. If the wolf and the lamb will not dwell together short of the millennium, perhaps they might at least learn to appreciate each other's qualities a little more. ■

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.
Shirley R. Newhall, Editor

EUROPEAN DEFENSE
from page 21

well and which would be extended much further if the French government would submit for Assembly ratification the legal conventions already ratified by all her treaty associates. But even as it now operates, the ACA serves as a pilot project for arms control and could be an instrument for MBFR; certainly, in order to approach that desired consummation it would be necessary to create something like it if it did not already exist.

From the viewpoint of the major problem affecting European defense, therefore, it would be advisable for political attention to be directed to WEU rather than to EEC. This is not to claim that it has had as much success in its specific field as the Community in its own. Within three or four years of signing the amended Brussels treaty, Britain had reneged on her pledges with regard to force levels, and it has long been accepted that France will only carry out those programs that she would have carried out anyway outside WEU. The scope of the ACA has been restricted while the success of the SAC has been repeatedly acknowledged as disappointing. But the first of these two instruments could be given a new lease of life in response to the siren songs now emanating from Tiflis, and the second could become the means for taking the sting from the expected American force reductions. It should be borne in mind that the existing force levels were only confirmed at the end of 1970 on condition of a greater European contribution to what is now known as "European Defense Improvement" (this being a more euphonious variant on what used to be called "burden sharing"). The West German government was prepared to foot the greater part of the actual bill; Britain pledged herself to commit additional forces-in-being—four fighter squadrons and the aircraft carrier "Ark Royal"—while explaining that her domestic economy precluded any additional financial contribution. Subsequently, this posture was modified, but the writing was already on the wall; European countries are simply not prepared to accept any significant increase in their defense budgets. The only one which could take this step with any degree of comfort is Germany; but were it to do so it would raise the spectre of an increased German influence within the Alliance which it has been in the interests of all the Allies to lay. This said, the Federal Republic is no longer prepared to accept an inferior role in the councils of the West. The DM was floated not only in the face of criticism from France but also from the United States whose currency was in effect devalued by the German solution to their own problem. And shortly before the Lisbon meeting of the North Atlantic Council, spokesman Herr Conrad Ahlers revealed that in the view of the German government the problems of a mutual reduction of Warsaw Pact and NATO forces in Europe were not "completely independent of a European Security Conference nor therefore unrelated to a satisfactory Berlin settlement." This may well have

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been a kite flown by the Federal Government; it was not endorsed by the Council as it would have been tantamount to giving the Germans the decisive voice in any Western policy development.

Given that Germany should not become the major financial underwriter of the European NATO allies, all the Western allies need to find their version of "a bigger bang for a buck." There is no dispute that economies could be made in the fields of defense research, development and production; and such economies could be used to finance greater domestic effort or to reduce the strain upon the United States. By definition such economies would accrue to the industrially developed nations which comprise WEU rather than the more extensive "Eurogroup," that open-ended association of European members of NATO so sedulously fostered by Mr. Healey when British defense minister; and by the same definition the possibility for a new impetus to the Standing Arms Committee.

The case then being made is that the European Community is not the best hope for European defense cooperation, whereas Western European Union deserves reconsideration. This is a view shared by the members of the Assembly who in June accepted the recommendation of a report of its general affairs committee calling for the employment of WEU as the agency for a European defense policy within the Atlantic Alliance; and it is a view which carries the more weight when it is realized that not only are Assembly members members of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe but, in the case of many continental members, also members of the European Parliament of the Community. At a time when national decisions in the field of defense are sometimes justified before National Assemblies by appeal to wider European considerations, the fact that the Council of Ministers must submit an annual report to the Assembly whose members by definition have seats in the national parliaments provides a much-needed concentration in defense education, an education which is further advanced by the high caliber of the reports prepared by the various sub-committees of the Assembly itself.

There is no shame in responding to the kiss of life; Western Union was moribund in 1954 and was revived by Sir Anthony Eden. At the last Council meeting of WEU in London in July, Germany, France and Italy were represented by under-secretaries, and apart from Sir Alec Douglas-Home who acted as host-chairman the only foreign minister to attend the whole arduous day's discussion was M. Phorm of Luxembourg. WEU is clearly not very healthy at the top level; but it could be revived given the attentions of a Prince Charming, and there is no reason why once again he should not be British. And on this occasion, this could be achieved to the plaudits of many European politicians, thus satisfying personal ardor to general satisfaction. In politics as in private life, this is a conjunction sufficiently rare to be worth the endeavor. ■

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understood, that was all the thanks I ever wanted.

Later, when I myself was editing the Sparta paper, the editor of the neighboring CROSSVILLE CHRONICLE and a contemporary of your grandfather's remarked to me, "White County is probably the best-read rural county in the state, thanks to your father and the people he carried on the subscription list knowing full well that they would never be able to pay."

The grandsons of those proud, defeated men of the late 1920s and 30s today read the Sparta paper, the Nashville and Chattanooga papers, and the WALL STREET JOURNAL, if you please. White County, Tennessee today, like most of the nation, is prosperous beyond the wildest dreams of those who lived there in despair 35 years ago.

I referred a moment ago to the laconism of the White County mountain people. Your Grandfather Brown had his laconic turn, also, and a generous portion of the dry wit that was the staple of the area. He wrote his own editorials and much of the news content of the paper but he was particularly favored, especially among the elderly, as an obituary writer. A fellow editor once remarked at a state press convention that "Quill Brown could write Judas Iscariot past the Pearly Gates." He had a fine, poignant pen and he wrote from a deep well of sympathy for and understanding of the people he lived among.

One day, when I was a little printer's devil, underfoot and knocking over more type than I could set, an old farmer came into the office and said to my father, "I've just been reading the paper and you've got a mighty fine issue this week. I was telling Birdie, when my time comes I want Quill Brown to do my write-up." My father looked up from his desk. "I'll be glad to," he said. The farmer looked askance for a long moment and said, "Oh, ya will, will ya?" and both of them broke into big grins.

Once the Sparta Methodist Church was having its annual revival meeting. It was, and is, the practice in much of rural Tennessee for the churches to bring in well-known, high-powered evangelists from outside the area each autumn to rejuvenate the congregations and, hopefully, lighten the load of the beleaguered local ministers for the remaining 11 months of the year.

As was the practice in those days, most rural newspapers had as an adjunct a "job printing" plant which produced grocery fliers, letterheads, legal forms and the like. On this occasion your grandfather's shop was printing pledge envelopes for the big Methodist revival. When the printing was done he bundled the envelopes into a box, inserted the statement of charges, and sent me off to deliver it at the parsonage.

That night when the offering was taken up the visiting minister stepped up to the pulpit again just before the final hymn and said:

"Those pledge envelopes you used this evening came from the Brown Printing Company. When

they were delivered a statement came with them. It was marked 'paid' and instead of stating a charge in dollars and cents it said, 'Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have I give unto thee.' "

Your grandfather, of course, could have made a modest monetary offering had he wished to do so, but this was his special way. And I know now that as he wrote out that statement he was thinking of my mother, dead then three years, for she was a member of the Methodist Church while he was a member of another.

On the drugstore corner that night I overheard a typical White County, Tennessee reaction to that little happening. One lounger was saying to another, "You could tell that Memphis preacher wasn't used to nothin' like that. You could just about hear him thinkin' to himself, 'Well I'll be damned.' "

That is the White County, Tennessee, as you must realize by now, that occupies a special place in my memory and in my heart. I hope you will always remember our visit there.

I know that you will never forget standing in Mt. Pisgah cemetery under the huge old cedars, fragrant as all the frankincense in Sheba and all the balm in Gilead, at the graves of John and Patsy Rascoe, your great-great-great grandparents.

Under the long, vaulted slabs of sandstone their graves and those of their sons and daughters and neighbors appear as tents in ordered rows on a silent camp ground. Indeed, that is what Mt. Pisgah cemetery is—a camp ground. When John and Patsy Rascoe settled there people came from miles around in covered wagons and camped for a week or two under these very cedars and oaks to hear a circuit-riding preacher expound a plain and fundamental gospel.

Here Patsy Rascoe prevailed on the menfolk of the settlement to raise the first log church. She saw to it that the building was also used as the community's first school. Out of that primitive school three of her sons advanced, one to become a physician, another a lawyer, and a third a magistrate. That was a remarkable achievement in that day and place.

Do you remember when we lived in Amman that we could look from our front porch across the mountains and plains of Moab to the original Mt. Pisgah, that fabled place where Moses stood to view the Promised Land? What promises did Patsy Rascoe see, one wonders, as she looked down the years from her Pisgah.

And you will not forget the climb we made to the top of Hickory Nut Mountain above the old Rascoe homestead, and the cave we explored there. When I was a boy my brothers and cousins and I imagined ourselves to be more fearless than Tom Sawyer or Huck Finn as we clambered about in those clammy depths.

You had seen the wonders of the world from the Shannon to the Sind—but you had never been in a cave. Imagine that. To go into a cave, the cave of my boyhood days, you had to come "back to where you never were." ■

AMBASSADOR FRANCIS RUSSELL

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informal groups. There is no question but that a wider band in the student spectrum is intellectually involved in the major questions of its time than has been true of any previous generation of the past century. It is more widely read. It knows more about the world in which it lives. It is more committed, more desirous of contributing to solutions of society's problems.

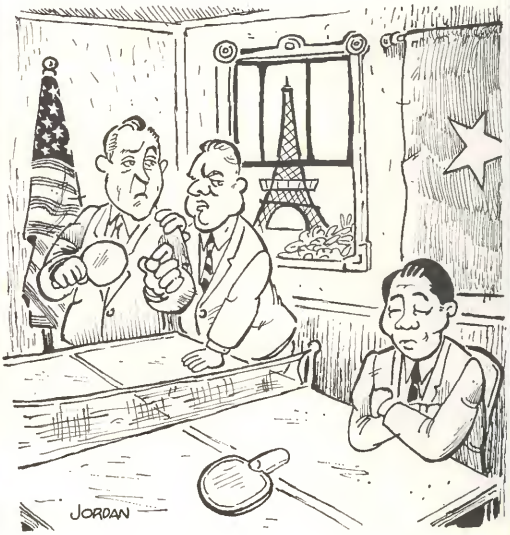
The basic difference between the radicals of the '20s and those of today is in the nature of the situation that they have faced. The problems of the '20s did not have the urgency or trauma of today when young men have faced a draft for a war they believed to be immoral. Partly for this reason, the demand to overthrow the system was not as insistent in the '20s as it is today. There was, to be sure, strong support for the socialist, Norman Thomas, the AMERICAN MERCURY of Henry Mencken and George Jean Nathan which denigrated the system and the establishment rather thoroughly was popular, and the DAILY WORKER had subscribers in the universities. But it was all fairly philosophical. There was not the terrible urgency of today's problems.

However, progress was made. I have just glanced at some of the editorial goals of the modest sheet with which I was connected a generation ago. The number of areas in which substantial headway has been made is impressive. The United States has taken a leading role in establishing world institutions. While race relations remain an over-riding problem, more progress has been made than any optimist would have predicted. Capital punishment is probably ended. There has been a sexual revolution. The general principle of social legislation has been laid down and much has been enacted. College curricula have been enriched. Grading methods have been improved. Students rate their professors and the results are published. Youth is more articulate and better organized. There is a marked reduction in censorship of college publications. If the present youth generation can chalk up proportionate progress toward its goals it need not have to give way completely to despondency.

My principal disappointment about today's youth activists concerns their reticence in setting forth the nature and framework of the system with which they would replace the present one; or in delineating the programs which they would inaugurate. It is not clear that they have carefully balanced the probabilities of success and the costs of eliminating the present system and starting from scratch against those of change through available processes. The problems of top priority consist of conflicts of values, interests, moralities and other factors that have to be identified, evaluated and resolved. Work comparable to that which went into "The Federalist Papers" is required. Today's activists have yet to make a case that they can accomplish more on the streets than they can by planning and announcing a specific program and enlisting the support of existing national organizations and forming sustained educational and pressure groups.

There are some indications that today's youth is moving in this direction. It has, in a way, produced its declaration. If it can come up with its proposals for constitutional changes, its modern Federalist Papers, and its legislative program, it may well take its place in history over most preceding generations. ■

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



"He says he refuses to play unless we change the shape of the table."

Loyalty and Discipline

I WAS puzzled by your editorial "The Missing Link" in the September JOURNAL. Seems to me that you have been beating our collective breast too strongly—and for the wrong reasons.

"The heart of the problem," you said, is: "To whom do we belong? To whom do we owe our loyalty?"

I don't think this is the heart of the problem at all. We know perfectly well that we owe our loyalty to the President who appointed us and who has the responsibility and authority to formulate and execute American foreign policy.

"The dominant view within the Foreign Service," you wrote, "underscores our separateness." True enough, in the same sense that the dominant view within the Marine Corps, or NASA, or the American Association of Thoracic Surgeons, underscores their separateness. To do their jobs properly, they have to be *very* good. So do we.

A great deal of muddled thinking has resulted from the issue of "openness" of the Foreign Service. We may be too much oriented toward foreign policy (I doubt it) and not enough toward the White House, toward Capitol Hill, and toward the people. Certainly we should be open to new ideas.

But that has nothing to do with loyalty, or with discipline. We know perfectly well who calls the shots. "Openness" has never meant that anyone in the Foreign Service can conduct his own foreign policy—or his own domestic politics. If there is a greater babble of discordant voices within the Service, that is healthy as long as it is within the family. It has always been essential for the effective functioning of the policy-formulating process that there be a sort of quiet adversary relationship between the advocates of different alternatives—within the family.

You have muddled this hopelessly in your editorial, making it appear as if lots of people in the Foreign Service were deliberately leaking information for political reasons and as a "betrayal of confidence." If anyone has been blabbing to the press about how bad things are in some trouble-spot, that is wrong and should be corrected. Happily, there is very little of this sort of thing in the Foreign Service.

But it is, in any case, something totally different from what you call a "breakdown of professional ethics and discipline." Such strong language should be reserved for different cases. We may have a man, occasionally, who lets something slip that he shouldn't let out, but the egregious cases of mixed-up loyalties in foreign affairs—Hiss, Otepka and Ellsberg—all involved members of the Civil, not the Foreign Service. (And nobody has had the bad judgment to say that that reflected on the Civil Service.) So let's not speak of a "breakdown" when in fact there are only a few minor, exceptional cases.

It seems to me, to put it more bluntly, that your September editorial impugned the loyalty of the Foreign Service.

You apparently thought that such a collective breast-beating would help the Service with the Administration. Bad reasoning. That kind of editorial helps our enemies, not our friends. "Our separateness," you wrote, "has given us strength; but to the liege lord our sense of eliteness looks like condescension." Apparently this is what somebody told you. And you believed it?

Seriously—does anyone else really think that the President of the United States sees the pride of the Foreign Service ("our sense of elitness") as condescension?

You have further muddled the idea of professionalism with the principle of democracy when you asked, "Did the American people elect us?" Of course they didn't. But what does that have to do with the subject you were discussing?

Yes, we owe our complete and undivided loyalty to the elected leadership. But that doesn't mean that we don't give them our best professional opinion, even when it is unwelcome. If you want "openness," you get a lot of opinions—within the family.

But to turn around and ask the Foreign Service "who elected you?" is an expression of bad temper, not a relevant question. And for the JOURNAL to put the same question to its readers is questionable judgment.

True, nobody elected us, any more than anyone elected the officers of the Army or the Navy, any more than the surgeons in the hospitals were elected or the scientists in the laboratories. And God help our country if those positions become politicized!

If we aren't good enough, we should do what is necessary to become better. If discipline is failing somewhere, it should be straightened up. But let's not beat our breasts collectively, as if there were something wrong about being a proud corps of professionals.

MARTIN F. HERZ

Washington

Discrimination

HAVING just read the latest of a number of articles published on this topical subject, I feel compelled to comment on the finding of sex discrimination in the Palmer case.

I think most fair-minded FSOs have followed Alison Palmer's engagement of the system with a certain admiration and respect. And we have silently applauded the outside examiner's finding that "her career was adversely affected" and approve appropriate remedial action to correct past assignment wrongs.

But to contend that Miss Palmer's advancement has been adversely affected, considering she entered the Service in 1960 as an FSO-8 and reached the FSO-4 level in 1968, to put it rather mildly, is unseemly. I speak as one of a class of thirty-odd officers, including several women, who entered the Service in June, 1957. A hurried reading of the Biographic Register indicates to me that it took those of us who remain from nine to 13 years to achieve what Miss Palmer managed in eight. It thus will come as no surprise that I (and others) find it difficult to subscribe to the notion

that Miss Palmer has suffered discrimination in the rate of her promotions or that she should receive other than normal consideration by the next promotion panels. The system, it seems to me, already has done rather well by Miss Palmer in this regard.

JAMES M. EALUM, FSO-4
Washington

Foreign Service Priorities

YOUR issue of September 1971 contains two new examples of why I am no longer a member of AFSA and will not rejoin the organization until it begins to again act in the interests of the Service. The two articles in question are your editorial on page 2 entitled "Right On" and the page 34 article entitled "The Foreign Service Wife and 'Diplomacy in the '70s."

AFSA has lost sight of priorities. The purpose of the Foreign Service, the sole purpose of the Foreign Service, I should emphasize, is to serve the interests of the United States abroad. It is not an organization meant to satisfy the malcontents who blame their personal failings on the "system" nor to cater to those, thankfully few, women who use the Foreign Service to gratify their own egos.

Why should the bachelors, single women officers, and married officers with non-working wives, not to mention Foreign Service Staff, single and married, be forced to stand in line and wait for assignments while the assignment process strives to find *two* jobs for one officer? Does the wife seriously think she can find a meaningful career when jobs will have to be jerry-built for her and/or her husband? Or will the end result be the foundering of both careers because husband and wife are locked together like Siamese twins? Has anyone considered the consequences should the husband be senior to an officer who has a perfectly legitimate professional disagreement with the wife? How many other employees, officers and staff, will be displaced to find "ideal" slots for these prima donnas?

We speak of discrimination, do we? Then would AFSA please explain why only working married couples in the Foreign Service will be consulted on "alternatives when ideal assignments are not available." I am quoting from the editorial. No one ever consulted my secretary on an "ideal" assignment; does AFSA regard staff as a different sort of woman?

With regard to Mrs. Pardon's article, I have but one question to ask her: Does she view the role of a Foreign Service wife as one of catering to her own ego or of being a successful complement to her husband with her own dignity intact? In eight years and six assignments in the Foreign Service I have seen very few cases where hierarchy presented problems which a little patience, good will, and common sense did not solve. The only exceptions I saw, at least, resulted from spineless officers unable either to control irresponsible wives or to stand up for their wives when they were not at fault.

But I digress. The sole purpose of the United States Foreign Service is to serve the interests of our country abroad. Foreign Service officers and those for whom they are responsible should reflect on this. We all have the right and responsibility to criticize mistakes, stupidity, and the "system" when warranted, but we should not lose sight of priorities. The Foreign Service serves the United States, not our egos. I hope no one was foolish enough to enter the Foreign Service unaware of these responsibilities.

PATRICK N. THEROS
Amman

Redskins Fans-Unite!

ELEVEN years ago when I first saw Kennedy Stadium (then D.C. Stadium) I said, "It's much too good for this crummy city." The departure of big-league baseball confers truth on that cynicism. Washingtonians may now pursue single-heartedly their sordid and unrequited love affair with the Redskins—the only team whose game plan calls for the opposition's offensive backfield to contract bubonic plague. As de Maistre did not say, "Every town gets the team it deserves."

Were it not for my campaign to reduce staff here (which earned from one of my superiors, "Who the hell do you think you are, Ellis Briggs?") I would recommend that Foreign Service baseball fans seek transfer to Osaka-Kobe, where our hometown team, the Hankyu Braves, has just won the Pacific League pennant, and will now meet

Life and Love in the Foreign Service *by S. I. Nadler*

"I understand you have some strange theory that neither side can achieve a military victory."

the Tokyo Giants in what Herman Kahn did not predict may some day be *the* World Series.

J. K. HOLLOWAY, JR.
Osaka-Kobe

More Counsel from Doves

REYNOLD RIEMER'S "A Mission Unaccomplished" JOURNAL, September, 1971) is, in my opinion, the best article to appear in our professional journal, since I first started receiving AFSA's publication some seven years ago. How refreshing to read a sensible criticism of *what* it is that members of our profession should be doing, rather than the vast plethora of critiques of *how* we should be doing it or *what we should be receiving in return.*

Concern about executive orders, employee rights, organizational review and opening hours of the Club is all well and good. Nevertheless, involvement in such household issues has all but swamped the needed consideration that should be given to our professional roles.

Why not always advocate peace in practice, instead of only in theory as sometimes seems to be the case in so many areas of the Department? Why do we have to support a national posture that is sometimes based heavily on the use of violence under the sweet-sounding title of preventive security! Several million Americans serving under the Department of Defense are being paid to do this, aren't they? I sometimes hear nowadays that it is State which has the reputation for advocating utilization of violent means of international problem solving, while DOD cautions prudence.

Can one doubt this when, as was the case this week at an AFSA luncheon conference, a senior Department officer refused to seriously entertain the idea of the Secretary of State being a peace advocate in national policy debates. Indeed, one can find such primitive indications of certain Departmental feeling in this regard as an openly displayed poster in an office of the Public Affairs Bureau deriding the emblem of the American Peace Movement as the "Sign of the American Chicken." Meanwhile it is the American military that seems to be doing the inward searching into what our national aims are all about. Is this Alice through the Looking-Glass again, or what? Or is it the old argument of better a live careerist than a dead professional! I would have hoped that the establishment of tenure had cured that bugaboo.

The Riemer article and the AFSA attempt to review the whole concept of the role of Foreign Service officers is a welcome breath of fresh air in this regard. I look forward to a serious dialogue on the role of the Department and the Foreign Service in advocating the peaceful solution to arguments more forcibly than has been the case in the past. Why can't we push this role all over the world with the solid results that we only seem to have thus far achieved in the Mid-East? Did it require Willy Brandt to achieve this in Berlin? Most of the world wants us to do this. We need not be ashamed of such a role. Isn't this, after all, a reflection of the initial idealism that most of us had upon entering this career? If the Departmental hierarchy refuses to consider to play the role of peace advocate, perhaps the support of the President himself might be solicited. I would imagine he must feel he already has a sufficient number of hawks in his advisory councils. Yes, President Nixon might well welcome more changes of view from the Seventh Floor.

JOHN J. HURLEY, JR.
Washington

No Waves

No profession is more exploitive of wives than diplomacy. No women are more satisfied with their traditional role than diplomats' wives. None of us is going to rock the boat very hard on this last pleasure cruise of a venerable ship overdue to be scuttled.

MARGHERITA S. SMITH
Ottawa

In Wisdom—We Will

I wish to observe that of the many splendid features of the JOURNAL, "The Bookshelf" intrigues me the most.

In this connection, I extend my highest commendation to Martin F. Herz for his excellent contribution—"Recommended Reading," which appeared in the August issue of the JOURNAL. The Board should be also commended for the selection of this interesting and serviceable article.

I have had the pleasure of reading two or three previous articles providing selective or recommended reading lists, written by Mr. Herz. Both as a practising Foreign Service officer in the field, harassed for the lack of time, and now as a retired Foreign Service officer somewhat handicapped by a lack of contact, I have found Mr. Herz's contributions over a period of time "useful." I hope that in its wisdom, the Editorial Board will persuade Mr. Herz to continue his specialty.

JOHN CORRELL
Venice, Fla.

Creativity & Openness

If there is a genuine desire with respect to the Task Force recommendation on more creativity and openness in the Department, then it would seem that an effective way to achieve this objective would be to issue regularly a classified periodical for internal use only, in which each officer would have the opportunity to express views on matters of foreign policy, subject to certain ground rules that would perforce have to be set down.

At present, the machinery for an unbureaucratic exchange of views on policy matters simply does not exist. Admittedly, an officer can put through a "disagreed airgram," but those reading it are limited in number, and the pains required are often practically prohibitive. The informal letter also has limitations and is open at times to question in connection with the delicate problem of personal loyalties.

On questions of management, personnel administration, etc., an officer does have an outlet in the form of letters to the JOURNAL, activity within the Foreign Service Association, etc. With regard to policy matters, he simply does not have an adequate one.

In a sense, the above suggestion is thrown down as a challenge. It would certainly achieve the objective of fostering more creativity and exchange of ideas. Moreover, it might provide a workable safety valve that the present situation appears to require, and the good sense and discipline that is evident in the average Department officer, it may be reasonably assumed, would not make it more than this.

Berlin R. O. WARING

Editorial Rebutted

My first reaction to the editorial, "The Missing Link," in the September issue is to demand that the AFSA Board apologize to the entire Foreign Service for its arrogant McCarthyism. The editorial implies disloyalty of unnamed Foreign Service officer without offering any evidence of disloyalty. It talks about "betrayal of confidence," "breakdown of professional ethics and discipline" and overly free talk by Foreign Service people with outsiders. The Board's editorial presents us with a queer specimen of the tar and feathering of the membership by its leaders.

On second reading, it also strikes me that the JOURNAL has also given a striking example of why it is not an important magazine in the Foreign Affairs community. The editorial simply makes no sense and a reasonable man would have to conclude that Foggy Bottom is more than a place name.

Who is the "we" of "we have set and we play by our own rules?" Is it the AFSA Board? Is it the O Area? And what President has accused the Foreign Service of condescension? When has the President found *disobedient* Foreign Service officers protected by the "old boy net?" Does the Board intend to provoke a presidential inquiry into why an "old boy net" governs the Foreign Service and not the Secretary of State and the Foreign Service Act of 1946? Clearly, if the Board has evidence of disloyalty, disobedience or incompetence, it ought to, in the interests of a better Service, first press in-house charges against the culprits.

As for "our loyalties go first to 'The Service' and only then to the Secretary of State and then the President," obviously this is the royal "we" of the AFSA Board. My loyalty and that of my colleagues is to the Constitution and to elected and appointed officers acting within powers derived from the Constitution. We do not see "presidents as temporary interlopers, amateurs . . ." etc., but as an elected official to whom and to whose legal appointees we are duty bound to give the best advice and service of which we are capable. This is quite different from the corps of abject yes-men the Board would have us be. The Foreign Service does not "belong to the President" any more than the White House; both are held in limits of time and the law. To refer to the President as a "liege lord" is nonsense in a high baroque style.

The AFSA Board could have examined its own role and asked more pertinent questions in its editorial: why was there no public protest when polygraphs were used on loyal Foreign Service officers without a court order? Why is the AFSA membership defended by the American press while its own Board shadowboxes with undefined concepts of discipline and loyalty? How long will AFSA members put up with drivel about liege lords before seeking more forthright leadership in other employee organizations? In the middle of a membership drive, has the Board completely lost its cool?

ROBERT F. PFEIFFER

Washington

Testimony on S. 2023

Excerpts from Mr. Harrop's testimony in favor of S. 2023 before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations are published on another page of this issue of the JOURNAL. Perhaps the JOURNAL would also wish to publish the following excerpts from my own testimony as a letter to the Editor:

"The Secretary of State, the President, and the nation need a strong Foreign Service. The erratic personnel system which now controls the lives and careers of Foreign Service officers is incompatible with this need. By bringing justice and due process into this system, S. 2023 will open the Foreign Service to creative change . . .

"It is well known that the lives and careers of Foreign Service officers are governed by a conformist bureaucracy favoring unquestioning subservience. Unwatched and uncontrolled, this bureaucracy has degenerated into a closed set of interacting reflexes too remote from the officers affected. This system has expelled too many able and dedicated officers in mid-career, in many cases without retirement benefits or adjustment assistance to help them, not because any conscious decision deemed them unworthy, but because there was no systematic analysis of their public service at all. And from the judgments of this system, there has been no appeal . . .

"Many Foreign Service officers believe S. 2023 is urgently needed. This protection to Foreign Service officers against arbitrary and capricous damage to their careers will be an important first step toward revitalizing the Department of State. An officer needs assurance his career will not be hobbled, or even irreparably destroyed, if he demonstrates imagination, initiative, and courage. Without such assurance, he will be reluctant to assume leadership in the inter-agency search for solutions to the problems confronting the United States around the world. In a word, he needs automatic recourse to a fair hearing when *he* so chooses.

"In addition, effective grievance procedures can provide the Secretary of State with a powerful instrument for identifying malfunctions in the Foreign Service personnel system. It is therefore no surprise the guardians of this system, having long perpetuated and rationalized its defects, oppose this interference into their exercise of absolute power . . .

". . . there is a great and urgent need for the earliest possible enactment of this legislation."

JOHN J. HARTER

Washington

More Testimony

As President of the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club I testified in favor of the S.2023 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I said that the defects of the foreign affairs agencies were well known; that management is aware of these and making some efforts to correct them, but that constant prodding has been and continues to be necessary, from employee groups and individuals and from elsewhere in the executive branch, Congress, and the public. I compared the Interim Grievance Procedures unfavorably with S.2023. Management has suggested deferring action on S.2023 pending the outcome of Executive Order negotiations between employee representatives and management; I sought to turn that argument against management by suggesting instead that S.2023 be enacted until negotiations produced an agreed grievance procedure.

LARS H. HYDLE

President, JFSOC

Washington

AFSA NEWS

NOVEMBER, 1971

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Report from the Board of Directors

The second year in office of your present Board of Directors has been turbulent.

Tensions felt elsewhere in our society have been reflected in the Foreign Service: differences in generational perspectives, doubts about institutional values, a search for individual human rights and for individual participation in decision-making, a self-questioning over some of the directions of national policy, a search for new definitions of professional mission.

Your Board has worked hard for structural reform, for unity, for the interests of our members as employees, and for the Foreign Service as an institution and as a profession in a year of unrest and transition.

Membership

When this Board took office in January 1970, we had 7,384 members. Although the Service's employment has shrunk in the interim, and although we were obliged to impose an important dues increase, we have grown to 7,794 dues-current members today. This progress is due in part to our effort to demonstrate that AFSA is no longer an FSO Club, and is working hard for Staff Corps, AID and USIA interests.

Our keymen have worked hard in your interest to attract new members and to urge past members to renew. But we have not done well enough. This Board set a goal of 9,000 members, which we have not been able to reach. Membership is everyone's job, and we must all do more at it. Our collective voice is as strong as our numbers, and only through a growing membership can AFSA realize the revenues its work requires.

Our composition is more representative of the overall Foreign Service, by agency, by personnel category and by rank, than it used to be. The Board, in replacing vacancies in its own number, has taken account of this. We began with one Staff Corps member and one AID member; we now have two of each, along with two FSIOs and five FSOs.

Finances

Our five distinct funds—General Operations, **Journal**, Club, Scholarship and AFSA Fund—together have assets of one and a quarter million dollars, and our cash flow during FY 1971 just exceeded $400,000.

The Scholarship Fund, with investments of over $500,000, is a source of particular satisfaction; we are advancing toward our long range goal of a true endowment for scholarships. The AFSA Fund, with assets of about $40,000, finances our awards and some of our diverse openness and professional improvement activities.

For accounting purposes we lump together our other three funds (General Operations, Club and **Journal**), which do not benefit from the same advantageous tax status as the Scholarship and AFSA Funds. We are feeling severe financial pressure—the effect of cumulative obligations dating from the purchase of our AFSA Building and Club facilities in 1967. AFSA has been living beyond its means for some years. Annual operating deficits have exhausted reserves already depleted by the building investment. In FY 1971, our audit statement, which is available to members at AFSA, shows expenditures of these three funds at $325,000, exceeding revenues by about $75,000. Much of this high figure is explained by a change in accounting procedures, but the problem remains very serious. We must get AFSA out of debt and we must rebuild a cushion of reserves.

Your Board has reviewed priorities and has taken action across a wide front:

1) **Dues Increase**—From this action, we project dues revenues of $220,000 as compared to $162,000 last year. We are also seeking to expand membership.
2) **Payroll**—We have vacated and are not presently refilling the positions of executive director, secretary to executive director, **Journal** consultant, and assistant Club manager. The permanent Association staff, down to eight people, forewent the pay increase received by Government employees in January 1971. Finance Committee member Sam Thornburg is now doing a position survey of the AFSA staff.
3) **Club**—We terminated in July our costly contract with a national catering service. AFSA is managing the Club directly at substantial savings. The Club is now in the black (a fact we were advised was impossible of attainment) and can stay there if members will use it. Our vigorous Club Committee under Sam President is stimulating business and efficiency.
4) **Journal**—We have shaved printing costs and increased advertising rates.

5) **Performance Budget**—We have established an active Finance Committee, chaired by Bob Banqué, which is policing a strict performance budget with development of controls over all expenditures. For example, our legal fees of $12,000 last year, chiefly for defense against an AFGE charge that we could not legally represent our membership, used up the dues of about 500 members. This year, we are using our own AFSA Legal Committee more and Covington & Burling less.

We are not out of the woods, but we have faced up to the problem and can measure progress already made. A more detailed statistical presentation of our finances is contained in the Secretary-Treasurer's report.

Employee-Management Relations

Last winter our membership voted 3 to 2 for a separate Foreign Service employee management relations system and for the Seven Point Agreement between the AFSA Board and the management of the foreign affairs agencies. During the spring it became clear to the Board that opinion had developed rapidly in the Service in favor of an exclusive representation system.

Subsequent to the President's action excluding the Foreign Service from the Executive Order covering the federal government, the AFSA Committee of Forty, under the leadership of Tex Harris and with strong JFSOC participation, prepared a draft executive order for the Foreign Service, and negotiated hard and long with Deputy Under Secretary Macomber's staff to improve the State/AID/USIA draft order. Their hand was much strengthened by the heartening response of the membership to our declaration of objectives, both in Washington and in the overseas posts we reached by interested party cable.

The draft which Management submitted to the Federal Labor Relations Council had positive features preferable for the Foreign Service over E.O. 11491, but was deficient in major respects: the Foreign Service could not elect a single spokesman, and the appeals procedure had insufficient outside participation. The three agencies have now wisely decided to incorporate the principle of exclusive representation, and we are informed that representatives of the Labor Department, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Civil Service Commission will play a key role in the appeals system.

Assuming the FLRC and the President approve an Executive Order with these new provisions, AFSA will seek your support, and that of the whole Foreign Service in all three agencies, for a vigorous campaign to be elected exclusive representative.

Grievance and Appeals Procedures

The absence of a fair system under due process for considering Foreign Service grievances and appeals of adverse personnel actions has increasingly damaged morale. There has been considerable press coverage of the problem. The Foreign Service has lagged behind the Civil Service and the armed forces for years in this field.

The AFSA Legal Committee, led by Marian Nash and Bill Salisbury, drafted new procedures for the Foreign Service, which AFSA presented in March to the Secretary of State and the Director of USIA.

Subsequently, the AFSA draft formed the basis of a bill introduced by Senators Bayh, Cooper, Scott and Humphrey. AFSA is testifying before the Fulbright Committee for this bill—hearings began October 7. The Board is convinced that simple administrative action cannot resolve this problem—legislation is needed.

Reform

While employee-management relations and the grievance/appeal issues held the reform spotlight this year, implementation of Task Force proposals has continued, under the watchful eye of Tom Tracy's AFSA Reform Committee. We queried the membership on proposed changes in the FSO system and informed management of the Association's views. Qualified mid-career tenure is in effect. AFSA action helped head off an attempt by USIA to increase management prerogative and reduce the Selection Board's role in the promotion of senior officers.

The FAS program, which the AFSA Board has backed, was barely under way when an AFGE lawsuit, which we believe to be misguided and which is still pending, blocked further implementation. AFSA is intervening legally on behalf of its 250 members, FSS, FSR and GS, who had already applied to convert.

The proposed reorganization of foreign assistance was not acted upon by Congress. AFSA had worked with executive and legislative branch officials to see that long overdue career status for AID Foreign Service personnel, including access to the Foreign Service retirement system, would be included in draft bills. We succeeded, but in the absence of legislation this was a very hollow victory. Our efforts to obtain other legislative authority to resolve the AID Foreign Service retirement question have not been successful. We have had no support from the Administrator of AID, who appears indifferent to this problem of such concern to his own employees and to AFSA.

Staff Corps Problems

The AFSA Staff Corps Advisory Committee continues to seek more equitable treatment, so long overdue, for Staff Corps personnel.

AFSA was effective in convincing the Department to take a hard line in the enforcement of overtime pay. After our formal complaint, based on an overseas AFSA Chapter submission, the Department issued the airgram to the field instructing administrative officers to comply with the regulations on overtime pay which have been abused for years. One of the Staff Corps Advisory Committee's priority responsibilities has been to see that this regulation is strictly enforced in the field.

In the year and a half since its inception, the Staff Corps Advisory Committee has inaugurated open meetings for Staff Corps members with management. The Committee has kept up its own

dialogue with management officials to acquaint them with what Staff Corps people feel and think. Recognizing the value of this "input," management has cleared a number of its policy papers with the Committee prior to publication. As word of this successful work circulates, the Committee hopes to enlist more members serving in Washington as activists, so that the Committee can take on additional projects.

During the past year Staff Corps membership in AFSA has increased dramatically, and is now over 1,200, about 20% of the total actively employed membership. As this voice strengthens through AFSA, the agencies must increasingly listen to Staff Corps concerns.

Openness and Professional Activity

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace decided in September to finance the AFSA Openness Project. This will underwrite a full time AFSA member on LWOP and his assistant, to arrange meetings, exchanges, conferences and generally improved communication between the public and private worlds of foreign affairs.

The Board has instituted periodic luncheon seminars at AFSA with prominent outside experts. There have been discussions of such issues as urban planning, the foreign policy role of law and lawyers, the psychological factors of reform and nuclear power development and international security. The first AFSA seminar on the Foreign Service Profession was led by Under Secretary Johnson in September, and attended by Ambassador James Riddleberger, President of DACOR, as well as junior and senior AFSA members of our three agencies.

Congressional liaison evenings have been organized periodically by Tony Quainton in the AFSA Club, and serve to bring our members together with Congressional staffers. On one occasion a speaker proved more controversial than expected, and put AFSA on the front page of the Washington **Post.**

Scholar/Diplomat exchange weeks continue under the tireless leadership of Bob Caldwell. Some 300 young professors are scheduled to visit the Department of State this year.

Communications

Your Board has placed high priority on improving communications with the membership. During the past year we have had 14 open meetings in Washington to discuss employee - management relations, the FAS program, AID reorganization, the FSO promotion system, grievance and appeal procedures, etc.

The Board has distributed red-bordered AFSA Reform Bulletins on many aspects of reform.

Our red-top semimonthly AFSA Newsletter informs the membership, through keymen and chapter heads, of current issues and AFSA activities. The **Journal** has continued to print controversial material, to comment on reform questions, and to provide an editorial platform for the Board. **Journal** standards have been kept by Editorial Board Chairmen Archie Bolster and Clint Smith and their hard working colleagues.

Services to Members

- Hank Cohen's Members' Interests Committee has resolved more problems than ever for members on tax matters, regulations, travel, allowances and other issues. Members' Interests, often on suggestions from the field, pushed through regulation changes this year on foreign flag air travel, emergency return travel to the US, and the lowering of the age limit for education allowance eligibility for first graders.
  With an assist from alert members, we have just had reversed a measure to deny pay to newly recruited Foreign Service employees during their travel to Washington.
- Our new AFSA Grievance Committee, under Norman Barth and Alan Hardy, has counseled and assisted individual members with basic grievances. Like Members' Interests, this Committee works with the three Agency Ombudsmen instituted last year at AFSA's request.
- The Education Committee, led by Frank Crawford, reviewed 250 applications and awarded 68 AFSA scholarships.
- The Vietnam CORDS Committee, chaired by William Shoux, is reviewing the special problems of FSOs, FSRs and FSIOs serving in CORDS. The Committee is looking into the career possibilities, promotion standards and welfare provisions for members in this unusual and demanding category of service.
- Clarke Slade, AFSA's Consultant on Education, has broadened his counseling services and is available to advise on general youth problems. A psychiatric social worker, Clarke cooperates with the Department of State Medical Division. We continue to benefit in youth and scholarship questions from the interest, cooperation and financial assistance of the Association of American Foreign Service Women.
- The AFSA Retired Members List has just been brought up-to-date and reprinted. It is available on request free of charge to AFSA members.
- The Club continues to serve good food at reasonable prices and is available to all members; it is increasingly used for breakfast as well as evening meetings. There have been five very successful national evenings with live entertainment this year.
- Foreign Service Day for retired members of AFSA and DACOR will be held again this year on November 19. By arrangement with the D.C. City Council and Mayor Walter Washington, AFSA volunteers are landscaping the plot of land between AFSA and State/AID as a Foreign Service Memorial. Dedication ceremonies will take place on Foreign Service Day.

Board Changes

We become used to change in Foreign Service work, but we have lost more members of our Board than usual this year through transfer to new positions, either to overseas posts or to domestic positions that provided a conflict of interest with AFSA Board mem-

bership. We are deeply grateful to Erland Heginbotham, George Lambrakis, Mike Pistor and Rob Nevitt for their contributions to AFSA as Board members.

It's been a turbulent year, but AFSA has been moving. The Association is all of us, and its success and effectiveness depends upon the maximum participation of us all on committees, in chapters overseas, in **Journal** articles, in just plain taking part and caring. Please write us if you have any questions, complaints, comments or suggestions—and especially if you want to help with the work.

William C. Harrop, Chairman
F. Allen Harris, Vice Chairman
Princeton Lyman, Secretary-Treasurer
Barbara Good, Asst. Secretary-Treasurer
Donald Easum
John K. Ivie
David W. Loving
John J. Tuohey
John Scafe
Thomas M. Tracy
James D. Wilson

Other Scholarships Available To Children of Foreign Service Personnel

The Committee on Education has been informed that the following scholarships are available to children of Foreign Service personnel. Applicants should write for complete information to the schools, colleges and universities indicated:

Amherst College Scholarships: To be granted to the son of a Foreign Service officer entering as a freshman. Renewable upon maintenance of a satisfactory record and demonstration of financial need. Write to Dean of Admission, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002.

Carleton College: The Robert L. Ouverson Memorial Scholarships. Available for four years to a son or daughter of a Foreign Service officer. Award is based on financial need. Apply to Director of Admissions, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota 55057.

Castilleja School, Palo Alto, California. Scholarships are available to daughters of personnel in the Foreign Service Agencies or of U.S. Military personnel serving overseas who are registered at Castilleja School for admission to grades 7 to 12, inclusive. For complete information write to the Headmaster, Castilleja School, 1310 Bryant St., Palo Alto, California 94301.

Kirkland Hall College: Tuition Scholarship available to dependents of personnel in the Foreign Service agencies or of military personnel. For further information write to the President, Kirkland Hall College, Easton, Maryland 21601.

Middlesex School Scholarship: Offered on a competitive basis for Grades 9 through 11 to the son of a Foreign Service family. For complete information write to the Headmaster, Middlesex School, Concord, Massachusetts 01742.

St. Albans School: Priority will be given to the son of a Foreign Service officer in the award of a scholarship in memory of Phillip Funkhouser. Apply to Headmaster, St. Albans School, Washington, D.C. 20016.

St. Andrew's School: Middletown, Delaware. The Norris S. Haselton Scholarship. Awarded to the son of a Foreign Service officer of career. Write to Director of Admissions, St. Andrew's School, Middletown, Delaware 19709. Other scholarships are also available at St. Andrew's School.

Yale University Scholarships: A scholarship given by an anonymous donor is awarded each year to the son of an American Foreign Service officer. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the son of a member of the United States Military Services, or of an employee of the Federal Government or of a State Government.

Complete information is obtainable from the Director of Freshmen Scholarships, 1502A Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

Dartmouth College: S. Pinkney Tuck Scholarship. For students at Dartmouth College who are sons or grandsons of Foreign Service officers of the United States and who are in need of financial assistance. Address inquiry to the Director of the Office of Financial Aid, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755.

Northfield Mount Hermon School: A $1,000 reduction in tuition is offered all sons and daughters of US Government personnel stationed overseas in grades 9 through 12. This reduction is afforded in recognition of the higher travel cost experienced by such personnel. For further information contact President Howard L. Jones, Northfield Mount Hermon School, East Northfield, Massachusetts 01360.

Vassar College: The Polly Richardson Lukens Memorial Scholarship is awarded at Vassar to daughters of Foreign Service personnel.

Another scholarship, awarded by an anonymous donor, is granted at Vassar to the daughter of an American Foreign Service officer. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the daughter of an employee of the Federal Government or of a State Government.

Both awards are based on financial need. Apply to Director of Financial Aid, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York 12601.

Institute of World Affairs Inc.: For the summer seminar for foreign and American students at Twin Lakes, Salisbury, Connecticut, July 3 through August 18, a scholarship is offered to a graduate student, or graduating senior, whose major discipline relates to international studies. This opportunity is available to the son or daughter of someone who is or has been a Foreign Service officer of the United States, and is given in memory of Laverne Baldwin. Application should be made in writing to the Instutute of World Affairs, Inc., Salisbury, Conn. 06068.

Free Monograph

The American Academy of Political and Social Science has prepared a special monograph from the proceedings of their conference on "International Studies: Present Status and Future Prospects." This monograph which includes the six principal papers, the critiques and a transcript of the proceedings, is available without charge from the Academy, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104.

AFSA Board Members Named Ambassador

John E. Reinhardt, 1st Vice President of AFSA, has been appointed by President Nixon as the ambassador to Nigeria. Mr. Reinhardt is currently the Assistant Director for the Far East at USIA, and has also served as Assistant Director for Africa.

Donald Easum, NSC/IG Staff Director for the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs and member of the AFSA Board of Directors, is awaiting Senate confirmation of his appointment as Ambassador to Upper Volta. President Nixon made the appointment on October 1.

Candidates and Platforms for AFSA's 1971 Elections

RICHARD C. HAGAN, FSO-ret.

I am completely and wholly dedicated to the welfare and happiness of the individual human being within the Foreign Service.

I believe this Association must maintain constant vigilance to prevent the erosion of the individual employee's basic Constitutional rights.

I believe, further, that the Association has a mission to effect constructive change within the Foreign Service and the Department of state **through concern for the individual employee.** I believe that only in this way will we again achieve the **esprit de corps** that made us a great Service.

(*Continued on page* 50)

PAUL A. TOUSSAINT, FSO-ret.

I believe in equal justice for every Foreign Service and Department of State employee.

There has to be an end of personnel policies based upon expediency; there has to be a reinstitution of personnel policies based upon decency and honor. Laws have to be observed. Only AFSA has the united strength to achieve lasting reform in the Department of State's personnel policies.

I believe that my own managerial experience, both within Government and as a former city mayor in New Hampshire, would also help to strengthen AFSA's

(*Continued on page* 51)

JOHN J. HARTER, FSO-4

During the decade since I served as a Member of the Board, I have increasingly deplored the widening gap between promises of successive Boards and their actual performance.

The 1968 AFSA-sponsored prescription for a future Foreign Service was the most ballyhooed example.

I am seeking election to the Board in the belief that the slate system, as practiced in recent years, has itself created rigidity in the Association. Any slate tends toward a monolithic approach implicitly incompatible with the healthy diversity of the Foreign Service.

I also hope my candidacy may encourage the group candidates to take more progressive positions than they otherwise would.

If elected, I would vigorously pursue the best interests of a diplomatic service dedicated to the highest standards of profession-

(*Continued on page* 51)

MEMBERS INTERESTS SLATE

BALDYGA, Leonard J.—FSIO-4
BURBA, Marie L.—FSS-7
COHEN, Sigmund—FSIO-4
DOTHEROW, Ann—FSR-6
HYDLE, Lars H.—FSO-5
IVIE, John K.—FSSO-5
MC KILLOP, David H.—FSO-1
PECK, Edward L.—FSO-4
RIDGWAY, Rozanne L.—FSO-4
WARD, Matthew—FSO-6
WILSON, James D.—FSR-5

We believe that we are the slate best qualified to lead AFSA in the next two years when AFSA will seek election as exclusive employee representative under the coming Executive Order on Employee-Management Relations in the Foreign Service, because:

—unlike the other slate, we have consistently supported employee interests and rights, including the right to elect an exclusive representative;

—we believe that the defense of employee rights and interests is and should be the primary function of the Association and its Board;

—we are prepared to defend these interests in in-house dealings with foreign affairs agency management if possible, and to go outside—elsewhere in the executive branch, to Congress, and to the public—if necessary;

—we care more about responsiveness to members than rapport with top management officials;

—we have been among those pushing the incumbent Board leadership into the pro-employee

(*Continued on page* 50)

PARTICIPATION SLATE

BOYATT, Thomas D.—FSO-3
COHEN, Herman J.—FSO-2
GOOD, Barbara J.—FSSO-5
HARRIS, F. Allen—FSO-5
HARROP, William C.—FSO-2
HOLMES, James L., Jr.—FSSO-5
LENDERKING, William R., Jr.—FSIO-3
LOVING, David W.—FSO-5
LOWENSTEIN, Linda—FSR-5
THORNBURG, Samuel C.—FSR-1
TUOHEY, John J.—FSIO-4

This slate pledges to fight for exclusive representation, due process and employee interests, for professionalism and the leadership role of the Service in foreign affairs. We believe the men and women of the Foreign Service, as professionals, must co-determine the management and personnel policies that shape their careers. We want maximum participation of AFSA members in our committees, programs, chapters, and policy decisions.

Composition — We represent AFSA membership by Agency; we include FSOs, FSRs, FSSs and FSIOs; we pledge to maintain our balanced composition if we must replace members before next election.

Exclusive Representation — AFSA has won the right for the Foreign Service to elect an exclusive representative within a separate employee/management relations system. This slate will campaign hard for AFSA to become exclusive Foreign Service representative in State, AID and USIA; we pledge to act as aggressive advocate for the interests of **all** Foreign Service employees in all three agencies.

Vigorous Defense of Interests— We pledge to continue the struggle for: due process in promotion, selection out, and grievance procedures; a decent transfer allowance; more equitable administration of leave policy; pay com-

(*Continued on page* 51)

positions it has taken.

If elected we will:

—support rational, just, and humane personnel policies and working conditions in Executive Order dealings with management;

—in particular, represent individual employees who have grievances, while continuing to seek legislation and agreement with management on a more just and credible grievance procedure;

—propose AFSA By-Laws revisions to increase the membership's policy-making role, including initiative and referendum, staggered terms for Board members, and election of at least one Board member exclusively by Active Members in each foreign affairs agency.

At the same time, we will promote the development of professional standards among our members, including:

—loyalty to the Constitution and the Presidency, including a Presidential perspective of the national interest, respect for security controls, and the responsibility to give our leadership our best advice, however unwelcome;

—openness and creativity, including disciplined dissent;

—the development of executive talent and a take-charge spirit in foreign policy;

—criteria for assessing potential Ambassadorial nominees, and procedures for sharing our assessments with the Secretary.

We believe our emphasis on defending employee rights is completely consistent with our views on professionalism. Effective defenders of employee interests are the more likely to be effective defenders of the national interest.

If elected we will name as Officers of the Association, senior Active Members who personify the best qualities of the Foreign Service—as President, FSO-1 Robert A. Hurwitch, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs; and as Vice-Presidents, FSIO-1 W. Beverly Carter, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, and a distinguished senior AID Active Member. Lars Hydle will request leave without pay from the Department to work at AFSA full-time.

Our slate is not monolithic. Candidates are strong-minded, independent men and women who support this platform but as individuals will fight for their views and the particular interests of their constituencies as well:

Leonard J. Baldyga, FSIO-4: "I pledge to work for USIA foreign service people with USIA management on USIA personnel policies; and with other Board members in developing common AFSA positions, despite generational, functional, rank, and agency differences."

Marie L. Burba, FSS-7: "If elected I would be the first secretary ever to serve on the Board. I will support career planning and improved placement in Washington for staff corps people, and keep in touch with staff corps overseas."

Sigmund Cohen, FSIO-4: "I will seek improved quality for USIA's overseas operations and enhanced professionalism through structural changes in USIA's personnel system."

Ann Dotherow, FSR-6: "I would seek to improve AID morale, now at an all-time low because of suspended reorganization, by seeking greater consistency in personnel policies and a better public exposition of foreign assistance policy."

Lars H. Hydle, FSO-5: "I am President of JFSOC and was the drafter of the May 1971 Statement of Foreign Service Employee Rights which united the foreign service behind exclusive recognition. I will push for more responsible jobs and better pay schedules for junior officers."

John K. Ivie, FSSO-5: "I have tried, as a Board member, to convince the Staff Corps that AFSA really cares about them; to give them equal treatment in the personnel system, and to increase their participation and willingness to speak out when necessary. If elected I shall continue these efforts."

David H. McKillop, FSO-1: "As a member of AFSA's leadership in the late 60s, and during my recent tour in Vietnam, I supported the concept of AFSA as a vigorous and independent proponent of members interests. I would advocate equally the interests of older and younger members, and support resistance to undue external pressure on the Department from any quarter."

Edward L. Peck, FSO-4: "I consider myself to be a thinking activist. I believe that a strong and dynamic foreign service, exercising firm leadership in the field of foreign affairs, would create for itself an atmosphere in which individual excellence, career professionalism and rational personnel practices would flourish. I believe that only a forceful and active AFSA can assist in attaining these goals."

Rozanne L. Ridgway, FSO-4: "I support justice, under personnel policies and grievance procedures, for individual employees, and believe that good personnel policies will improve foreign service performance."

Matthew P. Ward, FSO-6: "I have served in FSO and FSR positions, in AFSA's CORDS Advisory Committee, and in the planning of the new Threshold program which all junior officers now must face. I will defend the interests of these groups."

James D. Wilson, FSR-5: "As during my current term on the Board, I will defend the interests of AID foreign service employees."

HAGAN *continued*

I believe in the rule of **law** and **not** in the rule of administrative **whim.**

HAGAN, Richard C., Maj. Gen., U.S.A.F. Res. (JAG), Ret., formerly Chairman, AFSA Legal Committee, formerly professor of law. Currently, Member, Grievance Committee (first established by Department of State to entertain grievance filed by former Foreign Service officer).

PARTICIPATION SLATE *continued*

parability; AID Foreign Service retirement; per diem and family expenses during training assignments; 20-year retirement; to end out-of-pocket expenses borne under the present allowance system and to prevent abuse of the FSO cone system. We oppose discrimination against women, single employees, and Staff Corps. We support a career system for AID.

Professionalism — Today, when peace through negotiation is the ultimate objective of US foreign policy, the Service's professional quality is particularly important. We will work to increase the professionalism of the Service and to enhance its role as leader and coordinator of US foreign policy. We will implement AFSA's openness program to expand two-way communication with private Americans; our foundation-financed full time staff will cooperate closely with the Carnegie Endowment, Brookings, the Council on Foreign Relations, Congress, and the academic, professional, and international business communities; we will enlist speakers and arrange seminars on professional foreign policy subjects.

Responsiveness — We pledge to expand the new AFSA communications policy—regular newsletters and periodic bulletins to the field, open meetings, polling of membership views on important questions, intensified organization of overseas Chapters. As exclusive representative, we will negotiate access for AFSA to official telecommunications facilities.

Staff Corps—We insist that the Staff Corps is an integral part of the Foreign Service. Our goal is complete equality of privilege for Staff Corps personnel. We pledge to consider the Staff Corps angle of each decision we make.

Finances—We pledge to strengthen the work already under way to redress AFSA's financial problems.

Retired Members—We will invite DACOR to nominate a retired participant in Board activities. We pledge to work for improved retirement benefits; to involve retired members in AFSA seminars and professional programs; to publish the retired members' address list annually.

Officers—This slate's officers will be: President—Richard T. Davies, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Europe, State; Vice President—C. William Kontos, Director of Program Evaluation, AID; Vice President—Michael T. F. Pistor, Director for Middle East and North Africa, USIA.

If we are elected, Tex Harris is prepared to spend next year on LWOP to work full time for AFSA.

PARTICIPATION—VOTE THE STRAIGHT SLATE

BOYATT—Country Director for Cyprus, experience in Treasury Department, decorated for risking life to save another during sky-jack by Palestinian guerrillas, won AFSA's Rivkin Award for independence and dissent, member AFSA Committee of Forty.

COHEN—Country Director for Central Africa, formerly DCM and Chargé in Congo-Kinshasa, expert on labor relations, results-producing Chairman AFSA Members' Interests Committee.

GOOD—UNESCO Affairs Information Officer, 14 years FSS secretarial and communications experience, AFSA Board member, Chairman AFSA Staff Corps Advisory Committee, a founder of Women's Action Organization.

HARRIS—In FSI economics program, lawyer, Vice Chairman of outgoing AFSA Board, Chairman AFSA Committee of Forty, chief AFSA negotiator on employee relations, member AFSA Openness and Finance Committees.

HARROP—Full time Chairman of AFSA Board during 1971, was Director of Research for Africa, Woodrow Wilson fellow, principal officer Lubumbashi.

HOLMES — Experienced Staff Corps Communicator, formerly Chairman of AFSA's model chapter in Tripoli, forceful supporter of individual employee rights and concerns.

LENDERKING—Japan-Korea desk officer USIA, overseas experience Japan, Vietnam, Cuba, Bolivia.

LOVING—Country officer for Belgium, member AFSA Board, former JFSOC officer, JFSOC/AFSA activist and organizer.

LOWENSTEIN—AID Congressional Relations officer, formerly with Peace Corps, Nigeria relief program and AID Lagos, interested in professional improvement and equality for women.

THORNBURG—Director for Management in Supporting Assistance Bureau AID, formerly Saigon, Lagos, La Paz, AID administrative careerist, member AFSA Finance Committee.

TUOHEY—USSR desk officer USIA, experience in Vienna, Moscow, and Bombay as information and cultural officer, with VOA in Washington.

TOUSSAINT *continued*

internal structure. I believe AFSA has a real need at the present time for stability in its leadership and a sense of direction. AFSA is on the threshold of, but still must work to obtain, greatness as an employee organization. Those of us who are free from command influence are in a special position to contribute to AFSA's future development.

TOUSSAINT, Paul A., Member, New Hampshire Bar, formerly mayor, Berlin, New Hampshire; formerly member, prof. staff, Senate Appropriations Affairs. Currently, Chairman, Grievance Committee (first established by Department of State to entertain grievance filed by former Foreign Service officer).

HARTER *continued*

alism at all levels, and the fullest protection of rights and opportunities for the Foreign Service Staff Corps.

I believe the most urgently needed reform of the Foreign Service is the development of a true system of justice and due process in personnel operations, as incorporated in S. 2023. Accordingly I shall work vigorously toward the enactment of this legislation, and its active implementation, once enacted.

Foreign Service People

MARRIAGES

Currie-Schaffer. FSO M. Teresita Currie was married to FSO Howard B. Schaffer on October 25, in New York. Mrs. Schaffer is at FSI and Mr. Schaffer is assigned to the Department.

Hagan-Kief. Ann Lynn Hagan, daughter of FSO-ret. and Mrs. Richard Hagan was married to Duaine Kief on August 28 in Annandale, Virginia.

Hastie-Boase. Claire Luttrell Hastie was married to Ian Alexander Boase on September 4 in Falls Church, Virginia. Mr. Boase is the son of FSUR and Mrs. Alexander C. Boase.

Studenmund-Newhall. Sarah Elisabeth Studenmund was married to Jeffrey Robert Newhall, son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert M. Newhall, on September 25, in Hartford, Connecticut.

Vargas-Parsons. Marvelin Vargas was married to Wesley Parsons, FSO, on October 15 in Laredo, Texas. Mr. Parsons is assigned to the American Consulate General in Monterrey.

BIRTHS

Garland. A daughter, Judith Kathryn, was born to FSO and Mrs. William Garland on August 9 in Luanda.

Meenan. A son, Patrick Steffen, was born to FSR and Mrs. James R. Meenan September 21 in Santiago.

Reeves. A daughter, Jennifer Todd, was born to FSO and Mrs. James W. Reeves in Colombo on August 29.

Tuohey. A son, Patrick Eugene, born October 1, in Washington, to FSIO and Mrs. John J. Tuohey.

DEATHS

Pope. Thomas Allen Pope, FSR-ret., died September 12 at his home in Silver Spring, Maryland. Mr. Pope joined the State Department in 1951 as Chief of design and construction for the office of foreign buildings. Mr. Pope is survived by his wife, Elizabeth, of 8373 Colesville Rd. in Silver Spring, three daughters, a son, a brother, and three grandchildren.

Tienken. Ann Tienken, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Arthur T. Tienken, died suddenly October 1 in Arlington, Virginia. Miss Tienken is survived by her parents currently of Lusaka, Zambia, where Mr. Tienken is Deputy Chief of Mission.

MEMBERS' INTERESTS

Money Saving Suggestion Rescinded

Employee suggestions to save the Government money are fine except when the new economies come directly out of the pockets of employees. Page 38 of the Department of State **Newsletter** issue of June, 1971 showed an employee being rewarded for a suggestion to exclude payment of salary to new Foreign Service employees while in travel status to their first duty stations. Two alert AFSA members in the field understood that the $57,750 savings would constitute a loss to the very employees who could least stand such a financial blow . . . newly appointed members of the Foreign Service. As a result of their complaint and some fine follow-up work by sympathetic F. S. people in management, the suggested regulation change was squashed.

Accurate Reporting on Cost-of-Living

We cannot overemphasize the need for accurate reporting on cost-of-living from the posts in the field. When administrative staffs request non-admin personnel to help out in surveying local costs, it is very important that this assistance be provided in the interest of accuracy and thoroughness. Remember too that the annual cost-of-living report includes the cost of hotel accommodations which are important both to per diem rates and to temporary lodging rates. Any major changes in the cost of hotel rooms should be reported on an ad hoc basis.

More SPA Needed

The Supplementary Post Allowance provides additional assistance to families with children living in temporary lodging without kitchen facilities up to a maximum of 90 days after arrival at a new post abroad. The SPA is not paid to families in temporary lodging during the 30-day period prior to departure from posts. AFSA contends that the extra costs of living in temporary lodging without kitchen facilities are the same at the end of a tour of duty as they are at the beginning. We have requested management to revise the Standardized Regulations to extend SPA to the end of a tour of duty, and hope for an early favorable response.

Differential Payments for Ambassadors?

Ambassadors serving as chiefs of mission at "unhealthful" posts do not have the same option as everyone else of either collecting differential allowance payments or accumulating time-and-a-half credits toward retirement. Extra credit to increase the retirement annuity is fine, except for those senior employees who have already accumulated close to 35 years of service during or prior to a chief-of-mission assignment. The Foreign Service Act does not permit more than 35 years of credit toward retirement. AFSA feels that Ambassadors caught in this bind should be permitted to collect differential allowance payments and has requested management to revise the regulations accordingly.

A Record?

Charles G. Osburn of Foreign Buildings Operations Division retired in October, after 39 years in the Foreign Service. His service included assignments in 80 countries and five continents, but, singularly enough, no stateside assignment. Mr. Osburn was born in Kentucky, 125 miles from Lincoln's birthplace, and, like Lincoln, in a log cabin.

Mr. and Mrs. Osburn, the former Angela Battaglia, a Foreign Service secretary, whom he met in Tunisia, and their two children, six and eight years old, will be living in Montrose, Alabama. "I plan to remain as active as possible in civic affairs," says Mr. Osburn, "not taking to the rocking chair, but going fishing as often as I can."

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