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Clear and Present Danger to the Merit Promotion Principle

WHY are we up in arms about the decision of USIA Director Shakespeare that henceforth he will hand-pick the Class 2 officers of his Agency who are to be recommended to the President for promotion?

Not only because it affects our careers. The issue is not a parochial one. It involves the very heart of the Foreign Service Act—the principle of advancement by merit on the basis of impartial judgments removed from politics. Everyone concerned with professionalism in foreign affairs must take notice.

Superficially, the issue seems narrow. Hasn't Mr. Shakespeare said that he would pick the promotees from a list of officers recommended by the Selection Board? If he picks them from an alphabetical list rather than by determining the cut-off on a rank-order list, won't he still be selecting men and women certified as deserving of promotion?

As usual in matters of public policy, the issue becomes clearer when one thinks it through in terms of concrete situations. Then the enormity of what is proposed becomes apparent.

Let us suppose that 20 names are recommended for promotion, on an alphabetical list. Which among those 20 are likely to be picked? Obviously, those who have come to the favorable attention of the man at the top. And how do officers come to his favorable attention?

Not likely by being abroad, more likely by being close to the throne. Not likely by speaking their minds freely and calling the shots as they see them, more likely by displaying enthusiasm for the particular ideas of the man at the top. The way to get promoted could be to display something like the "positive loyalty" that was expected from professionals in Joseph McCarthy's day.

Is this too cynical? Mr. Shakespeare is a reasonable man, and he says that he is entitled to surround himself with officers who are congenial to the purposes that he sees as most important. But can this in practice, in a political world, be the only consideration? Once promotion is *not solely dependent on relative merit but also on something else*, we fear that that "something else" will include a familiar ingredient:

- the call from the friendly Senator or Congressman on some important committee; or
- the call from the friendly advisor who is concerned with campaign contributions; or
- the letter from the party official who for some reason has found officer X to be particularly deserving.

We are not seeing ghosts; we've known these pressures in the context of appointments. The men who are congenial to one particular top official may soon be vetted by other top officials, and before long they may be vetted by "the Administration" to see if they are entirely congenial. How will officers so selected be viewed when the other political party comes to power?

We are assured that Mr. Shakespeare has nothing like this in mind. We accept his good faith; we do not question his honorable intentions. But we are rightly concerned with the principle. The essence of a rational personnel system is due process and avoidance of opportunities for arbitrariness. Directors come and go, and who can tell how his innovation might be used by his successors?

To turn the clock forward again after it has been turned back can be very difficult. That is why we take a strong and insistent position on this issue *now*. Once the precedent of personalized precepts is established, there are many possibilities. Why not enjoy a broader choice from among the top 25 per cent or 40 per cent of the class? And why stop at Class 2? Mr. Shakespeare himself has made clear his desire to extend personal selection to Class 3 at least. And where did the whole unhappy scheme first appear? In the State Department, in a proposal from the Director General's office, last April 19. If Mr. Shakespeare's decision stands, how long will it be before the other foreign affairs agencies succumb to the temptation?

As for the arguments that the head of the agency knows best who are the men with whom he can work and that he should be able to compensate for the tendency of the "old boys" to push up some people who lack in vigor, judgment or character, there are two answers:

First, even if its deficiencies are granted, the rank-order system is a small price to pay for something very precious—selection on the basis of nonpolitical criteria. As Rabelais would put it: Better to have an occasional ass promoted, than a whole bunch of xxx-kissers.

Second, who occupies what particular post is a totally different question. Obviously, the President and the politically appointed leadership of the foreign affairs agencies are entitled to surround themselves with senior career officers who enjoy their special confidence. But they can choose these officers from among the several top grades, as they have done all along. Nobody questions this. It is a false issue.

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Mr. Shakespear laments that he is made a puppet by the Foreign Service Act. But look at the prerogatives the Congress has left him:

- He can assign any officer to any position with any degree of delegated authority.
- He can place praise or criticism in the performance files.
- He appoints the selection boards.
- He drafts the criteria for promotion.
- He decides how many will be promoted.

But, he cannot personally select the individuals to be promoted without undermining the merit system. We urge all concerned not to let it happen.

The exchange of correspondence follows:

November 15, 1971

Honorable Frank Shakespeare
Director, U. S. Information Agency
1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

Dear Frank:

Members of your staff have informed me that you have decided to amend the precepts for Selection Board II so that officers deemed qualified for promotion will be listed in alphabetical rather than in rank order, permitting Agency management to choose those officers it wishes to raise to Class I.

As you know from our conversations and correspondence, the American Foreign Service Association is adamantly opposed to this procedure. Our membership, which includes nearly three-quarters of the FSIO Corps,

is virtually unanimous in its opposition.

We are persuaded that this approach undermines the very principle of a career system. The Foreign Service must loyally serve each President and each administration. To do so effectively it must be insulated from domestic political influence.

As Director, you can assign your officers regardless of rank to the positions best meeting your assessment of their capacity. You can delegate such responsibility as you wish regardless of grade. You can place citations or criticisms in the personnel files, and your views are bound to have great influence upon Selection Boards. But as a political leader, a transient in high office, you cannot personally make the promotions without breaking the career system.

AFSA will fight you hard on this one, Frank. I only hope our report of your decision is inaccurate. Congress intended the Foreign Service to be a non-political career system, with promotion based exclusively on merit. Section 623 of the Foreign Service Act, which applies equally to Public Law 90-494, provides that "on the basis of their (Selection Board) findings the Secretary (or Director) shall make recommendations to the President for the promotion of Foreign Service Officers." The Congress would be willing, I believe, to make this language still more explicit.

Another aspect of your reported decision concerns AFSA. It establishes a marked discrepancy between basic personnel policies affecting different branches of the Foreign Service. And more important, this decision would be made in contradiction of the formal recommen-

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dition of the Board of the Foreign Service. Your willingness to ignore the ruling of the Board of the Foreign Service on an issue of this character would raise profound doubt as to the feasibility of an in-house appeals system in Foreign Service employee/management relations.

As I mentioned to you on the telephone, I understand your desire as an executive to have maximum effective authority over your resources, both material and human. Retention of a career merit system for the Foreign Service may add in some small degree to the frustrations of leadership in a world of bureaucracy, but I know of your great respect for the Service. I am confident that you will not wish to be the one to undermine this great institution.

I trust that our information is false and that you have not decided on this course. AFSA would greatly appreciate your reassurance.

Sincerely,
William C. Harrop
Chairman, Board of Directors

November 19, 1971

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your letter of 15th November. I appreciate the frankness with which you wrote and I shall be equally frank with you.

I do not share your view that my insistence on the right to choose from among the officers recommended by the Selection Panels undermines the Foreign Service career system. I am not claiming a right to promote officers irrespective of the Panel's recommendations. All I am asserting is the right to promote officers "upon the basis of recommendations by the Selection Boards" which is what the Foreign Service Act requires me to do.

I fully accept the limitations imposed on the Director of this Agency by the Foreign Service Act but I do not accept the proposition that the Director of the Agency can act only as a puppet mechanically accepting the rank numbers set up by the Panel.

You say in your letter that the Foreign Service must loyally serve each President and each Administration. I agree and unequivocally subscribe to the principle that the Foreign Service must be insulated against political influence. But in addition to being loyal and apolitical the Foreign Service must also be effective and the Agency's Director must, within the limits imposed by law, have enough leeway to judge the effectiveness of officers from among those chosen by the Panel for promotion to Class One, i.e. to the Agency's leadership positions.

I have seen and watched most of the Class Two officers in the performance of their duties. As a result, I am able to form judgments as to which of the officers selected by the Panel are best qualified. I do not believe that members of the Panel, who perforce rely primarily on the written record, have equal familiarity with the individuals involved, or knowledge of the positions to which I intend to assign them. In other words, I feel I have a right, indeed an obligation, to participate in the selection of officers for the highest rank in this Agency.

I realize, of course, that I have the right to assign officers, regardless of rank, to positions best meeting my



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assessment of their capacity, although I must tell you that in the few instances where this was done we have met with strong opposition from members of the Foreign Service. But the law also imposes on me the duty of recommending the promotion of officers and I could not, in clear conscience, recommend to the President promotions of officers to Class One without any intention of assigning them to Class One jobs.

I note what you say regarding a conflict of my approach with the recommendation of the Board of the Foreign Service. I am sure you have noted that the Civil Service Commission, which is even more jealous of their prerogatives than your own organization, has voted in favor of my action.

Finally, it has been said that my action would establish a marked discrepancy between personnel policies of the different branches of the Foreign Service. I would regret it if this were the case. But my duty is to administer the United States Information Agency to the best of my ability. And I believe that my action will serve the best interests of the people of the United States, of the Agency and of its officers.

Sincerely,
Frank Shakespeare

Of A Sorrow Lately Felt

We were not chosen for this, not even asked but sent. For us to be sent was something like disgrace for what there was to do was to be guessed at only. /Some in battle died but in a fighting far from cause; others wasted in a slough of never really knowing what there was that made it so, while others realizing then that there was neither right nor wrong turned every trick and made them selves a certain sphere by which the very humanness of struggle was dirtied and made real. /And yet another group, whose number I could never tell, made all of this a mad repository of dire woes and, having made it so, became jeremiahs all, so loud, articulate and bossy that their fervor made us wish that we were wrong—for right seemed hideous and gleaming in their frantic good.

And in all we never seemed to find one vestige of agreement, one sorrow felt that brought our wounds together. /Suffering, unresolved by the logic we had come to so depend upon, our hurt was in this other eden in which we hoped that we could do no wrong. /But finding we could do it well began to search for crosses and for christs. /Now we beg the annotated history of our time to find forgiveness from that rolling ship whose compact flowered on a new and hard, forbidding coast.

If we could there have found a mercy shorn of guilt, might we better bear, right here, this suffering of our wrong?

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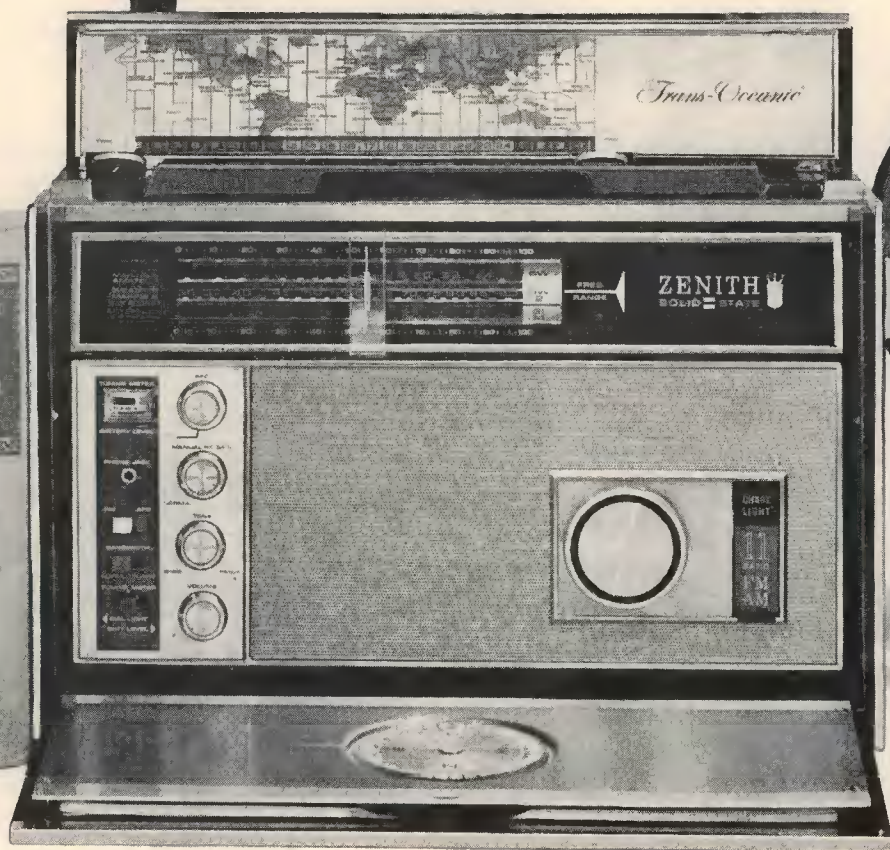
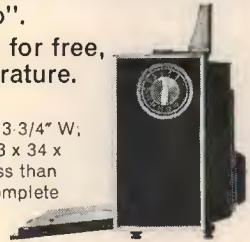
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The program importance of manpower assistance as it currently exists demands as rigorous an evaluation as any other aspect of foreign aid.

Manpower International: A BLUEPRINT FOR THE FUTURE

FOREIGN technical assistance programs, as they currently exist under USAID, Peace Corps and numerous foundations, have just about run out of gas. Consequently, the Peterson Report which embodies the recommendations from the Task Force on International Development has proposed several strategies to retool the foreign aid apparatus of the United States Government. One part of this Report concerns our technical assistance corps, a branch of USAID and possibly Peace Corps. Presumably the card deck of USAID will be reshuffled. From this cosmetic operation will emerge a new look in the technical assistance manpower branch entitled US International Development Institute.

According to the Peterson Report, "The Institute would concentrate on research, training, population problems and social and civic development. It would work largely through private organizations and would rely on highly skilled scientific and professional personnel." Peace Corps, on the other hand, has responded to its impending death sentence by proceeding along the path of "New Directions." The Peace Corps Director hopes to infuse new life into the Agency by, among other things, sending overseas more highly trained and skilled volunteers, decreasing the visibility

W. J. BURNS

Dr. John Burns is former Peace Corps Director in India and president of McBer, Inc., a division of Sterling Institute, which applies new concepts in the behavioral sciences to problems of social and economic development in the United States and abroad. He is a former Alfred North Whitehead Fellow at Harvard University and has published numerous articles in the field of economic and social development and psychology.

of Peace Corps presence in politically sensitive countries, and supporting a US sponsored International Volunteer Corps which would permit Americans to ride UN coat-tails into countries which have traditionally rejected Peace Corps because of its obvious link with the United States Government. Widespread reports suggest that US foundations are simply reducing their overseas manpower assistance programs, especially in those countries which have begun to openly criticize American presence.

At best these proposed remedies may ease temporarily the patient's symptoms; at worst they may represent a complete misdiagnosis of the illness. While manpower assistance reform is needed, it appears that the Peterson Report is primarily repackaging old sedatives under new labels. The Report as-

sumes that "highly skilled scientific and professional personnel" will become more palatable if they work through private organizations rather than as handmaidens of the United States Government. Peace Corps, on the other hand, has made a series of doubtful assumptions; namely, that older and more experienced Volunteers are more acceptable to host countries than recent college graduates; and that flying a UN banner will somehow help the Americans to pass inspection more easily. The foundations appear to be solving the problem in the only manner they have available: pull back or pull out.

Four years with Peace Corps in India prompt me to seriously question the assumptions which underlie the proposed developmental aid remedies. In my judgment the foundation approach is far closer to reality than the United States Government's strategies though it would appear that the baby is being thrown out with the bath water. Furthermore, experience forces me to conclude that the issues are more subtle and pervasive and, if left unaddressed, will scuttle even the most constructive reforms.

In Search of the Right Questions

The scope of these reforms must be far reaching enough to under-

mine the self-serving double myth of our nation's political benevolence and technical omniscience which fuels our current international manpower assistance programs. The reforms will need to stimulate a more sagacious definition of "modernization"; one which embraces a new respect for human variation. To stand the test of time, vital reforms can only be built upon a candid analysis of the past and an unprecedented openmindedness which ushers in a "win-win" era and outlaws "win-lose" gamesmanship.

To design a new international manpower delivery system, appropriate for the last quarter of this century, a full awareness is required of what lies in the wake of current manpower delivery systems (USAID, Peace Corps, etc.). Seeing ourselves through the eyes of less affluent nations will help us visualize the longstanding and nagging by-products of technical assistance in its present form. Only then can we accept the full impact of why our current programs are outdated and, not infrequently, rejected.

An American Ambassador once said, "they may not like us as a national power but they do like us as individuals." That is an axiom which is likely to hold true for relations between nations and groups. The refrain holds true for Black and White America. Who can forget the comment, "I don't like them as a group, but there are many fine individuals I consider personal friends." Regardless of how this phenomenon is interpreted it does exist. And Volunteers and professional advisors must work and live alongside this painful corollary. As a representative of established American institutions one is forced to carry the institutional burden which comes from being part of our nation's power structure.

Consider India as an example. Pakistan soldiers killed Indian soldiers with US tanks, despite a United States Government guarantee that the tanks would never be used against India; for political reasons the US PL 480 grain shipments to India were delayed significantly at the very time Indians were suffering the effects of drought and near starvation in Bihar; most recently, the United States Government returned to its former policy

posture and supplied Pakistan with more military equipment; or several years ago RAMPARTS Magazine and the American Press exposed the extent to which CIA had used private and public organizations as conduits for information gathering. Who suffered the brunt of these actions overseas? Essentially those representatives of the United States Government who were most vulnerable to scapegoating. Volunteers were harassed and ostracized in some Indian states; Indian newspapers levelled charges against representatives of the Foundations; and public outrage ran so deep that devastating rumors were circulated against Peace Corps Volunteers located in extremely remote Indian villages. Volunteers were now seen as intruders. Sinister motives became the synonymies of service.

To a lesser degree members of the official American community labored under similar hardships. But of real interest is that the intensity of suspicion and scapegoating tended to vary with the degree to which a person lived and worked as a private citizen as opposed to being a representative of the United States Government. "I can't stand them as a group but I like them as individuals" took on an added loop which rolled back political events upon innocent bystanders. A new self-fulfilling prophecy emerged. "I trust private citizens who work overseas more than I trust manpower tied to foreign governmental agencies."

Evaluation

For many reasons foundations and United States Government manpower agencies are not prone to encourage respectable researchers to systematically evaluate the impact of manpower assistance. In lieu of systematic research, most agencies and foundations employ an "administrative assessment" technique which amounts to "in-house evaluations," the results of which are frequently classified and thus not reported in the literature.

Consequently there is a paucity of good research literature on overseas manpower assistance. That which exists gives very few leads about how to improve manpower program strategy or manpower program substance. Revealing insights are frequently contained in the in-

house evaluation documents or carried around in the heads of staff.

Yet the search for program impact continues in one form or another. Sending nations must justify an annual program budget before a Congress or a Parliament; receiving nations are required to answer opposition party challenges which charge that the incumbent party has "sold out," "is harboring CIA spies" or "is taking work away from our own people." No foreign manpower enjoys being made the brunt of these attacks. Furthermore the role of a scapegoat is not conducive to work achievement on any terms.

The focus is wrong. Manpower assistance does not lend itself easily to the current indices of successful developmental aid appraisal. Yet the program importance of manpower assistance as it currently exists, demands as rigorous an evaluation as any other aspect of Foreign Aid. How is one to define the true worth of Foreign Aid manpower programs, much less measure them accurately? The temptation in behavioral science research is to measure that which can be quantified, leaving out that which man may justifiably claim to be his major contributions, yet many of these contributions defy quantification. Has the time come to agree that manpower impact should not be measured against traditional criteria built into program evaluation? Could it be that these institutional expectations literally help lay the groundwork for individual failure and national disillusionment over manpower programs?

The groundwork is already being laid for the next round of myths. This may partially explain why the Peterson Report introduced its findings with this all too common refrain:

We believe that the US role in international development will be as important in the future as it has ever been in the past; and prospects for success, if looked at in the perspective of experience are very favorable.

Since 1961, the search for a myth prompted Peace Corps to indulge in overstatements and seductive distortions. Agency literature is replete with phrases which portray Volunteers in the act of "institution-

building," "nation-building" not to mention "human resource development" designed to produce "revolutionary effects." The Agency then implies that Volunteers will spearhead these actions as "agents of change." The not-so-subtle implication is left that this coterie of Americans will "change" people and institutions as a first step in development.

Traditionally the myth-making surrounding all forms of foreign aid seeks to persuade Congress and the public that capital aid and manpower programs are needed to win friends for America, to roll back the dark forces of competing ideologies, to buy us votes in the UN and teach others how to act like entrepreneurial Americans. Does myth-making assist manpower programs to accomplish its work? Or is it primarily designed to protect the vested interests of the aid institutions as they attempt to maintain their system?

Tragically, it is precisely this institutional self-defense mechanism which builds an exaggerated set of expectations. Mortals who roam the earth and who find themselves in an overseas manpower effort are simply unable to satisfy these unreal expectations. Manpower programs, sold for the wrong reasons and sustained by institutional myth, ultimately author a sense of international despair which engulfs the sending and receiving nations. Dashed hopes follow unreal expectations—not because a Volunteer or USAID technician fails to do his best but because too many people want to believe in miracles, a vulnerable seedbed for institutional myth-makers. Of greatest consequence is that myth-making distorts the individual's search for realistic goals and internal standards of excellence.

Marching to a Distant Drum

Professor David Riesman recently characterized some Vista Volunteers as:

Young people from the affluent elite who gang up with the deprived lower income groups to wage war against the lower middle class civil servants such as social workers, police, and school teachers. Later these same affluent elite enter law school to master

"Since we must operate in an imperfect world with imperfect mortals, should we not begin with the premise that manpower supply and demand must be left to the employer and employee?"

more powerful weapons to use against the same lower middle class element after graduation.

This same sense of omniscience prompts some Peace Corps Volunteers to rally around the slogan: "I am doing my own thing." Their own thing implies an automatic rejection of the host nation's power structure and priorities and a single-focused attachment to the poor. It denotes the belief that the host country's development efforts are not suitable to the American and that the American, if left alone, would weave his way through the intricate forces and counterforces which play upon community or area growth. It also implies that "I know what is best for you, and therefore my priorities are more important than your priorities."

For a technical assistance program to work, the foreign technical assistant who wishes to help must offer help on mutually acceptable terms. When one party recommends a solution which, after all, is value-laden the clear option to disagree and ignore the recommendation must be communicated with equal clarity. The right to disagree must be an implicit theme in his transactions. To experiment, to err, to fail—even at great expense—is not the privy purse of affluent nations.

But empathy and "soul" are not commodities easily taught. What precludes the lesson learning is in large measure the omnipresent institutional vehicle which delivers the manpower assistant to foreign shores. One Indian educator who had his fill of USAID agriculture experts expressed these views:

They came with the exalted notion that they were here to make agriculture policy for our State Government. We invited them to our State basically because we hoped that they would help us *implement* our agriculture scheme at the District level. What they failed to realize is that we have more

than our share of policy-makers. We needed implementers and they refused to dirty their hands.

Are these simply problems in communication? Or are the issues more fundamental? After all USAID defines itself, in part, as high-level advisors to foreign policy makers. Could that institutional self-image have permeated the operational ranks of USAID? Could the Agency's mission have so stilted its membership's *raison d'être* that it undermined any chance to free the technicians to define themselves as employees under the direct supervision of Indian officials? In short do our national manpower delivery agencies inhibit the formation of a genuine employer-employee relationship between men of different nationalities, religions and languages?

I submit that this latter question must be answered in a clear and strong affirmative. And experience in Peace Corps prompts me to ask why we must continue sponsoring a dual system of supervisors which creates a competing set of loyalties; one which appears to force its field membership to choose sides or, worse yet, to create a supervision vacuum which implies that the individual has no other responsibilities except to "do his own thing."

The original intent of Peace Corps was to avoid hiring an American staff and to expect the Volunteer to work under the direction of a second country national. Today Peace Corps, like most national agencies, enjoys a Volunteer-staff ratio higher than 10:1. Despite earnest attempts on the part of staff to encourage Volunteers to define themselves as full employees of host country agencies the battle is lost so long as John or Susan can turn to an American supervisor. Once an expectation is set, particularly in a new and strange setting, men do not change quickly or easily.

Could it be that Peace Corps or



USAID fears that their delivery systems would disintegrate should dissatisfied workers resign or leave early? Is this position unnecessarily pessimistic and self-defeating? Or if it does fail for those reasons why should it continue? Could it be that once the American staff pattern is entrenched, system maintenance and vested interests prevent what could otherwise become an empathetic working relationship between two men from two cultures? So long as we continue to design our manpower programs along our cultural lines rather than our host's, is it any wonder that our hosts would prefer to go it alone?

"Will the US Government sponsor a manpower effort which frees the receiving nation to hire, supervise and fire personnel of their own choice?"

Institutional manpower assistance is not always helpful. The receiver may not consider it useful. The giver may be oblivious to the fact that his efforts were counterproductive. The fact that it is offered may not lead to greater satisfaction or more effective performance.

A person may have a variety of reasons for joining a USAID or Peace Corps. He may hope to improve performance of a subordi-

nate, reduce his own guilt, obtain appreciation and love, make someone happy or give relevance to his own life. He may desire to demonstrate his superior skill or knowledge, evoke indebtedness, control others, induce dependency, punish others, or simply do a job. These motives are so intermingled in the act of overseas service it is difficult for either the manpower giver or manpower receiver to sort them out.

Depending upon the way he sees the motives of the incoming manpower, the recipient will have varied reactions. He may feel gratitude, resentment or admiration. He may feel helpless or dependent, or jealous of the person who has the opportunity or resources to travel thousands of miles for overseas work. He may feel indebted or pressured to conform to the perceived demands or beliefs of the incoming manpower.

Given the infinite combinations of motives which prompt people to join Peace Corps, USAID or the foundations as overseas manpower and, against the multiple motive combinations which currently stimulate governments to ask for manpower assistance, is it any wonder that matching men with jobs becomes a tortuous if not nearly impossible task?

Perhaps as a starting point we

need to seriously question the conflicting standards which complicate the lives of incoming manpower and the receiving agent; especially those which drive a wedge between the two agents who must, in the final analysis, make the human calculus work. When institutions on both sides begin to plan for people and design their roles without completely knowing or understanding the involved human factors, how can institutions expect even a modicum of program success? Even more euphoric is the belief that one can control, in advance, those simple situational irritants which grate on the working relationship. Doing the unexpected and taking satisfaction from it has always been a hallmark of unpredictable man. Who can really predict in advance whether the job is too structured or not structured enough? Whether men are matched properly with men? These contingents must be solved by the principals themselves.

This then argues for the least complicated manpower system which makes men feel personally responsible to make the manpower equation work; one which places them in a situation where, if the work relationship fails, they will have to share the burden of failure and, if it succeeds, it is due to their personal efforts. Institutionalized manpower programs are ready scapegoats for individual failure in addition to unwittingly laying the foundation for system failure itself.

Since we must operate in an imperfect world with imperfect mortals, should we not begin with the premise that manpower supply and demand must be left to the employer and employee? That premise trusts individuals to live and work decently beyond national and institutional limits. It also recognizes that what serves men best is the quality of our own acts and lives out of which can emerge a quality working relationship across international boundaries.

The 1960s have taught us some valuable lessons. Will we trust our decade of experience and act upon our painful insights? Or are we so committed to our vested interests that we are unable to redesign a manpower program to meet the unfolding imperatives of the years ahead? To sharpen the focus and

join the issues in a continuing debate, I propose a blueprint for the future; a simple model which radically departs from the institutional vehicles we now use to deliver manpower overseas as a first step in support of man's continuing effort to help man.

The Proposed Model

The proposed international manpower assistance model starts with the contention that current national manpower delivery systems (one branch of USAID, Peace Corps, etc.) are no longer required; indeed they are residuals of the past which are badly outdated.

The system is called *Manpower International* and the title is appropriate for it explicitly acknowledges *worldwide* manpower requirements which clearly are not limited to the overpatronized developing nations. Though manpower needs may vary among nations, it is abundantly clear that no nation has cornered the world on human talent. Furthermore beyond skills and know-how, men and women from all walks of life bring with them an added human quality: a different point of view fashioned in large measure by a cultural heritage. All nations interested in securing and offering these qualities and talents may join *Manpower International* as full participating members. The requirements are simple and there are no clauses which eliminate nations on political or ideological grounds.

The objectives of *Manpower International* are straightforward: a global vehicle is needed to bring men and jobs together.

The capital outlay to join the Manpower network is not exorbitant. Indeed, it is far cheaper than current manpower delivery systems such as USAID, Peace Corps, and the foundations. Only a handful of staff are required to manage the placement centers in their respective countries. Bureaucratic overhead is reduced to a minimum. Clerical details are programed and gestated by modern computers as men are matched to overseas jobs.

The placement procedures are enhanced by the law of parsimony. Private citizens who desired to work overseas are encouraged to write to their nation's International Man-

power Placement Center. An appropriate application form is returned to those who have expressed interest in overseas work. Once this completed application is returned to the Center the data supplied by the job seeker are stored in the computer's memory drum for future reference. These data are designed to give a prospective employer most if not all of the "hard" information needed to select among prospective candidates. The process of matching a man and a job has now begun.

At the other end of the continuum, second country officials from public or private sector institutions turn to their own Manpower International Center normally located in a major city. Presumably these officials have determined that they need skills or attitudes not found in their own country. The job requirements are described in full detail and the coded results are telexed to member branches. Within hours the full credentials of job seekers are telexed to the prospective employer. And here are the bare outlines of a manpower delivery system which, with back-up system refinements, could prove both rapid and effective.

The Model in Action

Let us examine how this low-cost placement system might work through two illustrations. Middletown, USA, has just received a federal grant to produce a high school level program to teach Indian languages. The School Principal has already hired from a US based Indian population teachers qualified to teach Tamil and Hindi. The school must now produce a native Bengali speaker skilled in the oral-aural method of teaching. Inquiries through American-based professional linguistic societies have failed to yield results. So the School Principal turns to Manpower International (USA) located in Chicago. The job requirements are described in detail, coded for transmission, and telexed to Manpower International (India) in New Delhi. Within minutes the New Delhi computer retrieves from its memory bank data on potential candidates who, at face value, meet the job requirements. Immediately, these data are telexed back to Chicago. Perhaps the

School Principal will make his choice on the basis of this information. If not, he may choose back-up alternatives to help him guide his selection choice. For example a Selection Board, patterned after the Fulbright Commission and located in each participating nation, could help the employer sort out the most qualified candidate.

Consider a second illustration. The Minister of Information in India has begun a search for an electronics specialist with 10 years experience in design and management of educational TV systems. The Minister and his Government intend to launch an Indian educational TV system, a first step in a projected 10-year campaign to raise adult functional literacy rates of village level Indians. The Minister may plan to hire an American expert so, through the Delhi branch office, he contacts Manpower International (USA) in Chicago; or that same Minister may prefer the services of a Japanese or a Russian technician and he directs his inquiry to the Manpower branch offices in Moscow or Tokyo. The choice rests with the Minister and his Government, and they are free to exercise a choice based on criteria including national preference. In both illustrations the process is the same. Men and women who desire to work outside their homeland are now able to find employment through the Manpower International network.

Funding the Model

How might this manpower placement network be funded? At one level the International Manpower Placement process will place ultimate responsibility on the employer and employee. At the funding level, however, the placement process will respond, by necessity, to an obvious reality: affluent nations can afford to hire international manpower more readily than less affluent nations. To correct this persistent imbalance, while continuing to embrace the principal of joint responsibility, the funding process will employ a graduated scale funding formula.

Each participating nation will subsidize its own Manpower International Branch Office. With an emphasis on speed and respon-

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The views of black nationalists, revolutionaries
and idealists on their rightful place under
the tropical sun.

Black Power In The Caribbean

CAN one define Black Power? I doubt it. First, the words are interpreted differently in America and in the Caribbean. There, for Marcus Garvey, Black Power meant one thing. For Doctor Eric Williams, the scholarly Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, it means something else again. Elridge Cleaver of the Black Panthers interprets it quite differently. In the Caribbean, a calypsonian will most likely link it to sexual supremacy. A black nationalist will consider it implies the elimination of white dominance in the ownership of capital. A black revolutionary may well relate it to the complete elimination of the whites from all levels of public life. A black idealist will equate it with the achievement of human dignity and the attainment by black people of their rightful place under the sun. In short, the only common thread running through the complicated tapestry of Black Power thinking in the Caribbean is, in fact, nigritude.

Undoubtedly the first man in the Caribbean to crystallize Black Power thinking was that remarkable visionary prophet and patriot of blackness: Marcus Garvey. His teaching took root in many countries besides his native Jamaica; notably in America, where he spent much time preaching the gospel of black freedom and equality. Born in 1887, in 1914 Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Jamaica. Its objective was to unite all Negro peoples of the world into one great body to establish a country and a govern-

HENRY HOWARD

Lt. Col. Henry Howard is the youngest son of the late Lord Howard of Penrith who, as Sir Esme Howard, was British Ambassador in Washington in the '20s. Colonel Howard served with the Coldstream Guards from 1933 to 1937 and again from 1939 to 1946, seeing service in Britain, the Middle East, Africa and Italy. He then joined the Overseas Civil Service and served until 1965 in Kenya, the Virgin Islands and St. Kitts. Now retired, Colonel Howard is a writer and freelance journalist residing in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands.

ment absolutely their own. Those were, of course, colonial times, and Garvey linked his goal of establishing the dignity and equality of the Negro everywhere with a "return to Africa" movement which was as unacceptable to the colonial governments of those days as it is now to the independent governments of modern Africa. He had a great and simple belief in the essential goodness of the black man, and in the strength of the ties that bound him to his fellow blacks; the result of years of suffering and oppression. Were he alive today, he would, I think, be mystified and unhappy at the evidence of chauvinism and xenophobia gratuitously displayed by some African leaders towards their black neighbors.

Marcus Garvey, fired by the injustices suffered by his people, wrote this in the *NEGRO WORLD* in October, 1923:-

"There is but one solution, and

that is to provide an outlet for Negro energy, ambition and passion, away from the attractiveness of white opportunity, and surround the race with opportunities of its own. If this is not done, and if the foundation for same is not laid now, then the consequences will be sorrowful for the weaker race, and disgraceful to our ideals of justice and shocking to our civilization."

and again:-

"Let the white race of America and the world be informed that the best in the Negro race is not the class of beggars who send out to other races piteous appeals annually for donations to maintain their coterie, but the groups within us that are honestly striving to do for themselves with the voluntary help and appreciation of that class of other races that is reasonable, just and liberal enough to give to each and every man a fair chance in the promotion of those ideals that tend to greater human progress and human love. There is no desire for hate or malice, but every wish to see all mankind linked into a common fraternity of progress and achievement, that will wipe away the odor of prejudice, and elevate the human race to the height of real Godly love and peace."

Marcus Garvey was an extraordinary and controversial man. He was, in effect, a Black Zionist, with a creed of "Africa for the Africans, at home and abroad." He died in poverty in 1940. His valedictory is adequately conveyed by the follow-

ing two written opinions. The editor of *WORLD'S WORK MAGAZINE* as a subhead to two articles on Marcus Garvey appearing in the issues of December 1920 and January 1921, noted:-

"The most striking new figure among American Negroes is Marcus Garvey. His significance lies in the fact that he embodies and directs a new spirit of independence among the Negroes. Whatever may happen to his grandiose schemes of finance and politics, he is the best point at which to study what is going on inside the heads of ten million colored people in the United States. They are thinking and doing many things that are unsuspected by the public at large."

Peter Abrahams, the well known South African author, writing in *PUBLIC OPINION*, November 3, 1956, said:-

"Marcus Garvey gave to the Negroes of the twentieth century a sense of self-awareness, a sense of pride and dignity that largely overcame the inferiority complex bred by centuries of racial and color oppression.

"And since the first state in any kind of liberation is the liberation of the mind, Marcus Garvey can justly be regarded as a primary source of the great freedom movements in the colonial world today. And that Jamaica honors him shows the extent to which Jamaica has changed."

If Black Power meant only Black Unity or Black Nationalism, then possibly Marcus Garvey could have been credited with its invention. Unfortunately it does not mean only that.

Recently, riots, demonstrations and general unrest in the Caribbean have been loosely blamed on Black Power. What are the facts? In 1968 ominous riots developed in Antigua, to the extent that the West Indian Governor, Sir Wilfred Jacobs, declared a state of emergency. The causes of the unrest were mainly economic and political. They were racial only to the extent that black nationalism, as in Trinidad two years later, denounced white ownership of industry and business, especially in the tourist industry.

Early in 1969 the town of Willemstad of Curaçao, one of the most popular tourist havens in the Carib-

bean, became a shambles as police and Royal Dutch Marines battled disgruntled workers and rioters. Deliberate arson resulted in a great part of the town's shopping center being burned to the ground. These riots were in essence due to economic factors, but they had racial undertones.

In Trinidad and Tobago, Prime Minister Dr. Eric Williams is something of a phenomenon for the West Indies. A brilliant scholar, a considerable orator in a country where the ability to talk is highly prized, he nonetheless lacks both a sense of humor and the charisma usually associated with West Indian leaders. He formed the Peoples' National Movement Party in 1956 and brought them to power the same year when he became Prime Minister. His language, in those still colonial days, was the language of Black Power. "Massa day done," he proclaimed. In other words: the white bosses' day is over. And so it was—politically. But when, in 1962, after the collapse of the West Indies Federation, his country became independent, Dr. Williams perforce had to rely largely on white capital, white know-how, and white techniques to keep his unemployment plagued economy from collapsing. And Trinidad is not one of the poorest of the ex-British Caribbean islands. It is one of the richest.

Few Trinidadians in 1962 could have foreseen what happened in April, 1970. Dr. Williams' brilliant and radical young External Affairs Minister, Mr. A. Robinson, resigned on ideological grounds. A group of left wing students preaching Black Power and belonging to a body called the National Joint Action Committee, joined with other malcontents in the unions, in the army, and amongst the unemployed (perhaps 20 percent of the labor force), to spark nearly 100,000 people into serious riots, violence, looting and an army mutiny that left a toll of five dead and a ferocious bill for damage. Only by the imposition of draconian emergency laws was Dr. Williams able to contain the attempted rebellion against his government's authority.

What were the demonstrators and (in the case of the army) mutineers rebelling against? Was it against the

white economic overlords of Trinidad and Tobago? Or against black Dr. Eric Williams because his policy wasn't black enough? Were the causes of the revolt political frustration and poverty? Or were they the traditional rebellion of youth against the establishment? Probably a mixture of all of these, plus, of course, the illusion that if the revolutionaries themselves could gain power through insurrection Utopia would follow at once. In short, even though Eric Williams, without defining Black Power exactly, regards it as a menace to his administration, the challenge that he survived in April 1970 and only just survived, was mounted by many other factors as well.

Jamaica, like most Caribbean islands, also has problems of poverty and race. It is possibly better able to meet them than most, because it has the ablest political brains, the best civil service in the Caribbean, and a sense of discipline which is shared only with Barbados. On the other hand, the University of the West Indies campus at Mona appears to provide a breeding ground for the young Black Power revolutionaries of today. Jamaica also has long had a serious problem with its "Ras Tafarians," a poverty-stricken, drug-addicted group that advocates emigration to Ethiopia (where the Lion of Judah is not at all anxious to oblige), and is not amenable to law and order in any form. The Ras Tafarians are only anti-white *en passant*.

On the whole Jamaica's problems stem less from Black Power than from the need to eradicate poverty, to produce a balanced and efficient economy, and to ensure a gradual redistribution of the tools of wealth so that they are not the exclusive property of whites. Perhaps this sums up the main problem facing most of the Caribbean Islands.

What are the views expressed about Black Power in the Caribbean? Take Dr. Williams first. Early in 1970 he said "Let us proceed to work more positively than ever towards the economic and social upliftment of the Black disadvantaged groups in our society of both African and Asian origin, as the only way to achieve the genuine

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Burke said there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important far than they all.—Macaulay

Stories Reporters Don't Write

WHEN Stewart Loory was Moscow correspondent for the Los Angeles TIMES there was one story he was always tempted to write. It would have been about communism's answer to the plastic dashboard Jesus: the Lenin image factories that stamp out endless posters, icons, and statues. "But you knew if you wrote it, you'd be instantly expelled from the country," Loory says. "You just don't make fun of Lenin in Russia."

Such stories commonly get stuck in the notebooks of reporters abroad who are trapped between two sets of editors—those at the paper back home who can reject articles, and those in the host government who can reject writers. Loory didn't think these dilemmas applied to the domestic reporter, but when he came home and began covering the White House for the same newspaper, he found that you don't have to be in Moscow to be a foreign correspondent, that the local and equally effective counterpart to expulsion is losing your sources.

Loory doesn't know what combination of Lenin-icon stories got him on what is called the White House "shit list," but two or three stand out in his mind as possibilities:

JOHN ROTHCHILD

After graduation from Yale in 1967, Mr. Rothchild went to Quito as a Fulbright scholar, then spent two years with the Peace Corps in Ecuador. He had previously spent four summers working as a reporter for the St. Petersburg TIMES, a year as managing editor of the Yale DAILY NEWS and is now an editor of THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY.

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He wrote an article in the VILLAGE VOICE criticizing presidential press conferences.

In March, 1969, he asked his final question of the President before the nation, because he was never called on again. It was in response to the President's saying that he favored neither instant segregation nor instant integration, which prompted Loory to ask whether the years 1954 through 1968 could be termed "instant."

He suggested in a story on the President's visit to Europe that Nixon had gotten a cool reception from the Pope. He knows the Administration read it, because the next

night in Belgrade he was walking down the grand staircase in Tito's palace and met Nixon aide Bob Haldeman walking up. "Where did you get the idea the Pope was cool to us?" Loory recalls Haldeman asking. "All you have to do is read the Pope's statement," Loory said. "That's incredible," answered Haldeman, "incredible." Loory thought it incredible that the White House staff, still in Europe, read the home papers that carefully.

But whether it was these or other things that turned the White House against him, Loory started losing his access to the news. He was taken off the Air Force One press pools, groups of reporters that travel with the President, although after some protest he was put back on for a San Clemente trip. On one Nixon trip to California when the President invited several reporters to interview him while walking on the beach, Loory was left out, even though his was the home paper and would have devoted much more space and play to the event.

Then more serious things began to happen. The Los Angeles TIMES's Washington reporters were not invited to a series of Administration background briefings held to discuss

the State of the Union message, prompting Loory to protest to Press Secretary Ron Ziegler.

Later, Loory left the White House assignment for reasons he says were unrelated to the trouble, but his experiences of having news cut off at the sources are common to reporters on beats, who must always weigh the risk that their jobs will become much more difficult or even impossible if they write critical stories.

Jack Nelson, a fellow staffer with Loory, spent years in the South developing what he calls "great sources" inside the FBI. Then he broke the story of the FBI's role in paying two Ku Klux Klansmen, one of whom had already been convicted in the slaying of three Civil Rights workers in Philadelphia, Mississippi, to set a trap for two other Klansmen so they could be caught in the act of bombing a home. Police in Meridian, Mississippi shot the pair, killing one of them, a woman, and wounding the other, as they attempted to place a bomb in the garage of a prominent Jewish businessman. There is evidence that police never intended to take either Klansman alive. Nelson's story told how the pay-off money was put up by Jewish organizations like the Anti-Defamation League and questioned how the FBI, even in their zest to get some bombers, could resort to hiring murderers and probably *agents provocateurs* to lure others into a death trap.

Some FBI friends in Mississippi didn't believe Nelson would write the story, and when he did, his sources became arid up and down the line and an FBI assistant director in Washington, Thomas Bishop, began telling other reporters that Nelson drank too much.

Ron Ostrow, who works the justice beats in Washington along with Nelson, had similar difficulties. Word got out at the Justice Department that Ostrow was working on an investigative piece involving Cartha DeLoach, former top Hoover aide who retired from the FBI in July, 1970, and took a job with Donald Kendall, president of Pepsi-co. Suddenly, sources totally unrelated to the DeLoach story began to shrivel up and Ostrow had trouble finding out information about relatively routine matters.



The night Angela Davis was captured, the FBI contacted most major papers, but not the Los Angeles TIMES. Bureau Chief David Kraslow called Thomas Bishop to protest. They got into a shouting match. In the conversation, overheard in the TIMES's office, Bishop told Kraslow, "When you get rid of that son-of-a-bitch with a vendetta against the FBI, we'll cooperate with you."

And when Nelson and Ostrow teamed up to ask a few questions of the FBI earlier this year, they were told to submit everything in writing. After one exchange of questions and answers, they sent a second group of inquiries, to which Bishop replied, "Your demands upon us have strong overtones of harassment, and some of the questions you have posed are so tainted with false and malicious implications that they frankly do not deserve the dignity of acknowledgement."

The FBI has not been noted for the subtlety of its reprisals, journalistic or otherwise, since the days of John Dillinger; and there are better, more refined ways to keep reporters prisoners of the source or, conversely, to punish them when they break out. The punitive tactics range from the petty—withholding party invitations, press parking passes, access documents, quick telephone returns—to the serious. Bill McGaffin of the Chicago DAILY NEWS says the Pentagon got back at him for stories they didn't like by forgetting to provide him a copy of a complicated budget document the night before it was released. While other reporters had the night to sift and interpret, McGaffin got his copy

about an hour before deadline. Government agencies can also reward loyalists with official leaks and early breaks on stories, a technique that thrives only because of scoopism, the hangover from the days of the afternoon banner street sale, which values not the best story on an event, but the earliest one.

The prisoner of the source is ultimately the prisoner of the news. If he must go to the Pentagon every day and stick a notebook or microphone in the face of Melvin Laird along with 20 other reporters because each paper wants to retain that sort of false competition, he has little time to go behind the stage to find out what is happening there. And if he does get a story break of the Jack Nelson type, he must weigh its worth against the possibility that the Pentagon press office will retaliate tomorrow. Associated Press reporters worried that Seymour Hersh's Pentagon stories would jeopardize their sources. The reporter's allegiance is to the newsmakers because they are the ones who provide him the daily manufactured product in which he trades.

The other constraint on reporters who have official sources comes when the source is also in the news himself. That is, in deciding whether to use Henry Kissinger as a source of news about foreign policy or to write about Kissinger as a public figure. It is here that politicians can be screened from scrutiny and remain relatively anonymous or even appear as heroes in the press because they are providing access to other kinds of information.

"You come across one source

that will make a good story himself," Stewart Loory says, "and you think twice about writing it." All the reprisals that are surmountable for the big stories most often seem not worth it for the little ones. "White House reporters sit on the fault, but they don't write anything until there's an earthquake," says a former top Johnson Administration official, a good source himself. In fact, a special assistant's immunity to press criticism seems to depend on how much information he can pass under the table. Bill Moyers wasn't criticized until late in the Johnson Administration. As long as Eisenhower's man, Sherman Adams, retained usefulness as a guide to the news, his own life was blinked at, until the information on him was too much to be held back, and then all the accumulated details swarmed like a flock of birds attacking and eliminating a wounded comrade. Bobby Baker was such a good Senate source, one reporter says, that it was his access to information, not to money, that kept his dealings obscure for so long. The reason Bill Miller was able to become a vice-presidential candidate, according to a political columnist, is that as a Republican Party official he dealt so deftly in news that reporters refrained from noticing his shortcomings.

The FBI is another example of the effects of imprisonment. Reporters are just beginning to leak the stories they have collected for years, now that Hoover is losing invincibility.

Reporters have different ways of choosing between writing about what a source tells them and writing about the source itself. David Broder, a political columnist for the Washington Post, recently did an insider column about a shake-up in the Muskie campaign staff but refrained from reporting a similar shake-up in the staff of another major presidential contender because in the one case he thought there were policy implications important enough to risk losing sources and in the other he didn't. Jack Anderson, inheritor of "The Washington Merry-Go-Round" from Drew Pearson, has a more direct rule: "We will give immunity to a very good source as long as the information he offers us is better

than what we've got on him . . . on the same theory that the Justice Department would."

The Anderson Rule is journalism's answer to turning state's evidence, freedom to those who sing. But his offer results in surprisingly few immunities because even though many of his sources are in Congress where the general incidence of muck is high, the probability is that the information he has on them already is just as good or better. Anyway, it keeps the sources on their toes, because, as Britt Hume, an Anderson staff member, points out, "Guys who are perfect scoundrels do business with us," a fact which in itself goes far to insure the continuing excellence of the Anderson disclosures since what they're giving him has to be more scoundrelly than they are.

Anderson is a free trader and a muckraker who can afford to risk getting cut off because he neither processes daily events nor depends on a beat. He says that for awhile he was the only reporter with access to Spiro Agnew, until he printed a story about how Agnew couldn't escape his oil friends, how a representative of Sinclair Oil was handling his public relations, and how New Englanders were skeptical when Agnew denied he promised the Texas oilmen that the free port at Machiasport, Maine, would be blocked by the Administration. After this article, which appeared in May, 1969, Anderson found his access to Agnew blocked.

If Anderson were covering Agnew as a regular assignment, he might not have written the story, or if he had, its tone would have been markedly subdued.

The growth of specialization in newspapers has brought many advantages in the quality of regular coverage, but it also means there are fewer floating reporters who are free to investigate and create their own news. Perhaps the greatest cause of imprisonment is time—most reporters are completely occupied on their daily beats. If they come across a major "hard" news story it is doubtful that they will sit on it, but they are not usually able to make their own major news such as Washington Post investigative writer Morton Mintz has done with drug companies and their practices.

If the newspapers were full of Mintzes, the nature of the news might be drastically changed.

The requirement for continuing coverage also affects the soft news—the analyses, criticisms, or satire of feature writers and columnists. A journalist will hesitate to write that humorous feature about the Sontag prison raid or the tough criticism of Henry Kissinger because Henry might give him that extra bit of information on our policy toward Laos. Peter Lisagor, dean of the White House correspondents, has described a "psychological undertow" that can "obscure and minimize things that the public generally ought to be hearing about." The depth and strength of that undertow, its pull on the news, is probably hard to calculate, even by the man who is being dragged along.

Max Frankel, of The New York Times's Washington bureau, says, "I wouldn't undertake a definitive assessment of Kissinger. My opinions are much less important than my continuing report on what he says and does."

This is the crux of prisoner of the source and the paradox of modern journalism. It is news that keeps Max Frankel, one of the best reporters anywhere, from writing everything he knows. In the scale of values, Henry Kissinger's words and actions are more important than Max Frankel's perceptions—to the degree the former is a news figure the latter must be a messenger boy. The whole objective journalism trap assumes that the public figure, the man in the news, can or will be objective about himself, that his words or actions will not be calculated to mislead or deceive. If Frankel wrote his "definitive assessment," especially with his journalistic abilities, it might be closer to what Kissinger is really thinking or doing than what the man tells us or tells himself. But Frankel's assessment would not be news because Frankel is not a newsmaker. Kissinger will still be in the news tomorrow, but Frankel's story will be buried in the morgue files of the Times, and Frankel would be isolated from further words and news. It is the problem for all news gatherers who are subordinate to the newsmakers.

Such a problem might be rela-

tively minor with public figures who are not powerful enough so that knowing about them makes much difference, but Frankel's dictum also applies to Presidents. I know one reporter who has an unlimited supply of human, insightful, and funny LBJ stories (an example: LBJ was once asked if he would get rid of J. Edgar Hoover, and he said, "I'd rather have him inside the tent pissing out than outside pissing in"). But many of these, even the ones that could be printed by family newspapers, never got into print. LBJ was able to con reporters into talking to him for hours and most of them agreed never to write a word of it, or if they did write it, they did not attribute anything directly to him. It is arguable whether the reporters would have gotten those interviews if they had not let Johnson put it off-the-record. The problem is that since some reporters will always agree to such terms, one never knows what will happen if none did.

All this source business takes on more importance as government occupies more and more of the dwindling white space of the newspaper. The random, surprise event, the murder or the auto accident, have been reduced to six-point type on the back pages, as daily life acquires less importance in favor of official life and the pronouncements of high sources. The newspaper reflects the change in the country—with private industry occupying all the advertising space and government taking up the non-profit or news holes and the reporter who shuffles through all the pseudo-events, as historian Daniel Boorstin calls them, sometimes wonders whether news isn't just a non-paid advertisement for the officials. If the Pentagon lies, the journalist can put the lie in a modest amount of perspective, if he has the time to research the inconsistencies, or maybe for Sunday he can make the point in an inside-page analysis, but it is the lie that becomes the news, and the news which furthers its power.

In the legislative branch, news tends to be balanced by a phalanx of conflicting but equal sources. For every announcement by a senator there is always an equal but opposite counter-announcement by another senator. But the source prob-

lem of the Executive Branch, which is taking up more news space corresponding to its growth of floor space in Washington, becomes a hierarchy of news leading up to the greatest news of all, whatever the President appears to be thinking or doing at the moment. The reporter's task is to make quantum jumps between the sublunary unhappenings that circle the Oval Office, to get on the orbit nearest the sun.

Since people in the Executive Branch often do not want to be brought out in the open, or to contradict their superiors, there has arisen in Washington a bureaucratic alternative to the press conference called the background briefing. This near event, which developed with the full help of the press corps, makes it possible for a source to divorce himself from the consequences of what he says, to trade information privately for the privilege of not being directly quoted. The growth of such gatherings corresponds to the growth of vagueness in government, as several clubs have sprouted up since the Kennedy years—The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR breakfast group, the Overseas' Writers luncheon—at which Administration members come and share with reporters the privilege of information.

The need for the reporter to attend the background has also grown with the paltriness, the uselessness of official announcements. It gives him an opportunity to supposedly hear a government worker in a candid moment, a rare enough occasion in itself, to get the flavor of the inside. The price the reporter pays is protection of the source through an elaborate and to this day not completely understandable set of ground rules—deep background means the reporter can write the information without attributing it to anyone, background means he can write it and attribute a "high Administration source," off-the-record means he can't write it at all. The penalty for breaking one of the rules is expulsion from the club.

There are also myriads of ad hoc backgrounds held all over the government, sometimes running the gamut of ground rules, leaving the reporter with more difficulty remembering what can be printed than what was said. At a recent

Pentagon press conference, spokesman Jerry Friedheim was on-the-record when he brought up the captured pipe from Laos. But then the newspapers printed that a high Administration source had said the pipe came from a previous raid. That source was Friedheim himself, in the same press conference, but he did not wish to be identified with those words.

The background may enable the reporter to get inside information from time to time, but it serves the government much more than the press—it enables people to float balloons, to make anonymous political attacks, or to make advantageous and untrue revelations for which they are not responsible. When Viet Cong atrocity stories were given out on background, the readers were not aware that they came out of the United States Mission, whose obvious political interest in exaggeration was not part of the stories. And the background even enables reporters to become policymakers. Gay Talese, in his book on the New York TIMES, writes about James Reston that "in the TIME magazine cover story about him it was said that he sometimes planted one of his own ideas with government officials, and, after being assured that it would be discussed, he wrote in the New York TIMES about the idea that was under consideration without hinting that he was the originator."

The problem with background is that when the government is able to put out sourceless news which turns out to be untrue, such as a disclosure of a Soviet missile build-up, the reporter who writes it becomes the source. If he wants to correct the lie in a later story, he has nothing to pin it on except his own story—there are no quotations, no names. There is also no public record of the statements of specific officials, no way to compare what Robert McNamara said today and yesterday about the war because he is merely one "high source" among many.

Some effort has been made to eliminate the background, which wouldn't exist unless the press permitted it, because officials who really want to get information out will do it under whatever arrangement.

(Continued on page 26)



Communist Surveys Surveyed

WORLD STRENGTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, *23rd Annual Report, 1971 edition. Department of State Publication 8526, \$1.75.*

1969 YEARBOOK ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AFFAIRS. *Hoover Institution Press, \$19.95.*

FOREIGN affairs functionaries who have hitherto relied on the annual editions of the Department's sober and workmanlike "World Strength of Communist Party Organizations" for comparative data on the communist parties of individual countries may now broaden themselves still more by looking also into the Hoover Institution's annual "Yearbook on International Communist Affairs." The Department's survey is the more nearly up-to-date of the two publications, but the Hoover Institution's "Yearbook" is much the more detailed work. Its entries on the particular communist parties contain considerable historical material omitted from the "World Strength" compendia. In addition, the "Yearbook" includes articles on international communist organizations, the texts of noteworthy political documents, a chronology of events for the calendar year covered bibliographies of standard reference works on the parties (in foreign languages as well as in English), and a useful index of persons.

The Department's publication, a product of the diligent fellows in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, is available from the Government Printing Office for \$1.75; the latest volume of the "Yearbook" is priced at \$19.95. Embassy and USIA libraries might suitably stock both books, but the private collector of political literature would probably be best advised to buy neither. Annual publications of this kind date too rapidly to be of much long-run value for a personal library. And this would be true even if the Department's regulations on reimbursement for shipment of per-

sonal effects were not so artfully designed to discourage the buying of books by overseas foreign affairs staffs.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

Societies in Focus

A WORLD HISTORY, by *William McNeill. Oxford University Press, \$15.00.*

FANON, Cleaver and Guevara are three of the most popular authors cited when any reading list on Third World history is drawn up. McNeill would make a good addition to the list. In fact a case can be made that "A World History," written by the former chairman of the University of Chicago's History Department, belongs on the shelf of any intelligent reader who seeks to place the rise of western and non-western societies in focus.

The other writers listed above have a certain transient literary appeal because each illustrates various themes in contemporary history, but it is McNeill's balance and perspective as a historian that provides a framework in which the concerns of Third World history become intelligible.

His organizing principle is that in any given age equilibrium among cultures is liable to be upset by the influence of one or more unusually attractive or powerful civilizations which affect the politics, economics, arts, and sometimes the agriculture of their neighbors. McNeill treats each epoch by studying first the center or centers of primary influence, such as Greece in 500 B.C., or the Islamic Middle East in the 8th Century A.D., and how their influence spread quickly to other countries.

Instead of writing a straight chronological country-by-country history that would tightly compartmentalize different eras and civilizations, he has written a bold work of synthesis. One of the book's most attractive features is that it does not end up with an Eurocentric bias. It is world history and, as such, the relationship

between East and West is treated in balance.

—FREDERICK QUINN

The Information Explosion

HARPER ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE MODERN WORLD: *A concise Reference History from 1760 to the Present, ed. by Richard B. Morris and Graham W. Irwin. Harper & Row, \$17.50.*

POLITICAL HANDBOOK AND ATLAS OF THE WORLD 1970, ed. by *Richard Stebbins and Alba Amoia. Simon and Schuster for the Council on Foreign Relations, \$19.95.*

A DICTIONARY OF POLITICS, ed. by *Walter Laqueur. The Free Press, \$14.*

THE INFORMATION SOURCES OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, by *Frederick Holler. Clio Press, cloth \$9.50, paper \$4.95.*

THE four books listed above make up a reference shelf by themselves. The "Harper Encyclopedia" provides historical information on the political and economic history of the world from 1760 to the present—just right for locating that incisive analogy when preparing for a speech, a paper, or a question session with student groups.

The Political Handbook gives country-by-country political information and basic economic facts, plus a rundown on international organizations. It contains a supplement of political events through January 1, 1970, and performs much the same service as a full set of departmental Background Notes—but more comprehensive.

"A Dictionary of Politics" provides not only descriptions of political institutions and terms but a quick view of more abstract political concepts. It has a few interesting omissions (ABM and MIRV, for instance), but more on personalities than the two volumes above.

"The Information Sources of Political Science" is a full bibliography of resources—libraries, dictionaries, guidebooks, etc., for all the sub-disciplines of political science.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

Moorehead on Moorehead

A LATE EDUCATION, by *Alan Moorehead. Harper & Row, \$5.59.*

FLASHBACKS on a crowded life, by an eminent war correspondent, traveler and historian. There are no startling disclosures or insights, but because Mr. Moorehead is a very good writer his book is pleasant reading.

—T. O.

MANPOWER INTERNATIONAL

continued from page 14

siveness through the elimination of cumbersome bureaucracies, computer technology should reduce operational expenses to a minimum.

Participating nations—each according to its ability to pay—will contribute to the International Manpower funding process. Affluent nations would allocate funds directly to a Central International Manpower Fund, located in the World Bank or a UN body. In keeping with the ability to pay principle, the less affluent nations will finance out of local currency their share of incoming foreign manpower maintenance by contributing partial salaries and payment in kind (services and benefits) to the incoming manpower.

On evidence of need, the World Bank or the UN body would allocate the differences needed to sustain a reciprocal manpower flow among affluent and less affluent nations. The establishment of need could be calculated against a graduated contribution scale formula sim-

ilar to that already employed by Peace Corps. For example, this might result in a joint funding pattern where the American TV expert would be subsidized 80 per cent by the International Fund and 20 per cent by the institution or agency within the receiving nation; conversely, the Indian teacher might be financed entirely by the Middletown High School or partially by the International Fund if need were documented.

Summary

This paper has attempted to search beyond the simplistic notions which suggest that disenchantment with Peace Corps and USAID are merely "growing pains" or acts of "irresponsibility, xenophobia or ingratitude" of less affluent nations. Resistance to foreign manpower assistance is the child of very real transgressions, many of which are inherent to the manpower delivery system itself. Furthermore, little purpose is served by complicating the aid relationship with yet another

barrage of international stereotypes.

The proposed Manpower International model represents a search for another series of options which address both the operational and structural objections to foreign manpower assistance in its present form. Implicit in the proposed model is an answer to the critics of manpower assistance. The message is this: "You are correct. We have had our share of failure in large measure because we thought we should hand-tailor your 'modernization' in our own image. But the failure is not so much a failure of individual man as it is a system's failure."

The structural processes of the model itself reflect this message. The model begins with the assumption that manpower assistance will succeed only when international power relationships are deliberately sheared from the manpower assistance program and relegated to the dustbin of recent history. The proposed model makes a renewed effort to structurally design a reciprocal interdependency which is far

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reaching and vital enough to embrace the right of national separateness and self-determination.

Tenets of reciprocal dependency are deliberately built into the proposed model. The title of the new delivery system symbolizes the premise that all nations can profit from manpower exchange and that both parties give as well as receive. Furthermore, the supply and demand process which governs the flow of foreign manpower will act as an international mechanism to assign control and authority where it belongs—in the hands of the receiving nation. By definition, political and ideological differences are recognized as elements of potential enrichment rather than as creations of men which are to be scorned, resisted, or feared.

Private and public institutions are encouraged to work with and through their own national manpower placement center to secure the required skilled personnel. The world-wide manpower flow will depend upon the interlocking network

of these national manpower placement centers. Each participating nation will subsidize its own manpower center and, according to its ability to pay, will either contribute money or payment in kind to sustain the manpower flow among affluent and less affluent nations.

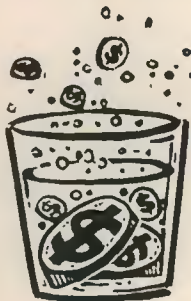
In the spirit of reciprocal interdependency the responsibility to make the manpower equation work is carefully assigned. The hiring, supervision and firing process will be delegated specifically to the local level of the employer and prospective employee. If the work relationship fails, the employer and employee will have to share the full burden of failure. If it succeeds it is due to their individual efforts. No longer will an intervening delivery agency confound the employer-employee relationship.

The right to be separate is no less important to the aid relationship. The opportunity to escape the zero-sum game allows the requesting party the freedom to choose the nation from which manpower will

be drawn, for capital aid-giving is no longer tied to manpower assistance. Those who are sensitive to the cultural impact of foreign manpower assistance can now hire men for technical skills as well as for the values and attitudes which they carry with them. Presumably the self-righteous and benevolent will be left behind in the international labor market. Racists and zealots are the first to reject laboring under the supervision of a man with a different color skin, language or culture, for it is they who assign importance to these superficial differences. Consequently, those who are driven by a mission of benevolence and omniscience are less likely to subject themselves to the overseas work experience, let alone apply for the job in the first instance.

Perhaps a time will come when foreign manpower assistance moves another step toward the vision of being defined as the price a nation is *willing* to pay, rather than "the price one must pay." Is it worth another try? ■

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BLACK POWER

continued from page 16

national integration to which so many of us are dedicated." Good stuff, this, for Trinidad's young Black Power gladiators, and certainly not addressed to David Rockefeller—and the Chase Manhattan Bank. But then Dr. Williams spoiled it all. He twice banned the entry to Trinidad of Stokeley Carmichael, American Black Power leader, who was born on the island. In November of 1970, at a convention of his ruling Peoples National Movement he said, "Black people, culturally, deprived and insulted for centuries, are now taking pride in origins that they dimly suspected, and are happy to have confirmed." But he added that the Black consciousness that had overrun Trinidad would be dangerous "if it seeks of the very apartheid of which it has been a victim in the past and if it seeks to dominate and denigrate other cultures which have contributed to Trinidad and Tobago." Apparently,

Dr. Williams recognizes the inherent conflict of interests.

So, too, does the controversial Premier Robert Bradshaw of St. Kitts. He told a rally of his party that he understood Black Power as a "coming together of the black people and an awakening consciousness in the black people." He then warned that certain people were using Black Power for their own ends. Mr. Bradshaw, like Premier Cato in St. Vincent, has banned the entry of certain Black Power leaders into St. Kitts.

Barbados is one of the most stable and balanced islands in the Caribbean. However, its Deputy Prime Minister, James Cameron Tudor, wearing a dashiki, felt constrained to announce, "We are Black Power—we have control of the Government." Bold words, which probably fell on deaf ears in so far as the militant young Caribbean Black Power advocates are concerned. They would doubtless label Cameron Tudor an Afro-Saxon.

Eric Gairy, Premier of Grenada and a somewhat maverick leader of his people, said "What we need in Grenada is brain power." He also reinforced this admirable dictum with an entry ban on some of the leading Black Power advocates.


Two Black Power leaders in the Caribbean have sung a different tune. George Weekes, head of the Oilfield Workers Trade Union of Trinidad and Tobago, who was charged with sedition during the April 1970 troubles in his own country, early this year in Puerto Rico said that the Caribbean was in a turmoil and its people were turning to violence because they were losing faith in the power of democracy. He added that the (Black Power) revolution in Trinidad had not ended. It had only begun. Carl Blackwood, the Jamaica-born Black Power advocate, formerly a student at the Trinidad campus of the University of the West Indies, who was detained under the emergency regulations during the 1970 troubles, said that his resolve to destroy the

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oppressive system under which the people lived had been strengthened. He said that he considered Black Power, American style, very relevant to the Caribbean and added that it was not enough to have black government because it merely supported the oppressive white system which had enslaved black peoples for four hundred years. Mr. Blackwood also stated that he could envisage no cooperation between black and white in the Caribbean in the foreseeable future.

In the United States Virgin Islands racial overtones, largely absent from the daily lives of the courteous easygoing natives, white and black, 25 years ago, have now become a political, social and economic factor. American Black Power theories have come to roost at the College of the Virgin Islands and from there are fanned out to anyone prepared to listen. This has alarmed many of the wealthy white Americans who, after the Second World War, discovered in the Virgin Islands their Shangri La, and pro-

ceeded to build homes there. It has alarmed the Merchant Princes of St. Thomas and St. Croix, both white and black, who see in white tourism the only economic future for the islands. During the 1970 elections, racialism was charged against electoral supporters both of Governor Melvin H. Evans and of his unsuccessful opponent, Cyril King. If there has as yet been no successful projection of the "Burn, baby, burn" philosophy, it lies uncomfortably on the stomachs of many Virgin Islanders, both black and white. These prefer not to talk about it. They applaud articles in the American press extolling the virtues of the islands as a tourist haven. They deprecate the articles that paint a gloomy picture of the racial and economic position. They draw comfort from the blue automobile license plates which proclaim "American Paradise." They are muddled about Black Power and vaguely apprehensive.

It seems that in the Caribbean, under the somewhat nebulous stand-

ard of Black Power, has been rallied a strange and polyglot army of black dissidents, a few of whom actually wield power (like Mr. Weekes) whilst the majority do not.

I started this article by paying tribute to that remarkable humanist and black leader, Marcus Garvey. Perhaps I should end it by quoting from his son, Marcus Garvey Jr., who has been reported as saying in Jamaica:-

"It is ridiculous to say we have Black Power when we have a black prime minister and a black governor general. Black Power is black awareness, pride in race, black institutions with black leadership, black economic prosperity, black unity in the national and international scene and not this current economic structure where the white man is at the top and a huge black mass submerged in inferiority, like the hidden portion of an iceberg."

This is probably one of the few reasoned and reasonable explanations of Black Power in the Caribbean yet made. ■

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STORIES REPORTERS DON'T WRITE
continued from page 20

Max Frankel once threatened to walk out of a White House background unless it was put on the record, which it was. If reporters did this at other gatherings, the same thing would probably happen. "If it was the SDS," says Frankel, "we'd say 'bullshit, if you've got something to say then say it like a man.' Why don't we do this for the government?"

In spite of the natural tendency not to do so, there are times when sources in backgrounds can convince reporters to sit on major stories, mostly at the Pentagon and State Departments, where reporter-source relationships bleed into the matrix of national security. Seymour Hersh, who later left the Associated Press to break major stories like the chemical and biological warfare program and Mylai (for which he won a Pulitzer Prize), went along with other reporters in not filing the news that US bombers were taking

off from Thailand in 1966 to bomb North Vietnam, at the behest of Pentagon officials, who said that if the story were printed the Thais would revoke permission for the flights. George Wilson, while a reporter for AVIATION WEEK, didn't report on the development of a new satellite spy system at the request of Robert McNamara. Ten days later, the Pentagon announced the plan. James Reston, in his book "Artillery of the Press," says he knew about the U-2 overflights for a full year before their existence was revealed by a less careful protector of the news named Francis Powers.

The motives behind this self-censorship are not completely related to imprisonment by the source—these anecdotes come from a period when the Pentagon was still believed, when national security was thought to have more to do with strength against international foes than with Pentagon immunity from domestic political opposition. But the danger of disclosing govern-


ment secrets or weakening its defenses must seem greater, more imminent, when the nation is personified to a reporter by Robert McNamara or John Kennedy, who happen to be good sources as well as good friends. Sources rarely have reason to lament the loyalty of their prisoners, but Kennedy could bemoan the fact that his personal influence over some reporters resulted in their accepting his suggestion to kill the Bay of Pigs story—if they had been a little more distant, perhaps they would not have been conned into the censorship, perhaps they would have averted the embarrassment of the raid.

The press is not usually thought of as having the power to cause events or to keep them from happening. When the reporter was out writing about accidents, murders, and hurricanes, he was merely a witness, a hanger-on and trailer-behind with a note pad. But with the growth of public affairs, of microphones and mimeograph ma-

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chines, natural events have taken the back pages to staged events, and it is hard to decide, as Daniel Boorstin pointed out in 1959, whether many modern activities such as demonstrations and conferences would be held at all if the press weren't there to record them.

As fewer and fewer people make products and more of them make, or attempt to make, news, the role of reporter as creator, rather than witness, of events becomes more pronounced. There has been an event explosion that goes along with overpopulation or the fact that people don't have much to do anymore. Whatever the reason, there is an infinity of possible news—and the debate of objective reporting, whether the writer can accurately duplicate the event must also include the question of whether the event itself is objective or legitimate. It all becomes mushier as announcements drive out activities.

So far, the news anarchy problem has been finessed by papers that continue to produce the words and

actions of proven newsmakers rather than bothering to ponder the relevance or irrelevance of what they say, and rather than making new newsmakers through more investigative reporting. The danger of making new news is also that it increases the number of newsmakers in the country, people who are expected to hold quotable opinions on everything. John Kerry became a public figure overnight, and Norman Mailer says he is asked constantly for quotes on world affairs and things he knows little or nothing about.

And finally, there is the reader. He is a prisoner of what the reporters tell him (for instance, this article, while closer to the truth perhaps than a newspaper account, is still not all the way there—I have deliberately left out several stories that were "off-the-record" because I became a prisoner of several sources in doing the research). But, along with the entire country, he is also a prisoner of the concept of news—wanting to work where the action is,

unwilling to implement programs because implementation does not bring publicity, going from one new agency or organization or project to another, and leaving as the headlines shrink to the back pages. Nobody knows how much effect our love for news has made mental nomads of us, working for civil rights until racism no longer had news value, then shifting to ecology, and now with a third eye out for something else. The emphasis on change creates a need for immediate feedback, a cheapening of experience—while the world is strip-mined, we scratch the surface of each problem and leave it scarred and behind.

We have much faith in information as a solution to problems, but then mostly the information goes somewhere else and the problems are still there, but we follow the information and the microphones, like cowbirds, looking for that shred of significance. ■

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**LETTERS
TO THE
EDITOR**

Are "Those Arabists" Serving Their Own or US National Interests?

IN his November 7 New York TIMES Magazine article on "Those Arabists in the State Department," Joseph Kraft attributes to them State Department preoccupations with such alleged American interests in the Middle East as denial of the area to Soviet hegemony, transit, communications, and petroleum access. It is implied that these officers are so emotionally tied to the Arabs that their overall foreign policy perspective lacks balance and judgment.

Mr. Kraft should remember that the development of "specialists" in the culture and language of various key areas of the world was pursued vigorously in the 1950s on the strong recommendation of the Wriston Report. Officers were urged towards area specialization, including the Middle East. From my own experience, however, I would say that those who consequently became "Arabists" retained a greater degree of objectivity and balance than those specializing in any other area. Perhaps the explanation lies in the frustration and personal disenchantment experienced by many as they dealt year after year with the complexities and uncertainties inherent in this part of the world and in our relations with its peoples.

While I am bemused to have been listed amongst "those Arabists" in this article—never having been a specialist in that area, speaking no Arabic, and with only one Middle East assignment in a career of nine posts—I can point out that American interests have, over a period of some twenty-six years, been set forth not by Foreign Service "Arabists," but in a continuing series of policy documents approved

and signed by every President from Truman through Nixon. These documents have first had the support of the heads of all Departments involved in our foreign relations such as State, Defense, CIA, Treasury, Agriculture and so forth.

When I was assigned to Cairo in 1965—my first and only Middle East post—my briefing papers included, of course, the current National Security Council document on our relations with the area in general and specifically, with the UAR. In that paper, US interests—including those mentioned by various "Arabists" interviewed by Kraft—were listed together with specific courses of action designed to protect and further them. I certainly had no prior bias regarding Egypt per se one way or the other.

May I suggest that when an "Arabist" works towards maintaining a favorable position for the United States in that part of the world, he is doing what he has been trained to do since the beginning of his career namely, helping to serve the overall, long-range interests of his country as set forth by his President, and not just identifying his "own interest with the American National interest?"

Senior Foreign Service officers in the period 1947-49 were concerned with our role in creating a Jewish State in Palestine for two reasons. They foresaw the effect that this would have on US interests in the area as a whole, and secondly, imbued with a certain amount of idealism, they still championed the Wilsonian concept of "self-determination" which was violated in our decision to support minority rule in Palestine. They were not alone in their concern. Just prior to his death, President Roosevelt recognized that "a Zionist State in Palestine can only be installed and maintained by force . . ." In his diaries, James Forrestal—referring to our early commitment to Israel wrote: "this decision is fraught with great danger, for the future security of our country . . ." With this unusual foresight, the late Dean Acheson took the position that "to transform Palestine into a Jewish State will gravely imperil US and Western interests in the Near East . . ."

All of this is past history, howev-

er, and as Mr. Kraft points out, those involved in our relations with the Middle East today, work not just to further American interests in the Arab world, but for the security and well-being of Israel as well. Here, there are no longer any differences as to objective between "Arabists" and American Zionists, but there are considerable variations in view as to the best courses of action to pursue. While the present Administration is convinced that Israel's future can only be assured through a general Arab-Israeli settlement as set forth in UN Resolution 242, others in our political arena—such as Presidential aspirant Senator Jackson—support Israel in its belief that security must be based on geography and continuing military superiority. Still a third group of Americans with some claim to knowledge of our Middle East interests and commitments—including Senator Fulbright—support the formalization of our relationship with Israel through the offer of a military security treaty to become effective upon the achievement of an Arab-Israeli settlement within the context of Arab acceptance of Israel on the one hand, and Israeli withdrawal to the pre-1967 borders, on the other. Such a commitment to an Israel within borders acceptable to her neighbors, is seen as providing greater long-range security and less danger of United States military involvement in the area than the present ill-defined, open-ended pledge. Today's differences are, therefore, on means rather than ends.

Needless to say, the "Arabists" support the Administration's drive for a settlement not because of some ill-defined emotional involvement with the Arabs, but because this is the President's policy and is seen as one best serving US interests as a whole. They are the first to agree that foreign policy is made by the President, whether it be a Kennedy, or a Nixon—whether in the Near East, Europe or Asia. In this context of loyalty to their President, it certainly can be said that a Foreign Service officer's own interest must inevitably identify with the American national interest.

DAVID NES

Owings Mills, Md.

Unlimdis

It is regrettable that the Department has needlessly opened itself up to criticism and suspicion, as reported by the New York Times on November 22 in its item "State Department Tells Its Missions Not To Air Dissent."

According to the report, which the Times said was confirmed by Deputy Under Secretary Macomber, the Director General sent a cable marked "Personal" to Chiefs of Mission and Principal Officers warning them that reports of dissent by younger officers should not be allowed to leak to the Congress or the press. Any reporting of dissent was to be marked "Limdis" because leaks could "give us problems" with the Congress and the public. The Times interpreted the message as an attempt to limit dissent, and cited an FSO who thought the effect would be intimidation of younger officers.

It seems to me that we passed up an invaluable chance to win some sorely needed friends and to gain support for the policy of encouragement of creativity which we espouse and, I believe, sincerely want to promote. As the Times noted, the Department had, in a Management Reform Bulletin last February, affirmed the right of officers to submit dissenting reports when they could not concur in certain recommendations for action.

Few thoughtful persons are likely to take exception to the principle that government officials who disagree with approved policy should make their views known through appropriate channels within the government but should refrain from expressing their opposition in public. If an officer reaches the point where he cannot in good conscience continue to refrain from public criticism of the policy of his employer, the government, the honorable course to follow is to resign. Why, then, the secrecy and the warning when we are merely trying to ensure observance of a well-established and broadly accepted principle?

Would it not have been wiser to devote the major portion of the cable—and its distribution need not have been restricted—to an explanation of procedures to be established to ensure that all dissenting

views receive full consideration in the policy-making process? The cable might have stated, for example, that dissenting views would be reproduced by the Department upon receipt, distributed to interested offices for review and comment, and finally evaluated by a qualified senior officer. Each dissenting view, and the senior officer's evaluation, would be taken into account at the appropriate policy level, and the evaluation and ultimate decision would be reported back to the dissenting officer. There would have been no problem in adding that reports of dissenting views should be held within the family, even marked "Limdis," unless otherwise authorized by the Department.

Such a cable could have been distributed to all officers and could have been released to the press. I suspect that the Department, rather than being charged with deviousness and bad faith, would have received plaudits for its encouragement of creativity.

DONALD S. SPIGLER, FSO
Washington

More on MRB-20

In the August issue of the JOURNAL I noticed a letter signed by Rika Schmidt concerning responsibilities of wives at our posts abroad.

Although I have not seen Man-

agement Reform Bulletin No. 20, I certainly agree with Mrs. Schmidt that there is far more to the role of an effective wife than just playing hostess, although that is a necessary part of her duties and, if she chooses her guests well, she will have the opportunity to learn from local citizens about the area of her assignment, and also to impart American views and values.

The Foreign Service Institute published an edition of "Social Usage in the Foreign Service" in June 1957, edited by Mrs. M. Williams Blake. On its last two pages (16 and 17) are some more general and also more basic recommendations than those regarding calls, gloves and fingerbowls. It would be a pity if these broader aspects of the job are omitted from the new publication.

MRS. JEFFERSON PATTERSON
Washington

Oh, Pioneers

I HAD an opportunity to tour around my home country in Western Montana during home leave this past September. My memories of the beauty of this piece of nature were confirmed. I resolved to see whether a group of likeminded Foreign Service officers, active or retired, might want to join in forging a mutually

(Continued on page 32)

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

by S. I. Nadler



"Just once before we retire, can't we get a post where you don't find that 'the international community provides its own cultural life and entertainment?'"



Nominations Sought for AFSA's '72 Awards

The Awards Committee of the American Foreign Service Association is happy to announce the 1972 Awards Program. The intent of the program is to give service-wide recognition to individuals displaying courage in all its dimensions, independence of spirit and service, dedication — qualities manifested in such abundance by Ambassadors Harriman and Rivkin and Secretary Herter. The awards will be granted in recognition of extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage, and creative dissent.

The Harriman, Rivkin and Herter Awards are open to State, AID, USIA and Peace Corps Foreign Service personnel, FSO, FSIO, FSR, FSSO, FSRU, serving abroad or in the United States—and in the case of the Harriman Award, to Civil Service employees as well. Each award will carry a \$1,000 prize.

The Judges Committee of the AFSA will consider nominations for the Harriman and Herter Awards. A separate committee has been established by the William R. Rivkin Fund to consider nominations for the Rivkin Award. The Awards Committee of AFSA will act as the secretariat for the two Committees of Judges.

Nominations for all three awards may be made by any officer in support of any other officer in any of the eligible categories. Because of the special nature of these awards, peers and subordinates of deserving individuals may be in the most favorable position to observe achievements of special merit.

Nominations are solicited for each of the following:

The **W. Averell Harriman Award** (for junior officers—no higher than FSO-6 or equivalent. Civil Service employees are included).

The **William R. Rivkin Award** (for mid-career officers—FSO-5, 0-4, 0-3 or equivalent).

The **Christian A. Herter Award** (for senior officers — FSO/FSR-1 and 2 or equivalent, with the exception of officers now holding appointments as Chiefs of Mission).

Submission of Nomination

The Harriman, Rivkin and Herter Awards should not be regarded as super-efficiency reports designed to recognize a conventional performance no matter how outstanding. The three awards are made to identify and reward the special qualities and special achievements noted above.

Two copies of each nomination, unbound on regular size paper, marking each page with the name of the nominee and numbering each page, should be forwarded to:

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in time to be received by February 29, 1972.

The format for nominations is as follows:

PART I: Biographic Data
NAME
BIRTHDATE
GRADE
AGENCY

PART II: Association with Candidate (Strictly limit to 250 words)

PART III: Justification for Nomination (Strictly limit to 500-750 words) Summary of specific reasons for nomination. The narrative should discuss

a. Qualities of mind and spirit which qualify the nominee for the award.

b. Examples of the candidate's accomplishments, particularly evidence of outstanding initiative, integrity, and intellectual courage.

Board Resolutions

The Board of Directors of AFSA passed the following resolutions at recent meetings:

"BE IT RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association extends warm congratulations to the Association of American Foreign Service Women on their highly successful Book Fair the week of October 18. The AFSA Board fully appreciates the hard work and devoted hours of attention put in by Priscilla Streater, Allene Masters, and their many colleagues. The annual AAFSW contribution is one of the most important supports of the AFSA scholarship program. Many Foreign Service children are deeply grateful for the AAFSW scholarships which supported their education."

"BE IT RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors wishes to express its warm appreciation for the dedicated services of Mr. Frederick H. Vogel and his co-workers in designing and laying out the American Foreign Service Park."

Exchange of Letters with Ambassador Easum

Mr. William C. Harrop, Chairman
American Foreign Service
Association

Dear Bill:

As I will be departing for Africa within ten days for my new assignment as Ambassador to Upper Volta, I must regretfully submit to you and the Board of the Foreign Service Association my resignation from the Board.

It has been a privilege—and, I must confess, an unparalleled learning opportunity—to have been associated over the past two years with the important contributions this Board has made to a more effective employee-management system in the Department and the Foreign Service. I look forward to maintaining from Ouagadougou my interest and activity in behalf of this objective.

I personally regret that several of our more senior officers have felt it necessary to resign from AFSA during recent months. Under the new forthcoming Executive Order AFSA will most certainly have an increasingly important role to play in employee-management relations in the months ahead. This is more than ever the time when we need the best efforts of all our members—officers and staff, younger and older—in support of a Foreign Service that is creative, courageous and responsible.

Sincerely,
Donald B. Easum

Honorable Donald B. Easum
American Embassy
Ouagadougou

Dear Don:

The AFSA Board of Directors is proud that one of its members should be appointed Ambassador. You have been a source of great strength to the Association over the last two turbulent years.

We have come to rely upon your fine judgment, your intuitive sense of what is best for the Service and the nation, and your skill with language. You have played an important part in our development of a new employee/management relations system for the Foreign Service.

This new system and the new philosophy behind it are crucial for the **whole** Service, junior and senior members alike. The Association's capacity to deal effectively—and constructively—with the difficult problems involved will depend in part upon the willingness of more of its senior members to become engaged, and to lend their energies, knowledge and judgment, as you have, to the common search for positive solutions. I hope other senior officers will follow your example and will participate in their profession's future as well as in its past.

We wish you continued success in your new responsibilities, and we thank you for your hard work.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,
William C. Harrop
Chairman, Board of Directors

Seventh Successful Foreign Service Day

The seventh annual Foreign Service Day was held on Friday, November 19 under the co-sponsorship of the Department, AFSA and Diplomatic and Consular Offices, Retired (DACOR). Approximately 320 members of the two organizations attended.

There were five panel discussions on an off-the-record basis covering: Foreign Service issues and programs for the 1970s; international political, trade, monetary and security implications of the "new economic policies"; the Nixon Doctrine and the changing American role in East Asia; German problems and European security; and international aspects of environmental-population crises. Each panel was a mixture of distinguished retired officers and those currently serving in positions enabling them to comment authoritatively on the subject in question.

A highlight of the day was the dedication of the Foreign Service Memorial Park, located north of the Department directly in front of AFSA headquarters (the triangle formed by Virginia Ave., 21st St. and E St.). AFSA has signed an agreement with the Washington

Foreign Service People

MARRIAGES

Pogue-Carter. The former Mrs. Carlyn Pogue was married to W. Beverly Carter, Jr. in Washington on November 27. Mrs. Carter serves as the Inter-Governmental Relations Officer for ACTION and Mr. Carter is the Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs.

BIRTHS

Canning. A daughter, Rachel Deborah, born to Mr. and Mrs. Michael Canning on December 4 in Washington. Mr. Canning is at present a Congressional fellow.

DEATHS

Lew. On November 9, Chew F. Lew, FSSO-5, died in San Francisco. He is survived by his wife and son of 1339 30th Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94122.

city government to beautify and maintain the plot. The job was planned and supervised by AFSA member Fred Vogel, a retired AID forester who volunteered his services. Secretary Rogers spoke briefly at the midday ceremonies, recalling that 97 Americans had given their lives between 1780 and 1969 in heroic circumstances while on overseas assignment and commenting that their sacrifice should inspire all Foreign Service employees in performance of their responsibilities. The Secretary pointed out that in recent years there has been a distressing increase in the number of diplomats assassinated or otherwise killed by violent means and commented that this was indeed a disturbing trend.

At the conclusion of the eighth floor lunch, two awards were made: Director General William Hall presented the Director General's Cup to Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson while the Foreign Service Cup was presented to Ambassador Jefferson Caffery by Deputy Under Secretary Macomber. The Secretary and Mrs. Rogers kindly hosted the traditional reception in the Diplomatic Reception Rooms.

LETTERS from page 28

supporting homesite in this lovely wilderness before the lumbermen or environmentalists do us all in. There is no immediacy, but if pioneer stock can be uncovered within our ranks, let me know and we can exchange opinions.

H. O. EKERN

Heidelberg

What Has Become of Diplomacy?

FROM time to time statements by Foreign Service officers lead one to conclude they have an inadequate grasp of diplomacy and thus of the kind of world in which they are professionally involved. An example of this was provided by the statement of an officer in his review of Campbell's "The Foreign Affairs Fudge Factory" that "Today there are only two states which count for anything in the scale of international power—the United States and the Soviet Union. . . . Not unless China, Japan and Europe become first-class nuclear powers can we talk about balance of power diplomacy in any but the most superficial sense." With all due respect to Mr. Petrow, I

think he is being terribly superficial.

The late Dean Acheson, for all of his inclination to extol economic and military power, learned that other factors often determined a government's capacity to have its way in international affairs. His "Present at the Creation" is full of illustrative experiences. One was the United States Government defeat by the British in efforts to put a decisive economic squeeze upon the Spanish Government in 1944. He makes this rueful genuflect to the superior skill of the British in international maneuver on that occasion:

" . . . the role played by Mr. Churchill in deflecting our economic pressure was my first experience of what was to recur often in the next decade—that is, of a relatively weak ally by determined, sometimes reckless decisions changing and even preventing action by a much stronger one charged with ultimate responsibility. General de Gaulle was to demonstrate this; so was Syngman Rhee in Korea. In fact, almost all recipients of our economic or military aid have

shown us how useless threats to stop aid are in trying to pressure the recipients to use it for its intended purpose. After the war was over I was to learn other and more drastic limitations upon the exercise of power." (p. 61).

This experience was not, at base, one of "decisions" but of discussions and negotiations from which the British decision flowed. The British out-argued and out-bluffed us. From this advantage came the ruded decision to bow to Spanish requests.

I suggest that Mr. Petrow, and other officers who share his view that diplomatic capacity counts for little or nothing and therefore the US and USSR are the "only two states which count for anything in the scale of international power," might give more attention to their own art and science. Indeed, it is appalling that the training agency of the State Department—the Foreign Service Institute—provides no education or training in diplomacy. Until it wakes up, individual officers might care to read—or re-read with greater care—such memoirs as those of the late Dean Acheson.

—A READER

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JUNE 06	FRANKFURT/WASHINGTON
JUNE 20	FRANKFURT/WASHINGTON
JULY 06	FRANKFURT/WASHINGTON
JULY 20	FRANKFURT/WASHINGTON
AUG. 06	FRANKFURT/NEW YORK
AUG. 15	LONDON/WASHINGTON
AUG. 28	FRANKFURT/WASHINGTON
SEP. 13	FRANKFURT/WASHINGTON
SEP. 27	FRANKFURT/WASHINGTON
OCT. 10	LONDON/WASHINGTON
OCT. 24	FRANKFURT/WASHINGTON

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For your convenience, a DSRA representative will meet all flights

All Recreation Association members and their immediate families are eligible to use our charter flights. Local employees of the U. S. Government are eligible for membership in the DSRA which entitles them to all benefits of the Association, including the charter flight program.

N.Y. Flights

• Airfare	79.90
• Administr. costs	3.00
	<hr/> 82.90

Wash. Flights

• Airfare	89.90
• Administr. costs	3.00
	<hr/> 92.90

Taxes: Above rates exclusive of taxes. West Germany Arrival Tax—\$1.37 per person. U.S. Departure Tax—\$3.00 per person.

Pra rata share is subject to increase or decrease depending on number of participants. Regulations require a minimum group of 40 persons. Maximum capacity of the aircraft is 252. A flight member may cancel a seat reservation up to 30 days prior to scheduled departure subject to a service charge of \$10. Flight members may not cancel reservations less than 30 days prior to scheduled departure, without an eligible replacement.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Children under 2 years of age travel at no extra charge provided they do not occupy a separate seat.

Transfers: A \$10 service charge per seat with a maximum of \$20 per family will be assessed for each change in flight date requested by a member.

Travel Requirements: Each individual must make personal arrangements for immunizations and passports as required.

Baggage: Maximum free luggage allowance is 44 pounds. This weight includes cabin luggage, exclusive of a lady's purse, binoculars or camera.

Important: Reservations must be reconfirmed within 72 hours prior to each flight. For information, send your name and address to State-USIA Recreation Association, Room 2928, State Department, Washington, D. C. 20520 or call 632-9633. In Frankfurt: D-6000 Frankfurt M/1. AM Salzhaus, 4. or call (0611) 28 52 13.



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