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MARCH, 1972, Volume 49, No. 3

14 Management: A New Look

Thomas Stern

16 Report on BEX

E. Jane Townsend

18 Brinkmanship in the Free Territory of Trieste

Robert P. Joyce

19 Around the World in a Motor Car, 1908-9

Henry S. Villard

OTHER FEATURES: Personnel Management and Cost Effectiveness, page 6; Communication re: American Overseas Investment, page 10.

DEPARTMENTS

4 Editorials

23 The Bookshelf

31 Letters to the Editor

33 AFSA News

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS: Cover, Richard F. Wolford, Palanquin.

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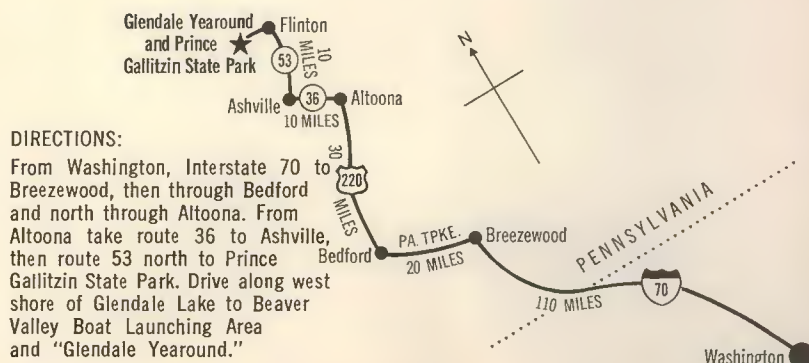


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AFSA'S Officers

THE AFSA Board of Directors is very pleased to announce the election of Mr. David H. McKillop as AFSA President, Mr. Princeton Lyman, AFSA First Vice President, and Mr. Horace G. Dawson, AFSA Second Vice President. Mr. McKillop, former Chairman of the AFSA Board, is an FSO-1 presently serving as a member of the Secretary's Planning and Coordination Staff. Mr. Lyman, also a former AFSA Board member, is an FSR-2 heading AID's office of Technical Assistance for Africa. Mr. Dawson, a respected activist in USIA, is an FSIO-2 serving as Cultural Advisor in the Program Coordination Staff.

The Board of Directors pledged as a slate to elect Messrs. Richard T. Davies, C. William Kontos and Michael Pistor as AFSA's officers. Mr. Kontos has since departed on overseas assignment. Unfortunately, under the terms of E.O. 11636 Messrs. Davies and Pistor currently occupy positions defined as "management official" and are subject to certain restraints. They have asked to have their names withdrawn from consideration as potential officers. (Their letter to the Board is reprinted on page 30.)

The AFSA Board deeply regrets the inability of these respected members to serve the Association in an official capacity at this time. Although Messrs. Davies and Pistor will continue to be involved in AFSA's professional activities, under the terms of the new Executive Order they are precluded from supporting AFSA in its role as an employee representative. Consequently, the AFSA Board reluctantly accepted their withdrawal, believing that the Association at this important time of transition can best be served by officers who can participate fully in AFSA's employee-management activities, as well as its professional ones. ■

Participation

WITH the implementation of Executive Order 11636 during the next several months, management paternalism over employment policies and professional practices in the foreign affairs agencies will have come to the end of its agony. As their counterparts in private enterprise a generation earlier, most management officials will welcome this new era with enthusiasm. The problem of determining what the employees want and really need will henceforth belong to their elected representatives. The monkey will be on AFSA's back, and we welcome the challenge.

It would be unfortunate, however, if the paternalism of management were to be replaced by the paternalism of an eleven-member AFSA Board. True, the Board is elected, and is broadly representative of the different interest groups in the Foreign Service. But if the Board

is to negotiate complex professional issues like selection out, the cone system, as well as vital bread and butter issues like promotions, pay comparability for all employee categories, and an end to discrimination against single people, a working system will have to be organized to keep the Board plugged into the mainstream of AFSA membership thinking at all times. In addition, the co-determination of employee-management relations can be meaningful only as part of a dynamic process that is operative at all levels where employees and managers relate to and rub against each other on a daily basis. If the majority of problems cannot be settled at the same level they occur, then the system is deficient.

In light of the foregoing, the name of the game has become "participation." AFSA members abroad and in Washington will have to get with it and start making regular inputs if our professional program and the employee-management relations system are to become responsive. The AFSA chapters in diplomatic and consular missions abroad will have to be strengthened in order to negotiate personnel policies and handle grievances locally. In Washington, participation committees are being organized in all three agencies at the bureau or equivalent levels. The participation committee in State's Economic Bureau has already begun work mapping out AFSA's strategy for defeating the Magnuson Bill which would transfer the Foreign Service's commercial and economic functions to a separate bureaucracy in the Commerce Department. Elsewhere, selection out, promotions, grievances, and threshold review for junior FSOs are among the subjects for which AFSA's policy options are being researched and fine-tuned under the "participation" umbrella.

Priority number one for the AFSA chapters abroad and the participation committees in Washington is the organization of exclusive representation elections for all three agencies under Executive Order 11636. This involves identifying and setting up channels of communication to all potential voters in the Foreign Service, and then persuading them to vote for AFSA.

When AFSA becomes the exclusive representative of all employees, the participation committees in Washington will have to negotiate problems, policies and grievances with their respective managements. They will also be asked to relate to appropriate AFSA chapters abroad to handle problems at the bureau level. In the area of overall policy formulation, participation committees will be asked to advise the board on substantive questions concerning both professional and bread and butter issues.

In short, the concept is not new. It is called democracy. It can only work if the people concerned take the time and exert the effort to keep the initiative from drifting backward toward that old-fashioned paternalism. Join and support your AFSA Chapters or participation committees. Make them work for you. ■



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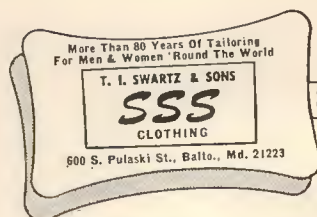
Hungry school children, unable to concentrate, may eventually become drop-outs.

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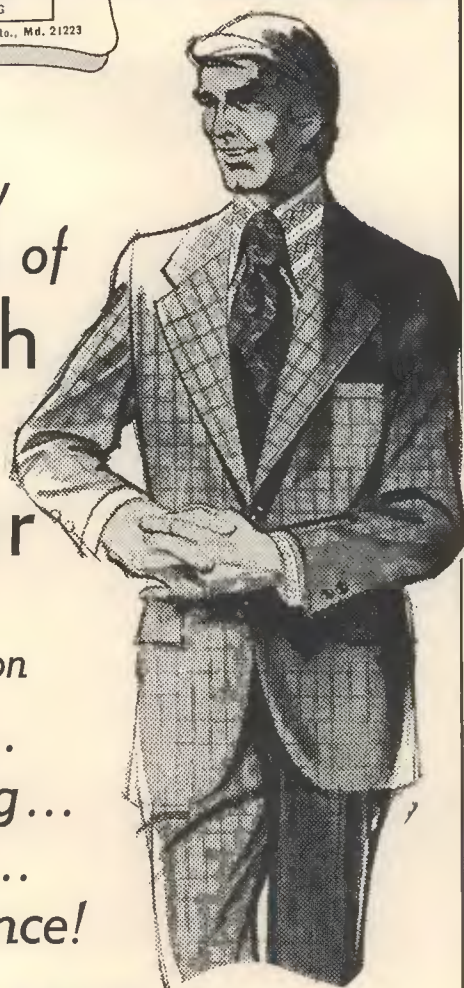
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Personnel Management and Cost Effectiveness

Now that the Department of State and the Foreign Service have become so introspective that we are all more attuned to Progress Reports on Management Reform than to Action Telegrams, it seems time for other basic consideration to be given to personnel management and cost effectiveness, particularly on the policy of transfers.

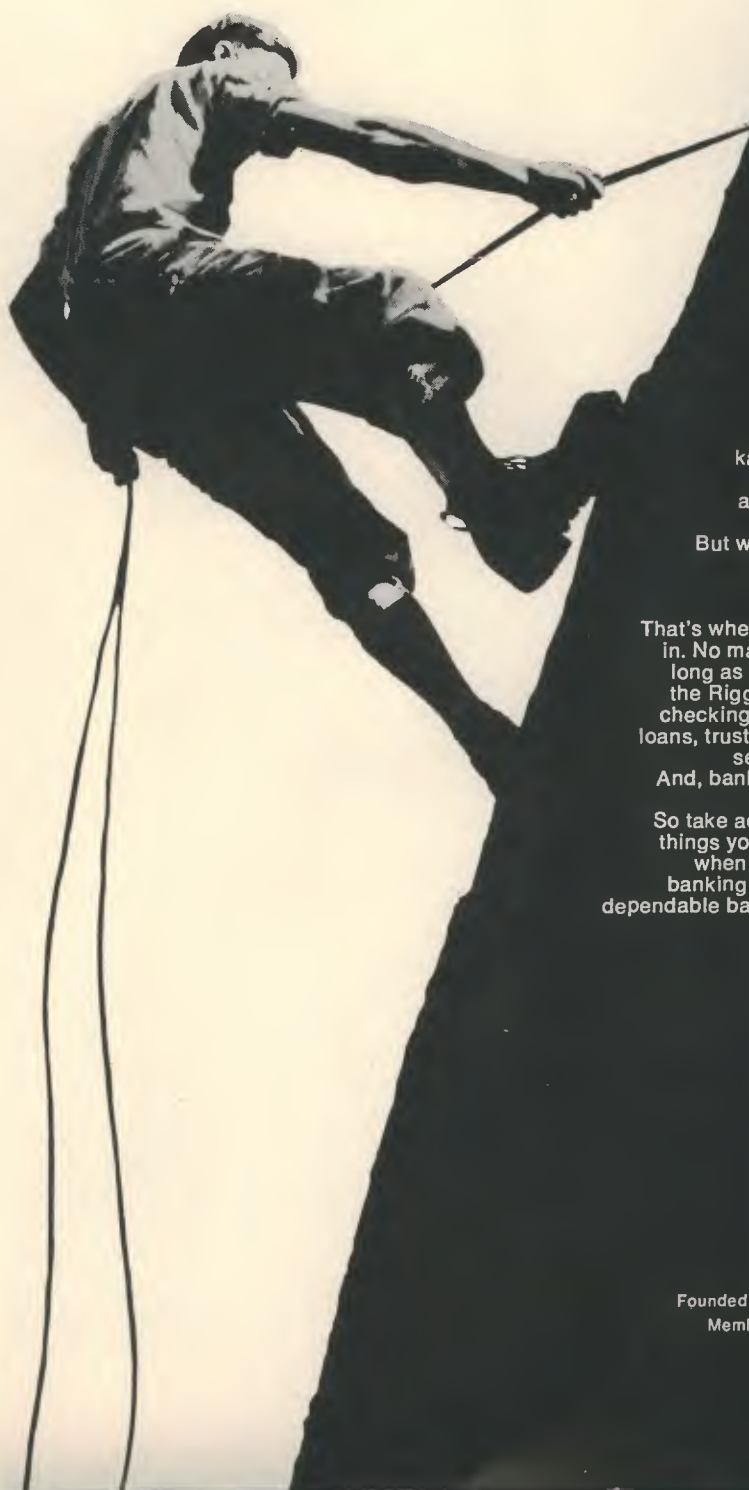
A certain dichotomy has arisen in the Department's approach to personnel assignments. On the one hand, Administrators (or Management, as the case may be) appear deeply concerned at the amount of money being spent for transfers. On the other hand, Management (or Administrators, again, as the case may be) operate under the philosophy that a frequent change of scene is beneficial to the officer, broadens his viewpoint and brings wisdom, increased by experience, to the Service.

Our thoughts have turned toward some means of rationalizing these acute horns of the dilemma. In our search for means whereby these financial and philosophical problems could both be solved, the thought came to mind that from a given date—say January 1, 1973, any married officer being transferred should be asked to leave his family and personal goods at the establishment he was vacating. In this way a new arrival could genuinely "replace" his predecessor by moving in with the wife and family of the officer he was replacing.

A number of other problems would be solved by this action. For instance, the upward thrust of junior officers could be partly met as there would certainly be those CAs, CMs, O-1s, O-2s who might sacrifice another boring principal officer's slot for a tour in an appropriately equipped junior officer's function. At the same time, variety (the spice of life) would be brought into the rather arcane, humdrum existence of the Foreign Service wife, to say nothing of the richness given to the lives of children, fathered in and accustomed to, say, Consular life, then suddenly exposed to the richness of acting fathers in Economic, Administration, USIA, Peace Corps, Political or AID work. (Certainly there will have to be "out of specialty tours" for families as well as officers.)

Those reading personnel performance files have noted

Living abroad has its advantages...



Climbing the Alps . . . sampling kangaroo soup . . . meeting a geisha . . . stalking big game . . . there's always something new and exciting to do when you're abroad. But when it comes to *banking* abroad . . . you're probably less interested in excitement and more interested in security and convenience. That's where The Riggs National Bank comes in. No matter where you are in the world, as long as you have mail service, you can use the Riggs Diplomatic Financial Services—checking accounts, savings accounts, bank loans, trust services—practically any banking service you need is available to you. And, banking with Riggs is as convenient as mailing a letter! So take advantage of all the fun and exciting things your foreign location has to offer. But when it comes to something serious like banking . . . rely on Riggs, your convenient, dependable bank in Washington, D.C. since 1836.

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a great similarity among Foreign Service spouses (indeed, one said that all FSOs appeared to be married to the same attractive, vivacious, intelligent woman) therefore, this adjustment should be simple. Some considerations should be given in assigning an officer with no children to, say, a family of 5 or 6, but these small details could sort themselves out. At the same time, this could give a great deal more interest to the officer up for assignment. No more wishy-washy forms DS-1616 (April Fool Sheet to old timers, and a new meaning could be added to this sobriquet in time).

The proposal has other obvious potential. Officers selected out would have to take with them the least desirable wives and/or rowdiest families, making that process even less attractive than it now is. Thus activity and competition in the Service would be increased.

The savings to the Government would be tremendous. We have already seen the windfall which accrued from supplying Government furnished quarters. We should also increase efficiency as each officer would arrive at post with a household already established and be ready to spring into action (so to speak) the moment he stepped off the plane. Obviously, such a plan would increase the burdens of post administrative and personnel officers but everyone would have to realize that the decision of the judges was final.

As a matter of fact, this suggestion could be carried farther if personnel records could only include the clothing and shoe size of each officer. He would only have to travel with his own toothbrush and comb since he could take up a wardrobe with the other effects of his predecessor.

As we could guarantee world airlines that none of our officers would ever have luggage (baggage either, for that matter) we should be able to buy airline tickets at greatly reduced fares.

The author of this suggestion requests that the Department give the cash award for this suggestion to the scholarship fund of the American Foreign Service Association—for obvious reasons.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The preceding was shown to a random sample of 20 Foreign Service wives. Nine were enthusiastic immediately; six were fearful that they would get their own husbands back just prior to retirement; four (all Foreign Service officers themselves) were frankly concerned about the inequities (among other things) this would impose on female officers; and one, unaccountably, felt the satire was too heavy in view of Management Reform Bulletin 20's enlightened approach to Life and Love in the Foreign Service.*

THE THREAD

*A single thread's enough, if it be strong.
One guided Theseus through the labyrinth,
One knots in place a plethora of pearls.
One will suffice to hold ideas
Beaded upon a certain line,
Provided only it's not lost.
It's here revealed in the light of a word
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But one's enough, if it be strong.*

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COMMUNICATION

RE:

American Overseas Investment: A Policy for the 1970s

EDITOR'S NOTE: John Habberton, Executive Director of the Business Council for International Understanding, sent the JOURNAL this communication on Samuel Hart's August article, as "a business critique of that article by a senior company officer who is a good friend and who has been involved in negotiations with less-developed countries . . . with the thought that it might stimulate yet further interplay. We all agree that the ideal working relationship cannot be blueprinted. It is dynamic and changes from country to country, month to month. But thoughtful exchange of ideas . . . helps to indicate guidelines and keep abreast of the times."

SAMUEL HART has written a good article. His do's and don't's are well articulated and show thought and perception. He himself says they are obvious, but the mere articulation of them is most useful, and some of them show more than the average discernment. I am sure Mr. Hart is correct when he says, "In looking for reasons why some American overseas investors often violate their own long-term self interest, the primary cause which emerges is ignorance." He is perceptive when he says, "The foreign operator fails to see that because of his foreignness,

and in many cases, his large size, he is not just another businessman." He is again perceptive in noting that, "The manner in which the contract is negotiated is nearly as important as its substance." In short, while what he says appears obvious, I think the very simplicity and clarity of the thoughts belie their real obviousness.

What is wrong with "American Overseas Investment: A Policy for the 1970s?"

Mr. Hart makes it sound so easy—somehow the whole foundation of

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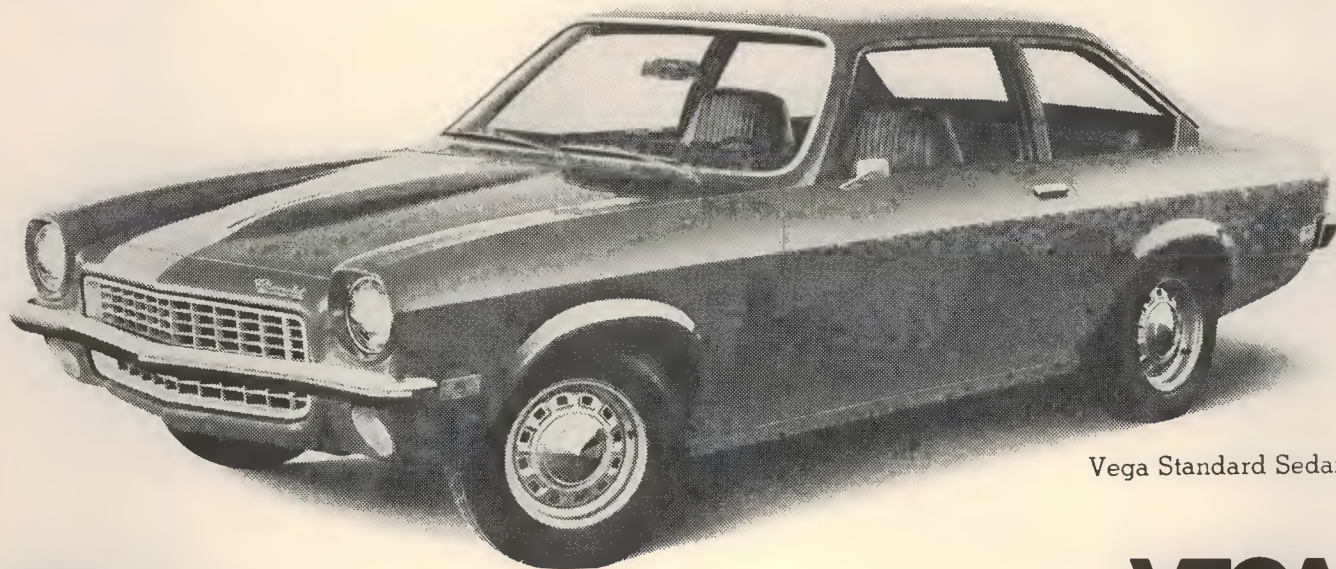
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And a very refreshing power ventilation system.

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And Full Coil suspension, self-cleaning rocker panels, double-panel roof construction, 3635 square inches of glass area, a Delcotron generator and an electric fuel pump. Check Vega out at any Chevrolet dealer's. You'll be surprised.

It's a lot more car than you expected it to be.



Vega Standard Sedan



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

his argument is that LDC are reasonable people—that companies are wholly rational—“That the best technical advice on the true economics of the enterprise” will solve the problem. Sure, good technical advice, competent professionals in finance, etc., can help, but the world, companies and LDC are surely not wholly rational.

The same sort of belief that “equity” and reason will solve the problem comes out in the statement, “If the government through ignorance insists on an unreasonable price, the investor will walk away; if the asking price is too low, this will be evident in time,” etc. What is a reasonable price? What is too low? I somehow get the feeling that there is some UN type of commission lurking in the back of his mind which will have an answer to all these questions and one that will be acceptable to all. The fact is that what is reasonable is what the risk takers involved, the companies and the countries, think is reasonable—and this can and will change rapidly—there are no absolutes.

Is Hart suggesting some form of formula when he says, “But the better course is to agree to some such an arrangement at the outset?” The thrust of his comments seems to say that at X profit level the deal stays in effect, at X + 2 a new formula applies, etc. This all assumes such a static, predictable and measurable world. How to measure profit? If you can, how much profit do you allow a company for finding an ore body? For technological input? How much for developing a new process? How much for successfully selling the output from A country against competition? What negative profit for a country’s willingness to accept certain political risks?

My disagreement, however, is a bit stronger re his last point which in totality suggests that companies almost (a) be forced to seek embassy advice, and (b) that they better be pretty sure to follow it. While I suppose it is possible to force a company to seek advice, you can’t force anyone to listen or heed advice. Is the record so bad as to

suggest the need to approach the use of force? I don’t think Hart effectively makes this case. Wouldn’t it be better to do more of what is now going on—industry-State Department liaison, CoA, BCIU, etc., etc. These narrow the distance between the State Department and industry. I sense increased dialogue, not the opposite. One minor pet complaint is that embassies could have more dialogue if they would learn to keep confidences and not feel compelled to report everything they hear to every desk officer, sub-desk officer, their friends, etc.

But more serious than forcing dialogue is the suggestion that companies better follow that advice. Should not each group stick to its own knitting—companies to theirs? Embassy to handling relations with the country, advising, counseling, helping American business, but not necessarily taking full responsibility for all its actions, and not necessarily always pulling “company chestnuts out of the fire?” American business and overall American interest

(Continued on page 30)

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Management: A New Look

THE DATE: August 17, 1977. The Department's NEWSLETTER, now shown four times daily on the TV scopes placed on every employee's desk, reports the following events:

"Jim Jones selects his new assignment."

"AFSA approves slate of officers qualified for ambassadorial appointments."

"Union lists positions to be abolished."

Impossible? No. There have been many signs in recent years in the American society as a whole as well as in the Department to suggest that definite trends exist which may well lead to an entirely new style of management by the end of the decade.

To understand recent events and to place them in proper perspective, it is useful to stipulate the underlying assumptions on which the behavioral scientific approach to management is based. There are at least two major themes:

- That a human being is primarily motivated by his (or her) interest in a viable, relevant and effective organization which will provide the individual maximum participation and job satisfaction.

- That the organization will permit an individual maximum possible freedom to do his own "thing."

The second maxim is not as radical as it may appear when seen in conjunction with the first and when also viewed in the light of a further assumption, namely that an individual is sufficiently mature to do his or her "thing" without damaging or injuring a fellow human being. The words "damage" and "injure" are not really adequate to describe the

THOMAS STERN

After graduation from the Maxwell School of Syracuse University, Thomas Stern joined the Department in 1951. He has served in a number of administrative positions, both in Washington and overseas. He spent several years with ICA and AID. Prior to his current assignment to the Planning and Coordination Staff, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Organization and Management.

limits of behavior, for they include both physical and psychological damage, but would not include incurring another's disapproval on purely personal matters. In other words, an individual's taste in clothes is one's own business even if it should meet with the disapproval of others since it does not really "damage" or "injure" another human being. (One of the difficulties of describing a management style of the future is that our present vocabulary is inadequate to describe the new concepts and our thought processes are "hung-up" by the conventional meanings of words. Also our grammar forces distinctions (e.g. "his"- "hers") where no distinctions are warranted).

If these basic assumptions can be accepted, then a major change in organizations could be anticipated but can these assumptions be viewed as reasonable? Here we encounter an interesting phenomenon. Many will already agree. Many others will accept their validity as they concern themselves, but will doubt

their validity as they concern others. These latter groups raise the fundamental issue: trust.

The cohesiveness and effectiveness of any organization rests on the amount of trust and faith that its various members have for each other. Where motives are not challenged, where each member believes that all members are striving for the same goal, there exists a situation which is optimum for progress. The dialogue can then focus on means, rather than ends. The group's consensus, forged from vigorous and open debate, will produce the best courses of action. Where the necessary trust and faith does not exist, the dialogue is divisive, personalized and unproductive.

If this faith and trust can be established, as it surely should be if the basic assumptions are acceptable, then there can be significant changes in today's organizational structures. These structures, based on the hierarchical theory of management, were founded on the assumption that individuals were lazy, uninterested in their work, unwilling to accept responsibilities and that they could not be motivated. They could only be coerced. Therefore, they required supervision. The supervisor's role was to force production from his employees. That supervisor needed a supervisor to insure that the work was performed and so on up to the top of the pyramid. This kind of structure gave rise to the famous theory of "span of control" since it could be expected that a single individual could only coerce a limited number of other individuals.

The other pet theory that went with the present structure was "authority commensurate with responsi-

bility." If a supervisor was being held responsible for the work of several other persons, then he also had to have authority over them to insure that his "whip" would be felt and respected.

Finally, the role of the manager is described by "daddy knows best." The "authoritarian" manager made all the decisions without consultation; the "progressive" manager listened and in many instances then made the decision he or she would have made prior to any consultations even if the consensus were against it. The difference between the two was in the style, not substance. These are obviously stereotype descriptions since few of today's managers can be categorized wholly as "authoritarian" or "progressive." They most often use both approaches depending on the issue.

What then could tomorrow bring? In the first place, there would be an acceptance that management is everybody's "bag." That is to say, that all members of an organization have a contribution to make in the determination of the organization's management philosophy and direction. The manager becomes a catalyst and a motivator whose principal function is to pose the issue, objectively and as dispassionately as possible, bringing all the relevant facts to the attention of the unit membership and then to elicit from his unit "a sense of the meeting." This expression, used by Quakers in the conduct of their business meetings, requires the chairman to synthesize the discussion and to state the majority's views as he or she understands them, without a vote being taken (a vote is assumed to create unnecessary tensions in the group).

No decisions concerning an individual could be taken without his involvement. If the matter concerns only one individual, then it might well be left for that person's decision. For example, on the question of assignments, the person could be given a range of choices from which he would make the final selection. Some limits might have to be applied to such range, depending on the individual's background, experience and interests. But maximum flexibility should be provided so that the organization member can pursue his or her career as he or she sees it as most desirable. Since the individual will seek assignments that he or she considers relevant and which will simultaneously contribute to the organization's effectiveness, no great risk is encountered in providing a wide latitude of choice.

On matters that affect the group as a whole, a wide range of participation would be desired with all interested parties involved in the consultation. It is of course possible that in the short run such a process may be more time consuming, but the resolution of the issue will be more permanent than is the case today and therefore less time consuming over the long run.

As for the organizational structure, units could undoubtedly be larger since supervision of individuals would no longer be required. The organizational distance between the head of the organization and the other members would be greatly shortened with many more face-to-face dialogues possible. The elimination of hierarchical layers would decrease the size of the organization and by reducing today's problem of

the "word-of-mouth" communication being passed from layer to layer with the high risk of distortion, would increase the effectiveness of the organization. With fewer people involved in the business of the organization, all members would be given a greater share of the "action" eliminating the present "structural underemployment" created by each layer "creaming-off" the challenging work, leaving to each succeeding layer less and less interesting and relevant tasks.

The enlargement of the units and the elimination of many hierarchical layers would tend to diminish the distortions now injected in the process by irrelevant bureaucratic considerations. More and more issues could be analyzed in a task force mode, which would bring together individuals chosen for their knowledge and expertise rather than for the sake of having various organizational units represented.

There are of course many problems and issues that I have not even attempted to address. I am primarily interested in bringing certain new assumptions to light and in indicating some directions that might be achievable if the assumptions can obtain wide acceptance. If each member of this Department could believe that all members are motivated by the same general desire for maximum organizational effectiveness and for providing maximum opportunity for individualism and if each member could evidence faith and trust toward all members, then the Department could be in the forefront of a managerial revolution which most likely will come in the American society as a whole in the next decade. ■

The oral, formerly the terror of FS applicants, has at last overcome its Spanish Inquisition reputation

Report on BEX

Picture, if you will, a make-shift office given over to the Board of Examiners in the Federal Office Building in Denver. Within an applicant for USIA's Foreign Service is nervously perusing a newspaper. The Panel Chairman is talking on the phone to Washington and says, "Yes, Kansas City came out okay. We passed one out of seven candidates." Was that actually a knee-jerk reaction on the part of the applicant? Did he actually blanch? Maybe, but regardless of the exact authenticity his hopes for appointment to USIA did plunge . . .

IN Los Angeles, it was not until the 15th and final candidate that we overcame our niggardliness and voted him in. And enthusiastically. He was a sure winner for USIA—a Ph.D. candidate in American history, had sung with Roger Wagner Chorale, had taught for a year in Appalachia. He was personable and articulate. Good sense of humor.

Last February, our three-member USIA panel began holding oral examinations in Washington and other major cities for some 261 applicants who passed the written exam given last December to 1,271 applicants for the Foreign Service of USIA. After being duly scrutinized and probed, some 39 will emerge as

E. JANE TOWNSEND

Since joining USIA in 1965, Ms. Townsend has served as Binational Center Country Coordinator in Mexico City and participated in the Agency's two-year training program for mid-career officers, Phase 2. While on "Phase 2," Ms. Townsend writes, "I had various short assignments in USIA's media and research offices, the Reports Section of the USUN Mission in New York and this experience on BEX." Ms. Townsend is now on a year's leave from the Agency.

junior Foreign Service Information officers for 1971—provided they clear the remaining hurdles—medical examination, background investigation, and finally are given high placement on a rank order registry. Over the years it has been the oral examination part of this selection procedure that has earned the notoriety of a Star Chamber proceeding. And its own peculiar mythology has grown up. To wit: The candidate selects a chair only to realize that it was intended for the panel chairman (a test of poise). He is offered a cigarette and discovers too late no ash tray has been provided (more poise). Or for the female applicant, the not-so in-

nocent question, "Do you plan to get married?" (A no-win answer in the days before Women's Lib struck USIA.)

Those who have undergone the oral—like the catharsis of soldiers relating a battle—relive it with their colleagues, recalling the questions particularly heinous and/or trifling: name the cities you would pass traveling down the Mississippi. In what years did the United States acquire Hawaii, Texas, and the Virgin Islands? (Said to a Far Eastern expert), trace the history of the Levant.

If at this point you can say it sounds like your oral, you've dated yourself. Relevancy—the watch word of campus reform—has reshaped the oral for both State Department and USIA within the last two years. Even though the one and a half hour exam is necessarily rigorous, it is not designed to be a stress situation nor are there obscure factual questions requiring the mind of a Charles Van Doren and/or his friends.

In fact, the climate has warmed, questions have broadened out, and the candidate is judged for his analytical and creative abilities and for his organization and presentation of material as much as for his substantive knowledge. As much as possible, the examination is geared

to the individual applicant with questions reflecting his area of speciality and his interests.

Applicants in USIA occasionally bring in whatever they feel will further their own candidacy. A kind of show and tell then ensues. In Chicago, a young public relations man had his portfolio showing a campaign he had designed for Bell Telephone Co. A student at Simmons College in Boston had with her a dummy of an AMERICA ILLUSTRATED she had done entirely on her own incentive. In Los Angeles, an anthropology major and author of a book on snakes showed us a photo of his pet python. A 22-year-old senior from Kalamazoo shyly presented the Panel chairman with the official letter telling of her recent election to Phi Beta Kappa. Another applicant had with her the material she used in a publicity campaign to promote the student union on her campus.

Nor is the exam without its lighter moments. One day in Denver we felt as if we were second guessing "What's My Line." Our "contestant," a plumpish college drama instructor with a blond, almost white, beard, "signed in" as Santa Claus. Outside the school year, he summers as Santa Claus in Santa's Village, in Colorado. He was well into his part. His discussion of contemporary American theatre was punctuated with chuckles and infectious laughter. We on the panel, again contrary to the popular mythology, do smile, engage in small talk and repartee, and hope that the candidate, whether successful or not, will leave with a feeling that he has been given a fair shake from a non-square trio of competent Foreign Service officers. As a fellow examiner said this may be their one and only contact with the Foreign Service and it should be a good one.

If there are two single attributes that characterize this year's 261 USIA candidates, they are diversity and intelligence. They represent a variety of backgrounds, education, community and job experiences, and creative and leadership capacities. And they are smart! That is assured by the written exam that is still reputed to be the most difficult examination on the graduate level bar none, even the law graduate

records! Beginning in 1964, USIA applicants began taking the same written exam as State Department candidates. Administered by that grande dame of testing services, the Education Testing Services (ETS) of Princeton, New Jersey, the exam puts the candidates through a wringer of an eight hour day, testing their general ability, English expression, and general background. So this past December 6 at 8:30 a.m. in 294 cities throughout the United States over 6,000 applicants—the largest number yet including the 1271 opting for USIA—were assembled. At the given instruction, they broke open the seal on their 67-page exam booklet and, as fast as hand and brain could go, began blackening in the appropriate box on the answer sheet.

The basic format of the test has undergone some changes since it was first introduced. Knowledge of a foreign language was once an integral part of the exam, then made optional, and finally discontinued in 1963. Ten years ago and lasting until the 1967 exam the candidate was also examined in one of three areas—history and government, business administration, or economics. This too has been discontinued, but this past year, the candidate specified his preference for one of the four functional specialties within State or, of course, for USIA and came before that particular oral panel.

For USIA, the requirement of having officers well grounded in Americana has meant inclusion of test questions reflecting the American experience and culture as well as sensitivity to foreign cultures. Just how well the written exam, the first of this two-step procedure, winnows out the "right" candidates for serious consideration by USIA is currently under review.

Our oral panel's experience in Chicago last July does exemplify, however, the kinds of people interested in a career working overseas in public relations for the US government. In Chicago we saw 30 candidates. Half of the 30 were women. Interestingly enough, nearly half of the 1271 initial USIA applicants—556—were female, and their pass rate on the written was somewhat higher than that for the men.

(of the women 199 passed, 35.7 percent, and 220 men or 31.8 percent. Twenty-four applicants did not identify their sex.)

The 30 came from a range of mid-western universities from the Big Ten (University of Illinois, Michigan State, University of Michigan, and the University of Minnesota) to smaller, independent colleges such as Dennison, Wabash, Earlham, and Macalester. Of the 30, 16 were attending graduate school or had already earned graduate degrees, generally on the Master's level. Of this group, the universities of Iowa, Illinois, Hawaii, and Minnesota, and Ohio and Drake University were represented. (Overall, about 44 percent of the entire group of 431 who passed the written have graduate degrees or are in graduate study.)

Thirty candidates including a compiler of folk-tales and lore of "small" countries, an ex-telephone sales representative now free lancing and working on a script—"blood, gore, and sex"—for a low budget movie, two former Peace Corps volunteers who have served in Brazil and the Philippines respectively, a reporter on a Rochester, N.Y. daily, and an ex-missionary who is now sales manager for a national paint and wall paper concern.

Seniors whose college years have spanned the critical years of increased militancy in the civil rights movement, the surge of black power, disenchantment with Vietnam, frustration with domestic institutions. They have flirted with alternatives to the system and have resolved to work for reform within it. They have explored their own environment, generally through work with the disadvantaged, and that beyond. For many, junior year has been spent at a foreign university—the University of the Andes in Colombia, University of Ghana, for example—or semesters spent in Spain, Germany, Austria, or Guatemala. For at least one, his "appetite for things foreign," he explained, had been whetted by four years of travel with the Navy.

For many, although awareness of USIA was by chance, a friend or friend of a friend, or the college

(Continued on page 29)

Brinkmanship in the Free Territory of Trieste

AT midnight on September 15, 1947, the Italian Peace Treaty was scheduled to come into force. My wife and I were giving a dinner in Trieste for a group of Congressmen, among whom was a young man from Southern California named Richard M. Nixon. As the soup was being served, the aide to British Major General Terence Airey, Military Governor of Zone A of the Free Territory of Trieste, and on whose staff I was the American Political Adviser, came to the table. In great agitation he said that General Airey wanted to see me at once at his residence at Duino Castle, about twelve miles from the City of Trieste.

I raced along the winding corniche road, tires screaming on the curves. Upon my arrival, the General handed me the English translation of a communication he had received an hour before in Serbo-Croat from the Yugoslav lieutenant general who commanded the 80,000 Yugoslav troops that surrounded Zone A, in which 5,000 British and 5,000 American troops were stationed. The terse Yugoslav message said that after midnight "in accordance with the terms of the Italian Peace Treaty" units of the Yugoslav Army would enter Zone A and take up positions in the city of Trieste.

This was obviously a Yugoslav attempt to take the city of Trieste by force or the threat of force. This would "solve" the dangerous and complicated Trieste situation in Yugoslavia's favor, in defiance of the Italian Peace Treaty and the United Nations, under the auspices of which the Free Territory of Trieste was being held in trust pending a negotiated solution.

Moscow had not yet broken with Belgrade and Tito and Stalin were allies. Were the Yugoslavs bluffing?

ROBERT P. JOYCE

Robert P. Joyce entered the Foreign Service in 1928 and served at Shanghai, La Paz, Panama, Belgrade, Bogota, Habana, Trieste, Paris, Rio and Genoa. He was appointed acting director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research in 1958 and retired from the Foreign Service in 1963. Copyright © Jack K. McFall.

Did they have the support of Moscow for this dangerous exercise in brinkmanship? General Airey said he could not assume the sole responsibility for starting World War III over the Trieste issue. He, therefore, was seeking the official counsel of his British and American political advisers.

If the Yugoslavs attempted to force their way in at midnight, should General Airey order the 10,000 American and British troops to resist? Should the British and American naval units in Trieste harbor open fire on the Yugoslavs?

The intelligence officer present reported that the Communist apparatus in Trieste was passing out arms to its activists, with orders to support the Yugoslav entry and take over. Would the Italian Communists in Trieste support the large group of Slovene Communist militants? The Italian Communist Party was, of course, Moscow-controlled. The city of Trieste was overwhelmingly Italian in population and its final political disposition was a burning political and emotional issue in Italy. It was then eight o'clock, so we had four hours before the Yugoslavs would make their move.

My British colleague and I told Military Governor Airey that we could not, of course, advise him to fire on the Yugoslavs should they attempt to force their way in nor could we counsel him to permit their entry unopposed, without reference to London and Washington for instructions. Urgent telephone calls were put in to the Foreign Office and the Department of State. At about nine o'clock the Foreign Office replied that Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin had been reached at his home and His Majesty's Government's instructions to General Airey were to resist by force of arms any Yugoslav attempted entry.

I could not get through to Washington, so called American Ambassador James C. Dunn in Rome, read him the Yugoslav ultimatum and asked him urgently to telephone it to Washington and obtain instructions for me as soon as possible, as time was obviously of the essence.

In the meantime, of course, military orders had gone out to the Anglo-American ground and naval forces that were deploying for possible military action. Emergency plans for the security of the civilian population were put into effect and the efficient Venetian Giulia police force, under the command of a British (Scotland Yard) colonel, was alerted to control Communist-inspired armed rioting in the city of Trieste.

An American destroyer was alerted to evacuate from the city and into the outer harbor the American congressional group. These preparations for possible military action were naturally observed and reported back by Yugoslav and Italian Communist agents in Trieste to Belgrade, Communist headquarters in

(Continued on page 28)

For 15,000 francs and a trophy, six teams set out to drive from New York to Paris via Alaska—and this in the early part of the century.

Around the World in a Motor Car (1908-9)

Author's Preface

IT was my lot to be born at the turn of the century, and I grew up with the automobile and the aeroplane. As a small boy in New York, I used to sit on a bench in Central Park and count the "autos" as they went by, fascinated by the horseless carriage and longing to ride in one some day. The wish was soon granted, when I was taken for a ride by my uncle in a Brasier touring car—a late importation from France. It was a memorable day, for the right front wheel came off at the top of a hill and rolled down ahead of us, while we ended up in a ditch—fortunately none the worse for the added excitement.

Like many of my school mates, I became an addict of the early races, whiling away dull moments in class with dreams of driving for the Vanderbilt Cup, and filling my lesson books with marginal drawings of racers at top speed—what is more, animating them like a primitive movie cartoon by flipping the pages in rapid succession. I collected cigarette coupons showing famous drivers, I followed the races, read avidly everything about the sport, and imagined I would grow up to be a Barney Oldfield. I had some sober second thoughts when I saw Carl Linberg killed in a spectacular multiple crash at Sheepshead Bay in 1915.

Today, one cannot help observing the widespread interest on both sides of the Atlantic in veteran and vintage cars, the many rallies for antique models of a distant—maybe happier—past, the boom in literature about the great cars of another day. Clubs and associations, magazines and books keep alive the nostalgic memories—not only keep alive but stimulate what appears to be an ever-growing hobby among young and old. Toys and scale-models of famous makes that are made no more—like the Stutz Bearcat or the Mercer Raceabout—decorate the desks of fans, and for those who can afford it actual replicas of original cars are being built.

It is a far cry from the first open chassis racing models to the powerful streamlined racers of today, and there is no comparison between the early road records and the speeds now regularly attained at Indianapolis or Le Mans. There is, in fact, a whale of a difference between the fabulous

HENRY S. VILLARD

Pursuing a long-standing interest in automobiles (which used to find expression in an annual article in the JOURNAL on the new models), Ambassador Villard is completing a book, entitled "The Great Road Races 1894-1914," to be published by Arthur Barker, Ltd. of London some time this year. It will carry several pages of photos of the early cars as well as the story of the first races.

road races of the early 20th century and the supervised speedway contests of modern times. This book is written in the belief that not enough justice has been done to the former in most current histories of racing. It is usual to find, in books on the subject, a chapter or two at most on the classic races before World War I, the balance of the volume devoted to the track contests where speeds have been progressively stepped up.

There has been no attempt herein to include the story of the speedway; nor is this work designed to be a technical description of early cars, the details of their construction, or their individual racing records.

It is, on the other hand, an attempt to bring together between two covers the highlights of those great days when the automobile set out to prove itself on the readiest available race-course—the open highway. If in doing so, the author has in some measure succeeded in capturing the spirit of the times, he will feel amply rewarded.

IN the rainy autumn of 1907 French manufacturers were a despondent lot. Their country—instead of retaining supremacy—had suffered stinging defeats in the realm of road racing. Not only had Borghese's Itala carried off the honours in the most lavishly publicized event of the year, but the Grand Prix and the Kaiserpreis had gone to Nazarro's Fiat. French sales to Italy had dropped accordingly. In the German Emperor's race, the best effort of the French was for Rougier to place



Scene at the Start, Times Square, New York

thirteenth on a De Dietrich; ahead of him were a Pipe, five German cars (including two Opels), two more Fiats, two Italas, and one Isotta-Fraschini. French exports to Germany were also affected. On top of these reverses, a panic on the New York stock exchange spread to Europe; banks everywhere failed; the outlook for the motor mart was particularly dim.

What was to be done? A group of industrialists put their heads together and discussed the situation with the editors of *Le Matin*; little did they realize they were plotting the enthronement of still another foreign make. If four out of five cars had overcome untold difficulties in a race between Peking and Paris, why couldn't an even more challenging contest be arranged, wherein France would regain her lost honor? Circulation—and car sales—had always soared in the wake of a great race. Before public enthusiasm had a chance to cool, the newspaper launched the most sensational project yet—a race around the world. *Le Matin* offered fifteen thousand francs and a trophy in the form of a bronze globe standing on a marble base five feet high and topped by a model of a 1902 Napier. For the *Coupe du Monde*, the competitors would have to drive from New York to Paris via Alaska, and the course was traced on the globe in silver thread. the New York TIMES agreed to act as co-sponsor: President "Teddy" Roosevelt had just sent a "Great White Fleet" of battleships on a cruise around the world, to prove the emergence of the United States as a power to be reckoned with, and an automobile race of like dimension was sure to capture the public imagination.

The plan called for the cars to strike northwest from New York to Buffalo, crossing the continent by way of Chicago, Omaha, Cheyenne, Reno, the Mojave desert, Santa Barbara, and San Jose to San Francisco; thence proceeding by steamer to the port of Valdez in Alaska, where the race would be resumed—presumably over passable roads—to Fairbanks; then down the frozen Yukon

River to Kaltag, and thence to Nome and Bering Strait—which would be traversed either on the ice or by ship to Siberia. From there, much of the trail blazed by the Peking to Paris pioneers would be followed. The distance to be covered was roughly twenty-two thousand miles, and the start was fixed for February 12, 1908—an unseasonable time for motor racing to say the least. The date caused much criticism in both the American and European press, but was made necessary in order to be sure of finding an icy surface on the Yukon. At that, it courted an American winter which proved to be the worst in ten years; skeptics foresaw a quick end to the race not far out of New York.

This was not the first time that circumnavigation of the globe by car had been planned. In April 1902 a German named E. E. Lehweß, brought up in France and naturalized as an Englishman, set out from London's Hyde Park Corner with Max Cudell, a future German constructor, to drive a 24-hp Panhard—hopefully christened the *Passe-Partout*—around the world. Their projected route was through Le Havre, Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Warsaw, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kazan, Irkutsk, Peking, Vladivostok, across the Pacific by ship to San Francisco via Japan and Hawaii, thence to New Orleans, St. Louis, Chicago, Buffalo, and New York. But theirs was an expedition, not a race, and the Panhard when loaded looked more like a prairie schooner than an automobile. Progress was understandably slow; and in February 1903, the adventurers renounced the attempt at Nizhni-Novgorod—whether because of the warmth of Russian hospitality or the cold of the steppes was never known.

Nor was it the first time that a car would be driven across America; in 1903 three cars separately made the journey, the best showing being that of Tom Fetch who, with Marius Krarup, a writer for *THE AUTOMOBILE*, spanned the continent in 61 days on a one-cylinder

Packard that became known as "Old Pacific." But he had not chosen winter to do so.

More than a dozen entries were received for *Le Matin's* globe-girdler, but by starting day the number of cars had been reduced to six. Missing from the line-up were specimens of the Itala and the Fiat, the Mercedes and the Benz, all on the ascendancy in Europe; but the vehicles that assembled in Times Square that frosty February morning were a fair sampling from France, Germany, Italy, and the United States. Much work had gone into preparing the foreign entrants for the rigors ahead, and two of them were driven by veterans of the Peking-Paris "raid." But the American machine had been entered at the last moment.

It was no surprise that a 30-hp De Dion-Bouton should head the three-car team of France. G. Bourcier St. Chaffray, a slight, aristocratic man who also represented *Le Matin*, was in charge; he was accompanied by a good-natured, fur-capped mechanic named Autran, and a Norwegian explorer with a fierce upturned moustache—Captain Hans Hendrik Hansen, who had taken part in the search for the Swedish balloonist Major Andrée, lost on his attempt to reach the North Pole by air. Hansen's other qualifications, however, did not include the ability to drive a motor car.

The second French car was a 30-hp Motobloc, built in Bordeaux by the constructor-inventor Julian Bloc, who was in the crowd to witness the start. The Motobloc bore a reputation for excellence and for quiet operation, perhaps because the flywheel was positioned in the centre of the crankshaft, supported by a main bearing on either side, which minimized torsional vibration. As driver, the company had engaged the irrepressible Charles Godard of Spyker fame, whose experience in the Peking race, it was thought, would be invaluable. Godard's mechanic was Arthur Hue, who had the bad luck to injure his hand cranking up the car for the race; another passenger was Maurice Livier, a 19-year-old motion picture operator, the youngest of the venturesome group.

Third to carry the French colors was a sporty little one-cylinder Sizaire-Naudin, of only 12 horsepower. Built by Georges and Maurice Sizaire in partnership with the Naudin brothers, it was based on the standard De Dion model with, however, several original features; for the last two years it had been making a name for itself in all the *voiturette* races. The Sizaire-Naudin was manned by Auguste Pons, driver of the ill-fated Contal in Peking-Paris, and still an undaunted believer in light vehicles. He had with him two other Frenchmen, Maurice Berthe and Lucien Deschamps.

The German contender was a 35-hp, four-cylinder, shaft-driven Protos, 1908 model, built in Berlin to exacting Prussian standards by the Protos-Motorenbau (originally the Motorenfabrik Protos). Pioneered as early as 1898 by Dr. Alfred Sternberg, the Protos had gradually developed into a robust, stable vehicle which, while not especially successful in the Kaiserpreis type of road racing, was beginning to give a good account of itself as a family touring car selling for 14,500 marks. The chassis weighed 1,000 kilograms; loaded, the car tipped the scales at 2,700 kilograms and was rated as capable of 85 km per hour. It was piloted by First Lieutenant Hans Koeppen, on leave from the German General Staff, who

acted also as correspondent for the *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag* and who was to write a book about his experiences, *Im Auto um die Welt*. In leather coat, with a short military moustache, Koeppen cut a handsome figure, but he barely knew the rudiments of driving. Riding with him were two factory engineers, Hans Knappe and Ernst Maas.

From Italy came a 40-hp four-cylinder Züst, built along lines that resembled the Fiat. Its Swiss designer had developed a business in hydroelectric machinery and machine tools in Milan and Brescia, and in 1906 had begun making motor cars under the appellation "Brixia-Züst." Giulio Sirtori was the driver, aided by a small, active mechanic named Henri Haaga; to complete the crew was Antonio Scarfoglio, youthful correspondent for Italian and British newspapers, the moving spirit of the party. When backers withdrew their support later on, Scarfoglio was to keep the Züst's wheels turning by the sale of postcards, and a year later he would publish a book about his experiences, "Round the World in a Motor Car."

America was not represented in the race until a few days before the event. A White Steamer and a Maxwell had dropped out; then Edwin Ross Thomas, builder of the Thomas Flyer, reversed a previous decision and put one of his 60-hp four-cylinder 1907 models into the contest. It was a standard roadster, without top or windshield. At the wheel was the boyish-looking, 25-year-old Montague Roberts, racing driver and car demonstrator; George Schuster, who had been with the Thomas factory since 1902, was signed on as mechanic. An extra seat mounted at the rear was occupied by T. Walter Williams, an experienced British-born reporter for

The American entry, the Thomas Flyer





Ladies of Valdez, Alaska

the New York TIMES. Other modifications to the sturdy gray Flyer, then selling for four thousand dollars, included an overhead frame on which canvas could be stretched, three searchlights, wooden planks carried on the mudguards, and storage lockers; as in the case of the other cars, an assortment of shovels, picks, axes, and ropes was stowed aboard.

Fifty thousand people packed the intersection of 43rd Street, Seventh Avenue, and Broadway to watch the send-off, and two hundred thousand more stood nearby or took in the scene from windows or rooftops. It was Lincoln's Birthday—a holiday—and New Yorkers

Italy's entry, a Züst



wouldn't have missed the show for anything. America's love affair with the automobile was just beginning to bloom; a song from the first Ziegfeld Follies, "I Think I Oughtn't to Auto Any More" paid saucy tribute to the industry, and half a dozen more tunes—including one entitled "Auto Race"—were to come out in 1908.

The Kaiser himself had sent best wishes to the German team, and boisterous goodbyes had been accorded all the contestants. Each car flew a big American flag in addition to its own pennant; bands blared the national anthem of each country represented, the din of klaxons filled the air, and confetti fell in showers. At the crack of a gold pistol fired by Colgate Hoyt, president of the Automobile Club, the machines began rumbling along Broadway, led by the diminutive Sizaire-Naudin. As they moved up the Hudson, they encountered the first ravages of winter.

Snow had fallen and an icy undercoat covered the road; for the first time in history, chains were used on tires. At storm-stricken Poughkeepsie an ovation awaited the hooded and goggled figures, most of them bundled in furs. At Schenectady a blizzard had blotted out the way; the inhabitants, amazed at the hardihood of the drivers, laid coloured streamers and guided them through the drifts. The going was better on the tow path of the Erie Canal, swept bare by the freezing wind; elsewhere the roads were undiscernible and it was necessary to steer by the line of trees on either side. Shovels were in constant use; the cars took turns charging huge drifts, while at times the only way to travel was on the railway tracks—which had been authorized under the rules.

Before the New York State border was reached, the Sizaire-Naudin dropped out with a damaged differential and Pons was forced to admit that only a heavy car could cope with the terrible conditions. At Chicago, 1,403 miles from the start—the Thomas was ahead; it had taken 13 days, 6 hrs. 10 mins. to plow through America's main highway. Near Cedar Rapids in Iowa, Godard's Motobloc, beset by mechanical difficulties, gave up the struggle. At Omaha, Captain Hans Hanson, who had broken with the temperamental leader of the De Dion crew, switched sides; he joined the Thomas after persuading the company that he could be helpful as a navigator if not as a driver. At Cheyenne, "Monty" Roberts—previously committed to race on the East Coast—surrendered the wheel of the Thomas to a local dealer, Linn Mathewson, who in turn was followed by Harold Brinker. The Protos, which had taken on a German army veteran named O. W. Schneider as driver, was mired in Wyoming mud.

Forty-one days and 3,836 miles after the start—eleven days ahead of its nearest competitor, the Züst—the Thomas entered San Francisco. The De Dion was thirteen days behind. At this point George Schuster was made driver and captain of the Flyer, George Miller from the factory was taken on as mechanic, and George MacAdam replaced Williams as correspondent for the TIMES. They lost no time taking ship for Seattle and thence to Valdez. But on arrival in Alaska, it was obvious that only a dogsled could get through to the Yukon, and that the river, while frozen, would provide an uneven, and highly impractical, route. The organizers of the race had second thoughts: a telegram ordered the

(Continued on page 26)



Controlling Nukes

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION: *Prospects for Control*, edited by Bennet Boskey and Mason Willrich. Dunellen, \$7.50.

ALTHOUGH some of the material in this collection of articles has been out-distanced by events since its compilation last year, the book will certainly be a very useful reference work for some time to come. Covering virtually all aspects of the Non-Proliferation Treaty—political, military, and those related to peaceful nuclear uses—it should be of particular value to posts where the treaty is an active subject. This of course means not only countries which have not signed or ratified the treaty but also those where there are problems involved in negotiating the international safeguards agreements which the treaty calls for.

About half the contributors to "Nuclear Proliferation" are alumni of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, beginning with Adrian S. Fisher, the agency's former deputy director. Commenting on the usefulness of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in terms of world security, Fisher observes: "The test of whether the treaty has performed its functions is not limited to whether all potential nuclear weapon states become parties. To the extent that the treaty creates a climate in which a state does not sign for one of a number of reasons but, nevertheless, decides not to develop nuclear weapons, the treaty has fulfilled most of its functions."

—RALPH STUART SMITH

For China Hands

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF REPUBLICAN CHINA, (4 volumes), edited by Richard L. Boorman. Columbia University Press.

COLUMBIA University's School of International Studies (aided by a generous Ford grant) has just released the fourth and final volume

of their biographic study on important Chinese in the life of Republican China, 1911-49. The volumes contain articles on 600 prominent Chinese, many of whom are living either on the mainland or on Taiwan. The four volume reference work caps a 10 year research effort by over 75 scholars with a staff of 15 experts and four senior editors with long experience in Chinese affairs.

The individual articles are models for future biographic studies and should serve to stimulate much-needed research on 20th century China (in the same way as Arthur Hummel's extraordinary biography did for the Ch'ing Period). Many of the 75 contributors were experts on particular Chinese (Schram on Mao Tse-tung, O. Edmund Clubb on several of the "warlords" of the 1920s etc.), but all the articles were checked and cross checked by the staff and editors. Chinese characters are used and that traditional bugaboo for specialists and laymen alike—Chinese personal names, courtesy, literary Western and pen names are all indicated. The "Biographical Dictionary" is a most impressive achievement and an indication of and tribute to the high quality of Chinese studies in this country.

—EUGENE K. LAWSON

Uneconomic Counsel

THE COLLECTED WRITINGS OF JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES, *Volume I Indian Currency and Finance, Volume XV Activities 1906-1914 India and Cambridge, and Volume XVI Activities 1914-1919 The Treasury and Versailles*. St. Martins Press, \$9.50 per volume.

THE stringencies of our philistine travel regulations effectively discourage Service personnel from buying large numbers of books or owning their own library overseas, so there is little point here in urging

JOURNAL readers on active service to buy the "Oxford English Dictionary" in 13 volumes for \$300, "The Papers of Benjamin Franklin" in 40 volumes, or "The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes" in 24 volumes. But the matter might look different after retirement. Room can then be found for such extravagances in the New England farm houses or Arizona ranches favored by better-situated retirees. And the more generous pension scales of the new era even make an occasional indulgence in purchases of this kind acceptable for bookish enthusiasts who have graduated from the READER'S DIGEST condensations or the Book of the Month Club selections so much in evidence at the annual AAFSW October book sale.

So the recommendation today is that thought be given to the purchase, now or later, of the three volumes just issued of the works of the great British economist, essayist, and patron of arts. If much of the material is of little current concern, all of it is of interest for the picture it gives us of a man of great intellect at work in the upper echelons of the British civil service. And even if some of this still seems slow going, readers who are familiar with Harrod's biography of Keynes or who know of Keynes's role in the Bloomsbury circle can be sure that successive volumes in this attractive set will be worth owning.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

Power from a Gun Barrel

WARLORD POLITICS, by Lucian W. Pye. Praeger, \$10.00.

WITH the fall of the House of Ch'ing in 1911 and the end of two millennia of imperial rule, the Chinese began their quest for a modern political system. Their search has passed through three stages: the warlord years (1911-1927); the Kuomintang interregnum of Chiang Kai-shek (1928-1949); and since 1949 the era of Mao Tse-tung.

During the warlord phase, as provincial military factions competed for power in the new republic, chaos reigned as "The Old Marshal," "The Young Marshal," "The Christian General," "The Dog Meat General," "The Model Governor" and other worthies strove to be-

come the new authority of the nation. Most students of this epoch have seen it as one of political disintegration which retarded China's political modernization by several decades. Pye, however, finds in warlord politics the short-lived beginnings of open and competitive politics and a rational effort to develop a balance-of-power system based on military strength. The warlords' failure to provide a satisfactory system of competitive politics increased receptivity to one-party rule—found under the Nationalists and the Communists—and general disillusionment with pluralistic politics. Warlordism also demonstrated that in modern China political power is inseparable from military strength. As Chairman Mao has observed: "All political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

It is a paradox that, although Confucianism ranked soldiers near the bottom of the social scale, modern Chinese politics has revolved around armies and military chieftains. "In no country in the world have soldiers dominated pol-

itics as extensively or for so long as in China."

This brilliantly interpretative, meticulously documented, study of the warlords is timely indeed, for during the recent Cultural Revolution, when students and Red Guards seemed very powerful and when the Party and governmental structure was being rent asunder, it was the People's Liberation Army that served as the vital institution of rule and rose to its present dominant position in the Chinese polity. China's unhappy experience with the warlords, some China scholars fear, may be relieved if, upon Chairman Mao's demise or incapacitation, the nearly-inevitable succession crisis degenerates into a power struggle among regional power-holders, who are overwhelmingly military figures.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

Timely Reminder

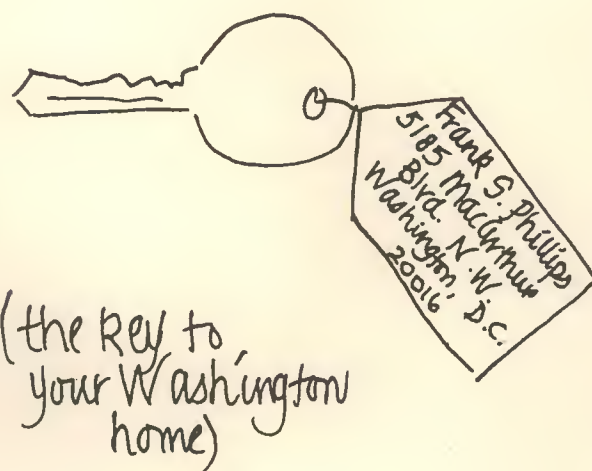
THE KENNEDY ROUND IN AMERICAN TRADE POLICY, by John W. Evans. Harvard U. Press, \$13.95.

JOHN W. EVANS, Chairman of the US delegation to the first meeting of

GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and Assistant Special Representative for Trade in the Executive Office of the President during both the Johnson and Nixon administrations, is the logical author of "The Kennedy Round in American Trade Policy." Mr. Evans' work includes a comprehensive analysis of the multilateral trading agreements that preceded the Kennedy Round.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was a series of five meetings that took place between 1947 and 1962. The target for the negotiators from 22 nations was the reconstruction of conditions under which multilateralism and non-discrimination could be restored to international economic relations.

In author Evans' view, earlier US tariff policy created the conditions leading to GATT in 1947. The notorious Smoot-Hawley tariff of 1930 accentuated the reduction of US imports that accompanied the depression. In bilateral negotiations with 27 countries in 1934 and 1935 these earlier excesses were corrected by an average tariff reduction of 49



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percent on 64 percent of all dutiable US imports. This achievement was not duplicated until 1947. At this, the first and outstanding round of the GATT negotiations, a 35 percent average reduction on 54 percent of all dutiable US imports was achieved. The fifth and final round, in 1961-62, was the Kennedy Round. While the results of the Kennedy Round were more modest it was also termed a success.

The euphoria produced by the successes of the Kennedy Round was short-lived. By 1967 the international climate had worsened, Mr. Evans states. Protectionism had again reared its ugly head. Dramatic changes had altered the international trade picture. The multinational corporation, representing a US investment abroad totalling 60 billion dollars in 1967, had arrived. Preferential trading blocs were another feature of the landscape. Genuine GATT commitments were being evaded by participating members. And, surcharges were being imposed by member countries to improve balance of payments positions. The structure and accomplish-

ment of GATT was in a state of erosion.

Author Evans is not optimistic about the outlook for international trade. In his words, "Only the United States and the European Economic Community have the strength to lead the world toward the revival of a genuine multilateral trading system. Of these, the EEC is unlikely to have the incentive for a long time and the United States is certain to have neither the will nor the power until it has conquered the causes of inflation and domestic strife."

—JAMES D. McHALE

Irregular Warfare Plus Politics

INSURGENCY, by Dr. Andrew M. Scott and Associates. University of North Carolina Press, \$6.00.

IN "Insurgency" Professor Scott and his five associates, two of them military men, have produced a structured examination of the political, sociological, psychological, economic, and military phenomenon known as insurgency, with emphasis on the latter aspect of the problem. Using tools from a number of disciplines, their approach

is through systems analysis rather than the more usual historical or personal view. Thus, "an insurgent movement is viewed as a system of inputs and outputs directed by controlled mechanisms."

Making use of frequent charts and tables, the authors develop the theme that "Insurgency is irregular warfare plus politics." They cite as the main types of such disturbances: Civil Insurgency, Anti-Colonial Insurgency, and Insurgency Against an Invading Army. Within this framework the preconditions for violence are summarized, the objectives reviewed, and the pertinent factors evaluated ranging from organization to population utilization. There are chapters devoted to such topics as the general model for an insurgency; inputs, outputs, and substitutability; the setting of violence; strategic considerations; and the special problems of counterinsurgent leaders.

In view of the technical nature and specialized character of the language, tables, and charts, the book will not appeal to all lay students. However, these very characteristics give it usefulness for persons teaching in military settings, and it is already being used in this context.

—RICHARD H. SANGER

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AROUND THE WORLD

continued from page 22

Thomas back to Seattle, there to proceed by sea to Siberia. In any case, the Protos team had balked at the prospect of more wintry conditions; their machine had thrown two connecting rods in Utah and Lieutenant Koeppen decided to ship it a thousand miles by rail to Seattle. It was a violation of the rules that would cost the Germans a 15-day penalty; the Americans, on the other hand, received a 15-day bonus for making the attempt at Alaska.

The Züst and the De Dion left for Japan on April 14, the Protos sailed direct for Vladivostok five days later, and the Thomas followed on April 21. Traveling across Japan with a guide, Schuster joined the others at muddy, rain-drenched Vladivostok on May 18. Here a bitterly disappointed St. Chaffray was instructed to withdraw the De Dion from the race—perhaps because the eccentric Marquis anticipated that what lay ahead would too closely parallel the firm's loss of face in the Peking-Paris "raid." It was bad news for the French industry. Halfway around the world, and hopes of glory retrieved were ended.

What followed was an incredible saga of adventure, international rivalry, unspeakable roads, mechanical breakdowns, human ingenuity—and endurance on the part of both men and machines. It was an opportunity of a lifetime for the journalists in the expedition, and they made the most of it. The American side of the story has only recently been recounted in Schuster's book, "The Longest Auto Race." The subject has also been treated in a Hollywood production, lampoon style, as "The Great Race."

Shortly after the contest was resumed on the Asian mainland, it resolved itself into a duel between the Americans and the Germans; first one, then the other was ahead, with the Italians trailing far behind. To start with, 20 miles out of Vladivostok, the Protos became deeply bogged in the mud, so that only the tops of its churning rear wheels were visible. Overtaking the German car, the Thomas stopped to lend a hand with a tow rope. It was a historic moment, later immortalized on canvas by the artist Peter Helck and photographed on the spot for the TIMES by MacAdam. In the spirit of a race where the contestants shared all the hardships, Lieutenant Koeppen produced a bottle of champagne to celebrate what he called "a gallant, comradely act."

Instead of following the Mongolian trade route used by their Peking-Paris predecessors, the cars took the northerly course through Manchuria into the Siberian vastness. There Felix Neuville, special emissary of *Le Matin*, had set up supply depots with the aid of sledges. But what passed for roads in brigand-infested Manchuria were so bad that the Thomas soon took to the ties of the Trans-Siberian Railway, as did the Protos. Bumping along, one tire after another on the Thomas wore out; precious hours were lost when the transmission broke, spilling oil from a six-inch crack in the transmission case. Schuster was compelled to entrain for Harbin to bring back spare parts—a delay that put the Protos six days ahead.

First into the Russian city of Chita on June 15, the Protos won a thousand dollar prize from the railway. The

Thomas arrived two days later; 40 pounds of Vaseline—the only available lubricant—went into its gearbox, subsequently replenished with tallow and axle grease. Driving hard in pursuit of the Protos, the Americans reached Lake Baikal on June 21 just in time to see their rival put aboard a ferry. A heart-rending wait of 12 hours for the next sailing ensued. At Irkutsk the racers were on the old Moscow caravan trail that led across the Gobi Desert from Peking; here Schuster repaired a broken motor support with a piece of boiler plate from the railroad shops.

The race was now neck and neck. Schuster and Miller alternated in driving for two whole days and nights; unable to understand directions in Russian, they lost their way more than once. On June 27 they rolled into Tomak just as the Protos was leaving; by July 1, when they entered Omsk—3,408 miles from Vladivostok—they had passed the German team. But now the Thomas was trapped in a bog and stripped its gears trying to get out. Schuster hurried back to Omsk in a horse and cart, where he spent two futile days searching for a new transmission sent out earlier by the factory; in the meanwhile Miller improvised repairs by inserting ordinary screws in the driving pinion. It was enough to carry them beyond Ekaterinburg, still ahead of the Protos, which was suffering from a damaged rear axle.

Then luck looked the other way. Two hundred and fifteen miles from Kazan, where the new transmission awaited them, the Thomas was completely stalled—the patched-up transmission had failed at last. The car was pulled into a village while Schuster again set out by horse transport to bring back the vital shipment; he made the round trip in four and a half days, spent another on the installation, and once more took off after the Protos. Koeppen however, now had a substantial lead, and was first into St. Petersburg, to be received by Czar Nicholas II and collect another thousand dollars offered by the Imperial Automobile Club of Russia. In a last-ditch effort to catch up with the fast-moving Protos, the Americans drove without respite over progressively better roads in Europe, fighting to stay awake, arranging makeshift repairs en route. But at 6:15 on the evening of July 26, 1908, the Germans made a triumphal entry into Paris—165 days out of New York.

Yet the victory belonged to America after all. Schuster and his crew arrived in front of *Le Matin's* office exactly five days later, the Züst bringing up the rear on September 17. Flying a huge Stars and Stripes, the Thomas met with an indescribable welcome; although the race committee did not make its official ruling till later, the penalty incurred by the Protos for having traveled by train in the United States, as well as the credit gained by the Thomas for having gone to Alaska, told the crowd who had really won. Champagne flowed freely and crowds on the boulevards, forgetting national prestige, cheered the Americans to the echo.

The Flyer stayed in France only five days, then was shipped home on the *S.S. Lorraine*. New York was ecstatic. Schuster and his crew were hailed as conquering heroes, and some prophetic words were spoken at a luncheon at the Automobile Club—that the American car was at last equal to a foreign machine, and that its victory marked the beginning of the end of European supremacy. ■

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TRIESTE

continued from page 18

Rome, and presumably, to Moscow.

All of us then sat down and had a sandwich and a drink. The British Political Adviser played Chopin and Bach on the piano. We waited. At about eleven o'clock the American Ambassador in Rome came through on the telephone. He said that he had spoken to the Department of State and my instructions were to advise General Airey to resist by force of arms, if necessary, any Yugoslav attempt to enter Zone A and take up positions in the city of Trieste.

General Airey immediately issued orders to the young American lieutenant at Block Post No. 2, on the road connecting Zone A with Yugoslav territory, to fire on the Yugoslavs if they attempted to force an entry. The lieutenant had eight men armed with carbines and one light machine gun. At about one o'clock in the morning a large Yugoslav mobile column, armed with tanks and artillery, clanked to a halt about

a hundred yards from Block Post No. 2.

A Yugoslav lieutenant colonel walked to the boundary post, met the American lieutenant and read from a piece of paper through an interpreter a statement similar to the one sent to General Airey earlier in the evening. He then told the lieutenant that he was going to order his column to advance through the block post and proceed down the road to Trieste about thirteen miles distant.

The American lieutenant replied that his orders were to fire on the Yugoslavs should they attempt to force their way through the block post. The Yugoslav officer made no reply. He returned to his unit obviously to report to his headquarters at the city of Ljubljana and request orders. About one hour later he returned and said to the American lieutenant that he would now order his column to advance through the single wooden pole across the road at the block post. The American lieutenant replied that his orders had not changed and he then pro-

ceeded to deploy his eight men and one machine gun into firing position. The Yugoslav officer again withdrew to his unit. There was a wait of about forty minutes, then the mechanized column turned around and clanked off into the dark.

It was three o'clock in the morning. We all went to bed.

Many years later in Washington at a reception, I was introduced to the new Yugoslav Military Attaché. The name rung a bell. I asked a friend of mine from the Yugoslav Embassy if the new attaché was not the same officer who commanded the Yugoslav Army group of the North and who had signed a message addressed to the Military Governor of Zone A, Free Territory of Trieste, in the early evening of September 15, 1947. He said it was the same man. I replied that it was a short but interesting message which had caused me suddenly to leave a dinner party my wife and I were giving that night in Trieste.

"I know," he said, with a faint smile, "but times have changed, is it not so?" ■

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REPORT ON BEX

continued from page 17

placement office, foreign travel has provided their awakening to America and its role and image in the world. One applicant wrote in his autobiographical statement (a statement required of all candidates) "... (on my European trip) I began to understand the US . . . to dig the Constitution . . . to have a personal and national identity . . ." Another ex-Peace Corps volunteer said, "In Brazil I was often amazed and frustrated by the amount of misinformation that exists concerning the US, the life there and US relations with Brazil and other countries. . ."

Wrote another, "I am concerned that my country seems to be losing favor in the eyes of people around the world who were always our friends and allies. I am concerned when foreign governments and the foreign press . . . condemn the US for its actions and policies."

Concern and belief in the United States coupled with a strong desire to travel and know other cultures

are prime factors for their wanting to join USIA. Few, however, see USIA as simply offering a free ticket to see the world and exotic places. For the majority, it is implicit, when not explicit—though usually accompanied by a "please excuse the corniness" phrase—that USIA offers an opportunity to serve country, world, and one's fellow man.

Of the 30 we examined in Chicago, we would pass only seven. One of these was a reporter. Before she arrived for the oral, I read her autobiography. She began it, "I have always tried to lead an interesting life." How so, I query, and make a rapid check of her bio-data, a skier, rockclimber, flutist, editor of her university newspaper. A few minutes later, sitting around a table, I look at her, blonde and tan, radiating the all-American career-girl looks. Mentally I try to envision her in a USIA operation. Dealing with the local press? Easily. On the cocktail circuit? Definitely. And so on. So far so good. Glancing at her college transcripts, I am brought up short by an Eric Hoffer-ite remark

she is making, "Every tub should sit on its bottom." I ponder for a moment and then listen to the questions a fellow examiner is asking on American art and music. Placed in a hypothetical situation, helping the Cultural Affairs officer select a group of American prints for his office is an almost impossible task for the average candidate. Andrew Wyeth, Norman Rockwell, and "that soup can" artist (Andy Warhol, perhaps?) are the favorites and if we were to heed their advice they would paper our Embassies from London to Tokyo! This reporter who has interviewed Julia Child and Michael Tilson Thomas, omits—I note with relief—Rockwell and adds Winslow Homer, Rauschenberg, Pollack and Segal. On my note pad beside art, I write "barely adequate." As an after thought, I scribble "poised." On music, she was much stronger. A "good." And what about foreign affairs? Another "good," I note. And soon the exam is over, the decision made, and, hopefully, we have one more Foreign Service Information officer. ■

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Letter to AFSA's Chairman

Following the discussions we have had with the Director General, we have concluded that the AFSA Board should not elect as officers members holding jobs which are defined as "management official" under the Executive Order. To do so might jeopardize AFSA's status as an organization qualified to participate in the forthcoming representation elections in the foreign affairs agencies.

But, more importantly, we believe that AFSA's officers must be able to participate in *all* the Association's activities on both professional issues and employee-management questions. That was of course our intention when we agreed to have our names put forward as prospective officers. Clearly, however, persons such as ourselves, serving in jobs which are designated "management official," cannot take part in employee-management dealings during the time they occupy such positions.

We fully understand the dilemma the Board faces under these circumstances. Consequently, we wish to withdraw from consideration as potential officers of AFSA at this time and recommend that the Board elect other members who are not now oc-

cupying positions which may be defined as "management official."

R. T. DAVIES, MICHAEL T. F. PISTOR

COMMUNICATION RE:

American Overseas Investment

continued from page 10

in a country are not always the same. Too close identification can hurt overall American interests. And let's face it, beyond a certain point embassy officials are not qualified to advise on a course of action for the simple reason that their objectives and business's objectives and realities are different. To put it bluntly, it is relatively easy to advise a company to make an additional concession in a negotiation when one does not have the responsibility for raising the needed funds or for establishing an operation that is and will remain viable. In the ultimate the proposition brings up the question, "If I take your advice and it turns out to be costly, will you be willing to make good my loss?"

The most effective embassy advice I have heard is always a careful, objective and well-documented exposition of the country's position,

of the realities affecting the company as the embassy sees them; followed *always* by the comment, "I am not sure of your (Mr. Businessman's) realities, whether they will allow you to operate within the situation I have described—that must be your decision."

This form of advice, which is based on an understanding of the difference in the two roles, is impressive, and I believe effective.

While I reject Hart's approach to almost forced advising and almost forced "you better heed the advice," I think it is unfair to say the alternative is "laissez faire." There is a middle ground, and I think most negotiations go on on that ground. The improved quality of embassy advice, the increased professionalism of company personnel involved, the continued increase of dialogue between company and State Department personnel, are all factors that have made this middle ground more viable. And let's face it, Hart's article, and I hope this comment about it, are an effort to strengthen the middle ground. ■

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The JOURNAL welcomes the expression of its readers' opinions in the form of letters to the editor. All letters are subject to condensation if necessary.

Freedom of the Press?

YOUR inclusion of John Rothchild's article "Stories Reporters Don't Write," (issue of January 1972), was a public service. The author and the JOURNAL deserve our gratitude.

My heart bled for the scorned, maligned press prostitutes and the stubborn, anti-social attitudes of those who have come in contact with them. Imagine being denied entry into the nest merely because they fouled it. The inhumanity and callousness of the establishment in closing its gates to the Trojan horse which would destroy it. The brazen gall of the Vice President to turn his back on poor Jack Anderson after Jack provided so much free publicity.

STEPHEN DUNCAN-PETERS
New Delhi

Politicians and Diplomats

OTHER than his totally mistaken basic premise, there are useful elements in Mr. William Shinn, Jr.'s. "On Understanding Congress: The View From the Hill."

Mr. Shinn's basic premise is, and I quote: "However, what may be the most important single cause of friction has, to my knowledge, been overlooked. It is the simple fact that politicians and diplomats are quite different human beings."

I would submit that this is nonsense.

The Constitutional crisis that is now lurking in the wings or upon us has a very simple root cause—namely that the Congress in the realm of foreign affairs is not being provided the information it needs to

legislate intelligently. It is daily being misled, deceived or denied as anyone in H will tell you.

Then in addition to not being provided with basic information (read Senator Spong's dissent to the Report on the Foreign Aid bill), it is not provided any options. Often the options that are laid before the Congress in the area of foreign affairs and in other areas are—we need \$341 million for Cambodia and if you don't like it and don't give us this amount, we will veto the bill. This is slightly oversimplified but only slightly. Now everyone knows and particularly the Cambodian desk officer that \$341 million is an arbitrary figure with a probable 20 percent margin of error. But once the internal decisions are made, based on various options I am sure, the final choice is defended like virgins in centuries past reportedly defended their honor.

Someone has wisely commented that the difference between Congressional-Executive branch relations today as compared to the Vandenburg era is that during that earlier time Congress was in on the takeoff and landing—today the Executive branch wants Congress along on the ride so long as demands regarding take off and landing are minimal.

A third key factor in relationships between the two constitutionally equal branches is policy—pure and simple. Congressman Wayne Hays doesn't like the Department's Greece policy and no amount of human warmth is likely to change this. Same with Congressman Rooney and the ILO.

A fourth factor—minor but mentionable—is the speed with which the Department works.

Again, this is a relative matter but it is my feeling that the Department lags behind other Departments in terms of responsiveness particularly when legislation is on the floor or important Committee decisions are being made. Letters containing policy statements still arrive the day after the vote and often it seems that screams of rage only are capable of disrupting the internal ping pong match between the substantive officers and S/S in terms of getting a policy letter to the policy officials of the Department.

Related to this are the questions

of whether the policy levels of the Department ever knew the AID bill was going down and if not why not. On a tax bill, I assure you that the Treasury would know which way a bill is going and on important amendments let alone on the major bill, it would be my guess that the Secretary, Undersecretary and others would be on the phone.

Would it be fair to say that the Department that pioneered the flash system of communications with the rest of the world, still uses a carrier pigeon type system with the Congress?

But enough flailing at windmills, let's fudge it and comfort ourselves with the thought that it is all because we are "quite different human beings." But then isn't State trained to understand and work with foreigners?

KENNETH A. GUENTHER
FSO-5 resigned
U.S. Senate Staff

Washington

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Are there further salvos to be fired from either side?*

Locusts, Driver Ants and Furies

THE AFSA editorial of January 1972 is a difficult document to follow, in part because of its strident tone, and in part because it dissolves into a shower of rhetorical questions at several key points.

The central question is how to have the most precise possible matchup of officers and jobs at the senior levels of USIA. Here the best judgment of both management and the selection boards is needed, the selection boards to identify promotable officers, management to match men in those jobs where ability to function imaginatively in a different culture, creativity and timeliness in programing, and skills in executive ability and bringing out the best in a staff are a requisite.

A second question is: How can an organization realize the best possible matchup of officers and jobs at this senior level? Clearly this is a responsibility of the management of any organization, government agency, small or large business. If the management has traveled widely and consistently and knows both the jobs and most of the officers involved, the prospects for an equitable matchup are increased.

The process is in no sense arbi-

trary, however, because no one gets on the list of promotable officers at the 2 to 1 level unless a selection board of other career officers places him there. This prevents abuse of the merit system, nepotism, and the other cloud of locusts, driver ants, and furies raised in the AFSA editorial. How could sycophants and drumbeaters get on the list unless put there by the career service?

Finally, the AFSA editorial is silent on an important consideration, that if promotion from the 2 to 1 level comes only through rank order lists, such lists will obviously contain a number of officers for whom it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find assignments at the one level. And when the senior ranks are clogged in this manner, the prospects of brighter, younger officers advancing more quickly through the ranks lessens.

I was frankly disappointed in the AFSA editorial because AFSA at its best can be an advocate for freshness, openness and a heightened sense of professionalism in the foreign affairs community, something not evident in the January editorial.

FREDERICK QUINN

Washington

Marriage as a Career

THE recent spate of articles regarding the rights of Foreign Service wives has aroused considerable interest in our household.

After twenty years as the wife of a Foreign Service Career officer, I now find the life that seemed so challenging really has taken advantage of me. Little did I realize when asked to organize a dinner for some of the country's leading citizens that my rights as a free individual were being infringed upon. Somehow when asked to represent America and circulate at an Embassy function I didn't quite comprehend that I was being placed in a subservient position. When my husband asked my advice on how to improve binational relations, I was challenged and never thought that my free time was being used for his benefit, instead of my own personal pursuits.

Now, after 20 years, I find I have been given the right to accompany my husband to a strange city with no obligation to participate and no responsibility except to myself. Is that any way to run a marriage?

Since it is morale that is in question—is a wife who has been encouraged to feel that her worth as a partner is of no importance to her husband happier?

One of the nicest things about the Foreign Service overseas has been that those of us who chose marriage instead of a career have been able to have both. We have the cake of a home life and family, frosted with the excitement of meeting people whose ideas and actions shape events. Now we're told that "wives will no longer be expected, or able, to promote their husband's careers by their own efforts." It is not a career that is so important—it's a way of life. Women's Lib to the contrary, the chance to meet people, work with them and demonstrate that in America a wife is not just a hausfrau but a contributing partner to ideals they both share is what's important.

LORRAINE HANSON

Washington

HAVING criticized rather intemperately the first effort at defining the role of the Foreign Service wife, I should now like to compliment the authors of the new directive.

While I have no illusions that it solves all the problems, surely it is a step in the right direction.

JOHN C. AUSLAND

Deputy Chief of Mission

Oslo

Help on Communication

THE undersigned free-lance writer is preparing a "paper" on the current communication field in Western Europe.

Any help to obtain data on the above would be greatly appreciated.

HENRY L. KRONSTADT
4607 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Scaling the Pay

JOHN C. AUSLAND wrote (September, 1971) "the Department should pay wives salaries commensurate with their responsibilities" and the idea certainly has merit—providing, of course, the wives don't pad their responsibilities or put more emphasis on it than that which is due, i.e. are there wives that treat their personal social obligations as "official?"

But, if the Department should consider this possibility, then I suggest that they also must consider the possibility of paying secretaries extra salary when they are also their bosses' personal secretary as well as their private/official secretary—and while we're at it—more extra salary when the secretary is also the bosses' wives' personal secretary.

FRANCINE L. BOWMAN

Mexico, D.F.

Stagnation by Seniority

I AGREE with Ambassador Winthrop Brown (Washington Post 12/25/71) that the Foreign Service promotion and selection out system offers a better alternative than the stagnation promised by a seniority system of promotion. As one who worked for eight years under Civil Service at the Navy Department, I had the opportunity to observe at close range promotions, both under the Civil Service system as well as under the Navy's selection board system for naval officers. I believed that two of the practices carried out by the Navy with respect to its officer personnel (one that moved personnel fairly frequently from job to job, and one that made room for promotions by separating personnel) insured a sounder personnel system than any which depended largely on someone reaching 70 years of age (mandatory retirement under Civil Service) in order that each Civil Servant in line could move up one notch (if the job wasn't abolished first). This belief encouraged me in my pursuit of a career as a "regular" Foreign Service officer, although I realized that the Navy's officer promotion system differed substantially from the Foreign Service system.

Yes, there is an element of chance in the selection board system (ask anyone who's ever gotten a report card), and yes, there is an element of hardship for those selected out (ask those Civil Servants who have been "riffed" as well). I was aware of these when I signed on at State twelve years ago. Apparently some were not aware—or thought that selection out couldn't happen to them, or more recently they have become disenchanted with the system.

RICHARD F. KING

Falls Church



PARTICIPATION COMMITTEES

The new AFSA Board is convinced that AFSA can and must serve both as an effective employee organization and an equally effective professional organization. The Board is certain that in the last analysis success on both counts depends upon the involvement of AFSA members by the hundreds. The days when AFSA's affairs could be handled by a handful of dedicated members are gone. (See **Editorial**.)

The problem, of course, is how to achieve the kind of mass participation that is so vitally needed. The AFSA Board has decided that the best vehicle for achieving involvement is the already existing keyman network. The idea is to expand the keyman network tenfold by forming "Participation Committees" consisting of anywhere from half a dozen to 30 or 40 members in the Bureaus in State, AID and USIA. The overseas chapters will be linked to the Participation Committees of the state geographic Bureaus. The Participation Committees will serve (as the keymen did in the past) as channels of communication between the membership and the Board. In addition, the Participation Committees will be given important operational and substantive facts.

Item—to serve as an effective employee organization, AFSA must win the upcoming election for exclusive representation. The first order of business, therefore, is to mobilize all Foreign Service people for the election. The Board believes that a victory in this election by either AFGE or "no representation" would very likely mean the dissipation of the Foreign Service's uniqueness and its absorption into the Civil Service. This election is important! The Participation Committees and the overseas Chapters will be central in getting out the vote for AFSA.

Item—if AFSA wins the right to be the exclusive representative for all personnel subject to the Foreign Service Act of 1946, it will be negotiating on the most crucial issues of **your** career: Selection out, pay comparability, grievance procedures, promotion systems, and many others. The Participation Committees will develop AFSA positions on these vital subjects.

Item—there are many *ad hoc* substantive problems which come up requiring an AFSA position. The Participation Committees will be given responsibility for staffing such AFSA positions. The E Bureau Participation Committee is right now staffing AFSA's position on the Magnuson bill and preparing AFSA's testimony to the Congress in opposing this effort to take the commercial and economic function away from the State Department and give it to the Commerce Department. Other Bureaus are studying the significance of the changing FSO/FSR ratio, and the cone system.

Item—if AFSA wins the exclusive representation election each Participation Committee will be responsible in the first instance for the welfare and grievances of the people within its Bureau. Our past experience has shown that 90 percent of all "grievances" can be handled at the post or bureau level and the Participation Committees and Overseas Chapters will be doing this.

AFSA Vice Chairman Tom Boyatt is responsible for the overall Participation Committee organizational effort and is working with Art Lowry and Bob Pelletreau in the building process of State. Jack Tuohy and Bill Lenderking are setting up the Committees in USIA. Linda Lowenstein and Sam Thornburg are in charge in AID. The response from the membership to the Participation Commit-

tee concept has been enthusiastic. In succeeding months we will publish lists of all Participation Committees. Right now we are just beginning. There is much to be done. There is room for everyone. The next time you find yourself criticizing "them," stop! Join your local Participation Committee and do something about it. Contact the Chairman *ad interim* of your Participation Committee.

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Executive Order Committee

As pointed out in the lead editorial in last month's **Journal**, "The historical era of administration by benevolent—and sometimes arbitrary—paternalism is over." The promulgation on December 17, 1971 of Executive Order 11636 has established a whole new set of rules governing the conduct of employee-management relations in the foreign affairs agencies—State, AID, and USIA. Employees are for the first time to be given the opportunity to designate an employee organization to be their exclusive representative to deal with agency management relating to their conditions of employment. The Association has set exclusive recognition in each of the agencies as its goal and intends to campaign vigorously to achieve that end.

In an effort to move toward realization of this goal, an Executive Order Committee has been established under the Chairmanship of Rick Melton. The Committee operates under the guidance of a steering committee drawn from the Board of Directors and includes representatives of all three agencies covered by the Order. The Committee is being organized with special attention to the broad, over-arching nature of its special responsibilities. The Participation Committees now being established in each agency have been asked to designate a member to serve on the Executive Order Committee to ensure both that it is broadly representative and that information concerning its activities is fully and quickly disseminated.

The Committee has developed a preliminary work plan which defines specific objectives and tasks to be accomplished to ensure that the overall goal of success at the polls is attained. In laying out the work plan, it soon became apparent that none of the operating objectives which the Committee identified could be accomplished within the existing time constraints without the active participation and leadership of all elements of the AFSA organization and the membership at large. Some of the immediate objectives include: (1) Inscription of AFSA as an employee organization under the Executive Order; (2) Establishment of the broadest possible employee eligibility under the Order; (3) An increase in AFSA membership sufficient to ensure the required showing of interest in each of the foreign

affairs agencies; and (4) A fully informed and participating AFSA membership. Specific tasks have been assigned to ensure the accomplishment of these objectives. Agency "eligibility" lists are being carefully scrutinized; a plan is being prepared to contact all eligible employees; guidance on "unfair practices" under the Order is being developed for dissemination to all AFSA members; and formal links are being established between the Executive Order Committee and AFSA's standing committees and participation committees.

The Executive Order Committee can already report progress toward the achievement of some of its objectives. During the first weeks of February, committee members, together with representatives of other interested employee organizations, met informally with members of the Commission on Employee-Management Relations responsible for supervision of elections under the Order. The Committee has reviewed proposed rules and regulations prepared by the Commission as well as examining a proposed Procedural Guide for the conduct of elections under the Order. Informal AFSA comments have been submitted to the Commission on both of these documents, and the Committee is now in the process of preparing formal comments for submission to the Commission.

Clearly the most important work is still before us. The Executive Order Committee needs your help. If you are in Washington, join a Participation Committee; if you are already involved in the Participation Committee effort, be sure your committee is actively represented on the Executive Order Committee. If you are overseas, get in touch with your keyman or chapter head both for the latest information on progress under the Executive Order and details on how you can help to ensure that AFSA will play a full and active role in shaping the future of the Foreign Service. If we want change, we must work for it.

Awards Committee

Nominations for the Harriman, Herter and Rivkin awards for 1972 are being received by AFSA but more are needed. To give time for members of the foreign affairs agencies in the field to nominate their colleagues, the closing date for receipt of nominations has been changed to April 15.

By-Laws Revision Committee

The By-Laws Revision Committee is examining the Association's By-Laws and Certificate of Incorporation and will recommend amendments to the Board for presentation to the Active Membership under Article XI of the present By-Laws.

Among the issues to be studied are the following:

Membership—What role in the Association should be permitted to persons holding management official and confidential employee positions as defined in the Executive Order? Should retired Foreign Service personnel be eligible for Associate Membership?

Leadership—What should be the relationship among the Officers (who in the past have been senior officials holding honorific positions), the Board of Directors, and the voting Membership? How should interim vacancies in the Board of Directors be filled? Should the present at-large election of all Directors be changed? How can election procedures be improved? How much power on employee matters should devolve upon the employees within each foreign affairs agency?

Popular Participation — How much role should the membership have in Association policy-making once it has elected its leadership? Under what conditions should there be initiative or referendum on policy issues? How could the amendment process be improved?

Dates — Should the General Meeting date be set for the fall after the AFSA fiscal year ends? Election dates?

The Committee is chaired by Lars Hyde and thus far includes Nancy Rawls and David Shaw. Counselor to the Committee is Legal Committee member Terry Leitzell. The Committee welcomes suggestions which should be sent to AFSA.

Late Notes

AFSA/JFSOC/Task Force V proposal to put entering FSOs on per diem accepted . . . Oliver Task Force Report to House Civil Service Committee calls for incorporating Foreign Service into two new government wide personnel systems. AFSA Chapter established in Ottawa — Craig Johnstone, Pres.; Peter Higgins, Sec'y.

Staff Corps Advisory Committee (SCAC)

Members of the Staff Corps Advisory Committee met with the Director of Personnel, Robert Brewster, in late January. John Ivie in his new capacity as Staff Assistant to Mr. Brewster, was also present, and it was acknowledged that Mr. Ivie's appointment was in response to an earlier SCAC suggestion. The following problems were discussed:

—status of the Foreign Service retirement legislation to eliminate the ten year wait for Staff Corps to become eligible for Foreign Service retirement. Legislation is now pending in OMB and the SCAC will press OMB on this matter.

—persons serving several times on staff promotion panels. Mr. Brewster stated that one and possibly two persons had served three times and that four people had served twice but not in consecutive years.

—assignment of a Staff Officer to the Inspector's Team as promised in 1970 by Director General Burns. Mr. Brewster was not aware of such a commitment and the SCAC has provided him copies of the written agreement.

—difficulty in granting increased training for the Staff Corps as a result of the 5% personnel reduction and hiring freeze. With long standing vacancies it is difficult for the Department to schedule language, area and other training even though the FSI budget has allocated funds for this purpose. AFSA still feels that training should be provided regardless of staffing problems.

Women's Action Organization

The new president of the Women's Action Organization (WAO) of State/USIA/AID, Ms Dorothy Stansbury, was named on January 17 by WAO's newly elected Board of Directors. Ms Stansbury, now Chairman of the Wives Seminar at the Foreign Service Institute, has served as Cultural Affairs Officer in Bangkok, Tokyo and at two posts in France. She has been a member of WAO's Steering Committee for the past year.

The election of the new 18-member Board of Directors of WAO, completed January 1, was conducted throughout WAO's general membership. A fall membership drive in Washington and overseas had brought in over 400 new members and WAO present membership is over 680. An estimated 8% are men.

—the cuts that are being made on FSS positions in the Department. AFSA wants to be sure that Civil Service positions are reduced proportionately. The fact that RIF machinery takes up to one year to install may be one of the causes. But, the SCAC pointed out when Foreign Service staff personnel positions are reduced the incumbent often experiences downward mobility, whereas the civil servant and his or her professional status remain secure.

—promotion at the FSSO-5 level. Several SCAC members remarked that promotion to FSSO-4 is meaningless since conversion to FAS or FSO would still be at the FSO/FSRU-6 level. In fact it was felt that recent promotion by a FSSO panel might jeopardize chances for early promotion by FSO or FSRU boards. AFSA believes that Staff Officers who have been performing jobs two and three grades higher than their actual rank deserve conversion at better than junior officer levels. Furthermore, it was stated that 20 year tenure would seem to slow down the promotion rate even further.

—the problem of lateral entry oral examinations by BEX panels.

—the dual designation of certain positions as FSO and FAS.

Mr. Brewster informed the Committee that in line with an earlier AFSA suggestion the FSSO promotion list would be published as a supplement to the **Newsletter** for the first time. And it was!

Problems, Comments, Suggestions—please write AFSA/SCAC.

The newly elected Board has 6 representatives from each of the three foreign affairs agencies WAO represents. These new Board members are: from State, Barbara Good, Jeanie Harris, Murrow Morris, Jean Joyce, Barbara Schmidt, Dorothy Stansbury; from USIA, Dorothy Dillon, Elaine Fry, Helen Garbacz, Dorothy McRae, Diane Salisbury, Sara Walsley; from AID, Kay Bitterman, Annette Buckland, Viessa Jackson, Janice Lyon, Jean Pinder, Irene Walker.

A constitution and by-laws were approved by the general membership.

Three vice-presidents, one from each of the foreign affairs agencies, were designated by WAO's new president. They are: State, Jean Joyce; USIA, Dorothy Dillon and AID, Viessa Jackson.

Members Interests Committee

AID Prohibits Ship Travel: AFSA has lodged a vigorous protest against AID's unilateral action to prohibit all ship travel for American employees even when American flag vessels are available. The action was taken without consultation with employee representatives in violation of the spirit of Executive Order 11636 promulgated a few weeks earlier. AFSA will try to negotiate a reversal of this decision voluntarily now, but on a mandatory basis if necessary after the E.O. is implemented.

Families Are People Too: An AID employee was transferred directly between a post in southeast Asia and one in Latin America. He was given several months TDY enroute for a course at FSI in Washington. He was told that his family was authorized to travel directly to the next post. Family travel via Washington could only be at the employee's expense. Faced with a choice between several months separation from family or \$400 out of pocket, the employee chose to keep his family with him. AFSA has arranged to have AID reimburse the employee \$400, and has extracted a promise that AID won't indulge in this horrendous practice anymore.

Legislative Action

AFSA Board members will be testifying before several Congressional committees in the next several weeks. Board Chairman Bill Harrop will testify on February 18 before the Senate Commerce Committee in opposition to the Magnuson Bill provisions which would transfer commercial and economic activities from State to a separate Commercial Foreign Service under the Secretary of Commerce. AFSA Board Member Hank Cohen will testify on February 22 before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service for legislation to improve the Federal annual leave system. AFSA is pushing for liberalization of leave ceilings and will point out to the Committee the Foreign Service annual leave problems involved in long-term training assignments, the reduction in the personnel "float" and the growing practice of pressuring people to report for an assignment at a specific date or forfeit the assignment. AFSA has requested to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs Committees to testify on the State and USIA authorization bills.

Career Promotion System of US Information Agency

Mr. Pell. Mr. President, I have noted with concern that the Director of the United States Information Agency, Mr. Frank Shakespeare, has decided to make a basic and potentially far-reaching change in the career promotion system of the Agency. I believe I have a particular responsibility in this regard, too, in that I was the principal Senate sponsor of the legislation that established, in 1963, a career professional service for Foreign Service information officers. Hence, I believe I am particularly aware of the intent of Congress, an intent which would be violated by this proposed change. Moreover, having taken the lead in creating such a career merit promotion system, I have no intention of quietly acquiescing in any action that could lead to its dissolution.

The change proposed by the USIA Director, I believe, violates the basic principles that underlie the career merit system of the entire Federal service.

If other agencies should follow the example being set by the USIA—if other politically appointed agency heads decide they shall personally select career employees for promotion—the results could be disastrous to the entire concept of a professional, non-political Federal career service.

If the State Department should follow the USIA precedent, the permanent promotion of our career Foreign Service officers might well depend, not on their professional abilities, but on how closely their policy or even political views met those of a transient Secretary of State.

Or consider the Defense Department. If the Defense Department should follow the USIA precedent, the promotion of our top military career officers would be dependent, not on their professional military abilities as judged by their peers, but by their ability to please a Secretary of Defense.

Shall we have cold war "hard line" generals and admirals promoted by a "hard line" Defense Secretary, and "moderate" generals and admirals appointed by a "moderate" Defense Secretary? I do not think we would want to have the top military professionals of the Pentagon divided into two camps of generals and admirals—those with "Republican" promotions and those with "Democratic" promotions.

Neither do I think we want our

career Foreign Service information officers divided into groups of those holding "Republican" promotions and those holding "Democratic" promotions. In the career service there can only be one kind of promotion—a merit promotion. And I might add that I am happy indeed that neither the State Department, the Defense Department, nor any other agency, to my knowledge, has indicated an inclination to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Shakespeare.

I would like to examine briefly the change in promotion policy put forward by the USIA Director.

The professional career services of the Department of State and the USIA are based on the merit principle. Under a tried and tested system, members of each class of Foreign Service officer and US information officer are ranked for promotion by independent selection boards based on their performance.

Mr. Shakespeare has announced that he will not accept the rankings of the independent selection boards for promotion from class 2 to class 1 of the USIA career service. Instead, he proposed to select these career professionals for promotion on the basis of his personal preference from an alphabetical list of eligibles.

Congress, in establishing a career service for the Department of State and for the U.S. Information Agency, had very clearly in mind the fact that these professional officers continue to serve successive Secretaries, Directors, Presidents, and administrations.

It should be equally clear that personal selection of career officers for promotion on the basis of personal preference of the Director is not consistent with the basic reason for career service.

The inherent danger of politicizing the career service through such system is obvious.

Let me add that I do not question Mr. Shakespeare's motives. He has stated that he considers the change necessary for good management of an agency for which he is responsible. But I do not think Mr. Shakespeare realizes the full implications of his proposal. Regardless of whether it is his intent to politicize the career service, I believe the promotion policy he suggests would have that result.

After all, the Director, without personally selecting career officers for promotion, has a major role in promotions. He has au-

thority to make assignments of the men promoted; he has authority to order material placed in the personnel files of career officers, material that can be considered by the selection boards; he appoints the members of the selection boards; he drafts the precepts which guide the selection boards in making their recommendations, and he decides how many promotions shall be made. Surely this array of authority gives the Director more than enough power to ensure that promotions are indeed made on the basis of merit.

Mr. President, I believe that Congress stated clearly its intentions regarding the promotional system of the USIA career service. Indeed there is question whether Mr. Shakespeare's new FSIO promotion system meets legal requirements. I urge Mr. Shakespeare, in the interests of the important programs that he administers, and in the interests of a high quality career service, to reconsider his position.

As for myself, I cannot in good conscience support Senate approval of nominations for promotion to FSO-1 unless the nominees are selected in accordance with the basic principles and procedures of a career professional service based on merit.

DEATH

Thompson. Llewellyn E. Thompson, Ambassador to Moscow from 1957 to 1962 and again from 1967 to 1969 died in Washington, February 6. His distinguished career covered 40 years of dedicated assignment in the Foreign Service. He is survived by his wife, Jane M. Thompson, of 3915 Watson Place N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016.

In his eulogy delivered at the memorial service for Ambassador Thompson at the Washington Cathedral, Ambassador Charles E. (Chip) Bohlen said, "He contributed as much as any one diplomat could to the cause of peace in the world. . . . His career stands and will continue to stand as an inspiration and a model for all young diplomats. It provides convincing refutation to a thesis which has become fashionable today, namely that mass communications and rapid travel have rendered diplomacy in the old-fashioned sense obsolete. . . . His keen, analytical intelligence, his 'feel' for the other side's position, together with his tact and patience made him one of our most effective diplomats. . . ."

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