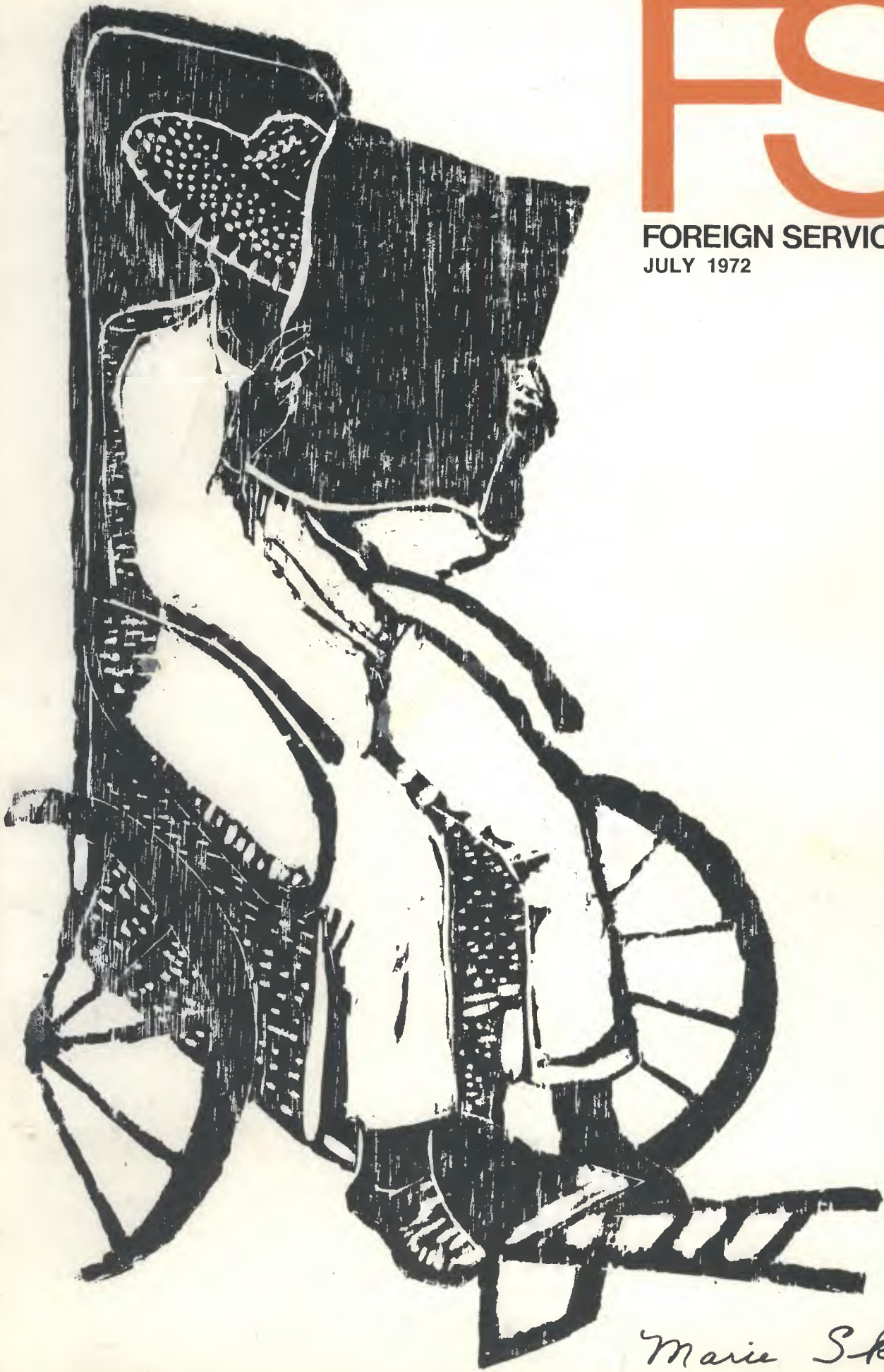


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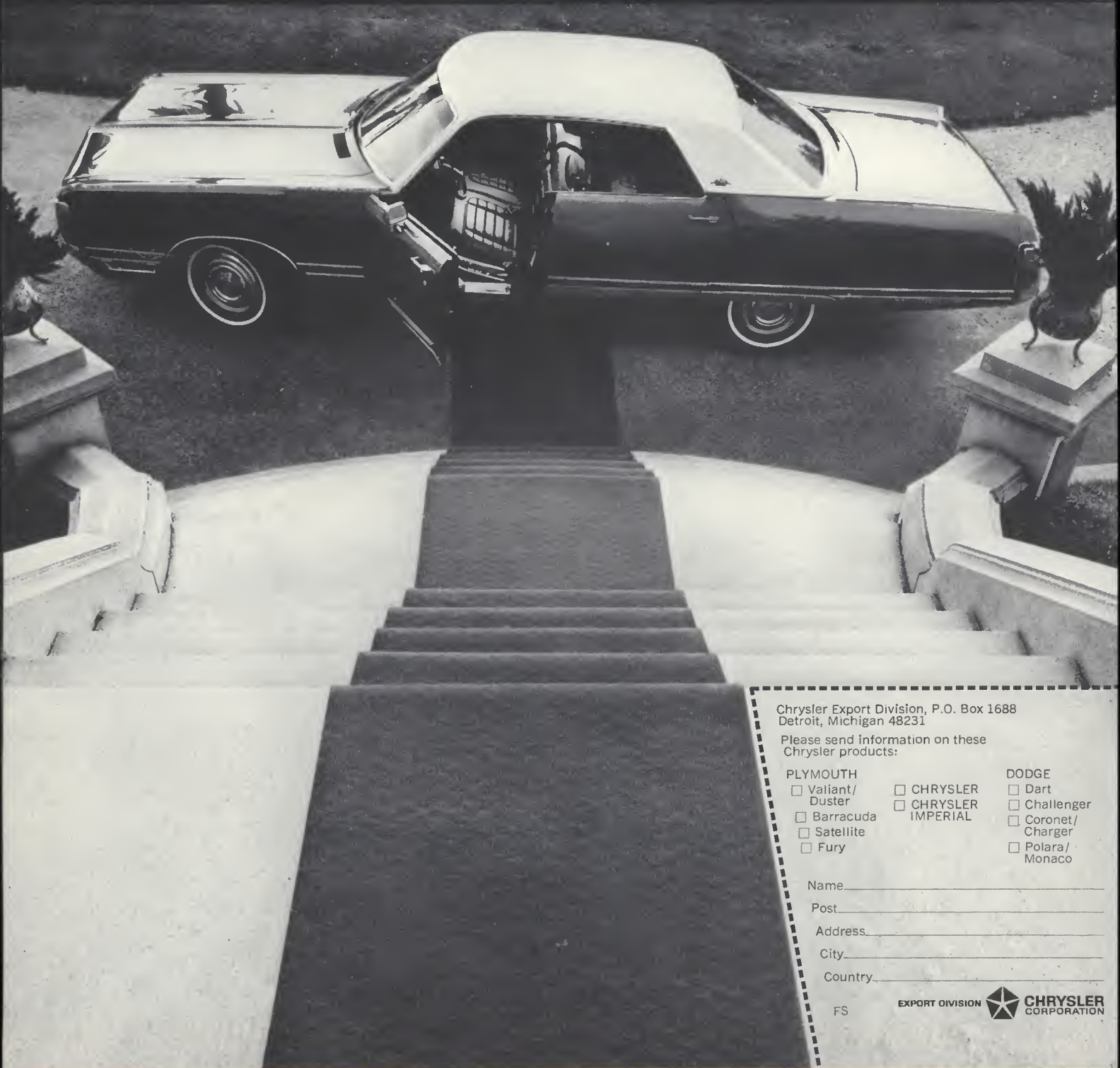
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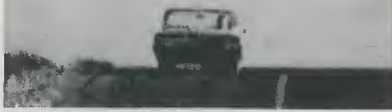
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Opinions Please

■ I note that in Director General Hall's open letter on personnel policy which appeared in the April Department NEWSLETTER, Mr. Hall, in discussing proposed revisions in the performance rating form, suggests that an employee might be called upon to note the community activities in which he participates, in addition to listing efforts at self-improvement and aspirations for future assignments and training. I would like to express my own belief, which I hold firmly, that an employee's participation in voluntary community affairs is not a proper subject for mentioning in a performance evaluation report, neither in a self-appraisal nor in an evaluation by a rating officer. This is an aspect of an employee's personal life which should be outside the scope of performance evaluation. Comment on, or even the mere listing of, an employee's community activities is no different from commenting on the qualities of an employee's spouse, or on the contribution the latter makes to the employee's job. Listing the community activities in which an employee participates is no more relevant to his on-the-job performance than would be listing the number of musical instruments one plays. Some people are community minded and devote a lot of time to community activities; others prefer to spend their time on hobbies or in the privacy of their families. I do not believe the Department should in any way draw any distinction between these two types. Although I recognize that the purpose in soliciting this information is probably to fill out the picture of the employee as an individual, I believe the inclusion of this information would lead to invidious comparisons among employees when performance files are reviewed. I would be interested in knowing if the AFSA has yet solicited or expressed any opinions on this point.

—CHARLES O. CECIL

Beirut

Bureaucratic Frog Ponds

■ The article in the May issue of the JOURNAL by David Newsom on the Washington environment for the FSO hit the nail on the head. It is a very difficult thing for FSOs who do not really know this town to learn and accept the fact that the Foreign Service is not the center of the universe and that a big man professionally and socially at an Embassy abroad is often a small boy on the Washington bureaucratic and social scene.

H. CHRISTOPHER MARTIN
Washington

Foreign Service Professionalism

■ The recent debate on grievance procedures and other personnel questions revealed widespread agreement concerning the need for some better grievance procedures, but extensive disagreement concerning both the desirability of the present bill and its meaning. It also revealed that many members of the service do not realize they must pay a price for the benefits they seek. This price will appear in the already weakened evaluation system, as rating officers realize they must anticipate grievance hearings over any quasi-critical remarks, and as personnel assignment officers adjust to the knowledge that any exercise of judgment may subject them to hearings and challenges. Granted that the majority will refrain from exploiting these possibilities, it is hard to envision the personnel system retaining even the individuality and flexibility it now enjoys, in the face of these pressures.

A far more basic failure has gained emphasis during this debate, however, in the lack of recognition on many sides of what the Foreign Service is. It is not, as many suggest, simply a privileged caste of public servants, nor a group of technicians who speak foreign languages; it is a profession, developed to provide the US government with the best available advice and assistance in the conduct of foreign affairs. Its qualifications include not only careful selection and training, but the acceptance of special disciplines and certain risks. Among these, in addition to world-wide assignment availability, are the accept-

ance of one's colleague's evaluations in matters of ability and judgment, and the risk of being fired on the basis of those evaluations.

Our critics will, we hope, note these risks as some justification for the extra pension benefits and the so-called "elite corps status" we enjoy. However, the real compensation, many of us, perhaps vainly, still hope, comes not in money and status, but in the opportunity to participate in US foreign policy decisions and to see that the nation can benefit from truly professional advice in its foreign relations. This may be "elitism," but if so it is of the Harry S. Truman school, and those who would make the kitchen more comfortable by lowering the heat should consider whether the result will not be a poorer product and the departure of the few customers who remain.

This is not a plea for the status quo. It has become clear that the Department's sense of noblesse oblige is too slender a reed for the Foreign Service to lean on—if not in fact too slender a straw to grasp at. Moreover, the Department seems uncertain whether it wants a professional Foreign Service. The effort to remove from the Service through selection out officers rendered "redundant" by the presence of others not subject to Foreign Service risks and discipline, and the whole series of wildly fluctuating personnel policies of the last 20 years, have called into question the future of the professional Foreign Service itself. Assuming, however, that the increasing complexity of the world calls for more professionalism in analyzing and coping with its conflicts, not less, and hoping that the mutually exacerbated polarization of management vs. Foreign Service can be attenuated, I urge:

a) That the Department commit itself formally to a full-scale review, in consultation with representatives of the Foreign Service, of Foreign Service personnel policies, to cover assignment, evaluation, promotion, selection out, and grievance procedures, and projections for the future strength and structure of the Service.

b) That AFSA immediately initiate preparation of a statement of standards and guidelines for use in these consultations, for submission

(Continued on page 27)



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NEWS FROM CAPITOL HILL

(Excerpt from *Congressional Record, House of Representatives, May 17, 1972. Discussion of "Department of State, Justice and Commerce, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations, 1973."*)

MR. GROSS: Mr. Chairman, the annual consideration of an appropriation for the State Department would not be complete without having inquired of the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. Rooney) about the \$993,000 representation allowance or the tools of the trade in the State Department. How are they faring this year with respect to the tools of the trade?

MR. ROONEY of New York: Well, I think they have been sufficiently taken care of in the present year, and I am informed that in the coming year, although there will be some price and wage increases for local alien employees abroad who serve the lunches or dinners or cocktails, they will see to it that no one puts more than a one-ounce shot in any cocktail or highball. If they do this, they will be able to meet the price and wage increases.

MR. GROSS: Is this by reason of an order from the officials in striped pants over in Foggy Bottom, or is this because of—

MR. ROONEY of New York: No. This is a deduction that the gentleman from New York has made after a discussion with some Foreign Service officer friends.

MR. DERWINSKI: Will the gentleman yield?

MR. GROSS: Can the distinguished former Ambassador

to the United Nations make a contribution to this cause?

MR. DERWINSKI: Yes. I would merely say the gentleman from New York and the gentleman from Iowa show great diplomatic foresight and legitimate concern in questioning things like the representation allowance, but from my personal experience in the world of diplomacy I believe that the subcommittee has been a little too tight in cutting that phase of the budget. Quite frankly, the art of diplomacy, like the art of salesmanship, requires a representation allowance equal to the stature of the country. I am sympathetic to our poor diplomats who, I feel, have been overly restricted by this subcommittee.

MR. ROONEY of New York: Will the distinguished gentleman from Iowa yield?

MR. GROSS: Yes.

MR. ROONEY of New York: Of course, the gentleman diplomat from Illinois would not understand that the committee and the Congress have given the diplomats, if you want to call them that, every nickel that was asked of the committee in the past 8 years.

MR. DERWINSKI: Yes.

MR. ROONEY of New York: So the gentleman's complaint is without merit.

MR. DERWINSKI: No. May I pay a sort of indirect compliment to the gentleman from New York. I wish to advise the gentleman from Iowa that it is my experience that many people in "Foggy Bottom" are scared to death of the gentleman from New York, so they asked for less than they might if they were not in such fear of the chairman.

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FSJ COMPETITION

The July competition calls for the following effort, to which we are confident our readers will arise: Imagine that, as part of efforts to improve the morale in the Foreign Service, the Secretary of State has instituted an award for bureaucratic courage and/or diplomatic finesse. Readers are asked to submit nominations for this award for one of the following: Metternich, Talleyrand, Palmerston, Kissinger. Nominations should be no more than 100 words in length. A prize of \$10.00 to the reader who submits the most original and humorous response. The winning entry and those of two runners-up will be published in subsequent issues. Entries by September 15, please, to: Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

The winner of the April contest and the two runners-up appear below. The \$10.00 prize to Richard J. Higgins for his translation from Court Turkish.

Since I am presently residing in a country which was once part of the Ottoman Empire, I read with interest your recent announcement of a competition involving the Ottoman Empire Foreign Service. I thought you, and perhaps your readers, might be interested in the attached document which bears on the subject of the competition.

I found the original of this document one hot afternoon while searching through the Cairo archives of the former Ottoman Imperial Administration. I was seeking information to resolve a particularly knotty non-immigrant visa case when I noticed a curious document written in Court Turkish. I made a rough translation at the time but forgot about the matter until I read recently that the original has been destroyed in a fire set by a fanatic nationalist opposed to all forms of Imperialism—Ottoman as well as the more recent varieties.

RICHARD J. HIGGINS

OTTOMAN EMPIRE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT Management Reform Bulletin # 33

Efforts to ensure that the Foreign Service adequately represents all segments of the Imperial population (and that the Sublime Porte be restored to its traditional and rightful position of primacy in the conduct of Foreign Affairs) have revealed that an important part of our many-faceted populace is grossly under-represented in the Foreign Service.

According to the latest census figures 4.7 percent of the population replied "eunueh" to the question of gender. Foreign Service medical records reveal, however, that only 1.2 percent of Foreign Service personnel are eunuchs. The majority, moreover, are in the lower ranks with most serving in Constantinople. The Foreign Service of the Ottoman Empire cannot call itself Ottoman so long as this inequality persists. Every Foreign Service eunuch must have an equal opportunity with all other Foreign Service Pashas.

Sound administrative principles reinforce equity and justice. Unenumerated by family, the eunuchs of the Foreign Service require but moderate travel and housing

allowances. The eunuch's ability to resist the sensual lures of hostile agents is well known. We have never had a security problem with a eunuch. Free of emotional bias the eunuch is able to examine problems in the light of pure reason—with only the interests of our sovereign and the Sublime Porte at heart.

Accordingly, I have today issued instructions that: 1) positive steps be instituted to bring the proportion of eunuchs in the Service up to the level of that in society as a whole; 2) that the next promotion list include at least two eunuchs promoted to Foreign Service Pasha Class I; 3) that preference be given to assignment of eunuchs to distant and high-cost of living posts; and, 4) that the newly established Imperial Council for Deep Thinking in Foreign Relations (see Management Reform Bulletin # 13) have at least one eunuch on its staff.

Signed.

(Signature illegible)

Runners Up

TO ALL JANISSARIES OF THE
THIRD CLASS IN THE NAME OF ALLAH
THE MERCIFUL AND MIGHTY—GREETING!

In the interests of greater efficiency in the conduct of government at the Sublime Porte, His Exalted Majesty the Sultan has decreed that a new ceremony shall be instituted to be known henceforward as the Great Salaam. The purpose of this ceremony, at which all Janissaries of appropriate rank and experience will prostrate themselves thrice before his Imperial Majesty, is to choose those Janissaries of the Third Class worthy of advancement up the celestial ladder of imperial preference to the exalted status of Senior Pasha. In preparation for this magnificent and splendid ceremony, Janissaries must present themselves before a panel of Dragomans at a date and time of their own choosing presenting evidence either of Christmas brutally behaded, provinces barbariously subdued, or firmans slavishly obeyed.

Each Janissary must take the initiative in determining his suitability for Pashaship and prostration ceremonies will be held at regular intervals in the outer courtyard of the Scraglio. In the highest traditions for the service we anticipate fierce competition in bowing ever more deeply. Those failing to demean themselves sufficiently in deference to His Majesty at three successive ceremonies will, while retaining their rank of Janissary of the third class, thereafter be relegated to positions of doorkeepers of imperial palaces and messengers of imperial decrees.

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(Continued on page 22)

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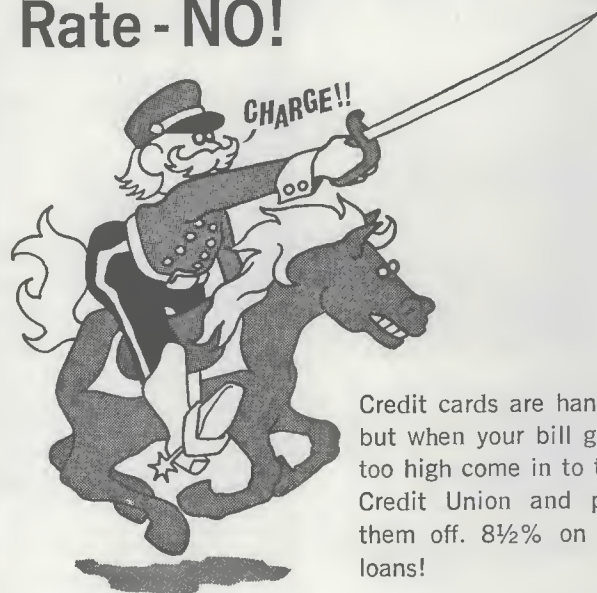
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RE:
A
Problem
for the
70's
and
Beyond

WILLIAM B. YOUNG

William B. Young joined the Foreign Service in 1956 and has served at Calcutta, Abijan, Paris (USRO), Curitiba and Brasilia. His present assignment is as African analyst, Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

CUTTING across the world's established ideological cleavages, a new split is taking place. A nascent doctrine sees the interests of developed and less developed countries as irreconcilable. Its central features maintain that:

- developed nations effectively oppose the development efforts of the less fortunate;
- prices of raw materials are set by the developed countries, are discriminatory, and are becoming more so;
- the poverty of the less developed nations results from past exploitation by the ex-colonial powers, and continues because of unfair trade and financial structures; and
- technology serves to increase the distance between the haves and have-nots.

The suspicion inherent in this view already permeates a number of international issues and is reflected in the opinions of LDCs expressed

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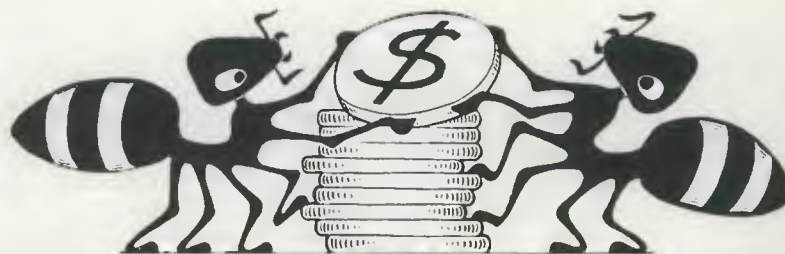
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in UNCTAD and in their reaction to the world monetary crisis. In Law of the Sea questions, less developed nations tend to see proposals for international control as a big-power plot to exploit limited resources before they themselves are technologically able to compete. The expenditures of the great powers on arms, space programs, and supersonic aircraft are cited as proof of unconcern for the poorer majority of humanity. An extreme variation holds that the developed nations, having become wealthy through spoilation of the earth's resources, now seek to deny the enrichment of others through environmental controls.

The emotional potential of the emerging ideology is enhanced by the large coincidence, except in Japan and parts of Latin America, of rich nations being predominantly white and poor nations mainly non-white. More than twenty years of bickering between East and West have taught the third world a syllabus of invective against developed nations, whether "communist" or "capitalist." Lying like a land mine just below the surface is the devastating realization that most LDCs can never achieve the wealth of a US or Japan; neither the earth's finite resources nor fragile biosphere will permit it. "Developing nation" is often a semantic fraud.

The emerging doctrine is not held uniquely by third world "radicals" or "communists," although it permeates their thought. Feet-on-the-ground leaders like Presidents Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and Hamani Diori of Niger publicly deplore the callousness of the Western nations in setting the terms of trade in a blatantly self-serving manner. The Foreign Minister of anti-communist Brazil can give a formal lecture, without once mentioning East-West issues, on the usefulness of the UN as a place for less developed nations to unite and weaken the grip of the developed countries on the world economic system. This polarization of rich and poor is superseding East-West orientations in the less developed world with alarming speed.

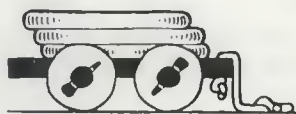
The cleavage between "developing" and developed will be the central diplomatic fact of the '70s and
(Continued on page 23)



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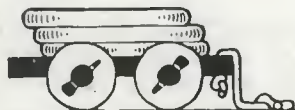


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American Foreign Policy PLANNING

ROBERT H. PUCKETT

Robert H. Puckett, Associate Professor of Political Science at Indiana State University, is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of De Pauw University; he received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago. He has written several articles and monographs in the fields of American foreign policy and space policy. He has received research grants from Indiana State University and Michigan State University as well as a Social Science Research Council postdoctoral fellowship. In 1970 he participated in the Scholar-Diplomat seminar program.

INHERENT in the concept of foreign policy planning is the assumption that a priority list of goals can be constructed—either in the abstract or as the end product of political processes. A series of State Department task forces, for instance, recently proposed the explicit creation of a master list of the hierarchy of American foreign policy goals:

Underlying all our other considerations is the principal recommendation that the Department devise and base its activities on a system which identifies US interests, estimates foreign interests and environmental trends, matches US strategies to the identified threats to the preservation of US interests and opportunities for their advancement, and selects and costs preferred and alternative objectives and courses of action. An essential step in this process, which the Task Force believes should be undertaken without delay, is to devise an explicit list of US interests abroad and to determine the relative importance to the United States of each of these interests. This would be the basis for developing foreign affairs planning and strategy. These steps should be part of an agreed interagency process. The process will involve establishment of global planning guidelines and methodologies, development of country plans by the Country Team, their review by the IG's, development of regional plans and finally a global plan. In all phases of planning, interests and objectives must be matched to resources and capabilities.—“*Diplomacy for the 70's: A Program of Management Reform for the Department of State.*”

This approach assumes that foreign policy goals can, and should be, chosen in the abstract. According to this reasoning, if the nation's interests are clearly articulated, both academic and political analysis of foreign events and policy decisions would be more “rational.” Thus, the process of decision-making could proceed in a precise and logical sequence. The foreign policy makers would assess the master list of goals or interests and allocate available resources according to the priority of the values involved.

The pursuit of such goals, furthermore, would combine both short-run and long-run interests. Policy makers advance long-run interests by formulating decisions dealing with immediate, short-run circumstances. The long-run, then, is simply the accumulation of what the nation does in the short-run. Articulation of foreign policy goals, according to this argument, is similar to a war strategy; these aims would thus serve as guideposts for operational decisions.

Ranged against the assumption that policy goals can be chosen in the abstract is the proposition that they are merely the end product of political processes. An analysis of the formulation of foreign policy goals, then, would begin with the recognition that the policy maker faces an external, operational environment (the international political system) and an internal, psychological environment (the domestic decision-making process). Both of these dimensions condition the ways in which perceptions of threats and opportunities develop.

These perceptions, as well as the basic objectives of foreign policy, are determined within the domestic context, according to this proposition. Goals are chosen, not in the abstract, but in the atmosphere of generalized conflict over values—both ends and means. Policy-making thus faces inward as well as outward, since it attempts to reconcile domestic political struggles and conflicting goals; policy emerges only through a system of bargaining.

If goals emerge out of political conflict, they can be only provision-

al; and the "images" (or definitions of the situation) of both the domestic political context and the operational environment of international politics are also provisional. The goals can be categorized as "pragmatic"—arising from the immediate self-interest of a group or groups—and "idealistic"—evolving from long-term characteristics of the political culture or from ideological precepts. These aims, furthermore, can be identified as "subnational" (groups), "national" (nation-state), "transnational" (groups composed of members from two or more countries), or "supranational" (organizational system superior in power to nations).

In other words, only individuals and groups can advance foreign policy goals; they speak in the name of the "national interest" to justify their own perceptions of values. The country obviously cannot speak for itself; only policy makers can legitimately do so.

Such an emphasis on the role of policy makers is characteristic of the decision-making approach in the analysis of foreign policy and international politics. This method assumes that the values of the society are reflected in the actions of the policy makers. The national interest, in effect, is what the decision makers decide it is. An attempt to uncover the goals of foreign policy, then, must concentrate on specific decisions, which presumably reflect the policy makers' estimates of the values of the society.

However, some emphasis should be given to "non-decision-making." Many grievances do not develop into issues which call for decisions—primarily because the dominant values of the society or the operational aspects of the domestic political context serve as a bias against the "legitimacy" of the complaints. If this is true, only a partial range of foreign policy goals can emerge as the end product of political bargaining, since certain aims are not even considered at the beginning of the decision-making process.

There is one important exception to the proposition that a priority list of foreign policy goals can be constructed (either in the abstract or as

the end product of political processes): specific objectives, as well as the emphasis placed on them, change over time. Indeed, one major weakness of the decision-making approach is that it is difficult to determine the exact point at which a policy has been officially decided upon. This is the case since most policies evolve over time, being subject to revision in response to changing conditions in international politics and to shifts in domestic political demands.

Appearance or disappearance of both threats and opportunities in international politics, then, forces the policy makers to reassess foreign policy goals. This is necessary since the aims are hierarchical in nature; most objectives are sought because they are intended to achieve higher values. Thus, threats and/or opportunities upset the pattern of perception by which policy makers view international politics; they are forced to analyze the changes and make at least a preliminary conclusion about their effects on other foreign policy values. In addition, the availability of means—or resources—affects the assessments concerning the viability of foreign policy goals; in other words, the resources generate many aims. The fact that objectives shift in emphasis or change over time, therefore, constitutes the dynamic nature of international politics.

LINKED to the assumption that a priority list of foreign policy goals can be constructed (either in the abstract or as the end product of political processes) is the proposition that policy makers, in effect, can draw up a "balance sheet" of foreign policy. Such an effort would focus on the means to achieve foreign policy goals—i.e., alternative courses of action. This assessment would calculate the subsidiary results of each option, weighing the effects of achieving the aim on the other values in the priority list of foreign policy objectives.

Furthermore, the balance sheet would list the "costs" of each alternative course of action: the resources needed to implement the policy

as well as the value of opportunities that are foreclosed because the policy has been decided upon.

"Vital" interests, according to this concept of a balance sheet, would include those objectives which received the bulk of the available resources. If interests were viewed in terms of costs, then, there would be some point at which a vital one could be given up—if the costs began to foreclose others which, in sum, were more important than the vital interest.

In terms of the foregoing assumptions, the basic function of a policy-maker is to allocate, or ration, resources among multiple policy goals. Formulating a priority list of foreign policy objectives involves less political controversy than the process of allocating scarce resources. The increasing degree of economic interdependence in international politics and the steady disintegration of the distinction between foreign and domestic policy spheres accentuate the policy makers' dilemma of rationing scarce resources—since there are, in effect, fewer resources to allocate; the same ones are used in both fields.

One significant exception to the cost accounting nature of the foreign policy balance sheet theory is the value of ambiguity in certain cases. This is especially relevant in a reactive policy—responding to another nation's demands for change. Such a response presupposes an assessment of the intentions of the other country; if they seem ambiguous, then the reaction in turn would tend to be tentative, or ambiguous.

THE formulation of foreign policy goals and the allocation of resources among them take place in an arena of conflict, not as an exercise of abstract thought. Thus, the political nature of the process cannot be overemphasized.

The locus of foreign policy-making is the bureaucracy; thus, many generalizations about the nature of bureaucratic decision-making are relevant in terms of foreign affairs. The foreign policy bureaucracy supplies information to the policy makers which tends to

confirm existing images about international politics. In doing so, it tends to develop general and static foreign policy goals and low-risk alternatives.

The foreign policy-making process, then, has become "bureaucratized," rather than "democratized." Policy shifts and changes tend to occur incrementally, rather than suddenly, since they emerge through a series of minor modifications of existing policies. These gradual changes are the result of a negotiatory process, in which there is vertical compromise among officials within a single administrative unit as well as lateral bargaining among officials representing all of the units interested in a particular policy. Such negotiation generally depends upon the personal influence and power of the participants to a greater extent than the substance of the policy positions each is pursuing.

Most foreign policy issues are settled, then, by negotiated compromises within the bureaucracy. It is unlikely that the President would often override a policy consensus achieved at lower levels. Of course, critical and/or insoluble policy problems reach the Presidential level for settlement.

If this description of Executive Branch foreign policy making as basically a negotiatory process is correct, then "analysis" is essentially post facto. In other words, the policy makers develop an analysis of a policy consensus that has already been achieved in order to justify it. In this regard, the potential of foreign policy planning is also undercut; it is a form of analysis which primarily serves as a secondary process of justifying a political consensus that has been hammered out by negotiation within the bureaucracy. However, planning does perform several other functions, which will be discussed later in this essay.

Assuming that foreign policy-making is negotiatory rather than analytical in nature, it is essential that decision-makers develop better modes of understanding domestic politics. This is true because of the increased degree of interdependence between domestic and foreign policy as well as the additional amount of transnational and extragovernmental relations which occur outside of

the total control of formal diplomacy. The distinctions between domestic and foreign policy tend to break down at the Presidential level; the White House staff is thus the major instrument for constructing a priority list of foreign policy goals, developing a balance sheet of foreign policy, and controlling the negotiatory process of policy-making.

Effective control of the policy-making process requires a detailed analysis of domestic politics: 1) an inventory of the values of the major groups in the society, 2) recognition of the relative power of these groups, and 3) working hypotheses about the dynamics of domestic politics. With the results of this knowledge, the policy makers must attempt to devise policy bargains which reduce the degree of incom-

"Consensus is the standard of feasibility; since, without consensus, the policy makers face loss of support and public office."

patibility between the domestic goals of groups and the foreign policy objectives perceived by the policy makers.

Decision-makers, then, seek to broaden the scope of the "policy consensus" by reducing such incompatibility. In a democratic political system, consensus is the standard of feasibility; since, without consensus, the policy makers face loss of popular support and public office.

Due to the necessity of maintaining or broadening the policy consensus, decision-makers are forced to be defensive. If most foreign policies are primarily bureaucratic bargains, then policy makers would tend to fear extensive public debate; such argumentation might well destroy the policy equilibrium. In effect, the policy has been made; and the policy makers wish only to justify it with analysis and cultivate a consensus to reinforce it.

Decision-makers could more effectively strengthen a policy consensus in the long run, however, by institutionalizing a system of adversary analysis at the beginning stages of the policy-making process. Such an analysis would provide means by

which the emerging consensus would be challenged by bureaucratic units charged with the responsibility of presenting opposing arguments to the initial policy bargains. This debate could, in large measure, deflect later criticism of the compromises by those who claimed that relevant points of view had been ignored. The process might well include Congressional staff personnel, non-government experts, bureaucratic officials, and White House staff.

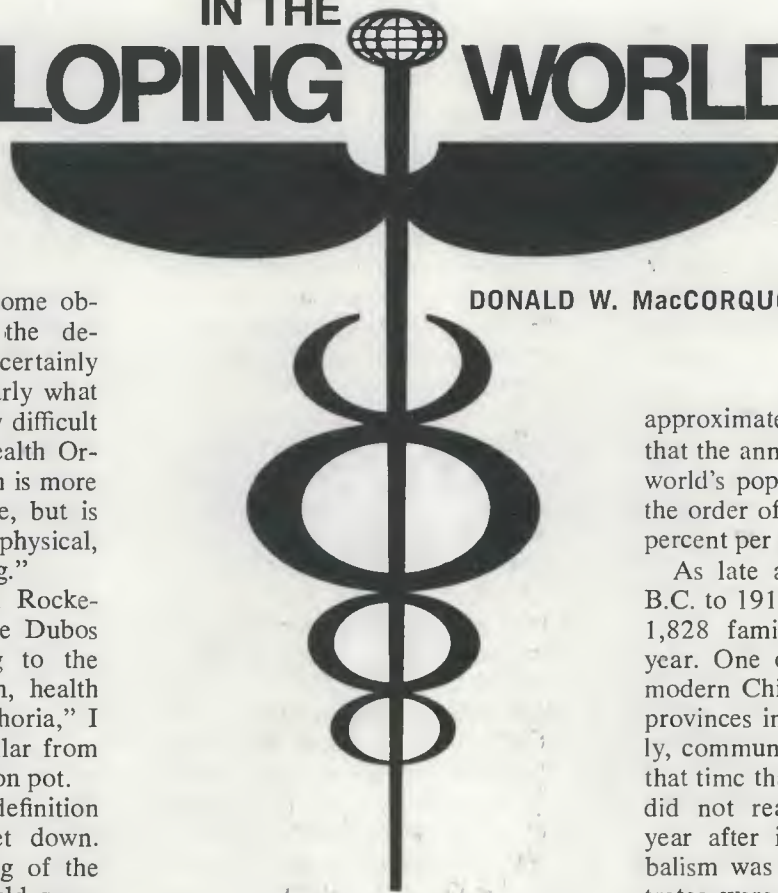
This adversary analysis would accomplish two purposes: 1) it would strengthen Presidential control over the entire foreign policy-making process insofar as the consensus was protected against damaging public criticism, and 2) it would "democratize" the policy process to some extent. It would be more democratic in the sense that non-bureaucratic personnel—representative of a variety of groups and points of view—would be involved throughout the decision-making process.

As generally conceived, foreign policy planning includes four types of activity: 1) contingency planning, 2) program planning, 3) country analysis and strategy, and 4) issue research. These areas supply a theoretical dimension to foreign policy, since they are based on the assumption that current research will have future payoffs. Planning, then, is not primarily a prediction of the remote future, but rather a consideration of the implications of current policies. Such analysis enhances the possibilities of choice in the future and supplies a sense of perspective to the policy maker. This added depth arises from a grasp of current problems, their origins, similar difficulties in other areas of the world, and possible implications of the issues on future trends in international politics.

The first type of planning—contingency planning—is based upon models of possible crises. Preparing operational plans for such eventualities enables the policy makers to analyze the effects such crises would have upon American foreign policy goals and to speculate about the most effective responses. Contingency planning is a useful exercise to consider the relevant

(Continued on page 24)

HEALTH IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD



DONALD W. MacCORQUODALE, M.D., M.S.P.H.

If one is going to make some observations on health in the developing world, it would certainly be appropriate to state clearly what health is. It is a surprisingly difficult thing to do. The World Health Organization insists that health is more than the absence of disease, but is rather "a state of complete physical, mental, and social well being."

The foregoing prompted Rockefeller University's Dr. Rene Dubos to observe that according to the World Health Organization, health is a "kind of primeval euphoria," I suppose a state not dissimilar from that of being mildly stoned on pot.

In short, a satisfactory definition of health is yet to be set down. Nonetheless, when speaking of the health of societies, few would quarrel with the concept that death rates, particularly age-specific mortality rates, constitute one indicator at least of the state of health of a given population. Death rates in the developing world have declined dramatically in recent years. By virtue of the fact that the developing countries have very young populations, crude death rates in these countries are in some instances lower than those of the nations of western Europe, the United States, and Canada. However, infant mortality rates and the mortality rates of preschool children in the poorer countries remain shockingly high in all too many instances.

There seems to be rather widespread agreement that there is a causal relationship between health and development. It has often been pointed out that a poorly nourished worker, anemic from hookworm infestation and chronically weakened by repeated attacks of malaria, cannot possibly do as much productive labor in a given period of time as a healthy worker. It does appear true,

however, that workers whose caloric intake is very low by western standards are capable of performing intensive manual labor.

I would like to suggest that what is commonly referred to as *economic and social development has a far more powerful effect on health than health has on development.*

How easily we forget the lessons of history. We are prone to forget that for hundreds of thousands of years the most critical problem facing mankind was simply that of survival. For thousands of centuries, the number of deaths so closely

Dr. Donald W. MacCorquodale served with the Naval Medical Corps from 1946-48, and in private practice before joining AID as Chief, Human Resources Division in Guatemala in 1964. Since then he has served as Special Assistant to the Director, AID Mission to Colombia and as Health and Population Officer, AID, Philippines. He received the Superior Honor Award in 1969 from AID.

This article is excerpted from a lecture at the Department of Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine.

approximated the number of births that the annual rate of growth of the world's population was probably on the order of magnitude of 0.000001 percent per year.

As late as the period from 108 B.C. to 1911 A.D., China withstood 1,828 famines or nearly one per year. One of the worst famines of modern China struck four northern provinces in 1877-1878. Incidentally, communications were so poor at that time that the news of the famine did not reach the capital until a year after it had occurred. Cannibalism was widespread, and magistrates were ordered "to connive at the evasion of the laws prohibiting the sale of children, so as to enable parents to buy a few days' food."

Most European nations sustained a depletion of from 20 percent to 25 percent of their populations from the first attack of the plague in the period from 1348 to 1350 and 40 percent of their populations from the same cause by the end of the century.

The conclusion seems inescapable that there were many periods in the history of the human species when the total population of the world actually declined due to pestilence and famine.

At different times during the latter half of the 18th century and in different parts of western Europe, a truly remarkable phenomenon took place. Death rates declined rapidly, and as a consequence, the rates of population growth soared in the societies so affected.

Most medical doctors are far more familiar than I with the marvels of modern surgery. But, with all due respect to our colleagues, the

surgeons, I cannot help but wonder how much their brilliant efforts contribute to longevity. I should not be surprised to learn that the invention of cotton underwear saved more lives in England than all the British thoracic surgeons in history. In the days of woolen "long johns," no one ever washed his underwear from autumn until spring, for the wretched things simply would not dry in the damp climate of Britain. The introduction of cotton underwear brought with it the extraordinary practice of washing it since it dried easily. This in turn meant the disappearance of lice and consequently of typhus.

There were other factors too numerous to mention which brought about improved health and declining mortality in western Europe at the beginning of what is now called the "demographic transition," but medical science was probably not a contributor. The *only* significant medical advance in the half century preceding the fall in mortality in England was vaccination against smallpox, and, unfortunately, there are no records to indicate how extensively it was practiced during this interesting period.

The nations of the developing world will and must continue to plan and implement programs specifically designed to improve the health of their peoples, but it seems all too clear that their best hope for achieving this admirable goal lies in improving the general standard of living. Nonetheless, medical and public health programs can contribute to improved health and further declines in mortality, but I think it is obvious that "more of the same" will not do the job. By "more of the same," I mean more hospitals and more physicians, solutions all too frequently proposed in the developing world to improve health. More hospitals are not indicated, and more physicians will not be forthcoming.

May I digress a moment to share an experience which I hope will illustrate the type of thinking that all too often prevails in poor societies. Some time ago, a charming and attractive young lady, an instructor in nursing, was showing me through a large teaching hospital in a major Latin American city. She told me that earlier the same day one of

her nursing students had come to her office in a state of near hysteria. It seems that the student nurse had gone to one of the wards to do her routine work, and to her horror, she found that her mother had been lying in her urine and feces for two days. The little nurse had not known previously that her mother had been admitted to the hospital. It developed that there simply was no clean linen available with which to change the poor woman's bed.

A new, modern university hospital is nearing completion to replace the present one described above, and the number one priority for equipping the new institution is not bed linen but a *cobalt bomb*!

Of course, most of the common illnesses in the developing world, malnutrition, intestinal parasites, malaria, skin infections, diarrheal diseases, etc., are preventable, but they cannot be prevented by the construction of more hospitals. Parenthetically, in Colombia at least it is rather ironic that the number of health facilities in relation to the size of the population is woefully inadequate by almost any standards, but the existing facilities are all too often under-utilized.

The population of the Republic of Colombia will double within the next 23 years if the present rate of growth of 3.2 percent continues. I can assure you that Colombia will be hard pressed to double the number of its physicians during that time and thus "stay even," much less produce enough new physicians to improve the ratio of physicians to the number of inhabitants.

I might add that if Colombia could achieve a net reproduction rate of unity tomorrow, that is, if beginning tomorrow each Colombian couple would have just enough children to reproduce itself, the population of Colombia would continue to grow for the next 50 years during which time it would double.

Colombia has a population of about 21,000,000 people. It has about 7,000 physicians, most of whom are concentrated in 23 cities of over 100,000 inhabitants. It has fewer than 2,000 graduate nurses. If the great masses of the poor, who live in the rural areas and in the slums of Bogota, Cali, Medellin, and the other major cities of Colombia, are to know the benefits of

modern health care, this cannot be accomplished by nurses and doctors. Another kind of health worker will have to be created.

Finally, I believe it is important to realize that *health care cannot be considered as an isolated system but must be considered as intimately related to economic, social, political and other systems*. Let us look for a moment at malnutrition, one of the most important health problems in the developing world and clearly the most serious health problem in Guatemala, a country in which I have had some experience. By virtue of the fact that Guatemala is the headquarters of the Institute for Nutrition of Central America and Panama, INCAP, a unique and excellent institution devoted to the teaching of and research in nutrition, Guatemala has been the object of intensive nutritional research, although I hasten to add that INCAP serves all the Central American republics and Panama.

A few years ago, for example, INCAP did a detailed study of dietary intake of pre-school children in some 100 representative villages in Guatemala. Caloric intake, rather than that of protein, was examined since there was more general agreement, at least at that time, on daily caloric requirements than there was regarding the quantitative need for protein. Highly trained nutrition workers lived in the homes of the families whose children were studied and recorded every item of food each child consumed daily, usually for a period of five days. This study revealed that in the poorest areas of Guatemala, 90 percent of the pre-school children studied did not receive enough calories daily to meet their minimal needs. In the best areas studied, 75 percent of these children had insufficient caloric intake. It is not remarkable that pre-school child mortality in Guatemala at that time was *25 times that of the United States*.

Now, let us take a look at a typical family with a malnourished child in the highlands of midwestern Guatemala a few hours by car from the capital. Juan and his wife are Indians. Among themselves, they speak Quiche, and although Juan speaks Spanish, his wife does not.

(Continued on page 26)

Claude Moisy, Washington bureau chief of Agence France-Presse, tells about the ups and downs of covering the State Department — and other American institutions. (He was interviewed by a member of the JOURNAL board, Ralph Stuart Smith.)

COVERING STATE

SMITH: In covering Washington for the major French news agency, what kinds of fire engines do you chase, what kind of news do you know there is a market for in France.

MOISY: There are six of us in the Washington bureau, and I cover mainly diplomatic developments. But we don't just think of the French market: some of our largest clients are in Japan, for instance, not in France. Latin America is also a major area of distribution for us. We have two people here who deal almost solely in Latin American affairs.

SMITH: Speaking for the AFP bureau as a whole, how would you rate as news sources the White House, the State Department, and

the Pentagon?

MOISY: You know, there is a joke going on now in Washington that when the news is good it comes from the White House, and when it's bad it comes from the State Department . . . If there's a big story, of course—like the mining of Haiphong, for example—it's apt to come first from the White House, perhaps followed by a Kissinger briefing. But the next day, in the case I mentioned, you get the story about practical implementation of the decision from the Pentagon. So we have to cover all these fronts.

SMITH: How would you rate the usefulness of the State Department noon briefings?

MOISY: As a wire service which is distributed internationally—in about 115 countries—we find these noon briefings indispensable. Sometimes the comments from the State Department on the major event of the day are rather slim—and this is something my American colleagues deplore very much; but there are many secondary news events on which the State Department is often the *only* source. While these apparently secondary news events may not be of very great interest to the American press, they are often of direct interest to other areas where we distribute our service. For example, take the case of Jordan supplying arms to Pakistan . . . well, this was big news in South Asia. Or United States reaction to Chile's nationalizing the ITT . . . big news in Latin America. And it's only in the State Department that you get information on these things.

SMITH: You've been in Washington quite a while—four years this time and two years before that, during the Kennedy administration. Would you say the relative significance of the State Department briefings has gone up, down, or stayed about the same?

MOISY: That's hard to answer. There are times when my colleagues—and mostly my American colleagues—are rather dispirited or frustrated because apparently they resent, sometimes even more than the Foreign Service officers, the apparent preeminence taken by the White House in international affairs. But on the whole I would say we probably get at least as much news, or explanation of the

news, at the State Department noon briefings as they get at the White House.

There's another thing you should bear in mind about Washington assignments. The White House seems very desirable, but remember that when you're over there you are pretty much limited to the press room. You see Ron Ziegler and Jerry Warren, and if you're very lucky maybe you occasionally see Kissinger. But there's not much more than that. In the State Department, on the other hand, you have access—very good access—to a lot of people working in a whole lot of different fields. As a matter of fact, the American press generally has made a practice of assigning its more experienced correspondents to the State Department. Maybe this is just conservatism on their part, reflecting an earlier situation; or maybe it's because of this variety of sources.

SMITH: How do American attitudes towards France influence your ability to get news in Washington? Are there any "legacies" from some of the de Gaulle policies?

MOISY: (*Reflectively*) Well, from my own experience, I don't think it has any effect whatsoever. I have very, very seldom felt that my being French would influence the attitude of an official I was talking to.

SMITH: The fact that AFP is state-owned . . .

MOISY (*pained expression*): It was state-owned and controlled after World War II; but the French Parliament passed a law which made it a kind of autonomous body, which is run by a board on which the publishers of French newspapers have a majority of the votes . . . The Foreign Ministry and the French Radio-Television also are represented on it.

SMITH: What I'm getting at is this: When you file a story, you are confident that it won't get edited or altered, and that it will survive and be put on the wires the way you file it, is that right?

MOISY: Well, in my personal experience in 17 years in the agency, I have never come across a single case when one of my stories has been changed for political reasons.

SMITH: This has been a great year, in the United States, for the divulgence of official secrets. There were

the Pentagon Papers, and such things as Jack Anderson's revelation of inner governmental workings over the Indo-Pakistan conflict. What was the reaction in France to these things?

MOISY: There was certainly a lot of excitement and interest over the Pentagon papers. The French, like any other people, are rather parochial. The Pentagon Papers dealt with Vietnam and to a certain extent, Vietnam is still pretty much in the mind of the French people and the French press. We had been there before, and it was our war before it became yours.

SMITH: But what about the revelation of state secrets, irrespective of the subject matter? Was this a matter of interest in France?

MOISY: I think the reaction was about the same as in the United States. People did not judge the divulgence of state papers on its legal, juridical or moral merits, but just according to their view on the Vietnam war. Since most people in France are against the continuation of the Vietnam war, almost everybody approved of the publication of the papers. I think it was the same thing here.

SMITH: As a newspaperman, what do you think about publication in the press of documents of this kind?

MOISY: That's a difficult question. The Pentagon Papers are of course of tremendous historical interest; but I must confess . . . maybe it's because I was more interested in the Vietnam story in the early '60s than most American journalists . . . I cannot say that I have learned very much through the publication of the Pentagon Papers. Of course it was very handy to have a kind of summary of what had been going on during that period, but it was no revelation to me.

SMITH: If there had been similar disclosures of French Government official secrets in the French press, what do you think the reaction of the French Government would have been?

MOISY: I think there is no question that the newspaper would have been seized, and further publication would have been made impossible.

SMITH: From what you have heard, do you think that these revelations in the American press have made foreign officials reluctant to convey

confidential information to American officials?

MOISY: No, I don't think so. I don't think it made any change.

SMITH: There was an opinion poll taken in France last summer which revealed that only five percent of the French public had ever heard of the SALT talks. Indications are that the figure would have been much higher in other countries. How would you account for this?

MOISY: To begin with, and strange as it sounds, France is one of the major Western countries where people read least. The French press, in size, is very small compared to the British or even the Swedish press. Basically, people in France just don't read newspapers very much. Readership is one of the smallest in developed countries. So what you say doesn't surprise me very much.

SMITH: When do you think France may rejoin the efforts aimed at international arms control and disarmament, in which it used to be very active before General de Gaulle took over?

MOISY: Maybe when there is a truly international discussion, including China, with a prospect of genuine disarmament . . . I think there is a possibility that France would rejoin.

SMITH: Regarding the US elections and I'm thinking now mainly of the primaries—would you say there is much interest in these abroad? Also, do you find them very difficult to report on?

MOISY: No, it's not difficult to report on them, because the interest in most countries is only very slight in the earlier phases. It's only when the American electoral process narrows things down to a race among two or three identifiable candidates that people get interested in it—about the way they would get interested in a sporting event. In most countries I don't think they look at it in political terms, with a full appreciation of what it means if X is elected instead of Y. It's a race between two individuals.

SMITH: Getting back to newspapers, would you say that in the United States advertisers have an undue influence over the editorial policies of newspapers and other media? How would you say the situation compares with that in France?

MOISY: I don't think they have

much influence. In spite of the enormous space taken by advertisers in the American press, I don't think their influence permeates much into the editorial position of the paper.

SMITH: As an observer of the US scene, would you agree with the thesis of the book "Ni Marx Ni Jesus" that much of the unrest in the United States is actually the leading edge of a social revolution that will eventually explode in other developed countries?

MOISY: I've always challenged the view of the United States' so-called "revolution," because to me . . . and I know this is a "minority" view of the situation . . . I think that the United States is *not* in the forefront of any so-called social revolution, but, on the contrary, is now in the process of catching up with social developments which have happened in Europe 50 or 30 years ago.

SMITH: Having observed the American scene for a certain number of years, how would you describe the trend in the racial situation?

MOISY: On the face of it, the problem in 1972 seems to be much less than it was, say, in 1965, '67, or '68. There are fewer racial riots and things like that. But in my view that certainly doesn't mean that the racial problem has been solved. It's possible that there may be a resurgence of racial troubles one day. Recently there has been a much tougher stand by the police; also, the extremist black leaders have been largely discredited. But I wouldn't rule out the possibility of a resurgence.

SMITH: How would you describe the trend in cultural affairs during the time you have been here?

MOISY: In Washington, of course, the Kennedy Center has been a tremendous asset. Taking the country as a whole, however, I can't say I have noticed any particular change.

SMITH: One more question. It may seem a bit corny, but since you are a *French* correspondent I had better ask it: what do you think of the restaurants in Washington?

MOISY: No offense intended, but let's face it: the manager of the very best one admitted to me that in France he would be ashamed to run such a restaurant.

SMITH: Fair enough. Thanks very much. ■

Technology Dictates Policy?

THE ROOTS OF WAR, by Richard J. Barnet. Atheneum, \$10.00.

RICHARD BARNET's latest book is a powerful indictment of American society, its institutions, and its leaders, which in Mr. Barnet's opinion have served us poorly during most of the Cold War. The basis of the indictment is that American society is largely to blame for the almost permanent state of war we have been involved in around the globe since 1945, since war is primarily a product of domestic economic and social institutions rather than "a programmed response to what other nations do." The conclusion is that wars will cease only if society is changed.

This brief summary can hardly do justice to Barnet's serious and wide-ranging analysis, for he attempts to explore the motivations and relationships of our "national security managers," the economic roots of foreign policy, and finally such domestic political aspects of foreign policy as the manipulation of public opinion and the implications of policy for ordinary citizens.

The author sees America's top echelon leaders as motivated chiefly by a ceaseless push for economic growth to preserve domestic freedom and prosperity, and a relentless drive to be the winner. The expansionism provides an outlet for new technology, and "staying #1" involves a struggle for permanent victory. The alleged failures of American foreign policy, especially Vietnam, are largely attributed to the American managerial elite and their long-unquestioned attitudes. "As a class, (they) have not had the training or incentive to develop understanding, compassion, or empathy for people in different circumstances from their own," according to Barnet. As a result, international politics becomes a game, and the "fascination with technique and the definition of achievement as the perfection of technique go far in explaining why the rules of individual morality are suspended when men act for the state."

Much of this is not new, but

Barnet's analysis is more serious and comprehensive than most revisionist arguments. Nevertheless, his case is weakened by a tendency to explain complex problems with broad-brush generalizations. Thus, "the loss of American hegemony appears directly related to the strategies adopted to maintain it." Where and how? If "technology dictates policy," as Barnet asserts, why haven't we used tactical nuclear weapons and other technology which we had available but declined to use for political reasons? Is it reasonable to say that "business" feared full-scale mobilization in World War II because "they" did not want to be left with excess productive capacity if the war turned out to be too small? Such wholesale denunciations are not convincing, nor is Barnet's analysis of the inevitable convergence of interests of state and corporate power.

Still, can anyone who has lived through the Vietnam era deny that our assumptions, motivations, and modes of operation have frequently been tragically mistaken and misapplied? Is not the re-orientation of our social and economic institutions which may be already underway and which Barnet persuasively calls for both healthy and long overdue? To be sure, it is not enough to demolish old myths only to erect new ones in their place, but Barnet's thesis deserves a hearing when he says that Americans must understand the direct connection between "esoteric foreign policy" and their personal lives.

A good beginning, suggests Barnet, is for people to ask the "nasty question" first posed by economist Joseph Schumpeter, namely "who benefits?" There is sufficient substance in Barnet's analysis to convince one that honest answers to that question would be upsetting to some of America's most sacred cows.

—WILLIAM LENDERKING

Dispassionate Analysis

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN CUBA, edited by Carmelo Mesa-Lago. University of Pittsburgh Press, \$14.95.

A HAPPY collaboration of academicians, a half-dozen at the University of Pittsburgh (where Mesa-Lago is

Director of Latin American Studies) and an equal number from other Canadian, Guatemalan, Puerto Rican and North American Universities has yielded an excellent reference book on contemporary Cuba. It is scholarly, non-polemical, and comprehensive. The contributors are sociologists, economists, political scientists and educators, all specialized Latin Americanists. Sensitive and perceptive essays are organized by groups dealing with political, economic, and social elements that are still undergoing experimentation and change as they follow the dictates of the charismatic leader. The factual data, often presented in charts and tables, is abundant. Their impact is lessened in some instances by their appearance in forms as concentrated as logarithmic tables.

Illustrative statistics show that from 1959 to 1967, university enrollment in legal studies dropped from over 11 percent to less than 1 percent. During the same period enrollment more than doubled in the agricultural sciences. In the same timeframe, the number of priests declined from 700 to 200, resulting in an average of 35,400 inhabitants per cleric. (The next highest ratio in Latin America is 11,700, in Honduras). A prime Castro policy is to build a citizenry with *moral*, not *material* incentives; but clearly this is to be done without benefit of clergy. Public education has improved and expanded greatly. Chapters are devoted to government planning and finance, to labor organizations, ("the function of trade unions and farmer associations is mainly to endorse the [government's] plan and to mobilize their membership for its implementation"), class structure, theatre, and literature. Aspects of agricultural problems are scattered through several chapters.

Chapters on Cuba's relationship to the Soviet Union, and the exportation of Castro-style socialism to Latin America repeatedly refer to Castro as a Stalinist, and to Che Guevara as a Trotskyite . . . with no mention of Mao or Chou. There is consensus that Cuban socialism will persevere albeit with strong Russian inputs; "the key factor is the unpredictable and powerful premier."

—WILLARD F. BARBER

The Evil Genie's Second Escape

NAGASAKI: THE NECESSARY BOMB? by Joseph Laurance Marx. Macmillan, \$6.95.

MR. MARX did one book on the atomic bombing of Japan, "Hiroshima: Seven Hours to Zero." In the Nagasaki book he proposes to tell why he changed his mind about the need for the second bomb. Briefly, he thinks that without the second bomb there would not have been the narrow margin within the Japanese government which gave the Emperor the chance to decide to accept the modified Potsdam terms. To show this the major part of the book is given to the actions and ideas of those with access to the Emperor during the period between the two bombs and to the potential for trouble which existed within the Japanese military until the moment of the Emperor's broadcast.

The focus is an interesting one for, as the author says, "What was going on in Japan at the time. . . is not well known to Americans today." But the book doesn't come off. It is confusingly presented, badly written and even its potted histories are second rate.

Perhaps Washington, not Tokyo, is the place to research about the use of the second bomb. Interestingly, Mr. Marx never touches the revisionist theory that the use of the bombs was not to end the war but to scare the Soviets. Neither he nor the revisionists look at the dilemma of men in power—as Bertram Wolfe has said, they intend one thing, do another, and then are understood by history to have brought about a third. One may think Harry Truman was too hard on Dr. Oppenheimer ("Don't let that sniveller in here again") but that scientific genius just hadn't recognized what the Kansas City haberdasher knew by instinct—political decisions are made when they have to be made, not before, and like good legal decisions, they are made on the narrowest possible grounds. This may really be more part of the essential tragedy of human existence than of political science, but Mr. Marx doesn't convey much feel for this problem either from Washington or Tokyo.

—J. K. HOLLOWAY

View of a Prophet

IVAN ILLICH, THE CHURCH, CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT, edited by Fred Eychaner. Urban Training Press.

IN this provocative and important book, Ivan Illich, a Roman Catholic priest born in Europe, comes off as one of the most prophetic voices on the Third World. A multilingual educator, he founded and now is director of the Center for Intercultural Studies in Cuernavaca, Mexico.

The clash and contact of cultures, and bureaucratic reform in church and state (particularly in South America) command his attention. His comments are at times brilliant, prophetic, never comforting for established institutions, sometimes clairvoyant in their analysis of social problems, sometimes needing more attention as to how the actual reforms might be realized.

His sympathy and compassion for the urban workers and *campesinos* that make up most of Latin America's population is deep. For all his iconoclasm, he voices the great tradition of social and religious reform.

—FREDERICK QUINN

Aid to LDCs

FROM PEASANT TO FARMER—A Revolutionary Strategy for Development, by Raanan Weitz. Columbia University Press, \$10.

AN American farmer can produce a hundredweight of grain in 6 to 12 minutes, whereas in Asia and Africa the time required is 20 to 80 hours. Agricultural output in the developed nations as of 1960 averaged \$680 per farmer as compared to \$52 in the less developed countries, and the disparity may rise to 40 to 1 by the end of this century. With these and other shocking statistics, Israeli agricultural development expert Weitz starts his book out with a convincing case for the need for more attention to agriculture in economic growth. The theme is captured in these words from the introduction: "The role of agriculture has probably been one of the least understood and the most neglected aspects of the development process in the short history of the development movement in the underdeveloped countries."

But this is no simplistic summary

of facts and figures wrapped up in general appeals for action. The book proposes specific programs for development of agriculture based on the author's experience in some 47 countries as well as views and facts from hundreds of other sources. For example, the author proposes new systems for the spatial arrangement of farms around villages and methods for dispersing technical service facilities in rural areas based on experiences in Israel. Thus the book is intensely practical. In fact, it reads like a compendium of the best parts of a vast selection of end-of-tour reports from AID, with the added attraction of copious references to scholarly writings in the economic and social development fields.

It is indeed a pleasure to read such a valuable book, and to recommend it to others. Every AID official working in a less developed country ought to have a copy of this book at his elbow, and in fact it would be an excellent choice for anyone serving in LDCs. I have only one small quibble: the \$10 price for a 247-page book seems excessive—perhaps we can hope for a paperback edition.

—A. M. BOLSTER

The New Breed

IN SEARCH OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, edited by David Joel Steinberg. Praeger Publishers, \$12.95.

A NEW breed of American scholars is interpreting the Southeast Asian scene. Six of these young Americans have assembled their views in a compendium that spans the past, present and future of a quarter billion peoples and a major slice of the world's vital resources and strategic waterways. The six are David Steinberg, David Wyatt, John Small, Alexander Woodside, William Roff and David Chandler. Their work: "In Search of Southeast Asia."

Each of the six has contributed his own academic discipline and area of specialization. Original source materials in a dozen languages of the region, together with a formidable bibliography, are impressive. The format employed by the new breed could set the tone for scholarship on an area as vast and variegated as Southeast Asia.

—JAMES D. MCHALE

Opium Wars and Open Doors

THE DRAGON WAKES (*China and the West 1793-1911*), by Christopher Hibbert. Harper & Row, \$10.

THIS is a readable account of the opening of China by the West, written by a well-known British biographer and historian.

The first European move to establish formal relations with China was made by the British in 1794—a mission headed by Lord Macartney for the purpose of solidifying British and European trading rights in and around the port of Canton. At this period of history China was a law unto itself—an ancient civilization of three hundred million souls, ruled by an alien Manchu dynasty superimposed over a mandarin bureaucracy. Except for commerce funneled through two or three trading ports, contact with the West was nonexistent, and the empire had become so isolated from the outside world that it conceived of all other nations as tributary to itself.

With this background, and given the self-confident insularity of the British governing class, it is no wonder that the history of the next hundred years of diplomatic intercourse was an unremitting chronicle of misunder-

standing, inept diplomacy and the tactless and often unnecessary use of military power. The British, who had no aggressive designs to begin with, became so frustrated over their inability to obtain reasonable conditions for their resident merchants that they came to believe that force was the only language that the Manchu bureaucrats understood. The Chinese, outraged at the intrusions of the barbarians, employed tactics of evasion, blackmail, procrastination, and intransigence under a veneer of bland imperturbability. Both sides set such store on prestige and "face" that they soon became locked into positions from which there was no retreat.

The "Opium War" of 1839-42 was the climax of the first phase of Western-Chinese relations. Both sides recognized the iniquity of the opium trade, and the British themselves embargoed all traffic in raw opium and acquiesced in the seizure of stores held by their merchants in Canton. But the imminent bankruptcy of the merchants, coupled with the historic complicity of Chinese merchants and officials, led to demands for compensation. When the Chinese refused to pay, the British obtained redress through a naval squadron and several regiments of redcoats. For the next sixty years there were recurrent inci-

dents of the same sort as more and more European powers joined in the game of wresting trading concessions, extraterritorial rights and treaty ports from an imperial government weakened by internal strife and incapable of defending itself in the face of European technology and organization.

Mr. Hibbert's descriptions of the Taiping and Boxer rebellions are competent and effective, but the most illuminating parts of his book are the instructions and directives given by the Manchu court to its negotiators and commanders. The reader will be repeatedly struck by the similarity of nineteenth century Chinese negotiating practices to those of their Korean and Vietnamese counterparts at Panmunjon and Paris.

One curious aspect of this book is the minimal importance attached to Sino-American relations, including the Open Door policy. Russian and Japanese expansion in North China and Manchuria, including the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, also gets rather skimpy treatment. The book is heavily weighted in favor of the early and middle part of the nineteenth century, but since this early period has been neglected in most recent histories of the Far East the book is well worth acquiring.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

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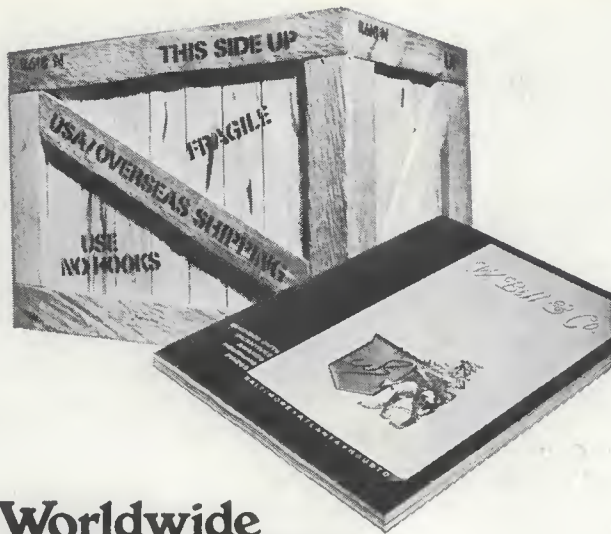
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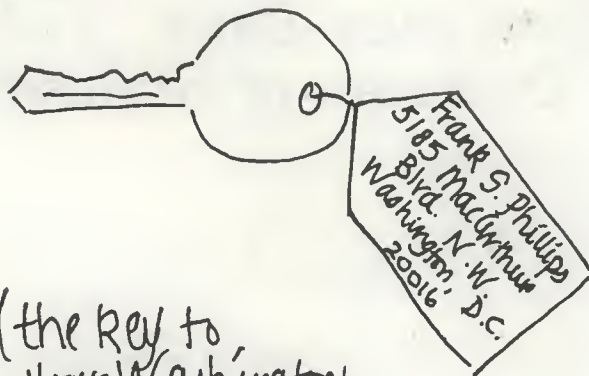


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COMPETITION

From page 9

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BILLY K. WALKER

A BROKEN PANE IS NOT URBANE

Western library in a foreign town:
The sound of breaking glass,
A window gapes,
A youth runs from the scene.

*A thousand regrets
Said the minister.
One will do nicely
Said the other.*

He used to sit in there, a student
Probing books that told him life could be
Improved before a lifetime ran its course.
But now he reads no more.
For days no longer counted, there had been
No work for those who learned belles-lettres
But would not plough the land (or those
Who would but could not buy the plough).

*We'll pay for the glass
Said the minister.
A bagatelle
Said the other.*

His future lies imprisoned in a book,
His hope is buried in a rock.

*Let nothing come between us
Said the minister.
Be comforted
Said the other.*

Tomorrow he'll be running with the mob again,
The angry stones will speak but not be heard,
Not even when they sting the bureaucratic nerve,
For then the panoply of government
Will choke this student in its dust
While diplomats in gilded parlors
Deprecate the naughty vandal, and delicately
Raise their Scotch to amity and progress.

*They dance an elegant duet,
These men of cloistered etiquette.
A broken pane is not urbane,
Not quite refined, but never mind—
Point the toe and pirouette,
It's the ministerial minuet!*

© Robert Ehrman 1972

70's AND BEYOND

From page 11

beyond; it could become the fatal flaw of the century. Nuclear deterrence may work between developed nations with much to lose. Is it as effective when one contestant sees itself as forever barred from prosperity, beaten in a race for dwindling resources, burdened by a burgeoning population, and bolstered by the conviction of the world majority that the rich are evil? Nuclear weapons are within reach of many LDCs; in China the genie is already out of the bottle. Military power, moreover, does not strictly correlate with wealth, as is demonstrated currently in Vietnam and as long ago as the first recorded "barbarian" invasion.

The tendencies toward a world increasingly polarized into rich and poor need not lead inevitably to the Maoist vision of a united "countryside" of less developed nations storming the developed "cities" of the world in the denouement of the final guerrilla war. Policies are available which encourage good will

on the other side of the international tracks, reduce the racial overtones, stress cooperation as an alternative to confrontation, and diminish the plausibility of a stereotype of developed nations conniving at the degradation of the rest of the world.

Some policies obviously will not work. To muddle through, armed with the truth of our good intentions, has not prevented the new doctrine's birth and will not stop it now that it is gaining momentum. A hard line — which argues that the rancor of three-quarters of the world is inconsequential since they are poor and weak, and need our products more than we need their raw materials—ignores the military projection. Any policy based on the solidarity of the developed in the face of less developed nations' hostility could founder as the competition for raw material increases. A worldwide sharing according to the principle of "each according to his needs" is not only inconceivable politically, but incongruent with ugly facets of *homo sapiens'* nature.

Putting aside extremes, the fan of practical policy options has possibilities. We can rearrange our priorities between the developed countries and the others — between NATO and Portuguese Africa, for example. We can avoid flaunting our wealth in programs such as space and the SST. We can examine the suspicion-generating by-products of our propaganda programs. We can seek ways to keep military expenditures in line with combat effectiveness. We can attempt a diplomatic style consonant with the reality that straightforwardness and modesty have survival value on a crowded planet.

These suggestions fly in the face of vested interests and established assumptions. They raise doubts about basics like our national commitment to progress. They will be hard to implement. If they are to be accepted, national leaders must educate the public to understand the need for revised priorities. Otherwise, inaction will lead in time to our being an island of declining prosperity beleaguered by a hostile sea of poverty. ■

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FOREIGN POLICY PLANNING

From page 14

factors in possible types of crises and to enable the policy makers to adopt measures which might ward off the crises or improve the government's ability to deal with them if they should occur. One major impediment to contingency planning is that it is impossible to predict the domestic political context which would prevail at the time of a crisis. Such political factors would be the crucial variables in the decision-making process.

The second form of planning—program planning—is based upon the "planning, programing, and budgeting system" originally developed within the Department of Defense. It is essentially an effort to depoliticize the policy-making process, insofar as possible. Program planning tends to idealize a non-political criterion—efficiency—as opposed to a political one—consensus. Its greatest potential has been achieved in the defense budget

cycle, which involves a complicated series of programs and weapons systems—all of which require the allocation of measurable resources. In foreign policy, however, certain goals are essentially immeasurable, such as prestige and international equilibrium.

Program planning offers the best potential for institutionalizing foreign policy planning. In order to have centralized planning, however, both Congress and the President would have to agree to abolish final resource allocation decisions by the separate agencies involved in foreign policy. These decisions could be vested operationally in the White House staff or the Secretary of State.

Country analysis and strategy—the third form of planning—has been developed most fully in the Department of State's Bureau of Latin American Affairs. It produces a single analysis and strategy paper for each country in Latin America; these papers represent a research consensus of the foreign policy community. Some observers hope that

this process could be developed for other countries, sub-regions, regions, functional areas, and even a global plan. Country analysis and strategy papers survey the situations within individual countries, project trends, and discuss the relationships between these factors and American foreign policy goals and problems. A strategy is recommended to deal with the variables and trends identified. The potential of country analysis and strategy, however, cannot be realized unless it is linked to a centralized process of program planning, since without such a system decisions on the allocation of resources are made by the various agencies of the foreign policy community.

Issue research is the final form of planning. It is less formalized than country analysis and strategy and more directly related to current policy problem areas, since the research is carried on in response to the requests of policy makers dealing with both geographic and non-geographic issues. This is the form of planning in which non-

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government experts can play the most effective role; they can bring their expertise to bear in defining the options available and evaluating the consequences of various courses of action. The essential core of issue research is analysis rather than synthesis. It seeks to develop useful information about various foreign policy issues without presenting action recommendations, since action will be taken in a political context by the policy makers.

THE American decision-making system poses serious difficulties for effective foreign policy planning. In addition, recent years have witnessed growing domestic constraints on foreign policy options.

In view of the foregoing considerations, the primary aim of foreign policy planning should be to broaden the scope of the policy consensus. Consensus, rather than efficiency, should be the central criterion of the planning process. One suggestion to broaden the scope of the policy consensus would be to

institute a system of adversary analysis at the beginning stages of the policy-making process. This system would strengthen Presidential control over the entire foreign policy-making process and would "democratize" it to some extent.

A possible secondary aim of foreign policy planning would be to establish a centralized system of program planning to cover the fields of national defense and foreign aid—both of which require the allocation of measurable resources. The development of this process could be vested operationally in the White House staff or the Secretary of State.

Insofar as policy makers can construct a priority list of foreign policy goals, it is the end product of political processes. Both perceptions and basic objectives of foreign policy are determined within the domestic political context. Any list of policy objectives is always provisional, since specific goals, as well as the emphasis placed on them, change over time.

Since the availability of resources affects the assessments concerning the viability of foreign policy goals, planning attempts to list the costs of each alternative course of action and to calculate the subsidiary results of each option. The White House staff is the major instrument for constructing a priority list of foreign policy objectives, developing a balance sheet of foreign policy, and controlling the negotiatory process of policy-making.

The formulation of foreign policy goals and the allocation of resources among them take place in an arena of conflict, not as an exercise of abstract thought. Most foreign policy conflicts are settled by negotiated compromises within the bureaucracy. Assuming that foreign policy-making is negotiatory rather than analytical in nature, it is essential that decision makers develop better modes of understanding domestic politics in order to devise more effective policy bargains and to enlarge the scope of the policy consensus. ■

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HEALTH IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

From page 16

Both are illiterate. They have four living children, and the youngest, a two-year old, suffers from second degree malnutrition. Juan owns half a *manzana* of land, less than one acre, which he inherited from his father. He plants corn almost exclusively, and with a bit of luck, his land produces about 15 hundred-weights of corn annually. Some of this he must sell to pay off debts or to buy a new *machete*. The remainder is dried, stored, and ultimately cooked into round cakes, *tortillas*, which are served for breakfast, lunch, and dinner, drab meals supplemented all too infrequently by a small amount of black beans.

When the local *curandero* or folk-practitioner of healing fails to relieve little Juanito of his listlessness and irritability, the child is taken on foot to a health center some seven or eight miles away. The social nature of malnutrition now becomes apparent.

The doctor's instructions in rapid Spanish are translated into Quiche by a practical nurse, and the anxious mother is *completely* baffled. Why does this woman in white ramble on about something called INCAPARINA when Juanito is obviously suffering from *mal ojo*, the evil eye? (INCAPARINA is an inexpensive, high-protein dietary supplement.) Why does she insist that Juanito be fed an egg a day when she knows that the few eggs the hens lay must be sold. Cash is needed to buy candles to offer to the spirit of the child's recently deceased grandmother to keep her from returning and making someone else in the family ill. Clearly, the child's ultimate death or recovery will depend more on fate than a deliberately induced change in his diet.

True, even Juan's meager holdings would yield more if he were given access to credit for improved seed, fertilizer, and insecticides and if someone were available to teach him how to use them. But, where is

the Government of Guatemala to find the resources with which to do so? By transferring funds from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Agriculture? There are already only enough classrooms available for about a fourth of the children of school age in Guatemala. By raising taxes? A consummation devoutly to be wished, but again, hardly a betting proposition since those who would have to pay them are the brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and cousins of the members of Congress.

Politics has been defined as "who gets what, when, and why." One of the most effective Ministers of Health I ever knew in Latin America was not a public health physician but a general surgeon, and I suspect that he owed his considerable success at improving the health of his people to a mastery of what has also been called "the art of the possible." Those of us interested in improving health care here or abroad would be well advised to attempt to master it as well. ■



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to the members for approval, and in the meantime, extend the facilities of AFSA open meetings to the Department for informal discussion of current and contemplated personnel policies.

ROBERT T. WILLNER

Washington

More on Understanding Congress

■ In his letter which appeared in the March issue of the JOURNAL, Mr. Guenther has cited aid requested for Cambodia as an example of his contention that "the Congress in the realm of foreign affairs is not being provided the information it needs to legislate intelligently." I believe that Mr. Guenther would find, if he should discuss the matter with the many Congressional visitors to Cambodia, that the Ambassador and his staff have made it a policy to provide full details of our policies and practices to Senators and staff delegations alike. At least four Senators, one Congressman and five Senate or House staff teams have visited Cambodia in the past two years. One group from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee made three visits. In addition, the General Accounting Office has made three extended visits in that period. The Ambassador and his Counselor for Political/Military Affairs discussed extensively with Congressional leaders US policy in Cambodia during visits to Washington.

These discussions in both Washington and Phnom Penh included the level of US aid we thought desirable in the light of our on-the-spot experience. Both the Secretary of State and the Ambassador have received letters from members of both parties and both Houses of Congress, as well as from committee staff members, complimenting the Embassy on its cooperativeness and openness in such discussions.

Mr. Guenther disingenuously describes as a slight oversimplification his assertion that the Administration arbitrarily requests \$341 million in aid for Cambodia and then threatens to veto the bill if it doesn't get it. The appropriations bill specifies no amounts by country. But the total for FY 1972 was some 23%

less than the Administration requested. The bill was not vetoed. Nor did Cambodia get the \$341 million requested when the necessary adjustments were made by the Administration in parceling the aid out by country.

Honest men can differ with the judgments made, but it simply doesn't fit the facts to call Administration requests arbitrary or the information supplied about our aid to Cambodia inadequate for intelligent legislation. I leave it to Foreign Service JOURNAL readers whether Mr. Guenther's version looks more like a slight oversimplification or a gross distortion.

ROBERT DON LEVINE

Phnom Penh

Disgorging Gut Judgments

■ Dave Newsom's "Know Your Environment" in the May issue was an excellent inoculation for the young officer against the increasingly common failing which is reflected in the utilization of official positions to wage "ethical" warfare based on the bureaucrat's individual convictions of universal right and wrong. Dave could have gone on to point out that such disgorging by public servants of gut judgments of good and evil is essentially elitist and antidemocratic. Questions of right and wrong should properly be decided by the formal political system and the individual civil servant can and should make his contribution to such questions through that system and not through a privileged position in the technical apparatus of foreign affairs.

But Dave might have misled his young readers when he denied the "advocate" aspect of the bureaucratic role. The FSO in a regional bureau or an Embassy is not a "professional" in any contemporary use of that term. But he is a technician in a skilled trade, that of bureaucratic issue management. He is likely to be promoted partly if not largely on the extent to which he can promote within the machinery of government the country, area, and program interests associated with the position to which he is assigned, just as a lawyer combines knowledge and skill to present the best possible case for his client, and arranges the affairs of his law firm to further that end.

But, call him technician or call him professional, the successful op-

erator within the bureaucracy must and does keep his individual moral judgments completely outside his occupational activities.

JOHN W. BOWLING

Washington

Letter from a Non-person

■ The description of the role of the Foreign Service wife is indeed glamorous under the pen of Mrs. Hanson*. In fact, too glamorous to be true. In all honesty, how often does a husband ask his wife how to improve binational relations? How easy is it to have contact with the "leading citizens of the country" under the system in use in many embassies where the "senior officers" and their wives jealously insist upon exclusive access to these leaders?

If we believe Mrs. Hanson, contacts and conversations at cocktail parties are of vital importance. In my view, receptions tend to be mainly an exercise in collecting and recollecting names. Bits of information gathered at those functions are more in the nature of second-hand rumors than new or useful information to one's husband.

My first point is to bring the rosy picture drawn by Mrs. Hanson more to its real proportions.

I must say, however, that I have shared with Mrs. Hanson, during my 20 years in the Foreign Service, her enthusiasm for the life led by a US diplomat's wife. In fact, I could add to her list of exhilarating experiences, many others which arise from learning the local language, traveling extensively within the country, partaking in its cultural life and having personal contacts with the population.

But I think Mrs. Hanson has missed the idea expressed by so many discontented F.S. wives. It is not the life they criticize; it is the hypocritical affirmation that the behavior of the wife helps her husband's career administratively. The promotion will—or will not—come to him whether the wife is a drunk, never resides at post, does not speak a word of English, or whether she is an ideal F.S. wife like Mrs. Hanson.

It was about time to admit this fact.

*A Foreign Service Wife
another view*

* *Foreign Service JOURNAL*, March 1972

The Foreign Service of the United States: Time for Another Look

FOUR years have passed since we published "Toward a Modern Diplomacy." This report to the AFSA Board was prepared by a committee of 70 Association members chaired by Ambassador Graham Martin. The task of these professionals was to analyze the organization of the nation's foreign affairs and recommend improvements.

First, the Committee reviewed the Foreign Service Act of 1946 finding that: the Act designed a "Foreign Service of the United States" to be responsible for the conduct of America's ever more diverse and expanding international relations; that this Foreign Service was to serve the President and *all* of his agencies with overseas interests; and that to manage the Foreign Service of the United States the Act provided for a strong, independent Board of the Foreign Service and an autonomous Director General.

Second, the Committee took a hard look at the realities of 1968 and found that: the Foreign Service had been reduced to a narrow instrument perceived as serving the Department of State; that, in fact, several agencies with overseas interests had established their own foreign services; and that subsequent legislation and practice had removed the autonomy and authority of the Director General and the Board of the Foreign Service.

Finally, the Committee determined that the broad thrust of reform should involve: a return to the concept of a Foreign Service of the United States, to be initiated by the unification of the Foreign Service personnel of State, USIA and AID into the Foreign Service of the United States; a re-establishment in the office of the Secretary of State and his Department of the detailed direction and control, on behalf of the President, of executive branch activities dealing with foreign affairs; and an affirmation that the Ambassador, whether career or non-career, was responsible to the President and, as the President's man, must assume effective charge of all US operations in his country.

TOWARD a Modern Diplomacy" recommended systematic reforms, both legislative and administrative, to realize these central objectives, and to improve and modernize the Foreign Service as a profession and as a career. It is certainly the most penetrating review yet written on this subject (along with the work of the Jackson Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery and Mac Destler's new book, "Presidents, Bureaucrats and Foreign Policy.") Some of the AFSA report's recommendations, primarily those applying internally to State and those not requiring legislation or much in the way of resources, were incorporated in the Macomber Task Force Reform Program. The Association has supported this effort. But let us be honest with ourselves. After four years have the basic reforms been achieved? Is there a single Foreign Service of the United States? Is foreign

policy direction and control centered on the Secretary of State? Do Ambassadors have effective charge of US operations in their countries? The term of an administration has almost passed, and it is time to reassess the thinking and conclusions of "Toward a Modern Diplomacy."

The relationships among the major powers are changing. The relative economic power of the United States in the world has lessened. We are at long last about disengaged from war in Southeast Asia. The less developed world has made less progress than we had hoped and there is a sudden new focus on the environment and the stark implications of continued growth in population and industrialization.

The United States has stepped back from the massive overseas presence and activism of the "new diplomacy." The "era of exaggerated hopes and over-blown undertakings" of the '50s and '60s is over. The distinctions between domestic and foreign concerns are more and more blurred, with domestic agencies having a growing interest in international problems. Coordination of foreign relations is increasingly complex and difficult. Academic research is shedding greater light on the disturbing, semi-autonomous life force of federal bureaucracies, and on the concept of "bureaucratic politics."

President Nixon has relied heavily upon the brilliance of Dr. Kissinger. The President has tended to utilize an expanded White House staff rather than the Foreign Service and the Department of State for advice and for coordination of his foreign policy. And during this period the Foreign Service and AFSA have been absorbed in overdue internal reforms, in correcting the historical excess of paternalism in our system and in preparing to operate effectively under the President's Executive Order 11636.

WHAT lessons can we learn from the experience of these four years? How should the Government best organize itself for the conduct of its foreign relations? What should be the proper role of the Foreign Service? Should we still seek to build a Foreign Service of the United States? How can the Foreign Service most effectively serve the President? What is AFSA's proper role in striving to achieve whatever goals are suggested by answers to the above questions?

The AFSA Board has appointed a special Committee on the Policy Process to review the findings of "Toward a Modern Diplomacy" and to address itself to the above questions. We hope as many members as possible participate in this effort by sending their views to the committee. We will not be the only ones in the field. The "little Hoover Commission" established in the State/USIA Authorization Bill will be taking a broad look at the foreign affairs process. Structural change in foreign affairs to conform to new directions and conditions impends. With this initiative, AFSA can help shape the change. ■



E. O. ELECTIONS

Status of the Election—The show of interest in AFSA has been impressive. We have now collected over 4,000 cards in the three agencies, and we hope to have 5,000 by the end of June. As of June 20th:

State: We have filed over 2700 cards with the Employee Management Relations Committee (EMRC). By the time the election is held we hope to have a showing of interest of 50 percent of the eligible voters. AFGE achieved the necessary 5 percent (411 cards) to have their name placed on the ballot in the State election.

USIA: Our total is now over 500. We petitioned for an election in USIS on June 2. AFGE has also obtained here the necessary 5 percent (84 cards) to get on the ballot.

AID: We have 921 of the necessary 945 cards. We hope that as this goes to press AFSA will have gone over the top in AID and petitioned for an election there as well. AFGE may get their 5 percent in AID too; in all they have solicited cards from persons who have already signed for AFSA. We haven't challenged this questionable procedure because we want AFGE in the race. We welcome the competition and the debate. We believe that a free and open election is the only way to elect an exclusive representative for the Foreign Service.

AFGE Files Challenges—Unfortunately, it seems increasingly apparent that AFGE is going to try

to delay the election process. Every move that AFSA has made to facilitate the holding of a free election for exclusive representative has been challenged by the union.

The AFGE actions fall into two categories—a challenge to the validity of AFSA's showing of interest and unfair practices charges against both AFSA and the Department. AFGE claims that AFSA's showing of interest is invalid because of the manner in which 22 signature cards were collected in two posts abroad. AFGE further alleges that the AFSA election petition is inadmissible because it was signed by Bill Harrop, who AFGE claims is a "management official," and because of the presence on the AFSA Board of two FSOs (Tom Boyatt and Hank Cohen) who were members of the 1971 FSO Selection Boards.

The unfair practice charges filed by AFGE are based upon allegations that the AFSA Keymen in two overseas posts used official agency channels and other "coercive" practices in collecting showing of interest cards. With regard to the challenge to the validity to AFSA's showing of interest, AFSA has filed a written rebuttal to the AFGE allegations with the Employee-Management Relations Commission and requested that the democratic electoral process proceed. On the alleged unfair practices charges we will meet with AFGE representatives to discuss the complaints and proceed to hearings if necessary.

We hope that the Commission which runs the elections will dismiss these challenges promptly,

but hearings may have to be held to lay finally these allegations to rest. The delay would unconscionably impede the right of the Foreign Service to choose a representative for itself.

NEWS FLASH

As we go to press AFSA has learned that the Employee Management Relations Commission after careful investigation did not uncover any evidence to warrant dismissal of the AFSA petitions for elections in State and USIA as requested by AFGE.

A further Word on Standards of Conduct—Although the validity of the AFGE allegations remains to be demonstrated, it is only prudent for all of us to review again those principles which an employee organization must observe in order to become eligible and maintain eligibility for recognition under Executive Order 11636. In this regard AFSA asks its members again to review the guidelines on standards of conduct outlined in the report of the Executive Order Committee on pages 38-39 of the April 1972 edition of the **Foreign Service Journal**. Particular attention is called to the following portion of that report:

"... All AFSA members, however, should seek to avoid compromising relationships with management which would: (a) establish AFSA as a "favored" organization by virtue of agency policies on hiring, tenure, promotion, or other conditions of employment; or (b) imply a "company union" tie through acceptance of special assistance from management (e.g.

use of Department letterhead stationery, or other materials or services) unless this assistance is explicitly offered by management to all organizations on an impartial basis."

In addition to these guidelines, AFSA representatives should avoid any action or activity which might be construed by a labor union lawyer as having a "coercive" effect upon other foreign service employees. For example, your letters to eligible voters should identify you as AFSA Keyman rather than as "Political Officer" or some other official title or designation.

AID NEWS

Foreign Service Retirement for AID: AID has informed AFSA that efforts to bring AID Foreign Service employees into the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System are still on the track. The proposal has been approved at OMB and discussions are under way on the Hill. AFSA has urged participation in the Foreign Service retirement plan for a number of years. AFSA believes there should be no discrimination between members of the Foreign Service, who serve abroad under similar conditions by reason of their working for a particular foreign affairs agency.

Promotion Changes Steamrolled Through: AFSA Board members met with AID's Personnel Director Johnny Johnston June 6 to protest his cavalier move in changing promotion panel procedures. When AFSA first learned of this intent earlier this spring, Board members met with Johnston to voice their objections to these changes, which included abolishing some selection boards entirely and having promotions made by the Personnel Division upon the recommendations of Mission directors and Bureau heads. While agreeing that reform is needed, AFSA objected to the high-handed nature of the move, pointing out that the timing, coming after the Personnel Evaluation Reports had been written and when an exclusive employee representative is about to be chosen, was inappropriate.

Following the first meeting, Johnston sent a letter to AFSA saying he would make no changes this year. He then proceeded immediately to issue a draft airgram on which AFSA was given one weekend to comment. As a result of critical comments from AFSA, a number of the proposals in the airgram were dropped but a second airgram containing less significant changes was sent despite AFSA's objections. Among the changes AFSA opposed was the removal from the merit selection boards of the power to make recommendations for action other than promotion, such as training, conversion, and job assignment. Conversion from Foreign Service Reserve Limited to straight Foreign Service Reserve will no longer be recommended by the promotion panels. Instead, officials of the Foreign Service Personnel Division will scan the files for conversion candidates. It is not at all clear who will decide which candidates are ultimately to be given tenure. AFSA believes conversion is far too important a matter to be left to the Personnel Division.

Selection Out Procedures Challenged: At the June 6 meeting AFSA also raised a number of questions regarding the legality of AID selection out procedures. AFSA understands that AID's due process deficiencies in selection out procedures have led to the reversal of every selection out case which has been seriously contested by an employee with help of counsel.

Employee Management Responsibilities Shifted: AFSA welcomes the shift of responsibility for employee-management relations under AID's reorganization to the Deputy Assistant Administrator for Program and Management Services. In view of our frustrating experience in dealing with the Personnel Office, we believe that the elevation of employee-management relations will improve the climate for negotiations.

Evaluation and Promotion Study: AID is undertaking a formal study of the performance evaluation and promotion of AID Foreign Service

employees. AFSA will appoint a representative to serve on the AID Task Force. However, the AFSA Board has made it clear that participation of the Task Force in no way will limit AFSA's right to challenge the study's conclusions if it becomes the exclusive representative of AID employees. The AFSA Board strongly believes that no sweeping changes in evaluation and promotion in AID should be made until AID employees **themselves** have had an opportunity to study and comment on these changes to their exclusive representative.

Overtime Regulations Applied: The AFSA Chapter in Laos raised with AID post management the problem of large amounts of uncompensated scheduled overtime not being paid, in violation of AID regulations. In response to AFSA/Laos requests, instructions were given to the AID finance office that the provisions of the Manual Order should be applied. Clarification of the Duty Officers' right of overtime were also made, in that Comptroller General decisions have affirmed that only time actually worked and not time spent in on-call status can be compensated by overtime pay or compensatory time.

AFSA Advisory Committee. Organizational steps are under way to develop an AID/W AFSA Advisory Committee. The Committee will provide a channel for developing and communicating AID employee interests and issues to AFSA for action and develop an organizational network through which AFSA can quickly transmit the latest information to the AID membership. This important communication link will greatly improve the capacity of AID employees to express their interests and concerns. A provisional committee under the direction of Fred Hubig is currently establishing guidelines. Loring Waggoner, Ann Dotherow, Ed Martin, Jerry French, Jim Procopis, Phoebe Everett, Joe Novak, Wilbur Waffle, Arlene O'Reilly, Gene Chiavaroli and Herman Meyers are participating in this effort. AID employees should contact Committee members.

STAFF CORPS NEWS

FSSO Designations for Foreign Service Secretaries: The Staff Corps Advisory Committee (SCAC) has followed up on the Department's recent designation of Foreign Service Secretaries as FSSOs. Among the questions the SCAC has asked the Department are: will FSSO secretaries be allowed now to convert to other cones and personnel designations; will the FSS-3 promotion ceiling on secretary positions be raised to FSSO-1 or to FSRU-1; what additional diplomatic or attaché titles and privileges can Foreign Service secretaries expect from this change in status? The SCAC has identified several specific instances in which a secretary FSSO is junior in an Embassy only to the Ambassador, DCM and the chiefs of the Political and Economic Sections.

BOARD ACTIONS TAKEN

On June 19, the Board of Directors of the AFSA unanimously passed the following two resolutions:

RESOLVED: that Ambassador Loy Henderson having been a member of the American Foreign Service Association since 1922 when he joined the Foreign Service he is now elected a Life Member of AFSA. In passing this resolution the Board also wishes to take note that this is not only the 50th anniversary of his joining the Service but also that he is celebrating his 80th birthday on June 24 and takes this occasion to extend best wishes and appreciation for his outstanding contributions to the Foreign Service and the Association.

RESOLVED: that Ambassador Robert D. Murphy having been a member of the American Foreign Service Association for over 50 years he is now elected a Life Member of AFSA. In passing this resolution the Board takes this occasion to extend its appreciation for his outstanding contributions to the Foreign Service and the Association.

FIFTH ANNUAL AWARDS LUNCHEON

Mary Olmsted, Anthony C. E. Quainton and David E. Long received the Herter, Rivkin and Harriman Awards given annually by the Association at a luncheon on the eighth floor of the Department on June 29.

These awards, to senior, middle-grade and junior officers, are funded through the generosity of Mrs. Christian A. Herter and her son, Mr. Christian A. Herter, Jr., the family and friends of the late Ambassador William R. Rivkin, and Ambassador W. Averell Harriman.

Ms. Olmsted was nominated for her work with the Women's Action Organization which resulted in the removal of discrimination against women in the Department of State. The nomination read, in part, "... expert guidance of the women's movement toward working within the system to bring about needed reforms. Her intellectual courage is not only evident in the reforms she was able to win from a conservative system but in the fact that she is the first senior woman FSO who voluntarily put her name, her rank and her career on the line to help remove discrimination against women."

The nomination for Tony Quainton, member of the *Journal* Editorial Board, was based on his work during the India-Pakistan crisis. It read "... he is always able to question whether the accepted policy genuinely fulfills US needs and make innovative proposals for constructive change. He has the knack of taking the initiative and putting forth a new and sometimes dissenting view when that view is critical to a policy decision being made. He has the ability to argue his case skillfully and aggressively but without offense. . . . In other words, Mr. Quainton has demonstrated that a middle ranking officer can have major impact upon policy."

David E. Long received the Harriman Award on a nomination which called attention to his "strength of intelligence and

imagination, combined with versatility and sound judgment, and to his 'thinking the unthinkable' about the threat to Iran and Israeli perceptions of the conflict with the Arabs. . . . He has taken on himself the kind of reasoned 'gadfly' role which many of the Task Force reports hoped would eventually become a standard part of the formulation of US foreign policy."

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger was the featured speaker at the luncheon. The awards, which are for \$1,000, tax-free, were presented by David H. McKillop, president, AFSA. Among those present at the luncheon were the donors, Under Secretary John N. Irwin, AID Director John A. Hannah, and Under Secretary U. Alexis Johnson. William C. Harrop, AFSA's Chairman of the Board, welcomed the capacity crowd and David H. McKillop, President, AFSA, introduced the speaker.

Among the previous award winners listed on the program was the late John Paul Vann, winner of the Herter Award in 1969. Mr. Vann who was killed in Vietnam in early June was nominated at that time as "a controversial figure, a man who insisted on maintaining his independence and integrity at all costs. . . . His judgments have been repeatedly proven right by time and he has demonstrated charismatic gifts as a leader."

AAFWSW NEWS

For scholarships and assistance in education of Foreign Service children, the American Association of Foreign Service Women produced \$19,255.43 in 1972. AAFWSW members intend to raise more (money—not children) in 1972.

How do they do it? By holding their annual Book Sale in October. *Journal* readers can help by donating used books—NOW! Posters, paintings, stamps, and magazines of lasting value are also being processed by AAFWSW volunteers.

For home pick-ups, telephone: (D.C.) 966-5584; (VA.) 768-4711; (MD.) 229-3255.

MEMBERS INTERESTS COMMITTEE

Transfer Allowances

AFSA's full overseas transfer allowance is still intact as the final appropriations process for the foreign affairs agencies is completed. Regulations are being written in anticipation of successful final action. If you are planning to transfer anytime after July 1, 1972, therefore, make sure that you preserve receipts and other evidence of all miscellaneous unreimbursed expenses related to the transfer, especially the following: the cost of cutting and refitting rugs and draperies moved from one post to another; the cost of re-wiring or replacing electrical appliances in a move from a 110-volt area to a 220-volt area or vice versa; utility fees or deposits not offset by end-of-tour refunds; installation of essential electrical fixtures, wiring and switches not offset by end-of-tour resale; required modifications for automobiles or additional licensing fees incident to relocation.

More On State Taxes. The problem of tax liabilities to the jurisdictions of Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia for those employees who consider themselves legally domiciled elsewhere in the US continues to generate a great deal of correspondence.

AFSA members who find themselves residing in one of these three jurisdictions solely because they are assigned to Washington for a tour of duty between overseas assignments, and who do not wish to become legally domiciled in these jurisdictions, should take the following precautions:

(1) Maintain as many ties as possible to another state which is considered your state of legal domicile. Voting, property, driver's license, relatives, bank accounts, church and club membership, and alumni associations are just a partial listing of such ties. For those whose legal domicile is still ambiguous, a retired AFSA member informs us that the following states have no personal income taxes: Texas, Florida, Nevada, Wy-

oming, South Dakota, Washington (state) and New Jersey. Are there any more?

(2) Avoid as much as possible engaging in activities in Maryland, Virginia or D.C. which tend to establish legal domicile in those jurisdictions. Voting and registering to vote is clearly a key activity in this regard. Buying a house in the Washington area and then renting it during an overseas assignment appears to be all right as long as a clear legal domicile in another state can be established.

(3) Extremely important, is the information on residence contained in your personnel file on Form JF-20 concerning "Residence and Dependency." As you are aware from CA-4800 of May 11, 1972, management has agreed to transmit information contained in the JF-20 to state and local jurisdictions upon request. AFSA has studied this question in depth, and has reached the conclusion that most of our members will be helped by this practice rather than hurt. If you have lived in the Washington area, or are expecting to move there from overseas, there is no more credible way to support a claim to local domicile somewhere else than an official communication from your agency showing a clear residential tie to another state.

AFSA after several meetings with management is not satisfied, however, with the current method of transmitting this information to Washington area jurisdictions, and is working with management to arrange improvements. For starters, management has agreed to an AFSA and Open Forum Panel request to send employees copies of all transmittals on residence information sent to state and local governments. Employees can thereby correct clerical errors. We are also concerned about the selection of information from the JF-20, and oppose the transmittal of such ambiguous data as "legal residence at time of appointment" in favor of "home leave residence" and "residence for separation purposes." In any event, you should check your form JF-20 to make sure it is accurate and cur-

rent with respect to your state residence. If you entered D.C., Maryland or Virginia in any of the residence blanks on the form, merely because you lived there temporarily after entering the service, it would be worthwhile to take another look at your true legal domicile and make the appropriate corrections.

Home Leave Deductions. We thank all AFSA members who have taken the trouble to inform us about their home leave tax deduction claims. So far, only one correspondent has indicated that his claim was disallowed. Since his claim is for less than \$1,000, he has decided to appeal through the "Small Tax Claims Court" which is a relatively new institution equivalent to the Small Claims Court. With the Stratton case as precedent, this may be a relatively inexpensive method of achieving the result we seek . . . a universal application of the Ninth Circuit Court's decision to allow home leave deductions. In the interim, we would appreciate receiving continued word from AFSA members on the results of their claims, positive and negative.

High Option for Foreign Service Insurance: AFSA's Members' Interests Committee has written the American Foreign Service Protection Association with a proposal that a High Option be added to the AFSPA's insurance coverage providing broader benefits for those Foreign Service employees willing to pay the additional cost. The Members' Interests Committee suggested that specific areas for improvement could include the extension of dental benefits, removal of the 50-visit per year limitation for psychiatric care and group therapy sessions and provide for a higher maximum limitation for serious illness.

Protective Association President, David Newsom, replied that the AFSPA would be happy to discuss these proposals with AFSA's Members' Interest Committee for changes to be proposed for January, 1974, the next scheduled insurance coverage change.

LEGISLATIVE REPORT

Magnuson Bill: AFSA has learned that the Magnuson Bill has been divided into separate bills and reported out of Senator Inouye's Sub-Committee on Foreign Commerce and Tourism to the full Senate Commerce Committee without a Sub-Committee report. Titles I and II of the original Magnuson Bill calling for transfer of Commercial functions from the Department of State to the Department of Commerce will now be considered by the full Commerce Committee. When the Commerce Committee will act is not presently known.

State/USIA Authorization Bill Reported Out: The Senate/House Conference Committee has reported out on June 15th the State/USIA Authorization Bill deleting the grievance procedures, the merit promotion amendment to the Foreign Service Act, and the provision moving career minister retirement to age 60 which had passed the Senate. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee subsequently reported out to the Senate floor the grievance legislation which will soon be voted on again by the full Senate. The State/USIA Authorization Bill as approved by the Conference Committee meets the Administration's requests for financial support, provides for a Deputy Secretary of State and Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, and raises limits of Employee Claims to \$10,000. AFSA lobbied for both these provisions and is pleased that they were adopted. The conference bill contains a proposal of Senators Fulbright and Aiken establishing a Hoover type commission study on the Foreign Policy Making Process.

Grievance Legislation: AFSA has requested to testify before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on June 27 on grievance legislation for the Foreign Affairs Agencies. AFSA was deeply disappointed when the Senate-approved grievance legislation was not approved by the Senate/House Conference Committee. AFSA has discussed the Senate-approved grievance

New Board Member



W. A. (Whit) Whitten, newest member of the Board of Directors, has been with AID since 1963. Before joining AID, Whit was Associate Director of the Southern Baptist Seminary Extension Department for seven years. While serving there, he did a year's residence for his doctorate in adult education at Indiana University and later completed his work for it with research he did in Liberia with AID, where he was assigned to an up-country outpost working in rural education. Whit was then assigned as Deputy Education Officer in Tanzania, assisting Tanzanians in achieving their goals in education for self-reliance. He was transferred to Kabul as Deputy Education Officer in 1970 and assisted in the development of a new primary school curriculum for Afghanistan. Of special interest to AFSA, Whit helped organize the first AFSA chapter in Afghanistan and, at the time of his departure, was serving as chapter head. He is now working on establishing a keyman network for AID and says, "As one of the two AID members I want to make sure that AFSA represents and can respond effectively on the employee-management interests and problems of AID people."

Whit, his wife, Lucile, and 11-year-old son, Warren, are living in Reston.

ance legislation and provisions to guarantee the merit promotion system with a number of Senators and Congressmen. The Association will continue to push for enactment of an impartial grievance procedure for the Foreign Affairs Agency which guarantees due process and for an amendment to the Foreign Service Act which protects the merit promotion system from possible political abuses.

STATE NEWS

FSO Promotion Trends: Reform Committee Chairman Tom Tracy spoke on present and projected trends regarding promotion and selection out. Citing statistics he indicated that there would be little change in the structure of the Foreign Service until about 1977 when retirement because of age will begin to affect the senior grades. Mr. Tracy pointed out that, of the 4,000 officer level positions on the State Department books only 3100 were held by FSOs. He suggested a change in the cone system to create a fifth cone for interfunctional positions.

Junior Threshold: State management has asked AFSA to comment on a number of procedural changes in the Junior Officer Threshold Process. The AFSA Board after reviewing the Junior Officer Threshold, holding two large open meetings on the subject, plus talking and corresponding with dozens of junior officers and JFSOC, has concluded that patching up the procedures of the Junior Threshold is not enough. The Board has approved a paper to be issued shortly as a Red Border which urges management to abolish the present junior threshold process which is not accomplishing the goal set out by Task Force II to grant tenure to those junior officers who are best qualified. The threshold process to date has been a failure; its only "success" has been to recone junior officers at the point of least resistance, their promotion to Class-5. The paper proposes that the present procedural safeguards and review procedures be maintained, but that the threshold be reconstituted to serve as a board of review to do only one important job—grant tenure to Foreign Service junior officers. The grant of tenure to a junior officer would be done on the basis of demonstrated abilities in the core skills, and a judgment that the officer was capable of performing in the mid-career. AFSA is seeking comments on its proposal from its junior officer members world wide.



Overseas Chapters Formed: Overseas AFSA Chapters have been recently formed at Tokyo, Caracas, Lima, and Tunis. The AFSA Board of Directors is encouraging AFSA overseas members to form AFSA Chapters to improve communications between AFSA/Washington and the AFSA members in the field, but, more importantly, to be prepared to discuss local issues with Embassy management once AFSA has won exclusive recognition in the Foreign Affairs Agencies. AFSA Headquarters can provide examples of By-laws for chapters.

Secretary-Treasurer Elected: David Loving has been elected as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFSA Board, replacing Sam Thornburg, who recently resigned from the Board upon assuming a management official position.

Scholarship Guidelines. The AFSA Board at its meeting on June 12, 1972, adopted the following resolution on the activities of the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund.

WHEREAS, the American Foreign Service Association seeks tax exemption for its Scholarship Fund, and

WHEREAS, the Exemption Application (IRS Form 1023) requires a statement of activities sponsored by the Scholarship Fund;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the activities approved for sponsorship by the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund are:

1. Scholarship grants for undergraduate study in US colleges and universities;

2. Scholarship grants for study in accredited preparatory schools in the United States;
3. Educational assistance to children requiring special education or counseling services.

The above activities are open to children of American Foreign Service personnel or to children of American Foreign Service employees who were members of the Association at the time of their retirement or death, or to children of Associate members of the Association, or to categories of children of American Foreign Service employees who are specified by donors of named scholarships.

AFSA ACTIVITIES

Allowances Discrimination Protested

AFSA and WAO have requested management to end the discrimination in housing and shipment of effects allowances between single persons and married couples without children. Aside from some minor differences in utility costs and the shipping of extra clothing, the needs are the same. Under present rules couples receive up to 50% more in housing allowances abroad, even though the representational responsibilities may be identical. AFSA and WAO are urging that the allowances be revised to eliminate discrimination against single employees.

AFSA and WAO have received a temporizing reply from management indicating that the problem is under study. We will continue to press to end this unjustified discrimination.

Improving the Commercial Function: AFSA held an open meeting on June 15 on improving the commercial function. The meeting provoked a number of differences of opinion on Task Force report. However, the AFSA Board believes that the Task Forces' Report correctly directs itself to the continuation of the attitudinal change in the Service towards commercial work. Members of the Task Force are seeking appointments

with Secretaries Rogers and Peterson, Ambassador Hall, Senator Inouye and Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs, Peter M. Flanigan. The AFSA Reform Bulletin was widely distributed within the Administration and Congress.

The OMB Study of government commercial activities is proceeding. The report is expected to be critical of government export promotion activities both in the US and abroad. However, the recommendations of the OMB study are still not known.

CSC Developments: The Civil Service Commission (CSC) is undertaking extensive reviews of the Federal sick leave program and the adverse action system. The CSC has also indicated that it sees no quick change in the Federal work week below 40 hours. The Commission stated that until there is a general reduction in the work week among non-Federal employers no change in the Federal work week can be expected.

CSC is also undertaking a Government-wide study on job classification. This study is the second half of the Oliver Committee Recommendations and will affect salary and job guidelines for Federal employment.

Kindergarten Allowances Still Pending: AFSA's Members' Interests Committee has been urging Management to provide a kindergarten allowance for Foreign Service personnel stationed overseas. Latest reports indicate that the Department's request for legislation to provide for such a kindergarten allowance is still "pending" in the Office of Management and Budget. Consequently, there appears to be no possibility of any kindergarten payments being made during the 1972-73 academic year. The Members' Interests Committee will continue to push for a kindergarten allowance which provides the same free schooling for kindergarten aged children abroad as would be received were their families stationed in the United States. Such allowances are received by uniformed military families overseas.

Foreign Service People

BIRTHS

Brown. A daughter, Tara Estelle, was born to FSO and Mrs. Richard C. Brown in Washington on March 17.

Cecil. A daughter, Kathryn Marie, was born to FSO and Mrs. Charles O. Cecil in Beirut May 12.

Clear. A daughter, Rebecca Dorothy, was born to FSO and Mrs. Taylor (Jesse) Clear in Washington March 29.

Richardson. A son, David Cebron, was born to FSR and Mrs. Blaine C. Richardson in Bangkok May 2.

MARRIAGES

Graham-Fortin. Leslie Graham, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. David Graham, AID, was married to James Fortin on June 5. The bride and groom are pictured with the bride's parents at the reception in the Foreign Service Club.



Jonas-Arneson. Anne M. Jonas and R. Gordon Arneson, FSO-retired, were married on June 10 in Fairfax, Virginia. Mr. and Mrs. Arneson will be at home at 11633 North Shore Dr., Reston, Va.

DEATHS

Anderson. Barbara Heath Anderson, wife of FSR-ret. Edick Anderson, died at her home in Reston, Va. on May 2. She had lived in Berlin, Essen, Frankfurt and Stuttgart, Addis Ababa, and Canberra where Mr. Anderson had served as a USIS officer. Mrs. Anderson leaves her husband, 1626 Wainwright Drive, Reston, 22070, a daughter, Heather, and two sons, Beri and Mark.

Benedict. Warren Benedict, FSR-ret., died in Falls Church May 21. He had served as a linguist with FSI since 1958. A cousin, Milford M. Cheney, 4892 Northgate Drive, Manlius, N.Y. 13104, survives.

de Lambert. Richard M. de Lambert, FSO-ret., died at his home in

La Jolla, California May 13. He had served in Iran, Ecuador, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Cuba, Peru, Belgium, Tahiti and Chile, during his 37 years with the State Department. He is survived by his wife, Agnes of 849 Coast Boulevard, Apt. E-9, La Jolla, Ca. 92037, and two sisters.

de Wolf. Hazel Kearney de Wolf, wife of GS-ret. Francis Colt de Wolf Sr., died May 17 in Washington. Besides her husband, Mrs. de Wolf is survived by two sons, Francis Jr., 2333 Ashmead Pl., N.W. Washington 20009, and Bradford.

Grady. Lucretia del Valle Grady, widow of Ambassador Henry Grady, died in San Mateo, California May 23. Ambassador Grady had served in Greece, Iran and India. Mrs. Grady had long been active in politics and the women's rights movement. She is survived by three sons: Reginald, of Hillsborough, Ca.; Henry Jr., of San Francisco and John of Los Angeles, and a daughter of Malaga, Spain.

Hummel. J. L. Hummel, FSO-ret., died April 24. His former address was Route 3, Cypress Point, Box 294, Leesburg, Georgia 31763. We have no information regarding surviving relatives.

Smyser. David W. Smyser, FSR-ret., died in Washington May 18. He is survived by his wife, of 7702 Leesburg Drive, Bethesda, Md. 20034.

Taylor. Janet Donald Taylor, wife of FSR Daniel Taylor, died May 19 in Washington. Mr. and Mrs. Taylor had been assigned to Paris and Anchorage, Alaska. Mrs. Taylor is survived by her husband of 1723 Rupert St., McLean, Va. 22101, three sons, Bruce of the home address, Bradford, and Ronald, her mother, a brother, two sisters, and two grandchildren.

Turner. Allan R. Turner, FSO, died suddenly at his post in London June 4. He is survived by his wife, of 2102 South Kings, Springfield, Mo. 65804, two sons and two daughters. Memorial contributions may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

AFRICAN ART EXHIBIT

To celebrate the first anniversary of its reopening, the Museum of African Art will present a major new exhibition "African Art in Washington Collections" beginning May 25 and running through December.

Over 100 collectors of African art are represented in the collection which contains 350 works of traditional African sculpture and textiles.

Among the lenders to the collection are Ambassador John McKesson, AID's Richard Wolford and family, and USIA Cultural Attache and Mrs. Bernard Coleman. The Museum is located at 316-318 A Street, N.E.

A FITTING MEMORIAL

Friends of the late Anne Dimond Reilly, wife of Thomas E. Reilly, AID, have contributed \$33,986 to a memorial fund. Her family has requested that this fund be used for the purchase of books on art and culture with some emphasis upon the arts and culture of Asia. These books will be a gift to the High School of the International School Bangkok, where Mrs. Reilly served as librarian from 1966 to 1971.

A special name plate will be attached to the cover of each book and the books will be placed on shelves identified by a memorial plaque. In addition, a suitable painting will be purchased to hang in the library and this also will be identified with an appropriate memorial plaque.

In accepting the gift on behalf of the students, staff and Board of Directors of International School Bangkok, Dr. Stuart S. Phillips expressed appreciation for their thoughtful and appropriate memorial to a former member of the staff who was respected, admired and beloved by the students, the parents and her colleagues.

CLUB NEWS



On June 5, Mrs. William B. Macomber was hostess at the Foreign Service Club at a luncheon for the Auxiliary of the Boys Clubs of America. Many members of the AAFSW are active in this group. The guests had toured the State Department before the luncheon and went on to tour foreign embassies. Mrs. Macomber and Mrs. Max Bond are shown at the Club.

PARK NEWS

In addition to the other striking features of the newly renovated Foreign Service Park, between E Street and Virginia Avenue at 21st, it now boasts two resident indigents. Little is known about them, other than that they observe the territorial imperative, one occupying the southeast corner grating, the other one of the stone benches. There also seems to be a class system operating—one is a bum without portmanteau, the other with.

As for a progress report on the Park, the grass waxed green and lush, the forsythia went about its business of blooming, most of the flowering trees survived Washington's unusual winter and we cherish the mental picture of a cover-girl tourist being photographed by her escort in front of the flowering crab. The convenient path which runs diagonally across is known as Promotion Path and woe betide the chances of those who walk on

NOTES

State Advisory Committee Formed

The AFSA Board has established a State Advisory Committee to counsel the Board on State Department Foreign Service Personnel and set administrative policy matters.

DARs Released: The Department has announced the release of all Development Appraisal Reports to the rated Foreign Service personnel. The DARs are being declassified and employees will be allowed to make copies from their personnel files. Another due process step.

AFSA has held recent Open Meetings on the Magnuson Bill, compensatory promotions in a merit promotion system, on tax problems faced by Foreign Service employees, and AID.

Professional meetings have been held recently with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Chief of Staff, Carl Marcy, Ambassador Charles Yost, and Senator Inouye who is Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Commerce and Tourism.

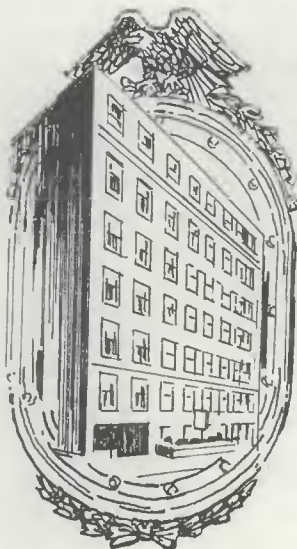
STRUCTURE OF FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER CORPS

(By Senior, Middle and Junior Officer Groups)

July 1	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
CA-2	687	733	758	781	832	866	831	808	758	766
3-5	1902	1894	1911	1862	1801	1879	1884	1853	1794	1849
6-8	1121	1081	1064	988	908	821	774	614	528	467
Total	3710	3708	3733	3631	3541	3566	3489	3275	3080	3028

the grass instead.

Contributions toward the upkeep of the Park and toward adding names to the Memorial Plaque are welcomed.



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- Lightning • Explosion • Vandalism
- Windstorm • Disappearance • And other perils • Storage coverage

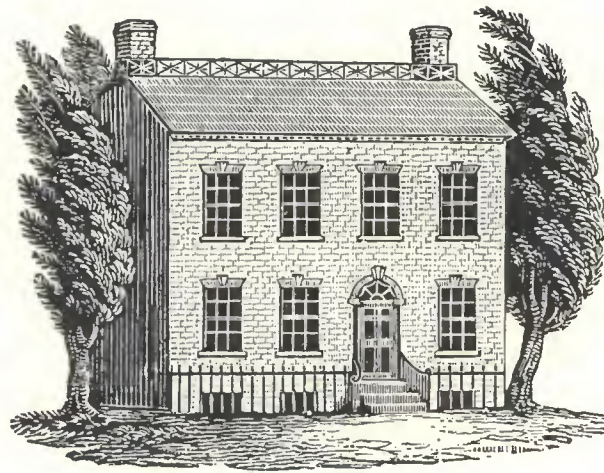


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