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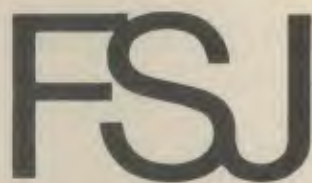
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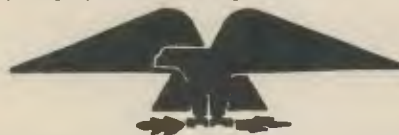
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JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD., 46 Keyes House, Dolphin Sq.,
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©American Foreign Service Association, 1973. The Foreign Service Journal is published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037. Telephone (202) 338-4045

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C.



The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is the journal of professionals in foreign affairs, published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization.

Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and is not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development or the United States Government as a whole.

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For subscription to the JOURNAL, one year (12 issues); \$6.00; two years, \$10.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except Canada, add \$1.00 annually for overseas postage.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*.

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STATE PROMOTIONS

If the current State officer rates of promotion are sustained over time, the **average** times-in-class will be as follows:

Entry as 0-7 at age 27	
0-6 at age 29	2 years
0-5 at age 32	3 years
0-4 at age 38	6 years
0-3 at age 48	10 years
0-2 at age 60*	12 years
0-1 at age 71*	11 years

An FSO entering the Service at age 27 would make FSO-3 in 21 years at age 48, and would be separated from active duty at age 52 for 20 years time-in-mid-career. If these rates are sustained, few FSOs will have a chance of making 0-1 or 0-2, and a rather large number will not make 0-3. **We have not yet reached this point**, of course, but **we will** if these low promotion rates are sustained. The situation for other pay plans is no more encouraging.

In announcing the recent promotion list, the Department appeared to take considerable pride in the fact that the total number of FSO promotions was up considerably over the previous two years. The Department was not quick to point out that much of this increase was attributable to the growth of the Corps due to the conversion of FSSOs to FSO, and that the relative increase was much smaller. Nor did they mention that they took into account the relatively large number of people facing selection out, but who were not selected out. Although we are glad that total promotions are up—the fact that the previous two years were even worse does not make this year's unacceptably low rates any better.

In the midst of all this, the Department has announced a program which will substantially downgrade the level of jobs. The Department has constantly refused to consult with the Association on this ill-considered proposal, but has "assured" us that the effect of this down-grading will only **somewhat** depress promotion opportunities. Frankly, we think they are already pretty depressing.

*Note: "Only the above average officer passes over the senior threshold!"

BACKDOOR ENTRY INTO THE CAREER SERVICE?

DURING the last year this Association has repeatedly and strongly expressed its view that politically appointed FSRs should not be granted career status as FSRUs. AFSA supports granting career tenure in State and USIA to bona fide specialists with needed skills and former Civil Service careerists.

We have been briefed by State and USIA managers on the upcoming conversions to FSRU. USIA has adopted tight specialist criteria for their program; but we are

very concerned about the State conversions. We recently wrote to Director General Hall, who has to date steadfastly defended the career principle, reiterating our strong concern that the FSRU program not provide a "backdoor entry" into the career service for political appointees. Specifically, we asked that FSRU appointments be strictly limited to bona fide specialists and former Civil Service careerists. We hoped that the Director General would adopt these proposals to govern career FSRU appointments. Unfortunately, he has not.

The Director General's reply left the door open for the appointment of FSRU *generalists*—a contradiction in terms:

"While it has been the intention from the beginning that the (FSRU) program should be *primarily* for specialists, we have always recognized the likelihood that some participants would have the skills of a generalist, *possibly* in addition to their skills as specialists." (Loop-holes emphasized).

The Director General has rejected our proposal that an AFSA representative participate in reviewing the qualifications of FSRs applying for conversion to FSRU status—a proposal designed to have AFSA share the political heat of saying "no." Before we can appeal this matter to the Board of the Foreign Service, it will be too late. The major conversion decisions will by then have been made by the Director General and the Director and Deputy Director of Personnel.

AFSA will establish, *in time*, a procedure guaranteeing that career status in the FSRU program is offered *only* to those specialists for whom the program was designed. Unfortunately, we may close this "backdoor" after the horses are *in* the barn. Until then, the Service must count on the Director General, his staff, and ultimately on the seventh floor principals, to insure that the FSRU program is not abused. Mary Olmsted, Bob Brewster and Bill Hall will be under extreme pressure to grant political FSRU appointments. It is up to all of us to place counter-vailing pressure on them to defend the career principle.



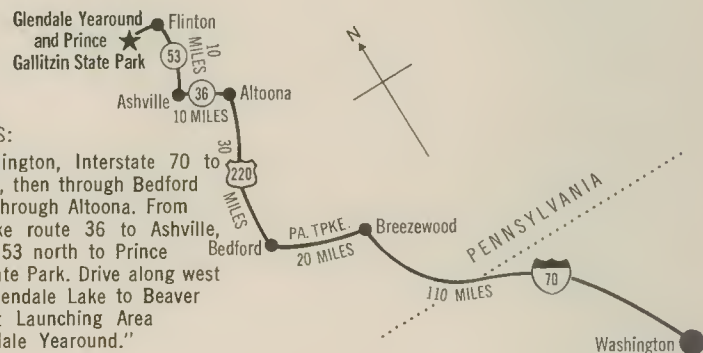
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COMMUNICATIONS RE: PROMOTIONS and ASSIGNMENTS

THIS is in response to your request for comments on the Foreign Service promotion system.

The fundamental flaw in the Foreign Service promotion system is that it forces Promotion Boards to make discriminations for which they have no proper basis. The other shortcomings and inequities that are so apparent and widely commented on are for the most part the inevitable consequences of this pernicious requirement that the Boards rank officers numerically in pre-determined upper and lower percentiles.

The performance evaluations on which the system

rests are inherently and manifestly incapable of providing a fair and rational basis for this kind of fine tuning. They may serve validly to identify a handful of truly outstanding officers who are doing consistently superior work or, on the other hand, to single out those few officers whose performance is clearly sub-standard. However, they cannot and should not be expected to provide the evidence on which one officer is ranked, for example, 32nd in his class while another is ranked 33rd. The most that could properly be asked of the Boards, beyond an identification of the extremes, is that they specify which officers, on the basis of their records, are presently promotable and which are not.

Facing an unreasonable requirement, the Promotion Boards now have no choice but to "read between the lines" of evaluations and search for any nuance that will provide them with some basis, however tenuous, for making the choices between individual officers which the system forces on them. In such a situation it is unavoidable that nuances and distinctions are drawn which are invidious, and often never intended by the rating officer. Moreover, the writing ability and style of the rating officer, as well as the time and effort he is able to devote to the evaluation, tend to become critical, although quite illegitimate, factors affecting the ranking process. The grade and status of the officer also become a significant factor under these circumstances.

The "problem" is simply that nearly all Foreign Service officers perform well and effectively, and their performance evaluations reflect that fact, albeit with varying degrees of eloquence. To ask a group of people with-

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out direct knowledge of the officers concerned to discriminate between them to the extent now required on the basis of those evaluations, invites injustices and, quite frankly, is absurd.

An understanding of the nature of the fault in the current system points one toward the solution. What is needed is a system that rewards truly outstanding performance with rapid promotion, identifies clearly sub-standard officers, and provides for steady and measured progress up to their highest level of competence for the great majority of Foreign Service officers who fall in neither extreme. It is quite possible to design such a system which would operate fairly and equitably without making unrealistic demands of the Promotion Boards. I will propose an outline for such a system.

Under my proposal, the Promotion Boards would be asked to do several things. First, they would select the few truly outstanding officers in each class and recommend them as an unranked group for immediate promotion. Within broad limits, the number of such officers selected would depend only on how many such clearly outstanding officers can be identified on the basis of adequate and unequivocal evidence. (It would be conceivable, although unlikely, that for a given class in a particular year, no officers would be selected in this category.) I would suggest as a guideline that the expected numbers of outstanding officers be set at something approaching five percent of the class, with eight percent representing an upper limit which would rarely be reached.

The next step would be for the Board to identify those officers whose performance has been clearly and consistently sub-standard. Again, there should be no arbitrary quota, and the possibility should be allowed for in any given class and year, that no officer would fall into that category. As a general guideline, it would be appropriate to indicate to the Board, without binding them in any way, what experience has indicated would be the expected upper and lower limits of this category (e.g., 2% to 8% of a class).

(I want to emphasize that I do not advocate summarily dismissing those in this lowest category. There are ways of dealing with sub-standard performance which protect both the Service and the rights of the individual. The affected officer should certainly have the right to a hearing before any adverse action is taken. Should an independent hearing body confirm the judgment of the Board, there are a number of actions short of dismissal which properly could be taken depending on the particular circumstances involved: demotion to a lower rank at which he may have performed satisfactorily, withdrawal of clearance for overseas assignments, transfer to an appropriate GS or FSS assignment for which he is deemed qualified, early retirement at a reduced annuity—to name a few. An employee should be dismissed [i.e., "selected out"] only for cause and after due process has been granted.)

As a final step, the Board would divide the remaining officers in each class into two categories: those fully qualified and ready for promotion to the next grade level and those who are not currently recommended for promotion. There would be no arbitrary percentiles specified. The Board would simply be asked to look at the

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evidence in each officer's file and make a judgment on whether the officer was promotable at that time. How many fell into one category and how many into the other would be solely a function of the Board's judgment regarding the qualifications for promotion of the individual officers in the class.

The officers selected for inclusion in the outstanding category would all be promoted. To the extent openings permitted, additional promotions would, on the basis of seniority, go to those officers certified by the Boards as promotable.

The promotion system I have described would be quite compatible with the threshold review concept at the intermediate and senior levels. It could also be applied on a "functional cone" basis; however, I would hope that the promotional system will soon be relieved of the burden of using promotions to reshape personnel skill patterns in response to shifting views of the Service's requirements for various kinds of functional expertise. This is properly the function of the recruitment, training, and assignment processes. (The selection of Promotion Board members and the drawing of precepts for them are quite adequate tools to assure that appropriate consideration is given to performance in functional fields in which the Service currently places high priority.) In the final analysis, a Foreign Service officer serves where he is told and does the kind of work he is assigned. A fair and equitable promotion system must be concerned primarily with how well he performs his assignments.

RICHARD J. SMITH

BOARD COMMENT: AFSA has received a number of similar proposals. Recognizing the limitations of the efficiency reports, a general mid-career consensus appears to be emerging towards some form of seniority or seniority plus "water walker" system. The basic question of the paucity of the promotion lists is not met by these simple proposals. (See editorial.)

To add spice to the current debate on the promotion and assignment process, I want to throw out a radical proposal—that the present hierarchical structure of the Foreign Service be scrapped altogether. In its place, I would propose a simple system along the following lines:

Divide FSOs into three basic groups: trainees, operational officers, and executive officers. The FSO class system would be abolished, to be replaced by automatic salary increases based on length of service. Greater use of merit increases could serve as an incentive for outstanding performance.

Restructure jobs at posts, abolishing all hierarchical distinctions below the level of chief of section. Each operational officer would be solely responsible for a given area of work, and all operational officers would have equal status within the Embassy. Assignments would be based on relating the interests and abilities of the officer to the job to be done. Even under this system, some jobs would, of course, be more interesting than others. Competition for the better jobs would provide an

(Continued on page 30)

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The American Foreign Service Protective Association

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE INSURANCE YEAR ENDED FEBRUARY 28, 1973

I. OPERATIONS

	As of March 1	
	1972	1973
Members carrying Group Life	2998	2985
Group Life in Force (inclusive of Reversionary)	\$80,760,775	\$79,142,225
Enrolled in Foreign Service Benefit Plan	9339	9576
Claims paid during year:		
Group Life, Number	34	24
Amount	\$ 602,875	\$ 396,250
Family Coverage, Number	14	16
Amount	\$ 43,000	\$ 42,600
Accidental Death, Number	1	2
Amount	\$ 17,500	\$ 35,000
Foreign Service Benefit Plan	\$ 2,168,558	\$ 2,639,009

The Association has been able to continue its remarkable 50% Reversionary rate for the insurance year beginning March 1, 1973.

Benefits under the Foreign Service Benefit Plan have been improved to include 100% semi-private hospitalization for 365 days instead of 120 days and material increases in dental-surgical benefits.

.....

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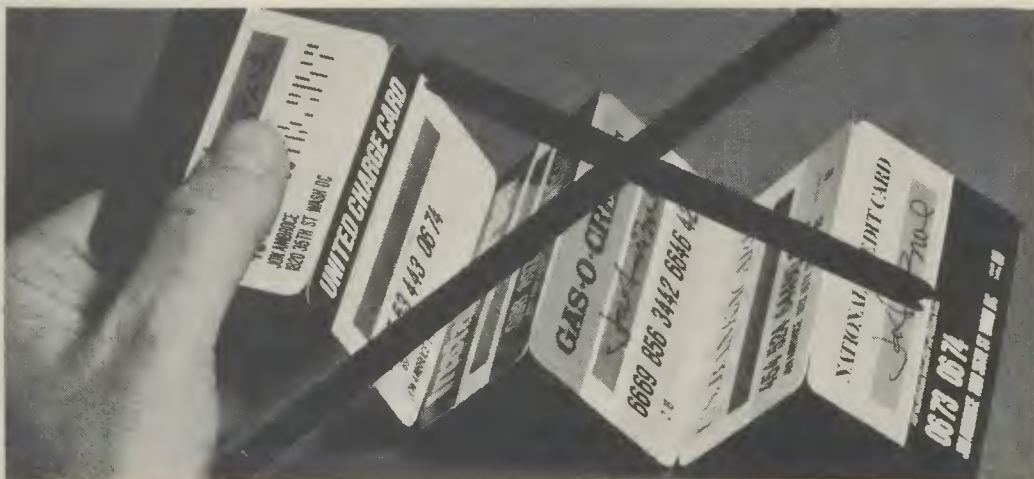
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Dynamics of Development

DR. JOHN A. HANNAH

THE key to bettering the human condition and achieving lasting peace in the world may lie in the developing countries.

There are more than 100 developing nations. They contain 70 percent of the world's population and occupy two-thirds of the earth's land.

These countries have made significant progress in recent years. During the past decade their economies grew at an average rate of just under six percent per year. In the last ten years they have increased by 36 percent. Average life expectancy has continued to improve and reached 57 years in 1971. In the last decade, the developing countries have progressed faster than the developed countries did at comparable time periods in their history.

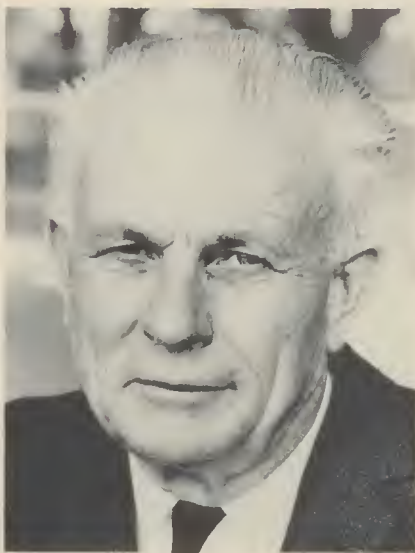
Commendable as this progress may be it is only a silver lining within some very large clouds.

The common condition of the developing countries is still mass poverty. The benefits of growth have been offset by population increases and uneven development has too often excluded those at the lower end of the economic ladder.

Because of population growth, per capita food production is barely higher today than it was ten years ago.

The developing countries have doubled and tripled the size of their school systems in the past ten years. But there are more children out of school today than there were ten years ago. There are no schools at all for more than 300 million of their children.

There is mass unemployment as



Dr. John A. Hannah, who now holds the record for length of tenure as Administrator of AID, served for 28 years as President of Michigan State University. His interest in the foreign aid program dates back to 1949 and the beginning of the Point Four Program. At that time he served President Truman for two years on the International Development Advisory Board. He has also held other presidential appointments under the Nixon, Johnson, Kennedy and Eisenhower administrations.

young workers flood into the job markets. The rates for unemployment and underemployment range up to more than 30 percent in many developing countries—higher than the United States experienced in the worst years of the depression.

Mass unemployment is perpetuating mass poverty which in turn perpetuates mass malnutrition, ill-health, illiteracy and the whole catalogue of human misery which comprises underdevelopment.

Some forty percent of the total population in all developing countries is caught in this cycle of pover-

ty. Their numbers are growing.

This situation appeals starkly to traditional American sympathies. But it is more than a moral dilemma. It is a major determinant of the kind of world in which the United States must seek its own destiny. Peace cannot be sustained in conditions of social upheaval or a growing confrontation between rich and poor.

Equally important, the United States and the other industrial countries are linked to the developing countries by considerations of trade, investment, and critical resource needs. We share with them a common interest in an open international economic system in which all nations benefit from an increased flow of good and services.

For example, US imports of energy fuels and minerals are expected to increase from \$8 billion in 1970 to more than \$31 billion by 1985—a fourfold increase in only 13 years. By then half or more of our petroleum imports may need to come from a dozen traditionally poor and undeveloped countries. The known reserves of many minerals are largely located in the developing countries. Chile, Peru, Zambia and Zaire supply most of the world's exportable copper. Malaysia, Bolivia, and Thailand account for 70 percent of the tin in international trade.

On the other side of the trade ledger, the developing countries are becoming increasingly significant as markets for US exports and investments. In 1970, they accounted for 30 percent of all US exports.

It is also true that solution of such world problems as environ-



Some of the 9.7 million refugees from East Pakistan in one of the camps in India. Assistance from the United States was channeled through the UN and voluntary agencies.

mental pollution, narcotics control, and security of travel requires broad international cooperation, including participation by the developing countries.

For all these economic, political, and moral reasons, a continuing US response to the challenge of underdevelopment is as much in our own interest as it is in that of the developing nations. It is indispensable to an expanding international economy and a decent international order.

Our response to this challenge should be a system of technical, institutional, and economic relationships—between the industrial and the poor countries—which enhances the ability of the poor countries to mobilize their own energies for development, and to make better use of their own resources. Much of the machinery for this joint and systematic attack by the rich and poor countries on the problem of world poverty is in place. The US international development assistance program is a key element of this system, and bilateral assistance is the prime mover of US development policies.

This system has been building since the early 1960s. Other developed countries have been encouraged to join in the effort and, over the years, have continually increased their contributions. Today,

the United States is still the largest single donor, but no longer provides the bulk of such assistance. Measuring officially recognized development assistance as a percentage of GNP, the United States now ranks twelfth among the sixteen major aid-giving countries, behind Portugal, France, The Netherlands, Australia, Japan, Canada, Belgium, West Germany, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and Denmark.

New international institutions—the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the African Development Bank—have come into being and are now well established. The UN agencies also play important roles.

Over the past decade, US participation in the multilateral development institutions has been a significant factor in their continuing development and, together, they now handle nearly 25 percent of the total of aid flows from all donor countries.

At the same time, the United States will continue its bilateral program. Both bilateral and multilateral aid are needed now, and both will continue to be needed, in careful coordination, for the foreseeable future.

The US bilateral aid program can meet unique US purposes more di-

rectly, more quickly, and more effectively than can assistance through other mechanisms. It has an organizational discipline that provides a flexible and innovative tool for carrying out US national policy in countries or geographic areas of particular US interest. It can apply special American techniques and expertise, largely drawn from the private sector, more effectively to development problems. It provides a channel for US leadership, and a clear identification of US participation and a visible demonstration of US constancy in the sum of world development efforts that cannot be accomplished in other ways.

UNITED STATES bilateral development assistance will focus over the next few years on these problems:

Food and Nutrition: At present population growth rates, world food production will have to increase by two and one-half times to provide adequate diets. Since there is little arable land not already in use, this increase must be achieved by break-throughs in agricultural productivity—an area in which American know-how is preeminent. A dynamic agriculture is a prime requisite for energizing the whole process of development. In most developing countries agriculture must be looked to not only for food, but also for a major assist in providing jobs for the unemployed.

Family Planning and Health: At the base of virtually all development problems in the poor countries is run-away population growth. These countries account for about ninety percent of the annual world population growth. India, for example, despite government programs to reduce population growth, is increasing by about one million people per month. Family size in the developing countries now averages about six children per family. At this fertility level, world population will grow from today's 3.7 billion to about 7.5 billion by the end of this century.

The population boom is perhaps the most intractable problem facing the developing countries today. Curbing it is only partly a matter of national family planning programs. High birth rates are linked to problems of poor health and poverty.

Continued on page 33



The problems of inadequate employment and skewed income underscore the persistence of massive poverty in low income countries

Employment and Income Distribution: Considerations for Development

EDWIN COHN and
JOHN ERIKSSON

OVER the past two decades, the aggregate growth performance of the developing countries has been remarkably high. But substantial segments of the population in less developed countries are not sharing in the benefits of growth. This unequal participation in the benefits of development is apparent in two particularly conspicuous and related aspects: first, persistently high underemployment and, in some countries, unemployment, and second, highly unequal income distribution. Moreover, the available data, though incomplete and not always very reliable, indicate that the labor force is increasing faster than opportunities for productive employment and that in most countries for which data exist the distribution of income is becoming more, rather than less, unequal.

The inadequacy of employment opportunities is reflected in open unemployment and in widespread underemployment in both urban and rural areas. In a number of Latin American and African cities open unemployment exceeds 10 percent of the labor force and is probably rising. For the 15-24 age group, those seeking their first job, it is especially severe, exceeding 20 per-

cent in many cities and running as high as 40 percent in some. The applicability to developing countries of the concept of open unemployment used in industrialized countries is questionable, however, since the great majority of the labor force in less developed countries does not work at wage jobs in the organized sector but is family or self-employed.

The more prevalent, although less readily quantifiable, phenomenon is underemployment. The underemployed include both those who are idle during much of the year because of seasonal or sporadic need for their services, such as a substantial part of the agricultural work force, and those who, although putting in long hours throughout the year, are productive only a fraction of the time they spend at work, such as street peddlers. These types of underemployment or low productivity employment, which are widespread in both rural and urban areas, constitute a much more serious problem, especially in those countries where, according to official statistics, open unemployment is relatively low. Given on the one hand the projected acceleration in labor force growth rates in all regions of the developing world during the next two decades and on the other hand the probable modest rise in demand for labor in agriculture (likely to be at least partially offset by labor-displacing mechanization) and inadequate growth of labor requirements in the industrial sector, underemployment can be expected to increase.

The distribution of income is closely related to employment since for most people productive work is the main source of income. Most of the available evidence indicates that in the absence of public policies aimed at equalizing income distribution, such as those followed in Taiwan, economic growth in non-socialist countries tends to favor the upper income groups and to worsen the relative position of the poor, at least until a country has achieved a relatively high level of socioeconomic development. Scattered observations suggest not only that those in the lower socioeconomic strata are receiving a disproportionately small share of the benefits of growth, meaning that their *relative* position is deteriorating, but also that some of the poorest groups have been experiencing no increase, or even a decline, in *absolute* real income. It should be noted, however, that the poor have received some significant gains not counted as income, notably the sharp decline in mortality and morbidity from famine and communicable diseases (such as malaria) of which the poor had been the main victims.

These prevalent problems of inadequate employment opportunities and skewed income distribution in low income countries underscore the persistence of massive poverty despite the rise in *average* per capita income, a figure which like many aggregates can easily conceal gross inequalities. Even in developing countries with average per capita income of \$200 or more, substantial segments of the population are un-

Dr. Cohn and Dr. Eriksson serve in the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, AID. This article is condensed from a paper prepared by them as a basis for discussion in AID of the problems of employment and income distribution in developing countries and possible ways in which external assistance can help to resolve these problems.

Reprinted courtesy of "War on Hunger."

able to maintain a human standard of existence. In India, where per capita income is less than \$100, a recent study placed those below the official poverty line, as defined by minimum nutrition standards, at 40-50 percent of the population.

In addition to the human misery they entail, inadequate employment opportunities and increasingly unequal income distribution have at least two important implications for the development process. First, the waste inherent in the under-utilization of human resources, the most abundant resource of most developing countries, retards the development process. Second, the frustrations generated by perceived unequal participation in the benefits of development and especially by open unemployment, constitute a potential source of disaffection and unrest which could undermine the development process. Meaningful development involves broad popular participation in the development process and in its benefits, including progress toward meeting the basic needs of people, both their material needs for food, health, shelter and security and their less readily measured but not less important spiritual need for human dignity.

One of the basic factors responsible for widespread unemployment and underemployment is demographic. The population explosion of the 1950s and 1960s now is being reflected in labor force growth rates of two to three percent in most developing countries and even more in some. This is at least double the rate of labor force growth experienced in Western Europe or Japan at comparable periods in their development. Labor force growth will continue at high levels even if fertility rates decline because the entrants for the next 15 years have already been born. The longer run solution to the employment problem must come, of course, in large measure from slower population growth, which underscores the critical need for efforts to reduce fertility rates. Meanwhile, massive rural-urban migration compounds the problem in cities. As a result of these factors the supply of labor can be expected to grow at an even higher rate, especially in urban areas.

The second element is technologi-

cal and affects the demand for labor. The traditional technology of developing countries is very labor intensive but the technology being transferred to them from abroad is that developed by and for industrialized countries which are characterized by relative abundance of capital and scarcity of labor. While the economies of most developing countries remain generally rather labor intensive because of the large size of the traditional sector, much of the technology introduced over the past two decades has been more capital-intensive and labor-saving than is appropriate for countries with excess labor and acute scarcity of capital. The result is that employment in the modern, organized sector, especially in manufacturing, has been growing at no more than half the rate of production growth and that the absorption into modern non-agricultural activity of the surplus labor from rural areas, which occurred in Western Europe, North America and Japan at the time of their industrialization, is not proceeding at a rate commensurate with the growth of the labor surplus.

The third element affecting the problem is institutional. Credit, education, land tenure, agricultural extension, marketing and other institutions tend to favor the already privileged and to penalize or ignore the poor. Large, well-established enterprises and upper income groups enjoy superior access to these institutions partly because of their powerful connections and partly because it is easier and more expeditious to deal with large clients than to reach out and serve the dispersed, less well informed, less able to afford risk, less market-oriented enterprises and lower socioeconomic groups. Yet smaller units in agriculture, industry and construction are often more labor-intensive. This orientation of institutions to serving the more powerful clients results in further skewing of income distribution and in the creation of fewer employment opportunities than would otherwise be generated.

Many policies and practices pursued by the developing countries themselves aggravate employment and income distribution problems. Prominent among these is inappro-

priate factor-pricing which makes capital artificially cheap and labor artificially expensive. Capital is under-priced as a result of over-valued currencies, officially controlled low interest rates, preferential tariffs on imported capital goods, tax allowances on investment and import licensing arrangements which discriminate in favor of large enterprises. Labor, on the other hand, may be over-priced as a consequence of minimum wages, high premiums for shift work, high legally required social benefits such as family allowances, medical clinics and pensions financed from payroll taxes, and legislation intended to protect the job security of employees through, for example, rigid and costly dismissal compensation. These have the practical effect of encouraging employers to minimize their dependence on labor or to rely on overtime rather than hiring additional workers. Moreover, these policies and practices curb employment growth by artificially encouraging investment in capital-intensive sectors, by stimulating the adoption of capital-intensive methods where alternative technologies exist, and by discouraging the full use of existing scarce capital by such measures as multiple shift operations.

Also, there is often a bias in the bureaucracies of developing countries in favor of low prices and rationing and against the value of the market as an allocating mechanism. This approach is frequently justified on equity grounds, the usual argument being that high interest rates, for instance, are antisocial. The fact is, however, that prices set below the point at which supply and demand intersect make rationing necessary and that the larger, better informed, more aggressive and powerful operators obtain the lion's share of what is being rationed while the small and weak farmers and businessmen, for whose benefit the practice is ostensibly intended, may receive little if anything. The latter would be better off if prices were permitted to find their own level rather than, as at present, be compelled to resort to the more expensive informal money market or black market, or be unable to obtain credit or supplies at all.

Aid donor agencies inevitably

affect employment and income distribution as well, regardless of their intentions or whether they even realize that they are doing so. Their influence makes itself felt in many ways, notably by:

- the orientations of the developing country institutions which they support;
- the types of technological and capital transfer which they finance;
- the effect of these transfers on what the developing countries do with their own resources;
- the training in developed countries which they provide for administrators and technicians from less developed countries; and
- the general policy advice they give to aid-recipient governments.

Many practices and policies followed by multilateral and bilateral donors have unwittingly made income distribution more unequal and have created less additional employment than they could have; in some instances they may even have reduced employment. These results have occurred as a consequence of donors often encouraging capital-intensive, labor saving technologies, notably in agriculture, manufacturing and civil engineering works and of donors restricting their concern to aggregate growth and neglecting which socio-economic groups contribute to the increased production and receive the benefits. This is not to say that donors have consistently, much less intentionally, acted in ways contrary to expanded employment and more equal distribution of income. Many activities, notably Food for Peace and program loans have brought important benefits. But donors have often leaned in the wrong direction and this could and should be corrected.

By concerning themselves mainly with aggregate economic growth and paying inadequate attention to which socio-economic groups have opportunities to contribute to increased production or to participate in the fruits of growth, donors have neglected opportunities to exercise a positive influence to reduce inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth. Usually it is easier and quicker to achieve a given increase in output by arranging for new technology, physical inputs, credit, information and advice and market-

ing facilities to be made available first and most abundantly to large producers rather than to small ones. Institutions established, often with donor assistance, to provide services of this type are normally designed to support larger enterprises, which also happen to be those with the greatest political power, rather than to assist smaller units and those in remote areas, which may have somewhat different needs and call for different procedures and a different orientation on the part of the staff.

While in the past donor agencies often disregarded employment and income distribution, they have paid increasing attention to them in recent years. The International Labor Organization (ILO) took the lead in the early '60s by holding conferences and publishing studies on employment problems in developing countries. These efforts led to the passage of ILO Convention 122 on Employment Policy which in turn laid the basis for the ILO's World Employment Program (WEP), initiated in 1968. WEP has begun an ambitious research effort to investigate the relationships between employment and population growth, technology, income distribution, education, urban development and trade. WEP has also organized four major missions to analyze employment problems and make policy recommendations in Colombia, Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Iran and Kenya.

Current concern with employment and income distribution problems is reflected in the UN's "International Development Strategy" for the Second UN Development Decade. Two explicit goals of the strategy are (1) "to bring about a more equitable distribution of income and wealth for promoting both social justice and efficiency of production," and (2) "to raise substantially the level of employment."

World Bank President Robert McNamara has given repeated emphasis to employment and income distribution in his public statements and the Bank now is sponsoring several research studies on employment and income-distribution related topics. Employment considerations also are beginning to be taken into account in project appraisals.

Several regional organizations

have given recent emphasis to employment problems. The Organization of American States focused on employment generation in its 1971 Inter-American Economic and Social Council Meeting. The Council on Asian Manpower Studies (CAMS) was formed in 1971 by scholars and government officials of nine East and Southeast Asian countries to sponsor policy-oriented research on employment and income distribution problems in the region. CAMS has created five Asian-based working parties specializing on labor force and labor supply, employment-generating projects and policies, education and manpower, technology and trade, respectively. Funding sources include the major foundations, the United Nations, and bilateral donors in the region, including the United States and Japan.

A number of bilateral donor agencies have manifested concern with employment and income distribution problems. The Overseas Development Administration of the United Kingdom supports major research and technical assistance on employment problems through the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University. The Swedish International Development Agency, in addition to providing direct support to the ILO's World Employment Research Program, has declared that its assistance will henceforth only be given to recipient countries committed to the goal of improving income distribution.

On its part, the Agency for International Development continues to support a number of activities with a potential positive impact on employment and income distribution.

A significant proportion of capital assistance channeled through AID has been in the form of the program loan. This form of assistance can result in greater employment generation than project lending restricted to financing capital equipment because it permits importation of a wide range of raw materials and intermediate goods. An assured adequate flow of current inputs can exert a significant favorable effect on the degree to which existing capacity is utilized and thus tends to reduce the capital-labor ratio and raise employment. In addition, the

Continued on page 31



Is our only choice really between giving aid to anti-Communist dictators and not giving it at all?

Busting our Mental Blocks on Foreign Aid

JAMES FALLOWS

DURING the fall of 1971 my wife and I were living in West Africa, working with Ghanaians on construction projects in the bush. Shortly before we were to head back to a more familiar life, news came that the United States Senate had voted to cut off foreign aid programs apparently as a slap at the President's war policies. . .

After hearing of it I walked, literally amazed, through the desert town of Bolgatanga, wondering what delusion could have made Americans feel they no longer had anything to share with the world's poor.

Few of my friends at home seemed to understand this feeling. They said that the Vietnam experience had soured them on foreign aid, and they disliked anything smacking of cultural imperialism. Yet enough of them—when confronted by dramatic images of suffering from Biafra and Bangladesh—experienced, at least momentarily, enough of what I felt in Ghana to lead me to write this article. . .

The anti-aid alliance between George Wallace and J. William Fulbright, or Rep. Otto Passman and the New York literati, has been explained by Senator Frank Church, in a forceful speech expressing the soured-liberal viewpoint, reprinted in "Development

Today," Robert Hunter, ed. (Praeger). Church said that aid's failure is "not technical and administrative, but conceptual and political, and can be understood only as an aspect of the larger failure of American foreign policy over the last decade. . . I can no longer cast my vote to prolong the bilateral aid program as it is now administered."

Church has a point. Since its beginnings, the foreign aid program has illustrated the dangers of doing the right thing for the wrong reason. During the '50s and '60s, aid supporters thought that the program might be easier to sell if it were advertised as part of a holy war against the Russians. The trouble with this compromise was that no one bothered to bring up the real reasons for giving aid, and liberals were trapped into supporting military aid for its own sake. After a while, if you looked where the money was going, more was being spent for machine guns and tanks than for constructive, humanitarian projects. . .

Is our only choice really between giving aid to anti-Communist dictators, and not giving it at all? Church implies that it is. Despite a few throwaway lines about reforming aid programs by channeling them through the UN, the thrust of his speech is to stop aid now, and worry later about finding something to replace it.

Church is too smart not to see the implications of his words, so what he leaves out of his speech is as important as what he puts in. . .

If he thought the cold war was the problem and not aid itself, he

might, for example, have praised the parts of the aid program that have done unequivocal good, such as the famine relief shipments that kept India fed during the '60s, or the similar project now under way in Bangladesh.

Church, however, was certainly not hunting for a motive to replace cold-warism. He ended his speech not with an agonizing meditation about how we should improve the aid system, but by saying, "Essentially, the question is whether we're prepared to recognize the limits of our own capacity . . . and allow nature to take what may well be an uncongenial course in many countries in the third world."

While this sounds like a disintegrated Malthus stalking through Congress, it points toward the second apparent reason for the liberal defection from foreign aid: completely apart from its cold-war orientation, there is the disheartening fact that our aid has done little discernible good. The latest evidence is in a forthcoming book by William and Elizabeth Paddock, "We Don't Know How." (Iowa State University Press).

Before the book loses its way, it makes one point brilliantly: our aid programs are as badly run as any other part of the bureaucracy, and they have done very little good. In country after country, the Paddocks show how aid administrators have made the same mistakes for years, conducting studies and setting up projects, without having much impact. As administrative critics, the Paddocks have few peers. They are

James Fallows is an editor of THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY. He is author of "The Waterlords" and co-author of "Who Runs Congress." This article is excerpted from the March issue of THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY, with permission. Copyright © THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY COMPANY.

especially sharp in showing how aid programs suffer from those classic bureaucratic hazards, institutional amnesia—"AID has no memory"—and information block. I hope the book's first few chapters become mandatory reading at AID.

From the mess of wrecked programs they observed, the Paddocks conclude that "we don't know how" to speed development in poor countries, even if we spend more money. In what may be their single biggest blow against orthodoxy, they also announce that international aid programs—from the World Bank to the UN—don't know how, either, since they're largely run by the same people as AID and make the same mistakes. So what do we do? The book says:

I can no longer advocate foreign aid until we first learn how to make it achieve its goals. Hence I urge that we first use our own country as a laboratory. . .

To provide housing in restless Bombay, let us first learn how to rebuild our own ghettos. . .

To advise how to prevent Uruguay's socialism from destroying the nation's stability, let us first learn how to make Medicare pay as it goes. . .

To eliminate hunger in the world, let us first learn how to improve the diets of the five million malnourished Americans who cannot afford the food they need.

The book contains some insights—notably the idea that the United States should curb its own military spending before lecturing Pakistan about the same thing—but in general the sense of disproportion is stunning. Taking care of the five million hungry in America means changing income distribution patterns; feeding the one or two billion malnourished in the world means finding some way to coax more food out of the crowded land . . . The foreign aid problems the Paddocks illustrate are not ordained by God. The aid bureaucracy could find some way to keep in touch with what's going on in the field; it could protect its programs against political manipulation. The Paddocks presumably sense this, as do the other former supporters of foreign aid. Why, then, their policy of benign neglect?

The reason, I believe, is not unhappiness with the failures of foreign aid, but rather an increasing

distaste for what its *success* would mean.

During most of the life span of our aid programs, from World War II to the mid '60s, the goal seemed unquestionable: what more could the United States want for the rest of the world than the Western-style industrialization which had brought the plenty to America. But recently, as pollution and the other costs of technological advancement have become clear, the liberal gusto for exporting development has faded.

Western economic patterns usually assume perverse, distorted forms when transported to the poor world. . . . In direct proportion to their exposure to Western development experts, poor countries exhibit malignant syndromes; tin dictators, or at least an elite that pretends never to have heard of agriculture or manual work; dams and other gaudy industrial projects more useful for show than production; an educational system in which children learn, as African expert Stanley Meisler put it, "that life has no more meaning than a starched white collar and a red Mercedes."

Some of the other symptoms of "development" are even more alarming: cities doubling in size every decade, choked with emigrants from the countryside; unemployment rates ranging from 25 to 60 per cent of the available working force; government budgets big on machine guns and luxury imports but short on the agricultural basics needed to feed the populace; vast strata of "over-educated unemployables" who have learned enough English or French to know they don't want to stay in the jungle towns any more.

Even the brightest hope of development advisers, the "green revolution" of miracle grains, has brought its share of industrial-revolution-type social disruption. The seeds require such fancy inputs—fertilizer and pesticides—that only the large farmers can use them; in many parts of India, the green revolution has mainly meant that small farmers have been driven from their land . . .

Economics is still in the shake-down phase and a lot of mistakes that were made in the early days of foreign aid have been corrected by now. . . . One of the finest examples is a theory called "Economic Devel-

opment with Unlimited Supplies of Labor," or the "Lewis model," after its creator, Sir Arthur Lewis. Its central idea was that, in Pakistan as in Britain, labor was the most valuable economic commodity. Therefore, the theory reasoned, the poor countries were actually lucky, since they had so many people who had nothing to do. The answer was to get them off the land and into the cities, where they could be put to work at factory benches. The problem, as later became obvious, was that there were many more available workers than potential factory jobs; whenever the theory went into action, the net result was the creation of an unfed, idle urban horde where previously there had been peasants earning their share of the harvest.

The list of similar theories is long—some economists have made a career out of adding items—but there is one other major theoretical "error" worth noting. Drawing on patterns shown in Europe and the United States, where the wealthy provide the capital for economic growth, some economists expected the same patterns to emerge in the underdeveloped countries. The thing to do, then, was to keep money out of the hands of the lower classes, who spent it all for food and housing, and funnel it to the thrifty rich. Unfortunately, the theories did not reckon with the special kind of elite that often prevails in poor countries, especially in Latin America, and which tends to stash its money in Swiss banks rather than local factories.

Development economics has caught up with many of these errors; now, the fashionable talk is about agricultural projects, "practical" education, and other down-to-earth concepts. But the goal of all the manipulation is still the same: economic development—the same industrialized end as before . . . When the advisers speak of "balanced growth," they are talking not about ways to contain some of the social strains of turning a tribal land into a modern economy, but only of the fastest route to industrialization.

It is this sense of grim inevitability which, I believe, is making liberals draw back from foreign aid. One need not entertain romantic views of happy tribal life to feel a sense of

tragedy and loss: if the world's future is that it be remade in the image of Pittsburgh or Miami Beach, why should we hurry?

A possible answer to that question, and a hint of a new liberal rationale for foreign aid, comes from an unlikely source. In "Benovolent Aggression" (McKay), Richard N. Farmer, like the Padlocks, tries to explain why foreign aid has failed; but where the Padlocks are inclined to give up in the face of problems, Farmer is ready with a whole pack of solutions.

Farmer is a business professor at Indiana University, and much of his book reads like a tract extolling the work ethic. But the book presents a complex theory of development, with important implications. Farmer's main premise is that all foreign aid projects have overlooked the most influential factor of all: the managerial, profit-motivated, go-get-'em spirit that the carefree poor must learn if they want to master Western technology. Without this, he says, the countries are consigned to permanent retardation. Liberal administrators of aid programs, always soft of heart, refuse to face this fact. But when they do, Farmer concludes, they will say something like this to their clients: Want to join in the wealth? Then you must imitate our discipline:

... Because we are too polite nowadays to suggest directly to someone that he should change his behavior, we normally talk about power plants and engineering technologies rather than behavior. It all comes down to the same thing. If you're going to get rich the way we did, you're going to have to behave the way we did. . . . We want people who get the job done, who will drive forward across obstacles to win, at whatever cost to themselves. In short, we want an uptight super-achiever.

Stripped of its haranguing overtones, this view would fit right in with what Dumont, Myrdal, Haggood, and others say. Myrdal describes the "soft state" syndrome—when a government refuses to correct corruption and laziness—as one of the greatest impediments to progress in the poor countries. But the solution seems just as bad. If, as Farmer says, the only way to indoctrinate the indolent peoples in correct behavior is through "culture-busting"—a phrase that calls up

images of people trading in their bright native robes for factory drab, or regulating their lives by the 40-hour week rather than by rice-planting cycles—it would be hard to drum up much enthusiasm for the venture among Americans who now lament that their own culture has been so thoroughly busted.

Farmer answers, in the most significant passage of his book, by describing what happens after Western medicine introduces "death control" into poor countries:

It comes down to this: all cultures are going to get busted, and the most painful busting is going to happen in the poorer countries and subcultures. Once a culture or a country accepts

It requires an extraordinary amount of either romanticism or hubris to think that, if only America would curb its foreign-aid meddling in the third world, all Western influences would go away.

death control, all else follows. Population expands; unless the economic base gets changed very fast to cover the increase, someone starves sooner or later. . . . Now, how do you increase production? The Western way is the only one we know that works. So you get your power plants, your irrigation systems, your fertilizers, your factories, and all the rest—and in the process change men and women to be able to handle these new tools. That's the rub—the kind of person who can figure out what to do in a power plant or fertilizer warehouse is not going to be anything but a Western man.

The meaning here is so unpleasant that it is preferable not to think about it. Farmer is saying that 100, or even 25, years ago the West might have avoided the process that turns tribesmen into starched-collar unemployables; we might have shied from the now-distasteful role as cultural dictators to the world. But now we've been to the jungles with our doctors and our malaria sprays, and the choice is out of anyone's hands. Unless we accept restored "death control" through famine, the only chance is to speed world economic development to keep up with the two to three percent annual growth in population.

This is not the kind of challenge

designed to rouse liberal enthusiasm, for two reasons. First, the future seems only to mean that the other countries of the world will follow our route to a life of big cities, clogged highways, and standardized shopping centers. Our feelings about our own achievements are sufficiently mixed that we hesitate to promote the same goals overseas.

Second, and more important, there is the danger of "cultural imperialism." There was a time, not long past, when the missionary streak transcended all others in our foreign policy. Farmer's book shows that the impulse is still there, waiting to convert the natives. But among its old liberal-internationalist promoters, this zeal has nearly died in the last decade, mainly because of the war. . . . With a hundred years' hindsight, we now condemn the British and French for imposing their ethnocentric values on Africa and Asia. Knowing that, do we dare do the same today?

While this hesitancy about exporting our culture might have done marvels for our foreign policy 10 years ago, it has a quaint, anachronistic touch when applied to our current foreign-aid dilemma. It requires an extraordinary amount of either romanticism or hubris to think that, if only America would curb its foreign-aid meddling in the third world, all Western influences would go away. The cultural mixing of the world has already gone on to such an extent that it is pointless to worry about "interference" with other ways of life. Not all of the mixing has been bad: just as Zen Buddhism and French bread have enriched American culture, so American medicine and rock music have been bright additions in Ghana and Guinea. When "interference" is accompanied by military power, it is of course a different matter. But the nasty fact liberals must face is that the world's cultures have already been mixed, none retains its original purity. The challenge now is to identify the best elements of different cultures, and try to encourage them where they can do some good.

If we draw back from our foreign aid program, culture-busting will still go on—but by whom? By Coca-Cola, the United Fruit Company,

Texaco, and the hundred other multinationals that do business in every part of the world. By *TIME*, the *Voice of America*, and the broadcast commercials which so clearly impart the materialist flavor of Western life. By the universities, especially British and French, which persist in imposing their absurd, useless notions of "education" on people who should be more concerned with tractors and village life. Realizing that these facets of the West are going to interfere, no matter what nice reservations we have about cultural imperialism, we must try to present a better set of ideas.

To find guidelines for these "better" ideas, we have two questions to answer: first, whether there is an alternative to the grubby path of industrial development whose consequences we mourn in much of the third world; and second, what our foreign policy can do to encourage these ideas.

"Benevolent Aggression" provides a starting point. In Farmer's view, it is frivolous to think of other modes of culture-busting, since the Western path to development is the only available choice. "In modern times, only Red China tried to modernize in a non-Western way," he says. "It didn't work."

Farmer is wrong, and the mistake is crucial. While we should not idealize China as a model for the rest of the world, it is undeniable that the country has "worked" in a way that few other poor countries have. From a starting point fully as impoverished as that of any other Asian country, the Chinese have made impressive economic advances (certified beyond questioning when Joe Alsop visited China this year and pronounced it a success). Moreover, the Chinese have done so without the social strains that predominate in the rest of the developing world. In most of Africa and Asia, the "economic growth rates" the governments announce rarely show up in improved living conditions for the peasants. In China, there has been a serious attempt to share the economic benefits. It is still better to be a scientist or party boss than a rice farmer or laborer, but the gap between the masses and the leaders is less extreme in China than elsewhere. Observers have noted the difference between Pe-

king's streets and the slums of Djakarta or Sao Paulo . . .

China's innovation seems to be the emphasis on individual sacrifice and self-discipline, for the general community welfare. Before this could make any headway at all, the Chinese had to do something about the pervasive fear of being gypped which exists throughout the developing world. There can be no more powerful barrier to progress than the knowledge that, whatever gains are made, half will be siphoned off in corruption and the rest will go to the junta or strong men in control. In the standard Western view, Mao's appeals for self-sacrifice seem absurd; as Farmer points out on many an Adam Smith-ish page, the only way to get people to do anything is to make it economically worth their while. In development planning, this can lead to some healthy measures—such as land reform. But more often, it tempts governments to import a whole Western system of monetary incentives; this, in turn, leads to the impractical education, white-collar elites, and the general social chaos of the third world. China suggests that there may be other ways to develop, based on a different reward—psychic rather than monetary.

Enough other countries have toyed with this altered value system to show that it can work. In Cuba, Fidel Castro wisely avoided the Russian mistake of assuming that slothful, overgrown bureaucracies would somehow be more creative than slothful, overgrown economic elites. To wage their war against bureaucracy, the Cubans tried to build a new ethic based on manual labor and communal work—all of which is the furthest possible extreme from the starched-collar values of most other poor countries . . .

Several other countries have tried to involve their people in the country's growth, with varying degrees of success. Israel is perhaps the prime example of what determined people can do on sub-standard real estate (although the economists always dismiss it as having the head start of "pre-conditioned" citizens). In Tanzania, Julius Nyerere has tried to bring the educational system down to earth, with more emphasis on practical, agrarian skills and less on ways to get a job at the UN or the

finance ministry. Senegal and other African countries have put on big campaigns for a return to the bush (called "*animation rurale*" in Senegal), but in most cases the leaders' evident distaste for rustic living dooms the plans from the start. Perhaps if more leaders would emulate Castro or Nyerere and work in the fields, there would be more Chinas and Tanzanias.

The most obvious similarity between the countries with a communal spirit—China, Cuba, Tanzania, Israel—is that they are all revolutionary societies, where a new order has been deliberately created. That may mean—as Frank Church concluded in his Senate speech—that we should sit and wait for the revolution to come to Brazil and the Ivory Coast, but this is an unpredictable, slow route. A more responsible course would be to do what we can now to encourage those qualities that seem to set the successful countries off from the ones we think of as sores. That some of the qualities of discipline and commitment may be exported was shown in East Africa by the Tanzam Railroad. There Chinese advisers stupefied old Africa hands by inspiring Tanzanians and Zambians into group effort. The AID experts who fly in for a week or two, or serve a two-year spell at the consulate, have rarely managed such a feat.

From the examples of good and bad development, we can find several common ideas to apply to our aid efforts. The first is working to reduce the tribal and racial divisions in many poor countries. Recently there has been a nostalgia for "tribal" ties in America and especially in Europe—as our roots give way, we think fondly of the tribesmen who know who they are and where they belong. It is easy, from this perspective, to overlook how clumsy and cruel tribal divisions can be in countries suffering enough from other impediments . . . Along with hunger and elitism, tribalism is one of the three great debilitating forces of the poor world. Reducing this irrational hatred is one of the few jobs outsiders can do especially well, operating as go-betweens for groups that would otherwise be slaughtering each other . . .

It is important to remember that

"tribalism" is only a shorthand for all the limitations—racial, religious, cultural, or national—on man's concern for his fellows. In the old China, for example, trust and sympathy dried up at the borders of one's own family. One of Mao's first efforts then, was to dispel that atmosphere of suspicion.

A second task, which raises all our hackles about "cultural imperialism" but which must be faced, is to encourage ambition and individual motivation. This idea may be phrased several ways: the need to achieve, the entrepreneurial spirit, taking pleasure in work. What it means, in concrete terms, is breaking down the overwhelming feeling of impotence that predominates among the peasants of most poor countries. The combined forces of nature and institutions—from diseases and floods to the church and local government—naturally make people feel they are victims of fate and the environment. Until that feeling is removed, it is often impossible to free the talents and energies the country needs.

This is a hard idea to accept, for it calls up all our worst memories of American do-gooders abroad—Pyle in Graham Greene's "The Quiet American," or the bright, young Peace Corps trainees ready to bring George Washington and Horatio Alger to the peoples of the third world. But ambition is not a purely American trait. Through the years, dozens of other groups have been noted for it (the Lebanese and Chinese, the Ibo and Kikuyu tribes, are a few examples). And it need not carry with it the competitive, cutthroat spirit that is the worst of the American ethic. This, after all, is the lesson of China and Cuba: individual energies which have not been used before can be stimulated by something other than the profit system. Hong Kong provides another example of how an external idea, this one non-Marxist, can break through old barriers. Like China, Hong Kong had to cope with the pervasive air of suspicion: members of one family would hardly deal with another family, for fear they'd be cheated. Mao tried to counter this suspicion with his attacks on the family structure. In Hong Kong, the agent of change was British law, which lowered the risks of dealing

with strangers. These examples do not mean that we should incorporate Marxism, or the Common Law, into our foreign aid programs, but only that outsiders can work significant, healthy changes.

The third element is by far the most difficult, and the most dependent on the people's own efforts rather than help from outside. This is developing that sense of community, or group effort, which distinguishes China from the Philippines, North Vietnam from the South. While we cannot provide internal motivation, we can help break one of the main restraining forces: the debilitating, imitation-Western elites that seem to pop up everywhere, convincing the people that independence is the same as colonial rule, only with bosses of a different color. By their mere presence, Westerners have been responsible for much of the elites' genteel lifestyle: what Pakistani, having seen a group of white-shirted UN experts drive through town, can doubt what the Good Life means? A major contribution that the United States can make is to offer alternate models. In this regard the Peace Corps was onto the right idea: when "rich" Westerners spend several years living in the countryside doing agricultural work, they can be far more persuasive than government broadcasts exhorting young students to return to their villages. In Ethiopia, for example, the Peace Corps' presence has contributed to formation of a domestic service corps. For the first time, university students in Ethiopia have gone out to the bush to see what the real problems are.

None of these approaches, it might seem, requires any formal foreign aid program. We could simply revive the Peace Corps, make it forget its old anti-communist junior-ambassador role and concentrate on the things it did at its best. These included performing simple jobs like teaching and nursing in places where they needed to be done; suggesting similar ideas to people in the host country; trying to get people to work together across family boundaries; and trying to replace rote learning with educational systems that opened people's minds.

In doing so, we give ourselves another opportunity: to turn our aid

flows which so often seem wasted into effective tools of development. Moreover, in the short run, we can pick out those forms of aid we know to be effective, and enlarge them.

The first of these, which is crucial though obvious, is simply providing enough food to keep people from starving. It may be hard to find noble elements in our recent foreign policy, but one which the country can be proud of is its commitment in the '60s to make up the food deficits in India and later Biafra and Bangladesh. It is hard to know whether the famine predicted this year for North Africa and India will be as serious as that of the mid-'60s, but here is certainly an opportunity for humanitarian aid.

A second step, which we can take with little fear of cultural imperialism, is to reverse some of the handicaps we now impose on export industries in poor countries. If all the third world were in the position of the Arabs—having near-monopoly control over a commodity whose price is certain to rise—then we could all relax and let normal economic forces do their work. But as reams of "neo-imperialism" tracts have shown, in most poor countries the price of raw material exports keeps falling as imports from the West cost more and more.

Finally, we can keep looking for those aid projects which, unlike the usual heavy industries or dams, will open doors to a whole chain of economic development. One of the best examples is irrigation projects, which can not only boost the food output of a country, but also make work for a great many peasants who have gone into the cities. In some Asian countries, the hand-tool industry has triggered a chain reaction: farmers are able to plow the land; artisans are kept working; there is more food to eat and fewer tools to import. All development agencies naturally claim that they are on the lookout for key projects, but too often the advisers fall back on their gut feeling that England, the United States, and Germany all had big steel mills at this stage of life, so the Congo should, too.

The answers are easier to outline than to execute, but with at least a glimpse of where to start, we should be able to put our liberal consciences back into gear. ■

A Giant of the Foreign Service

WITNESS TO HISTORY 1929-1969, by Charles E. Bohlen. Norton, \$12.50

THERE IS NO ONE in the Foreign Service who will not be interested in this book, for it is written by our most successful and respected career officer. Chip Bohlen came into the Service by examination in 1929 and rose from FSO-Unclassified to Career Ambassador strictly on the basis of merit, becoming Minister in Paris, Counselor of the Department, Ambassador to the Soviet Union, France and the Philippines, and Deputy Under Secretary for Political Affairs.

He was where the action was, in the field of US relations with the Soviet Union, and he has a fascinating story to tell. Historically perhaps even more interesting than his later exploits was his role as interpreter and then adviser to President Roosevelt and a succession of Secretaries of State during World War II and immediately afterward. He was in Moscow with Hull, in Teheran and Yalta with FDR, at the CFM (Council of Foreign Ministers) meetings with Byrnes and Marshall. He was also with JFK in Vienna and had a role in the conception of the Marshall Plan, the creation of NATO, and the handling of the Berlin and Cuban crises.

"Witness to History" summarizes what happened during those crucially important days, and Bohlen provides candid sketches of all the principal players. These alone are worth the price of the book, which many of us will wish to have on our shelves even if only as a tribute to a colleague who exemplifies what an optimum career in the Foreign Service can be.

The reader must not, however, expect elegantly felicitous writing such as flows from the pen of George Kennan. Indeed, the contrast between the personalities of the two men, who are good friends, could not be greater. That contrast perhaps also explains why Bohlen had so much more day-to-day influence on what was happening than his intellectual colleague. Bohlen was

and is a pragmatist, a self-styled "realist" not much given to conceptualizing and original thinking. This was his strength. Bohlen himself describes an exchange with Kennan which illustrates the difference between the two men.

The place was Yalta, 1945. Kennan, appalled by what he saw as Soviet determination to dominate all of Eastern Europe after the war, sent a note to Bohlen from Moscow raising the question whether the US might not best write off Eastern Europe, conceding it to the Soviets as their sphere of influence, rather than going through the charade of trying to arrive at settlements which might engage—and discredit—our good word even while we would be unable to prevent the outcome. A most penetrating question that went to the heart of our policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union at a possible turning point in history.

Bohlen in effect shot the notion down in flames, remarking that Kennan's ideas "may well be the optimum from an abstract point of view. But as practical suggestions they are utterly impossible. Foreign policy of that kind cannot be made in a democracy." As he remarks elsewhere in his book, "foreign policy in a democracy must take into account the emotions, beliefs, and goals of the people. The most carefully thought-out plans of the experts, even though 100 percent correct in theory, will fail without broad public support. The good leader in foreign affairs formulates his policy on expert advice and creates a climate of public opinion to support it."

Disarmingly, Bohlen quite freely admits mistakes in the course of his career. At one point when the site of the follow-on meeting to Yalta is discussed, he writes: "I am amazed now what I said in reply. I said that a site within Soviet communication with Moscow . . . was preferable. I explained that all of us who had been at Yalta 'felt that the Soviet failure to carry out the agreement reached there had been due in large part to opposition inside the Soviet government which Stalin encountered on his return.'" Of course, except for that momentary aberration, Bohlen had no doubt that Stalin was running the show and that there was no "opposition inside



photo by Christian Lemaire

CHARLES E. BOHLEN

author of WITNESS TO HISTORY
1929-1969

the Soviet government" at that time.

Yet, at another point Bohlen attributes the failure of the Yalta agreements to Stalin having "changed his mind" after Yalta. This is a view not shared by other authorities. Feis and McNeill, for instance, regard the agreement on Poland as ambiguous and the Declaration on Liberated Europe as something that Stalin signed to humor his western partners but which he never took seriously. In addition, the declaration was so loosely worded as not to constitute an enforceable document.

For a pragmatist, Bohlen displays a surprising amount of moral outrage over the non-implementation of the Declaration on Liberated Europe. While one can sympathize with his position in 1945 that "there should never be a single doubt that we had stood up for the rights of the people on the Soviet border to determine their own destiny," there seems to be a lack of recognition, even in retrospect, that the sound and fury over this issue after World War II could never have affected the outcome. As he himself points out, Europe was in effect divided not by nefarious actions of politicians and diplomats at Yalta but by the reality of the distribution of military forces at the end of the war.

Churchill, of course, recognized this even before the war was over and in October 1944 tried to arrive at a division of influence with Stalin that would at least preserve Greece for the West and that, in Churchill's mind and just possibly also in

Stalin's, envisaged a 50-50 division of influence in Hungary and Yugoslavia. Hopkins and Bohlen, who was at that time working with him, were instrumental in preventing even the appearance of an American blessing for such a deal.

"At Potsdam," Bohlen writes, "the US attempted to reassert the validity of the Declaration on Liberated Europe. This was the document by which the three powers guaranteed the establishment of democracy in Eastern Europe. We judged that the Soviets had violated the pledge in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. The Kremlin denied the charge, and in a diversion Molotov launched a violent attack on Greece which was under British influence." This slurs over some important aspects.

Actually, the British had with Soviet acquiescence beaten down the Communists in Greece, and in referring to Greece the Soviets were in effect saying that they had implemented that part of the deal with Churchill and didn't see why the western powers were getting so huffy about Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. (Indeed, the Soviets in establishing their primacy over political developments in the Balkans were following the example which we and the British had set in Italy, from which we had excluded Soviet influence.)

There are also occasions when a surprising amount of personal animus shines through in the Bohlen narrative. Reporting how President Truman gave Molotov an unprecedented and highly undiplomatic dressing-down in the White House about the Soviet position on Poland, he writes: "How I enjoyed translating Truman's sentences!" On another occasion, when Ernest Bevin almost physically assaulted Molotov, he writes, "For one glorious moment it looked as if the Foreign Minister of Great Britain and the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union were about to come to blows."

Was Bohlen, then, an inveterate hard-liner who saw the Soviet Union as inherently aggressive and dangerous to the West? Far from it. Again and again, he emphasized that the USSR was first and foremost concerned with promoting its own security. He believes Acheson went too far in describing the extent

of the Communist threat, and is frank to the point of bluntness in deploring "the narrow-minded way in which Dulles pursued the anti-Communist crusade." Speaking of Dulles, he also remarks that "loyalty should extend down from the boss as well as up from the employees." And he recalls that when President Kennedy asked him what was wrong with the State Department, he gave the straight reply: "In regard to the Department as the whole, the fault is yours" (for not allowing it to be run with full authority lodged in the Secretary of State).

"It is difficult to realize, looking back from the distance of twenty years, how the miasma of fear and suspicion infected American life and pushed our diplomacy off its correct course into a moralistic crusade. I believe that without the Korean war and the atmosphere it created, McCarthy would have wound up with a busted flush. Yet even Eisenhower refused to defend his mentor, General Marshall, from McCarthy.

At one point during the 1952 campaign, Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota told me he thought that while McCarthy's actions were crude and perhaps a little unfair in some ways, they were essential to awaken the American public to the danger of Communism. I disagreed, pointing out that eventually McCarthyism would be so discredited that it might not be possible to win public support for valid cases where Communist actions threatened American security.

I was too right. Now, in the 1970s, it is difficult to get many Americans to pay any attention whatsoever to the perils of Communism when they do exist."—WITNESS TO HISTORY, p. 311.

The book having been written on the basis of tape recordings, there is not always good continuity and there is at least one major historical error: Contrary to what Bohlen writes, in Stalin's last answer to Roosevelt in the controversy over alleged US-UK negotiations with the Germans behind Russia's back the Soviet dictator did not concede that "his advisers must have been misin-

formed." Actually, Stalin's message of April 7, 1945 defended his intelligence chiefs and attacked those of Roosevelt.

As one looks over the record of our top diplomats in Russia before World War II one cannot but be appalled by their amateurishness: William C. Bullitt, who had gone to the USSR with extravagant hopes for US-Soviet cooperation, became so disillusioned that before the end of the war he was publicly advocating war with our Russian ally. Joseph E. Davies, his successor, was so enamored with the Soviets that he freely accepted their official explanation of the blood purges. But Roosevelt believed that such amateur diplomats were giving him better service than professionals.

—M.F.H.

A Many-Splendored Love

THE MORNING DELUGE: *Mao Tse-tung & The Chinese Revolution 1893-1954*, by Han Suyin. Little Brown.

LOVE is a many-splendored thing—and so is Chairman Mao Tse-tung—according to Han Suyin, the renowned writer.

Possibly anticipating some charges of partiality in her account of Mao's life and works, she makes this less-than-startling admission: "If this book is said to be pro-Mao Tse-tung, the answer is that it is."

Quoting Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, "The life history of Chairman Mao is in essence the history of New China," she declares that it is in this spirit that she has written this partial hagiography of the Chairman. (A second volume will be forthcoming to cover the years after the Korean War.)

Given her special talents as a writer, this book is, of course, fascinating reading. Also, given her frequent and lengthy visits to the Chinese People's Republic since its establishment in 1949, and given her acquaintanceship with many of the great and near-great in the Peking regime, she is very well situated to report on the China situation. Unfortunately, however, she did not have access to Mao himself, his family, nor his papers, and so there is not much new material of real significance in this unofficial biography.

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triumphing over evil, even the neophyte in Chinese politics will have no difficulty in telling the good guys from the bad guys—nor in figuring out the basis on which the godly were separated from the ungodly. With respect to those miscreants who failed to perceive Mao's infallibility, she remarks that "his enemies have fallen, one by one, not through his actions but through their own inadequacy."

The first volume ends on a happy note. "There is no conflict of basic interest between the peoples of China and the United States and friendship will eventually prevail," Chou En-lai had said to Edgar Snow in 1960. In this he was quoting Mao Tse-tung. And this sentence would apply not only to the American people but also to all other peoples of the world." (*Izvestia* and *Pravda* please copy.)

China-watchers will likely want to add this book to their growing collection of biographies of Chairman Mao.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

A Giant Step Forward

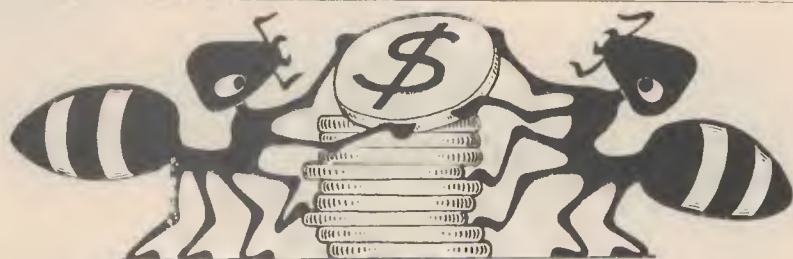
WORLD WITHOUT BORDERS, by Lester Brown. Random House, \$8.95.

LESTER BROWN's "World Without Borders" is a beginning. As a member of the first generation able to appraise the world as seen from space as an entity and explore its interactions through complex communications systems, Lester Brown advocates global concern as a new "ethic." "At a minimum, this ethic must seek harmony between man and nature and encompass an ideology of global unification. It must seek to raise everyone above the subhuman conditions of life now prevailing for so much of mankind. Planned obsolescence, uncontrolled human fertility and nationalism are out of place in the late twentieth century. The politicians' distinction between the national interest and the global interest is diminishing in our increasingly interdependent world."

Specialists claim that their discipline is the key to the interpretation of anything, while generalists claim the opposite. Historical interpretations based on a "theory" are the weakness of such historians as Toynbee and Spengler. Lester Brown has avoided this temptation. The strength in "World Without Borders" is its multi-disciplinary approach, a well balanced environmental, sociological and economic treatise. To my mind, environmental analysis rightly plays a role equal to social and economic explanations of the world.

The weakness in "World Without Borders" is its encyclopedic try at wrapping up the entire globe in a neat package. This has resulted in a number of statements which are not substantiated. He has avoided writing a difficult to read, multi-volume tome, such as Gunnar Myrdal's "Asian Drama," and given us a provocative primer on our interdependent world.

Readers from the foreign affairs community may be familiar with much of the specific information in "World Without Borders," but everyone will find it a useful intellectual tool for comprehending what is happening in our rapidly changing world. Although some will find



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tion which many of us believe to be
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THERE is so much which Henry
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himself and his experiences in a
multi-faceted career, one feels cheat-
ed by this synopsis. For us who are
involved in foreign affairs, he says
entirely too little of his UN and
Vietnam experiences and we are the
poorer for it. What he does say is
interesting and helpful but one can
only regret that so slight a memoir
is all he evidently intends to be-
queath. We must keep in mind, it
seems, to whom the Cabots speak.

One of the interesting sidelights
which Mr. Lodge casts upon the
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butions of diplomacy to the world
concerns Anatoly F. Dobrynin,
Under Secretary of the UN when
Mr. Lodge was Ambassador there.
Mr. Dobrynin was collecting exam-
ples of Russian-American coopera-
tion over the years and Mr. Lodge
cited the case of George Washing-
ton Whistler, father of the celebrated
painter, who went to Russia to help
construct the St. Petersburg (Lenin-
grad)-Moscow railway. This quiet,
unobtrusive diplomat, for the last
decade Soviet Ambassador to the
United States, thinking in historical
and constructive perspectives, has
been able to suggest these to his own
government and ours many times, to
the benefit of both. How little our
public, academic community and
even our own government keep in
mind this civilizing contribution of
diplomacy, which is to say of diplo-
mats who take more than a super-
ficial interest in their daily chores.

—SMITH SIMPSON

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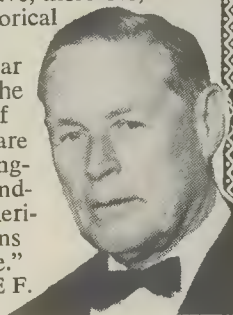
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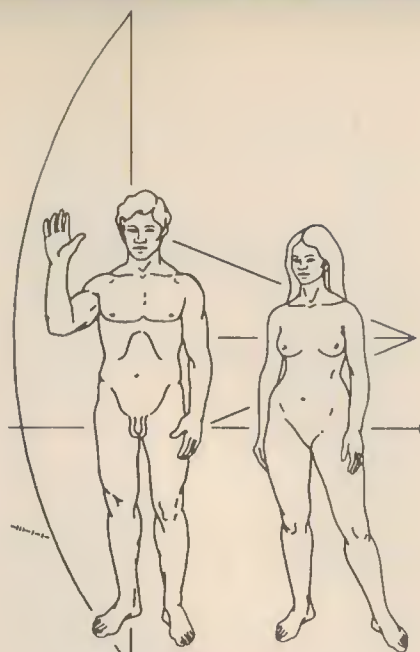
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**What Pioneer 10
Means to "This Week
in Guinea"**

■ In the December issue of the **FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL** we discovered that America has sent a capsule off to the stars in order to communicate with people who live in outer space.

First, what the Americans did was this. This is what they did. They

took a piece of stainless steel and on it they carved a couple who represent our emissaries into deep space. We presume that as they are emissaries, they are diplomats from the Foreign Service. Then they took the carved stainless steel and they glued it to a rocket and got it going a zillion miles an hour and away it went.

What is amazing about this is the Foreign Service couple on the side of the rocket are completely naked! This surprises us somewhat because you don't usually send our diplomats out without their pants on. The implication is that all FSOs run around drawerless. Anyway, there stands these two FSOs side by side, with the guy FSO raising his hand to say "howdy." The girl FSO is not doing nothing. In the background are a bunch of lines, and stars and moons, and some math equations which we can't understand, so we don't know how in the world a bunch of space foreigners are going to know what it all means.

As a matter of fact we showed the picture to several other people in the Embassy. We showed it to one

officer, an old timer, and asked, "What does this mean to you?" He replied, "The girl used to be Personnel Officer in Delhi and decided to integrate. She tried her hand at political work, couldn't cut the mustard and got selected out in the 1950s. But that's no reason for indecent exposure. The guy's probably some Junior FSO she's training."

To another, younger member of the Embassy, we made the same inquiry and was simply told, "It looks like a couple of diplomats, having a sweaty problem, decided to take a shower together and the man diplomat has soap in his eyes and is groping for the towel. The girl diplomat is waiting to be dried off."

A lady in the Embassy took one look at the scene and said, "What's wrong with you? You filthy minded or something—" From another junior officer we got a request to give him any extra copies we had.

Okay, let's say that the old capsule finally lands in somebody's meadow on the space planet called Tulf of Gonkin. All the people there are going to have to send a commit-

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tee to visit us. Now here's where the strained relationship will come into play. The President of the Tulf of Gonkin will load up a space craft and zip it to America. The craft will land in Washington, D.C. Bands will play and speeches will take place, with a thousand TV cameras trained on the door of the spacecraft. With breathlessly bated breath the whole world will wait.

Do you know what's gonna happen? Well, the Tulfs of Gonkin want to meet us half way, they've seen our two diplomats on the side of the spacecraft. That door opens and out steps the President of Tulf of Gonkin, his wife, all his cabinet, a few members of both parties, a lady mayor, and a prominent owner of a department store. Not one of them will have a stitch of clothing on! A hue and cry will go up, mothers will cover their childrens' eyes. The diplomatic corps, realizing the hideous mistake, will start to take off their bloomers right there in public. TV will have a field day. The Tulfs, enraged at such trickery, will retreat to their space craft, put their

drawers back on, draft a Foreign Office Note called the Tulf of Gonkin Resolution, and we will be on their list for the rest of eternity. All this, just because somebody wanted to take their pants off.

But this isn't the only problem. As we understand it, the capsule will take 40,000 years to reach another space civilization. Now then, by the time that civilization replies to our note, it will be another 40,000 years. Well, here again this is going to cause unnecessary strained relations. Do you know why? We'll tell you. When their space civilization message finally gets back to us after a passage of 80,000 years, that message will start out something along the lines: "Reference is made to your message 40,000 years ago. We concur with your thoughts, but would like to remind you that . . ."

This puts the State Department in a real bind because we've lost the initial message we sent into space 80,000 years previously. So, as we usually do, we send a message back into space stating: "Unable to locate our original text cited in your

initial message. Please repeat our reference in next transmission." This is going to infuriate the receiving planet, not only because they don't have our message of 120,000 years ago by now, but they don't even have their own initial message on file, it having been destroyed by personnel from Files and Records. To cover up its blunder in not having either of the messages, the space civilization sends back a terse and perhaps somewhat insulting message to us. We reply in kind, and the next thing you know we've broken off diplomatic relations and both planets prepare for a showdown.

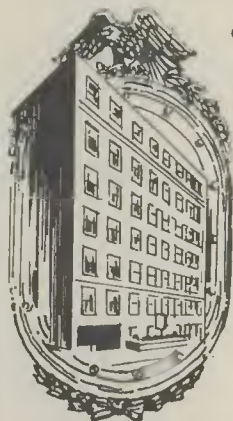
No, TWIG is against this communicating in space, against our Foreign Service officers being sent into the cosmos without space suits, but most of all we are against the slur to our fine FSOs. It will take zillions of years before the rest of the space people quit snickering and referring to us as that bunch of dirty old men.

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PROMOTION *continued from page 10*

additional incentive to good performance. The lack of class distinctions would require more meaningful job descriptions in order to match skills and experience with the position to be filled. This should make personnel work more challenging to officers assigned to this task as well. Supervision of the office in the absence of the chief of section would be rotated among the operational officers to give all some management experience. At small posts, all jobs below DCM could be filled by operational officers.

Trainees might spend one year in rotational training around the Embassy and one year in an operational assignment. If performance is satisfactory, they would then be given permanent assignment as an operational officer in one of the functional cones.

Executive officers would be appointed as vacancies in their ranks occur. Selection would be made from among all officers specialized in the relevant cone who meet certain minimum qualifications—say, at least [three] tours of duty in operational assignments at different posts with no unsatisfactory efficiency reports. On selection, they would be given appropriate training.

A similar system would of course apply to the Department as well.

Efficiency reports would lose their primary function of getting the officer promoted (or not promoted, as the case may be). They should instead be addressed to:

1. Identifying the officer's strengths and weaknesses for the purpose of making subsequent assignments as operational officers.

2. Identifying outstanding talent for merit salary increases and for the selection of executive officers.

3. Selecting candidates for training assignments, exchange programs, etc.

4. Identifying any officers unable to perform well. Unsatisfactory efficiency reports covering not less than [two] different assignments, with unsatisfactory performance clearly documented as such, might be grounds for selection out.

The proposed system is based on the observation that the current FSO class system has only a broad relationship to the demands of actual work being done by individual officers. An FSO-6 at a small post may in fact have more opportunity for independent judgment than an FSO-4 at a large post. In a large section, officers in grades 4 through 7 may often be doing roughly comparable work, with little difference in the quality of performance.

The proposal would give increased responsibility to the individual officer, eliminating intermediate supervisory positions which serve the primary function of giving the more senior officer "executive" experience. It also recognizes that experience gained at one post often has only limited application to another assignment.

One possible disadvantage is that it creates a distinct "elite" in the executive officer group. This is partially offset, in my view, by the increased flexibility possible in bringing exceptional officers into its ranks without their having to climb up all rungs of the ladder as at present.

The proposal can of course be refined, but I think its nature is clear.

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CONSIDERATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT

from page 18

program loan can provide fertilizer and other agricultural inputs to a large number of small farmers, provided an adequate distribution network exists.

Food for Peace assistance, which has assumed substantial proportions in several countries, has probably exerted a positive impact on employment and income distribution. Concessional food sales under Title I have reduced the relative prices of basic wage goods and permitted non-inflationary expansion of employment and output. Title II grant assistance has been directly aimed at the needy through maternal and child feeding and Food For Work programs.

AID's technical assistance has also influenced employment and income distribution. The effects vary depending on what kinds of institutions and groups are assisted, such as whether assistance is for primary or higher education. In agriculture many of the institutions supported

by AID have been geared to the needs of large operators; the needs of small producers have, except in special cases, received much less attention. However, while the *relative* distribution of the benefits flowing from the new grain varieties is an unsettled issue, the absolute increase in food supplies in some parts of Asia, for example, has undoubtedly reduced the incidence of famine, which by definition affects the poorest, exerted some favorable effect on nutrition and permitted expansion in employment-generating programs where food supply has been an important constraint. AID has actively worked toward the development and diffusion of this technical break-through. Another area where AID's technical assistance has had a positive impact on the welfare of the poor is public health. Over the years programs supported by AID have contributed significantly to sharp declines in the incidence of communicable diseases, notably malaria. In nutrition, the work of AID on the fortification of staples, the genetics of breeding higher protein

content into cereals, child feeding and other areas has also focused largely on the nutritional problems of the poor.

Furthermore, AID is establishing guidelines for ensuring that, in a manner consistent with the values and developmental objectives of the recipient, developing countries, consideration is given to employment and income distribution problems in its assistance programs. These include:

- Taking employment and income distribution into account in economic planning discussions, placing the primary emphasis on the ways in which employment can be adversely affected by distortions in exchange and interest rates, tariff, tax and wage policies as well as foreign exchange and investment allocation systems and other economic policies.

- Requiring that capital and technical assistance project proposals include a section explaining what attention was given to employment and income distribution considerations.

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- Reorienting the foreign training provided for developing country administrators, engineers, economists, educators and other experts, to the conditions of developing countries, with special attention to the employment and income implications of public policies and of technology.

- Although AID is not heavily involved in industry sector programs, where it is involved, emphasis is to be given to support of programs and policies which make for increased employment and improved income distribution.

- In order to develop improved understanding of the nature and di-

mensions of the employment and income distribution problems in developing countries and of the ways in which they are affected by different types of policies, AID will, in collaboration with international and national institutions, support improvement of the concepts and the measurement of employment and income distribution.

- Consideration will be given to expanded AID support for public works which lend themselves to labor-intensive methods (such as the construction of farm to market roads, drainage, irrigation, terracing and conservation, housing) by food assistance and other means.

- In AID's extensive involvement in programs in the agriculture sector, increased emphasis will be placed on problems of employment and income distribution, in particular on problems of the small farmer and landless laborer.

Placing an emphasis on employment and income distribution factors should not, however, mean exclusion of other essential elements of the development process or in-

discriminate support for any approach which promises to increase employment or equalize income regardless of other consequences and costs. Continuing growth of output remains essential. The weight given to employment and equity considerations varies from country to country and is a matter for each country to determine for itself. These are not issues on which the United States or other donors should seek to impose their own values or goals. This does not mean, however, that bilateral and multilateral donors should remain indifferent to the employment and income distribution performance of aid-receiving countries, any more than they have hitherto remained indifferent to their growth performance. The important point is that development should be considered within an analytical framework which includes these key aspects. It should be possible to develop and implement a set of policies and programs which will promote economic growth, employment and equity as coordinate objectives. ■

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DYNAMICS OF DEVELOPMENT

from page 15

Where family income is inadequate and the only security for old age is in surviving children, families will not stop having them if a quarter of those born die before they reach the age of six.

Education and Human Resource Development: Developing countries have doubled and tripled the size of their school systems in the past ten years, but there are more children out of school than there were ten years ago. Rapid population growth has outrun system expansion.

For a country with per capita GNP of \$200 per year or less, it is impractical to attempt universal education in Western type schools, with individual classrooms with 30 students per room, teachers with graduate degrees, visual aids, and all the rest. These countries must develop nontraditional, low-cost systems of education if the tide of illiteracy is to be rolled back and people are to approach a quality of life they rightly expect as human beings.

Reconstruction and Relief Assistance: Rehabilitation and reconstruction in the countries of Indochina will be an important foreign assistance obligation of the United States over the next few years. But the task of relief and reconstruction will not be confined solely to Indochina. US assistance will also be needed to provide relief and reconstruction to other areas torn by man-made or natural disasters.

BESIDES knowing the problems we are up against, and what we are doing to contribute toward their solution, the Compeat Diplomat will be able to deal with the large body of mythology which has grown up about AID. Here are some of the common canards:

Economic aid is accused of being a "giveaway." It is not. About two-thirds of AID's development program consists of loans. Less than one-fourth of one percent in loans made by AID and its predecessor agencies have ever been in default for failure to pay interest or principal payments on time. The bulk of

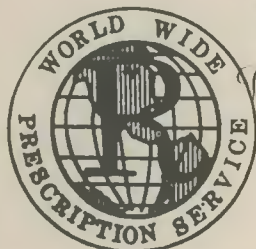
that was in the Arab-Israeli war. Egypt has now agreed to resume debt payments and the Sudan is negotiating in that direction.

It is often alleged that the United States carries a disproportionate share of the world's assistance burden. This assertion is wrong. In the years immediately following World War II our country was alone in the aid-giving business. Now the United States provides about two-fifths of the total Free World aid to the developing countries and the other 15 assisting countries provide the other three-fifths. US foreign economic aid amounts to about one-third of one percent of our GNP. The American people spend five times as much for tobacco as they do for foreign assistance. The federal budget provides 30 times as much for societal improvement in the United States as it does for all the rest of the world put together.

Many think that US foreign assistance is a drain on our balance of payments. It is not. The US balance of payments and gold outflow problems result primarily from major

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ADDRESS

defense expenditures, US investments abroad, and tourist spending overseas—not from foreign aid.

US foreign assistance is accused of sending dollars abroad at a time when we need dollars at home. The aid program sends US goods and services abroad, not dollars. About 86 percent of AID's funds spent for all purposes remain in the United States, and on commodities alone, \$972 million out of a total of \$975 million reported in fiscal year 1971 came from more than 4,000 American companies in all 50 states. We had close to 1,300 technical service contracts valued at \$682 million with US private companies and institutions. Included were contracts with 134 American universities and colleges.

Foreign assistance is charged with doing for others what others will not do for themselves. Again not true. The poor countries invest at least eight dollars of their own funds for every dollar that comes to them from foreign assistance.

THE foreign assistance programs

support humanitarian agencies and disaster relief.

We provide American agricultural products for food for school lunch and food for work programs both directly and through voluntary agencies such as CARE and the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish relief programs.

AID is the most significant factor in the world today in encouraging public attention to focus on the population problem and the development of family planning programs.

AID sponsors each year about 13,000 trainees from the poor countries in educational programs in this country and elsewhere.

AID provides credit to small farmers in Colombia, fertilizer to small farmers in India, health facilities to poor people in rural areas, education for millions of students, nutrition and feeding programs for low income groups and a wide variety of help to individual citizens in the poor countries to improve their present condition and to assure better lives for their children.

Foreign assistance is a working,

effective program involving millions of people, and in the end it is only people that are important.

We have no alternative but to join with the other developed nations of the world in a common effort to do our fair share to help the peoples of those poor countries who seek to help themselves in more effectively harnessing their resources to improve their lives.

Human problems do not stay bottled up behind national borders. Diseases ignore national boundaries. Polluted air and polluted waters flow freely across national boundaries. The impact of uncontrolled human reproduction vitally affects the well-being of all nations.

Our children and our grandchildren must live in the same world with the children and grandchildren of the peoples of the rest of the world, all continents, all races, all creeds. The kind of lives our children and their children after them will live, and the kind of world they will live in tomorrow, depends on whether we do our part to help today. ■

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LETTERS TO FSJ

A Reminder

■ The JOURNAL is to be congratulated on its March issue, largely devoted to the ethics of Foreign Service reporting, and to a chapter in our relations with China. I appreciated particularly the cogent remarks of John Stewart Service, and the JOURNAL's splendid editorial, reprinted from January, 1952.

Yet the net impression of the March issue leaves me uneasy. Will the younger generation of the Foreign Service be encouraged to accept the Peking regime as made up of nice guys, whom we should have embraced long ago, while dumping the Nationalists at the same time?

Memories are short, and we should not overlook an opportunity to remind ourselves and others of pertinent facts and prospects relating to the years following the defeat of Japan. Here are a few:

1. In the summer of 1948 we had every intention of maintaining our consulates in Communist-held centers, notably Peking and Shanghai. It was the Communist treatment of our consular officers and other Americans, as well as of United States Government property, which made it clear that no official contacts with us were desired. We had no alternative but to withdraw.

2. The Peking leadership of today remains substantially the same that threw us out in 1949, inflicted thousands of casualties on American forces in Korea in the following years, and liquidated millions of fellow-countrymen to maintain itself in power. Moreover, in the best Communist tradition, that regime has never ventured to let the Chinese people decide, in a meaningful election, whether China's destiny indeed belongs to Communism.

3. Not a few informed Americans believe that had our support for the Nationalists been more consistent and more purposeful, China today would not be Communist, and American armies would never have been called upon to fight in Korea or Indochina. Or at least that this was not an incredible prospect. As in the case of virtually every foreign

government which we have aided since World War II, our support for Nationalist China was hampered by excessive American criticism of that government.

KARL L. RANKIN
South Bridgton, Me.

On Ambassadorial Appointments

■ The Board of Directors should explain to the AFSA membership why it did not take a public position on the President's nomination of William B. Macomber, Jr., to serve as Ambassador to Turkey.

The published record of Mr. Macomber's confirmation hearing (Senate Foreign Relations Committee document 92-156) reflects the controversy generated by this nomination.

The Board's silence was a disservice to the Foreign Service. Mr. Macomber claims he has "reformed" Foreign Service personnel operations, while his critics believe he has contributed immeasurably to downgrading the role of the Department of State in the foreign affairs community.

A public and detailed examination of the conflicting claims by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee would have assisted the President and the Secretary of State in initiating the urgently needed reforms which eluded Mr. Macomber.

JOHN J. HARTER
Washington

BOARD COMMENT: AFSA, as a matter of policy, does not take public positions with respect to ambassadorial nominations. The Association has, on several occasions, considered establishing a mechanism to provide recommendations to the Executive and Legislative Branches on ambassadorial nominations. Individual Board members have favored the establishment of a committee composed of distinguished citizens, former career and noncareer ambassadors, to advise the President, the Secretary of State, and the Legislative Branch on ambassadorial appointments. The AFSA Board has not endorsed this proposal. However, we would appreciate receiving comments from members on this issue.

Rationale for Isolationism?

■ Earl Ravenal may eschew the label "isolationism" but his discussion of the problem of international order (FSJ, April) strikes me as simply an attempt to provide the missing, respectable rationale for

the neoisolationism now fashionable among so many of yesterday's fervent international activists.

As such I find it very unconvincing, an appraisal I suspect he shares to judge from his plaintive closing appeal for debate—rather than dismissal—of his proposal of "strategic disengagement." To start the debate, I would ask whether it is possible to imagine a workable system of "strategic disengagement" which did not imply, for each member, a high degree of economic autarchy, and a defense establishment strong enough to ignore all conflicts or threats of conflict elsewhere in the world. If not, the debate should be over. If, instead, he is merely proposing a policy for the US regardless of what other countries find possible for themselves, then he shouldn't be afraid to call the proposal by its proper name: isolationism.

Incidentally, Mr. Ravenal's attempt to clear ground for his own proposal by cutting down the balance of power approach to international order is regrettably and transparently polemical, in contrast to the objective description of past systems which precedes it. (Surely, it is tendentious to suggest that the balance of power system is the "least hospitable to efforts for directly needed international cooperation.")

What Mr. Ravenal seems to forget is that the existing international environment limits severely the choice of a viable international order or foreign policy. The balance of power approach, to adapt what Churchill said of democracy, may not be the most desirable policy, but becomes so when one considers the realistic alternatives.

CARL A. BASTIANI
Genoa

No Limited Horizons

■ Many thanks for publishing Charles Kennedy's lively and frank letter to those of us who, for one reason or other, have chosen to toil in the consular trenches. Being blessed with his former, splendid slot in Belgrade, I can say that consular work here is still just as challenging and rewarding as during the half-decade he spent in Yugoslavia. (Don't bother to reach for your pens, friends, I have already asked for an extension!)

On the other hand, I hope that the dismal prospects he forecasts for our future elevation are in the process of change, e.g. the February NEWSLETTER article designating some 40 principal officer jobs as being primarily consular-oriented. Certainly, a consular officer who resigns himself to doing primarily consular work in his mid-career (according to the pledge taken at threshold time) may not be very competitive when the time comes to pick Consuls General, DCMs, and even Ambassadors. And if one relies on the impersonal, computerized "coners" in Washington, the chances of ever getting a substantive "out-of-cone excursion" are indeed slim.

Yet, I am convinced that consular officers who are abroad (aren't we all?), who have proved they can run their own sections or sub-sections, who try to view consular work within the overall objectives of the mission, and who are willing to stick their noses into other sections' affairs (many times to their great discomfort) to offer opinions, analyses, and advice based on one's travels and conversations with the young and old, farmers, policemen, businessmen, illiterates and university professors, *can*—through hard work and painful persistence—sometimes sneak into substantive slots . . . amid no doubt cries of foul play from

those displaced. Then, if you're worth your salt, you can do some pithy reporting, handle some important visiting delegations, show off your earthy local lexicon learned in visa interviews, and carry on with new hope for positions of high trust and responsibility. Alternatively, you could screw things up royally and still have a safe home to return to.

In any event, doing all those things is a lot more fun than grousing around about limited horizons.

So, having been welcomed by CG Kennedy, I thank him for the sage advice, and for telling it "as it is." At the same time, I invite my consular brethren to join in seeing that consular work is done as well as it can possibly be done, with some faith that these important tasks—performed wisely and with imagination—will not go unrecognized.

THOMAS R. HUTSON

Belgrade

An Issue of Privacy

■ Surely the time has come to do away with the annual US savings bond campaign. This would save a great deal of time and effort in the Department and would remove a long standing and irritating invasion of personal privacy.

This year as for many years since World War II, the Department and

Foreign Service have participated in a government-wide Savings Bond Campaign. Facsimile signed letters went out to all posts from the Secretary, addressed to all colleagues, reminding us of "the great importance of savings bonds to all Americans . . . one of our most effective means of protecting the Nation's economic strength and security . . . Your support is vital . . . I sincerely hope that each of you will participate."

A joint State/AID/USIA message instructed posts to "designate a top administrative official or senior officer to serve as chairman." At the end of the campaign, results were to be reported with such details as employee strength, percentage of participation, number of new buyers and dollar amounts allotted; about all that could be reported except names of buyers and non-buyers.

At this post, we went through the routine of assigning a chairman and distributing promotional materials but no efforts were made to encourage or discourage purchasers. The undersigned let it be known that he regarded decisions on personal savings and investments as private.

How much longer can the Department go on "urging" purchases of US Government bonds as both a patriotic duty and "a sound and convenient method of regular saving?" The first (the argument from patriotism) is invalid at least so long as the US Government has no difficulty financing its deficit from market financial sources, and the second is gratuitous. In any case, government employees should not be subjected to greater pressure than are other private citizens. The assignment of senior officers as post campaign chairmen, and the detailed reporting required from each post can only be described as bureaucratic pressure designed to compel individual decisions which properly should be private.

One could of course argue that these pressures are not all that effective. In that case, why should we go through the motions?

Does the Board of Directors of the Foreign Service Association have the courage to take a stand on this issue of personal privacy?

EDWARD DOHERTY

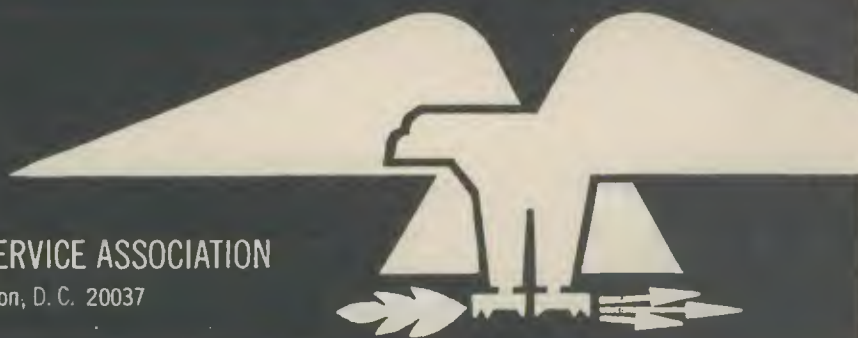
Munich

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

by Edward M. Cohen



TO MY COLLEAGUES IN PER/MGT: As you can see by this photo, the Ambassador and I are fully complying with your directive regarding fair employment practices in the hiring of women. These are our new employees. The one at the far left is our Senior Political Advisor; the next three are Economic/Commercial Analysts; and the four on the right are drivers in the Motor Pool.



AID NEWS

AID Foreign Service Retirement

AFSA has continued its vigorous support for AID Foreign Service retirement. The Association's Chairman, Bill Harrop, appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in April to urge the Committee to amend the Foreign Service Act's retirement and disability provisions to permit career AID Foreign Service participation in that plan.

AFSA/AID has been pushing for speedy consideration of the retirement provisions so they would go into effect prior to June 30, 1973. Unfortunately, the outlook is that Congress will not act quickly on this issue.

Specifically, AFSA/AID has made a number of representations to AID management seeking their endorsement of having the AID Foreign Service provisions added to the State Authorization Bill on which hearings were held in early April. AID management did not accept the AFSA proposal, but has introduced the Foreign Service retirement provisions in the 1973 AID Authorization Bill (S. 1711) which amends the Foreign Assistance Act. Similar legislation failed to pass the last Congress, due to differences between the House and Senate on other issues in the Bill. These issues still have not been resolved.

AFSA is working hard directly with the Congress and with AID management to make sure that the retirement legislation is given prime attention. However, the outlook for quick action in this Session of Congress is not promising. S. 1711, "To Amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other pur-

poses" introduced by Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania

"(k) (1) In accordance with such regulations as the President may prescribe, the following categories of personnel who serve in the Agency for International Development shall become participants in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System:

"(A) Persons serving under unlimited appointments in employment subject to section 625(d) (2) of this Act as Foreign Service Reserve officers and as Foreign Service staff officers and employees; and

"(B) A person serving in a position to which he was appointed by the President, whether with or without the advice and consent of the Senate, provided that (1) such person shall have served previously under an unlimited appointment pursuant to said section 625(d) (2) or a comparable provision of predecessor legislation to this Act, and (2) following service specified in proviso (1) such person shall have served continuously with the Agency for International Development or its predecessor agencies only in positions established under the authority of sections 624(a) and 631(b) or comparable provisions of predecessor legislation to this Act.

"(2) Upon becoming a participant in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System, any such officer or employee shall make a special contribution to the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund in accordance with the provisions of section 852 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended. Thereafter, compulsory contributions will be made with respect to each such participating officer or employee in accordance with the provisions of section 811 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

"(3) The provisions of section 636 and title VIII of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, shall apply to participation in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System by any such officer or employee.

"(4) If an officer who becomes a participant in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System under paragraph (1) of this subsection is appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, or by the President alone, to a position in any Government agency, any United States delegation or mission to any international organization, in any international commission, or in any international body, such officer shall not, by virtue of the acceptance of such an appointment, lose his status as a participant in the system.

"(5) Any such officer or employee who becomes a participant in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System under paragraph (1) of this subsection shall be mandatorily retired (a) at the end of the month in which he reaches age seventy or (b) earlier if, during the third year after the effective date of this subsection, he attains age sixty-four or if he is over age sixty-four; during the fourth year at age sixty-three; during the fifth year at age sixty-two; during the sixth year at age sixty-one; and thereafter at the end of the month in which he reaches age sixty: **Provided**, That no participant shall be mandatorily retired under this paragraph while serving in a position to which appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Any participant who completes a period of authorized service after reaching the mandatory retirement age specified in this paragraph shall be retired at the end of the month in which such service is completed.

"(6) Whenever the President deems it to be in the public interest, he may extend any participant's service for a period not to exceed five years after the mandatory retirement date of such officer or employee.

"(7) This subsection shall become effective on the first day of the first month which begins more than one year after the date of its enactment, except that any officer or employee who, before such effective date, meets

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the requirements for participation in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System under paragraph (1) of this subsection may elect to become a participant before the effective date of this subsection. Such officer or employee shall become a participant on the first day of the second month following the date of his application for earlier participation. Any officer or employee who becomes a participant in the system under the provisions of paragraph (1) of this subsection, who is age fifty-seven or over on the effective date of this subsection, may retire voluntarily at any time before mandatory retirement under paragraph (5) of this subsection and receive retirement benefits under section 821 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

"(8) Any officer or employee who is separated for cause while a participant in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System pursuant to this subsection, shall be entitled to benefits in accordance with subsections 637 (b) and (d) of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended. The provisions of section 625(e) of this Act shall apply to participants in lieu of the provisions of sections 633 and 634 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended."

STAFF CORPS NEWS

Action on Overtime

The Association has established an ad hoc committee to deal with problems of overtime in the three Foreign Affairs Agencies. Members of the Committee are: Ray Smith (Junior Officer), Francine Bowman (Staff Corps), Jim Holmes (Communicator), and Tex Harris (Mid-career Officer). The Courier Association has been asked to appoint a member.

The immediate work program of the Committee is to resolve individual overtime problems which are referred to the Association, to obtain a ruling from the Comptroller General that overtime worked by duty personnel is "regularly scheduled" overtime, and to obtain overtime benefits for Staff Officers and Staff Secretaries.

The Committee has been successful in overturning a NEA post's refusal to pay a secretary for overtime work. In this case, the post unilaterally imposed stricter requirements for overtime compensation than are established in 3 FAM 230. The post said that it would allow persons earning below \$16,609 to request payment for overtime beginning on March 4, 1973. The right of an em-

ployee earning less than \$16,609 to request payment for overtime has been guaranteed by law since 1966.

The Committee has sent two letters to the Comptroller General rebutting misleading information presented by State's administrators in their attempt to have all duty overtime worked characterized as "occasional and irregular." We expect a decision from the General Accounting Office on this matter in the very near future. If we are successful, all duty secretaries, all duty communicators, and all duty officers will receive **monetary compensation** for the overtime actually worked.

The Committee is attempting to establish guidelines for overtime compensation for Staff Assistants and Staff Secretaries whose assignments require them to remain at work until their principal leaves. A large retroactive overtime payment to the Staff Assistant in one Bureau in the Department has recently been paid. In this case, the Staff Assistant was regularly working over 55 hours a week, despite a staggered schedule.

FOREIGN SERVICE NEWS

Personal Appearance Before Retirement Board

In late February, prior to AFSA's Certification, AFSA Board members Bill Lenderking and Jack Tuohey requested USIA management to amend the USIA Retirement Board Precepts to provide an opportunity for officers to orally present information relevant to the Board's consideration of their cases. After a careful study of the AFSA request, USIA management agreed to permit Agency officers being reviewed for involuntary retirement to appear personally, if the officer wishes, before the USIA Retirement Board.

Unfortunately, the Department of State has refused to permit its officers being reviewed for involuntary retirement the right of personal appearance. AFSA has appealed the Director General's decision to the Board of Foreign Service. Once again, USIA management has taken a leadership role in providing due process for

in the Foreign Service. We trust that State's managers will not be far behind.

STATE NEWS

Post Guidelines

The Association has filed an unfair labor practice against the Department of State as a result of the Department's publication of an article in the April **Newsletter**, "State, AFSA Set Guidelines for Posts." Although the article purports to describe agreed procedures for the implementation of Executive Order 11636 at overseas posts, it is in fact an interpretative commentary on the content of these agreements. AFSA chapters and members are urged **not** to rely on the April **Newsletter**, but to rely on the text of the agreement itself.

Promotion Process Disputes

After failure to resolve two fundamental issues with respect to the promotion process, AFSA has filed an appeal with the Board of the Foreign Service to decide the following two issues:

1) Should the Precepts and procedures for the promotion board be submitted to the exclusive representative 60 days (management's position) or 120 days (AFSA's position) in advance of convening such boards?

The Department's 60-day proposal would preclude any disagreements between AFSA and the Department on promotion Precepts being appealed to the Board of the Foreign Service for resolution, as the minimum time necessary for an appeal is 74 days. The Department's proposal, in effect, means that an appeal by the Association would mean delaying the promotions affected by that Precept. This is a fairly blatant attempt by administrative management to deny appeal rights on the Precepts.

2) Should administrative management alone decide who is to serve on promotion panels? AFSA believes that the members of promotion boards should have the complete confidence of both administrative management and the elected employee representative. To this end, AFSA proposes

that administrative management should prepare a list of candidates for each selection Board, and that the Association and management should **jointly** agree on those to be appointed to the boards.

AFSA ACTIVITIES

Due to AFSA/Spain's initiative, Foreign Service employees in Spain won at least a partial victory in obtaining increased housing allowances for Madrid, Barcelona and Seville. The increases ranged from 28 percent to a mere 1 percent, and alleviate but do not resolve the serious problem of housing expenses in Madrid. As usual, the housing allowance deficiencies fall most heavily on the Staff Corps and Junior Officers.

MEMBERS' INTERESTS

Dollar Devaluation

Overseas allowances affected by the dollar devaluation of February 14, 1973 have been adjusted retroactively to that date. State airgram A-3614 of April 23, 1973 provides all the details, including the adjustments for each affected post. Alleged efforts by OMB to change the groundrules for calculating the cost-of-living allowance (reported in the May **AFSA News**) fortunately were not connected to the devaluation exercise. The danger is apparently still present, however, and AFSA will utilize all of its authority under E.O. 11636 to prevent any erosion of Foreign Service allowances.

Home Leave Tax Deductions and the US Tax Court

In a hearing on May 2, 1973, Chief Judge Brennan of the US Tax Court ruled that Foreign Service employees **seeking refunds** from the IRS for home leave expenses cannot challenge the IRS in that court, including the "small tax case" procedures for amounts under \$1,000.

The judge explained that the Tax Court was created by Congress to help taxpayers seek judicial redress without first having to pay the IRS in a disputed claim. The Tax Court has jurisdiction, therefore, only in cases where the IRS is seeking more money from the taxpayer and has issued a certificate of statutory deficiency. If you have submitted an amended return for an earlier year in an effort to claim a home leave expense deduction, an IRS notice of disallowance is insufficient to give the Tax Court jurisdiction. The "small tax case" procedures in that court are therefore available only if the IRS disallows your claim and is asking for more money through the issuance of a notice of deficiency. As soon as you file a petition with the Tax Court, the IRS is prohibited from collecting the amount requested until the case has been concluded.

An IRS disallowance without a notice of deficiency can only be challenged in District Court or the Court of Claims, a procedure AFSA hopes to begin as soon as appropriate cases are received and sufficient funds are collected from voluntary contributions. We are

still way behind in our collection of money for this purpose.

AFSA Awards Program

The closing date for the Herter, Rivkin and Harriman Awards has been extended to July 15 to permit more nominations from the field. These annual awards are given for outstanding intellectual originality, courage, forthrightness, and "constructive dissent." The Herter Award is for senior officers (FSO 1 and 2 and equivalents), the Rivkin Award for middle-grade officers (FSO 3-5 and equivalents), and the Harriman Award for junior officers (FSO 6-8 and equivalents).

Complete information on the format for nominations appears in the March issue of the **Journal** or please phone the Association office (338-4045). Send nominations to AFSA, Awards Committee, 2101 E Street, N.W., D.C. 20037

Anyone with knowledge of a Foreign Service colleague's accomplishments can nominate for these \$1000, tax-free, awards.

AAFSW NEWS

Oliver Owl is now searching for talent, as well as for books! He invites you to help advertise the AAFSW Book Fair by participating in the Poster Contest.

Design a poster—11" x 14" with the following information:

Book Fair

October 15-19

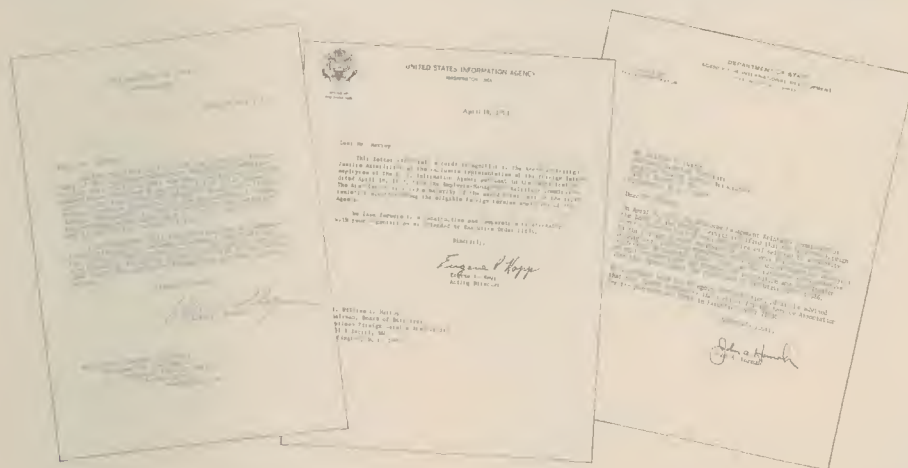
Department of State

2201 C Street, N. W.

(Proceeds for the benefit of the AAFSW Scholarship/Education Fund)—Optional

On Family Day, three first prizes will be awarded for the best poster in each category: Adults, Secondary school children, and Primary school children. As the AAFSW plans to use all of the posters, they will become the property of the Book Fair Committee.

Oliver would appreciate your help! So, before the Contest closing date, September 4, turn your poster in to the Housing Office, Room 1248, Department of State.



AAFSW/AFSA JOINT PROJECT-EDUCATIONAL CENTER

A year and a half or so ago, the idea came up that, after 15 years' successful experience, the widening of AFSA's educational counseling services might render them still more effective.

Envisioned were the expansion of the scope of the counseling itself and the addition of some services. How can children returning from overseas be helped to feel less like foreigners here in their own country? Would some parent/child discussion groups help people to take stock when the reverse culture shock of a Washington assignment hits them? Would a bit of selective tutoring fill in gaps between schools overseas and stateside schools?

The AFSA and AAFSW Boards voted to support a year's trial run of a "Foreign Service Educational Center." The resolution authorizing its establishment stated the FSEC objective "to establish an educational/family 'service-base' in this country for consultation and planning with children and parents; to provide means for assessing children's inadequate or lapsed progress; to offer remedial facilities; and to develop innovative ways to counter such Foreign Service conditions as are adverse to children's progress."

A Policy Direction Committee to oversee the Center's operation and, in a year, to evaluate its usefulness, is being formed. Mary Weiss and Priscilla Streater have been appointed by Mrs. William Leonhart, President of AAFSW, as that organization's representatives on the Committee. AFSA's Board has appointed Alan Lukens and Allan Furman as AFSA's members on the Committee.

The Foreign Service Educational Center's office is in the AFSA office building, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. The telephone number is 338-4045; Mrs. Martha Clark is the Center's secretary and is glad to answer questions or make appointments for consulta-

tions. For AFSA and AAFSW members, one hour's consultation time is without charge. Thereafter, the fees are partly subsidized, partly on a user-paid basis.

Foreign Service People

DEATHS

Ennis. James Henry Ennis, director, management systems staff of the State Department, died on April 26 in Washington. Mr. Ennis entered on duty with the Department in 1946 and joined the Foreign Service in 1954. He served at Athens, Beirut and Saigon. He is survived by his wife, Barbara, of 2911 39th St., N.W., a daughter and two sons.

Farrell. William Stokes Farrell, FSO-retired, died on February 23, in New York City. Mr. Farrell entered the Foreign Service in 1929 and served at Mexico City, Addis Ababa, Aden, Beirut, Istanbul, Tehran, Baghdad and Damascus. He retired in the late '40s.

Fischer. Edward P. Fischer, AID-retired, died on February 16 in Miami Beach. Mr. Fischer joined the foreign assistance program in 1960 and served in Korea and Vietnam before his retirement in 1969. He received an award from the Korean Government for his work in establishing a bureau of standards there. He is survived by his wife, Amelia A., 4705 N. Michigan Ave., Miami Beach, a son, Larry P., of Upper Marlboro, Md., a sister, brother and granddaughter.

Johnson. Ellen I. Johnson, mother of Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, died on April 20 in Santa Barbara, Calif. Mrs. Johnson lived with her son in the Washington area for many years. She is also survived by a daughter, Mrs. Gerald Warner, of Washington and eight grandchildren.

Mokma. Gerald Mokma, FSO-retired, died on April 6 in La Mesa, California. Mr. Mokma entered the Foreign Service in 1926 and served at Berlin, Budapest, Antwerp, Bogota, Windsor, Surabaya and Tijuana before his retirement in 1957.

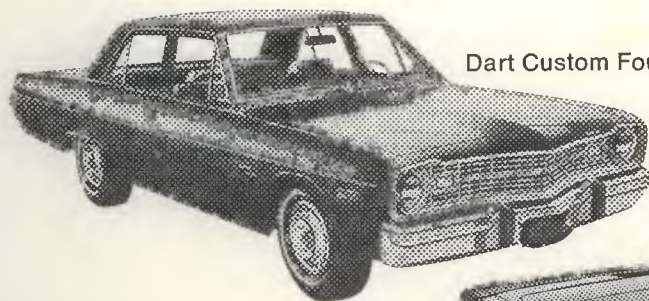
McCloskey. Matthew Henry McCloskey, Jr., former Ambassador to Ireland, died on April 26 in Philadelphia.

Metcalf. Gabriella E. Metcalf, FSIO-retired, died on April 21, in Washington. Miss Metcalf served with the ECA and USIA in Stuttgart and Frankfurt, then with FOA, and later with USIA at Palermo, Rome, Bangkok and Frankfurt before her retirement last July. Miss Metcalf was a talented artist and was preparing for an exhibition of her sculpture at the Watergate Galleries this year. She is survived by a brother, Richard, 3504 Raymond St., Chevy Chase, Maryland.

Teller. Hugh H. Teller, FSO-retired, died on March 31 in Heidelberg. Mr. Teller entered the Foreign Service in 1924 and served at Stuttgart, Zurich, Naples and Copenhagen, before his retirement in 1961. He is survived by a nephew, Capt. L. W. Teller, USN, of Silver Spring, and a niece, Louise Pierucki of Albuquerque, N.M.

Walmsley. Walter Newbold Walmsley, Jr., retired Ambassador, died on April 1 in Washington. Ambassador Walmsley entered the Foreign Service in 1927 and served at Sao Paulo, Aden, Prague, Habana, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon, Paris, Rome, Moscow and as Ambassador to Tunisia before his retirement in 1963. Upon retirement he served as Secretary General of the Atlantic Institute in Paris, with the Population Crisis Committee and as a governor of DACOR. He is survived by his wife, Maria Teresa Sanchez-Domenech y Baux Walmsley, 2540 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., a stepdaughter and two grandchildren.

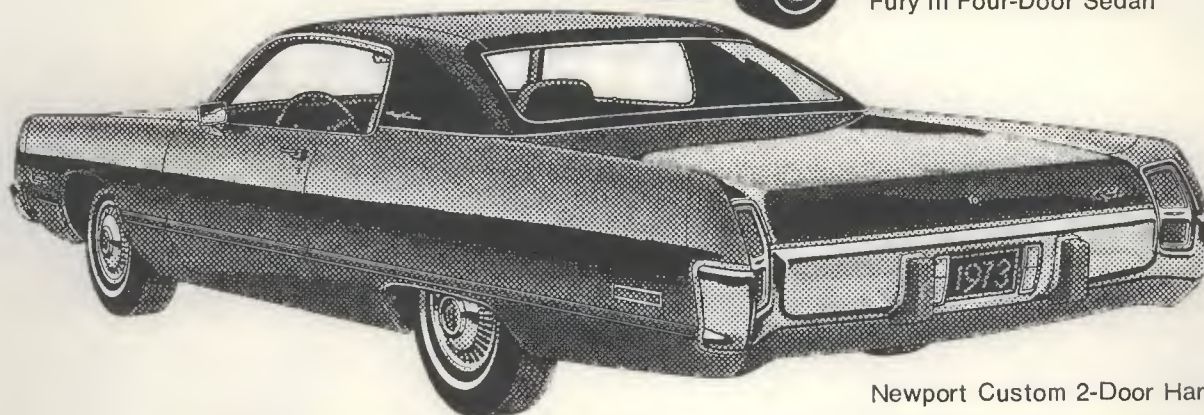
Zweig. Ben Zweig, FSO-retired, died on March 24 in Tucson. Mr. Zweig entered the Foreign Service in 1924 and served at San Jose, Tegucigalpa, Nogales, Habana, Rome, Mexico City and Nuevo Laredo before his retirement in 1958. He is survived by his wife, Lia, 1451 S. Abbie Lane, Tucson, three sons and a daughter.



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