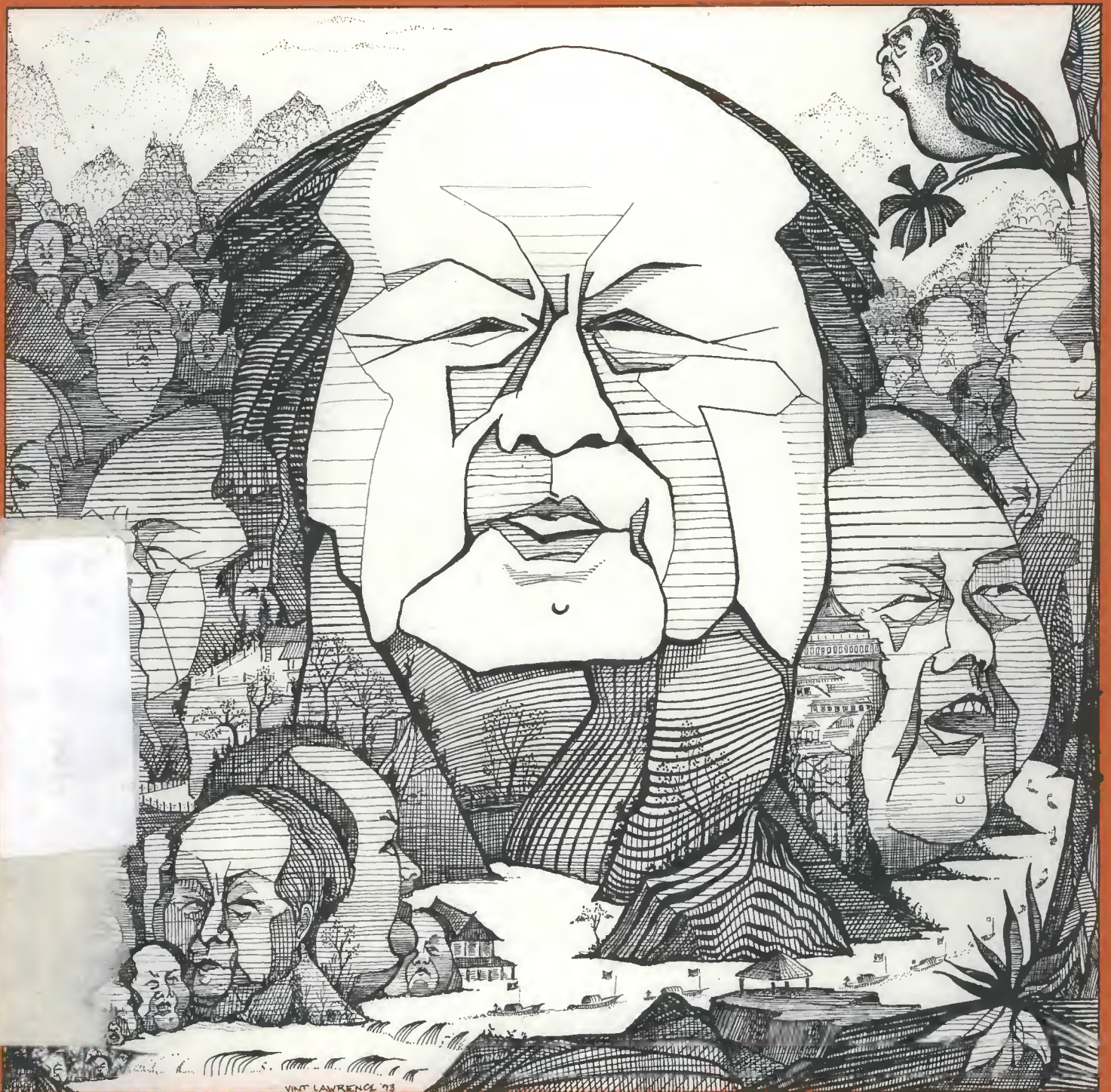


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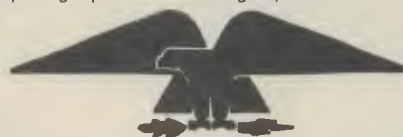
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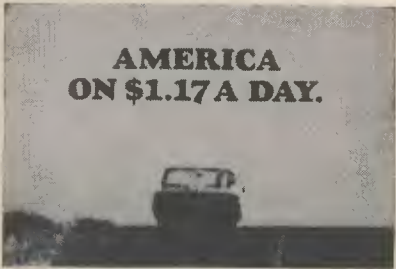
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Administrative Promotions in a Merit System

THE merit promotion system is a hallmark of the Foreign Service. Despite their rhetoric in support of the merit principle, management's actions unfortunately speak louder than their words. AFSA, as the Foreign Service profession's spokesman, finds itself continuously fighting to preserve the merit system against the attempts of administrators to bend the system to solve *their* immediate problems.

Abuses have occurred in all three Agencies. The past Director of USIA's attempt to restructure that Agency's promotion system to allow personal selection of senior officers was successfully blocked, thanks to the determined efforts of Senator Pell of Rhode Island. At State, as far as we know, five officers have been *added* to the merit promotion lists in the last two years. AID management has been the worst of all, quietly making 43 administrative promotions last year. At least State and USIA managements provide elaborate public justifications for adding names to the promotion lists; AID managers just do it.

Section 623 of the Foreign Service Act authorizes the Secretary to make recommendations to the President for the promotion of Foreign Service officers *upon the basis of selection board findings*. However, State management has fabricated an alternate promotion system. The Director General, based on what *he* considers to be sufficient reasons, recommends to the Board of the Foreign Service names to be included with the rank order promotion list. The Board accepts his recommendations and adds the names. The Foreign Service Act provides for only one group—selection boards—to recommend officers for promotion. While the Board of the Foreign Service is authorized by the President to “make recommendations to the Secretary concerning . . . the *policies and procedures* to govern the . . . promotion of Foreign Service Officers,” it is not empowered to add specific names to the promotion list. Clearly such actions are not recommendations on policy and procedure. We trust that the Board of the Foreign Service, whose members from the administrative managements of the three Agencies are now being replaced, will change the previous Board's policy and take itself out of the selection board business.

AFSA has suggested an amendment to the State Authorization Bill to end these abuses to the merit promotion system. This amendment has been approved by the Senate, thanks again to support from Senator Pell, a former FSO, who shares our deep concern in protecting the merit promotion system. The amendment expresses the intent of Congress that Foreign Service promotions shall be made on the basis of merit determined by an impartial selection board, and in *extraordinary* cases upon the recommendation of grievance or equal opportunity boards. There will be no basis for administrative promotions.

Our personnel system must be an open system. The

administrators of State, USIA and AID may have **their** good reasons for promoting certain officers, but to leave that important decision in their hands is an invitation to serious abuses. AFSA is committed to an open, merit promotion system.

Guest Editorial on Career Ambassadors

ONE OF THE more flagrant abuses in government over the years, by Democrats and Republicans alike, has been that of nominating campaign contributors as ambassadors.

There are indications that reform is in the wind. Reform is long overdue. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is attempting to resolve criteria for confirmation of ambassadors which would place more of an accent on career appointments.

For example, anyone who contributes more than \$10,000 to a presidential campaign would not be acceptable as an ambassador. Another proposal is to limit non-career appointments to ambassador to 15 per cent as contrasted with the current 30-to-35 per cent.

To be appointed an ambassador is a real accomplishment for someone who has made a career of the foreign service. It is the culmination of years of hard and demanding work, work which prepares him for just such a post.

It must be detrimental to foreign service morale to see someone appointed an ambassador whose only apparent qualification for the job is that of contributing a vast amount of money to the successful presidential candidate's campaign.

Yet that is the current custom in too many appointments.

The emphasis should be on those who make a career of the foreign service. But at the same time the door should be open for non-career appointments to a limited degree. These are not always campaign contributors.

One shining non-career appointment, for example, was Henry Cabot Lodge who served with distinction as ambassador to the United Nations in a Republican administration and later served with distinction as ambassador to South Vietnam in a Democratic administration.

The 15 per cent for non-career appointments seems about right. We hope that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to an agreement on this measure of reform and, having agreed to it, then implement it and enforce it.—*The Atlanta Journal*, May 26, 1973.



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An American Symbol

COLUMBIA

CHARLOTTE W. DAVIS

IF you were to pick an American citizen at random and ask him what the symbol of his country is, he would probably answer "Uncle

Charlotte Davis received her Bachelor's and Master's from Case Western Reserve and is working toward a doctorate from Emory University. She taught for six years at Clark College in Atlanta.

Sam." Inquire among your peers for one who knows the song, "Hail Columbia," and you will find few who ever heard of it. Yet for a hundred years the name Columbia was familiar to every American as a name for his country and the picture of Columbia was as easily recognized as Uncle Sam is to us today.

The United States of America was born and nurtured in the intel-

lectual ferment of the eighteenth century, the neo-classical age, the age of the enlightenment. Intellectuals of that time turned to deism as a summation of religious faith and, rejecting the ancient Christian symbols as crude and irrelevant, sought new and higher symbolism in classical mythology. It is not surprising then, that one of the earliest and most cherished symbols of our young republic was Columbia, the

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Columbia on the Ocean

Library of Congress Lithograph 1870

Minerva of the western hemisphere.

Columbia was not used as a symbol for the thirteen colonies until after the Revolutionary War, since Mrs. Britannia, the symbol of the mother country, was monopolizing the Minerva figure. The earliest personification of America was another symbol dear to the eighteenth century, the Noble Savage, dressed in feathers and named "Miss America." Miss America appeared in British cartoons from the time of the French and Indian War, was used on both sides of the Atlantic, and persisted in Europe into the 19th century.

Traditionally Minerva has symbolized wisdom although there are examples of the Minerva figure used to represent chastity, philosophy, and even the Virgin Mary.

Just when the name Columbia

became attached to the Minerva figure is difficult to determine. Classical figures abounded in that time and the Mrs. Britannia figure was a commonplace. Several colonial newspapers, among them the MASSACHUSETTS SPY and the PENNSYLVANIA MERCURY had Minerva figures, probably representing wisdom, on their mastheads.

A democratic-Republican Party label of 1790 shows Columbia in her classical form: a female figure, classically draped, with spear and helmet. In this case she carries a mace; more often she is seen with a shield.

From at least the time of the Revolutionary War, Columbia was used as a literary name for the American colonies and Philip Freneau suggested it as a permanent

Continued on page 21

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All too often, those who undertake quantitative political studies strive so hard for theoretical symmetry that they fail to provide any help in answering the hard questions.

quantitative analysis and foreign policy decision-making

THE application of quantitative techniques has generally been recognized as an aid to decision-making in those areas of government operations where a large amount of meaningful data is available, and where the time frame in which decisions are made is long enough to allow meaningful analysis to be programmed. In areas dealing with personnel, budget and fiscal, or procurement operations, for example, computer assistance is now considered a necessity. In analytical areas, such as program budgeting, economic analysis and military capability analysis, quantitative techniques are also widely used.¹

In foreign policy decision-making, on the other hand, the lack of precise data and the short time frame within which most decisions must be made render many of the quantitative approaches developed for other areas of little practical use. At the same time, there has been resistance

¹One of the most comprehensive surveys of quantitative studies in the field of international relations generally is Susan D. Jones and J. David Singer. *Beyond Conjecture in International Politics: Abstracts of Data-based Research* (Itasca, New York: F. E. Peacock, 1972).

DAVID E. LONG

David E. Long received the W. Averell Harriman Award in 1972 for "thinking the unthinkable" about the threat to Iran and Israel perceptions of the conflict with the Arabs." Mr. Long entered the Foreign Service in 1962 and has served at Khartoum, Tangier and Jidda.

to developing quantitative approaches to aid in foreign policy decision-making, generated to a great extent by misconceptions about the nature of quantification. Many traditional political analysts consider that quantification is designed to replace human judgment. This misconception ignores the basic requirement for the use of human judgment in the original choice of what variables are meaningful in relation to what other variables. This requirement holds true as much for quantitative as for traditional political analysis.

A second misconception of traditional analysts is their exaggerated view of the human capacity to deal with the many variables that make up political problems. The result is often a simplistic perception of the

problem, raised to the level of "self-evident truth" or conventional wisdom. An example of human fallibility in analyzing complex political problems has been the tendency in the past to rely too closely on simple bi-polar global perceptions generated by the Cold War when analyzing the regional politics of developing countries. There may be much that is valid in these conventional perceptions, but they do not always tell enough of the story. Policymakers therefore risk making bad decisions if they assume that they do.

Another problem in introducing quantitative techniques into the field of foreign policy decision-making has been the lack of perception on the part of those trained in these techniques about what the decision-maker really needs. All too often, those who undertake quantitative political studies strive so hard for theoretical symmetry that they fail to provide any help in answering the hard questions decision-makers must ask in reaching a given decision. It is all very well to "know" that there is a positive correlation between weapons capabilities and the propensity to adopt aggressive policies, for example, but this will not be of

much help to the policy-maker trying to consider all the political ramifications of selling ten obsolete jet fighters to country X, and if so, under what credit arrangements.

The real need therefore, is to provide an additional tool which human judgment can use, not to replace it. Quantitative approaches, because of their rigorous logic and explicit nature, should be able to make a valuable contribution. In order to be of practical value to the decision-makers, however, such approaches should not require a large amount of quantifiable data and should be presented in a form which a non-specialist could understand without difficulty.

A Quantitative Analysis of the Persian Gulf

In addressing this need, a fellow Foreign Service officer, Paul Laase, and I prepared an analysis of political stability in the lower Persian Gulf, using two mathematical techniques, linear program analysis and an algebraic matrix.²

When the study was made in the summer of 1971, the problem of the future stability of the lower Persian Gulf was of special interest to US policy-makers. Their immediate interest stemmed from the announced intention of the United Kingdom to renounce by the end of 1971 its protective status over the lower Gulf sheikdoms which had been exercised for over a century. The factors that had to be taken into consideration were the large oil-based economies of some of the sheikdoms and poverty of others; a large proportion of foreigners in the labor force; territorial disputes with Iran and Saudi Arabia; and questions of internal security and inter-sheikdom rivalries.

All the states in the lower Gulf—Bahrain, Qatar and the seven former Trucial States, now members of the United Arab Emirates: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm al-Qaywayn, Ras al-Khaymah and Fujayah—have subsequently become independent. The method of

²David E. Long and Paul L. Laase, "Political Stability in the Lower Persian Gulf: A Quantitative Analysis." Those interested in a copy of the original study may write to Mr. Long, c/o INR/RNA, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 20520.

Table 1
FACTORS AFFECTING POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE LOWER PERSIAN GULF

Sign	Weight (0 to 100)	Rank (1 to 21)		Current Rating +10 to -10	Quantitative Value
			ECONOMIC VIABILITY		
+	98	2	A. Oil Production	+6	588
+/-	37	14	B. Labor Force/Population	+1	37
+	4	20	C. Other Economic Activity	+3	12
			INTERNAL POLITICAL VIABILITY		
+	90	3	D. Internal Security Forces	+6	540
-	89	4	E. Organized Opposition, Including External Assistance	-3	267
+	70	6	F. Effectiveness of Ruling Leadership	+3	210
-	43	12	G. Foreign Population Ratio	-1	43
-	40	13	H. Potential for Discontent	-6	240
			INTER-SHEIKDOM POLITICS		
+	100	1	I. Propensity to Cooperate (Including Federation)	+2	200
-	69	7	J. Inter-Sheikly Rivalries	-4	276
			IDEOLOGICAL FACTORS		
+/-	55	9	K. Arab Conservatism vs. Arab Radicalism	+4/-1	220
-	49	11	L. Arab Nationalism vs. Iranian Nationalism	-2/-1	98
			DIRECT NEIGHBORING COUNTRY INFLUENCE/SUPPORT		
+/-	60	8	M. Iranian Influence/Support	-1	60
+/-	50	10	N. Saudi Arabian Influence/Support	+1	50
+/-	35	15	O. Kuwaiti Influence/Support	+1	35
-	30	16	P. Iraqi Influence/Support	-1	30
			OTHER DIRECT FOREIGN INFLUENCE/SUPPORT		
+	85	5	Q. British Assistance/Influence	+3	255
+	27	17	R. United States Assistance/Influence	0	0
-	25	18	S. Communist Assistance/Influence	0	0
+/-	20	19	T. Other Arab Assistance/Influence	-1	20
+	2	21	U. Other Western Assistance/Influence	0	0

Notes

- Current Rating: +10 = maximum possible positive influence
0 = neutral or no effect
-10 = maximum possible negative influence
Quantitative Value = Weight × Current Rating

Table 2
LINEAR PROGRAM CONSTRAINTS

- $I > J$. The propensity to cooperate (factor I) must exceed the propensity for rivalries among the sheikdoms (factor J).
- $K^1 > K^2$. Arab conservatism (factor K^1) must exceed Arab radicalism (factor K^2).
- $D > E$. Internal security forces (factor D) must be superior to organized opposition including external assistance (factor E).
- $Q > 250$. British assistance/influence must exceed the quantitative value of 250.
- $(Q+R+U) > (P+S)$. Combined British (factor Q), US (factor R) and other Western (factor U) assistance/influence must exceed Iraqi (factor P) and Communist (factor S) assistance/influence.
- $M \Rightarrow \text{Zero}$. Iranian influence/support (factor M) must be positive (greater than zero) or at least neutral (zero).
- $N \Rightarrow \text{Zero}$. Saudi influence/support (factor N) must be positive or at least neutral.
- $F > H$. The effectiveness of the ruling leadership (factor F) must exceed the potential for discontent (factor H).
- $(A+B+C) \Rightarrow 700$. Economic viability (defined as a combination of oil production) (factor A), labor force/population (factor B) and other economic activity) (factor C) must equal or exceed 700.
- $L^1 \leq 250$. Arab nationalism (factor L^1) must equal or be less than 250.
- $L^2 \leq 250$. Iranian nationalism (factor L^2) must equal or be less than 250.
- $L^1 \leq L^2 = 100$. Arab nationalism must be equal or less than Iranian nationalism plus 100.
- $B > G$. The labor force/population (factor B) have a greater quantitative score than the foreign population (factor G) (i.e. too many foreign nationals in relation to the labor force is destabilizing).

analysis and the conclusions should nevertheless still be of interest.

The study attempted to answer three questions: What conditions would contribute most to the political stability of the lower Gulf? To what extent do those conditions exist? What policies and programs could best aid in creating and maintaining those conditions?

Explanation of the Linear Program Analysis

Linear programming was initially developed to determine the optimum or most efficient combination of resources involving physical flows,

such as the optimum production mix for an oil refinery or a flour mill. Three results are possible: that a unique combination exists to achieve the desired objective; that several combinations are possible; or that no combination exists that is any better than any other one.

The result is derived by comparing relationships among variable factors. These relationships, which are held mathematically constant, are called constraints. For example, if one of the constraints stipulated that factor X must be greater than factor Y ($X > Y$), and factor Y were given the value of 100, factor

X must be greater than 100 ($X > 100$) for the constraint to be met. The result of a linear program analysis is determined by the nature of the constraints and the proportion of them which are met.

In the Gulf study, we chose 21 factors, grouped into six categories, which could most affect political stability. (They are listed, A through U, in Table 1.) These factors were then ranked from the most important to the least important. Each factor was weighted on a scale from 0 to 100 to determine the relative

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**Table 3
PROGRAM EVALUATION MATRIX**

Programs	Objectives					Total Program Score*
	A	B	C	D	E	
	Build regional (Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia) support & cooperation in maintaining political stability in the lower Persian Gulf	Maintain predominantly Western orientation of the lower Persian Gulf sheikdoms	Promote internal political viability in the lower Persian Gulf sheikdoms	Establish the economic viability of the lower Persian Gulf area	Promote inter-sheikdom cooperation including federation)	
Weight	9	6	9	5	10	
	Effect/score	Effect/score	Effect/score	Effect/score	Effect/score	Effect/score
Technical Assistance:						
1. Train local personnel to perform governmental and technical services	0/0	2/12	3/27	4/20	0/0	59
2. Train local personnel for petroleum sector	0/0	0/0	1/9	0/0	5/5	14
3. Expand range of government services on regional (inter-sheikdom) basis	1/9	1/6	4/36	3/15	4/40	106
4. Maintain/improve effectiveness of internal security forces	1/9	3/18	5/45	.5/2.5	0/0	74.5
Economic Assistance:						
5. Expand economic activity outside petroleum sector, e.g., local development projects	0/0	1/6	.5/4.5	2/10	0/0	20.5
6. Budget assistance	0/0	.5/3	1/9	2/10	0/0	22
7. Regional (inter-sheikdom) development (including social overhead) projects.	.5/4.5	1/6	2/18	4/20	4/40	88.5
Diplomatic Efforts (US & UK)						
8. To persuade Iran, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia that promoting stability in the lower Persian Gulf is of greater importance to their own national interests than pursuing national goals likely to upset the stability of the lower Gulf.	5/45	7/42	1/9	0/0	4/40	136
9. Resolution of Iranian territorial disputes with Sharjah and Ras al Khaymah	2/13	0/0	3/27	0/0	3/30	75
10. Resolution of Abu Musa oil concession	2/18	0/0	2/13	0/0	0/0	36
Total Objective Score**	103.5	87	202.5	77.5	155	631.5

*The score of each program in terms of its total effectiveness in meeting all objectives. Note that programs 8, 3, 7, 9 and 4 are the most effective.

**The degree to which each objective can be influenced by all the programs. Note the objectives C, E and A are most subject to influence by the programs.

"I regard the overseas information and cultural programs of USIA to be an important and necessary part of our overall efforts to achieve the goals of our foreign policy."—William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.

the right hand

An Appreciation of USIS

MICHAEL A. G. MICHAUD

DESPITE years of working with USIS people in overseas missions, most State Department foreign service personnel have only a fuzzy idea of what USIS does, and some have a low opinion of USIS and its parent agency, USIA.

I am convinced that USIS is widely misunderstood within the State Department, that the work it does is not fully appreciated, and that many FSOs do not realize what resources USIS can offer to assist them and the mission in their work. Two years of USIS work in an active post—part of USIS' biggest country program—led me to a number of opinionated conclusions, some of which may not be valid at other posts.

The Personnel

"I think you would agree that USIS

officers are not of the same caliber as FSOs." (Remark by senior FSO)
"Well, after all, we're just USIS hacks." (Remark by senior FSIO)

Regrettably, State and USIS foreign service personnel still tend to hold these stereotypes of each other. To say the least, this is an oversimplification on both sides. There are press officers from small-town newspapers who have little feel for international affairs, or CAOs overly devoted to the arts, but the real picture is far more complex.

The most important fact is that a generational change is taking place within USIS. The officers who joined in the early days of USIA—many of them highly competent and non-stereotyped—are in senior positions or are retiring. The new FSIOs tend to be bright young careerists who are little influenced by Cold War attitudes, and are generally well-educated professionals with a long-term interest in cross-cultural communications. As they work their way up the ladder, their impact is visible on the style and sometimes the content of programming. Subtly, this change in programming is shifting the Agency's image of itself. The

new look reflects greater sophistication about the power or lack of power of media, and the diversity of audiences, issues, and America itself; simplistic answers are on the way out.

USIS has recently achieved career status and thus escaped to a large degree the FSR syndrome of impermanence. USIS still makes frequent use of FSRs and lateral entry, and has long been more liberal than State in bringing in "outsiders." In part, this stems from a tendency to assume that USIS needs specialists in specific media and cultural affairs officers from academia. This is gradually changing to a recognition that career generalists can handle both information and cultural work. Even among the new generation of career professionals, the recruiting base tends to be wider for USIS than for the FSO corps; incoming FSIOs tend to have a greater variety of work experience. While this may have some disadvantages in bringing together people who feel they have little in common except their jobs, it has the advantages of cross-fertilization and the application of a variety of experience, skills, and attitudes to pro-

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graming. Some FSIOs have suggested that their service is more representative of American diversity, and an outsider finds more representation from minority groups in USIS than in the FSO corps.

Ultimately, the success or failure of a USIS post depends on its access to key people in the media, the educational system, the intellectual world, and public life. Career specialists in cross-cultural communications, tested by experience in the field in a variety of jobs, are USIA's best hope for effectiveness.

USIS posts tend to have a higher caliber staff of local nationals than their Embassy counterparts. USIS work requires more non-clerical, professional skills, ranging from audio engineer to feature writer. Some locals are more qualified academically and professionally than the American officers who supervise them. They are not necessarily confined to media or cultural work; for example, during the Indian election campaign of 1971, a senior USIS Bombay press section "staffer" (local national) put together an unclassified briefing paper on Indian political parties which was welcomed by the Consulate General. USIS officers tend to work more closely with their local assistants, and to confide in them more than their FSO colleagues do. During the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971, American officers of USIS Bombay found it useful and instructive to exchange views on American policy during regular meetings with Indian staff members. This kind of interchange and implied confidence educates the officer, broadens the range of his contacts through his local staff, enhances his section's effectiveness, and motivates able locals to do more. As American officer positions are cut back overseas, more senior locals are taking over program jobs, and many already do much of the daily liaison work with USIS contacts. The role that local nationals play plus their longevity in their jobs means that locals often have a strong grip on the day-to-day operations of the post.

Organization in the Field

In the field, posts are usually split into two program sections: Information and Cultural. While experiments are under way to break down

this division, USIS officers have tended to specialize in one or the other type of work, and the sections tend to operate somewhat separately, under the overall guidance of the Public Affairs Officer.

The Information Officer is essentially the media man, handling liaison and placement with the press, radio, TV, and film systems of the host country. He is the "propagandist" who deals with "hard information," current events, and foreign policy questions. In a large post, he may be responsible for publishing a magazine, pamphlets, and even newspapers, often in more than one language. News releases based on the overnight wireless file must be moved quickly, official texts reproduced in large quantities, feature stories placed individually, Voice of America schedules printed and mailed to large lists of selected individuals. Locally produced or dubbed films must be checked, and film clips for the local television or newsreel selected and delivered. In addition, the IO is the channel through which USIS posts report local media reaction by telegram to USIA. Always there are deadlines, and seldom time to ponder.

The Cultural Affairs Officer tends to deal with an entirely different set of people, particularly educators, intellectuals, students, and artists, and supervises the library, the field end of the exchange of persons, and cultural presentations ranging from academic lecturers to musicians. While the IO is turning out a product and delivering it as fast as possible, the CAO is organizing programs that may be very long-term in nature, such as establishing a program of American studies at a local university, or placing collections in all leading libraries. While he uses media products in his programs, his emphasis is more on face-to-face contact programs such as lectures, seminars, and performances. Many FSOs have an image of cultural affairs as a vague, artsy activity with little political impact, though able CAOs often have better access to the internal workings of elites than their FSO counterparts. The CAO is plagued by a bureaucratic oddity which places Washington supervision of the exchange program in State and field supervision in USIS.

In the past, there has been a tendency to regard Information work as the "mainstream" of USIS careerism, with many CAOs being non-careerists from the academic or cultural world. This situation seems likely to change, with more career officers becoming CAOs. The IO/CAO split, while it can generate "creative friction," sometimes results in missed opportunities, and some diligence in office communication is necessary to keep both sections on the same wavelength.

There are endless arguments about the relative merits of cultural and information programs. Often there are good reasons to doubt the effectiveness of some media products; how many target audience members actually read USIS press placements? How many foreign elite members understand an Agency acquired film made for American television, complete with local accents? There are equally good reasons to doubt some of the more obscure forms of cultural programming, such as slide lectures on pottery. Still, some of the programming does have an impact where it counts; a timely official text can alter the tone of an editorial, a good film carefully chosen for a specific audience can make an impact hard to equal in print, and the personal relationship of a good speaker and his audience can be memorable. Visible "evidence of effectiveness" is often hard to come by; counting column inches or film audiences doesn't tell the whole story. One remembers such things as a Bombay columnist writing, with tongue in cheek:

"So is the USIS (efficient). Mr. Keating comes to town and even before he arrives, you have on your table everything he ever said or did, all that he is going to say or do in Bombay, a history of the United States, a copy of SPAN magazine, and ten pages on why American presence is required in Vietnam."

Organizations supported by USIS, such as binational cultural centers and English-language teachers programs, can magnify the American impact manyfold while paying their way in whole or in part. Some CAOs have been ingenious in finding ways to get the host country to bear part of the cost of useful programs. USIS can also get long mileage out of visiting Ameri-

cans who are not programed from the Agency, either by facilitating their contacts or setting up a local program for them. And few seriously doubt the usefulness of sending selected foreign leaders to the United States on planned tours, opening their eyes in ways that even the best field programing cannot match.

USIS people sometimes complain of being unappreciated, especially by their State colleagues, for the work they do. Some information officers have been outstandingly successful in establishing liaison with local media, both because of professional rapport and personal diplomatic skill, and in producing and using sophisticated, credible, carefully targeted media products. Their work is often invisible; sometimes what counts is what does not appear in local media. The statistics on the visible side of their work, e.g. press placements or film audiences, are often startling to the uninitiated. (USIS India's bi-weekly newspaper, produced in ten languages, had a total circulation of 450,000.) Some CAOs are outstanding intellectuals capable of commanding respect and influence within the local educational and intellectual community. The most effective CAOs, particularly in developing countries, tend to focus a great deal of their effort on the local educational system, usually the crucible for developing elite orientations. In many cases the CAO and his speakers are the only Americans with whom students have a serious discussion on American life and policy. In a few cases, the influence of a CAO on aspects of the local educational system such as curriculum development and the choice of foreign graduate schools is so great that it would be a subject of controversy if it were known to the public in the host country.

The Modus Operandi

It can not be overemphasized that each USIS post has a program. Despite such exercises as PARA, most FSOs are not familiar with programing as a real operating procedure. Each USIS country post has a country plan with defined objectives, audiences, operational plans, and costs, and country and branch posts develop programs within that framework. The USIS

officer overseas must define his target audiences in specific terms, with elaborate categories and sub-categories, aiming different resources at different groups. At regular intervals, such as quarterly financial planning, he must inventory and revise the elements of his programs—mailing lists, film libraries, newsletters, magazines, delivery systems, postal rates, tires for the mobile unit, and so on. He must orchestrate his local staff, his budget, program resources from Washington and other posts, and his program space. The Information Section and the Cultural Section must support each other in the right way at the right time, contractors must be paid, and duty personnel assigned to man program spaces at night and on week-

"If the problem of an FSO in a reporting job is clearance, the problem of a USIS program officer is the allocation of resources (including his own time) . . . Bargaining between posts and sections is part of the system."

ends. In a big program like that of USIS India, large amounts of money must be spent carefully and accounted for.

This kind of work gives many young FSIOs managerial experience which most of their FSO colleagues will not have until they reach the DCM level. In my case, for example, a relatively young and junior officer was supervising 40 people (one American officer and 39 Indians). In addition to the Information section proper, the Bombay IO provided local supervision for a regional motion picture production unit and the printing of SPAN magazine (circulation 130,000).

If the problem of an FSO in a reporting job is clearance, the problem of a USIS program officer is the allocation of resources (including his own time). While country posts have been given an impressive degree of financial flexibility there is often competition within the post and its branches over resources. Bargaining between posts and sections is part of the system. For obvious reasons, USIS work tends to call for initiative and decision-

making under pressure, and a fair degree of administrative ability.

USIS work at an active post usually means long hours and frequent travel. For example, a combined Moon Rock/Space Film program in cities outside of Bombay required an advance team to arrange halls, co-sponsors, and engagements for a lecturer; a mobile unit and a rented truck arrived a day early to set up and test equipment; the program officer and the lecturer maintained separate schedules to maximize exposure; exhibits had to be dismantled and bills paid. Program officers frequently averaged one trip like this a month. Sometimes the work is frantic when transport is late, electricity fails, or an agreement is misunderstood; sometimes dull or repetitious (in one Indian city, 70,000 visitors shuffled through a moon rock exhibit in two days, some mistaking the IO for an astronaut!).

Schedules suggest the pace in a busy post. On a typical day, the IO might begin by monitoring (at home) the local English language press, the Wireless File, and the Voice of America. At the office he would review translated highlights of the vernacular press and prepare a USINFO telegram on local media reaction. Then, after consultation within the Press Section, he would select and sometimes edit the day's releases and exclusive placements, and arrange for delivery of special items such as major texts. With senior locals and in consultation with the Cultural Section, he would plan coverage of coming events, ranging from an Ambassadorial speech to a ship visit. Selected clippings might be sent, communications exchanged with other posts in the country, and official-informal letters sent to individuals in USIA. In a conference with the Audio-Visual officer, film placement would be discussed, and arrangements made for a radio interview of a visiting celebrity. Opportunities for locally-written stories might be discussed with Press Section editors. The Post's Master Invitation list or pamphlet stock might be reviewed. Newly arrived films might be screened for suitability, or a draft speech written for the Consul General. At the end of the day, the IO might introduce a program in the Center, or attend a SOVEX-PORTFILM premiere to see what

the competition is doing. And after that he might be packing for a press contact tour to a provincial city. The work style of some of his FSO colleagues may seem rather relaxed by contrast.

One advantage to doing USIS programing is constant contact with the people of the host country. While the Embassy or Consulate may have a better fix on government and political leaders (and, sometimes, the business community), USIS tends to have better contacts with almost all other sectors of the local society. Frequent field trips and constant interfaces with the local society can make USIS officers quite knowledgeable about conditions in the host country, and business dealings with contacts such as editors or university chancellors can lead to useful dialogues. Unfortunately, the operational demands of USIS programing allow little time for reflection or reporting, and much of what one learns is never written down.

Because of the operational nature of its work, its heavy dependence on local national employees, and its need to relate constantly to host country audiences, USIS tends to have a more open style than an Embassy. A frequent advantage is that USIS personnel may be regarded with less suspicion among local nationals than Embassy or Consulate personnel. In many situations, USIS people can do things and go places where an Embassy official's presence might be awkward. This is one reason why many USIS officers prefer as much of a separation between themselves and the Embassy as possible; it improves their access to the society, and encourages people to come to USIS less self-consciously.

A striking difference is that USIS continually tries to determine the effectiveness of its operations. Efforts which seem too costly for the audience reached and apparent impact achieved may be dropped entirely, and personnel, money, and physical plant may be shifted to efforts with a higher return. While its work is different, State could learn much from the USIS experience in this field.

Wasted Opportunities

USIS officers often are frustrated

and disillusioned by their contacts with FSOs, because embassies and consulates often fail to draw on USIS capabilities to achieve mission goals. A large USIS post has, to an outsider, a startling array of equipment, material, and talent available which can be used to reach specific people with specific messages or to provide facilitative services to selected local leaders. Not only can the usual books and pamphlets be presented, but USIS can supply photographs, articles, magazines, data from the library and the press morgue, films, videotapes, portable closed-circuit TV, radios, tape-recorders, television receivers, a photographer and photo lab, technical advice, program space, and a host of other goodies not directly available to an FSO. USIS also has long and elaborately organized mailing lists of important individuals in all fields. Most important is that USIS has ideas to offer: coherent, tested messages about the United States, and informed views on the local society and how to communicate with it. In most cases, USIS posts would be only too willing to help any legitimate effort, if only their colleagues took an interest.

FSOs who take part in USIS programs often find the experience rewarding and productive of contacts. Still, it is a distressing fact that some FSOs go through an entire overseas tour without ever visiting the local USIS office. They can't know what is available if they won't take the trouble to look.

Some Problems

Separation from the Embassy, while desired by some USIS people, has its disadvantages. In many cases USIS's only regular contact with Embassy thinking is a weekly staff meeting, and that contact takes place only at the top. Bureaucratic narrowness as well as ignorance may prevent useful collaboration, as in a failure to use USIS in support of the Embassy's export promotion efforts. A frequent sore point is shared administration; too often, the Embassy or Consulate takes care of itself first and USIS later. (Some years ago in Bombay the Consulate leased large apartments with a view for its personnel while placing USIS personnel in smaller apartments on another side of the building; to the

ill-disguised glee of some USIS officers, a high-rise building later went up in front of the Consulate apartments.) This kind of thing provides a USIS post with a convincing reason for maintaining its own administrative apparatus even when some duplication is apparent.

Another problem is access to classified material. Because USIS offices may be in a separate building and may not have an American secretary, handling classified paper can be so awkward as to encourage avoidance. To the extent that USIS is not brought into policy discussions, there is less motivation for reading the traffic anyway.

The demands of programing and the pressure of deadlines produce more friction situations in USIS than one normally finds in an Embassy. USIS personnel do not share a way of "playing the game" to the degree that FSOs do; conflicts tend to surface quickly between harassed program managers. Personality conflicts which would be papered over in an Embassy can be more serious in the USIS working environment. Criticism is quick:

Am confused by Bombay's inability send reaction reports before 7 ayem because "papers are not available until after 6." Does this mean that papers do not arrive at USIS until after 6 or does it mean that papers are not off press in Bombay until after 6? If former, suggest you get off your dime. (teletype from USIS New Delhi)

So is praise:

Reur official-informal on record-straightening: good work! Why don't you transfer to USIA and abandon this State Department nonsense? (teletype from USIS New Delhi)

Under these circumstances, humor is at a premium to lubricate relations. One message, pointing out that the Country Information officer went into the hospital for an appendectomy shortly after the Country PAO did, described the CIO as "the biggest sycophant in history." And a USIS New Delhi official teletyped before a visit:

I'm bringing Chivas Regal myself and don't approve of your brand. However, will be happy to bring the Red Label rotgut you require. I will not, however, drink it.

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The World of Modern China: A Guide to New Reading 1970-73

EUGENE K. LAWSON

CHINA is upon us: the myths and realities about the world behind the bamboo curtain are topic #2 in Washington. Chinese restaurants are full; a prestigious Washington girls' school has a course requiring that Mao's little Red book be read for "background and inspiration"; acupuncture is competing with aspirin, Geritol and the surgeon and boasts a host of satisfied customers ranging from Ann-Margret to Howard Hughes; and even in that most intractable of bureaucracies—the State Department—the Mainland China Desk has changed its name from East Asia/Asian Communist Affairs to East Asia/People's Republic of China and Mongolia Affairs (EA/PRCM). This is surely no meaningless gesture!

With the President's trip to Peking as a primary catalyst, the flow of new books on China has reached tidal proportions. Some are good, and some are bad. The difficulties of interpreting the Chinese scene are formidable and well-known to us all. A writer should ideally be knowledgeable about the long, rich background of Chinese culture, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology, and he should at least understand the complexities of the language if not know it. In addition Peking's own fetish for secrecy inhibits the would-be author. And on top of this is the information gap caused by the long isolation between our two countries.

This lack of opportunity for first-hand field study has had an obviously important impact on our country's China scholarship. Preventing scholars (and tourists) from getting access to adequate and reliable aggregate data, sample surveys, elite interviews, and observational studies, etc., all mean that research has had to depend on a process of triangulation, involving the occasional first-hand report, the interviews of refugees and defectors in Hong Kong, and the careful analysis of the voluminous printed informa-

tion and radio broadcasts from the Mainland. The fundamental problem, of course, that comes from relying on this triangulation stems from the lack of comparability and convergence among these three kinds of different data.

A look at three of the most important books on China published in the 1960s reveals how different perspectives are obtained from different types of sources. Edgar Snow's "The Other Side of the River" was based on a very personal visit to the Mainland in 1962. Franz Schurmann's "Ideology and Organization in Communist China" is based primarily on press reports and radio broadcasts. A. Doak Barnett's "Cadres, Bureaucracy and Political Power in Communist China" is largely derived from interviews with former cadres of the PRC. China looks quite different to each of the writers. To Snow, there is a vast China in the throes of industrialization. Schurmann sees a Chinese society seething in contradictions. Barnett sees China as an extraordinarily complex bureaucratic apparatus.

US research and scholarship on China in the 1970s has changed quite dramatically from the kind of research done in the 1950s and 1960s. It has moved from a preoccupation with intelligence collecting to emphasis on social science research. The progress in language training (crucial!), preparing bibliographic guides, beginning basic research, and gaining an overview has been impressive. China scholarship is coming of age in the United States.

At the risk of sounding chauvinist it should perhaps be noted that American scholarship on China is probably the most extensive and versatile in the world. One reason is that money talks. Between 1959-70, the Ford Foundation, the Government, and institutions of higher learning provided about \$60 million to fund China scholarship. This has been well used for the most part. The United States has never suffered from the European tendency to pursue obscurantist subjects. One of the most brilliant French sinologists, Etienne Balazs, described traditional European Sinology as "disquisitions on philological trifles, expensive trips in abstruse provinces, bickering about the resti-

tution of the names of unknown persons and other delightfully antiquated occupations." America's China scholars have come a long way, baby.

For coherence and convenience, it is essential to group the literature into some relevant categories, and this can be done in several ways. First, books can be categorized according to the approach or "model" that the writer uses. Michel Oksenberg at Columbia's East Asian Institute has suggested that there are seven different approaches that the existing literature on China falls into. One, the historical approach, based on the assumption of China's distinctiveness. It might be called "China is China is China" approach. Two, the "Modernization" approach. Viewing China as a modernizing, industrializing country, this approach is based on the apparent similarities China has with other developing countries. This orientation might be called the "China is India is Nigeria" approach. Three, another perspective is called the "Complex Bureaucracies" approach deriving from the striking fact that the Chinese governmental apparatus is, at heart, a huge bureaucracy. This approach, then, could be called the "China is General Motors is Pentagon" approach. Four, the "Totalitarian" model is based on a belief that one of the most striking aspects of modern day China is the total penetration, or perhaps, more accurately, the attempt at total penetration of society by the political system. We could label this approach "China is Stalinist USSR is Nazi Germany" perspective. Five, the "Comparative Communism" approach is rooted in the assumption that the unique feature of the Chinese government is that it is Communist. This could be labeled the "China is the USSR is Yugoslavia" approach. Six, the "Revolutionary Society" orientation considers China an example of a society in the throes of revolution. The revolutionary perspective could be called the "Today's China is France after 1789 is Cuba after 1959" approach. Seven, a final approach is the "Methodological," derived from the fact that until, very recently, China was a social system closed to field study, and consequently had to be studied at a distance. The use of

original sources involves the art of interpreting an "esoteric" ideological language. We can call this orientation the "China is the *Pravda* of the late 1940s is the study of the Talmud."

The mode of classification used here is the standard one: books are arranged according to topic. Quite naturally, I have found it necessary to make invidious distinctions (the recent FSI bibliography on the PRC has over 271 entries!). While my choices for inclusion as the best of the current reading are personal, I would like to think that among the China scholars there would be a high degree of consensus on the majority of these selections. I have given a slight edge in my choices to books in paperback that are readily accessible.

At this point it might be proper to mention briefly the things I have had to omit because of space. I will discuss only books, not articles in the learned or popular journals. This is a shame because many an article is the core of an author's forthcoming book. For those who wish to follow Chinese affairs more closely, the leading journals for the China field are: *CHINA QUARTERLY*, *ASIAN SURVEY*, and the *JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES*. Excellent articles can be found in other journals and magazines.

A second major lack stems from my somewhat arbitrary decision to limit my discussion to books published between 1970-73. Many of the "classics" on China, written before 1970, that remain most valuable to an understanding of China are not here. However, the current books will certainly footnote many of these earlier books.

It is a truism that the present situation in China can only be completely understood with an adequate background of Imperial and Republican China. While scholars differ about the exact influence the past exerts on the present, no one is prepared to claim that the uninitiated can make intelligent inroads into the present without understanding Confucianism, the role of the Emperor, the pattern of life in the countryside, the role of the intellectuals and gentry, etc. The classic book of this genre has been and still is the updated version of John K. Fairbank, "The United States and

China," (Harvard), which begins with prehistoric China and ends with the President's trip to Peking. The title is misleading; the book is on China and only in the last chapters is there a brief but lucid treatment of Sino-US interactions. Another excellent but more controversial book than Fairbank's is Lucien Pye, "China: An Introduction" (Little, Brown) which covers the same broad time frame, but puts considerably more stress on the Communist period.

A two volume work by John A. Harrison, "The Chinese Empire and China Since 1800" (Harcourt) makes effortless reading, and while it is more for the layman than the other two by Fairbank and Pye, it has a wealth of detail and intelligent analysis. For those who wish to pursue the study of Chinese history in a systematic fashion, I would recommend J. Mason Gentzler, "A Syllabus of Chinese Civilization" (Columbia UP). This 1972 edition gives a chronological outline of the important topics in Chinese history correlated with reading assignments in the major textbooks. Additionally, a supplementary annotated list of books accompanies each chapter outline—if a particular subject should strike your fancy. This is a most convenient little guide for the beginner who wants to become much better informed. Lastly, if you have \$20, a feast of magnificent pictures, maps, tables, and elegantly written history awaits you in Fairbanks, Reischauer, and Craig, "East Asia: Tradition and Transition" (Houghton Mifflin). This 1,000 page volume has chapters on Japan, Korea and Vietnam, but well over half the book is on China and written by Fairbank. It is in fact an updated and shortened marriage of two earlier and very popular volumes by the same authors, but loses little by the briefer treatment. Highly recommended.

Some readers may wish to take the plunge into China unencumbered by several millennia of Chinese history. There are a number of excellent medium long and short histories of 19th and 20th century China that can be enthusiastically recommended. First, the longest and most comprehensive (800 pages) is Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, "The Rise of Modern China"

(Oxford UP), and an accompanying book of selected articles, "Readings In Modern Chinese History" (Oxford UP). Hsu has relied heavily on Chinese sources in addition to the standard English books, and the result is one of the best history books yet to appear. Another book, first published in 1964, that has stood the test of time to become a standard work, is the revised edition of O. Edmund Clubb's "20th Century China" (Columbia UP). Clubb, an ex-FSO well-known to old China hands, writes in a lively and readable fashion. The most fascinating parts of his book are on his speciality, the warlord period and the Republican era in China. Lastly, the shortest book (a mere 177 pages) is by George Moseley, "China Since 1911" (Harper and Row). Some observers would say it is impossible to do justice to the crucial developments in the last 60 years in China in this short a space; nevertheless, if any book has done it, this is it.

A good place to begin the study of Communist China is by reading one or all of the following four short introductions to Chinese politics. All four give valuable overviews of the institutions and policies of the PRC. The first most useful summary is a pamphlet (60 pages) by Michel Oksenberg, "China, The Convulsive Society" (Headline Series #203, Foreign Policy Association). A second most succinct treatment is by Derek J. Waller "The Government and Politics of Communist China" (Anchor), and another slightly longer treatment is by the editor of the *FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW*, Dick Wilson, entitled "Anatomy of China" (Mentor). The most recent and longest of the four (about 300 pages) is Harold C. Hinton, "An Introduction to Chinese Politics" (Praeger), written smoothly with an excellent bibliography following each chapter.

The rise of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has prompted two outstanding books. Lucien Bianco, "Origins of the Chinese Revolution" (Stanford) skillfully traces the factors that allowed the CCP to gain momentum and finally seize power. James Pinckney Harrison, "The Long March to Power: A History of the Chinese Communist Party 1921-1972" (Praeger) is a comprehen-

sive, exhaustive but not exhausting book that will be the standard work for years to come.

The CCP was able to come to power ultimately by force of arms, and the People's Liberation Army did the fighting. The most recent and valuable book on this important topic is by William W. Whitson, editor and contributor to "The Chinese High Command: A History of Communist Military Politics, 1927-71." This is a compilation of lengthy and authoritative articles that are closely interrelated in spite of being written by different experts.

The greatest outpouring of books falls, naturally enough, in the first-hand impressions category. A special word about this category is in order. At the outset one should

In the following books, then, we should be constantly aware of the obvious—that the authors have personalized their experiences in China. Their books are neither history nor politics. It remains to be said that often these books are far more entertaining than those of a more scholarly bent.

The most famous American interpreter of Communist China is Edgar Snow. His large book "The Other Side of the River" (Vintage) (mentioned earlier) has been reissued and is still a most important and revealing look at the PRC. Although most sympathetic to the PRC, Snow still had intelligent reservations. His latest book, "The Long Revolution" (Random House) published just before his death, is based on the author's last

Ross Terrill, "800 Million—The Real China" (Delta). Terrill is a China specialist and has a flair for the precise word.

Three other short books by prominent authors should be mentioned: Barbara Tuchman, "Notes From China" (Collier); John Kenneth Galbraith, "A China Passage" (Houghton Mifflin); and Joseph Kraft, "The Chinese Difference" (Saturday Review Press). Finally, we should be on the lookout for a forthcoming book by A. Doak Barnett, who has just returned from a visit to the PRC and has nearly finished what should be a valuable book on the Cultural Revolution and how government institutions and the party have fared in the meantime.

The phenomenon known as the Cultural Revolution (CR) has fascinated, repelled, or baffled Americans, depending on their point of view. Because of the volume of new information coming out of the CR, some of our most interesting books and articles on China have been on the CR. The dispassionate political scientist has focused on Mao's stress on decentralization, on participatory politics, on self-reliance, on mass education, and on anti-clitism. Opposing Mao's ideas were those "rational-technocrats" who wanted to move in the direction of economic rationality, technical specialization, bureaucratic routinization, and administrative institutionalization. Mao won. Four books can be highly recommended. First is:

Thomas Robinson, editor, "The Cultural Revolution In China" (California UP). This is a large book with contributions by several Rand or former Rand scholars on different aspects of the CR (military, party, impact of the CR on foreign policy, etc.). The articles make a rigorous attempt to analyze the policy-making process and set a high standard for scholarship. Stanley Karnow's "Mao and China: From Revolution To Revolution" (Viking), written at Harvard's East Asian Institute is a detailed, who-done-it analysis with its only flaw a tendency to be over-categorical in his speculations. However, his interpretations are well thought out and the book, as a whole, is well-written and well-organized. The most lively book yet to appear in the CR is by

多少事，
从来急；
天地转，
光阴迫。
一万年太久，
只争朝夕。

"So many deeds cry out to be done, and always urgently; the world rolls on, time presses. Ten thousand years are too long, seize the day, seize the hour!"

state something all FSOs know. Visitors to China have grave limitations that inhibit accurate and fair reporting: the routine and sameness of the tours, the omnipresence of interpreters (although some visitors have managed to get out on their own for a short time), the impersonality of contact, the purposeful segregation of foreigners from the people (partly for control purposes and partly because the Chinese believe it a mark of preferment for the foreigner). "Foreign friends" visiting China are still treated as part barbarian, part devil.

trip to the mainland in 1970, and indicated an important signal that Peking had decided to improve relations with Washington. Like Snow's earlier writings "The Long Revolution" is readable, and has many penetrating observations. Three other excellent books by knowledgeable visitors are: Klaus Mehnert, "China Returns" (Dutton), Seymour Topping, "Journey Between Two Chinas" (Harper & Row), and Harrison Salisbury, "To Peking and Beyond" (Quadrangle). A highly praised book by an Australian member of the Harvard faculty is

two young American scholars, Gordon Bennett and Ronald Montaperto "Red Guard" (Doubleday), based on extensive interviews with a former Red Guard, now living in Hong Kong. The defector tells an "insider's" account, and Bennett and Montaperto give a careful analytical framework for the dialogue. The result of this unusual combination is the best book to date on this aspect of the CR. Lastly, a convenient collection of articles on various aspects of the CR are edited and introduced by Richard Baum, "China in Ferment: Perspectives on the Cultural Revolution" (Prentice-Hall). Many of these articles represent the very best in American scholarship on China.

Moving from the Cultural Revolution to the man who started it, we come to the category of Chairman Mao, the Great Helmsman, the linchpin and link between society and the government in China today. Here we will somewhat ungracefully lump two categories into one, i.e., biographies on Mao and one or two books on Maoist ideology. Karnow's book mentioned previously has large sections devoted to Mao, but Edward E. Rice, another former FSO, has written the most detailed and interesting account of Mao's role in a long time. Entitled "Mao's Way" (California UP), this book is filled with fascinating insights, analyses, and interpretations that can only come from long exposure to things Chinese. Obviously Rice's position as Consul General in Hong Kong gave him the training and background he needed for this important book.

Richard Solomon, Associate Professor at Michigan and now on the NSC staff, has produced another large and very important book, "Mao's Revolution and The Chinese Political Culture" (California UP). This is really two books in one; the first part (and the less persuasive in my opinion) is an attempt to explain Chinese behavior and culture by reference to traditional Chinese attitudes toward authority, but in the latter half on Mao's ideology and role in the CR, Solomon hits his stride. This is an outstanding book and should be consulted.

Lastly, a readable but long book by Han Suyin, "The Morning Deluge: Mao Tse-tung and the

Chinese Revolution 1894-1954" (Little, Brown), is an adoring labor of love almost in the form of a novel by an unusual Eurasian woman. At times overwritten and sentimental, it nevertheless comes off with passion and insight.

Two books on Maoist ideology are a pleasure to recommend. First, one of the most perceptive American Sinologists, Benjamin Schwartz, has collected some of his best articles on Maoism into one book, "Communism and China: Ideology in Flux" (Atheneum) with a long new introduction. The essays are all elegantly written, and reflect the keenness of Schwartz's intellect. Chalmers Johnson, editor, "Ideology and Politics in Contemporary China" (Washington UP) is a collection of recent papers from a China conference and maintain a high level of scholarship. However, this book is more for the specialist than for the layman.

The PRC's institutions are analyzed in three volumes that again are collections of papers from conferences on China. These books are not meant to be read cover to cover at a few sittings; they include a wide range of topics, the authors display a varied approach, and there are some contributions that are not up to the rest. Rather I would recommend that a prospective reader glance through each of the books and select those articles on specific topics that interest him. The books are (in no particular order): A. Doak Barnett, editor, "Chinese Communist Politics in Action" (Washington); John M. H. Lindbeck, editor, "China: Management of a Revolutionary Society" (Washington), and John Wilson Lewis, editor, "Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China" (Cambridge UP). The final caveat: I would recommend that the reader not attempt any of the above three books until one or more of the general books on Chinese politics has been read (i.e., Hinton, Wilson, Waller and Oksenberg).

It is in the area of Chinese foreign policy that we have seen the appearance of a large number of excellent case studies, and here I will not make invidious distinctions, but simply list in alphabetical order the best of the group: O. Edmund Clubb, "China and Russia: The

Great Game" (Columbia UP); C. P. Fitzgerald, "The Southern Expansion of the Chinese People" (Praeger); Harold C. Hinton, "China's Turbulent Quest" (Indiana UP); Arthur Huck, "The Security of China" (Columbia UP); Cecil Johnson, "Communist China and Latin America 1959-67" (Columbia UP); Bruce D. Larkin, "China and Africa 1949-1970" (California UP); Neville Maxwell, "India's China War" (Doubleday); and finally Peter Van Ness, "Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy" (California UP).

On the important topic of Sino-US relations, it is not surprising that many fine books have recently been published. Once again, rather than try to single any one out for special praise, I will merely list them in alphabetical order, make short comments and issue a blanket statement that I recommend them all:

A. Doak Barnett, "A New US Policy Toward China" (Brookings). It is a mark of this scholar's foresight that many of his proposals have been carried out since the book was published.

Warren I. Cohen, "America's Response to China: An Interpretative History of Sino-American Relations" (Wiley). This is a very sophisticated and thoughtful analysis of an important topic.

Foster Rhea Dulles, "American Policy Toward Communist China" (Crowell). This is a well-written account of two decades of misunderstanding and suspicion.

Roderick MacFarquar, "Sino-American Relations 1949-71" (Praeger) contains three short essays explaining why Sino-US relations dramatically improved, with an excellent collection of documents and commentary that is an education in itself. Highly recommended.

Finally Barbara Tuchman, "Stilwell and the American Experience in China 1911-1945" (Macmillan), both a biography and an excellent history of modern China.

Lastly, on the exotic side, the reader should be looking for a potential best seller coming out by Celestial Arts entitled Mao Tse-tung's 4 Minute Physical Exercise Manual. Feeling run down? The book will also include a recording of appropriate martial music for inspirational background.

COLUMBIA

from page 8

name. In 1787 Timothy Dwight wrote a patriotic poem which began:

*Columbia, Columbia, to glory
arise,*

*The queen of the world and the
child of the skies, . . .*

Benjamin Prime's epic, "Columbia's Glory or British Pride Humbled," was published in 1791. The 1798 text of "Yankee Doodle" contained the following lines:

*Columbians all, the present hour
As brother should unite us.*

The name Columbia was used extensively in the patriotic verse written during the war of 1812. But it was undoubtedly Joseph Hopkinson's "Hail Columbia" that finally fixed the name. This song was written in 1798 to provide a special finale for a far-from-sold-out performance of a play, "The Italian Monk." President Adams and his entire cabinet were present at the premiere performance. The song was immediately and immensely popular, a popularity which lasted

through the Civil War, and made the song an unofficial national anthem. The band played "Hail Columbia" when the American flag was raised over Fort Sumter in 1860. The beautiful "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean" dates from 1843. "The Star-Spangled Banner," with its "words nobody can remember to a tune nobody can sing," did not look much like a sure winner when it was first written. After the Civil War, however, when Columbia fell gradually into disuse first as a literary device and then as a visual symbol, "Star-Spangled Banner" closed the gap and was eventually proclaimed the official anthem in 1931.

The major source for pictures of Columbia is the political cartoon.

The great bulk of Columbia cartoons is found between 1855 and 1886, mostly in the illustrated weeklies which gave cartoonists their first important forum. The Library of Congress has no Columbia cartoons in its political collection until the 1850s. FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY and LIFE have

their share of Columbia cartoons, but HARPER'S WEEKLY is by far the most fruitful source. After 1886 the form changed in ways that seem, at least in retrospect, inauspicious. At the hands of Charles Dana Gibson, for instance, Columbia became a glamor girl. By the time of World War I Uncle Sam had become the primary symbol of the United States.

How did it happen that such an attractive symbol as Columbia was abandoned? In an attempt to answer this question we will first examine the various meanings denoted by the symbol. First of all, as a Minerva figure, Columbia represented wisdom. During the revolution she came to represent liberty and shortly afterward democracy; justice, equality, honesty, and respect for human dignity were among her attributes. Columbia stood for honest government, for education, especially the free public school, for equal opportunity for all citizens. These values are grounded in the philosophy of the French Enlightenment which was based on the belief

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in human perfectibility to be worked out through the institutions of an equalitarian democracy in which the state should serve the common good. They are the traditional values of American society.

Over the years Columbia developed four major activities. First, she stood at the helm of the Ship of State. Under her strong guidance the country was able to move from storms of present evil to clear weather and smooth seas. Her second major activity was teaching in the School of Politics. Here corrupt and venal politicians and an occasional newspaper or editor were taught the virtues and rules of good government, with Columbia, birch in hand, at the desk. Her third activity was conducting the School of Citizenship. We see her ushering her little flock of frontier children, Blacks, street urchins, immigrants (she had a great deal of trouble with the Irish and their parochial school system), and Indians into the Free Public School, for Columbia never doubted that an educated citizen was a responsible citizen or that

universal learning would be universal good. Her fourth role was as the Housekeeper of the Republic. Broom in hand, she sought out the corruption which politicians tried to hide under the rug or behind the sofa.

Columbia was the overseer of the government, not its symbol. She kept a vigilant eye on the presidency, the Congress, the courts of justice, state governments, especially that of New York, and the national political parties, but she did not symbolize them. Columbia was the symbol of the national community, the people. The symbol which has increasingly represented the government is that of Uncle Sam.

Uncle Sam is also an old symbol which has gone through a process of evolution, although he does not trace his ancestry back to Olympus. Uncle Sam evolved from the figure of Brother Jonathan, a character from "The Contrast," by Royall Tyler, the first play written in America. Brother Jonathan was a clumsy, somewhat loutish servant who, due to his wit and integrity, was able to

compare favorably with the servant of an absurdly Anglophile master. Brother Jonathan symbolized the typical citizen and, like "Yankee Doodle," was a spoofing adaption of British attitudes toward the colonists. An occasional picture labeled Brother Jonathan is found during the 19th century but in general he was either replaced by or evolved into Uncle Sam during the War of 1812. The earliest known reference to Uncle Sam is in 1813 in a Troy, New York newspaper: "This cant name for our government has got almost as common as 'John Bull.'" The letters U.S. on the government waggons and supplies are supposed to have given rise to it."

For a long time Uncle Sam appeared as an ordinary gentleman. He grew his beard during the Civil War, and it was only toward the close of the century that he acquired the ludicrous star-spangled suit that he wears today. He and Columbia often appeared together and there is no inherent contradiction in their symbolism.

Vernon Parrington's thesis of two

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rival philosophies contending for supremacy in the early years of our republic seems applicable in the analysis of these two symbols. Columbia obviously represented the humanitarian philosophy of the French Enlightenment; Uncle Sam, the English *laissez-faire*. Columbia represented an individualistic moral code in which right and wrong were significant and responsibility was personal. In an increasingly complex and impersonal economic order characterized by bureaucratization of government and industry, urbanization and population mobility, Uncle Sam came to represent an abstract "economic man" and the government which ruled him.

The decade in which Columbia all but disappeared from the American scene—the 1870s—corresponds to the period of great social and economic change known as the Gilded Age. In rapid succession the convulsion of civil war, the scandals of the Grant administration, the Tweed Ring, the Indian wars, the railroad scandals, the problems of under-protected agriculture and

over-protected industry, slums, trusts, business and political corruption, racial prejudice, immigration quotas, and poverty had destroyed the buoyant hopefulness expressed in democratic programs and faith in benevolent progress that had characterized an earlier America, and prepared the way for a time of cynical, pessimistic materialism.

Columbia, too, was put away. She appeared briefly in the posters and cartoons drawn for the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. An 1899 cartoon showed her, militant and threatening, waving a flag as she strode triumphantly across the Pacific islands to Luzon. In 1922 a LIFE cartoon showed her giving out diplomas, but they were bachelor's degrees, not certificates of citizenship.

Columbia's various symbolic meanings were relevant to a nation fighting for universal public education. Once the system was established, their message lost its urgency. Major events passed her by. Columbia could succor the Indian children but she could hardly pres-

ide over the Indian wars or rejoice at the battle of Wounded Knee. Imperialism was not really her line and the restrictions on immigration closed her School for Citizenship. She was flatly omitted from the woman suffrage movement. She had been a vigorous champion of full citizenship for Blacks but the male cartoonists of the day were unable to find a place for her in the women's long struggle.

And so, at the very time that her statue was set up in New York Harbor, Columbia passed from the American scene as a viable symbol. She has been completely replaced by Uncle Sam who, ludicrous as he may be at times, does not trouble our national conscience by reminding us of our past ideals or present duties, unless in the most general, impersonal sense. Columbia's call was to personal, individual responsibility and integrity. The symbol, Columbia, summarized and made visible the currents of thought of an age. The age has passed and Columbia has become merely quaint and archaic. ■

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QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

from page 12)

importance of each factor, and each one was assigned a current rating on a scale of +10 to -10 to indicate, at the time of analysis, whether it contributed positively to political stability. Using these figures, it was possible to assign a quantitative value to each factor by multiplying the current rating of each factor by its weight (see Table 1).

By comparing each factor in relation to the others, we arrived at 13 relationships or constraints that had to meet specified minimal conditions in order to contribute to political stability (see Table 2). By using the quantitative value assigned to each factor, it was possible to state the requirements for meeting the constraints in numerical terms. Five of them did not:

1. $I > J$. The propensity to cooperate (factor I) must exceed the propensity for rivalries among the sheikdoms (factor J). According to the quantitative values (listed in Table 1), I equaled 200, or considerably less than J

which equalled 276.

2. $M \Rightarrow 0$. Iranian influence/support (factor M) should have been, at the time of the analysis, positive or at least neutral. Its quantitative value, however, was negative, -60.

3. $F > H$. The effectiveness of the ruling leadership (factor F) should exceed the potential for discontent (factor H); but F had a value of 210, or less than H which was 240.

4. $A+B+C \Rightarrow 700$. Economic viability (factors $A+B+C$) should equal or exceed 700. (Economic viability defined as the combination of these three factors was based on the judgment of the writers.) The combined quantitative value of the three factors, however, equaled only 637.

5. $G < B$. Too many foreign nationals (factor G) in relation to the labor force/population (factor B) is destabilizing. According to the analysis, G equaled 43 to only 37 for B.

Because of the relatively small number of constraints given the

number of factors, it was not necessary to run this particular linear program analysis on a computer to see that there were numerous combinations or "solutions" to the problem of helping to create and maintain conditions of political stability in the lower Persian Gulf. The possibility of numerous solutions, however, could actually be an advantage to decision-makers. For had the existence of only one combination of factors been capable of achieving stability (i.e. a "unique solution"), the analysis would have given the decision-makers no alternative courses of action from which to choose, and thus no latitude in deciding the best policy programs in terms of political stability in the Gulf.

Explanation of the Algebraic Matrix

The linear programming analysis, through the unsatisfied constraints, identified five prerequisites to stability in the lower Persian Gulf (i.e. the five un-met restraints). Each of these would require policy attention,

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but since the analysis offered no unique solution, another approach was chosen to analyze the policy implications raised by the linear program analysis.

This approach was an algebraic matrix. Five policy objectives were derived from the unsatisfied constraints, and then policy programs were selected as possible means of achieving those objectives (see Table 3). The objectives were weighted according to their relative importance for achieving the overall objective of political stability. The programs were rated on a scale of 0 to five as to probable effectiveness in achieving each objective. Multiplying the weight by the effect determined the score in each block of the matrix. By adding the columns and the rows, it was possible to evaluate the effectiveness of each program in terms of all the objectives, and the relative probable success of various program combinations in achieving each objective.

While the study came to no startling conclusions, it indicated that programs aimed at promoting inter-

sheikdom cooperation and institutions scored higher than such programs as aiding internal security forces and resolving the area's various territorial disputes.

Some General Conclusions

That the study did not produce conclusions very different from the judgments of experienced area specialists is not surprising because the original inputs in the study were themselves judgmental. Moreover, another pair of analysts could presumably have chosen, ranked or weighted factors bearing on Gulf stability differently and come up with different conclusions. There is nothing sacrosanct about the numbers beyond their expressing the original subjective—and often imprecise—judgments in a more explicit form. The contribution of this approach was that the relationships between the factors, once selected, were held constant throughout the analysis. In this way, each factor was stripped of all the vague and qualifying verbiage with which one could build a convincing case, and

the conclusions had to stand or fall on the strict logical relationship of one factor to another. Thus, the approach enables the policymaker to determine the best combination of programs to meet stated objectives with more precision than the traditional analysis.

A quantitative approach has severe limitations, of course. Its very mathematical precision systematically excludes from the analysis any objective not spelled out in the original model. For example, the "best" route to the model's stated objectives may conflict with other goals a decision-maker feels should take precedence. Moreover, it may be that no "solution" entirely meets even the stated goals. In short, quantitative analysis should not be expected to produce results beyond its methodological limits; it can weigh only those relationships it is asked to weigh. But the rigorous standards of analysis imposed on the analyst in themselves warrant further development of quantitative approaches to aid foreign policy decision-making. ■

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THE RIGHT HAND

from page 16

On the more serious level, USIS officers overseas often find that program materials from USIA's media branches tend to overemphasize US domestic problems, which may or may not be of interest to foreign audiences.

In the field, the problem sometimes lies in the selection of audience priorities. There tends to be too much attention paid to "creative intellectuals" and too little to political leaders and government officials (because these are "Embassy contacts"). In some cases, a client relationship develops between USIS and certain "available" persons; the same man may be used again and again to introduce a program or give a lecture under USIS auspices, or the same people may be invited to every seminar on a particular subject. As in many embassies, contacts are handed down from one generation of officers to the next, and they are not necessarily the most important people in their fields. Senior local employees have

considerable influence on an officer's initial contacts, and their best contacts may not be the most influential either.

Another problem is a Pollyannaish tone to some program justifications and much program reporting. Everything the post does must be made to sound wonderful, often in public relations language that would embarrass Madison Avenue. While USIS professionals are generally competent readers between the lines, this kind of distortion does not add to USIS credibility with FSOs. On the other hand, FSOs tend to ignore the sometimes useful insights about the local psychological climate in USIS reporting.

Most basic of all USIS problems is widespread uncertainty and a frequent lack of self-confidence. USIS and its mother Agency are constantly forced to defend themselves, justifying their programs and sometimes their very existence in a way unfamiliar to State. This is both time-consuming and demoralizing, and encourages doubts about the Agency's role and image. This combines with regular, severe cuts of

overseas positions to produce a sometimes difficult morale situation. It is particularly unfortunate that this situation should occur when FSIOs have recently achieved career status, and when a new corps of young professionals is rising to positions of responsibility.

Conclusion

In April, 1972 there were 14 FSOs serving with USIA in Washington and overseas (USIA had 60 FSIOs assigned to other agencies). This kind of cross-cultural experience will have some cumulative effect as each half sees how the other lives. Much still needs to be done to convince FSOs that USIS is a useful right hand in their work overseas, and to convince FSIOs that their State colleagues understand and appreciate what USIS can do. As our overseas missions decline in size, State and USIS officers may work more closely together, blending their skills and learning to use coordinated public and private diplomacy to achieve our objectives instead of living in two separate bureaucratic worlds. ■

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Perilous Times—Simplistic Notions

■ I am writing to express my chagrin at the one-sided treatment of revisionism in the May 1973 issue of the *Foreign Service JOURNAL*. One would think that as controversial a topic as that would have been dealt with from different points of view. Contrary to the remarks of both Frederick Quinn and Lloyd Gardner, it is unlikely to say the least that revisionism will win the day in American scholarship. Robert Maddox's "The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War" is a sign of the times as well as a devastating indictment of the preconceptions and worse of the revisionists. In the 1950s one had to fend off the John Birch Society, in the 1960s the New and Old Left Revisionist crowd. Perilous times always produce simplistic notions and movements. It will be interesting to see the results of a survey of US professors of American diplomacy and foreign policy now being done by Robert Pfaltzgraf of the University of Pennsylvania. I am rather confident it will verify my "unscientific" sense that the pendulum has indeed swung a long way in a short time.

DONALD BRANDON

Professor

Univ. of San Francisco

San Francisco

Fringe Duties

■ Three newspaper items have given me some strange, new insights into the occupation known as foreign service. Two have to do with the kidnapping and subsequent release of Consul General Terrence G. Leonhardy in Guadalajara, Mexico and one with the role of the foreign service in the current bombing of Cambodia.

On May 11, the San Francisco *CHRONICLE* editorialized that it was most unjust that Leonhardy's "family should be stuck with the \$80,000 that was paid the Mexican abductors" and that while this was understandable as government policy . . . "the Foreign Service ought to set up a fund to insure its members against the burden of this ever more occu-

pational hazard." The following day, Secretary Rogers was described in the Sunday *EXAMINER AND CHRONICLE* as promising to "reiterate" to Mexican President Echeverria the "firm US policy of not yielding to blackmail and extortion" and suggesting that although there seemed at the moment to be a mystery as to who was going to make up the \$80,000 borrowed from a Mexican bank by Mrs. Leonhardy, the Secretary believed the Mexican government would find a way to fulfill the obligation.

The third item which blew my mind, to use a contemporary cliché, was a front page New York *TIMES* story on May 11 by Sydney H. Schanberg entitled "Embassy Still Controls Cambodia Raids," in which it was said that B-52 strikes are screened by an embassy panel of five which meets daily under the chairmanship of FSO Thomas O. Enders whose voice is decisive. The panel is also described as screening requests for some if not most of the strikes by F-111 swing-wing jets. All this must keep the embassy panel pretty busy because, according to Schanberg, there are about 1,700 bombing sorties a month.

Here, then, is another new fringe duty for the foreign service. Bombing decisions in Cambodia make our diplomats there men of decision, movers and shakers of Cambodian society, not just observers, analysts, interpreters of developments and bridges between them and us. Thought and action in our embassy in Cambodia are joined in a unique way, not available in earlier times to foreign service officers.

It was not clear to me from Schanberg's story nor from other accounts of southeast Asian developments I have read who our enemy in Cambodia is or what he did to us which calls for those daily bombing staff meetings under Enders' chairmanship. Does anybody know?

JORMA L. KAUKONEN

San Francisco

A Verdant Tribute

■ It occurs to me that a fitting and lasting tribute to our colleagues killed in Khartoum would be to name the park now being completed in front of the Foreign Service Asso-

ciation in honor of Cleo Noel and George C. Moore. I hope the Association will see fit to take this matter up with the National Park Service or other appropriate authority.

SLATOR C. BLACKISTON, JR.
Washington

BOARD COMMENT: The Park fronting the AFSA building was dedicated last year by Secretary Rogers in memory of all the members of the Foreign Service who have died serving their country. AFSA has proposed to the State Department that a cooperative effort be made to dedicate the new mall area northwest of the Department's D Street Entrance in honor of Ambassador Noel and Mr. Moore.

A Correction

■ Ambassador McConaughy has let me know for the record that I was mistaken in referring to him as a Chinese language officer in my letter in the March *JOURNAL*. Nevertheless, his credentials are such that, like some I mentioned and some I didn't, he deservedly ranks as an expert in Asian affairs.

J. GRAHAM PARSONS

Stockbridge

Foreign Service Stamp?

■ If there is one suggestion which I might add to the many others you undoubtedly receive, it is that the Foreign Service Association perhaps now should concentrate a greater portion of its efforts upon making the work of our corps better known to the American public. Aside from speeches, news articles, and other means which readily come to mind, I wonder if attention has yet been given to a specific step which could well have a broad impact, that of asking the United States Postal Service to recognize the Foreign Service through issuance of a special commemorative stamp. Considering the many other activities of lesser importance which have already achieved postal recognition, I cannot see how there could be any fundamental objection to such a proposal. Moreover, I believe an appropriate occasion for such commemoration is drawing near in the 50th anniversary of the Rogers Act, falling on May 24, 1974.

Perhaps the fundamental question in proposing a special postage stamp is not whether such a stamp should

bc issued but what design might be selected in order to assure that its significance would be understood. One can readily think of many distinguished diplomats in our history, ranging from Benjamin Franklin to the late Ambassador Cleo Noel, who might appropriately be portrayed; but Mr. Franklin has been honored in so many connections that his role as a diplomat would perhaps be overlooked, while despite Mr. Noel's heroic death it would seem preferable to find a design focusing less on this tragedy and more on the broad scope of our activities. While one could also envisage a stamp showing the Great Seal, a map, a photograph of the State Department, or some combination of these, I would hope that someone could offer a more dramatic or ingenious suggestion.

C. MELVIN SONNE, JR.

Turin

EDITOR'S NOTE: *An excellent idea—suggestions welcomed.*

Sonnet

(Author Unknown)

Poor Amoeba, praised thou never wert!
 Hapless villain of Orient medic annals,
 Flushed relentless from intestinal channels,
 And just because you chance to like dessert!
 Oh, mighty mite, too long a thing of shame,
 Hunted, scorned, consistently reviled,
 Scarce whispered of by woman, man and child,
 The time has come to dignify thy fame.
 Who else so unobtrusively could lieth,
 Yet David be to Pfizer's fierce Goliath?
 Who else so difficult to find, yet lay
 No further than a stomach's throw away?
 So small must seen in microscopic fashion,
 You move the very bowels of compassion!

Ecology, Anyone?

To those of your readers interested in ecology may I announce the arrival of a new "learned" publication, *ECOLOGY LAW QUARTERLY*. In the words of its first editor-in-chief: The *QUARTERLY* will maintain the same format as most law reviews—

containing professional work, student comments, and book reviews—but will try to cultivate discussion among scientists and environmental experts as well as legal professionals. The journal will be published four times a year.

Subscriptions at \$8.00/year can be obtained by writing the University of California School of Law, Berkeley, California 94720. Checks should be made out to the Regents of the University of California.

PAUL L. GOOD

Albany

Bulletin

UPI, Paris, June 12—The US Ambassador announced at a press conference today that Embassy Paris has traded its Economic Counselor to Embassy Saigon in return for a First Secretary in the Political Section, an Assistant GSO, and an undisclosed amount of cash. The Ambassador said that in the trade Embassy Paris also gave Saigon two second round draft choices out of the African and Near East Bureaus. The Ambassador said everyone in the Embassy would regret losing the Economic Counselor, who is a particular favorite of the box-seat crowd, but that last year he had been sidelined a lot with fallen arches and it was doubtful he could

get into shape for the 4th of July reception. The Ambassador added he was certain the Embassy could find another Economic Counselor if the need arose and that the trade was designed to add depth at the all-important GSO position. He noted too that the Embassy could always use the cash involved with the 4th of July coming on.

UPI, Paris, June 13—The US Embassy Economic Counselor traded yesterday to Embassy Saigon told the press today he may not report. He said his family would prefer to stay in Paris and that he has developed important business connections there, adding "I may have fallen arches but I'm not down at the heels."

AP, Washington, June 13—Foreign Service Players Association President Tom Boycott, commenting on the Paris-Saigon trade, said today there is no way the Foreign Service Commissioner can force the Economic Counselor in Paris to move to Saigon to play out his contract there. Boycott said "They can ask him to go, but they can't tell him. The Foreign Service has consistently refused to negotiate a Transfer Program with the Player's Association, and, as everybody knows, you can't tell the Players without a Program."

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"One more word about 'post security,' Mac, and you've had it!"

FACE TO FACE

A joint program of the American Foreign Service Association and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

AN INTERVIEW WITH DAVID BILTCHIK

David Biltchik, Director of the AFSA/Carnegie Face-to-Face Program, submitted to this interview by Richard Holbrooke. Mr. Holbrooke, managing editor of FOREIGN POLICY, was interested in knowing more about the activities of the program. The JOURNAL believes that readers will also be interested in knowing more about Face-to-Face. Of importance to our readers, too, is the fact that Mr. Biltchik is returning to the Department this fall after an 18-month leave of absence and AFSA and Carnegie are urgently seeking a successor to carry on the program at least through December 1974.

Anyone interested in applying for this position should contact Thomas D. Boyatt, Chairman, AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 immediately. All inquiries will be held in strictest confidence. Applicants should be on active duty in the Foreign Service, preferably in the 30-40 year range and be willing to take a leave of absence from their agency for approximately one year. Face-to-Face's offices are in Washington as part of the Carnegie Endowment's complex at 1717 Massachusetts Avenue. Salary subject to negotiation but would approximate the current salary of applicant.

Holbrooke: Dave, you say that your program facilitates the exchange of information between the foreign affairs community inside the government and outside. What is this community you see outside the government? Who are you trying to reach and how do you go about trying to reach them?

Biltchik: It's one community, but divided into a lot of parts. There's academia, the non-government or-

ganizations, the business community, and the media people, to cite four obvious groups. Although we do pay attention to the more general public outside of the government and outside the traditional areas of special foreign affairs expertise, we are not equipped to deal with citizen education in world affairs in a thorough way.

Holbrooke: Why do you think "communication" is important? Why is this kind of program necessary at all?

Biltchik: Well, various people have described a breakdown in communications between the government and the people—

Holbrooke: And, you feel that this breakdown has, in fact, taken place?

Biltchik: Yes, even in more usual channels, let's say between academia and the State Department, I've sensed, for example, a lack of dialogue, a lack of real utilization, a lack of real interest on both sides. Take, for example, the use of advisory committees in the Department of State, or rather the non-use of advisory committees — people don't pay any attention to them.

I start from the premise that no institution can be self-sufficient, particularly in a field as involved and complex as foreign policy. You should want to reach out no matter who you are—academia or government—you should reach out, trying to draw on the best ideas available.

If some people in the government are reluctant or hesitant to reach out, then let's try to help them. The Carnegie Endowment and the American Foreign Service Association are well placed to help.

Holbrooke: Obviously AFSA backs your program heavily and so does the Endowment. Has the United States Government in general and the State Department in particular shown any interest in the program—any willingness to open its doors more widely because of the things you've done?

Biltchik: Certainly the State Department has given us all the rhetorical support one could hope for. Ambassador Macomber was very supportive of us when we first started out, and he was Undersecretary of State for Management. In terms of my own detachment from the Department, there were no problems; they encouraged me to do it. Whether or not our efforts have had any impact on the Department or on other parts of the government community—that's obviously more difficult to answer.

Let's take a specific example: the luncheon honoring the "Old China Hands" that we organized in January, 1973. One of the comments we heard from a man whose judgment I respect was that this particular event had done more to convince people in the Department of State that McCarthyism was really dead than anything he could remember.

So that luncheon had some impact.

Holbrooke: I heard that it was controversial.

Biltchik: Well, there was some controversy but not very much. Some people were worried about a negative impact on the President and some people around him. I think that those fears were exaggerated. In fact, the Secretary of State complimented AFSA on the luncheon. He said he was sorry he couldn't be there and thought it was an excellent affair. We also got a letter of endorsement from then Secretary of Defense Elliott Richardson.

Holbrooke: Was the "China luncheon" your most successful single effort to date?

Biltchik: Just in terms of newspaper, radio, television coverage—the word getting around inside and outside the government—there's no question.

Holbrooke: I see your program as having two kinds of targets. You're aiming at the community outside the government to show them that the government is theirs and accessible. You're also aiming at people inside the government to show them that the government doesn't have to be a closed corporation. How are you doing on the latter target? Do you feel that the Face-to-Face program has, in fact, shown officers—particularly younger officers, many of whom are thinking of leaving the government—that the Foreign Service is a more open place for them to work?

Biltchik: In terms of getting the government to realize that it should be more open to the outside, we've brought 200-300 government people over the course of the last year together with outsiders to talk seriously about things—to talk about the US budget with people at the Brookings Institution over a period of seven weeks (once a week); to talk about development with the Overseas Development Council experts; to participate in evening meetings with people as different as David Halberstam, or Stanley Hoffman, and Dean Rusk. These are all excellent examples of the kind of **open exchange** we are stimulating. To give you an example, on the evening David Halberstam talked about his book, "The Best and the Brightest," some people described

it as a somber evening. Almost a wake. Halberstam faced senior level civil servants, people who had lived through the '60s, who were intelligent enough to be questioning, and who are somewhat apprehensive about the '70s. He didn't have any answers. I won't say it was a confrontation, but it was a difficult evening for a lot of people, for a lot of us. It was a very unusual session. This sort of thing just doesn't happen very often in Washington. This is the purpose of the program—to try to get all of us to think more about the hard questions. That's the benefit of bringing in an outsider. He can make you think about some things that you don't ordinarily think about.

Holbrooke: Am I correct in assuming that your program avoids advocacy? In other words, you do not have specific policy objectives that you try to advocate as US foreign policy.

Biltchik: Correct. We deal with topics that seem important and we try to bring in people to talk from different points of view on that particular topic. Let's take Japan—we're going to have a series of sessions on Japan and US policy towards Japan. We are going to have Japanese and American industrialists, academics and journalists meeting officials. but we won't support any specific policy.

Holbrooke: Why can't this be done

under the normal auspices of the State Department?

Biltchik: Some of it can be done and is being done under the Government and by other groups. We are trying to supplement what's being done, to fill gaps where they exist. We have more flexibility and more freedom of action—we can move faster. We can invite just about anybody we want because we go under the somewhat unique dual colors of an Endowment for Peace and also a private professional organization whose members are all in government—but both are completely independent of the government. We are trying to reach deeper into the government, get beyond the dozen or so token government people who regularly attend outside meetings, and get to the permanent, non-political level to try to share with them the thoughts of people on the outside who are working on the same problems.

Holbrooke: You have referred to your consultant's role. What kind of work have you done as a consultant under this program?

Biltchik: Consultant may be too fancy a title. From the very beginning the idea was that we would serve as a broker, as a middleman. This means not only organizing discussions, or organizing an occasional workshop, but also helping groups who call us and ask for advice on some specific problem. Some spe-



Roger Fisher, Harvard Law School Professor, discusses television and citizen education in world affairs with representatives of the American Bar Association and others at the Conference on World Affairs Education, sponsored by Face-to-Face in September, 1972.



Ab Hermann of the Republican National Committee and Mary Lou Burg, Vice Chairman of Democratic National Committee, discuss the 1972 national conventions for a group of foreign diplomats in June of 1972.

cific examples: when Amherst College was organizing its Copeland Lecture Series, they wanted to bring to Amherst interesting younger people from many walks of life, including the government, to talk about their own careers. I was able to give some suggestions to the organizer of that program. Various World Affairs Councils have called in the course of the year. They know me and our program from my visits around the country and from our 1972 conference on "Citizen Education in World Affairs." They've called and sought advice about speakers. Or I've called them and told them about matters of interest to them. Then there is the Foreign Policy Association—I've met with them a number of times over the past year. They've asked for suggestions. The American Association of University Women has a yearly mailing to 1700 local chapters, and they've asked for suggestions as to what they should put into it on foreign policy. I get calls from television programs asking for names of expert participants for television shows that deal with foreign policy. And people in the Government call up and ask for ideas on programs and people—how they might best utilize outside resources. This includes the Planning

Staff and External Research of State. I don't want to make this seem too grandiose, but it adds up.

Holbrooke: Summing up your program, is it worth it? Is it worth it to the Carnegie Endowment and AFSA? Is it worth it to you personally? Is it worth it to the State Department? Is it worth it to the larger foreign affairs community which you describe?

Biltchik: Let's take it in sections. For me personally, this has been a creative and positive experience, and I've enjoyed it immensely. The range of subjects and people has been wide. For the financial contributors to the program, the Endowment and the Association, a considerable amount of money is involved. How does one judge whether a program is relevant? From the Association's point of view, it is worth it because of the Association's professional dimension. Its members want it, they feel the need for it. This is the first time in the history of the Association that it has organized active and widespread contacts between the professionals inside the State Department and professionals outside the State Department, all talking about their common interests, on relatively neutral ground. And from the Endowment's perspective, I believe we have strengthened foreign

affairs dialogue between the policy operators and the public.

Holbrooke: Where do you think this program is going to lead?

Biltchik: As you know, I intend to leave the program at the end of two years. It's important that I do so because a new man with a fresh approach should come in and decide what to do next, what to throw out and what to change or keep. But I think that some kind of program with this mixing of people has got to continue. That's the essential element; you've got to bring people, as we say, face to face. But there may be better ways of doing it, more efficient and more productive ways. There may be other things we could do which would have greater impact. It's important that in something as experimental as this program there be changes from time to time.

To get back to your question of whether it was worth it, the reactions I've had from people in the Department indicate that this kind of activity was previously almost unknown to 99 out of 100 people in the Department. Anytime that we can reach a substantial number of responsible government officials with thoughts expressed in new ways—anytime we can do this consistently, then we have a program that's worth doing.

Holbrooke: Perhaps, then, the most important impact of the Face-to-Face program is on the government and people within the government rather than on the foreign affairs community outside the government. Is that a fair conclusion to draw from what you've said?

Biltchik: Certainly, in terms of relative numbers, yes. On the other hand, rarely does anybody from the outside turn me down when I ask them to participate in this program.

Holbrooke: I assume this is because they are pleased at the rare opportunity to talk directly to mid-level government officials.

Biltchik: Exactly. This indicates to me that we haven't yet begun to tap potential interest on the outside. If nearly everyone I invite accepts, it indicates that there's a lack of other opportunities with the same impact. And as time goes by, the impact will spread within these outside communities. ■



AFSA ACTIVITIES

Harrop, Loving, Lenderking and Holmes Transferred

The Participation Slate remained intact as AFSA's Board of Directors for a record 18 months. The inevitability of Foreign Service life, however, caught up with the Board members in May. Within a period of a few weeks, Chairman Bill Harrop, Treasurer Dave Loving, USIA Board Member Bill Lenderking and Staff Corps Co-Chairman Jim Holmes were assigned to Canberra, Bukavu, Bologna, and Tel Aviv, respectively.

Space does not permit tributes commensurate with the contributions that Bill and Dave and Bill and Jim have made to AFSA in recent years. Bill Harrop has led the Association during a difficult period of profound changes and accompanying stresses. As AFSA leadership experience clearly demonstrates, the membership divides narrowly on the tough questions—which is as it should be. Through his judgment and leadership ability Bill "kept it together" during a time of many tough questions and close votes. AFSA not only adopted a new role as an employee representative, but through Bill's efforts, the Association's professional activities have reached an all time high. AFSA is now stronger than ever. This is the greatest tribute to Bill's chairmanship.

Dave and Jim have both served in the AFSA vineyards for years—Dave as a JFSOC official and Jim as an organizer of AFSA chapters in Nicosia and Tripoli. For the past few years each has taken

a leading role in the activities of the present Board. Dave has served in the demanding and thankless role of Treasurer during a period of adjustments in activities and membership. Jim has worked hard and with flair as Co-Chairman of our Staff Corps Advisory Committee and ex-officio spokesman for our growing contingent of C&R personnel. Bill Lenderking's contributions in representing USIA, in organizing AFSA's membership in the Agency, and in maintaining liaison between the Board and the *Journal* have been tremendous.

To Bill and Dave and Bill and Jim from all of us—thank you for your hard work and good judgment, and all the best in your new assignments.

Boyatt Elected Chairman, Other Leadership Changes

Following Bill Harrop's departure for Australia, Tom Boyatt was unanimously elected Chairman by the Board. The Board voted unanimously to have Tex Harris replace Tom as Vice Chairman and for Rick Melton to take over Tom's chores as Chairman of the State Negotiations Committee. Francine Bowman was appointed to head the Staff Corps Advisory Committee.

The Board elected Ambassador Charles Cross to take Bill Harrop's seat, Chuck Hoffman to replace Jim Holmes, Al Perlman to represent USIA for Bill Lenderking and Ray Smith to replace Dave Loving. Biographies of several of the new Board members follow:

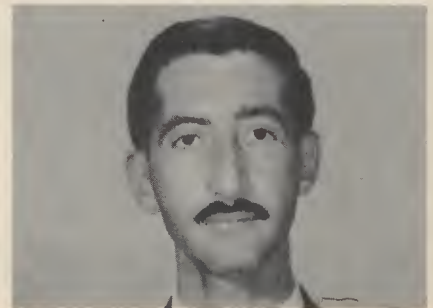
Charles T. Cross, member of the Planning and Coordination Staff of the Secretary of State, is a new member of the Board of Directors. He was appointed to fill



the vacancy left by the departure of Bill Harrop for Australia.

Ambassador Cross served as Ambassador to the Republic of Singapore from 1969 until 1972 and then as Diplomat in Residence at the University of Michigan until appointed to his present position. He has had prior major assignments in Taipei, Djakarta and Kuala Lumpur and to Consulates General in Hong Kong and Alexandria and served as DCM in Cyprus and Political Officer in London.

Alvin Perlman, born August 5, 1934 in Brooklyn, New York graduated from Stuyvesant High School and from the City College of New York with a Bachelor of



Arts (BA) degree, majoring in journalism and history. He worked for six years as a reporter and editor in the Midwest, first with the Champaign-Urbana (Illinois) **News-Gazette** and then as an editor on the Des Moines (Iowa) **Register**.

After joining USIA in 1962, he did his Junior Officer Training in Bombay before being assigned as Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer (ACAO) in New Delhi. Mr. Perlman's other assignments have been as Field Representative for JUSPAO in Hue (1965-67), ACAO and Publications Officer in Jakarta (1967-69), and Program Officer in Jakarta (1970-72). Mr. Perlman took leave from USIA to attend the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 1969-70, where he graduated with an MA degree in International Relations.

Mr. Perlman is currently assigned in Washington to the Resource Analysis staff (I/RA) of USIA.

Mr. Perlman is married to the former Ellen Largent of Winchester, Virginia, and they now reside in Silver Spring, Maryland.

AFSA's Board of Directors elected Charles O. Hoffman to replace James L. Holmes, Jr., who has been assigned to Tel Aviv.



Mr. Hoffman has been a member of AFSA since joining the Foreign Service in 1957. He has served in Beirut, London and Bangkok as Regional Communications Electronic Officer from 1957-68 and has been a member of the Staff Corps Advisory Committee since 1971. He is now assigned to the Office of Communications Programs and Engineering Division as Chief of the Maintenance Branch.

Bohlen Luncheon

Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen, 40 years a diplomat and Ambassador to the USSR, the Republic of the Philippines and to France, spoke to AFSA members on May 31, at a luncheon in the Diplomatic Reception Rooms, Department of State.

The Ambassador's subject was "Witness to History," which is, coincidentally, the first part of the title of his new book, reviewed in the June **Journal**. AFSA Chairman Tom Boyatt introduced Ambassador Jacob D. Beam who, in turn, introduced the guest speaker to a capacity crowd which rose in a standing ovation. The Ambassador talked about his early days in the Foreign Service, when Washington was a sleepy Southern town and the Department was housed in Old State. He went on to remark on the ups and downs of the Service, the McCarthy period, the World War II years, and paid tribute to Secretaries Marshall and Acheson, referring to their tenures as the most important years for the Foreign Service. To active members of the Service, he said, "Remember that you have an absolutely essential role to play, without you the foreign business of the United States cannot go forward."

The luncheon was followed by an autographing party in the library of the Foreign Service Club. Nearly 100 purchasers of "Witness to History: 1929-1969" strained the capacity of the room to shake hands with the Ambassador and have the volumes autographed. In reply to a question, Mrs. Bohlen said that the book was already in its second printing.

Annual Meeting

AFSA's Annual General Meeting was convened on May 17 in the East Auditorium of the Department of State. Tex Harris, Vice Chairman, presided and, after apologizing for the slow mail delivery of the May issue of the Foreign Service **Journal** containing the announcement and the proposed new bylaws, said that the meeting would recess to June 1

to give time for members to study the bylaws.

The report of Chairman Tom Boyatt (unavoidably absent) was read by Second Vice Chairman Barbara Good. The report detailed the Association's achievements in the professional, the operational and the employee areas. On the professional side, Boyatt cited the AFSA awards luncheon at which Dr. Kissinger spoke, the Fall and Spring luncheon series addressed by many distinguished speakers, the "Brunch with a Crunch" in honor of Foreign Service retirees, the China hands luncheon and the viewing of the Memorial Plaque by President Nixon, with the latter two events receiving nationwide TV and press coverage. Operations during the year included the awarding of 63 scholarships, establishment of an Educational Center, revision of the certificate of incorporation, and Congressional activities. Boyatt then summarized the seminal new directions taken by the Association in the employee-management area. He pointed out that the Association strongly shaped the Executive Order for employee relations in the Foreign Service, successfully countered a series of legal charges by a large international union, defeated that union in representational elections in State, AID and USIA, and has begun the process of negotiation as the exclusive representative of the Foreign Service people in the three agencies. The chairman closed by underlining future goals and problems—particularly the need to develop AFSA's professional dimensions further, to establish meaningful relations with agencies under the Executive Order, to find a balance in the Association's professional-employee mix, and to improve AFSA's financial position—all of which depends on full participation by the membership.

Treasurer Dave Loving's report remarked on the new expenses undergone by the Association under its responsibilities in employee-management relations and outlined the measures taken to reduce expenses. He called atten-

tion to the fact that membership had suffered a gradual decrease and that a membership drive was in progress in the hope of increasing membership across the board, but particularly in Staff Corps, USIA and AID. (Copies of both these reports are available from AFSA on request and the table below offers the source material for Dave's report.)

Dave Biltchik, Director of the Face to Face Openness Program, delivered a brief statement of the objectives and accomplishments of this program for the year, and it was announced that the name would be changed to Committee on Professionalism with Brandon Grove as Chairman

A preliminary discussion of the Bylaws consumed the remainder of the time for the May 17 meeting and continued on at the reconvened meeting June 1, when the proposed new Bylaws were discussed in depth. They are being mailed to all active members at this time, together with

USIA NEWS

Authorization Cutback

AFSA sent urgent letters strongly supporting the full budget request of USIA to the Congress immediately after the Senate Foreign Relations Committee announced its proposed budget cuts for the Agency. Citing public diplomacy as a vital ingredient of modern diplomatic relations, AFSA's letter pointed out the unique role played by USIA and urged full restoration of the \$224.4 million budget request.

In fulfilling its representational role, AFSA formally presented to USIA management a written state-

the statements by the proponents and opponents, and a ballot for voting. The Amendments Committee is chaired by Gerald Warner (FSO-ret.) and the members are Michael Gannett (FSO), Patrick Garland (FSO), James Singleary (AID) and Duane King (USIA).

Don't forget to vote. This is YOUR association.

ment strongly opposing any personnel reductions that would result in the Foreign Service bearing a disproportionate share of cuts resulting from any budget reduction. AFSA requested to be informed in writing of any proposed personnel reductions and any changes in the Agency's plans for eliminating positions. It asserted its right to be consulted **before** any action is taken to implement reductions in Foreign Service personnel.

Framework Issues

Management and AFSA have reached an agreement on dues checkoff for Washington-paid FS which will enable individuals to pay off their membership on a biweekly pay-period basis. Full information and forms will be forwarded to USIA members in the near future.

AFSA now has an office in USIA, Room 804 in 1776 Pennsylvania Ave., and a phone: 632-1760. Staffing is being worked out.

FOREIGN SERVICE NEWS

Grievance Legislation Passes Senate

The Senate adopted by a 2 to 1 margin (52-24) an amendment introduced by Senator Bayh of Indiana to the 1973 State Department Authorization Bill to provide for the establishment of a Foreign Service grievance procedure. This amendment, the Bayh-Cooper Bill, is based on a legislative proposal drafted by the Association's Legal Committee. This Bill passed the Senate twice last Session but was not acted on in the House, which did not conclude its hearings on the Bayh-Cooper Bill until the last days of the Congress. The Association greatly appreciates the efforts of Senator Bayh to ensure that the Foreign Service has fair grievance procedures. We hope this amendment will receive favorable action during the Conference.

Representatives of management of the three Foreign Affairs Agencies have refused to bargain with the Association on grievance legislation to guarantee the basic elements of due process to the men and women of the Foreign

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURES
(ACTUAL) FISCAL YEARS 1971, 1972 AND JULY 1, 1972 TO MARCH 31, 1973
(ESTIMATED) APRIL 1, 1973 TO JUNE 30, 1973

	Actual		Estimate		Total 1973
	1971	1972	July 72 Mar 73	Apr 73 Jun 73	
Membership Dues	\$119,916	\$184,499	\$104,808 ¹	\$ 43,391 ¹	\$148,199 ¹
Members' Subscrs.	32,192	38,084	24,093	9,980	34,073
Non-Members Subscrs.	3,675	3,006	2,600	900	3,500
Journal Advertising	52,086	53,257	33,136	10,500	43,636
Club Sales		103,618	77,912	30,300	108,212
Miscellaneous, Luncheon Receipts and Support Reimbursement	17,487	23,309	8,306	45,900	54,206
Total Income	\$225,356	\$405,773	\$250,855	\$140,971	\$391,826
Disbursements					
Salaries					
General	\$ 71,776	\$ 52,822	\$ 27,432	\$ 6,841	\$ 34,273
Journal	34,715	26,034	17,714	4,868	22,582
Club	5,599	53,670	52,883	17,143	70,026
Employee Relat.			12,475	4,691	17,166
Education Ctr.				4,703	4,703
Journal Expenses	65,105	56,343 ²	41,762	13,920	55,682 ³
Club Expenses	1,086	41,732 ⁴	60,574	20,190	80,764 ^{2 5}
Equipment Purchases	11,977	488	648	7,500	8,148
Mortgage Pays	7,356	7,732	6,056	7,045	13,101
US Leasing			1,457	594	2,051
Other	124,526	99,918	29,053	32,294	61,347 ⁶
Total Disbursements	\$322,140	\$338,739	\$250,054	\$119,789	\$369,843
Excess or (Deficit)	(96,784)	67,034	801	21,182	21,983

NOTES: ¹ Cash Receipts; ² Excludes shared costs; ³ Includes shared costs, i.e., distribution of expenses; ⁴ Increase related to change in accounting methods following take over of direct Club operations by Association; ⁵ Increase related to higher food, beverage and salary costs plus inclusion of additional shared costs not attributed to Club operations in 1972; ⁶ Other: Building operations, insurance, professional fees, etc.

May 15, 1973

Service. Management is willing only to amend its current Manual regulations in consultation with the Association. It is not willing to bargain out its differences with the Association on proposed legislation. It is becoming clear that the Agencies do not want any legislated procedures for review of their decisions. AFSA will continue to fight to assure that the Foreign Service obtains the same due process guarantees which are being extended to the Civil Service, with respect to serious grievances.

State and USIA Lose on FAS Program

As expected, the Federal District Court enjoined the State and USIA Foreign Affairs Specialist Programs. The Agencies, acting on advice of their lawyers, attempted to expand a provision of PL 90-494 which authorized the conversion of FSRs to FSRUs to convert FSSs and GSs to FSRUs also. The Agencies' power play has been slapped down by the lower court and if the injunction is sustained on appeal, it will mean the reconversion of all FSRUs who have not served as FSRs for three years.

Although AFSA supports the rationalization of the Foreign Affairs Agencies' personnel system, we are again dismayed by the attempt of administration managers to institute this program without the necessary legal basis. In the last analysis, the Foreign Affairs Agencies must be ruled by law and not by men.

Foreign Service Retirement

The May, 1973 issue of the Department of State *Newsletter* (pp 16-17) contains a full summary of proposed amendments to the Foreign Service retirement legislation now pending action by Congress. These proposed amendments were submitted to the OMB long before AFSA achieved exclusive recognition, so our input was not solicited. AFSA believes that with some exceptions, the proposed amendments would be beneficial and deserve our support. AFSA will be testifying on the bill to seek some corrections.

For example, we feel that the proposal to terminate survivor annuities on remarriage would be a step backwards and should be dropped. On the whole, however, the bill is a good one, and you should write your Congressmen in support of it. The bill number is S-1791.

Promotion Projections

Preliminary projections of five-year average promotion figures for FY 1974 through FY 1978 show that the implementation of the declassification proposal as proposed by the Director General will reduce promotions into Classes 1, 2 and 3 drastically.

This table is a preliminary study using data as of June 30, 1972, and does not reflect the Department's final position on downgrading. We understand that the final proposal will be an improvement on these numbers. However, they are in the ball park and show the serious consequences to the Foreign Service, if administrative management implements its job downgrading proposals. To date, the Department of State has refused to consult with the Association on its job downgrading plans. AFSA has challenged the Department's refusal to consult before the Employee Management Relations Commission.

A similar study comparing the number of promotions under the present job classification system with the downgraded job classification system, **assuming** that all

AFSA Post Representatives

Section 1 of "Guidelines for Implementation of E.O. 11636 at Foreign Service Posts" calls for the Association to certify AFSA members at each Foreign Service post to represent the employees at that post with respect to collective dealings on local issues. To date, the Association has certified the following AFSA members:

Vientiane:

John B. Woods, President
Joseph M. Chudzick, Secretary

Brussels:

Edward Marks, Co-Chairman
Theodore S. Wilkinson,
Co-Chairman

Madrid:

David E. Simcox,
Representative

Karachi:

Edward W. M. Bryant,
Representative

Tunisia:

George V. Corinaldi,
Representative

Bonn:

Stanley P. Harris,
Representative

New Delhi:

Grant E. Mouser,
Representative

selection out is abolished, is of interest in showing the relationship between promotions and the features of a competitive merit system.

Actual Promotions

Class	FY 71	FY 72	FY 73
2 to 1	27	23	37
3 to 2	47	44	51
4 to 3	54	60	78
5 to 4	100	95	117

Promotion Projections Five-Year Averages
FY 74 through FY 78

Under Present Job Classification	After Proposed Job Downgrading	Annual Reduction	Percentage Change
38	29	9	-24%
74	46	28	-38%
117	77	40	-34%
116	112	4	-3%

Actual Promotions

Class	FY 71	FY 72	FY 73
2 to 1	27	23	37
3 to 2	47	44	51
4 to 3	54	60	78
5 to 4	100	95	117

Promotion Projections Five-Year Averages
FY 74 through FY 78
With No Selection Out

Under Present Job Classification	After Proposed Job Downgrading	Annual Reduction	Percentage Change
34	20	14	-41%
55	24	31	-56%
88	47	41	-47%
92	85	7	-8%

Djakarta:

Erland H. Heginbotham,
Representative

Manila:

Gunther K. Rosinus,
Representative

Addis Ababa:

Walter E. Stadtler, President
Daniel E. Waterman,
Vice President

France:

Robert F. Pfeiffer, President
Marshall P. Adair,
Vice President

San Salvador:

Clyde D. Taylor, Representative

Japan:

David G. Brown, Chairman
Gregory Johnson, Vice Chairman

London:

William Mills, Chairman
Dirk Gleysteen, Vice Chairman

Caracas:

George W. Ogg, Representative

Mexico, D.F.:

Mary Elizabeth Swope,
Co-Representative
Douglas S. Kinney,
Co-Representative

Ottawa:

L. Craig Johnstone,
Representative

Bangkok:

David K. Krecke, Representative

Montevideo:

Martin McLean, Representative

Santiago:

Samuel F. Hart, President
Bruce F. Hoof, Vice President

Belgrade:

William A. Weingarten,
Representative

The AFSA Board hopes that AFSA members serving at overseas posts will elect local representatives and establish Chapters. Posts are encouraged to designate several individuals to act as AFSA Representatives to ensure adequate representation at all times. AFSA Representatives are to be elected by the AFSA members at a post, although they will have the responsibility of representing all the Foreign Service employees at the post. The ap-

pointment or election of an AFSA Post Representative is an internal matter reserved for Association members. In some cases, where the AFSA members at a post have not yet designated their Representatives, the Board has asked interested members to serve as AFSA Representatives *ad interim*, so that the post will not go unrepresented.

Corrections or additions with regard to Certification of Post Representatives should be addressed to:

C. B. Sanner
Membership Secretary
AFSA Headquarters
Washington

Shipment of Foreign Cars

Unfortunately, AFSA's efforts to persuade management to take positive action with the Congress to obtain reasonable exemptions from the ban on foreign car shipments to the US from overseas posts have not made much progress. With the summer transfer season upon us, AFSA's advice to people who wish to ship their foreign made cars to the US is to find the cheapest means (foreign vessels can cost as much as 60% less than American bottoms for car shipments), pay for it yourself, and take a tax deduction for the cost. The shipment of cars during job transfers is a legitimate moving expense deduction even for people who do not itemize.

Foreign Service People**MARRIAGES**

Durkin-Parsons. FSO Katherine Durkin was married to FSO Edmund Parsons on May 12 at All Souls Unitarian Church in Washington.

Hanshaw - Esterline. Diana Lee Hanshaw was married to Bruce Hanly Esterline, son of John H. Esterline, FSIO retired, on April 14 at Pharr, Texas.

DEATHS

Dreyfus. Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr., died in Santa Barbara, California, on May 19, 1973. He was appointed a Consular Assistant in 1910, and in

the old consular service had posts in Berlin, Callao, Quito, Budapest, Sofia, Sivas (Turkey), Malaga, Paris, Palermo, and Dresden. He became a Consul General in 1924. When the Foreign Service was established later that year he became a Foreign Service Inspector, the Consul General at Copenhagen, Counselor at Lima, Minister to Iran and concurrently Afghanistan, Minister to Iceland and Minister to Sweden. He became a Career Minister when that rank was established. In 1948 he was acting Chief of the Inspection Corps. In 1949 he was assigned to Afghanistan for a second time, this time as Ambassador. He retired in 1951. He is survived by his wife, Grace Hawes Dreyfus, of 370 Hot Springs Road, Santa Barbara, California 93103, and by a sister.

Saugstad. Jesse E. Saugstad, an authority on shipping who retired from the State Department in 1954, died May 14 in Washington. Mr. Saugstad had served for many years as president and director of the State Department Federal Credit Union. He is survived by his wife, Lucille Van Valey Saugstad, of the home, 2021 Mass. Avenue NW, a son, Edgar V. of New York City; and two grandchildren.

Turner. Phillip A. Turner, FSR-ret., died May 3 at his home, 3417 Glen Carlyn Drive, Falls Church, following a heart attack. He was with the State Department as an intelligence research specialist before joining USIA as a publications editor in 1957. He served the agency in Teheran, Bonn, Santiago, and Buenos Aires until his retirement in January 1972. He is survived by his wife, Margaret, of the home address; two daughters and two sons.

Wilson. Warden Wilson, FSO retired, died Saturday in Asheville Hospital in Asheville, N. C., after a long illness. He had served as a diplomat from 1921 to 1944 in Washington, Berlin, Vienna, Paris, Brussels, The Hague, Caracas and Genoa. He is survived by a son, Eric, of Villanova, Pa.; a daughter, Mrs. Edward Walker, of Charleston, S. C. and a brother, Stewart, of Ware Neck, Va.

AFSA's Testimony and Some Results

EXCERPTS FROM WILLIAM C. HARROP'S STATEMENT BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE ON THE DEPT. OF STATE APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZATION ACT

Terrorism: After the tragic events of Khartoum, this Association and the Department of State have conducted extensive inquiry into the death benefits available to Foreign Service personnel killed in the line of duty. . . In a case where both parents are killed, by whatever cause, the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System provides only \$1,400 to each surviving child, with a maximum family benefit per year of \$4,100. This is a shameful figure. The Department of State is preparing legislation to correct this anomaly in the Retirement System. . . During the first 18 months of duty in the Foreign Service, employees are not covered for death by any cause, including terrorist activity, under either the Foreign Service Retirement System or by the Federal Employees Compensation Act. Nor is there coverage for disability in the first five years for officers, and the first ten years for staff. . . . The American Foreign Service Association has drafted legislation to compensate the families of Foreign Service victims of terrorist actions. This draft legislation would provide a \$50,000 death benefit to any Chief of Mission or Foreign Service employee killed by terrorist activity or armed conflict. . . . We urge this Committee to: 1) include the draft "Terrorist Victims Benefit Act of 1973," in the State Authorization Bill of 1973, and 2) approve expeditiously the changes in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System which the Association trusts the Administration will shortly put forward.

AID Retirement: . . . we urge that the Committee proceed to provide AID Foreign Service personnel the right to retire under the Foreign Service Retirement System. . . We believe it is important that the mandatory retirement age of AID personnel be the same—age 60—as that of their colleagues in State and USIA. We also support immediate Foreign Service retirement coverage for Foreign Service Staff personnel without a wait of 10 years. . .

Promotion: The Foreign Service Act of 1946 provided that "promotion shall be by selection on the basis of merit" and authorized the Secretary of State to establish "selection boards to evaluate the performance of Foreign Service Officers, and upon the basis of their findings the Secretary shall make recommendations to the President for the promotion of Foreign Service Officers." Through subsequent legislation the same provisions were applied to For-

eign Service Information Officers of USIA. . . The Association requests the Committee to amend the Foreign Service Act so as to leave no possible ambiguity about the nature of the non-political merit system. . .

Retirement: The Foreign Service Act does not permit voluntary retirement prior to age 50 regardless of the number of years of service. The Association believes that the Foreign Service personnel system would be greatly strengthened if retirement were possible after 20 years of service, regardless of age. . .

The Association believes it is inappropriate for Career Ministers who are not serving in Chief of Mission or equivalent high positions to stay on after age 60. The Department of State is in agreement with this position. The Association would strongly urge that the authorizing legislation you are now considering amend sections 631 and 632 of the Foreign Service Act to reduce the mandatory retirement age of Career Ministers from 65 to 60. . .

Grievance: Of utmost concern to us is establishing by law, just and equitable grievance procedures for the Foreign Service. Although the Department argued against passage of the Bayh-Cooper bill last year on the grounds that this matter should properly be negotiated out with the exclusive representative under E.O. 11636, the Department has not been willing to bargain on proposed grievance legislation, nor to submit any disagreements to the mediation and arbitration procedures as called for in the Order. We are deeply disappointed but are making every effort to negotiate in good faith before returning to the Congress to report that due process can be obtained for the Foreign Service only if imposed by the Legislative Branch. . .

Devaluation: The American Foreign Service Association proposes that an additional item be added to Section 101 of the Department of State Appropriations Authorization Act of 1973: (6) "for economic adjustments, \$20,000,000." This provision would permit the Secretary of State to provide rapid and flexible relief for personnel overseas for current and inflation fluctuations.

Education: Another issue is that education allowances for kindergarten aged children are not provided for Foreign Service personnel stationed abroad. . . We trust that it is the Committee's intention that the education allowances it authorizes should be comparable in scope to the free public education provided to citizens in the United States and specifically that kindergarten aged children should be eligible for education allowances. . .

Transfers: Since last year, Foreign Service people have achieved equality with the Civil Service with regard to transfer allowances on overseas travels. We still do not receive equal treatment on domestic transfers. To remedy this situation, we request the Committee amend the Overseas Differentials and Allowances Act. . . by deleting the following seven words of Section 5924(2) of Title 5, USC: "between assignments to posts in foreign areas."

State Authorization Bill

Three of AFSA's requests were reflected in the State Authorization Bill reported out by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The SFRC authorized supplemental funds to cover such contingencies as devaluation and differential inflation rates. The SFRC included an Association amendment to the Foreign Service Act to ensure that promotions will be made only on the basis of the rank order listing of selection boards, or on the recommendations of grievance or equal opportunity boards.

The SFRC also included language authorizing the payment of kindergarten allowances to civilian employees stationed overseas. The Committee's report stated:

"Basically the amendment resolves a question of interpretation of the existing statute. The Defense Department interprets it to include kindergarten education—the State Department does not. The American Foreign Service Association testified on this inequity and its statement is printed in the published hearings. The Committee considers the point made by the AFSA to be valid and recommends the amendment to the statute to eliminate any question of interpretation, and to put all overseas personnel—State, USIA, AID, Defense, and others—on the same footing. Informally, the Committee has been advised that the present annual cost of the amendment for State Department dependents solely is estimated to be \$180,000."

The Committee did not accept the Association's request that the AID Foreign Service Retirement provisions be included in the State Authorization Bill. The Committee's staff has informed the Association that this matter will be considered in the AID Authorization Bill (see June Foreign Service Journal).

MEMBERS' INTERESTS

Maryland State Income Taxes

If you are moving into the Washington area, plan to reside in Maryland, and do not wish to become permanently domiciled in that state merely because of a temporary Washington assignment as a Foreign Service employee, you may wish to follow a procedure that has worked for some of your colleagues.

What they did was to write a letter to the Maryland Comptroller of the Treasury in Annapolis explaining they had recently moved into the state on a rotational assignment for the Foreign Service, and that they fully expected to leave Maryland on transfer within a few years. They explained how they maintained a domiciliary (legal) residence in another state, indicating some of the ties to that other state (voting, family, property etc.). They requested the Comptroller's concurrence in their opinion that they were not domiciliary residents of Maryland.

In all cases we have seen so far, the Comptroller has replied affirmatively, indicating that the Foreign Service employees concerned had a right to claim domiciliary residence in another state. They would have to pay state income taxes to Maryland only while physically resident in the state, and would not be pursued after they left provided they did nothing to change their domicile to Maryland. One employee who bought a house in Maryland was told that after he left he would be liable for taxes to the State only on the income from the house, if any.

The Comptroller said the following in one reply:

"The analysis of your letter provides me with advice that you have not established a domicile within the State of Maryland. You have clearly laid out in good detail your purpose in residing in Maryland and provided sufficient information that actually states your position as a domicile resident of the State of Ohio. During your residence within this State there could be some performance of overt acts that may change

your relationship between Ohio and Maryland with the result that a Maryland domicile could occur and the Ohio domicile be abandoned. Presently, however, there is no question that your physical presence in Maryland is the result of an assignment, subject to change."

On the subject of "overt acts" which might serve to change a F.S. employee's domicile from another state to Maryland, the state tax authorities and courts are concerned essentially with acts that indicate evidence of an intent to reside permanently within that state. One F.S. employee recently lost a tax case covering a period of service abroad when the Maryland Court of Appeals ruled that registration to vote constitutes substantial evidence of an intent to reside permanently unless outweighed by a preponderance of contrary evidence. The Court of Appeals gave greater weight to the act of registration to vote in Maryland than to evidence produced by the employee to show that he still maintained ties to the former state.

The address of the Comptroller of the Treasury is State Income Tax Building, Income Tax Division, Annapolis, Maryland 21401.

The Maryland state tax authorities have called AFSA's attention to a document entitled "Domicile Questionnaire" which is a form taxpayers may use to demonstrate that they are not legally domiciled in that state. If you are moving to the Washington area, intend to live in Maryland, and wish to be liable for Maryland taxes only while actually physically present there, you should consider filing the "Domicile Questionnaire" shortly after arrival. If there is no legitimate reason for the State to consider you legally domiciled in Maryland, they will issue a ruling right at the outset which will assure that you will not be harassed after you leave the state to go overseas again. The form is available from the Comptroller of the Treasury, Income Tax Division, State Treasury Building, Annapolis, Maryland 21401. A key element in filling out the form is to be able to demonstrate that you are legally domi-

ciled in another state. If you cannot do that, it would be prudent not to file the form. AFSA is working on the problem raised by a number of Foreign Service employees who desire to have no legal domicile in any state even though they are quite willing to be good citizens and pay taxes while they physically reside in a state while on a Stateside assignment.

Income Tax Audits

This is the season for federal income tax audits with the Foreign Service subject to its usual share of special problems. One of these is an occasional request from an IRS examiner for justification of the Foreign Service employee's failure to include the Government's payment of transportation and shipment of effects in gross income. This question usually comes up in consideration of deduction claims for moving expenses and home leave expenses. If you are the recipient of such a request, you should refer the examiner to Title 26 United States Code, section 912, which is part of the Internal Revenue Code. This section of the law exempts from taxation all foreign area allowances and travel and related expenses provided under Title IX of the Foreign Service Act of 1946. This law places us in a different situation from employees in the private sector who have to report as gross income amounts provided by employers for transportation and shipment of effects.

Gift Taxes on Survivor Annuities

An alert AFSA member who will be retiring next summer called our attention to the following item in IRS publication 721 entitled Comprehensive Tax Guide to US Civil Service Retirement Benefits:

"If, when you retire, you elect to receive a reduced annuity so as to provide an annuity for your survivor, you have made a taxable gift. The gift is considered to be made at the time the Civil Service Commission approves your claim, at which time your designation of a survivor-annuitant becomes irrevocable."

The amount of taxable gift is determined after a somewhat complex computation which is reportable to the IRS at the time of retirement even though the designated survivor-annuitant theoretically could eventually predecease the retired employee.

The IRS publication cited also points out that taxpayers are entitled to a lifetime \$30,000 exemption for gifts that they make, whether or not the gift is a future interest. The full exemption may be taken in a single year, or may be spread over a period of years. This lifetime exclusion is over and above the special exclusion of the first \$3000 of gifts made to any one donee during a calendar year. The special \$3000 exclusion, however, cannot apply to a survivor's annuity since this constitutes a gift of a future interest.

In view of the above, it is highly unlikely that the average retiree would have to pay a gift tax for the gift of a future interest in a survivor's annuity, but it is a computation worth making as retirement approaches, from the point of view of estate management.

CHAPTER NEWS

The Addis Ababa Chapter elected its representatives on April 25. They are: Walter E. Stadler (State), President; Daniel F. Waterman (State), Deputy Chapter President; Bernice A. Sylawa (State), Secretary; and Katherine Griffin (USIS) and Barry Riley (AID), members of Executive-at-Large.

The Paris Chapter elected Robert F. Pfeiffer, President; Marshall P. Adair, Vice President and Roman L. Lotsberg, Secretary.

The Frankfurt Chapter of AFSA was established on May 22. Members elected to the Executive Board are Chairman, Dick Dugstad; Vice Chairman, John Scafe; Secretary, John Pitts; Treasurer, Randy Bell.

**BYLAWS AMENDMENTS
and BALLOT to AFSA
MEMBERS in JULY
Don't forget to vote!**

STAFF CORPS NEWS

Overtime Claims

The Association has been asked recently about the possibility of secretaries and junior officers claiming payment for overtime which was authorized in the past but not compensated. Under Federal law, any claim against the United States Government is valid for ten years (31 U.S.C. 71a).

For example, an officer who was a Bureau Staff Assistant in the Department, who was directed to be in the office on alternate Saturday mornings and whose name accordingly appeared on the duty officer lists, may claim compensation for work performed, even several years ago.

Another example involves secretaries who have lost large amounts of "comp" time because the posts' tight personnel situation did not permit them to use their earned comp time. A cash claim may be submitted for such claims.

Persons with such claims should contact AFSA's Overtime Committee, enclosing necessary documentation to support their claims, and, if they wish, a power of attorney authorizing the Association to submit the claim on their behalf to the General Accounting Office. It is important to remember that if overtime is authorized but not compensated either in money or in comp time, the claim does not expire for ten years.

FOREIGN SERVICE NEWS

Efficiency Report Warning

Foreign Service personnel are encouraged to read their efficiency report files when in Washington to ensure that their files contain only accurate information with respect to their performance. However, you should be aware that administrative management is claiming that employees do not have a right to file grievances to have falsely prejudicial or erroneous material removed from their files, if the employee did not complain within 30 days.

In a recent case, an AFSA member who reviewed his file in August 1972 discovered a prejudicial

inspector's report which had been prepared in January 1965 on the basis of admitted hearsay. The Department's records indicated that the employee had seen his file in early 1966. Consequently, the Department stated that the employee could not file a grievance to have the false material removed from his file, since the officer did not complain about the material during the day start-up period of the interim grievance procedures beginning in August 1971. The AFSA member is positive that the questioned inspector's report was not in the file when he read it in 1966.

It is important for all members of the Foreign Service to be prepared to call attention to any falsely prejudicial or erroneous statements in their efficiency reports immediately after reviewing their files. Failure to do so may waive their right to have the material removed by action of an impartial Grievance Board.

Senior Grade Salaries

AFSA Chairman Tom Boyatt wrote the members of the House and Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committees, calling their attention to the editorial in last month's Foreign Service Journal on senior level salaries.

The nine-member blue ribbon panel appointed by the President to study the discrepancies between private and government executive compensation has completed its staff work. The Committee's report is expected to be submitted to the President by June 30. It appears that FSO/R-1 salaries will be recommended to be set between \$40,000 and \$42,000 a year. Raises for Congressmen who now receive \$42,500 would be granted to maintain their differential with top government careerists. It is hoped that the President will submit the senior salary recommendations in his budget message to Congress next January. Congress would then have 30 days to veto the President's proposed plan before it becomes law. This negative veto system was designed to avoid having the Congress vote themselves pay raises.

F.S. CLUB NEWS

Author, Author

Seen at the Foreign Service Club in mid-May was Ted Olson, USIS-retired. Management noted that a small autographing party was in progress for Ted's new book, "Ranch on the Laramie" (Atlantic-Little Brown), which has received splendid reviews for its evocation of life in Wyoming in the early days of this century—the people, the land, the hardships and the rewards.

New Manager

Chester Bryant, formerly head of AFSA's accounting department, is the new Club manager, replacing Lowell Walker. Chester's popularity with AFSA members and his innovations in the Club have led to much-increased patronage. Reservations are recommended, especially for large groups. Call 338-5730. The Club facilities are also available for receptions, cocktail parties, dinners and meetings.

Exhibitors at the F.S. Club

The spring months found three retired Foreign Service officers and a Foreign Service wife hanging a splendid exhibit in the Club. Miss Jean M. Chisholm, Mrs. Lee Engdahl and Roy I. Kimmel, FSOs-retired, and Mrs. Healen Kimmel all studied for the past few years at the Institute of Lifetime Learning in Washington. Mr. and Mrs. Kimmel have also studied at the Instituto de Allende, Mexico and the Northern Virginia Art League. Miss Chisholm will also be remembered as a dedicated staff member of AFSA for several years after her retirement from the Service.

Naturally the paintings featured a wide variety of places, from Galilee to Guatemala, and the time span ran from "Commotion in Jamestown, A.D. 1610" to the present.

Theodora Kane, well-known Washington artist, exhibited at the Club during May and June. Her water-colors and oils proved very popular with visitors.

New Careers

... with international visitors

Robert G. Cleveland reports on his new career as follows:

Before the day came to take my leave of the Foreign Service, I really hadn't planned ahead very actively. I still had a job to do in the Department, and perhaps the idea of being out in the cold world put a brake on any enthusiasm for advance planning. All of a sudden, as it came to many others, it was advantageous to retire a few months ahead of my 60th birthday. So in the euphoria of a tax-free period when my contributions to the retirement fund were being drawn down, I volunteered to take on an unpaid Vice Presidency of Meridian House International. There not being any other applicants for the job, I was the successful contestant!

Meridian House is a most interesting, effective and worthwhile organization housed in one of the most magnificent buildings in Washington. It is essentially a holding company providing administrative, financial and management services for a group of rather autonomous organizations, all of which are volunteer-based and concerned with serving international visitors. Briefly, COSERV (the National Council for Community Services to International Visitors) is a national organization of international hospitality groups in all major US cities; IVIS (the International Visitors Service Council) is a Washington group serving foreign tourists and other unsponsored visitors to the Capital; THIS (The Hospitality and Information Service) offers hospitality and many other services to our resident diplomatic colony; and WIC (the Washington International Center) provides hospitality, orientation and many other services to Government-sponsored visitors. Thus, it can be seen that employment here, whether paid or unpaid, is a very natural environment for an FSO retiree.

At the same time it offers a very different environment to one who has spent much of his working life within the confines of the Foreign Service. There are finances to be worried about, funds

to be raised, volunteers to be recruited, trained and kept happy, Trustees to be motivated, and much continued exploration to be made in the whole area of citizen involvement and diplomacy. There have been a number of retired Foreign Service officers here before me, and I hope the tradition will continue. Ambassador Arthur Richards retires this year, and as a result, I find myself more and more involved in our important work, and, I'm glad to say, paid for it!

... in international trade

William L. Wight, Jr., former Consul General, has been named International Trade Specialist in the Foreign Credit Insurance Association's Washington, D. C., Service and Liaison Office. Mr. Wight joins FCIA after a career of 30 years in the Foreign Service. His last overseas post was as Deputy Principal Officer, American Consulate General, Sao Paulo. Prior to that he was Consul General and Chief of the Embassy Branch Office in Tripoli and also served in Pretoria, Capetown and Lourenco Marques.

Among his earlier assignments, Mr. Wight served in several positions in the State department, and as Assistant State Department Member on the US-Canadian Permanent Joint Board on Defense.

... in academia

Robert A. Bauer, USIA-retired, is now professor of political science at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, director of the college's Public Affairs Conference Center and editor of the Rand McNally Public Affairs Series. Mr. Bauer retired in August of 1972 after over 30 years of service in the agency. His last assignment as cultural attache in New Delhi.

Award

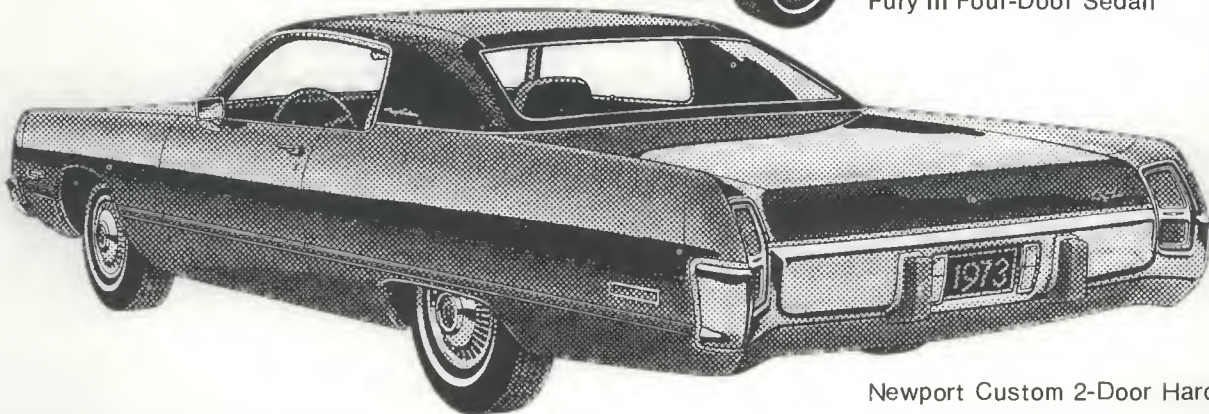
John E. Reinhardt, Ambassador to Nigeria, became the sixth recipient of the Edward R. Murrow Award for Excellence in Public Diplomacy in early June at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Ambassador Reinhardt served as Assistant Director of USIA for East Asia, the Pacific and Africa and as vice president of AFSA prior to his current assignment.



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