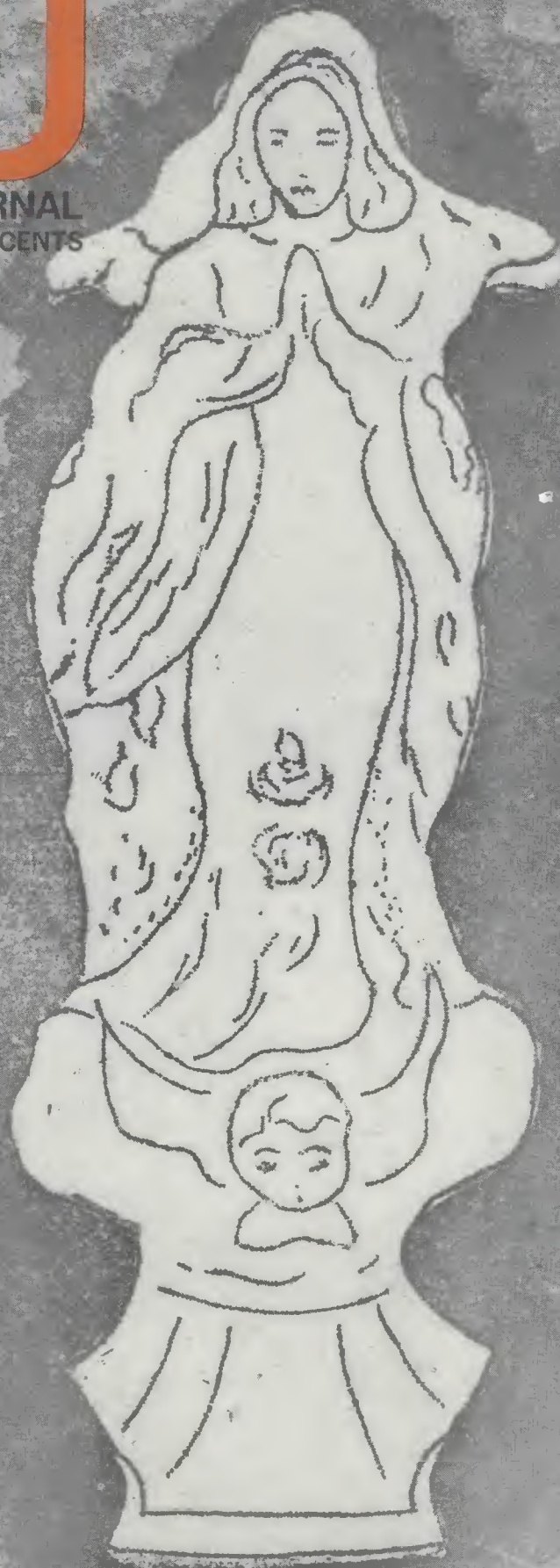


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FORGING A NEW RELATIONSHIP

FOREIGN SERVICE personnel are far more at the mercy of their agencies than are most other federal employees. Other agencies are severely constrained in their basic policies on hiring, transfer, promotions and terminations by the Civil Service Commission. State, AID and USIA, however, are not accountable to Civil Service due process safeguards for most of their actions concerning these basic policies with respect to Foreign Service employees. For this reason, it is particularly important for Foreign Service personnel to have an exclusive representative; AFSA represents the principal countervailing power against unwise and capricious personnel policies and practices.

We recognize that differences in perspective between us and management are inevitable, and, in fact, desirable. If the system works as foreseen under the Executive Order, our interaction with management should result in policies better than either side alone from its peculiar perspective could devise. Yet, for this to work requires a genuine willingness to bargain in good faith. After all, we and Agency management do, or should, share the same goal of creating the best possible Foreign Service.

Unfortunately, after the employees win the right to have official negotiations with the management of any organization, the first few months are generally characterized by difficult, even contentious relations. We were aware of this effect, but neither we nor the Foreign Affairs Agencies were immune. USIA provided a sharp exception. For whatever reasons, management in USIA recognized from the beginning the importance of creating a productive relationship with us and, as a result, negotiations with USIA have gone generally well, even though we often disagree with the Agency over personnel policies and practices.

In State and AID, the beginning months were far less auspicious. Management in both Agencies seemed obsessed with the notion that they were right because they were management. Furthermore, management seemed determined to narrow the range of consultable topics to the point where we would be left with nothing meaningful on which to consult. In short, management in both Agencies gave us little reason to believe that they genuinely had accepted the philosophy of the Executive Order, which declared it to be public policy that the men and women of the Foreign Service codetermine the personnel policies and practices which affect their careers.

In recent weeks, however, in State, there has been a dramatic change in our relations. Probably the most significant factor in this change has been Dr. Kissinger, who has made clear that he values a productive relationship with us as we work together to build a better Foreign Service. Another major factor has been AFSA's repeated success in appeals which have gone

before the Disputes Panel, and our victory before the Board of the Foreign Service on eliminating the labor cone. Clearly, if AFSA is going to win most of the time anyway, it is easier for management to negotiate with us in the first place.

In this better atmosphere we have successfully negotiated a number of important agreements, including a large number of changes in this year's precepts, the new agreement on safeguarding the integrity of the promotion process, etc.

On November 8, we met with the new Director General, Nathaniel Davis. In this meeting, we stressed the importance of forging a better, more cooperative relationship between AFSA and management, while recognizing that differences and conflicts are inevitable. While one meeting is too little on which to base definite conclusions, we believe the new Director General shares our conviction that we can and must work together.

There are even signs that a new relationship may be developing in AID. On November 2, we met with the new AID Director, Daniel S. Parker, and expressed our concerns that the relationship foreseen under the Executive Order was not developing properly, and that we were disappointed at the results achieved to date. Mr. Parker seemed genuinely receptive to the points we made. If AID management is now prepared to forge a new relationship with us, as we already have with USIA, and as we have apparently now achieved in State, it will find AFSA receptive.

WELL DESERVED

THE NOBEL PRIZES are almost universally recognized as the world's most prestigious awards, but the Prize-givers are not without their detractors. The Prizes have been criticized by some for recognizing too often a single discovery or concrete achievement, rather than rewarding broader, more far-reaching conceptual accomplishments, or the totality of an individual's contributions. Einstein, for example, received his for discovering the photoelectric effect, but not for the Theory of Relativity, or for the sum of his contributions to mankind.

We are naturally delighted—and a bit proud—that Dr. Kissinger has been selected to share the Nobel Peace Prize. More than most, as career professionals we know how much he deserves it. But while it may be in keeping with past Prizes, we wish the stated justification for the award had gone beyond the Vietnam Peace Agreement. It is not that that agreement alone would not justify the Prize, but rather that there were a number of other equally or more significant accomplishments which could, and should, have been cited.



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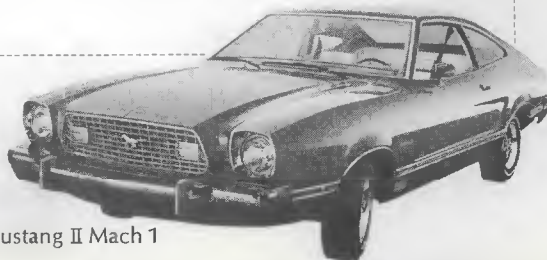
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*He who does not honor the penny
does not deserve the dollar.
—German proverb*

LAND OF COPPER COIN

CARL CHARLICK

I remember this saying from childhood, and at the time I accepted it without question. Childhood is a time of small coins, mostly copper, some nickel, rarely silver. I was all for honoring the penny.

Alas, the passing years have wrought havoc with the frugal ideal of this aphorism. Our penny has pretty well lost its meaning as a thing of value. It is kept in circulation only by the need to pay ever-present sales taxes, the very obverse of purchasing power, a negative sign of value. We no longer honor the penny, we put up with it as a relic and as a constant reminder of our burdensome present.

The story is pretty much the same in other lands. The copper cartwheel of Victorian England, which got you a telephone call, a bus ride, or a tiny portion of chips, is now a surplus curio. Time was when you could take it abroad and make it double as ten centimes in France, Italy, Greece, Romania and the Levant. Today many countries, under the whiplash of inflation and devaluation, have abandoned their subsidiary coinage entirely. *Centesimi, groschen, paras, øre, annas*, if they exist at all, are mostly aluminum or composition metal, to be slipped to an unsuspecting beggar or dropped surreptitiously into the alms-box of a church. They are shunned, objects of scorn and ridicule.

There is one exception to this pattern, surprisingly—the Soviet Union.

The Russian *kopek*, one hundredth part of the ruble and approximately worth one of our cents, is the bottom rung of the Soviet monetary system. At one time of silver content, it is today a small copper piece that provident people keep on hand, even hoard a little. Unlike other coins in this humble category, the kopek does not stand isolated by a wide gap from the next higher denomination. It has sturdy companions in the 2-kopek, 3-kopek and 5-kopek pieces, all of copper in increasing sizes.

One kopek will get you a glass of soda water from a public vending machine. A second kopek will buy a dash of *sirop*—flavoring—for this drink, a great re-

Carl Charlick, frequent contributor to the JOURNAL, is now retired after many years service with the government, first with the Army and more recently with the Department of State. He has been a teacher, librarian, translator and travel agent.

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fresher on a hot day. Three kopeks will pay for a long bus ride; and five kopeks unlock the gates of the Metro subway for an unlimited ride over its many miles of track.

These coins are not easy to come by. One of the shortages in the Soviet Union is small change. Five-kopek pieces are technically obtainable in subway stations from electronic coin changers, but as often as not the machine displays a sign "sold out."

Another factor that keeps small change buzzing feverishly from pocket to pocket of Soviet citizens is the curious pattern of prices which seems to avoid round numbers like a plague. Instead, the vogue is for figures ending in odd digits, sevens, nines, elevens and so forth: 27 kopeks for a piece of soap, 86 kopeks for a trinket, 1.11 for a taxi ride, 97 kopeks for 100 grams of tea. (but no prices ending in .98!). Even eating places follow this practice. A plate of borsch soup may be 54 kopeks, a ragout 1.17 kopeks, a dessert 79 kopeks. Here of course, when it comes to settling the bill, these oddments tend to disappear into the hands of the waiter or waitress. In retail stores, however, when shopping for food or necessities, it is a good idea to have a handful of small change to make the exact amount, else one might lose one's hard-won place in line to the cashier, and in turn be fumbled out of the line waiting to receive one's purchase.

Soviet citizens or foreign visitors alike will do well to hold on to their humblest coin. Much can be done with it. In Russia, everyone seems to honor the kopek, while the ruble takes care of itself. ■

How the good offices of German princes nearly resulted in Texas becoming a Frankfurt dependency in the 1830s

No UMLAUT in TEXAS

GEORGE G. WYNNE

THIS may come as a shock to genuine Texans but it seems that the history of a good part of the hill country, at least in its early stages, was made in Frankfurt by Frankfurters. While Texas was a republic following Sam Houston's successful revolt against Mexico in 1836, a group of German noblemen, centered in the Frankfurt area, dispatched German colonists in large numbers to the hill country near San Antonio as Step One of their plan to make the young republic a dependent state under the protectorate of German princes. Known as the Mainz Nobles' Association — *Mainzer Adelsverein* — its membership roster read like the German version of "Burke's Peerage," place cards at

George G. Wynne, USIA, finds sources for JOURNAL articles and books at all of his assignments. "Tales from the Land of the Morning Calm" is a collection of Korean children's stories and "Why Geneva?" was published this summer by Les Editions de Bonvent S.A. The JOURNAL does not know what assignment took him to New Braunfels, Texas.

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an imperial banquet or the real-life cast of a Sigmund Romberg operetta. It included the reigning dukes of Nassau, Meiningen, Coburg-Gotha, Prince Frederick of Prussia, and the princes of Wied, Solms-Braunfels, Leiningen, Schwarzbürg-Rudolstadt, the counts of Isenburg-Meerholz, Alt- und Neu-Leiningen, etc. Playing unintentionally into the hands of the nobles, a Mr. Daingerfield, at that time Minister of the Republic of Texas at The Hague, undertook to encourage German emigration by sponsoring a land settlement agent in Frankfurt. But the Free City looked askance at the activities of the nobles and their efforts to lure its good citizens into the uncertainties of the new world, away from the relative comfort and security of the prospering trading center. A ruling by the city council prohibited Mr. Daingerfield from opening a recruiting office for Texas colonists in the city of Frankfurt. Many meetings of the Mainz Nobles' Association took place none the less in the city, and prominent Frankfurt bankers financially underwrote the organization with more than one million guilders—the equivalent of half a million dollars. Headed by a charter member of the nobles' group, Prince Karl zu Solms-Braunfels, about two hundred immigrants founded the town of New Braunfels on Good Friday, 1845. The prince was appointed Commissioner General of the "Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas" as the *Adelsverein* called itself in the new world, and he purchased the site of the town on behalf of the association for 1,111.00 dollars from the Garza family of San Antonio. The oddities of New Braunfels became legendary in the hill-country. Prince Karl surrounded himself with a retinue of velvet-clad courtiers and officers sporting cocked hats, received Indians in the full-dress uniform of the Austrian Army, and publicly proclaimed his intention of remaining outside the US, which was then moving to incorporate the Republic as the 28th state of the Union. Ratified by popular vote, the incorporation took place October 13, 1845. Meanwhile, more immigrants whose trip to America was financed by the *Adelsverein*, were landed at Indianola, then the most active and important of Texas seaports. Busy Karl had founded Indianola some years earlier, naming it Karlshafen, in honor of himself. Through Indianola passed most of the commerce and immigration of Texas until 1875, when the thriving port of 7,000 was wrecked in a Gulf storm. In the years that followed, the survivors moved away and the Gulf port passed out of existence. All that remains of Indianola today are a few concrete foundations and a decaying cemetery. Prince Karl resigned his post as Commissioner General in 1845 and returned to Germany following the annexation of Texas. Before his hurried departure, he lived in grand style at his hill-top fortress called Sophienburg after his wife. Over his castle flew the flags of Austria in deference to the uniform he wore, and that of the Republic of Texas. Solms-Braunfels' followers suffered privations and hardships in the unaccustomed environment. Supplies failed to reach the settlement in the confusion of the Mexican War, epidemics took their toll of the colonists, and the Nobles Association foundered in 1853, when their properties were assigned to Texas creditors.

Continued on page 27



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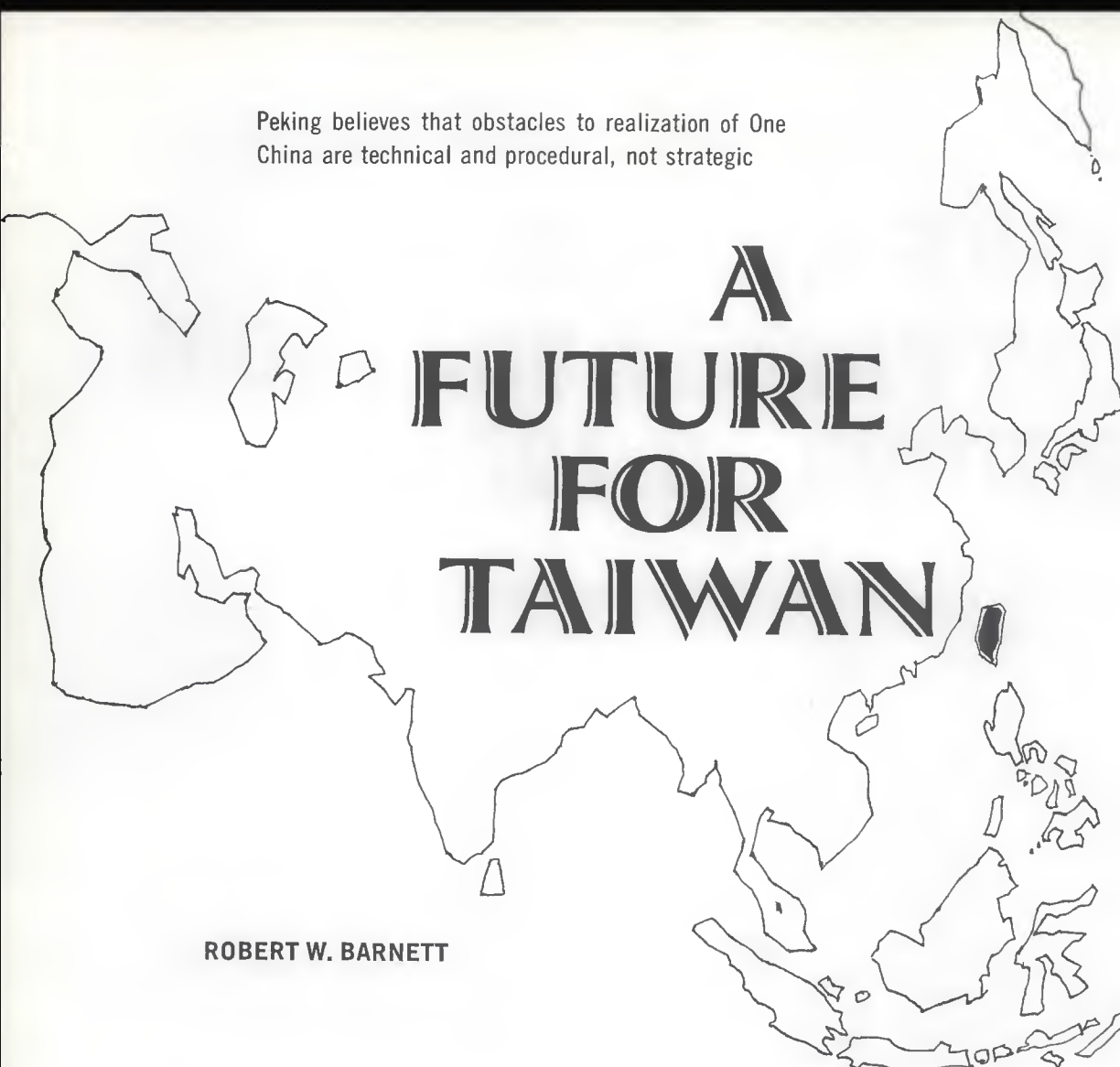
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A FUTURE FOR TAIWAN

ROBERT W. BARNETT

AN INTERPLAY of power, politics and honor, perceived differently by Peking, Taipei, Tokyo and Washington, will shape for the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China on Taiwan their future *modus vivendi*. Because antagonisms in other vocabularies are fixed and deep, economics may be the vocabulary Peking and Taipei will use for a while to discuss possibilities. Despite differences in the achievements, opportunities and objectives of their two economic systems, Peking and Taiwan both may come to see interesting possibilities of complementarity. Whatever vocabulary is used, and whatever the apparent focus of talk, Taipei and

Robert W. Barnett, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, is now Director of the Washington Center of the Asia Society. This article will appear as a chapter in a forthcoming book, "Sino-American Detente and Its Policy Implications," edited by Eugene Hsiao, to be published by Praeger in January, 1974.

Peking, with Washington, Tokyo and Moscow deeply interested on-lookers, will know that the new general contract for the Taiwan Strait will be of far-reaching importance, and not only for China, but also for other countries of East and Southeast Asia looking for indications of how Peking desires to live with its neighbors.

The Sino-Soviet military confrontation is, of course, the central factor in Peking's power calculations. Replacement of Taipei by Peking as China's voice in the international community, followed by the Shanghai and Tanaka Communiqués, is re-casting the general setting of international politics within which both Taipei and Peking will be acting. And interpretation of the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954 between Washington and Taipei will be seen by all of the treaty partners of the United States everywhere in the world as testing United States

honor.

With issuance of the February and September Communiqués, much of the vocabulary previously used in discussing a future for the Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait is obsolete. "Two Chinas" or "One China and One Taiwan" have ceased to describe usefully the practical possibilities for Taipei's future position in East Asia and in the world community. Some may begin to speak of "One China: Two Hong Kongs," as Peking and Taipei consider ways to establish for Taiwan a special "provincial status" within One China—a status which would envisage a perhaps prolonged period during which Peking would allow Taipei considerable economic, cultural and administrative separateness. In the United Nations and elsewhere, Peking brushes aside all outside intervention in its relation with colonial Hong Kong. In Peking's eyes, Hong Kong is already

Chinese, and its separateness persists with Peking's acquiescence; but, we must admit, no Chinese yet speaks of a Hong Kong-type future for Taiwan. Perceived necessity will precede use of such language.

The Shanghai Communique envisaged conversations among Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, and today Peking proclaims its readiness and wish to talk and to have contact. In contrast, Taipei, fearing that talk would imply capitulation, denies that it is talking, or wishes to talk, with Peking. Actually, Chinese do not need to talk face to face, nor to have a formal agenda, for talk amongst them to be real and important. When the Chinese overseas community in Japan, for example, arranges to visit both Peking and Taipei simultaneously, then to return to Osaka and Tokyo to compare notes, and to venture forth again on additional trips, there is, of course, a kind of conversation involving their recent hosts. We know that radio broadcasts are a form of conversation, as are news stories and editorials in the press, and formal statements, communiqués, and declarations of principle entered into by Taipei and Peking with third countries. Few can doubt that significant Chinese talks are taking place and will continue to take place; their focus will be on the future rather than on the past.

As to the past, Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai may not have had Taiwan much on their minds during the Yenan days. They may not have attached much importance, at the time, to the Taiwan references in the Cairo or the Potsdam Declarations. However, when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek insisted, obsessively after the summer of 1949, that Taiwan was a province of China, Mao Tse-tung agreed, denying only Chiang's contentions that he was the legitimate sovereign leader of China, and that Taipei was China's temporary capital. Events of the Korean War and conclusion of the 1954 Mutual Defense Treaty between Taipei and Washington, though limited to Taiwan and the Pescadores in definition of its area of applicability, did nothing to diminish a common will in Peking and in Taipei to establish a provincial future for Taiwan within One China. Not the United States, nor

Japan, nor other countries, nor, indeed, the leadership of the United Nations suggested, as a practical matter, that the Oneness of China be challenged, or that the majority Taiwanese population on Taiwan should be allowed an opportunity to approve or to denounce the use of their Taiwanese homeland as a base of operations for continuation of a civil war in which the personalities contesting the legitimacy of China's sovereign authority were Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. Only general acceptance of the concept of One China gave legitimacy to a Republic of China occupancy of the Chinese seat in the General Assembly and in the Security Council from 1945 through 1971, and coexistence of the structures of national and provincial government on Taiwan. This history, of course, lay behind the Shanghai and the Tanaka/Chou En-lai Communiqués.

These Communiqués have been construed by some as constituting Peking's de facto renunciation of the use of force in the Taiwan Strait, and it is not difficult to discern Peking's motives, if it wishes to be seen as having done so. First, the logic of economics and politics, not the use of weapons, would bring Taipei back into the world of Peking's authority, and the attack capability of a Taiwan unsupported by a major power would never necessitate a preventive strike. And, the withdrawal of United States forces from Vietnam, and Washington's readiness to reduce its military involvements elsewhere in Asia altered entirely Peking's past fear of an American supported military encirclement of China. Second, China's perception of danger indicated a need to mobilize its military capability on one, not several fronts. Peking could foresee no early easing of tensions with its Russian neighbor where issues were not solely disputed borders, but ideological, cultural, racial, economic and even personal. Thus motivated to show its readiness to renounce use of force, Peking might even have been prepared to see advantage in some continuation of an American military presence, conscious of a new danger that the USSR could flow into areas vacated by the Americans, even, as a remote possibility, into Taiwan.

In the new setting, interpretation of Washington's obligations under the 1954 treaty with Taipei may be more troubling for Washington than for Peking. For Peking, it could appear that the treaty already is becoming a benign curiosity. Not long ago the conventional wisdom was that the United States could not exchange diplomatic missions with the People's Republic of China so long as Washington honored a Taipei which claimed to be the sovereign authority of China. That Liaison Offices have now been exchanged by Washington and Peking, and that United States-Chinese relations are moving quite rapidly towards complete normalization, suggest that Peking believes that obstacles to realization of One China are technical and procedural, not strategic.

As the process of normalization continues, the White House will find occasions to declare its faithfulness to the 1954 Defense Treaty with Taipei, knowing that to terminate it would taint the reliability of other American treaty obligations. And Peking will understand that a White House sense of honor must give to Taipei some time to practice its diplomatic skills in settling matters with Peking. Moreover, both Peking and the White House know that if Taipei's conduct suggested a wish to provoke war or suggested an intention to use the treaty to impede the full normalization of relations which the United States and China want with each other, the American people and their Congress could, one day, cause the White House to give the one year notice to Taipei, despite the probable destabilizing consequences of such an action. Were a political atmosphere to develop in which such an action became likely, Taipei might begin to hear the voices of more and more American lawyers who would argue that with the "normalization" of relations between Washington and Peking, the validity of Washington's 1954 treaty obligations to Taipei, in light of the premises of the Shanghai Communique, was already and anyway becoming questionable. Thus, while the 1954 treaty is a strategic asset for Taipei, prudence could suggest that Taipei should seek, in due course, for a basis of safety and legitimacy something

other than reliance solely upon the 1954 treaty. It would seem that this would almost necessarily involve an acquiescing Peking.

The 1971 United Nations vote, followed by the Shanghai and Tanaka Communiqués, assures Peking increasingly active participation within all international bodies and agencies where China legitimately sits. Fewer and fewer countries will continue to have their representatives in Taipei, however much Taipei's dignified acceptance of its change of status is admired—and Taiwan's economic triumphs, envied by Taiwan's trading partners everywhere in the world.

Just after the Tanaka Communiqué, there was a period of uncertainty about Taiwan's economic outlook. However, Taiwan's labor force, management skills, and commercial and financial capabilities enabled Taipei's leaders to look without fear at the still unclear implications of the new understandings developing between Peking and Tokyo. The record for 1972 revealed that Taiwan, accepting consciously a \$600 million bilateral trade deficit with Japan, still accumulated net reserves at a rate of \$1 million a day as a result of its powerful competitive capabilities in over fifty markets around the world, including some in Eastern Europe. A possible intimation of a Peking attitude towards Taiwan came as some Japanese businessmen observe that they could carry on their operations both in Taiwan and on the mainland, disregarding the Chou En-lai "Four Principles" which previously had obliged companies to choose between doing business with one part of China or the other. And in some Japanese business circles, it was even thought that Peking encouraged Japan to make certain kinds of investment in Taiwan. Still, Taipei knows that under certain circumstances Peking could ask all countries with which it traded to make an absolute choice between Peking and Taipei, thus making the "Four Principles" a global strategy. Peking's fussiness during the Japan Air Lines' quest for landing rights in Peking without giving up the lucrative Taipei route, may have been intended to be a reminder to Taipei and Tokyo of that capability. Were Peking to try

to make its trading partners choose absolutely between Peking or Taipei, Taiwan's trade might shrink quite radically, and Taiwan's economy confront dangerous uncertainties and difficulties for which durable solutions might become impossible without Peking's acquiescence or support.

Thus, the challenge to Taiwan's diplomats—and few diplomats in the world are more skilled—will be to find a scheme of arrangements in which the very fact of Taiwan's ideological and administrative differences from the other provinces of China, and its physical separateness, would be perceived in Peking as offering advantage to all Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. If such arrangements would enable Taiwan to pursue with confidence the trade and investment policies which have made possible the past growth of the Taiwanese economy, but on terms that served the economic well-being of all Chinese, Peking might consider the economic gain in exchange for some political compromise a good bargain. To cease worrying about military tension in the Taiwan Strait would be the rest of the bargain.

Resumption of travel, trade, and other contact between the two sides as happened in Germany, and as, indeed, slowly comes in sight in Korea, would seem to be a logical concomitant of edging towards this goal. But so far, Taiwan has sternly declared that it desires no economic relations with China, and sees no gain in having them.

For twenty-odd years, Taiwan followed Washington's lead in practicing comprehensive economic warfare. And a generation of achievement in pursuance of its growth and trade policies gives Taipei reason to claim the absence of economic complementarity as a justification for rejecting possibilities for useful contact and cooperation. Hong Kong's economic links with China when cited, are brushed aside, in Taipei, as irrelevant. Hong Kong, unlike Taiwan, is dependent for food and water from Kwangtung, and Hong Kong has been a richly remunerative market for Chinese exports generally. But government denials of any possibility for economic interdependence may not represent what others in Taiwan—now silent

—may be thinking. To trade at all means to create complementarity. The real question is not possible economic complementarity; the real question is political. Before making irreversible economic commitments, how should Taipei assess the political life expectancy of China's present leadership? That leadership may be, now, rational and outward looking, but hitherto it has been conspicuously inconsistent in defining national strategies and tactics, one way, and then another. Self-reliance and egalitarianism have been the guiding principles for the economy of the People's Republic of China: the principles persisted, differently applied, through all phases of China's development, Great Leap and Cultural Revolution being excessive expressions of them.

If Taiwan could confirm a Peking intention to pursue "pragmatic" domestic and foreign policies, Taiwan, though it has embraced other principles upon which to base its doctrines for growth and welfare, might wish to explore with Chou En-lai his hints as to Taiwan's place in China's scheme of things. Given expectation of a stable political outlook for China, a *modus operandi* between Peking and Taipei would present, for both sides, negotiable difficulties. Negotiators might agree that Taiwan should look like Hong Kong, or like a Kaohsiung Free Port area, or should become a member of a kind of Chinese Zollverein. Indeed, during talks, Taipei might find that it was tempting Peking, at its present stage of foreign exchange deficiency, to consider creating its own export-oriented and foreign investment-accommodating sector somewhere along coastal China based, possibly, on Shanghai and the lower Yangtze delta, and potentially a great competitive threat to Hong Kong and Taiwan, particularly if it began to attract Japanese capital into joint ventures. However, Peking's fear that dependency upon foreign credits and involvement in joint ventures would undermine China's self-reliance and jeopardize the egalitarianism of its system could cause it to ask Taiwan to play that "export-oriented, foreign investment accommodating" role for China,

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Political passion is a good thing but even better if it is an informed passion. — Barbara Tuchman

Security Risks:

National Security and the State Department

O. EDMUND CLUBB

IN view of the succession of failures that have marked US policy in Indochina a clear assessment of responsibility would seem to be in order. The Congress is, to be sure, talking about the need to reassert itself on questions of war and peace. But, strangely enough, there has been no inclination to isolate and condemn specific bureaucratic or political figures in connection with the Indochina debacle. The instrumentalities of our foreign policy were not always so sacrosanct.

As World War II ended, the Department of State came under heavy political attack for alleged errors and deviations. Shortly after resigning his position as Ambassador to China in November, 1945, Major General Patrick J. Hurley charged that "the weakness of the American foreign policy together with the Communist conspiracy within the State Department are responsible for the evils that are abroad in the world today."

A seed had been planted. In the context of a world situation in which things were not turning out as politicians thought they should, the

Truman Administration in 1947 (the year the cold war began) instituted a loyalty-security program. This was designed in large part as a protective reaction to Republican critics. But the Communist defeat of the Nationalists in China was a sharp goad to demagoguery, with Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in 1950 taking the leading role in staging witch hunts for the "security risks," who, it was argued, must have been responsible for "the loss of China."

The State Department's loyalty-security mill was soon operating at top speed, and it ground exceedingly fine with respect to members of the China Service in particular. Examples from proceedings against Foreign Service officers reveal the simplistic character of the quest for "security risks." One officer, who had reported voluminously on Chinese communism over the years, was charged with various pro-Communist attitudes. When he pointed out that no such bias was shown in his reports, the Loyalty-Security Board suggested that he might have *thought* one way and reported another. One officer, however, encountered considerable difficulty in his hearing because he was deemed so uninformed about communism that he was not fully aware of its dangers and did not, for example, comprehend the socialist un-

dertones of postwar economic reforms in Japan. Another man on the dock was held to be "one of the leading proponents in the Department . . . of the separability of the Chinese Communists from Moscow." Still another got into trouble because he took the position that any American involvement in Vietnam would turn out to be a tragic mistake. Where developments in China turned out to the detriment of the Nationalists as predicted, it was suggested that the officer who had foreseen the denouement might have had "a conditioning influence on the results."

The Foreign Service officers who were destroyed had in general been perceptive analysts of events in China *because especially trained for that function*, and over the years they had performed valuable service in analyzing developments and forecasting the course of events. There was no salvation, however, in having the historical record prove your estimates correct. The suspicion triumphed that their contacts with Chinese communism had made them "security risks"—if only for some time in the future. This was "guilt by association" with a vengeance.

The tendency to require ideological orthodoxy rather than intelligent analyses and initiative was strengthened with the advent of John Foster

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Dulles as Secretary of State in 1953. Addressing State Department and Foreign Service personnel shortly after assuming the post, Dulles demanded "positive loyalty to the policies that our President and the Congress may prescribe." He remarked chillingly that "less than that is not tolerable at this time." He thus effectively denied to the Foreign Service and to the permanent staff of the State Department the functions of both initiative and dissent. Dulles and other high appointed officials, acting by sanction of President Eisenhower, would monopolize the formulation of grand strategy.

One year later, in a letter published in the New York TIMES of January 17, 1954, five distinguished retired American diplomats expressed their distress about developments in the Foreign Service: "A premium has been put upon reporting and upon recommendations which are ambiguously stated or so cautiously set forth as to be deceiving. When any such tendency begins its insidious work, it is not long before accuracy and initiative have been sacrificed to acceptability and conformity. The ultimate result is a threat to national security."

THE corruption of the foreign policy making process was already well under way. The Pentagon Papers show that it was shortly after the Communist victory in China that the molding of our grand strategy in the pattern of "anti-communism" began, with major responsibility assumed by the National Security Council. A critical bias was thus introduced into the formulation of policy, for the NSC was by design and function strongly bent to putting prime emphasis on military factors. The Korean and (French) Indochina wars gave American policy-makers a heightened sense of danger and accelerated the process of concentrating decision-making near the top of the executive pyramid. Both strategy and procedures were developed and refined under the Eisenhower Administration. John Foster Dulles was, in practice, transmogrified into the State Department. The Department as formal institution was made increasingly subservient to the national purpose

of "anti-communism."

Although an individual Secretary of State might play an important role in formulating policy, the State Department as such was progressively downgraded. The role of the military and of cold war militants was correspondingly enhanced. In official thinking about the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic strategic judgments were distorted by ideological commitments. The formulation of foreign policy became in large measure a function of cold war operations. And, under Dulles's inspiration, the United States entered upon a series of new and undiplomatic "commitments" in Asia which inevitably fixed a martial pattern for the future.

When John F. Kennedy became President he characterized the State Department as "a bowl of jelly."

"The battle against Communism must be joined in Southeast Asia with strength and determination to achieve success there—or the United States must surrender the Pacific and take up our defenses on our own shores."

Whether because of the Department's flaccid condition or in response to personal urge, Kennedy chose in the main to handle foreign affairs himself. Dean Rusk was no John Foster Dulles, and thus yet more power flowed away from the State Department. The President turned increasingly to other sources for advice (and inspiration); some of those to whom he turned were demonstrably amateurs in the field of foreign—and especially Asian—affairs.

Various high-level advisors to Kennedy (and to Johnson after him) were proponents of an American *realpolitik* that lacked the essential component of realism. They seemingly accepted uncritically the basic ideological heritage from the Truman-Eisenhower era, and thus their estimates were laced with distortion and fantasy. In the first year of the Kennedy Administration the American strategy with respect to Southeast Asia was reformulated. The new strategy was not based upon sober studies by area specialists in the State Department but upon sober recommendations of three special Presidential missions headed respectively by Vice Pres-

ident Lyndon B. Johnson, Professor Eugene Staley of the Stanford Research Institute and General Maxwell D. Taylor. They were charged with surveying the situation at first hand.

Returning from Southeast Asia in May, 1961, Johnson voiced his alarm: "The battle against Communism must be joined in Southeast Asia with strength and determination to achieve success there—or the United States, inevitably, must surrender the Pacific and take up our defenses on our own shores. . . ." He affirmed that "there is no alternative to United States leadership in Southeast Asia," and entertained no excessive doubts about the ease with which the American mission could be achieved. Support of Vietnam, he said, would require an estimated \$50 million—with \$50 million more military and economic assistance to Thailand.

In October, 1961, top State and Defense Department officials were considering a project for US military intervention in South Vietnam. General Taylor sent President Kennedy a reassuring message from Baguio: South Vietnam was "not an excessively difficult or unpleasant place" for the operations of US troops. And so it was that the Secretaries of State and Defense joined on November 11, Armistice Day, in recommending to President Kennedy that US forces be committed to save South Vietnam from communism. They estimated that the maximum forces *required on the ground in Southeast Asia* "would not exceed six divisions, or about 205,000 men" (in addition to "local forces and such SEATO forces as may be engaged"). That action was designed to deal with the Viet Cong insurgency; but the Defense Department was to prepare plans also for the use of US forces "to deal with the situation if there is organized Communist military intervention." The reference to China was clear.

The projected action had the fervent support of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who, on January 13, 1962, sent a memorandum to Secretary of Defense McNamara in which they presented as an *immediate* prospect the loss of the Southeast Asia mainland, which "would have an adverse impact on our military strategy and would markedly reduce our ability

in limited war. . . ." The Joint Chiefs then sketched the "Possible Eventualities" that would follow that hypothetical loss of the Southeast Asian mainland:

All of the Indonesian archipelago could come under the domination and control of the USSR and would become a Communist base posing a threat against Australia and New Zealand. The Sino-Soviet Bloc would have control of the eastern access to the Indian Ocean. The Philippines and Japan could be pressured to assume, at best a neutralist role, thus eliminating two of our major bases in the Western Pacific. Our lines of defense then would be pulled north to Korea, Okinawa and Taiwan, resulting in the subsequent overtaking of our lines of communications in a limited war. India's ability to remain neutral would be jeopardized and, as the Bloc meets success, its concurrent stepped-up activities to move into and control Africa can be expected. . . .

On the basis of such apocalyptic advice the American intervention in South Vietnam began. President Johnson inherited the war he had helped to start. According to the Pentagon Papers his decision to escalate the war into North Vietnam resulted from a White House strategy meeting of September, 1964. In the end the war defeated him.

PRESIDENT NIXON inherited, together with an enlarged war, a debilitated State Department. The incoming Secretary of State, William P. Rogers, endeavored in the beginning to lift sagging morale and instill new life into his department. Speaking to departmental and Foreign Service personnel on January 22, he said: "I hope to lead a receptive and open establishment, where men speak their minds and are listened to on merit, and where divergent views are fully and promptly passed on for decision." He called for the participation of younger officers for the tapping of "all the creative ideas and energies of this department in the formulation of a foreign policy responsive to the needs of the future."

Old-timers in the Department were pleased to compare Rogers's

stance with that of Dulles 16 years earlier. But just a fortnight later it was reported that Dr. Henry A. Kissinger was assuming responsibility for foreign policy planning under the Nixon Administration. The conflict with the State Department's functions was clear. Two days later the White House attempted to redress the situation, at least outwardly, by a fuller explanation. It announced that the National Security Council would become the nation's "principal forum for the consideration of policy issues" requiring the President's decision; the Secretary of State would be the President's "principal foreign policy advisor," charged with responsibility for the "overall direction, coordination and supervision" of foreign affairs. But Kissinger was in charge of NSC operations in the White House itself.

In January, 1970, the State Department announced the formation of 13 task forces aimed at revitalizing the Foreign Service and reasserting the Department's leadership in the making of foreign policy. The intent was brave enough, but was predestined to be aborted. When the Nixon Administration mounted an invasion of Cambodia that spring, over 250 State Department and Foreign Service officers protested the action in a joint letter to Rogers. The Department soon afterward acknowledged that the Under Secretary of State had warned the 50 Foreign Service officers participating in the protest that their job was to support the President and his Administration. This was essentially the Dulles position of 1953—excepting that Dulles had credited Congress with some authority in the field of foreign affairs. So far as reported no new "divergent views" were voiced in the State Department when, in 1971, the Administration further widened the Indochina war by mounting an offensive against Laos. The evidence suggests that the State Department had had little enough to do with the decision-making in either instance. Developments of 1971-72 (Japan, Chinese People's Republic, the Soviet Union and the Paris peace negotiations) only confirmed the deduction that Dr. Kissinger was de facto foreign policy chief.

In December, 1972, it was re-

ported that the President desired, in his next term, to "vitalize" the State Department and Foreign Service. "The Foreign Service needs a shake-up to give it new vitality," said the faceless "White House official." It became known about the same time, however, that Mr. Nixon proposed to concentrate more authority for both domestic and foreign affairs in a supra-cabinet organization to be located in the White House. One of the five "Presidential assistants" at the very top of the new setup, of course, was to be Dr. Kissinger.

The historical record is that men at the top of the executive pyramid, operating in substantial isolation from the experience and knowledge of lower echelon professionals, grossly misinterpreted the situation in postwar Asia and committed capital error in their decisions about the American role there. Even in implementing their mistaken strategy, they disastrously underestimated the determination and skills of the Asians and rashly overestimated American capabilities. They, and not career Foreign Service officers who might have propounded the idea of "the separability of the Chinese Communists from Moscow" or argued that American involvement in Vietnam would prove to be a mistake, are the ones who endangered the national security. They have proved to be the real "security risks."

THE NATION'S continuing need for sane foreign policies and a skilled foreign affairs establishment is self-evident, but the State Department now stands in important measure bereft of its original responsibility. True revitalization of that department and of the Foreign Service can only mean restoring their prime role and substantive authority with respect to foreign affairs. It would take a major reversal of recent trends, but the result would be a professional diplomacy operating on assumptions more sober by far than those that have governed Washington, under both Democratic and Republican administrations, during the past 20 years. Possibly, just possibly, the final denouement of the Watergate affair might make a contribution to that end. ■

It is the part of a wise man to feed himself with moderate pleasant food and drink . . . Spinoza

Lunch for the Ambassador

WILLIAM A. KRAUSS

MR. AND MRS. DAMERON—Chuck and Ellie—got up early. She showered, he shaved. His mind was full of the guest list for lunch but he could not, did not try to, talk with his wife against the competition of the flooding faucets. Her mind as she showered was on lunch too, the menu for the lunch, but only partly. For the rest she was continuing or extending, and not at all idly, a dream, a waking thought, about a man named Jensen, pronounced Yensen, a Norwegian or in any case from Oslo, whom she had met for an evening in London four years ago. Rather late in the evening Mr. Jensen had leaned toward her, in-

deed against her, in a manner quite frankly suggestive. She had reacted (as all too clearly she remembered) like a schoolgirl, which was ridiculous. Mr. Jensen had fled. All very stupid, really. Four years ago, and in another country, and nothing could be more meaningless. Subbornly she guided her mind back to the menu for lunch.

The lunch would be for the new Ambassador.

THE AMBASSADOR, who would be guest of honor at the lunch, arrived by airplane, by flight number something-something from Miami. As he expressed later, he was pleased to observe, through the plane window, that the reception committee had placed no more than the several appropriate flags against the facade of the landing-field office. He detested bunting, a matter of taste not

always concurred in by foreigners. But today the flags were few and right. The tropic-winter sun was relatively mild, the heavens were serenely, sweetly blue, as if waxed and rubbed. Also, there were numerous small flowerbeds of simple colors to frame, and contrast with, the excellent green lawns of the airlines operations office.

The airport building was long and low, one-storied, white, and very plain all over and throughout. It might have been executed as a mausoleum for dead pilots. Before it, this morning, were gathered dignitaries and others, a considerable crowd. A few of the men wore morning coats. Most of the ladies carried collapsed parasols of imitation silk.

Flunkies pushed portable steps against the plane's side. The door was opened. The Ambassador of

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the United States faced a flurry of pleasant excitement.

He made ready to say a few words.

It was not concealed that he considered himself a man of plausibility and expected people to pay attention. His tone, when he spoke, implied that he was accurately aware of the rank and position of everyone in his audience, and aware also that truth is nothing if appearance belies it. Now he laid his large pink hand on the brass rail of the portable steps; his eyes moved slowly over the assembly. He said, loud enough but with dignity, that he was pleased to have arrived. He said, in effect, that he was pleased to see everybody, although (lightly) he knew none of their names, adding "As yet."

"Technically," he said, dropping his gaze below the portable steps, "I have not to the moment set foot on the soil of your country, if by soil we mean *soil*. Hence I shall not at this time strive to inform you of the emotion that wells—"

He left the phrase archly on a rising note, perhaps to suggest—or hold out some promise—that he would elaborate when he had come to know them better. He moved down the steps. His exordium had been held to a nice brevity by his awareness that the airplane crew was urgently anxious to fuel this public carrier and get it on its way.

"You can fuel some of the airplanes all of the time," he murmured under his breath, and no one knew why he laughed. Perhaps he was jolly.

At this juncture the Ambassador's wife emerged from the plane. She stood small in stature, leaning rather backwards, and had bright unwinking eyes in a sweet face. Her nose was refined, her hair expensive. There could be no question that she was dominated.

He first, and then she, shook hands with the Deputy Chief of Mission, Chuck Dameron of near Boston, who introduced them gracefully and in turn to the officials of the Republic's government—the Chief of Protocol, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of State for Economy and Labor, the Finance Minister, the Deputy Secretary for National Security and Police, et cetera. Certain of the

American colony were, of course, present: the entire personnel of the Embassy and Consulate, save for a file clerk ill with hepatitis; the President of the Binational Chamber of Commerce, directors of American-owned sugar companies, well-to-do exporters of cotton and tobacco. These introductions used 20 minutes. Immediately afterward the Ambassador and his wife entered an official limousine with Mr. Dameron and the government's *Chef de Protocol* and were whisked off toward the town.

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR George Appleton Widdicombe was not at all younger than he looked. He had been born in Athens, Greece, where his mother had gone to make watercolor paintings of the Acropolis. His father had owned several railroads connecting progressive Middle Western cities; his mother had, through inheritance, owned but had never been involved with a considerable number of factories manufacturing useful articles of trade.

Before the war he entered Groton School, and was baccalaureus at Harvard. He attended Gonville and Caius colleges, Cambridge, for two seasons. He put in a rather happy summer at the University of Grenoble, reading all of the Dumas and a little Balzac in English translation. When the war caught up with him—rather, when he became aware of the war—he was with friends at Hammamet, on the sands, in Tunisia; and he enlisted in the French Army, serving with distinction as a liaison officer. In time he transferred to the United States Army, was regularly promoted, and came out of the war alive, handsome, and a major.

After a period of Aegean relaxation which might almost have been called a fling, he traveled to Paris, matriculated in the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques, in six months was bored to tears, and three weeks thereafter found himself in Washington calling on the Duncan twins, roisterers at Harvard in the old days. They shared a round of gay parties. One night in Alexandria, Virginia, George Widdicombe met a girl named Lucy Keith, whose father was a First Secretary of Embassy in Rome. She was sheathed in a pale orange dress that gave her a

"she regretted it, because she had come to realize that her time to do so — that is to satisfy a lover or even to attract one — had practically or perhaps actually expired."

wonderful figure (misleading, as it developed); and she had a true lightness of foot. She spoke amusingly of her dogs—beagles; it seemed there were two—and Widdicombe thought her, all in all, a diverting piece. He believed, with quiet satisfaction, that he could tell an imitation ten miles off.

He proposed. There was an exchange of cables with the Embassy at Rome. Then he and Lucy Keith were married and he applied for and received appointment in the Foreign Service of the United States Department of State. His first post was Seville, Spain, really awfully pleasant; he went on to serve in Stockholm, Calcutta, Marseille, Lima, Madrid, and Helsinki. As he remembered it, when he thought of it at all, it was in about the fourth year of marriage that he lost all real interest in his wife.

As has been said, Mrs. Dameron—Elizabeth—had awakened in the morning, after a refreshing night of sound sleep, thinking about Jensen and the menu for lunch. They lived, the Damerons, in a spacious, airy house on a hill overlooking the white city and the sea. They had been three full years at this post; Dameron liked it, after the gray tour in London; the climate was so exceptionally, so dependably, good. Also, the tennis was good. But Elizabeth Dameron, who had been raised in Vermont and hated hot weather, disliked the place. She often said so to her husband. Naturally, she mentioned this feeling to no one else (people gossip).

She was a remarkably pretty woman with a pale oval face and a great deal of hair surmounting a fortunate brow. She had never had a lover (nor anywhere near had a lover, if you discount, as you must

in view of its ghastly insignificance, the incident, or episode, with the Norwegian in London four years ago); and none of this is especially interesting, or pertinent, except for the fact that increasingly and quite deeply and almost continually nowadays she regretted it, because she had come to realize that her time to do so—that is, to satisfy a lover or even to *attract* one—had practically or perhaps actually expired. But obviously and necessarily, after about nine o'clock in the morning on this day of the arrival of Ambassador and Mrs. Widdicombe, her mind was mainly on the upcoming lunch, directing the servants in its preparation. It has been concurred in by telegram that the Widdicombes would take lunch with the Damerons on this, their first day in the Republic. Eight other guests had been invited, all Americans of the utmost social and financial standing.

After his eggs, and before he headed down toward the Chancery for the morning stint, Dameron broached to Ellie the question high in his mind. "What are you thinking of giving them for lunch?"

"First," she said, "halves of cold avocado with the dressing. Then filet of sole Marguery. Then chicken Bordelais. After that, frozen cream with pistachios." She paused. "Or a peach compote?" It was a question. Dameron cast his vote. "The frozen cream." "All right," his wife said.

AMBASSADOR WIDDICOMBE wished to call at the Chancery for a preliminary walk-through, and this was done. Then, with Dameron in the front seat next to the driver, the Ambassador and his wife were conducted to the Dameron residence. It was now exactly one o'clock. The eight other guests were sipping, or drinking, sherry from small glasses on the veranda. All swiftly rose, and introductions were accomplished. The Ambassador declined sherry; so did his wife. They sat, but came to their feet again in a moment as the butler materialized in a doorway to announce lunch.

The seating arrangement was as follows: At one end of the table, the Ambassador in capacity of host (even as a guest the Ambassador is host); at the other end, the Ambassador's wife in capacity of hostess.

On the Ambassador's right, Mrs. Dameron; on Mrs. Widdicombe's right, Mr. Dameron. Then, on either side of the table, four of the eight other guests, with Mrs. Archbald, wife of the Episcopal Bishop, on Mr. Dameron's right, and Bishop Archbald next to Ellie Dameron.

"I believe my cousin Dr. Merton had the pleasure of knowing you in Madrid," Mrs. Archbald said to the Ambassador.

"Ah?" he said.

"Dr. Merton the historian," Mrs. Archbald said. She felt this left no room for doubt as to *which* Dr. Merton. She waited for the Ambassador to declare whether he did or did not remember, or recognize the name of, her cousin Dr. Merton the historian who had been in Madrid (who had been for quite a long time in Madrid), but after a minute or more it became apparent that the Ambassador did not intend to commit himself. He had turned slightly and was staring fixedly at Mr. Dameron, yet his expression said nothing of what he might have been thinking. Conversation elsewhere around the table was sprightly. Napkins fluttered, a houseboy, white-jacketed, under the eye of the butler, inserted himself into the dining room with the first course, the cold halved avocados. He moved slightly to the Ambassador's left shoulder and presented the small gold-colored plate of avocado. The Ambassador stared at the object as if he had never before seen anything of its kind (and suspected perhaps that it had been picked out of a pail in the kitchen). He lifted his hand, indicating to the houseboy that he declined to accept it.

The gesture—its firmness and authority—went noticed. Mrs. Widdicombe shook her head twice, in precise parallel to an imaginary horizon, declining. Mrs. Archbald, glancing toward her husband, turned back in time to meet the eyes of the houseboy. She murmured, "I think not, thank you."

No one else took any avocado.

The houseboy left the room and returned after several minutes' delay bearing the filet of sole. Ambassador Widdicombe said, "Really, I think not, thank you," cheerfully. After Mrs. Widdicombe and Mrs. Archbald had also declined, the boy looked in blank questioning aston-

ishment at Mrs. Dameron, who signaled him off to the kitchen.

Dameron was keeping the conversation going by describing the Republic's system of internal transportation, or infrastructure—the single railway, the coastwise vessels, buses, trucks, burros. The Ambassador interrupted to ask him whether he played tennis. Dameron, pleased, said, "As it happens, sir, I manage a bit on the free evenings, you know. Do *you* play, Mr. Ambassador?" The Ambassador obviously heard but did not reply. Mrs. Widdicombe spoke up to say that neither her husband nor she had ever played. "We have never played tennis at all," she repeated, as if to leave nothing in doubt. Then the houseboy re-entered.

The chicken Bordelais was deposited on the sideboard. A second servant followed with individual servings of lettuce and tomato salad. The chicken was swiftly transferred to lunch plates. "Only the lettuce," the Ambassador said amiably. He was given the lettuce.

"Won't somebody please have chicken?" Mrs. Dameron cried in a light voice.

Heads turned toward her. Everyone smiled very pleasantly. It was as though she had said something spontaneously clever; whereupon the Bishop's wife and the Bishop accepted the chicken and took small sips of white wine from their goblets. Three of the other guests took chicken also, and poised their forks. The Bishop was speaking of the work of his church in remote hill communities. Everyone listened. Everybody took the lettuce and tomato salad, including both Damerons. Then, the Bishop having paused in his statement—analysis—of the receptivity of mountain-dwelling heathens to the Message, Ambassador Widdicombe stood up from his chair.

Of course, everyone was surprised. The Ambassador looked closely at the very good gold watch on his left wrist. "I am afraid I must be going," he said. "Terribly pleasant, everybody."

His wife was already on her feet. Mrs. Dameron rose, saying "There is a dessert—"

The Ambassador smiled at her as though he had not heard accurately but did not feel it essential that she

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A Yankee reformer's efforts to combine trading, consular work and "king-making" in the Southwest Pacific

Williams of Fiji

Conflict of Interests?

RHODA E. A. HACKLER

ON July 4, 1848, John Brown Williams, the United States Commercial Agent in Fiji celebrated the anniversary of American independence with a bang. Americans, Fijians and Europeans assembled in the grounds outside his residence in Lauthala beside a couple of signal guns. Amid the cheers of the crowd, the pieces were loaded and fired.

Then, as Williams later described the scene to the Department of State, "The wadding of one of the guns caught a small native house; before it could be extinguished the wind which was blowing strong from the Southwest . . . carried the sparks onto my large native building which was entirely consumed, together with a quantity of goods, sails, casks, etc. The flames then communicated to my board house burning that to the ground, together with my office, destroying all my furniture, some of my papers, documents both Consular and business matters and all circulars . . ."

Pandemonium set in as everyone rushed to save what he could from the flames. The Fijians were particularly helpful but, as was their custom, whatever they rescued they appropriated for their own use. Williams was furious. He demanded that the robbers be found and punished, that his goods be returned and the miscreants fined—one hun-

dred large bags of the best quality *bêche-de-mer* to be exact.

When this accident occurred John Williams had been living in Fiji for over two years and had traded in the Southwest Pacific for sixteen but, as the incident illustrates, he was in 1848, and remained until his death in 1860, an incurable optimist on the subject of making the Fijians view personal and property rights as he did. He insisted that they do business in proper Yankee fashion and as a result he died a frustrated, and poor, man.

Williams was born on September 20, 1810, in Salem, Massachusetts, the son of a prosperous merchant-sea captain. Little is known of his early life but from his despatches to the Department of State it can be assumed that he was a man of reasonably good education and wide interests, for he reported on commerce and politics in Fiji and on the islands' natural resources and flora and fauna. He also corresponded with newspapers in the United States and Australia, supplying them with news of Salem ships in the Pacific and sent Fijian weapons and artifacts to the Essex Institute and the National Museum in Washington.

At 22 Williams had sailed from Salem as a seaman and clerk aboard the *Tybee* which traded to Australia and New Zealand, and with the support of the family firm back in Salem he continued this career for the rest of his life. In 1843, he sought and obtained the post of United States Consul at Bay of Islands, New Zealand and the

following year received the additional assignment of Commercial Agent for the Fiji Islands. From the time of his first appointment on there was within John Williams a certain amount of conflict between the roles of Williams-the-merchant and Williams-the-consul. Unfortunately for him the two professions proved to be no more compatible for him in New Zealand and Fiji than they were for most other commercial agents during the second half of the 19th century.

When Williams took up his official post in Fiji in February of 1846, another sort of conflict was going on around him in the islands. Civil war had been raging for three years between the people of the Bau and Rewa Districts, two centers of population on the island of Viti Levu less than fifteen miles apart, and conditions throughout the islands could be described as chaotic, for the struggle was not confined to Bau and Rewa. There were clashes between Tongan-led forces from the Windward islands and Fijian forces from the Leeward islands, and between Christian and heathen natives.

Although foreigners managed to remain in Fiji they had suffered a good deal both physically and commercially because of the fighting. Adversity, however, did not draw the foreign residents of the islands together. There was constant bickering between British Wesleyan Methodist missionaries and French Roman Catholic priests, and between religious and commercial groups.

The first United States Commer-

Mrs. Hackler is the wife of FSO-ret. Windsor G. Hackler. They served in Dhahran, Tokyo, Djakarta, Singapore, Kingston and Washington before moving to Honolulu. Mrs. Hackler's byline has appeared on many historical articles in the JOURNAL, most recently on "Discoverer of Aguinaldo?", January, 1970.



Thakombau, King of Mbau Fiji, from an original portrait in the possession of Captain Denham, R.N., HMS Herald. From life.

cial Agency was established at Lavuka on Ovalau Island, just off the coast of the largest of the Fijian islands, Viti Levu. Almost immediately after landing Williams' official duties began. The *Elizabeth*, an American bark, had mysteriously caught fire near Levuka, been run on a reef by her crew and then, under the guise of saving the cargo, been plundered by the local inhabitants. The captain turned to Williams for help in recovering his goods and the Commercial Agent addressed his protests to the local chief, Thakombau. The polite reply was written for Takombau by the Reverend John Hunt, a Wesleyan missionary.

Thakombau . . . wishes me to state most distinctly to you and to all concerned in the property that was stolen on the island of Ovalow by the Lasakau people and others, that these people had not his sanction for what they did and that he gave orders to the chief of Lasakau to prevent his people from plundering the vessel or otherwise injuring the property.

Nevertheless, though he disclaimed any participation in the guilt of the parties concerned, he feels that as their chief he is obnoxious to the American Government for all that has taken place, and is greatly afraid of the consequences. He hopes you and all concerned will forgive him and that he shall thus be saved from what he so much fears, namely the vengeance of a great nation. He is perfectly sincere in his expression of sorrow for what has been done and throws himself on the mercy of the American Government.

The apology, however, was not accompanied by the return of any part of the *Elizabeth's* cargo. Frustrated,

Williams countered with bluster.

It is your duty to afford protection to all the gentlemen, missionaries and foreigners you have permitted or may permit to reside at the Feejee Islands; I therefore, in the name of my Government warn you against the slightest molestation of their person or property, for if otherwise I now warn you that severe punishment will be inflicted upon the chiefs and people. No leniency will be shown.

Then, in an effort to back up his threat Williams wrote the Department pleading with them to station an American naval vessel in the Southwest Pacific, preferably at the Fiji Islands, to protect the lives and property of Americans doing business in Fiji and also to assure that honest Yankee traders would get their fair share of the valuable sea slugs and coconut oil produced in the islands. This was the first of many similar despatches he was to send off during the succeeding years. On this particular issue there seems to have been no conflict of interests for Williams. His duty to protect Americans in Fiji and his efforts to promote trade in the islands were entirely compatible objectives.

The problem was that he was up against the Fijians, many of whom could not or would not understand Williams' point of view. They saw him as a stranger who had come to their island to trade with them but was unwilling to abide by their rules. He saw them as "Androphagus Feejee" who must be shown that "all insults and oppressions will be forcibly resisted . . . and nothing but severe punishment for their re-

cent outrages will ever cause them to treat commerce with due respect." Gradually, over the years, both the Fijian and the American points of view adjusted to reality, but in 1846 Chief Thakombau and Agent Williams quickly came to an impasse which was only partially solved in June when Williams decided to leave Lavuka and the territory of the Chief of Bau.

As he explained to the Department, the move to Rewa, an area which was under the control of Thakombau's rival chief Cokanautu, was made because he considered the harbor of Lavuka unsafe while the one at Lauthala was one of the best in the world, and Chief Cokanautu was friendly to him and, above all, respected commerce.

R. A. Derrick in "A History of Fiji" suggests another, less disinterested reason for Williams' relocation. He points out that in the war between Rewa and Bau which had been going on for three years, the chiefs of Rewa were provided with trade goods by Williams with which they were able to assure their numerical superiority over Bau by buying the loyalty of the people of the surrounding towns. In return Williams was permitted to purchase land in Rewa District for trifling sums of money.

Whatever the true reasons, Williams' move appears to have marked the beginning of the real conflict of interests for him. As the United States Commercial Agent he may have been entirely sincere in preferring Rewa Roads as a harbor for shipping; as a businessman he may have been astute in acquiring land and a market for his trade goods in Rewa; but as a United States government official he was probably not justified in taking sides in a civil war. This decision may have been the most important one Williams made during his career in Fiji. It is idle speculation to guess whether or not his life would have been different or the history of Fiji changed had he remained at Lavuka and supported the Chief of Bau. The fact remains that he did take sides and unfortunately for the United States and perhaps for Fiji he chose the losing factions. All subsequent actions, both by Williams and by Thakombau, Chief of Bau, who later became paramount chief

of Fiji, must be judged against this early resolution, for from the time he moved from Bau to Rewa, and sided with Cokanauto against Thakombau, Williams and Thakombau were enemies.

As if a civil war was not enough to keep Williams busy and cause him sleepless nights, he also worried about international problems, particularly the possibility of the Fiji Islands being annexed by France or Great Britain. The French navy was active in the nearby New Hebrides and New Caledonia at that time and Williams suspected that they might have designs on Fiji too. A British consul had been appointed to Fiji and in July of 1848 he visited the islands aboard HBMS *Calypso*, much to the alarm of Williams and the Fijians.

Williams disliked the idea of Fiji becoming a French or British colony because as a merchant he predicted that such rule would have an adverse effect on American commerce in the islands. As a representative of the United States government, however, he was convinced that the Fijians themselves did not wish to live under either the British or French flags, and if they had their choice of some foreign protector they would prefer the Americans.

This opinion of Fijian wishes was confirmed, to Williams' own satisfaction at least, when both Thakombau and Cokanauto told him that they were designing a Fijian flag which they hoped the United States would recognize, but in the meantime they wished that his government would, following the precedent of their interest in the independence of Hawaii, prevent the British and French from taking possession of Fiji.

HBMS *Calypso* had spent only a short time in Fiji but her Captain had had time enough to destroy a native town in order to punish the inhabitants for some past outrage. This may have inclined the Fijian chiefs, at least temporarily, to favor the Americans, for the punishment meted out by the British ship was not calculated to make the islanders eager for more "British protection."

Throughout his years in Fiji, 1846 to 1860, Williams grappled with these three problems: obtaining restitution from the Fijians for

American property destroyed or stolen and American lives endangered or lost, trying to persuade the Fijians to accept American business and moral standards, and endeavoring to forestall the colonization of the islands by another power.

The first problem, which came to be called the "American claims," began with Williams' demands that the natives be fined for removing trade goods and personal belongings from his house when it caught fire during the celebration of American independence day. Over the years American ships in Fijian waters were plundered, fires swept through the foreign traders' compounds in the Islands, American sailors were mistreated or murdered, and Williams himself was subjected to further commercial losses. Each outrage was carefully calculated by the Commercial Agent in dollars and cents, until the original one hundred bags of *bêche-de-mer* grew to a "claim" against the Fijian chiefs for about \$45,000.

Four times during Williams' life in Fiji American men-of-war stopped at the islands and each time the Captains reviewed and judged the validity of the "American claims." The natives would promise faithfully to pay their debts to Williams but, when the naval vessels sailed off, ignored their pledges and turned to other pursuits. In dodging payment, Williams was convinced that the Fijians were abetted by the Wesleyan missionaries who protested regularly against the "claims" both to the British government and to the United States Navy, and at the same time encouraged Thakombau and his people to gather *bêche-de-mer*, tortoise shell and other goods to trade with them, rather than to pay Williams. At least that is how it appeared to Williams who felt himself beset by native intransigence, missionary opposition and the threat of personal insolvency. He may have been correct, for the "claims" were not paid until some time after his death.

The worst of the civil wars fizzled out about 1858 when an uneasy peace was established between the Fijians and the Tongans. At that point the British presence again made itself apparent in the islands. William Pritchard, the British Con-

sul assigned to Fiji, returned to the islands for a prolonged stay. Immediately Williams suspected that this was another step towards establishing a British protectorate over the Islands. The prospect, however, gave him a new approach to the settlement of the "claims." If Britain took over Fiji would not the British Government be responsible for the Fijian debts?

British historians of Fiji such as Derrick and Sir Alan Burns, have characterized Williams as unscrupulous in pressing and inflating the "claims" until they were so heavy a burden to the Fijian Chief that he was forced to turn to the British Government for protection and help. As far as can be judged from his despatches to the Department, Williams does not seem to have had any idea that his demands for payment of the "claims" and the threats of United States naval commanders to punish the debtors, were forcing the Fijian chiefs into a hasty agreement of cession with Great Britain, but that indeed appears to have been the case.

Secret negotiations took place between the British and the Fijians. Williams was unable to prevent the threat of Fijian cession to Great Britain and perhaps at this time he was willing to acknowledge a British protectorate over the islands if it meant the "claims" would be paid. He persisted, however, in trying to learn exactly what was going on in the islands and reporting developments there to the Department.

For a year and a half cession of Fiji to Great Britain seemed always on the verge of consummation. Pritchard went off to England to report in person and returned with new terms for the Fijians. The chiefs met and talked and signed impressive looking documents. Still nothing was settled regarding the future of Fiji. The delays in negotiations were not generated in the Pacific but in Europe where England and France were poised for war and the problems of Fiji did not press on the men of Downing Street.

1860 was a fateful year for Williams. He must have been pleased at the prospect of payment for the long overdue account but he continued to be apprehensive of the effect on American commerce of the

Continued on page 28

The Camel and the Committee: Redesigning our Foreign Policy

THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS machinery of the US Government has been the subject of at least 13 major studies since World War II, and an even bigger 14th is now under way. All of them are based on the questionable assumption that if only some way can be found to change the *machinery*, the product will be better.

I. M. Destler's book (*PRESIDENTS, BUREAUCRATS AND FOREIGN POLICY*, Princeton, \$10.00 or \$3.00 paper) is, in the first instance, an intellectually honest catalogue of the various past efforts and approaches to improve the foreign policy machinery—and why they have all been inadequate. His conclusion, essentially, is that “no single formal change can bring coherence to foreign policy” (p. 293) but that a combination of good people, some structural reforms, and better communication up and down, will bring significant improvement.

How he arrives at those conclusions is what makes the book interesting and valuable—even though it reflects some misperceptions about the nature of the beast, the foreign affairs “bureaucracy.” Mr. Destler has seen it from many perspectives, including the Peace Corps and Capitol Hill, but never from inside.

Portions of the book were published in the September 1971 issue of the *JOURNAL* under the title “State and Presidential Leadership.” Originally priced expensively at \$10, it is being issued as a paperback including an “Epilogue” in which the author, honest almost to a fault, takes back some of his earlier conclusions about the problem of loyalty to the Presidency.

Almost all critics of the foreign policy machinery have accepted, as a “given,” that the career foreign service is a clannish body exclusively devoted to its own interests and somehow inherently unresponsive to Presidential leadership unless systematically larded with political commissars who will assure its “loyalty.”

Nobody has expressed this better—and more crassly—than John D. Ehrlichman during the Watergate hearings (July 23) when he referred to “a number of holdovers in the executive branch,” i.e. presumably career officials, “who actively opposed the President’s policies, especially his foreign policy.” These people, he claimed, “conducted a kind of internal guerilla war against the President during his first term, trying to frustrate his goals. . .”

There is an assumption in the Destler book, too, that somehow Foreign Service officers and other State Department professionals are ideologues or partisans, that they must be made “responsive to the needs of the President”—as if their corps spirit were a negation of loyalty to the Chief Executive.

Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. The seeming unresponsiveness to Presidents (of both parties) has not been and cannot be remedied by any tinkering with the machinery because it stems from the nature of the business in which we are engaged. Under some circumstances, automatic “responsiveness” could be irresponsible.

It is as if a team of specialists were looking at a camel, having decided, according to that famous saw, that it is a “horse designed by a committee.” Obviously, they agree, it needs to be reorganized. Some wish to amputate the hump, others wish to change the shape of the legs, some advise cautery instead of surgery, others look for a new kind of jockey that will be able to ride the beast harder.

The prescription of this reviewer would be, first, to regard the Foreign Service camel as a beast that will never run as fast as a horse, nor give as much milk as a cow, but that is uniquely suited to the foreign affairs environment. If it doesn’t look attractive to people who expect it to behave like a horse, that is due to their particular perceptions. The way to get most use out of camels is to breed the best of them, feed and exercise them properly, select those that perform better than others, and not to get uptight about their humps.

Mr. Destler’s book analyzes various approaches that have been tried in an effort to get a better handle on the foreign policy process:

(1) the separation of “policy” from “operations”; (2) the joining of “authority” and “responsibility”; (3) the creation of a new central official; (4) “strengthening” the career services; (5) elimination of “over-staffing”; (6) better coordination from the White House, etc. He also covers such devices as foreign affairs “programing”, the use of “central policy staffs”—the full gamut of things that have been tried.

The pros and cons of each of these approaches are honestly presented. His skepticism of gimmickry is refreshing. He would have been delighted to quote the recent remark of Roy L. Ash, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, about the once so highly-touted PPBS, which became available too late for publication in the book. Said Mr. Ash:

“As a start, we buried PPBS (planning-programing-budgeting system) for a number of reasons. First, it got caught up in the hands of people more interested in process than in results. The processors took over and lost sight of the main purpose. Second, *many issues are not as quantifiable as the system would require*, yet judgments are called for anyway.” (Italics supplied.)

Still worse, Mr. Ash, our most powerful governmental authority on management, has stated simply: “Management is not a process; it is an ability.” Indeed, all those who place emphasis on tinkering with the foreign affairs machinery might reflect whether the difference between the days of decadence and the days of glory of the Department of State wasn’t perhaps the difference in the personalities of the people at the top, rather than in the way the machinery was assembled. Can anyone deny that there is a significant difference whether the Department has at its head the equivalent of Fabius Maximus Cunctator or the equivalent of *Panzergeneral* Rommel?

The obsession with “loyalty” leads Destler to assume in his book what needed to be proven, that the Department and the Foreign Service require a constant influx of outsiders “recruited especially by the current administration’s major policy officials *and therefore loyal to them.*” But loyalty, as he also notes, is a two-way street.

Yet he doesn’t ask himself these questions: If political appointees

can obtain undeservedly larger rewards than career officers, wouldn't elementary psychology suggest that this will affect the enthusiasm of the latter? And if downward communication does not reach beyond a charmed circle, is this not bound to affect the ability of people beyond that circle to feel part of the team?

Fortunately, some of these simple truths seem now to be dawning on our managers: Good people, good communication, and loyalty down as well as up, are more important than tinkering with the machinery. If added to this is good top leadership, nobody will have to worry about the Department not being "responsive." But it should also be understood that it isn't disloyal to argue in favor of continuity over innovation-for-its-own-sake, or to be skeptical about short-range benefits that might be at the price of long-range national interests. To be a balance wheel is sometimes also a most valuable and loyal service.

Beating a dead horse, Destler observes that the Department "cannot have it both ways. It cannot be the President's chosen agent while remaining responsive primarily to its traditional values and priorities." Recognizing, however, that he has stated less than half the problem, he then adds (pp. 264-265):

"If the Department must eschew parochialism to play on center stage, the President must also pay a certain price if he hopes to make the foreign affairs government more his own. Presidents can't have it both ways either: they cannot keep all their flexibility, all their options, all their prerogatives to avoid decisions or to play subordinates off against each other or to withhold their general intentions from key advisers, and yet have a bureaucracy which moves reliably in the direction they desire."

This comes close to recognizing that in this difficult area attitudes and aptitudes are at least as important as lines and boxes on organization charts—and that it is up to the political leadership to foster the right attitudes and to select those with the best aptitudes.

If our recent progress and new perceptions in foreign affairs are indeed to be "institutionalized," then more operating officials will have to be initiated into the mysteries. A successful policy requires

not only originality and initiative—indeed, it may not always need these ingredients—it must also be capable of extension and adaptation by people who are just bright and *experienced*. No institution can be run *only* by exceptional men.

In his "Epilogue," written after Dr. Kissinger came to the State Department, Destler softens some of the remarks in the main body of his book. He has come to recognize that there can also be an excess of loyalty, as when "President's men, distinguished only by loyalty and efficiency, carry out orders without asking why and expect *their* subordinates to do likewise." He has also come to recognize, perhaps as a result of Watergate, that sometimes it may be desirable to change the President's mind, "and this probability is enhanced if the team is not a group of White House aides solely dependent upon Presidential confidence for their influence, but a group of 'line' foreign policy positions. . ."

However, he arrives at these correct conclusions for reasons having to do with the politics of the day, rather than for fundamental reasons: It is not because people around a President might become arbitrary and feared even by his inner circle or because the top men might place the needs of the moment (or of the party) above the interests of the nation that the "line" foreign policy positions (i.e., the "bureaucrats") should be more used and trusted. These are concerns of the day, which might well be exaggerated. A more important reason is that emphasis on "loyalty to the President" too easily and too often becomes a cloak for the spoils system, resulting in dabblers or misfits or mediocrities sitting where the ablest men should be.

If our nation is to have the best experts in foreign policy in top "line" positions, it must develop such people systematically; and this cannot be done unless advancement goes to the ablest among them early enough. Other countries have long since recognized that diplomacy is too serious a matter to be entrusted to amateurs. Eventually the United States, too, may come to that conclusion.

—M. F. H.

FSJ BOOKSHELF

Hunger in the World

THE GEOMETRY OF HUNGER, by D. S. Halacy. Harper and Row, \$7.95.

THE POLITICS OF WORLD HUNGER, by Paul and Arthur Simon. Harpers Magazine Press, \$8.95.

THE world food problem is once again back in style as a matter of concern. While the specialist has ready access to almost more written material than he can assimilate, the non-specialist pretty much has to turn to newspapers and magazines. Many of the popular books written during the last food scare are now somewhat dated.

The two books reviewed here are current, comprehensive, and reasonable reviews of the world food problem. While they do not take account of the rather peculiar developments of 1973, they do provide the general reader with a good background—far better, in fact, than I anticipated.

Although the books have similar titles and might be expected to duplicate each other, this is not the case. Rather, they are quite complementary. Halacy has been a technical writer, and focuses more on technical aspects of "The People Problem" and "The Food Problem." The Simon brothers, reflecting backgrounds in public affairs, and social problems, focus more on economic, social and political aspects of hunger.

Halacy's task, in some ways, is the easier and his liberally-illustrated book can be quickly read. The Simon brothers venture into more difficult and murky waters. Although much of what they say at any one point is familiar, they succeed admirably in taking some often ordinary threads and weaving a rich and rewarding fabric. The whole is greater than the sum of the parts. Even old-time students of the world food problem will benefit from their analysis, though they will no doubt disagree with certain points.

Two of the three authors have been members of State legislatures (Paul Simon was, moreover, former Lieutenant Governor of Illinois) and journalists, one is a minister. They know how to appeal to a broad audience and they know

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—DANA G. DALRYMPLE

Tax Reform

TAX LOOPHOLES—THE LEGEND AND THE REALITY, by Roger A. Freeman. *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*, \$3.00.

THIS is the conservative response to the current populist wave for tax reform in the USA. If we can believe the author's statistical analyses—and they look very convincing—then it is inaccurate to believe that untaxed income belongs mainly to the wealthy. On the contrary, of the \$450 billion annual personal income not subject to taxation, virtually all goes to the lower and middle income groups in the form of exemptions, deductions and exclusions. The closing of loopholes, therefore, ultimately comes down to the elimination of the other guy's exemptions. If the government needs to avoid massive deficits, appropriations will have to be cut, or Congress will have to bite the bullet and raise taxes. The closing of "unjust" loopholes can make only a small contribution to this effort. But even here, the author argues that some of the more obvious targets like the oil depletion allowance and capital gains exemptions are important to our national economic health. This treatise is less than 100 pages, but is fully packed with good arguments and readable statistics. It is worth reading for a well balanced view of one of the key political issues of the Nixon administration.

—HERMAN J. COHEN

Negotiation with Terrorists

THE DIPLOMATIC KIDNAPPINGS: A REVOLUTIONARY TACTIC OF URBAN TERRORISM, by Carol Edler Baumann. *Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague*, \$11.00.

THE AUTHOR, a professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, ably analyzes the persistent and disruptive problem of diplomatic kidnappings—"diplonnappings" to use her term—and does so in the context of a study of urban terrorist tactics. There are good chapters on the philosophy of terrorism as pro-

nounced and implemented by Marighella, Regis, Nkrumah and others. The study includes pertinent historical and legal background against which current terrorism touching diplomats should be viewed. Using public sources, Dr. Baumann examines representative kidnapping cases in Latin America and Canada. Even though her research does not extend equally to other geographic areas, the author has developed an excellent appreciation of this frustrating, global challenge. She is careful to avoid overgeneralization and produces no unique solution to this persistent problem. Her logic is scholarly, modest, and convincing, as in her observation that "it is obvious that a strategy of deterrence and prevention will depend as much on a policy of maximizing the risks (to the terrorist) as on minimizing (his) rewards."

Dr. Baumann goes on to conclude that although a no ransom policy is vulnerable to charges of ignoring the plight of the hostage, if it were followed consistently by all concerned, it could contribute in the long run to a general strategy of deterrence. It will be recalled

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that Ambassador Elbrick, who was "exchanged" for prisoners in Brazil in 1969 and who is one of the hostages examined in the book, has said that although he may have disappeared from the scene in the process, he felt it unwise for a government to negotiate with terrorists. There is, of course, the middle ground, as it were, whereby governments like the US are adamant against paying official ransoms but are prepared to settle for "partial" solutions, e.g., safehaven for terrorists and/or publicity for the cause they espouse in return for liberation of the hostages.

Dr. Baumann has produced a well-reasoned work which should greatly help managers of diplomatic hostage incidents as they sort out difficult options and arrive at the tough decisions that are theirs to make. The book is, moreover, an essential textbook for other individuals concerned with the phenomenon of "diplomapping." Dr. Baumann has produced a fine example of careful and practical scholarship and has added importantly to the literature of terrorism.

—LEWIS HOFFACKER

Iranian Dilemmas

THE POLITICAL ELITE OF IRAN, by Marvin Zonis. Princeton University Press, \$12.50.

If he is given the egg, he wants the hen. — Iranian proverb

This book has become something of an underground classic in Tehran, where numerous Iranian intellectuals quote from Zonis's interviews with or questionnaires completed by members of the country's political elite.

The book's most important section is an excellent chapter (4) on how divide and rule politics work in Iran. Personally antagonistic individuals confront one another from cabinet posts, surprise appointments frequently upset political equilibrium, and a number of contending ministries and individuals find themselves reluctantly pulling in tandem on projects one may consider urgent but others may find of secondary interest.

For those Iranians who play by the book the rewards are status, wealth, and perhaps a chance to see some dreams realized. Yet there is a darker side too: power

rests with no individuals or group outside the Shah, charismatic or even moderately ambitious politicians are isolated, suppressed or, most likely, coopted into the political machinery with attractive job offers. Individual freedom is circumscribed and men fall prey to the cynicism and restiveness of talented minds who know they have been bought off by a system that is unlikely to use anything near their full skills.

Whatever else its consequence might be, the failure to satisfactorily employ their talents at home probably accounts for the extraordinary fact that, among the numerous Iranian political elite who travel overseas, almost fifty percent of them have spent more than ten years abroad.

Zonis's sampling is thin, 167 responses out of 300 inquiries. Moreover, there appears to be an inverse correlation between proximity to the seat of power and willingness to discuss local politics with a researcher from the University of Chicago. Notwithstanding, the author has adequately supplemented his interviews with an

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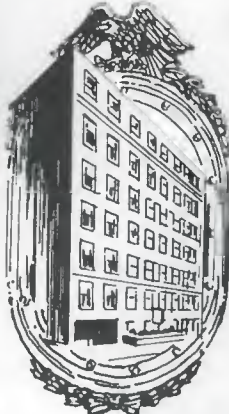
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excellent buttressing in contemporary political theory and Iranian history. In fact, the book could have almost been written without the questionnaires, because the most interesting parts are Zonis's oral interviews and conclusions.

The dilemma of the Iranian elite is illustrated in Zonis's description of a Tehran political *salon* discussion he attended. The participants concluded that the Shah was too strong, but military rule by anyone else would be repugnant, so "we should meet again next week after more thought. Be so kind as to have some more tea. May your shadow never grow less."

—FREDERICK QUINN

A Free Trader

SELECTED PAPERS OF WILL CLAYTON, edited by Frederick J. Dobney. Johns Hopkins University Press, \$8.50.

FORMER President Truman once described Will Clayton as a "rare public servant who . . . had a world outlook in which he saw the position of the United States in relation and harmony to all nations."

Will Clayton's two driving pas-

sions were free trade (*free*, not *freer*) and Atlantic Union. A utopian idealist? Not at all. An old-school Southern gentleman "who never in his 86 years was known to precede anyone through a doorway," he built a small Texas cotton firm into a world-wide trading empire by methods once described by a rival as "fiendish."

To him tariffs were the root of all evil and the key to prosperity "trade as free as possible between economies as efficient as possible." It would be hard to find a better banner for US economic policy in 1973.

As Assistant Secretary and Under Secretary for Economic Affairs from 1944 to 1947, he set the course of our post-war economic policy, fathering in the process the Marshall Plan, the OEEC and the GATT.

In his May 27, 1947 memorandum to Secretary of State Marshall, which was the basis of the latter's famous Harvard speech a week later, he wrote:

"It will be necessary for the President and the Secretary of State to make a strong spiritual

appeal to the American people to sacrifice a little themselves, to draw in their own belts just a little in order to save Europe from starvation and chaos (not from the Russians) and, at the same time, to preserve for ourselves and our children the glorious heritage of a free America."

The memorandum continued that there must be a multi-billion dollar plan worked out by the Europeans themselves, based on a European economic federation.

As early as January 1949, while the North Atlantic Treaty was still being negotiated, he went on record as advocating a federal union of the free nations of Western Europe, the United States and Canada. He devoted the last years of his life to these two causes, being Director of Federal Union and a founding father of the Atlantic Council of the United States, the Atlantic Institute in Paris, and Co-Chairman (with Christian Herter) of the Congressionally appointed US Delegation to the Paris Convention of 1961.

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TEXAS

from page 8

The surviving settlers finally weathered the battle with disease and the elements and succeeded in establishing several flourishing communities, including Frederiksborg, Boerne and Berheim. Today a thriving community of 12,000, the German influence in New Braunfels remains unmistakable. German is still the predominant language taught along with English in the public schools, and German signs are common on ships and signboards. To this day, lively relations are being maintained with Braunfels near Frankfurt. Several hundred New Braunfels townsfolk came over in 1957 in a mass visit to the city of their forefathers. A Frankfurt botanist, Ferdinand Jakob Lindheimer helped in the hard pioneer days to put New Braunfels on its feet again. He fought with Sam Houston at San Jacinto, after coming to Texas in the wake of the ill-fated Frankfurt student revolt that brought a group of talented young men to the shores of the new world. Surveying Texas on horseback, like Engelmann in the Far West, he charted the fauna and flora of the new state discovering many previously unknown plants of which some were named after him. In 1850, Lindheimer was made New Braunfels' Justice of the Peace and two years later founded there Texas' first German newspaper. He edited and published the *New Braunfels Zeitung* until his death at the age of 70, in 1879. Not all Frankfurters who came to New Braunfels had as creditable a record as Dr. Lindheimer. Another doctor, Theodor Koester, Frankfurt general practitioner, who had flunked his medical exams before barely skimming by on the second try, emigrated to New Braunfels in 1842. He practiced his profession in a fashion that caused the New Braunfels cemetery to be popularly known as "Koester's plantation."

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WILLIAMS OF FIJI

from page 21

obvious British designs on Fiji. If the ambitions of Williams the merchant and those of Williams the consul were in conflict, it was a problem which was never resolved. On June 10, 1860, Williams died at his Consulate in Fiji.

How should John Brown Williams be judged, Berthold C. Seeman who was sent to Fiji in 1860 by the British Government to help investigate the proposed cession of Fiji by Great Britain wrote:

Mr. Williams, the American Consul, had died a few days before my arrival. I should have liked to have seen him, in order to form an independent estimate of a man about whom so many contradictory statements were afloat. He did not live on good terms with the missionaries, and controversies were carried on between them in the Australian and American newspapers, which, as is usual in such cases, proved advantageous to neither party.

Mr. Williams bought considerable tracts of land, and it was maintained that the purchase was not in all instances a fair one, and that the natives

had only from fear of American men-of-war given their assent to these transactions. It is impossible to say whether in all cases the sellers were satisfied with the bargain; yet, I remember, quite in the interior of Viti Levu, Chief Kuruduadua publically declaring at an official meeting that his brother had sold land to Mr. Williams, and that he, regarding the purchase as valid, had no wish to dispute it. This was a great deal from a man like Kuruduadua, who had a violent dislike to Americans, as some of them had burnt Navua, his seaside residence, a few years previously.

Towards the natives Mr. Williams appears to have been very kind, and would not refuse them anything. I heard of a bet which a chief made, that he would obtain a waterproof coat just sent out to Mr. Williams, merely by asking for it, and which was won by him who trusted in Mr. Williams' generosity.

The whole of the land on which the mission station at Mataisuva is built, an extensive piece of ground, was presented by Mr. Williams to the Wesleyan body at the very time when some of their members were engaged in the hottest polemical struggle with

him.

Perhaps the Fijians would say that Williams lacked *mana*. They must have wondered how great a Chief he really was. He sided with Rewa and Rewa lost. He traded as did other white men, but his trading was on an increasingly smaller and smaller scale. He opposed some of the Wesleyan missionaries yet their gospel prevailed over that of Williams' friends, the Roman Catholics.

He was always ready to help American seamen and masters and trader; he lived on relatively good terms with Americans, British (except for some of the Wesleyans), French and Fijians, most of the time; to his own Government he reported as accurately as he was able on conditions in Fiji.

Williams' years in Fiji had not been easy ones, nor had they been financially or professionally successful, yet on his death his successor could report to the Department that Williams died "... lamented and respected as an official and as a friendly by all who knew him." ■

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LUNCH FOR THE AMBASSADOR

from page 18

repeat the remark. He walked directly to the veranda, took his hat from a servant, and, having shaken hands with everyone present except the servant who gave him his hat, went down the steps and entered the Embassy automobile.

Mrs. Widdicombe shook hands all around too. She paused in front of Ellie Dameron, holding Ellie Dameron's right hand in both her own. "Thank you, my dear," she said. She leaned and whispered something in Ellie Dameron's right ear. Aloud, she said, "Goodbye. You must telephone me, my dear."

The Bishop had, from the veranda railing, signaled his chauffeur to advance the Bishop's car to the foot of the steps. As the Ambassador and Mrs. Widdicombe drove off, Bishop and Mrs. Archbald were a few feet behind them. The others followed, until, not quite ten minutes after the Ambassador had made his move from the table, the Damerons were alone on their veranda.

"What was it she whispered to you?" Dameron demanded.

"Lunch. She said the Ambassador *never really eats lunch*. He believes food disagrees with the body in the middle of the day."

"Jesus," Dameron said softly. "So he *never really eats lunch*."

Then Mrs. Dameron uttered a shrill whinny of rage, like an animal. Dameron stepped quickly to stand beside her. He put his hand on her shoulder. But abruptly, almost it seemed angrily, she brushed his hand away and swung about. She ran into the house and up the stairs to her room, and Dameron heard the door slam. He stood for a moment uncertainly, saying to himself that he did not, of course, blame her for being upset. Any woman would be upset. He shrugged helplessly. In the dining room he summoned the houseboy. "Ask the cook to fix me a plate of the chicken, please," he said.

He was hungry, and in no hurry at all about getting downtown. "Listen," he said, and he was astonished by the note of defiance that came

into his voice. "Listen—" this to the houseboy. "Bring also the bottle of whiskey. I will have a drink. Also, I want two of the desserts."

"Two, sir?" the houseboy said.

The dessert, Dameron remembered with sudden pleasure, was frozen cream with pistachios. "Two, please," he said.

He sat in his own chair at the head of the table and waited for the houseboy to come back. There was no sound from upstairs, where, though Dameron did not know it, Mrs. Dameron lay on her bed. She had torn off her clothing, pants, brassiere, all of it, scattering it, and she lay stomach-down on her bed, with no cover (or anything else) over her, forehead pressed into a pillow, crying her eyes out. "Damn, damn, damn," she said between the sobs; and after a while she rolled over and opened her wet eyes to the high ceiling and spoke aloud. "Yensen," she said witheringly, "Yensen, for God's sake," and went on crying, while downstairs Dameron ate the two desserts, the frozen cream with the pistachios. ■

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A FUTURE FOR TAIWAN

from page 12

and to share with Peking some of its profits.

If Taiwan does not choose to accept the dangerous consequences of perpetual hostility towards China, Taiwan's diplomats, referring to the spectacular achievements of China's somewhat *separate* community of nuclear scientists and engineers, could undertake to persuade Peking to tolerate different "Chinese" systems in Taiwan, in Hong Kong, and possibly in a regime for China's shelf resources which being offshore would be quarantined from the rest of China's "continental system" and still produce advantage for China.

In 1958 a quarrel in the Taiwan Strait over Quemoy presented the possibility of escalating major power military engagement. Through the mid-summer and early autumn uproar Taipei was supported firmly, even recklessly, by Washington, while Peking found Moscow's backing of its cause to be significantly,

and unforgettably, deficient. At Quemoy, monolithic communism was stared down by the Free World—or at least that was the rhetoric. The experience became for Peking a sour milepost in Sino-Soviet relations. For Taipei, it was a breathtaking chapter in Taiwan's history of siege, and, to this day, the cream of Taipei's military forces is regularly stationed in Quemoy, impressively alert and well supplied. Still, few analysts could imagine Peking wanting to seize or to starve out Quemoy—almost none sees Taipei and Washington able or willing to pay the costs required to rescue it were Peking to make such an attempt. But Peking will not take these islands, except as part of a "Taiwan package deal": Quemoy was, in 1958, and remains, a linchpin that connects Taiwan with the Mainland. Notwithstanding its accommodation of about one-third of Taiwan's military establishment, Quemoy's strategic weight lies somewhere between impotence and irrelevance; Quemoy is, like Hong

Kong and Macao, already Chinese.

Cannot we suppose that the very large military forces on Taiwan could become, strategically, similarly impotent and irrelevant? Cannot we imagine that Peking, with its major strategic concerns related to the USSR, Japan, and the United States, would wait as long or longer than another 15 years before seeing any necessity for what the world might regard as a Taiwan showdown? Meanwhile, the opportunity—if not the necessity—exists for Chinese diplomats in Taipei and in Peking to recognize the still unexplored economic complementarities of their social systems, to bargain with factors of power and politics external to China itself at this stage, but to work towards a *modus operandi* for creating the One China which both sides cherish. China's neighbors would watch particularly for how Chinese arrangements, shaped by power, politics, and honor, took account of the traditions, the welfare, and the aspirations of its Taiwan born citizens. ■

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LETTERS TO FSJ

Alternate to the Sherer Plan

• I enjoyed the article in the October JOURNAL by Mrs. Sherer on the "Wives' Dilemma" in the Foreign Service. However, I fear the Sherer plan does not reflect the new realities of the Foreign Service and would like to propose the Raphel Plan, entitled "Toward a Wives' Policy for the 70s."

According to the Raphel Plan, all Foreign Service wives, and any women planning to marry FSOs, would have to choose either the Traditional Chauvinist (TC) or Liberated Spouse (LS) role. The TC wife would fulfill the traditional wife's role. She would hostess her husband's parties, actively support the American Women's Club, and carry out the other traditionally acceptable functions. The entire family would, of course, continue to receive the traditional benefits such as medical care and transportation to and from post, just as a wife of a white collar worker in the States takes advantage of her husband's medical plan and shares in his relocation benefits if they must move.

Any wife who chooses the LS category will be expected to independently play a prominent role in the furthering of American foreign policy objectives abroad—telling America's story to the world, as it were. While her husband sits in the isolated splendor of his office, writing reports, which are usually turgid, that no one back in Washington will read (except for the Country Director and one person in INR) the wife will entertain the "host country nationals" and generally project the right image. Her days will be long and full, and in addition to holding down a full-time job—universally essential if you are an LS—she will always be guided by the precept that an independent, interested and active wife is playing a role just as important, if not more important, than her husband's.

Under the Raphel Plan, the LS wife will therefore be eligible not only for representation funds—as she would under the Sherer Plan—but also a salary commensurate with her important role in furthering American foreign policy

objectives. This plan might not save the State Department hundreds of thousands of dollars, but it would enhance our position overseas, garner greater respect abroad for American life in general and American wives in particular, and would probably result in a greater understanding of other peoples and their cultures than presently exists in many of our Embassies.

I hereby opt for LS status under the Raphel plan; the Department can send my bi-weekly pay check to my home address. I think an FSO-5 equivalent salary would do quite nicely to start; after all, if I am expected to do my share and carry my part of the burden, it will take more than free medical care and an R&R every three years to buy me off.

ROBIN RAPHEL

Washington

But, On Balance

• On reading Mrs. Sherer's article, "Resolution of the Wives' Dilemma" (October JOURNAL), I was immediately struck by her supposition that Foreign Service wives would be content to be polarized into either of two extreme factions: those who would attack their official duties with the emotional fervor and crusading spirit of Joan of Arc at the siege of Orléans, and those whose intellectual pursuits, hobbies, or family life would completely divorce them from the diplomatic life surrounding them. The idea is so extreme there is a strong possibility she is joking. But in the event there is a note of seriousness to her proposal, I feel compelled to reply.

The actuality of living in either of these two radical worlds would be possible for only a small percentage of Foreign Service women, burdening the great majority in the middle of the spectrum with more frustrations than ever before.

Perhaps the misinterpretation of the wives' desires stems from the vociferousness of the women themselves during the past two years over the issue of independence. What the women were actually expressing was the desire not to segregate themselves from the Foreign Service, but to have the opportunity to broaden their lives by spending proportionally more time pursuing the interests they

have developed over the years. This does not imply a dissolution of their enthusiasm toward Foreign Service life per se, but rather reflects a need for a stronger self-identity and a greater feeling of personal, concrete contribution to the additional aspects of their lives which they value.

A woman's having to choose between either an "I" (Independent) or "D" (Dependent) identity would not only be undesirable in terms of benefits to the Service, but also psychologically unwise and impossible to implement in the practical sense. It would be impossible because a wife will never be able to cut herself off completely from the diplomatic world. Other foreigners, not understanding the difference between "I" and "D" would view her as a member of the official American family no matter what her choice. It would also be impossible to retaliate against the rare wife who wishes to forego any participation in official functions by taking away certain privileges, since these benefits belong not to her, but to her husband as remuneration for his serving overseas. State's paying for his family to accompany him, health care for his family, PX privileges, and all the rest are part of his salary and should not be denied him no matter what his wife chooses to do with her life.

If she chooses "D," a wife would be subjecting herself to a chain of command she would undoubtedly find distasteful, and to a quantity of work she might not be able to handle even if she were interested and willing.

Why should she not be able to choose "M" for Middle? Most wives want a balanced life, and since they are not being paid for their performance, why should they not have it?

MARGARET CAMPBELL-BOEKER
Bonn

Skewering, Effectively?

• The level of discourse concerning the revisionist critique of America's Cold War diplomacy in your recent issue is depressingly low. With the appearance of John Owens' uncomprehending outburst and the equally uninformed review of Robert James Maddox's book it has reached a nadir of sorts. Coupled with the communication

from Roger Tubby, I would suggest that this level of intellectuality explains the evident devaluation of "professional expertise" of which Donald F. Herr complains in his letter of resignation.

As my contribution to raising the level of dialogue within the foreign service, I merely point out that Maddox "effectively skewered" Professor Gardner by attributing to him a position he does not hold. Gardner, Gabriel Kolko, and David Horowitz have each prepared detailed rebuttals to Maddox's allegations and these may be obtained by writing directly to those individuals.

One final point. The primary author of "The Limits of Power" is Joyce Kolko, and not, as Owens suggests, Gabriel Kolko. Mrs. Kolko is no mere intellectual extension of her husband as all who know her will testify. I wonder how many foreign service wives suffer from the sort of mentality displayed by Mr. Owens.

JOHN J. RUMBARGER
Editor

*Prologue: The Journal
of the National Archives*

Advocacy Journalism

- As one of those intimately concerned with the Burundi tragedy of 1972, I was naturally interested in the Carnegie sponsored report reprinted in the November JOURNAL. I originally welcomed the study because professionals in the private sector have much to offer Government professionals in the formulation of foreign policy principles out of the hubbub of the fast-breaking crisis. In this context, I found the study to be thin and essentially irrelevant to the policy making process.

The study focuses on the degree to which the Department seriously considered the available options at policy levels. On the basis of confidential interviews, the study concludes we did not. Apart from the fact that researchers were unaware of the very high levels at which the problem was considered, the focus of the report itself appears questionable as a basis for serious study. The authors apparently feel that human rights questions do not receive sufficient priority in US foreign policy considerations, and have chosen Burundi among others as an example. In this respect, Bu-

rundi was not a good choice. Human rights principles constituted the major factor in our reaction to the 1972 events because our interests in that country are otherwise so minimal.

The study could have been helpful if it had delved into such fundamental aspects as the possible use of outside military intervention in such situations; the use of UN peacekeeping forces to separate incompatible ethnic groups as in Cyprus; the problem of guaranteeing ethnic survival for the minority Tutsi group; and the concept of combining quiet diplomacy with a well-orchestrated media campaign. These are the policy areas which the authors could usefully have explored in a dispassionate manner. Unfortunately, they produced a piece of advocacy journalism seeking to prove a predetermined conclusion. This procedure sometimes plays a helpful role in our business, but was not especially illuminating with respect to the complex issues raised by the Burundi tragedy.

HERMAN J. COHEN
Washington

China Objectively

- It is unfortunately easy to agree with correspondents Rankin (June JOURNAL) and Rice (September JOURNAL) in their apprehension that the younger generation—and some not so young—of the Foreign Service may be something less than rigorously objective about China. The same problem runs through all US diplomatic history in the 20th century.

I suspect Ambassador Rankin oversimplifies the question of the closing of our consular establishments in Communist China in 1950. It is true that there had been bad treatment of consular officers (this, in turn, has been oversimplified by as eminent a historian as Professor Fairbank who describes the treatment of Vice Consul Oliver as "a shove") but a sober reading of the decision to close would show that it was a legalistic one based on the seizure of property which the Communist authorities considered military and which we considered diplomatic. Other countries reacted differently to the same situation. Unfortunately, I do not have at hand the reference to Edmund Clubb's article on this of about five

years ago. Whatever the ostensible reason for closing, it was true that there was no political will on either side to keep the posts open.

The recently released Volume VII of "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, The Far East: China" lends solid support to Mr. Rice's exception to Ambassador Rankin's tendentious point about what more US support could or could not have done for the Koumintang. In that volume one begins to see the Department mealy-mouthing its way past domestic critics who were to make a battlefield out of those views Ambassador Rankin still spreads.

A good measure of the damage can be measured in another recently published volume of the *Foreign Relations* series: Volume I, 1947, "The United Nations: General." Therein is a Joint Chiefs of Staff study dated April 1947 which places China *seventh* (behind Iran, Italy and Austria) in a list of nations needing military aid, *fourteenth* (behind Latin America, Netherlands and Spain) in a list of countries important to the security of the US, and *fourteenth* in a list combining the two previous conditions. Contrast this with the position assigned China after it had become a Republican party plaything.

On a happier note, another recently issued volume of *Foreign Relations* (Vol IX, The Western Hemisphere, 1948) refers readers to Cecil Lyon's article "Bogota, April 9" published in the JOURNAL of May 1948 for an account of the disturbances during the OAS meeting. JOURNAL articles of this sort might well be preserved the way Smith Simpson suggests in his letter in the September issue.

JEROME K. HOLLOWAY, JR.
Osaka/Kobe

Prophet with Honor

- I should like to say how much I appreciated William N. Turpin's article, "they have Moses and the prophets," in the August JOURNAL. It is the most sensible, down-to-earth, honest, and incisive article on foreign aid that I have been privileged to read. If it should be read and taken seriously by other persons in government who are concerned with aid it might be equally useful.

WILLARD BEAULAC
Washington

THIS MONTH IN WASHINGTON

By Rick Williamson

When we set up the AFSA office in New State, we took some care to ensure that AFSA files on sensitive matters such as grievances were kept under lock and key. In the Watergate atmosphere then prevailing, we had a couple of inquiries as to whether our phone was tapped or our office bugged. I told these inquirers that I was confident that we were not being bugged. I was wrong. There are bugs in our office—little brown ones that crawl. Apparently the GSA char force, and their extermination crew, leave a bit to be desired.

Washington is either returning to normal or else, after the repeated shocks we have received, people are going out of their way to pretend things are normal. In any case, the past months saw as much talk in the halls about what was wrong with the Redskins as there was about what is wrong with the government.

AFSA Wins the "Labor Cone" Issue

In any case, no matter what kind of a month it was for the Redskins and for the executive branch, it was a very good month for AFSA. As you know, the final arbiter of disputes between us and management is the Board of the Foreign Service. The first issue which has come to the Board for final judgment on a substantive dispute between AFSA and an agency was the treatment of labor specialists in this year's precepts. We were delighted that in this first important case, the Board ruled in AFSA's favor, rather than for the positions of the Department or of the Department of Labor. While the substance of the issue before the Board was very important—whether further fractionalization of the Service was to be allowed—we were doubly delighted because this decision proved conclusively that the Board

was able to make a decision on the merits against agency management and against an outside agency which itself sits on the Board.

Other Developments in State

Perhaps even more significant was the beginning of a new, more productive and cooperative relationship with State management which we mentioned in this month's editorial. We still disagree a good bit of the time; that is inherent in the nature of the relationship. What we do find encouraging is a greater willingness to work together to arrive at mutually acceptable agreements. That is, after all, what the Executive Order calls for.

In State, we were able to get the intermediate selection boards to convene on November 1, only a day behind the target of meeting sometime in October. In the process of negotiating the precepts for the intermediate boards, we were able to obtain a number of important improvements. In the meantime, we are negotiating on the precepts for the senior officer selection boards and the threshold review board, and will begin shortly negotiating on the probationary officer boards. We have already made some progress in both the Senior and Threshold precepts, and will send a complete report on the precept negotiations to all State personnel as soon as the negotiations are concluded.

Negotiations in USIA and AID

Negotiations on the precepts in USIA have slowed down because the key people on the management side were on leave or out of Washington. This is unfortunate, since the Boards are scheduled to meet in January. In spite of the unavailability of management, however, we have made some real progress on the precepts, and do not anticipate any difficulty in concluding the negotiations in ample time to have

the negotiations begin on schedule.

In AID, we are currently in the midst of the first hearings before the Disputes Panel on AID questions. AFSA is seeking limited office space in the headquarters building so that we can better serve our AID members. State and USIA have already provided us with office space, and AID has granted office space to AFGE, but AID refused to grant us space. We therefore appealed this issue to the Disputes Panel, the mediation and arbitration body established under the Executive Order. We also proposed during the negotiations that AID lift the unilateral ban on ship travel, which has been a persistent sore point with AID personnel. This issue is also currently before the Disputes Panel. As a result of the initial session with the Panel, we believe our chances of obtaining a satisfactory resolution of one or both issues are quite good. It may be some time, however, before these issues are finally resolved.

Chances for Foreign Service Retirement In AID Improve

As this is being written, we have just received an unconfirmed report that the Senate and House conferees have agreed on an AID bill which includes provision for Foreign Service retirement for career AID employees. Equally important, we understand that the conference bill does not contain the information disclosure provision which the President objects to. A similar disclosure provision in the USIA bill resulted in the bill being vetoed by the President. If this AID bill goes through, the chances are now overwhelming that it will contain the Foreign Service retirement provisions. If it appears later this month that there will be no AID bill, we intend to ask the Senate to add AID Foreign Service retirement to the bill which State has proposed to make certain changes in the present Foreign Service Retirement System.

AFSA CONTINUES THE PRESSURE ON OVERTIME PROBLEMS

AFSA's Task Force on Overtime has recently received a copy of the study that the Department has conducted worldwide on the overtime regulations and how they are carried out (or not carried out). The findings and conclusions in the study contained no surprises to AFSA; in brief, progress has been made at some posts but violations of the regulations continue in spite of the clear legal rights of employees to overtime compensation. We are now waiting to see the recommendations the Department is presently formulating to bring posts' procedures in line with the regulations.

AFSA continues to receive complaints from individuals about abuses of the regulations, and we have met with management officials to discuss the problems in general and to resolve certain past overtime problems. We have also asked our AFSA Representatives at several posts to monitor posts' compliance with the regulations and make strong representations with post management when there are repeated violations of the regulations. However, if problems still exist at your post, first discuss them with your supervisor, then with your AFSA Representative at post. If possible, urge your Representative to write to AFSA Washington if he or she cannot solve the problem at the post.

ELECTION ROUND-UP by the Editorial Board

On the eve of the mailing of ballots for AFSA's election of officers and representatives for 1974-75, a last-minute round-up of election news and views seems to be in order. The Association takes this opportunity to express its appreciation to the Elections Committee, under the able chairmanship of Mike Gannett. Mike, himself, has spent many hours at AFSA headquarters, checking lists, preparing ballots, making arrangements for the printing of campaign statements, ballots, three kinds of envelopes and the mailing. The Committee members, Hazel Olson and Everett Headrick (AID), David Noack and Ruth Winstanley (State), Joel W. Rochow and Juliet

Antunes (USIA), and Niles W. Bond and Theodore J. Hadraba (Retired), also devoted many hours to the "nuts-and-bolts" planning on this, the first election under the new Bylaws.

The AFSA staff has also contributed much work. C. B. Sanner, Membership, in particular has done yeoman work in updating the membership roster, and this while the Association is in process of taming a new computer set-up.

The Elections Committee has designed a ballot which carries clear and concise instructions and it is perhaps unnecessary to add that these instructions must be followed to avoid invalidation. AFSA hopes that all active members will vote in this election as a demonstration of interest in the Association.

The main issues in the election include AFSA's position on the personnel system, the appropriateness of a labor-management "confrontation mentality" in the Foreign Service, and the performance of those members of the current Board who are running for reelection as the "Achievement Slate."

Pressed for last-minute campaign statements, the candidates took a variety of positions. Bob Willner said, "I strongly support AFSA's role as employee representative and much of the work it has done to secure better material benefits and personnel policies for the Service. I am seriously concerned, however, over attitudes and tendencies emerging in AFSA which, I think endanger the effectiveness of the Service for the future. Among these are: polarization between 'management' and the Service with the apparent acceptance as natural of an adversary relationship between them; the growing parochialism of the Service as a whole and the proliferation of special interest groups within it; and finally a measure of preoccupation with 'due process' which, if carried to its logical extreme, could make the Service a riskless career at the cost of its utility for policy leadership. . .

"AFSA has at last committed to paper its support of the selection out concept and has insisted (properly, I believe) on linking it to other aspects of the personnel squeeze, but in demanding 'objective standards' the Association could effec-

tively cripple any effort to select Foreign Service people for their judgment and other essential intangibles. . .

"Regarding 'compensatory promotions,' awarded on a non-competitive basis for past injustice, I regret that both the Department and AFSA seem to have ignored a proposal to review the file of a grievant. . .

"The Cone System, I believe, could be cured of some of its rigidity and divisiveness if the Department and AFSA could develop a realistic projection of Service personnel needs. . . I realize that some regard these views as old-fashioned and elitist, if not naive, but I am willing to join the Harry Truman school of elitism and to suggest that those who would lower the heat in the kitchen are doing us all a disservice. I hope that any of you who share my views will vote accordingly and perhaps try to arouse interest on the part of others." Bob is running for State Department representative on the Board.

John J. Harter, Independent candidate for first Vice President, criticized his opponent, Tex Harris, for the lack of open debate in the campaign and stated that "his (Tex's) principal 'achievement' (as AFSA Counsellor) was to subvert the preexisting Bylaws which protected AFSA as a professional, democratic and independent organization. Mr. Harris's 'new AFSA Constitution' was promulgated pursuant to Executive Order 11636—devised by Mr. Macomber and Charles Colson in 1970-71 to intimidate and stifle the Foreign Service. The new Bylaws discouraged any opposition slate from entering this campaign."

Mr. Harter added that "Harris's second major 'achievement' was his 1972 amendment to the Foreign Service Act. This amendment tightened the exclusive grip of the personnel authorities on the levers which manipulate Foreign Service promotions. It reduced the Secretary's authority to strengthen the Foreign Service merit system."

Those parts of Mr. Harter's statement which dealt with other than substantive issues are not being used in full. Copies of the statement are available at the AFSA offices on request.

Mr. Harter went on to say that

his objectives, if elected, were: to restore honor and pride in the diplomatic service, via total personnel reform; to offer active help from AFSA to the Murphy Commission to counter vested interests opposing modernization of the foreign affairs community; to urge Congress to hold public hearings on the current relevance of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 and the National Security Act of 1947.

The Independent candidate for President, John D. Hemenway, forwarded a statement to the JOURNAL with these words, "I want to state unequivocally that I will permit no editing of any sort . . . I find 450 words unreasonable to express the views of a candidate for a major office in an election that takes place only once in two years. After all, the membership is *totally* dependent upon the written word for a discussion of these issues. Therefore if my statement is to be cut—which I do not agree to, but will permit if the option is not to have it published at all—then I want it cut from the bottom to whatever arbitrary limit is imposed upon me. If allowed 450 words, then I want my 450 words and I want you to terminate my statement in the middle of the sentence so that it can be clear to the readers that a more severe kind of censorship is at work here than a gently imposed ban against prolixity."

The JOURNAL would certainly like to invoke a gentle ban against prolixity but, faced with such vehemence and such arguments, feels that the readers are entitled to Mr. Hemenway's complete statement.

JOHN D. HEMENWAY, Age 47, Rhodes Scholar; Now College Dean in Washington; 1971 Winner of the Hampden Chalice for Constitutional Merit awarded to that civil servant who (if he can be found) risked his career for a constitutional principle; career Foreign Service Officer for 15 years, Soviet and German expert.

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT HEMENWAY:

Amb. J. Graham Parsons: (Sworn testimony of an FSO, dated January, 1969): The trouble with Hemenway is that he can't be bought off.

Deputy Secretary Rush: (January

2, 1973): Actions taken by John Hemenway are responsible for many of the reforms instituted in recent years in the Department of State.

- AFSA members concerned for the integrity of our professional organization asked Hemenway to run for President to oppose the so-called "achievement" slate. Candidate Hemenway gives you a choice.
- Hemenway repeatedly has testified before Congressional Committees in behalf of due-process and Foreign Service reform. Hemenway cannot be bought by any promise of career rewards which have continually weakened AFSA leadership in the past.
- Hemenway will require the Association to stand up for the men and women of the Service in the Department and overseas. If AFSA will not stand up for its own, who will?

ISSUES THE "ACHIEVEMENT" SLATE PREFERS THAT YOU NOT HEAR DEBATED

Professional Survival: During the past 4-6 years, the AFSA leadership has stood aside and watched their colleagues, professional associates and their profession itself get ground up. Was inertia the correct response of a great professional organization? Men who will not defend their own colleagues will not serve their country well. Hemenway believes *every individual counts*.

Corruption: Why should our membership have to worry about raw survival in its chosen profession of serving the country's diplomatic and consular needs? Favoritism in training assignments, selection out, "thresholds," subjective evaluations, reduction in force posed as "failure to promote," the elusive cone system, and other shifting standards comprise a jungle in which even the personnel expert is lost. Do you know where you stand, or by what standards you will be judged tomorrow? I can assure you that the so-called "achievement" slate does not

know either. Unknown standards, "flexible" standards, changing standards, and failure to enforce standards uniformly breeds corruption. Hemenway will make it a first priority of AFSA to get straight answers from management.

Service Elan: The flourishing contacts and high respect for the Foreign Service that once prevailed has withered. There are so many things that could be done to stimulate professional excellence and leadership in our profession and the AFSA leadership has done so little. Hemenway will initiate a program to regain our natural constituencies: the public; the Congress; and the academic community.

Openness: For several years the AFSA leadership has spoken of "openness," yet no candidates other than the so-called "achievement" slate candidates have been given FSJ space (until requested in the post-election December issue). Every effort has been made to muzzle and restrict my efforts to contact the membership. My platform statement distributed to the membership was limited to 450 words. Of what is the "achievement" slate afraid, the truth?

Nickel and Dime Outlook: Long lists of phony "achievements" have been brought forth by the so-called "achievement" slate. In fact, few, if any, of these achievements are a result of the leadership of my opponent. Have you ever considered what good are some minor allowances you cannot collect when your career itself crumbles?

FIND A FRIEND IN THE SERVICE: TALK IT OVER WITH HIM: WHAT ARE WE TO DO TO ACHIEVE AN EFFECTIVE ASSOCIATION? IS IT REALLY WISE TO TURN EVERYTHING OVER TO ONE "SLATE"?

Tom Boyatt, speaking for the Achievement Slate, told your reporter, "The unifying aspect of the Achievement Slate is that it is composed of people who have proved they will work hard and effectively for AFSA. We make no claims to perfection but I will tell you this, we care about developing the best possible Foreign Service of the United States and we care about

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(OR ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO JOIN)
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SPECIAL SERVICES

The **Journal** has inaugurated a new service for its readers, a classified section. In order to be of maximum assistance to AFSA members and **Journal** readers we are accepting these listings until the 15th of each month for publication in the issue dated the following month. The rate is 40¢ per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail copy for advertisement and check to: Classified Ads, **Foreign Service Journal**, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Education

The Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center welcomes your inquiries. A continuation of the services available for 15 years by AFSA's Consultant in Education and Youth Concerns, sponsored by AAFSW and AFSA with additional expanded activities. Write FSECC, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 or call (202) 338-4045.

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Again this year, the Association has produced the list of retired members and it is available on request. Your phone call or letter to AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 will elicit prompt action on this.

Entertainment

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Foreign Service people. The Achievement Slate will work aggressively and creatively without fear or favor for the Service and its people."

This issue of the **JOURNAL** carries elsewhere a paid campaign advertisement placed by a candidate in the 1973 elections. The **JOURNAL** has accepted this advertisement, in part in keeping with its mission to promote informed consideration of the issues facing the Foreign Service but wishes it understood it does not accept its author's apparent views of established procedures for the conduct of the elections or of how these procedures have been observed in the current campaign.

Foreign Service People

FAMILY DAY

Over a thousand people from the Department of State and related agencies attended Family Day on Sunday, October 14th. The lovely October day was enjoyed by the families and the children particularly as the weather for balloons was perfect.

The highlight of the day was an auction in which a Steuben glass owl donated by Ambassador Amory Houghton brought \$90.00.

BIRTHS

Carter. A daughter, Linda, born to FSO and Mrs. James W. Carter, on October 22, in Bangkok.

Moser. A son, Robert Dodd, born to FSO and Mrs. Leo J. Moser, on October 12, in Washington.

DEATHS

Abraham. Rodger C. Abraham, FSO-retired and former president of the Diplomatic Courier Association, died on November 1, in Washington. Mr. Abraham entered on duty with the Department of State in 1940. He served at Ottawa, Reykjavik, Berlin, Paris, Beirut, Panama, Mexico, Saigon and Madrid before his retirement. He is survived by his wife, Margaret, 7600 Maple Ave., Takoma Park, a son and two daughters.

Hillenbrand. Maria F. Hillenbrand, mother of Ambassador Martin Hillenbrand, died recently. Memorial contributions may be sent to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Semler. Natalia (Tasha) Parker Semler, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Peter Semler, died suddenly on October 29 in Virginia. Miss Semler is survived by her parents of 2710 25th Street North, Arlington, Va., two sisters and a brother. Memorial contributions may be sent to Children's Hospital, Washington, D.C. where she worked as a volunteer.

Walter. John S. Walter, executive vice president, BCIU, died on October 4, in New York. Mr. Walter had been with the Business Council for International Understanding for more than ten years. He is survived by his wife of 22 Chittenden Ave., Yonkers, N.Y. 10707.

AAFSW NEWS

At its opening coffee on October 9, held in the atrium of the Kennedy Center, the Association of American Foreign Service Women bade farewell to Mrs. William P. Rogers, former AAFSW Honorary President and wife of the former Secretary of State. Mrs. William Leonhart, President of AAFSW, paid tribute to Mrs. Rogers, who has been an active and loyal member of the Association and an inspiration to all members, and presented her with a beautiful needlepoint of the State Department seal. Miss Barbara M. Watson, Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, and guest speaker, talked about her work and her thoughts on what women can contribute in the professional world. Over 200 women attended the meeting.

A program of festive music is planned for the AAFSW meeting on Tuesday, December 11, to be held in the diplomatic reception rooms of the State Department from 10:00 a.m. to 12 noon. Heather Schaufele, wife of FSO William E. Schaufele, Jr., now assigned at the United Nations, will make a special trip from New York to sing in the program. Mrs. Richard L. Sneider will be at the piano and a quintet of gifted young students, most of whom come from Foreign Service families, will perform on the flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon and French horn. Coffee and refreshments will be served. Guests are welcome, as well as eligible members.



Tayloe House, circa late 1890's

We Wish You a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year

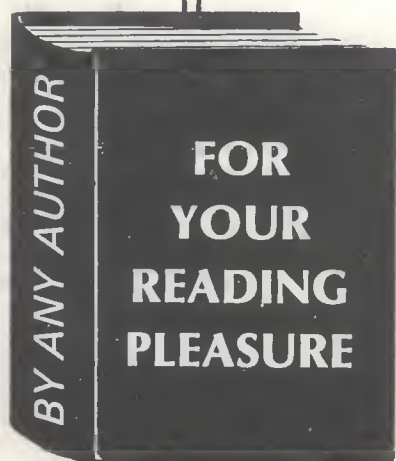
Tayloe House, our long-time neighbor around the corner on Madison Place, was built by Colonel Benjamin Ogle Tayloe in 1830. During the McKinley administration in the 1890's, as the home of the influential Senator Marcus H. Hanna of Ohio, it was known as "the little White House". Now restored, it is maintained as part of the U.S. Court of Claims complex.

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