

FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

MAY 1974

60 CENTS



creative

**AMERICA
ON \$1.17 A DAY.**



TOURIST PREMIUMS UNITED STATES AND/OR CANADA.

CHECK DESIRED TERMS IN DAYS AND COVERAGES DESIRED		POLICY TERMS IN DAYS										
		30	45	60	75	90	105	120	135	150	165	180
AUTOMOBILES Excluding operators under 25 and/or sport cars		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A <input type="checkbox"/> INJURY OR DAMAGE TO OTHERS Bodily injury liability \$25,000/50,000 Property damage \$5,000 Medical payments \$1,000		\$52.00	\$59.00	\$70.00	\$80.00	\$90.00	\$101.00	\$111.00	\$122.00	\$134.00	\$145.00	\$155.00
B <input type="checkbox"/> LOSS OR DAMAGE TO YOUR VEHICLE including Fire and Theft— Subject to \$25 Deductible except Collision subject to \$100 Deductible		\$42.00	\$46.00	\$56.00	\$64.00	\$72.00	\$82.00	\$88.00	\$98.00	\$106.00	\$116.00	\$124.00
		REFER TO COMPANY FOR PREMIUMS FOR 1) AUTOMOBILES VALUED IN EXCESS OF \$5,000 2) RENTED AUTOMOBILES										
C <input type="checkbox"/> MARINE SHIPMENT OF YOUR AUTOMOBILE ONE WAY TRIP (available only with purchase of A or B.) \$1.60 per \$100 of value War Risk \$0.05 per \$100 of value Round Trip—double the rates above												
D <input type="checkbox"/> TRAILERS Coverage Mandatory with <i>House Trailers</i> (Third party coverage is automatically provided on <i>utility trailers</i> —free of extra charge) Bodily injury \$25,000/50,000 Property damage \$5,000		\$13.00	\$15.00	\$18.00	\$20.00	\$22.00	\$26.00	\$28.00	\$30.00	\$34.00	\$36.00	\$39.00
OPTIONAL DAMAGE TO ALL TYPES OF TRAILERS												
E <input type="checkbox"/> COMPREHENSIVE—\$25 Deductible		\$1.00 per \$100 OF INSURED VALUE—SUBJECT TO ADJUSTMENT FOR SHORT TERM—MINIMUM 25% OF ANNUAL PREMIUM										
F <input type="checkbox"/> FIRE ONLY—		\$.50 per \$100 OF INSURED VALUE—SUBJECT TO SHORT RATE TABLE OR 25% OF ANNUAL PREMIUM										
G <input type="checkbox"/> THEFT ONLY—\$25 Deductible		\$.10 per \$100 OF INSURED VALUE—SUBJECT TO SHORT RATE TABLE OR 25% OF ANNUAL PREMIUM										
H <input type="checkbox"/> COLLISION—\$100 Deductible		\$1.50 per \$100 OF INSURED VALUE										

AIU AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE APPLICATION

(Completed information must be accompanied by check and/or money order for full premium (U.S. Dollars) and mailed to AIU, Investment Bldg., 1511 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005)

Name of Applicant _____
 Overseas Address _____
 Mail Policy to _____
 Effective Date of Insurance _____ Term _____ days
 Coverages: A B C D E F G (circle coverages desired)

Has any insurance company or underwriter declined to accept or refused to renew your insurance? _____ if yes, give particulars on separate sheet. (yes or no)

Have you or any other persons or members of your household who will drive your car had any accidents during the past two years? _____ if yes, give particulars on separate sheet. (yes or no)

Do you plan to travel in Canada? _____ (yes or no)

IMPORTANT: This must be completed. FSO 54

Date of Birth _____ Occupation _____

Make and Model of Motorcar _____ Value _____

Year of Manufacture _____ Motor-Serial No. _____

Name and address of Mortgagee, if any _____

Signature of Applicant _____

Date _____

FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

May 1974: Volume 51, No. 5

A Farm Journal 6
EDWARD T. WALTERS

**The Prevention of Nuclear War in
a World of Uncertainty** 10
FRED C. IKLE

**Dissent, Disloyalty and
Foreign Service Finkism** 13
WILLIAM LENDERKING, JR.

USIA: Mechanism vs. Function 16
LESLIE A. SQUIRES

An Avis Only Hertz When He Laughs 19
S. I. NADLER

Wilcox Memorial Tribute 24

DEPARTMENTS

Editorials 4

Book Essay: Galbraith and Economic Reality
CLINT SMITH 20

The Bookshelf 22

Letters to the Editor 31

AFSA News 33

American Foreign Service Association

THOMAS D. BOYATT, *President*
F. ALLEN HARRIS, *Vice President*
EDWIN L. MARTIN, *Second Vice President*
RICHARD H. MELTON, *Secretary*
LOIS W. ROTH, *Treasurer*
MARY ANN EPLEY &
JOHN PATTERSON, *AID Representatives*
FRANCINE BOWMAN, RICHARD B. FINN
CHARLES O. HOFFMAN & RAYMOND F. SMITH,
State Representatives
CARL GEBUHR, *USIA Representative*
JAMES W. RIDDLEBERGER &
WILLIAM O. BOSWELL, *Retired Representatives*
RICHARD L. WILLIAMSON, *Counselor*

Journal Editorial Board

TERESITA C. SCHAFFER, *Chairman*
RALPH S. SMITH, *Vice Chairman*
FREDERICK QUINN JOEL M. WOLDMAN
EDWARD M. COHEN ERIC GRIFFEL
G. RICHARD MONSEN LAWRENCE B. LESSER

Staff

GERALD BUSHNELL, *Executive Director*
HELEN VOGEL, *Committee Coordinator*
ELOISE JORDAN, *Scholarship Aide*
C. B. SANNER, *Membership and Circulation*

Foreign Service Educational Center

CLARKE SLADE, *Director*

Journal

SHIRLEY R. NEWHALL, *Editor*
McIVER ART & PUBLICATIONS, INC., *Art Direction*

Advertising Representatives

JAMES C. SASMOR ASSOCIATES, 520 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
10036 (212) 683-3421
ALBERT D. SHONK CO., 681 Market St., San Francisco, Calif.
94105 (415) 392-7144
JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD., 46 Keyes House, Dolphin Sq.,
London SW1 01-834-8023/9. *International Representatives.*

*American Foreign Service Association, 1974. The Foreign Service Journal is published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington D.C. 20037. Telephone (202) 338-4045

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional post office.



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

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

Membership in the American Foreign Service Association is open to the professionals in foreign affairs overseas or in Washington, as well as to persons having an active interest in, or close association with foreign affairs.

Membership dues are: Active Members—Dues range from \$13 to \$52 annually depending upon income. Retired Active Members—Dues are \$30 annually for members with incomes over \$15,000; \$15 annually for less than \$15,000. Associate Members—Dues are \$20 annually.

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

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

Microfilm copies of current as well as of back issues of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL are available through the University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 under a contract signed October 30, 1967.



Ford LTD Brougham 4-Door Pillared Hardtop

Grand Alliance: You and a 1974 Ford.

For family luxury, ally yourself with a '74 Ford LTD Brougham. Enjoy plush interior trims, power front disc brakes, steel-belted radial ply tires, power steering and SelectShift automatic transmission as standard.

For elegant new sport, choose Mustang II. Mach 1 model has 2.8 Liter OHC engine, manual front disc brakes, steel-belted radial ply tires, and rack-and-pinion steering.

These and all other Ford-built cars are available at special diplomatic discount savings. Order now, with delivery arranged stateside or overseas.

For more information, contact a Ford Diplomatic Sales Office by mailing the attached coupon, or phone at your convenience.

FORD • TORINO • THUNDERBIRD • MUSTANG • MAVERICK
PINTO • MERCURY • MARQUIS • MONTEREY • MONTEGO
COUGAR • COMET • LINCOLN CONTINENTAL
CONTINENTAL MARK IV



Please send me full information on using my diplomatic discount to purchase a '74 _____.

Washington, D.C. area:
Diplomatic Sales
Ford Motor Company
815 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Tel: (202) 298-7419

New York area:
Diplomatic Sales
Ford Motor Company
152 Halsey Street
Newark, N.J. 07102
Tel: (201) 643-1900
From New York,
tel: 964-7883

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____



Ford Mustang II Mach 1

Testimony on the Hill

On April 10, AFSA established a new precedent when Thomas D. Boyatt, President of the Governing Board, testified at the nomination hearing of Leonard K. Firestone. Mr. Boyatt's testimony follows:

FOR OVER FIFTY YEARS the American Foreign Service Association has been dedicated to enhancing the professionalism of the career Foreign Service and improving the caliber of American diplomacy. Since early 1973, when the Association won a contested representation election by large margins, we have also been the exclusive employee representative of all Foreign Service personnel in the Department of State, USIA and AID. On behalf of the 11,000 Foreign Service men and women represented by the Association, I want to thank you for the opportunity to share our concerns with this Committee on the question of qualifications for ambassadorial appointments and to comment on the nomination of Leonard K. Firestone to be Ambassador to Belgium.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, the only non-elected officers of the federal government who are specifically mentioned in the Constitution are Ambassadors and Ministers. This is not a quaint anachronism, but rather the outgrowth of the founding fathers' awareness of the importance of diplomacy and the need to establish the executive-legislative balance in the field of foreign affairs in part by giving the Senate the power to advise and consent to ambassadorial nominations.

We have come a long way from the cadenced prose and the political wisdom of the Constitution to Mr. Herbert Kalmbach's recent public admission that he proffered ambassadorships in exchange for political contributions. With press accounts that the going price of a small—but pleasant—Caribbean embassy was \$50,000, and a small European embassy \$100,000, public attention has again been focused on the need for urgent action to ensure that only the best qualified persons are nominated and confirmed to be American Ambassadors abroad.

Last summer, this Committee proposed a series of guidelines for its own use in assessing ambassadorial nominees proposed by the President. In a letter dated June 29, 1973, from Chairman Fulbright to then Secretary of State William Rogers, the Chairman addressed the problem of the linkage between political contributions and ambassadorial nominations. Senator Fulbright recalled Secretary Rogers's comment of April 30 to the Committee on Foreign Relations that the concern of the Committee on the question of campaign contributions and ambassadorial appointments was excellent and timely because this practice "is not just an evil that affects any particular Administration. . . . It is a fact of life of our system, and we ought to see what we can do to provide some proper safeguards." With his June 29 letter, Senator Fulbright attached a set of "Draft Rules" to give the Committee guidance in acting on future nominations, inviting Secretary Rogers's comments, and requesting that the Rules be sent to the President of the American Foreign Service Association for

the Association's comments.

Draft Rule One was as follows: The Committee, in the absence of clearly demonstrated foreign policy competence or experience, will oppose confirmation of ambassadorial nominees whose *prima facie* qualification for appointment rests on monetary political contributions (direct or indirect) in excess of [\$5,000–\$10,000] in the last campaign year.

Furthermore, the Committee will, after January, 1975, oppose confirmation of non-career ambassadorial nominees when the number of such nominees exceeds 15 percent of the total number of US ambassadors accredited to foreign nations, or if the percentage of non-career to career ambassadors [exceeds 20 percent] in any geographic area such as Europe, Latin America, etc., is unbalanced.

Rule Two established a set of professional criteria against which ambassadorial nominees would be judged, and Rule Three proposed some limitations on the number of ambassadorial nominees to any international organ, agency or conference.

The Association strongly supported this initiative by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. We commented in some detail on the proposed guidelines, and very much appreciate the fact that one of our suggestions—mandatory disclosure of all political contributions—has been incorporated into law. While this measure has been helpful, it has not solved the problem of the granting of ambassadorships, particularly at large and attractive posts, to large political contributors.

The Association, of course, has a parochial interest in eliminating the granting of American Ambassadorial appointments to major political contributors. Ambassadorial positions filled from outside the Service cannot be filled from the career ranks. I would like to emphasize that this narrow self-interest is not a principal motivation for our position. This country has benefited greatly from the service of distinguished Americans such as David Bruce, Henry Cabot Lodge, John Sherman Cooper, Averell Harriman, Edwin Reischauer and many other non-career Ambassadors. The Association prides itself on the fact that we realize, perhaps unlike other professions, the dangers of a closed club mentality and the utility, for nation and profession alike, of bringing to Ambassadorial positions a leavening of non-career people of demonstrated foreign affairs competence. However, we strongly believe that in selecting ambassadorial nominations from outside the career service, great care should be taken to assure that only those best qualified for the position are confirmed. Political connections, personal fortune, and campaign contributions should not be the criteria, but rather professional competence.

The career service has had a great deal of experience with non-career ambassadors. As noted above, many of those selected on the basis of clearly demonstrated foreign policy competence or experience have made outstanding contributions to this Nation's diplomacy. On the other hand, almost all political appointees who lacked real professional qualification have made little or no contribution to American foreign policy, and a number have done grave damage to our relations with various foreign countries. I do not wish to dwell on these cases since, over the years, several incidents have

Continued on page 28

You already have your hands full going overseas.



Let us take care of your insurance.

When you're getting ready to pull up roots and move, you have plenty on your mind.

That's why Chubb, officially sponsored by your *American Foreign Service Association*, has made it easy and economical to take care of your insurance needs.

We've developed an exclusive AFSA Package Insurance Program that combines insurance for valuable articles with insurance for your household furniture and personal effects. Specifically designed for AFSA members stationed abroad, this package gives you significant

savings, made possible through the Association's mass buying power. The package also offers members personal liability insurance on a world-wide basis for themselves and their families.

The basic property insurance rate is \$.75 per \$100.00.

To get more information, send the coupon or contact your American Foreign Service Association agent, The Hirshorn Company, 8333 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa. 19118. Telephone: (215) CH 2-8200.

FREE Send for our brochure that answers all your questions — in plain English — about overseas insurance. It has its own built-in application form. And it helps you determine how much insurance you need and how much it will cost.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Mail this coupon to:
The Hirshorn Company
8333 Germantown Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa. 19118

MAY-1



Chubb/Pacific Indemnity Group

Federal Insurance Company
100 William Street, New York, N.Y. 10038



*How you going to keep them in Paree
Once they've been down on the farm?*

A FARM JOURNAL

EDWARD T. WALTERS

In 1970 FSO Ed Walters was en route from Caracas, where he had served as Political Counselor, to the National War College when he mysteriously dropped out of sight while traveling through Appalachia. Although foul play was suspected, it has recently been learned that the traveler

and his family are not only alive but seem to be doing quite well in a new and different type of assignment. This article sheds some light on Walter's sudden disappearance from the FS ranks. During his 14 years in the Service, Walters served in Brazil, Jamaica and Venezuela.

ACCORDING TO sources that are normally considered to be reliable, there is a continuing and growing tumor of discontent in the breast of the Foreign Service. Not all employees of this august group are afflicted, but it does strike what has been a key part of the organization—the generalists. Once, not too many years ago, the Foreign Service was considered to be the last redoubt of the Renaissance Man in modern American society. Alas, however, the earthworks have crumbled, finally succumbing

Security returns to Peking.

Security's steel lift vans were among the last to leave Mainland China, a quarter-century ago. And the first to return last summer, when we moved the German Ambassador from Washington to the new Diplomatic Mission in Peking, Peoples Republic of China.

Security has been helping government families move around the world since 1890. A more recent tradition, insured security once you've arrived, began in 1897.

Our Government Service Policy covers household and personal effects against fire, theft, mysterious disappearance, windstorms, floods and breakage during your stay anywhere in the world.

The annual premium is the same, whether you're in Pretoria or Peking. Worldly goods valued at \$10,000 would be covered at a rate of \$130 per year (and lower to AFSA members.) Upon request, at an additional premium, the policy can insure in transit. Goods in permanent storage in the United States are not covered. A separate all-risk auto transit policy is also available.

For specific rate information, please contact our Insurance Department.

Security Storage Company of Washington

MAIN OFFICE: 1701 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009
PHONE: (202) 234-5600/ MARYLAND: Bethesda-Chevy Chase,
Marlow Heights, White Oak/ VIRGINIA: Alexandria, McLean
PHILIP LARNER GORE, President



Once upon a time, in a far-away land, the career officers of the Foreign Service Corps of the United States of America, a breed of rugged individualists, respected and envied as the elite among professionals, adhered to a discipline all their own.

Responding to an unwritten code of conduct for the diplomatic corps, which exacted conformity and compliance, grievances were suffered in silence, causing tragedy for some, frustration for many and harm to the Foreign Service itself.

This denial of due process and disregard for constitutional rights, fostered under the guise of a special status for the Foreign Service, just doesn't wash today. Justice has nothing to do with expediency; it is rooted in the fundamental instincts of humanity.

More recently, in an effort to secure justice for their colleagues, a number of career officers in State, USIA, AID and OPIC discovered that reforming the system is no easy task, and although a variety of organizations, facing substantial barriers, succeeded in bringing about constructive change, some issues require still bolder action.

In a nation where the rule of law is the final arbiter, the court remains the most appropriate means for reform. In fact, it is the only recourse left for correcting the abuses of the present system.

To answer this challenge, the Thomas Legal Defense Fund was established.

The Fund is dedicated to protect the rights and careers of all who serve in the foreign affairs agencies — irrespective of rank or position and regardless of status or organizational affiliation.

Under its Articles of Incorporation, the Fund is empowered to retain counsel and sponsor legal and quasi-legal remedies as may be required on behalf of all in the service as well as their dependents and survivors.

The Thomas Legal Defense Fund, founded, sponsored and supported by the American Federation of Government Employees locals of State, AID, USIA and OPIC, is an independent, tax-exempt, non-profit entity incorporated in the District of Columbia.

The officers of the Fund, employees of the foreign affairs agencies, are elected and appointed for one year terms. The positions are not salaried.

The U.S. District Court decision by Judge Gerhard Gesell in December 1973, declaring selection-out procedures "constitutionally defective", clearly demonstrates the Fund's effectiveness.

Much remains to be done. The Thomas Fund will watch closely the manner in which State and USIA implement the Court Order. The Fund is also serving as the focal point for the counseling of individuals and the coordination of further action by those immediately affected by the Gesell decision. Grievances and possibly individual suits by those selected-out without due process in the past are being considered. All employees who have questions concerning follow-up action to the decision are urged to contact the Fund.

But court action is expensive. To date, less than fifty percent of the trial and pretrial costs of this suit have been raised. We still need nearly \$27,000 to retire our financial obligations in this case alone.

The good news of the Gesell decision would not have been possible if hundreds of concerned individuals in the foreign affairs community had not responded generously with their time and donations. We need your continued support if we are to consolidate present gains and preserve the Thomas Fund as a vigorous defender of the legal rights of all who serve the foreign affairs agencies.

THE THOMAS LEGAL DEFENSE FUND
P.O. Box 19443 20th Street Station
Washington D.C. 20036

I contribute the following amount to the Thomas Legal Defense Fund:

\$15 \$25 \$50 \$100 \$ _____

I pledge the following contribution to the Thomas Legal Defense Fund to be paid over the coming 12 months:

\$100 \$200 \$500 \$1,000 \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

Contributions to the Fund are deductible for U.S. Income Tax purposes.

to the continual bombardment of specialization.

Foreign Service employees are now recruited, trained, transferred, and promoted as specialists. Overall efficiency is believed to be enhanced by having more people performing fewer and more precisely delineated tasks. Even in the substantive fields of political and economic reporting, there is a growing demand for area specialization as well as more specialized types of reporting.

True, styles do change and pendulums swing, but the historic trend appears irreversible. The generalist, who has provided the valuable pollen for cross-fertilization and hybrid vigor within the Service, had best start looking elsewhere if he really wishes to escape the mold and boredom of specialization. This, then, is a report on one of the most promising of the possible "elsewheres" to which a generalist may move.

There is in America today at least one steadfast and flourishing refuge where one can avoid the plague of specialization. In fact, to succeed, one has to be a gen-

eralist—a master of many talents. Further, to make it more appealing to the masochistic strain that has become traditional in the Foreign Service, the hours are long, the pay is minimal, but the rewards—of course—are varied and great. The industry is both historic and basic; included among its modern day practitioners are such figures as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Lyndon Johnson. Politics it is not. Rather it is the pastoral pursuit known as agriculture. Perhaps one thinks of agriculture today as being dominated by 400 hp behemoth tractors, juggernaut combines, mammoth Ponderosa-like spreads, and faceless corporations. In some cases, yes, that would be an accurate picture. But there is still a place and a key role to be played in modern agriculture by the broadly versed successors to ol' MacDonald and Farmer Brown.

How, one may ask in recoiled horror, can the dilettante diplomat find success and happiness in such an earthy vocation? To answer that, perhaps, first, it would be helpful to look at some of the vari-

ous job titles and duty descriptions that could be applied to the successful farmer:

- **Economic Analyst:** What products will be in demand? Which will offer maximum profits for capital and labor input?

- **Commercial Attache:** Negotiate purchase of feedstocks and sale of produce. Attend the local auctions; be a shrewd bidder and buyer.

- **Motor Pool Supervisor:** Keep the 15-year-old tractor, 12-year-old pick-up truck, mower, baler, and miscellaneous machines operating.

- **General Services Officer:** Cows, hogs, and chickens can be just as demanding about their care and feeding as the Ambassador's secretary.

- **Administrative Officer:** Proper division of labor, lots of paper work for Secretary Butz and the IRS as well as handling the complaints and/or suggestions from the wife and other interested spectators are integral parts of the daily operation on the farm.

- **Security Officer:** Fences must be kept in repair. Poaching hunters

Continued on page 26

Georgetown Dutch Inn



HOTEL and MOTOR INN
1075 THOMAS JEFFERSON ST., N. W.,
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

- Luxurious one or two bedroom suites throughout, completely equipped with kit., auto. dishwasher, individual heater, air cond., color TV, and much more
- Restaurant, Lounge, Valet Parking
- Perfect location for families or couples
- No additional charge for children under 15
- Just minutes away from State Department
- Secluded, quiet, dignified atmosphere.

SGL. \$24.00 DBL. \$26.00 2 BDRM. \$40.00

For reservations or information call 202-337-0900

IN THE HEART OF HISTORIC GEORGETOWN
½ BLOCK TO C&O CANAL

FOREIGN POLICY

NUMBER 14, SPRING 1974, \$2.50

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3 Europe's Problems, Europe's Choices
<i>George F. Kennan</i> | 142 Their Special Strengths
<i>Edwin O. Reischauer</i> |
| 17 The Politics Of Food
<i>Stephen S. Rosenfeld</i> | 153 Comments: <i>Robert W. Burnett</i>
<i>Morton H. Halperin</i> |
| 30 An Exchange On Food
<i>Charles G. Billot/Lester R. Brown</i> | 157 The Rediscovery Of Japan
<i>Herman Nickel</i> |
| 35 The Deceptive Structure Of Peace
<i>Zbigniew Brzezinski</i> | 164 Flexible MADness?
<i>Herbert Scoville, Jr.</i> |
| ONE, TWO, MANY OPEC'S . . . ? | 178 Washington Dateline: The Age Of Jackson?
<i>Leslie H. Gelb & Anthony Lake</i> |
| 57 Collusion Could Work
<i>Zuhayr Mikdashy</i> | |
| 68 Oil Is The Exception
<i>Stephen D. Krasner</i> | |
| 84 The Threat Is Real
<i>C. Fred Bergsten</i> | |
| 91 Middle East Ghosts
<i>Fouad Ajami</i> | |
| 111 Peace—Inshallah
<i>Lucius D. Battle</i> | |

SPECIAL TO AFSA MEMBERS

A two-year subscription to FOREIGN POLICY (8 issues) is available for \$15.00, a saving of \$5.00 over the newstand price and \$2.00 off the regular subscription rate.

Send checks, stating that you are an AFSA member, to Foreign Policy Subscription Dept., 155 Allen Blvd., Farmingdale, N. Y. 11735.

JAPAN: DIPLOMATIC CRIPPLE?

- 126 The Causes Of Paralysis
Taketsugu Tsurutani

FSO'S AND FSIO'S: USAA CAN PROTECT YOU FROM ARGENTINA TO ZAMBIA.

USAA's protection, service, and savings span the globe.

Stateside, USAA insures automobiles, homes, household goods, personal possessions, boats, your personal liability. And for less money than many companies charge. Premiums are low. Dividends (not guaranteed, but paid every year since 1924) make the cost even lower.

If you are overseas, check out USAA before you buy insurance. Coverage for household goods, personal articles (expensive cameras,

furs, silverware, jewelry, and similar items), personal activities, and boats extends anywhere in the world. Auto insurance is available in many foreign countries.

USAA has more than 1,000 representatives in the United States and many foreign countries for quick, fair claims service wherever and whenever you might have a loss.

Once you have a policy with USAA, you are eligible to apply for more insurance at any time, even if you leave the Foreign Service or retire. Use the coupon for information.



SEND INFORMATION FOR INSURANCE CHECKED BELOW



USAA Building,
San Antonio,
Texas 78288

UNITED SERVICES AUTOMOBILE ASSN.
(A reciprocal interinsurance exchange)

- Automobile
- Household Goods and Personal Effects—Worldwide (clothing, china, cameras, golf clubs, etc.)
- Comprehensive Personal Insurance (Liability)
- Renters Insurance (Combination Household Goods and Comprehensive Personal Insurance.)
- Personal Articles Floater (Expensive single items—jewelry, furs, art, etc.)
- Boatowners
- Homeowners or Dwelling Fire and Allied Perils _____ (STATE)

(Available only to career ambassadors, career ministers, commissioned officers* of the Foreign Service and the United States Information Agency, Foreign Service Reserve Officers and Foreign Service Staff Officers while holding Presidential appointments as Consular Officers or as Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service, including those who are retired as commissioned officers.)
PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE WITHIN SPACE BELOW

Full Name _____

Personal Rank and Class* _____ Soc. Sec. No. _____

Street Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Country _____

Area Code Phone Number _____ USAA Membership No. _____
(If Stateside) Not a USAA Member
 Former USAA Member

*R and S classes not eligible unless holding a Presidential commission.

Code 4097

New thoughts on the most critical
of all problems . . .

THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR IN A WORLD OF UNCERTAINTY

FRED C. IKLÉ

WHERE MANY in the arms control community make a dangerous mistake, it seems to me, is in forgetting that our policies for preventing nuclear war *must* succeed indefinitely in a world with a great many uncertainties. Their mistake is to assume too much certainty and not to look far enough ahead.

Adapted from remarks given by the author before the Joint Harvard/M.I.T. Arms Control Seminar, Feb. 20, 1974.

Born in Switzerland in 1924, Fred C. Iklé came to the United States in 1946 and subsequently received master's and doctoral degrees in sociology from the University of Chicago. The author of many works on international negotiations and arms control, Dr. Iklé was a research associate at Harvard's Center for International Affairs, then a professor of political science at M.I.T., before becoming head of the Social Science Department of the Rand Corporation. Prior to becoming Director of ACDA, he was known mainly for his contributions to strategies for reducing the risk of war—including the introduction of the "permissive action link," a device for making it physically impossible to arm a nuclear weapon without a release signal from a remote authorizing source.

In particular, it is usually assumed that the essential features of deterrence can be calculated in advance. Many are familiar with calculations of so-called "missile exchanges"—often referred to in arms control literature and in congressional debates.

These calculations continue to be prominent in our thinking because we really know how to do them. Much as in a freshman's algebra test, we have tailored the problem to our capability to calculate. The seemingly rigorous models of nuclear deterrence are built on the rule: what you can't calculate you leave out. For example, the "missile duels" usually ignore fallout. And the calculations are unable to cope with critical details regarding unreliability. Nor can they fully encompass other nuclear forces, such as bombers and sea-based missiles and their many possible interactions.

These limitations of analysis are not the only reason why we must

apply greater caution in drawing sweeping conclusions from our work. Our entire structure of thinking about deterrence lacks empiricism. Like no other field of human endeavor, nuclear deterrence is unique in demanding—absolutely compellingly—that we work out successful solutions without directly relevant experience, without experimentation. There can be no trial and error here, no real learning.

Curiously, when we confront the task of calculating traditional *conventional* military campaigns, we are far more modest than with our calculations about nuclear deterrence. In fact, the more battle experience military analysts have, the more modest they become in predicting the course of conventional war.

But about nuclear war, we pretend that we can analyze all that is relevant. We work with simplistic abstractions and are not too troubled by the discrepancies between



Dr. Fred C. Iklé

these abstractions and the possible reality, a reality that is so hard to imagine.

The current overemphasis on numerical calculations to test the stability of deterrence is only one of several weaknesses in the public discussions of arms control policy. Another weakness is the widespread belief that nuclear deterrence is all that counts.

Our efforts to prevent nuclear war could fail, as all of you know, not only because of an inadequate retaliatory capability to deter a deliberate attack, but for other reasons, such as an accident, an unintended process of escalation, or a combination of failures and causes we could not have anticipated, or even imagined. Put in such terms, no one ever disagrees with the proposition that a situation of mutual deterrence does not, by itself, guarantee the prevention of nuclear war. Yet, nearly everyone keeps debating arms control policies and nuclear strategy in terms of naked deterrence.

Thus, it has been argued that a mutual hostage relationship between America and Russia was the principal factor in preventing nuclear war since World War II. How can we know what factors to credit for the fact that nuclear weapons have not been used since August 1946? The formidable confrontation of massive and complicated

missile forces that we face today has lasted for one decade only.

Should we credit principally the results of our calculations regarding our so-called retaliatory capability? Shouldn't we also credit the good fortune that there has been no massive failure of the safeguards holding back these missile forces? And that there has been no miscalculation and no unintended interaction of alert measures leading to some use of nuclear weapons and subsequently to a breakdown of communications and control? If one asks why there has been no nuclear war in the past decades, I would add still another reason—namely, a general posture of prudence of our potential adversaries and ourselves.

The danger of relying on naked deterrence is heightened by the current emphasis on speed in planning the response to a nuclear attack. Many of you have heard me say this before; but according to a Russian proverb, repetition is the mother of learning. For various historical reasons, most of our nuclear arms, and perhaps the nuclear arms of other countries, are built to go into action with the least delay and to operate at the greatest speed. In the real world we live in, the unpredictable perils of split-second alert and launching procedures could create a situation in which there is absolutely no time for correction.

Another fiction has it that mutual deterrence can be safely relied on to prevent nuclear war because we have achieved the necessary consensus between our views and Soviet views about strategic doctrine and strategic forces. This notion of a stable and sufficient consensus leaves out two realities:

First, there are not just two nuclear powers in the world; other nuclear powers may produce turbulence and dangerous shifts in the nuclear balance and in the views about stability.

Second, intellectual evolution is always possible among the leaders and specialists who determine policy in the Soviet Union, and here as well. Nor, indeed, should we always oppose the emergence of new ideas. As Blake put it: "The man who never alters his opinion is like standing water, and breeds reptiles of the mind." Evolution in strategic thinking might produce

situations better—or worse—than what confronts us now.

Let us admit that we are dealing in this field with arguments based on only plausibility, not experience. Many of these arguments can be constructed just as convincingly in their logical opposites. And since nuclear policy cannot possibly be based on actual experience—let us hope and pray it never can—it tends to feed on itself. It gets no feedback from the real world, no empirical evidence of the incontrovertible kind that buttresses the physical and even the social sciences. In this sense we are a ship sailing through the night guided only by the light at the prow.

Because nuclear strategy cannot offer positive proof, I think it is more like a theology than a science. Hence, we run the risk that our "theologies," ours and the Russians', may not be in harmony. Sudden incompatibilities can develop in military thinking and could lead to catastrophe. All the more reason, then, for us to keep our minds open and not plan the future by listening only to the echo of our old ideas.

There is a further aspect of accepted doctrine which should trouble us even more. As the President's foreign policy report of last May said:

While the specter of an unacceptable response is fundamental to deterrence, the ability to kill tens of millions of people is not the only or necessarily the most effective deterrent to every challenge. . . . Moreover, the measurement of the effectiveness of our strategic forces in terms of the numbers of dead is inconsistent with American values.

I wish that this reminder had received a warmer and brighter response.

Many arms control specialists maintain that deterrence requires the threat of genocide; although they would call it "city-targeting" or "mutual hostage relationship," since few people have the stomach for full honesty in these matters. According to this thinking, a deterrent will succeed as long as—according to our calculations about "missile duels"—it can result in enough people killed on the other side.

Actually, the more simplified the calculation, the greater is the dis-

tance between this atrocious abstraction and the incomprehensible, real atrocity for which it serves as a disguise.

Much as we should not plan this country's arms control policy on the basis of intellectualized abstractions and fictions, we also must not develop arms control policy with a stunted moral conscience.

I would be the first to admit a certain guilt in the history of our own American thinking on nuclear weapons. Our guilt can be traced back to the Anglo-American approach to strategic bombing in World War II. The idea of destroying the morale of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan by killing German and Japanese women and children did have an understandable explanation in terms of that period. It can be traced, in part, to the emotions of that time. But to a large part this strategy simply rationalized the fact that bombing in those days was so inaccurate that it could only destroy residential areas. In any event, the thinking of World War II strongly influenced our earliest planning on nuclear war in the late '40s and early '50s.

But just because certain errors can be explained in terms of their historical origin doesn't mean that we should plan to perpetuate them. We have had enough time now to think these problems through.

To deter a decision to attack us we have to influence those who might make that decision. If the only means to that end were the threatened murder of as many innocent bystanders as possible, that might be justified—to the extent that the end justifies the means.

But nobody has proved that the threat of killing bystanders is the only way to deter.

At the same time, avoiding this error, we should not commit the opposite error: We should never assume that nuclear weapons could be used without an enormous risk of leading to further nuclear escalation and thus to unprecedented civilian death and suffering. It is this very uncertainty which must be a powerful deterrent for any sane leader. Why, then, should we rig our terrible engines of destruction in such a way as to make genocide certain? Doesn't it make sense to introduce a last chance

—should something go wrong—to prevent the utmost catastrophe?

Many thoughtful people manage to feel almost comfortable with the prospect of an enduring confrontation of threatened genocide. How is such an attitude possible? Only by thinking the weapons will never be used. Yet, we have to keep in mind that the usability of nuclear weapons is built into them. Indeed, as we all know, nuclear arms are carefully designed and primed for ready use.

Our moral conscience, therefore, ought to be concerned with this fact of usability. We cannot take leave from the problem by arguing that we do not intend actual use, particularly since the threat leaves too much to chance. Actual use, should it ever occur, would be triggered by a sudden turn of events that provoked a deliberate decision by a few men, or by some other processes.

And even if it were a deliberate decision, the ensuing cataract of horror would be too immense to be made the moral responsibility of a few misguided men. We do not blame the destruction of four empires and the deaths of at least ten million in World War I on the assassin of the Archduke at Sarajevo. The blame belongs to the system that failed to avert disaster.

In calling attention to the defects of fashionable current thinking, as I have done, I do not for a moment say that we should edge away from the policy of deterrence. I say only that naked deterrence is not enough. Looking ahead into the next ten to twenty years, I am convinced that we must supplement deterrence, underpin it, by a whole series of positive actions in the technical, military and political fields.

At this point let me outline a few of the actions I would like to see started without delay. They ought to be started on many intellectual fronts at once, in centers of research around the country. I shall mention four such directions:

One of the tasks falls on those of our engineers and physical scientists who wish to make a contribution toward the prevention of nuclear war. In my opinion, these technical experts must work harder to invent nuclear arms that do not have to be used quickly, lest they be destroyed. The present nuclear

arsenals, in all their many components, must be made less dangerous. I am optimistic that more imaginative designs of nuclear arms can still make major contributions toward our arms control objectives. And as a complementary requirement, new arms control agreements should permit, or even encourage, such technical development of safer arms.

Second, another front for action concerns command and control and operational planning. A high-priority task in this field, I am convinced, is to provide for the reversibility of crises.

What do I mean by this phrase? The best way I can explain it is to remind you of one crisis that became irreversible. This was the ever-famous, or ever-infamous crisis of the last few days before the outbreak of World War I.

A momentum toward war took control of Europe and could not be stopped. On July 30 Austria-Hungary and Russia ordered their forces mobilized. The next day Germany gave Russia twelve hours to stop its mobilization. When no word came, Germany not only declared war on Russia but also began to move against France.

This was the death sentence on at least ten million Europeans, most of them young men in the prime of life. The mechanism of mobilization worked with a ratchet effect: it could move notch by notch toward war and into war, but never back toward conciliation and peace.

What should give pause to all of us who work on arms control is that the two Hague Peace Conferences in 1899 and 1907 never had this ratchet effect of mobilizations on their agenda. While the conferences represented a serious effort, and while many of the participants had a real sense of foreboding about the next war, their imagination did not encompass the process that was to trigger the catastrophe of 1914—the interlocking mobilization schedules.

Where nuclear arms are involved, we are not dealing with mobilization schedules and warning times measured in days. A move by one side can produce a countermove by the other in a matter of minutes. Command and control procedures could collapse

Continued on page 30

ALTHOUGH there are frequent assurances that "responsible" dissent is encouraged in the Foreign Service, the impression conveyed to many of those who at some time in their careers consider swimming against the policy tide is often quite different. Pressures for conformity are of course by no means confined to the foreign affairs agencies, but the stakes are generally higher than with other organizations. Further, the price for policy failure is incalculable, for not only the nation's well-being, but also its security and ultimate survival are directly affected by the policy-making process.

This process, we are assured, operates to permit full and free discussion of alternative courses of action. We are further told that we have learned enough about ourselves in the past few years to avoid the excesses of the past. Even if this is true, one might still wish that our wisdom could be acquired less painfully than has sometimes been the case. We might also ponder whether we have really retained it.

Despite these doubts, it is at least encouraging that the shameful wasting of the country's most knowledgeable China specialists during the McCarthy era is still fresh in the American conscience. The fact that many of their views have proved to be accurate after all makes the episode all the more significant. Yet if we learned the lessons of our failures in China, how is it possible that we made similar mistakes in Vietnam scarcely fifteen years later?

Most of the blame for the decimation of the China reporting service in the State Department in the 1950s has been attributed to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, although there were others such as our Ambassador to China, Patrick Hurley, who also played major roles. Dulles's view of what was required of the Foreign Service was stated most clearly in a talk to Department employees on January 21, 1953. What was expected, said Dulles, was "...competence, discipline and positive loyalty to the policies that our President and the Congress may prescribe. . . . Less than that is not tolerable at this time. . . ."

Among the victims of the doctrine of "positive loyalty" was

"Pure spirit, lively heart, courage, and high aims are prerequisite but not sufficient. Yet the young shun professionalism. And for good reason. Most professionals at present, certainly in the United States, are finks, and the very idea of autonomous responsible professionalism has begun to fade. Professionals are becoming nothing but personnel of organizations. They execute programs handed down to them no matter what; they do not criticize and reject the program in terms of their own best judgment and their ethical responsibilities. . . . The revolutionary spirit of an authentic professional is, perhaps, not hotly activist, but it is deeply committed, involves one's intimate habits, and is lasting."

—PAUL GOODMAN

DISSENT, DISLOYALTY, AND FOREIGN SERVICE FINKISM

WILLIAM R. LENDERKING

William Lenderking is a Foreign Service Information Officer currently serving in Italy. He has also served in Cuba, Bolivia, Japan and Vietnam.

George F. Kennan. Shortly after the 1952 election, he gave a speech criticizing the Dulles rollback idea, which moved Dulles to inform him that there was "no place in the administration" for him. The speech had actually been cleared by Charles Bohlen, Kennan's superior at the time, and Bohlen offered to resign because of his responsibility in the affair. Dulles replied that this would not be necessary because Bohlen had made no public speeches on the subject. Kennan, however, left the Department.

Dulles's ideas on rollback are now generally regarded as both erroneous and dangerous, if not downright foolish, and many of Kennan's criticisms are considered justified. Yet by standards still at least tacitly approved, Dulles acted

correctly in removing Kennan. By these standards, Kennan's mistake was not that he was critical, but that he was critical in public. Yet, is it not a basic tenet of our society that citizens must be informed of policy alternatives as an essential element to the sound functioning of the republic? Perhaps traditionalists would argue that the burden for providing responsible criticism should not be assumed by one who serves at the pleasure of the President. Yet Presidential appointees swear to uphold the Constitution, and are not under oath to support the policies of any given President.

In any case, however much the major responsibility for the traumatic and inhibiting effect of the 1950s on the Foreign Service can be traced to a pusillanimous administration and a myopically moralistic Secretary of State, pressures for conformist thinking by no means ended with the McCarthy era. Activists in the Kennedy administration professed open scorn for Foreign Service skeptics who questioned their ability to instantly reform the world. And during the Johnson administration, intense pressure from the White House to generate "good news" on Vietnam led to the distortion of pessimistic reports from the field. The realization that this pressure was at least in part inspired by perceived domestic political needs adds to the fear that an honest and thorough airing of differing policy alternatives is a fragile possibility under the best of circumstances. What cannot be disputed is that high-level political pressures have inhibited honest reporting in several administrations.

David Halberstam and others have stated that the quality of political reporting from Vietnam in no way matched that of the old China reporting service. Perhaps Halberstam's indictment is overstated. I am convinced that when the files are eventually made public, they will show that many Foreign Service officers reported honestly, accurately, and with considerable courage. What is less praiseworthy, however, is the certainty that pessimistic reports from the field were sometimes laundered as they progressed through the bureaucracy and eventually to Washington. I cannot prove this, but that is my belief, and I am cer-

You may well have dissented openly, even passionately, within the councils of government, and your colleagues may know why you really resigned, if it was really over dissent; but you owe it to the Club—and to your continued membership in the Club, though temporarily on leave—to abide by the unwritten rule: dissent inside (and within limits) is fine; dissent outside, and in public, is bad form.

—from "Getting Out and Speaking Out," by James C. Thomson, Jr.
FOREIGN POLICY, Number 13, Winter, 1973-74

tain that the records will eventually substantiate it. In any case, the belief that pessimistic reports were distorted within the bureaucracy is widely held among Foreign Service officers who served in Vietnam. Ironically, the concern that pessimistic or critical views would not make it through official channels without alteration gave considerable impetus to the practice of using unofficial sources such as newsmen to inform the outside world what was really going on. This of course fed the system of leaks and unauthorized disclosures which bureaucracies both fear and live by.

The dilemma posed by controversial situations like Vietnam, with so much at stake nationally and for the individuals involved, is not to be minimized. What are the alternatives when a government employee is obliged to support policies with which he is in disagreement, and when political and bureaucratic pressures inhibit candid reporting as well as limit opportunities for altering the policy?

It seems to me that there are three possible courses of action: resignation, resistance, or acquiescence. Regarding the first, it seems inescapable that if one reaches the point where one's conscience is offended by policy, the wisest course for an honorable person is resignation. Such an action will, however, almost completely eliminate any possibility that an employee might eventually be able to bring about modifications in the offending policy. This is true even if the resignee writes books, makes speeches, and protests against the policy in public. Few, if any, examples come to mind where an officer has had greater impact on policy after his departure than before it, but there are many examples of the opposite—George Kennan and John P. Davies being two that come immediately to mind. Despite Kennan's protestations that almost nothing he said or did dur-

ing his distinguished career seemed to have had much influence in deciding policy, both he and Davies had considerable authority in the State Department. After their departures, however, their ability to directly influence policy all but disappeared, despite the fact that both wrote books and articles critical of aspects of American foreign policy.

Ambassador Kennan went so far as to say that Foreign Service officers should be independently wealthy so that they would be in a position "to tell the government to go to hell if the demands made upon their conscience exceeded the point of no return." Yet it is doubtful if even personal wealth can guarantee that moral considerations and duty to one's conscience will always prevail when questions of power, prestige, and career are involved.

In any case, it is certainly easier to talk about resigning than to actually do it. Those who were dismayed by aspects of our Vietnam policy and the way it was being applied must have numbered in the hundreds. But the number of those who actually resigned in protest is very small. Of course, it must be recognized that potential dissenters are deterred as much by uncertainty as by lack of moral courage. Most policy alternatives are propounded by people who are neither stupid nor evil, and the possibility that an alternative with which one disagrees is nevertheless plausible and may in fact turn out to be the best course is a sobering and impeding factor. Yet the experts have been wrong frequently enough to justify one's speaking up, even at the risk of being eventually proved wrong.

The second alternative, resistance to perceived policy misdirections from within, raises a question about what kind of resistance is appropriate. Generally speaking, organizing or participating in public displays of disapproval is neither

appropriate nor effective. Nevertheless, there are times when such acts, or even "whistle blowing" as it is called in these days of resistance to established authority, may be justified. Vietnam again provides us with a good recent example. A significant number of Foreign Service employees made such public displays during the Cambodian invasion and the December bombings of North Vietnam in 1972, not as Foreign Service employees, but as individuals making a moral statement. The fact that the State Department was highly displeased, but eventually took no overt action against the employees illustrates the seriousness of the dilemma for both individual and organization.

Yet it is utterly impossible to devise a workable standard that would resolve the problem. One is obliged to settle for the realization that when one feels it imperative to act on the basis of personal conviction, whether moral or political, one must nevertheless also be prepared to take responsibility for the results. But it is also arguable that the impulse of some employees to take their disagreements outside the organization would be lessened if bureaucracies were more honest in their responsibility of providing basic information to the public and not so prone to resort to evasions, verbal sludge and outright lies to deter even legitimate inquiries. In the final analysis, organizations must be held to account just as should their employees.

Those who decide to resist from within face several different kinds of problems. An employee runs the risk of becoming the "house gadfly," a situation which occurs when a known dissenter is isolated but still tolerated in order to show that the policy makers are considering all options and have not stifled opposition. Some observers suggest that George Ball played such a role in high-level Vietnam deliberations in the Johnson administration. Yet at least a plausible case can be built, in the absence of final evidence, that Mr. Ball played a key role in moderating some of the wilder schemes presented to the President, and that his views ultimately had an impact in effecting the change of policy that eventually took place.

Another aspect of the problem is

again illuminated by Mr. Kennan. He warns that "there is a real ceiling on the usefulness of any one of us, and that is the point at which he becomes so importunate with his views that they cease to be listened to with any respect at all." Any would-be dissenter must be careful to choose appropriate times and forums for expounding his arguments, with the sure knowledge that excessive zeal can quickly become tiresome even to sympathizers.

The final and by far the most common alternative is acquiescence. If disagreement with established courses of action is frequent, and I think it is, those who resist are rare. This is not entirely unnatural. For one thing, bureaucratic decisions are frequently arrived at by consensus, at least at the middle levels, and participants have ample opportunities to air their views on specific aspects of policies. Further, there is rarely such stark divergence between policies adopted and policies rejected as to call forth from individual participants the full weight of their opposition. The reason for this, however, is both subtle and potentially dangerous. It is that most discussions take place within a fairly narrow framework in which a set of assumptions is already given. Going outside of this framework to question the assumptions themselves is rarely done, and certainly not encouraged. Thus, in Vietnam, endless meetings centered on such things as a little more of this, and a little less of that, and not, tragically, on whether we should have been doing what we were doing in the first place. Anyone with eyes could see that some things were not going well and that some of the reasons could be traced to dubious policy assumptions and objectives. Yet most Americans felt that "I am here to do a job, not question policy." As a result, many people hid from the awful possibility that their country, and consequently themselves, could be wrong. But even in large bureaucracies, to deny one's obligation to think through to the consequences of given policies is both morally and bureaucratically irresponsible. It is, in essence, finkism.

It has generally been an axiom in the Foreign Service that full and

Most noisy resignations at state and local levels are flashes in the pan. A man is a headline today, forgotten or a pariah tomorrow. Bad policy is seldom changed by assaults from those who jumped ship and then sang. Would it not be more constructive to work from inside and outside simultaneously—to stay in touch, perhaps on tap as a consultant, and to play the external role of a friendly analyst who doesn't exceed the bounds of permissible criticism?

—from "Getting Out and Speaking Out" by James C. Thomson, Jr.
FOREIGN POLICY, Number 13, Winter 1973-74

free discussion of policy options is both necessary and possible at all levels while decision-making is in process. But once a final decision has been made, we are told, a person must loyally support the policy and keep any evidence of continuing dissidence to himself. Yet full and free discussion which examines basic policy assumptions as well as implementation is not encouraged, although there have been some hopeful signs recently that the range of policy discussion is broadening. Furthermore, the "air your views but support the final policy" attitude, taken to its logical conclusion, would effectively prevent reviews of unsuccessful policies and would give added weight to the powerful force of bureaucratic inertia which enables policies and practices to continue long after they have outlived their utility.

This discussion can in no way do more than try to outline briefly some of the problems that a democratic society must work out regarding dissent. If a general prescription is possible, it is that the foreign affairs agencies must strive for greater openness, subject of course to *genuine* security considerations, and purposefully create the atmosphere and structure within which employees can question the basic assumptions of policy and practice. A necessary corollary to this is that the distinction between dissent and disloyalty must be made clearer.

For employees, there is an equal obligation to report the truth, to test assumptions, and to fulfill one's obligation as an individual and as an American, and not just as a member of a particular team or representative of a special bureaucratic interest. The responsibility to test basic assumptions is not lessened even if the policy framework is supplied by the President himself.

Some years ago, John Paton Davies wrote that "our foreign relations are in a fantastic state—wishful thinking, vacillation, secret skeletons, and pervasive confusion. For these reasons, the Foreign Service is not an exhilarating experience. To get out of it and be able to speak the truth would be a refreshing experience. On the other hand, somebody has to carry on with the job. We stay on hoping that things will be better, that our experience can be productive of some good. So I, and others like me, stay."

We have perhaps traveled a considerable distance since that grim assessment was made in 1945. Most Foreign Service employees would probably see little similarity between conditions in 1945 and today. Yet it might be well to occasionally ask ourselves how much things have really changed. It seems to me that we are as vulnerable as ever to the whims of leadership. When that leadership is wise and far-seeing, the bureaucracy basks in the glow. When it is quixotic, vindictive, and narrow-minded, the bureaucracy cooperates sullenly at worst, but it cooperates, not wishing to resist the pressures to go along. The result, as in Vietnam, can well be another version of "The Emperor's New Clothes."

PERHAPS the dilemmas which arise when individual conscience and the urge to do what one believes is right conflict with organizational loyalties and the pressure against rocking the boat can never be resolved. Yet the Foreign Service would be a healthier place if individuals would again realize their place in the totality of foreign policy and not acquiesce in their own alienation and depersonalization—two altogether common ailments of modern life which occur at least in part because individuals themselves permit it. ■

"If the United States is to counter the distortion and negativism in the picture of this country often perceived in many parts of the world, it must remain competitive in the field of official informational and cultural activity."—James Keogh, Director, USIA

USIA MECHANISM VS. FUNCTION

LESLIE ALBION SQUIRES

FOR THAT MINORITY, within as outside the government, who think seriously about the future of the American foreign affairs community, the present posture and purposes of one element in that community—the United States Information Agency—must pose certain questions, pertinent if perhaps simplistic: What is it? Why is it? Is it really necessary?

At one level, for example, USIA's most persistent Congressional critic is essentially right. If USIA remains, as he alleges, primarily an anti-communist mechanism—as it has certainly been on occasions in the past—then it is indeed an anachronism at a time when détente with the two major communist powers happens to be a basic ingredient in United States foreign policy.

Even more basically, if the essential function of USIA is still to "win hearts and minds" or even "tell America's story abroad"—as its facade advertises—there may still be good reason to question its continued validity, for nothing is more impossible of achievement under revolutionary communications and contact conditions than

Les Squires divided a Foreign Service career of some 32 years almost equally between State and USIA, having been an FSO from 1942 to 1956 and a USIS officer from 1956 to 1973. In the latter role, he served as Counselor for Public Affairs in Morocco, Turkey, Pakistan and the Philippines, with Washington assignments as Deputy Assistant Director for Africa and Assistant Director for South Asia. For State, he ran the gamut from Vice Consul in Monterrey to Consul General in Dacca, including tours in Egypt, Turkey, Hungary, India and Brazil. In 1970, following his assignment in Dacca, he received the Herter Award and State's Distinguished Honor Award. He now lives in Sausalito, California.

an effort by any government to "tell stories"—let alone "win hearts and minds"—when that government is tied down by the limits of attribution and full disclosure ideally imposed on those who rule a democratic society. In a period of compulsive openness and equally compulsive spotlight-focusing of attention, attitudes cannot be changed by visibly-sponsored governmental means.

If, on the other hand, the primary function of the public affairs arm in foreign affairs is to put into the decision-making process those very elements made essential by the revolutions in communications and contact, then USIA's claim to a continuing function is valid, *provided* its mechanism is—or can be made to be—both apt and appropriate to the successful achievement of that goal.

It is perhaps here that the greatest uncertainty lies for those who do think about USIA's future, i.e.: a confusion of function with mechanism. Within a government agency, it is almost inevitable that function becomes confused with mechanism, for maintenance of mechanism is the first law of bureaucratic survival. From outside, on the other hand, the view is sharply modified by an equally appropriate cliché: It is always possible for the non-participant to find a better way to perform *any* function. Leaving clichés aside, it remains obvious that any diagnosis of USIA and its current ills must begin with an attempt to define—and more important, separate—its function from its mechanism. To what extent does the latter expedite—or even permit—the achievement of the former?

IN VIEWING USIA's mechanism, it is perhaps well to start with the heart of the bureaucracy—the people involved. The Agency began with the residue of the World War II Office of War Information, transmitted through State's USIE. Notwithstanding the presence of some competent officers, the personnel acquired consisted primarily of those OWI officers who lacked the talent or drive to opt for private enterprise at a time when everyone was convinced there was no possible future in government information operations. It was perhaps a minor miracle that USIA's first Director, Ted Streibert, fashioned a highly effective and non-bureaucratic machine from such questionable talent.

In the years that followed, several things happened to increase the bureaucratic content of USIA's personnel roster. Many of the best officers slid laterally into State at an appropriate level, giving the US many fine Ambassadors, but depriving the Agency of its best substantive skills. Recruitment tended to concentrate on mid-career information specialists—men and women who were making films, editing papers, or designing radio programs—only to face them in the Agency with a growing tendency to contract for films, eliminate publications, and find expendable the very products requiring the know-how for which they had been hired. Inevitably, there was also a rapid infiltration of professional bureaucrats who knew a good thing when they saw it and followed the natural law of bureaucracy by flowing towards a bureaucratic vacuum. Even the most favorable omen—the con-

tinued infusion of bright new blood at the bottom—tended to end on a sour note, for the USIA trainees were no less convinced than their State colleagues of the inadequacy of the mechanism in which they found themselves employed, thus tending to concentrate on altering the mechanism rather than performing the substantive functions for which they were hired. For those who could not stomach involvement in USIA as they found it, the only alternative—followed by so many of USIA's best young officers—was to blow the joint, if not literally, at least by resigning and often working for change from the outside.

More important, however, than this uneven recruitment and retention pattern in the triumph of bureaucracy has been the increasing concentration of USIA's mechanism and manpower in Washington. From those first creative days, when Director Streibert put some 80 percent of his personnel in the field, USIA has come to a day when over half of the Agency officers are assigned to Washington. While there are some valid reasons for this, including the complexity of the budgetary process and the demands of Congressional inquisitors for exhaustive documentation of the most infinitesimal question, the USIA mechanism is hopelessly ill-adjusted to its function so long as a majority of its officers are where the job isn't.

In terms of function, the USIA mechanism is as misplaced as it is inadequate. It is strongest where it is needed least, and weakest in the field where the assigned USIA job *must* be done, by logic as well as law. It has grown overly long in the bureaucratic tooth, leaving little bite when confronted by its customers. It has, in fact, taken the easy way, for it's a bloody hard job—especially in these days—to perform the USIA job effectively overseas, while sitting at a Washington desk for the assigned 40-hour week is comparatively easy. The "gut task" of USIA—selling US policies overseas—has not surprisingly proven less attractive to many officers than the butt-riding job of a Washington assignment.

IF WE TURN now to the question of

USIA's function and the efficiency with which it is performed, we face something of a paradox, for the least are doing the best, while the most are accomplishing the least.

By and large, USIA's officers overseas are doing a striking job, as attested by most of their Ambassadors. In contrast, USIA in Washington has woefully failed to perform its primary assignment, i.e. to put the public affairs element into the decision-making process. Overseas, most USIS officers sit well up in the Country Team apparatus, certainly contributing no less to the policy formation process than their political, economic and

Since bureaucrats have very well defined rules to assure preservation of the species, it has always been impolite to suggest there is an obvious dualism in the public affairs area, inherent in the pattern established with the creation of USIA. . . .

even administrative colleagues. In Washington, in contrast, the Director of USIA has been effectively blocked in performing his primary function by his exile from NSC, an emasculation that has rapidly spread down through most of the policy-making levels of the government. As a result, such stupidities have been common as the seating of a USIA Assistant Director in an NSC mechanism—by courtesy of course—the proceedings of which could not be made available to the Director of the Agency.

That USIA has failed to perform in Washington the public affairs function most central to the foreign affairs needs of the United States in the '70s can be amply demonstrated.* What is worth examining now is the present location of this "function" in the Washington bureaucracy, and the possibility

* Obviously pontifical observations such as this cannot be proven in the space of a paper such as this, nor can the present management of USIA necessarily be blamed for what has happened since Ed Murrow's time. For those who will examine the case coolly, however, there will be no doubt that USIA has been down-graded in policy-formation terms since President Kennedy's day.

and desirability of restoring it to USIA as it was in the days of President Kennedy and Director Ed Murrow.

SINCE BUREAUCRATS have very well defined rules to assure preservation of the species, it has always been impolite to suggest there is an obvious dualism in the public affairs area, inherent in the pattern established with the creation of USIA and increasingly obvious as State has expanded its duplicate bureaucracies in the information and cultural areas.

From the very birth of the Agency, of course, the duplication was inevitable with State retaining Washington control of cultural exchange and USIA officers handling such matters overseas. In the years since, CU has gradually created a complex and involved bureaucracy running parallel to—and often duplicating—USIA's cultural mechanism. From an operational viewpoint, the result has been no more happy than the child of any broken marriage, with cultural exchange operations shifting restlessly back and forth between one parent in Washington and another overseas.

Even in the information area, where USIA presumably has full overseas mandate, State has of necessity created a complex mechanism devoted to the propagation of proper attitudes towards US foreign policy at home. For so long as USIA's primary task has been seen as merely running USIS Information Centers overseas, the overlap could be tolerated, especially so long as USIA was conceded a role in putting public affairs into the decision-making process at the top level in Washington.

With the elimination of the USIA role in the NSC mechanism, the increasing importance of a coordinated public affairs thrust in all foreign policy operations, and declining opportunities for more traditional overseas USIA operations, the role of State's public affairs element tended to assume much of the authority which had originally been assigned to USIA in the public affairs field. Thus, in assigning responsibility for initiating public affairs input in policy making, the weight of prestige, position and opportunity has passed to State, especially with a dynamic

and highly capable Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

Moreover, since Congressional parsimony has steadily eroded USIA's capacity to do *any* job and in-house emphasis on internal bureaucracy has steadily pre-empted an increasing proportion of the funds and personnel available, USIA has lacked the will and the muscle to fight for its function at a time when State's broader funding and wider flexibility have made allocation of increased emphasis on public affairs as possible as it has been desirable.

The result has been a striking paradox: At the very time State's overseas missions have learned to put increasing reliance on USIA's overseas personnel, State itself has increasingly chosen to ignore USIA in Washington, relying on its own internal elements—Public Affairs and CU—to both provide policy input and cover operations in the information and cultural areas. The end result has been that USIA has become increasingly atrophied in Washington in terms of its primary function at the very moment most Ambassadors have come to consider their USIA representative (Public Affairs Officer or Counsellor for Public Affairs) as one of the least expendable officers in their staffing pattern.

WHICH BRINGS US—to coin a phrase—to the heart of the matter.

On the one hand, it can be demonstrated that the USIA mechanism in Washington is performing its most important function inadequately, i.e.: the task of putting the public affairs element into the decision-making apparatus of the government at the highest levels. It can also be demonstrated, I believe, that USIA increasingly suffers from possibly terminal complications of Parkinson's disease and is—in terms of Washington operations—in part duplicated by the information and cultural elements already staffed and functioning in State.*

On the other hand, there are ad-

* Here again we deal with "demonstrations" all may not consider as adequately demonstrated. One can ask, however, why a USIA research element is necessary when INR exists, why "policy guidance" should loom so large in the USIA staffing pattern when such guidance by definition comes from State, and why duplicate bureaucratic staffs are needed when USIA forms such an integrated element of diplomatic and consu-

mittedly extremely serious complications in simply eliminating USIA's present overseas structure and in placing USIA media under control which may be less than professional.

Overseas, the most serious loss would be the inevitable downgrading of the public affairs element in the Country Team, a highly likely result when State's information-cultural split is implemented overseas. Since State had information and cultural officers long before USIA came on the scene, it seems highly probable overseas missions would be assigned information and cultural personnel—say at the level of the General Services officer—without retention, unless so ordered, of the public affairs coordinating concept which has been a primary USIA contribution to governmental psychological operations.

In media terms, there is obvious need for specialists as diverse as engineers to operate VOA's overseas relay bases and editors to produce a publication as slick as *Amerika*. There is a very real danger that such media operations could be damaged by control outside the professional expertise of the specializations involved.

In realistic terms, however, the greatest danger in returning USIA to State is the probability USIA would move over intact in the process, being grafted onto the larger body in much the fashion of the old AID/State relationship, ending up—as in that case—no smaller and even less effective than before.

A primary guideline in any concentration of all public affairs functions in State should thus be the elimination of the old USIA bureaucracy. USIA's overseas element should be preserved and expanded and the media sector of any information organism will need the kind of specialists now available in USIA. Managerial, personnel, administrative and executive levels, however, should be totally integrated in State. While this does not necessarily mean a State officer should retain his post while his USIA counterpart is put out to the field—by one means or another

lar missions overseas. It might even be suggested that, if State and USIA were as close together in Washington as they already are overseas, a more coordinated and effective foreign policy might be the result.

—any logical mingling of USIA with State would leave a lot of empty desks at 1750/1776 Pennsylvania. Since the capacity of government bureaucracies to survive is limitless, this is perhaps the strongest reason for *not* returning USIA to State.

The alternative, i.e.: to restore to USIA full responsibility for public affairs overseas may be desirable, but is presumably beyond consideration, since it should certainly involve the elimination of CU in State and concentration of public affairs input in Washington in USIA hands. It would also require the Agency to somehow develop the kind of tight, nonbureaucratic, focused mechanism Ted Streibert gave it, the feel for State/USIA relationships prevalent in George Allen's time, and—above all else—the sense of mission, authority and "soul" breathed into the apparatus by Ed Murrow.

WHILE more questions tend to be raised than answered by a pontifical dissertation such as this, it may be well to maintain the style and end with a series of statements of the current State/USIA situation—as seen by one observer:

- In terms of the current revolution in communications and contact throughout the world, the single achievable function of an American governmental public affairs mechanism in the foreseeable future is to assure—to the maximum extent possible—that US foreign policy decisions are made with full recognition of the public affairs factors involved and are presented overseas with maximum coordinated impact by *all* elements in the US foreign policy mechanism.

- This function—by all available evidence—is being performed with considerable skill by USIA officers overseas, but has been eroded in Washington by the downgrading of the USIA Director, the emasculation of the overseas mechanism he directs, and the partial assumption by others of considerable responsibility for providing public affairs input at the highest levels of the government.

- Whether as cause or result, USIA has tended to concentrate on the paraphernalia fringe, emphasizing research on overseas at-

Continued on page 29

"... You will say to your wife, "Ambition is all very well—but I have come to like being No. 2. Do you know, I sometimes begin to suspect that I shall never be anything else?" — C. Northcote Parkinson

An Avis Only Hertz When He Laughs

(An Aide's Memoire)

S. I. NADLER

PERHAPS the most misunderstood, and certainly the least appreciated, group in Government (especially the Foreign) Service consists of those destined to serve from mid-career until retirement as Deputy Assistant Secretaries, Deputy Directors, Deputy Administrators, DCMs, or DPAOs. They are Perennial Number Two's (hereinafter referred to as PNTs). A PNT never looks for his name on a promotion list, because he knows it will not be there. For him, performance ratings have no real meaning, although he does read them with interest to see how skillfully the ritual is performed each time. He knows, and his rating officer knows, and Personnel knows, and each knows that the others know that he will never become an ambassador, a country public affairs officer, an assistant secretary, an administrator, or any other kind of Number One, yet they all compulsively re-enact the charade each year.

The strange fact of the matter is that the Perennial Number Two (PNT) is indispensable, because he is the only one who can assure that the Number One job will actually be done. Right at this point, it should be underscored that this account is not being written with a pen dipped in bitter tea or the juice of sour grapes. The PNT has adjusted to the fact that he will never be a Number One, but that does not mean that he would not like to be. Most PNTs have, as a matter of fact, once been Number One's. And they subscribe to the philosophic observation variously attributed to Jimmy Durante or Sophie Tucker, but actually uttered by the late comic, Joe E. Lewis: "I have been rich, and I have been poor, and, believe me, rich is better!"

The Top Slot, or Key Assignment, goes to a Typical Number One (TNO). With the assistance of PNT, a TNO can carry out his responsibilities. Any bureaucracy being what it is (which is what any other bureaucracy is), TNOs are identified early in their careers, given suitable training and assignments, and inevitably fulfill their destinies. The inquiring reader may be asking why, if the PNT can handle the number one job, is it given to a TNO, who needs the assistance of a PNT? The answer is quite uncomplicated. A Perennial

Number Two has, at some point in his career, committed one or more of the Three Unforgivable Bureaucratic Sins, has never recanted, and, if he had it to do all over again, would do it all over again. The Typical Number One has not only never committed any of the Three Unforgivable Bureaucratic Sins, but would never for a moment consider such action.

For the benefit of those few who may not be familiar with the Three Unforgivable Bureaucratic Sins, they are:

1. *Disagreeing with current policy, making your opposition known, and turning out to be dead right about it all.* (Note that there are three parts to this one. You can be forgiven for disagreeing with current policy and even for making your opposition known, under certain circumstances, but you can never be forgiven if you turn out to have been right.)
2. *Uncovering a scandalous situation, duly reporting the incontrovertible evidence, and proceeding to take whatever steps are necessary to clean up the mess.* (Again, there are three parts. Uncovering the situation may not be a sin, nor even duly reporting on it. What is unforgivable is the part about cleaning it up. Acceptable courses would include sweeping it all under the rug, minimizing its importance, or devising a scenario to convince outside observers that the situation does not really exist.)
3. *Having a wife who is gifted in a variety of fields (which is bad enough) and who cannot understand why the other two Unforgivable Sins should be considered sins.*

If a TNO and a PNT, working together, understandably do not form a mutual admiration society, their relations are always cordial, occasionally even friendly. Without the aid of a PNT, a TNO cannot do the job. Without a TNO, the PNT would not have a job. It is a case of classic symbiosis.

If the Perennial Number Two is permitted certain privileges and other fringe benefits not enjoyed by the ordinary number two, he does have to follow certain rules. For those who, in reading thus far, realize that they are destined to become PNTs, the major rules are herewith briefly listed:

1. The TNO will constantly inform others that you are his *alter ego*. And you are. But remember that his ego is more important to him than yours is to you, and never do anything which might tend to alter it too much.
2. It will be generally recognized that you are an *eminence grise*, but go awfully light on the *eminence* part.
3. By the nature of your position, you will usually be working behind the scenes. From time to time, however, you will have to enter on stage. On such occasions, stay away from stage center and well out of the spotlight.

The Perennial Number Two, it should now be apparent, is neither embittered, on the one hand, nor, on the other, resigned. He is quite well-adjusted (some would say almost infuriatingly so). And when the Great Personnel Director calls him to the Big Bureaucracy in the Sky, he will walk—directly, jauntily, and with a knowing smile—to the Second Harp Section. ■

S. I. Nadler, an FSIO, has served in Tientsin, Singapore, Taipei, Buenos Aires, and Ankara. He has held Number Two and Number One positions. But not necessarily in that order.

Galbraith and Economic Reality

IN THE FALL of 1930, an implausibly tall and already self-assured Scotch-Canadian student of animal husbandry at the Ontario College of Agriculture came across an announcement that the A. P. Giannini Foundation was offering research scholarships in Agricultural Economics at the University of California at Berkeley.

Giannini, the California banker-philanthropist whose Bank of Italy has enjoyed continuing success under its newer name—Bank of America—had risen by his own abilities, and it was one purpose of the Giannini Foundation to identify other able men and offer them the opportunity for academic training.

Whatever the opinion of today's embattled "technostructure" at the Bank of America as to the wisdom of this move, there would be little doubt in the minds of many that the \$720 per year research scholarship awarded to John Kenneth Galbraith, which enabled him to come to Berkeley, was one of the most fortuitous investments which the Foundation ever made.

After obtaining his doctorate in agricultural economics at Berkeley, Galbraith taught briefly at the University of California at Davis before joining the Harvard faculty in 1935, where he now serves as Paul M. Warburg professor of economics. At Harvard, Galbraith was one of the first American economists to share Alvin Hansen's interest in the "new economics" of England's John Maynard Keynes. Harvard also gave him the opportunity to know the bright and irrepressible Kennedy brothers, Joseph Jr. and John.

During World War II, Galbraith took academic leave and served as deputy administrator in the Office of Price Administration, worked briefly on *FORTUNE* magazine, and returned to Washington to work (with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. among others) on the US Strategic Bombing Survey. After winding up this task, he returned to Harvard, and has taught there since, with the exception of leaves of absence to undertake such assignments as Ambassador to India during the tragically brief years of John

Kennedy's Presidency.

It was the OPA experience which spawned Galbraith's first book, "The Theory of Price Control" (1951), which the author still admires. Unfortunately, it was written mainly for economic technicians, and went almost unnoticed by the general reader. The failure of this book to be acclaimed even within the profession decided Galbraith on the wisdom of a change in his literary style to make a deliberate effort to appeal to the intelligent lay reader, a course which he generally has followed since.

The first of an important series of books for the general reader was "American Capitalism" (1952), which was followed by increasingly-successful efforts to reach the public at large: "The Affluent Society" (1958); "The New Industrial State" (1967, revised 1972); and, now, "Economics and the Public Purpose" (1973), which I will discuss in greater detail below.

In addition to this series of efforts to elucidate his evolving theory of the American economy, Galbraith has written a number of other books which, while interesting in themselves, are not central to the creation of his new General Theory. These include "The Great Crash, 1929" (1955); "The Liberal Hour" (1960); "Economic Development" (1962); and "Ambassador's Journal: A Personal Account of the Kennedy Years" (1969). He is also the author of "The Scotch" (in Canada); "The Triumph," a novel dealing with the State Department and a mythical Latin American country; "Indian Painting" (with Mohinder Singh Randhawa); "Economics, Peace, and Laughter;" and "A China Passage." Under such pseudonyms as Mark Epernay, he has written satirical fiction.

Before turning to a detailed discussion of "Economics and the Public Purpose," in which a mature view of the American economy is presented and a General Theory of Reform, called "The New Socialism" is recommended, we should first, though very briefly, recollect some high points of the intellectual precursors to Galbraith's newest and, by far, most important work.

"American Capitalism" was the first book to look at the Galbraith concept of countervailing power

(now largely abandoned), and is perhaps most remarkable for its brilliant dissection of the theory of competitive capitalism, Says Law, and many cherished beliefs about the efficacy of Adam Smith's "invisible hand." Galbraith saw that neoclassical economics alone could not explain the workings of the modern American economy, and theorized that a growing number of consumers would organize in the face of oligopolistic and monopolistic producers. He also expressed the view that the strength of labor unions was a function of the strength of the industry which they had organized, and that unions themselves provided a source of countervailing power. The government's role, Galbraith felt at that time, was to act as a fulcrum and to maintain a balance of power.

"The Affluent Society" outlines Galbraith's objections to the preoccupation of Americans with quantity of production rather than with quality of life. He argued forcibly that the private sector was consuming uncounted billions of dollars worth of cosmetics, marginally-useful appliances, and over-powered automobiles, while the public sector was strangled by a shortage of funds for hospitals, schools, and parks. This preoccupation with tailfins, chrome, and electric toothbrushes is pounded into the American consumer's brain, Galbraith held, by "the massed drums of modern advertising."

In the third of Galbraith's four major works, "The New Industrial State," the author explains that it "had its origins alongside 'The Affluent Society,' and stands in relation to that book as a house to a window." The earlier book allowed a "glimpse inside" the structure of the world of great corporations which comprises the powerful bulk of American economic activities. In "The New Industrial State," Galbraith outlines an economic society in which "so far from being the controlling power in the economy, markets were more and more accommodated to the needs and convenience of business organizations." In anticipation of his latest work, Galbraith introduces such key concepts as industrial planning, the technostructure, the mature corporation, and its management and regulation of de-

mand. Once again, the accepted, neoclassical economics, the "conventional wisdom" is judged and found wanting as a model which explains the contemporary American economic scene, and an effort, later refined in "Economics and the Public Purpose," is made to present a new model which is more in accord with reality.

In "Economics and the Public Purpose," Galbraith has at last taken the final step in his long journey on the less-traveled path. He now calls clearly for a "New Socialism" which will include *inter alia* public ownership of the transportation, housing, and medical care sectors. The new concept would largely eliminate the use of flexible monetary policies of the Federal Reserve, and would call for a new approach to fiscal policies, including the abandonment of the use of such policies to achieve the elusive goal of full employment. (Instead, work would be found for out-of-work employables within the greatly-expanded public sector, while bona fide unemployables would be provided with sufficient public funds to enable them to live under decent conditions.) Galbraith also advocates the placing of defense-related and "fully mature" corporations under public control, with stockholders receiving interest-bearing bonds upon surrender of their equities.

In the earlier chapters, Galbraith demonstrates rather convincingly that the neoclassical system of a competitive market bears little relation to the reality of US corporate life today, where a thousand corporations account for half our gross national product. Galbraith goes on to argue forcefully for a theoretical approach based on the recognition that we now operate under a private sector-controlled "planning system" under which the public purpose plays second fiddle to the needs of a managerial elite—the technostucture—to consolidate itself in its position of power.

Maximizing profits and hence some sensitivity to the marketplace generally has given way to maximizing the security of the technostucture in its use of power. Finally, the planning system insures that the consumer is subordinate to the authority of the producer, who manages the consumer so as to

bend consumption to the needs of the planning system through advertising campaigns directed at the private consumer, and through undue influences on the government bureaucracy. The neoclassical market concept applies then, if at all, to the myriad weaker contributors to GNP who comprise the agricultural sector, self-exploiting small retailers, and the less-organized service industries. Thus, as Galbraith points out, "left to themselves, economic forces do not work out for the best, except perhaps for the powerful."

Galbraith's "technostucture" consists of the very large corporation's executives, lawyers, scientists, engineers, economists, controllers, advertising, and marketing men. Quite often, the technostucture is not answerable to dispersed and often virtually impotent stockholders who "own" the company. Rather, members of the technostucture work collectively to maximize the security of their positions, to increase the size of the corporation, giving them more power, higher pay, more perquisites, and a greater sense of security. Often in concert with peers in other corporations, the technostucture insures orderly markets for the purchase of raw materials, and a receptive consuming public for the products of the planning system.

The technostucture is esteemed by the community, and its members are "generally the most affluent in a society that measures worth by affluence." Thus there is little outcry when the technostucture defines the public purpose "in accordance with its own need." The plain fact that the public purpose and the needs of the technostucture are not identical, and are in truth very often incompatible, is the basic reason, according to Galbraith, why we need the "New Socialism" described above. Only with the "New Socialism" with its planning based on the public interest can resources be directed to the weak but vital sectors of our economy now faced with perennial shortages—housing, mass transportation, and health services, for example.

Without the acceptance of Galbraith's General Theory of Reform, the planning system—led by the managerial elite of the largest

corporations—will receive a growing share of financial resources—and the market system, or what remains of it, will continue to suffer from resource shortages. The New Socialism will come to pass, Galbraith feels, only through a recognition by the public of the need for change, and an active struggle by a politically-aware citizenry at the grassroots level all over the country. He urges that this struggle be undertaken.

As always, Galbraith's book is a combination of brilliant economic arguments and flamboyant asides, which, fascinating in themselves, also add color to his main theses. Thus Galbraith's evolution of the "convenient social virtue" which he claims is called into play to give psychic reward and social approbation to the struggling, small entrepreneur who is exploiting himself through long hours and seven-day weeks to compete in the marketplace. This "convenient social virtue" extends to the female householder, whose role as a "crypto-servant" is to manage ever-increasing consumption by her family so as to provide a market for the masses of consumer products of the great corporations.

Except for its obvious relevance to women's liberation, I wonder why Galbraith confined his remarks on household consumption to the role of the female as "crypto-servant." Surely uncounted millions of Harry Mortgageowners qualify for the sobriquet as they buy their power mowers, power tools, chemical fertilizers, grass seed, and plastic pine-like panels for their "recreation rooms," all presumably to provide themselves with consumption-oriented weekend leisure activities.

Turning for a moment on his own profession, Galbraith offers an interesting source for some of the confusion among economists concerning economic reality. "The accepted economics is a remarkable barrier to understanding the most basic tendency of modern economic society," he notes. He blames this in part on the isolated nature of much economic research, and particularly on what he sees as the wholly artificial division of economic study into microeconomics (the study of the firm) and macroeconomics (the study of the aggregate economy). This makes it

easy to ignore the growing influence of the firm, or of a few oligopolistic firms, on the economy as a whole, Galbraith feels, and encourages economists to make narrow studies rather than facing the fact, clear to Galbraith, that they are operating within a defective theoretical framework.

While it is, of course, too early to provide a definitive conclusion as to the lasting importance of "Economics and the Public Purpose," I can assure any prospective reader that to leave this fascinating book unread is to miss a stimulating and worthwhile experience.

—CLINT SMITH

FSJ BOOKSHELF

Shades of the White Man's Burden

DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY, by William A. Douglas. Heldref Publications.

THE PRINCIPAL THESES of this book are that liberal constitutional democracy is both desirable and feasible in developing countries, and that Western countries can and should help to build democracies, especially by supporting the creation of democratic mass parties.

Dr. Douglas, who is Director of Education for the American Institute of Free Labor Development, believes that no matter how much historical, cultural, and socioeconomic conditions may vary, political democracy is universally applicable and always the best route to economic development, social justice, and all other good things. He maintains this position, which I believe to be dubious, either by denying the existence of conflicts between democracy and other values, or by arguing, normatively, that democracy is so valuable it is always justified whatever the costs in other terms. Thus his method and criteria are such that no conceivable evidence could alter his main conclusions: whatever the problems, democracy is always worth it.

Douglas's argument for Western aid to develop democracies in poor countries is even less convincing. It assumes levels of legitimacy, knowledge, skill, and influence on the part of the Western powers,

and of receptivity to such "aid" in the poor countries, that do not now exist and probably will not exist in our lifetimes, if ever.

Even where Douglas recognizes genuine problems, he does not face up to their implications. For instance, he states, quite accurately, that "the difficulties of building modern mass political organizations in developing nations are immense" (148). Curiously, however, such difficulties do not alter his main conclusions or prescriptions, even though it would appear that if democracy has a popular base, outside support is unnecessary, and if it does not, outside influence is not likely to be able to create it.

It must also be said that this book suffers from a profound ethnocentrism. For example, Douglas argues that people in developing countries are too emotional, personalistic, familistic, and irrational; they need to be more impersonal, rational, logical, and efficient (pp. xx and passim). This description is a one-dimensional, misleading caricature; the prescription is increasingly questionable even, perhaps especially, in the industrialized rich countries. As part of his generally negative evaluation of radicalism and revolution, Douglas criticizes the low rates of economic growth "in the decade immediately following" the Mexican Revolution, i.e., in 1920-30; but he says nothing about Mexican growth rates since 1940, which have been among the highest in the world.

Sometimes his moral fervor carries him away. Thus he writes that "rather than being under a moral command not to interfere, the West often has a moral obligation to act [i.e., to intervene] so as to . . . spread those moral values which it [the West!] believes to be universally applicable" (p. 160, emphasis in original). Shades of Manifest Destiny and the White Man's Burden!

The same sort of moral obtuseness is evident in his statement that "The lesson of the CIA scandals in the United States in the 1960s is that funding sufficient for large-scale international political, cultural, student, and labor work is simply unavailable from the private sectors of the developed countries" (186, emphasis added). Some have drawn other, less instrumental, lessons.

In the 1950s or early 1960s some of Douglas's ideas would have been controversial but they might have seemed plausible and even somewhat novel. Today his theoretical analysis seems superficial and his policy recommendations seem tired, naive and parochial.

—ROBERT A. PACKENHAM

Three Millennia of History

CHINA'S THREE THOUSAND YEARS, edited by Louis Heren, et al. Macmillan, \$3.95.

A DEVOTEE of murder mysteries said he got so much more out of them by starting to read in the middle, for that way he kept wondering not only how it would all end but also how it had all begun. (It figures!) Most books on modern or contemporary China, quite properly, begin around 1840, when the British and Chinese clashed over opium imports and other issues—and take it from there. But, if it is true that "all past is prologue," then some knowledge of China's three millennia of recorded history would help us in seeking to ferret out the enigma of China today and tomorrow.

In this 250-page paperback, four distinguished authorities on China survey its great civilization concisely and clearly. They also hazard a prognostication about things-that-might-come-about:

"The future of China's relations with the rest of the world depends on the future policies and personalities of her leaders. Since virtually nothing is known about the likely order of succession in the leadership, it is impossible to foresee Chinese international relations for more than a few years ahead. What is clear, however, is that the West now has an undreamed-of opportunity to establish close and harmonious relations with China in almost every sphere. The closer the relations that are established the less likely it will be that any future Chinese leaders will turn their backs on them and revert to policies of hostility toward the West."

This masterly review of historical events and artistic achievements is enhanced by maps and beautiful photographs (many in color). This is no vulgarisation of

scholarly studies. It is itself a scholarly, authoritative work. "Infinite riches in a small room"—it's a bargain you must have.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

Useful but not Unbiased

THE JAPAN READER 1 AND 2: *Imperial Japan, 1800-1945 and Postwar Japan, 1945 to the Present*, edited by Jon Livingston, Joe Moore and Felicia Oldfather. Pantheon Books, hardback \$15 each, paper \$3.45 each.

HERE are over 1,100 pages of easily digestible readings on Japan that can serve as a first-rate introduction to that country's history, economy, sociology and politics; religion, philosophy and popular emotions (the last, always difficult to describe or to understand, are often the vital element in a Japanese situation) are ignored by the editors who, as members of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars are resolutely political animals.

By starting with 1800 the editors are able to include enough of the Tokugawa system to make modern Japan intelligible. There are excellent selections on labor, peasants, merchants and other groups whose roles are often slighted in political histories.

The second volume is also good, drawing on Occupation documents, newspaper reports and excerpts from novels and memoirs as well as scholarly writings. The selections betray a CCAS left-liberal bias so that the unwitting reader may come away with a paradoxical view—present day Japan is a wretched, jerry-built outfit that is about to take over the world. That this bias resembles closely the right-conservative one of the Middle Western steel or TV manufacturer is hardly an excuse. The editors' transitional passages in the second volume are not always models of objectivity; to discuss the decline of the Japan Communist Party in the 1950s without reference to Cominform attacks on the JCP is an Orwellian un-event.

But even reservations about the standards in the second volume can't hide that both volumes are well done and very useful for anyone assigned to Japan—about 20

Foreign Service newcomers expected in the summer of 1974.

—J.K. HOLLOWAY, JR.

Come Back, Little Penguin

JAPANESE IMPERIALISM TODAY by Jon Halliday and Gavan McCormack. Monthly Review Press, \$7.95.

THIS book appeared first as one of the trendy, leftist originals that Penguin Books has been touting in England. The US hardback is the same book, the two young Marxist-Leninist-Maoist (Hobson doesn't get a call) authors starting off by saying it is "not necessary to justify our use of terms such as 'imperialism.'" In a footnote in their conclusion they say Japanese imperialism "ultimately must be explained structurally by reference to the economic base." If this means anything, then we are back to imperialism as the last stage of capitalism. The authors avoid Lenin's idea that the upper crust of

Quotation marks are a litmus test of truth

the workers takes pride in the world-wide sale of their efficient efforts—this may well be an accurate reading of Japanese reaction to all those Toyotas, Sonys, etc., that we down-trodden Americans have forced on us by the relentless *zaibatsu*.

The book is well, if selectively documented. Statistics abound. The authors seem to believe that quotation marks are a litmus test of truth. One is sure they are clever enough to know that the scruffy pamphlet, no less than the tooled calf-skin can contain more lies than the Archangel could denounce in a twelve month.

Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo and others are indeed formidable just as are Exxon, GM and ITT. But debate about the real meaning of their activities in foreign countries is not served by the innuendo/half-truth/loaded word argumentation the Australian and Irish authors use. One hope of detente was that we could again debate Marxist economics unfettered by McCarthyism on the Right or special pleading on the Left. That day's coming has not been hastened by this book.

—J. K. HOLLOWAY, JR.

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER

GENERAL  ELECTRIC
-U.S.A.-

Refrigerators • Freezers • Ranges
Washers • Dryers • Air Conditioners
Dishwashers • Radios • Phonos
Small Appliances
Available for All Electric Currents
Local Warehousing for Immediate
Shipment

General Electronics, Inc.

SHOWROOM: 4513 Wisconsin Ave.,
Washington, D. C. 20016 EMerson 2-
8300

WRITE FOR CATALOG. Our catalog is
sent to administrative officers em-
bassies and consulates throughout
the world.

Be Wise Shop Riverside

Liquor Discounts

FOREIGN SERVICE MEMBERS

10% off on estate bottling wines
5% off on our regular low prices
on liquor

Imported and American Champagnes
Imported and American Wines

Some of France's finest Burgundies
and Bordeaux at reduced prices

Come in and browse around

Riverside Liquors

2123 E St., N.W. 338-4882

(conveniently located across from
the State Department on E Street,
next to Peoples Drug Store)

Our 40th Year

We loan glasses for parties
NO CHARGE

Announcing

a very interesting alternative to Southern California, Southern Florida and Southern Arizona.

For at least ninety years, our neck of the woods has been a closely guarded private secret among the knowing few. (And not just because of our low tax rates). We have a Condominium type community of charming one, two and three bedroom homes on seventeen pine covered acres in the center of Southern Pines.

Each individual home is planned and built to conserve heat, light and cooling. Besides it's just a "stone's throw" to Shopping, Golf, Tennis, Riding, plus excellent Medical and Cultural Facilities.

The information we will send you may very well change your mind about where you go to finally settle down or establish a new base for your goings and comings. We hope so. Call, drop us a line, or come and inspect. There is Air Service and Amtrak stops here too!

Village Green

Southern Pines, N.C.

From \$37,000 to \$54,500.

28387



Between Southern Pines and Pinehurst Tel. (919) 692-7000



ADVANCED LOAN PLAN SERVICE

ANOTHER SERVICE OF
YOUR STATE DEPARTMENT
FEDERAL CREDIT UNION

Room 1827, Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
Telenhone: 632-3282



Pakistani and American friends and associates of the late Dr. Wayne Wilcox paid tribute to the former USIS Cultural Attache in London, at a memorial meeting held at Karachi's Pakistan-American Cultural Center. Photo shows the Vice Chancellor of Karachi University, Dr. Mahmud Husain, addressing the gathering. USIS Photo by: Samiuddin Khan

WILCOX MEMORIAL TRIBUTE

Remarks by Ambassador Carol C. Laise

I speak today in tribute to the Wilcoxes, in several capacities:

On behalf of the Secretary and the Department of State, I should like to read the cable sent to our Embassy in London:

"I would hope that you can find an opportunity to convey to the survivors of the Wilcoxes and to their colleagues in London the deep shock and grief felt here in the Department and USIA. Over the years, many of us profited from Wayne's knowledge and insights of South Asia. His recent contributions to US cultural relations with the United Kingdom displayed his keenness of mind and breadth of view in a fresh and challenging context. We had no doubt of seeing still further accomplishments by this talented man. The hearts of his many friends and admirers go out to those who survive Wayne, his wife and their children, and to their friends and colleagues. We all share in this tragic loss."

As a colleague I learned a great deal from him by exposure to his challenging intellect and I know how much his qualities of mind and heart, of competence and character have contributed to international understanding and the advancement of diplomacy in its best sense.

As a friend of long standing of both Wayne and Ouida, I have cherished their warmth, openness and *joie de vivre*. I have just re-read their Christmas letter and was struck by the appropriateness of one paragraph for this occasion. It tells us a lot about them and speaks to us thoughtfully and prophetically. Wayne said:

"It's nice that Christmas comes to remind us that hope, faith and charity are possible and peace and brotherhood attainable. I have a notion we'll need to remember this rather more than in the immediate past."

Remarks by Jay W. Gildner

We come together today in circumstances of great sadness and of personal and professional loss.

It falls to me, on behalf of the Director of the United States Information Agency and all of my colleagues, to pay tribute to Wayne Wilcox and to those members of his family who died in last week's tragedy.

I stress his family because they were never far away. Those of us who knew him, even when he came alone to our posts on his frequent lecture trips, know his talk was peppered with references to Ouida, to his children, to his father and grandfather and to North Liberty, Indiana. This was part of the man—he was immersed in his family, as he was immersed in people, of all kinds and of all nations.

We also mourn the unrealized promise of Wayne and Ouida's gifted children—Kailan and Clark, and our hearts go out to Shelley and Spencer, the younger sister and brother, who will be consoled as time passes by the inspiring examples of those members of the family they lost.

It is often said that Wayne came to us as an "outsider," as an "academic" cultural attache. Nothing could be less true. Wayne and Ouida were known and loved by USIA officers beginning with their earliest visit to the Subcontinent and Pakistan in 1960. He never missed a chance to touch base with us, and to offer his services where it might do some good. So, when it seemed he might be able to accept an appointment to London in 1971, nothing seemed more natural. And the transition was magical. Agency legend tells how, within days of his arrival in London, and with no formal Agency experience, he exerted masterful control over our complex cultural program in the United Kingdom. Nor was I surprised when, after a tour of two years, he chose to remain for a third, or when he expressed strong interest a few weeks ago to the Director and to me, in making a permanent commitment to our Agency. Had he lived and made this "statement," as he called it, he would have changed us, so the loss is to the institution as well as its officers.

But, indeed, he has already changed us. He worked in subtle ways. He was always at least as well informed as any of us, yet he drew with rare art upon the outsider's right to speak sometimes with a certain naive frankness about complex and painful truths. He could tell the Emperor he had no clothes on his back, though he invariably couched it with Hoosier-tinted grace.

Wayne honored us, made us proud of our Agency, our Foreign Service, and of ourselves, by spending these years with us. No one knew better than he the problems we faced, no one had a better sense of our goals. But he knew that *people* mattered most, and that the true worth of institutions might best be measured by the degree to which they magnify the people who staff them. He wrote to one of us that the job of USIA, the job of the cultural attache, was (and I quote) "pretty much what you can do. In the changing of attitudes or the deepening of understanding there is little certainty, no continuity . . . So one simply tries, while not committing perjury, to communicate a little of the national style and genius. . . ."

No one can say today what Wayne Wilcox's thousand days with USIA will mean to this institution in the years to come. But no one who ever knew him, who ever had the privilege of watching him "communicate a little of the national style and genius," no one who knew this intellect, this artist, this consummate human-being—no one of *us* will ever forget him.

Attention: teachers, Civil Service Employees, and others who do not qualify for Social Security.

Did you know that it is possible to enjoy Social Security benefits when you retire without a second job?

With an investment in an oil and gas income program you now have the opportunity to augment your retirement income without moonlighting.

Here is how the program works; your taxable income qualifies as self employment income and is taxed for Social Security even though you (the buyer) have spent none of your time in this self-employed business.

Send in the coupon below to find out more about the risks and potential rewards in this method of building toward additional retirement credits through investing, or call your A. G. Edwards Registered Representative today.

A. G. Edwards offers several oil income programs.

A. G. Edwards & Sons, Inc.

Est. 1887

Members New York Stock Exchange, Inc.
OVER 80 BRANCHES THROUGHOUT THE U.S.

I am interested in oil and gas income programs.
Please send me further information.

FSJ

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

Mail to:

Mrs. Ruth G. Adler, Manager
A. G. Edwards & Sons, Inc.
Barlow Bldg., Suite 1050, 5454 Wisconsin Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20015
654-3000

or call:

from page 8

and fishermen remain a constant annoyance. Cattle rustlers are a reviving menace.

- **Legal Attache:** Comprehension of legal technicalities and verba-ese is needed to plow through regulations relating to running and trying to mind one's own business.

- **Financial Attache:** The raising, investment, and retirement of capital needed to buy the farm, the equipment, and the livestock are vital for the farming venture. Knowing how to live with budgetary deficits is helpful.

There are also other requirements:

- **Language Capability:** One must be able to communicate with the livestock. (Angus cattle, surprisingly, seem to respond best to Spanish. Hogs, as the most intelligent and sophisticated of livestock, prefer to converse in French.) The latest botanical intelligence reports that plants perform better with sympathetic spoken encouragement.

- **Veterinary Aptitude:** Even

three-quarter ton bulls get sick occasionally and need to be doctored. Inoculations for livestock, just like people, have become an accepted part of life's normal routine.

- **Mid-wifery Skills:** The offspring represent the profit from a livestock operation. One can't afford to lose either the cow or the calf, the sow or the piglets.

- **Botanical Knowledge:** The more one knows about plants, the better will be the stand of alfalfa, red clover, yellow corn or white pine. Plants are the foundation on which all agriculture is built.

- **Executive Ability:** If a man can handle 77 head of cattle, 50 hogs, assorted fowls, cats, dogs, one wife, and various children on 200 acres, then he can be considered to be a qualified executive.

- **Representational Ability:** An FSO may have served in Kabul, Budapest, Bogota, and Seoul but he really doesn't know what it's like to be an outsider until he arrives—like a man from Mars—to settle down in an established rural community.

- **Courage:** Wait until the novice agronomist attempts to plow for

the first time in his life a five acre field where all of the highly curious neighbors can see just how crooked his furrows will be.

- **Knowledge and Learning Ability:** A fast and continuing cram course will accompany each awkwardly slow step of the new enterprise.

- **Curiosity and Analytical Aptitude:** Observation rather than the fully stocked library of new and exotic books will be the best guide and teacher for the fledgling (or even the veteran) farmer. Problem solving, on a case by case basis, will be so abundantly necessary and challenging that it would warm the heart of any Harvard Business School professor.

- **Meteorological Insight and Intuitiveness:** Cut hay usually needs 24 to 48 hours to cure before it can be safely baled and stored. Rain ruins the quality of the hay and delays the complex harvesting timetable. The farmer who can outmaneuver the summer thunder-showers saves dollars as well as energy. This ability to foretell the weather is much like predicting Departmental reactions and forth-

Before...



After...



I was the strong silent type at cocktail parties until I started reading the JOURNAL. I'm still silent but I can no longer tear the phone book in half.

FREE Relocation Kit

from Washington, D.C.'s largest Realtor. Offices throughout the metropolitan area.

Write: Diplomatic Transfer Department
SHANNON & LUCHS
Honeywell Center, Suite 808
McLean, Virginia 22101

SHANNON & LUCHS

REALTORS • ESTABLISHED 1906

Association of American Foreign Service Women
Box 4931, Washington, D. C. 20008

HOUSING ASSISTANCE AND ORIENTATION
Room 1248, Department of State, Tel. 632-3573

LANGUAGE AND WRITERS GROUPS
MONTHLY MEETINGS
NEWSLETTER
BOOK FAIR
COMMUNITY SERVICE

Open to women in the Foreign Service of a U.S. Government Agency, to the wife or widow of Foreign Service employee. Annual dues \$10 when income exceeds \$15,000; \$5 for others. Send dues to Membership Chairman.

coming policy shifts.

This catalogue could continue almost ad infinitum, but the basic point to be made is that the practice of agriculture and the practice of foreign policy, as broken down and evaluated by the component elements making up the whole, are really not so disparate or alien to each other. And if it happens that despite the listing of many Foreign Service related skills, aptitudes and experiences which are needed by the farmer, you sense that something is missing—don't despair! Yes, for those who have become addicted, there is a social life in rural America. Just as much of one as anyone could wish to have. Perhaps not as many cocktail parties, but there is a bumper crop of church socials, demonstration club affairs, country-style Rotary Club get-togethers, school activities, even bridge foursomes—no end of diversissements for anyone who finds he has the time and energy for such activities after a full day in the fields. There are also other, more serious, activities in which one can

get quickly involved: conservation work, management of local cooperatives, chamber of commerce projects, and even grass roots politics. One big change: instead of observing and reporting, one will be participating—and not just on the periphery but right smack in the middle of things.

There are other advantages. Some are esthetic: the closeness to Nature, the pleasure of working with one's hands, the exercise of muscles and the smell of sweat, the freshness of the air, and the joy of working outdoors. The workday starts when the farmer and the rising sun (or the rain or the snow) jointly decide it's time to leave the breakfast table. Commuting is efficient: from the kitchen door to the barn and then to the fields. Boots may get muddy and manure-splattered but there are no traffic jams.

Some advantages are of a philosophical nature: the satisfaction of being one's own boss, the growing feeling of independence

and self-reliance, a refreshing return to the basics of life, and a pride in contributing something tangible to society.

For some time the Department of State has sponsored exchange programs with other Government agencies and private industry. A similar proposal could be made for allowing the sated diplomat to take a two to three year leave of absence, head for the hinterlands with his family, set up his homestead operation, establish roots for his eventual retirement, get his hands dirty and his muscles sore, and—most importantly—let him get to know the traditional backbone and marrow of our nation. The experience is guaranteed to make the Foreign Service employee a better and much more knowledgeable representative of his country. There is, however, one strong drawback to such an exchange program: once the true generalists have been properly introduced to the rural lifestyle, the Department might lose too many of its best officers. ■

Calvert

The school that comes to your child

Complete home-study course for elementary-level students. Kindergarten through 8th grade. An American education anywhere in the world. Ideal for enrichment. Home is the classroom, you are the teacher with Calvert's approved instruction guide. Start any time, transfer to other schools. 125,000 kindergarten-through-8th graders have used the Calvert system since 1904. Non-profit. Phone: 301-243-6030 or write for catalog.

Calvert



School

BOX F5-4, Tuscany Rd.

Baltimore, Md. 21210

Parent's name

Address

City State Zip

Child's Age Grade

DESTINATION WASHINGTON?

Our PICTURE GALLERY OF FINE HOMES and DESTINATION WASHINGTON with complete information on financing, taxes, insurance, schools, etc., plus the do's and don'ts of buying or renting, sent free for the asking. Our 75 full-time associates can provide real service to your family. Offices in Annandale, Arlington, Manassas and McLean.

Crowell
& COMPANY, INC.
REALTORS

2160 N. GLEBE Rd.
Arlington, Va. 22207
Phone (703) 524-3131

RENTAL HOUSES

Chevy Chase-Bethesda

Massachusetts Avenue Extended

A. C. Houghton & Son, Inc.

An Accredited Management Organization

4000 Albemarle St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20016 — 686-0203

6400 Goldsboro Road, Bethesda, Md. 20034 — 229-5750

Washington Real Estate Since 1907

Assignment Washington?

Hicks REALTORS
Realty, Inc.



EXPERTS IN SALES AND RENTALS

Offices in Alexandria, Arlington, McLean, Springfield

For Free Brochures and Advanced Information

Write to us at:

3706 Mt. Vernon Ave., Alexandria, Va. 22305
703-548-3111



EDITORIAL from page 4

come to public attention and are well known to the Committee.

Diplomacy, of course, is not simply a matter of avoiding damaging incidents; of even greater significance is what can be achieved through skillful diplomacy. For the last 25 or 30 years this Nation has been involved in wars, hot and cold. Throughout this period it was never contemplated that the highest level military positions should be filled by campaign contributors with no military experience. As we leave the cold war and move into an era of negotiations in search of a lasting worldwide peace, it seems to the Association an equally valid proposition that the highest level diplomatic officials should not be campaign contributors with no foreign affairs experience.

Finally, speaking as an American citizen, rather than as a Foreign Service officer, the sale, rental, or auction of ambassadorships or the appearance of such activity; is most disturbing because it detracts from the credibility and integrity of government as a whole. As newspaper articles and editorials all over the country confirm that individuals who made enormous campaign contributions are "rewarded" with comfortable embassies, the cynicism and lack of faith which is all too characteristic of public attitudes toward government today will be reinforced.

The Association is appearing in the case of the nomination of Mr. Firestone to put its views on the question of ambassadorial qualifications into the record. I would like to make it clear that our motivation is not personal, nor is it our intention to question in any way the per-

sonal integrity or patriotism of Mr. Firestone. On the contrary, the evidence available to us indicates that Mr. Firestone is a fine individual who has given of himself in time, talent and money to assist a number of charitable and philanthropic causes. But we do not see anything in his background to indicate that he possesses particular competence in foreign affairs, especially when we look forward to the complex multilateral negotiations on military, political, energy, and monetary relations centered in the increasingly important European capital of Brussels. We are led to the conclusion, therefore, that his nomination is at least in major part the result of his political contributions. And the Association is testifying against the practice of naming to Ambassadorships large campaign contributors who have no clearly demonstrated foreign policy competence or experience.

In summary, Mr. Chairman, the Association is convinced that what is at stake in this nomination is the quality of Senatorial input into ambassadorial nominations, the caliber of US representation abroad, and to an important degree the credibility of governmental processes. To support these worthy goals, the Association calls upon the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to ensure that only the best qualified individuals, whether career or non-career, are named as ambassadors of the United States. To this end we strongly urge the Committee to establish as guiding criteria an appropriate version of the Draft Rules under consideration by this Committee last year, and respectfully request that the Committee delay action of Mr. Firestone's nomination until he can be judged against these established criteria.

STUART & MAURY, Inc. REALTORS

Sales • Rentals • Insurance

Specializing in Residential Properties

Northwest Washington

Montgomery County, Maryland

Member: Multiple Listing Service

5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D. C. 20016

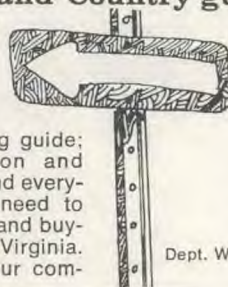
Telephone: (202) 244-1000

Let Us Know You Saw Our Ad In The Journal

Moving To The Washington Area?

Let Town and Country guide the way.

We'll send you our complementary information kit containing local tax and salary scales; a financing guide; school, recreation and health facilities; and everything else you'll need to know about living and buying in Northern Virginia. Plus, details on our com-



plete relocation services, rental housing and property management.

**Town
& Country**
PROPERTIES INC.
REALTORS

Dept. W-FS, 3807 Mt. Vernon Ave.,
Alexandria, Va. 22305

SHOP IN AN AMERICAN DRUG STORE BY MAIL!

An ice cream soda is one of the few items we cannot mail. Drugs, cosmetics, sundries mailed to every country in the world. We maintain permanent family prescription records. **SEND NO MONEY—pay only after satisfactory receipt of order.**



Western Pharmacy
1/a Morgan Pharmacy
3001 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

THE DELAHANTY COMPANY

6845 Elm St., Suite 613
McLean, Va. 22101
(703) 356-8080

Member of Northern Virginia
Realtors Multiple Listing Service

USIA

from page 18

titudes, substituting air bags for chairs in its libraries, "telling the story" without adequate psychological insight into the limitations on "story telling" in this age, riddling "guidance" with delay and confusion until it is worthless and—above all else—substituting a mighty mechanism in Washington to paraphrase what others say, produce glossy media with minimal localized impact overseas, and proliferate its administrative bureaucracy with the reproductive speed of an amoeba.

• These trends have resulted in maximum emphasis in USIA on mechanism rather than function. As a result, State's overlapping elements (Public Affairs and CU) have tended to absorb the functions USIA was once assigned, but has let go. This has compounded the waste and duplication inherent since USIA was created and State left with the basis for building new cultural and information mechanisms.

• Ideally—impossible as this seems to be in a government

bureaucracy—this growing overlap between State and USIA should be eliminated. In Washington, this presents mostly solvable problems, since the natural emergence of State as the dominant element in US foreign affairs makes reasonable the assumption of full control of an arm of foreign policy of rapidly increasing importance.

• Overseas, however, there is an imperative need to preserve and expand the role of the Public Affairs Officer in parallel with other senior Mission officers. The gains made by USIA in the past 20 years in achieving recognition of the public affairs concept as a basic element in policy formation must not be lost, nor should bifurcation of this function be allowed to carve up the public affairs area into minority fragments impotent to stand equal with other mission elements.

ESSENTIALLY, then, there is this to be said:

The dominant function of USIA—if now inadequately exercised in Washington—is today more important in foreign policy

terms than ever before.

USIA itself has lost control of this function through downgrading of its status, Congressional parsimony, duplication of functions with State, and over-emphasis on bureaucracy.

The obvious solution—reintegration of the total public affairs function in State—is just that—the obvious solution. It carries with it dangers, however, as vivid as its obviousness.

One way or another, the major accomplishment of USIA in the past 20 years—the development of public affairs as an area of importance equal to the political and economic arms of diplomacy—must be preserved. Its loss would tie one arm behind our backs in dealing with the developments of the next few years.

Whether within State, or through revival of the authority and capacity USIA once had, the public affairs arm of American diplomacy must become a single arm, provided with all the muscle available to achieve the essential impact it only can give to our diplomacy in the '70s. ■

The Nicest Small Hotel In Washington

Francis Scott Key Hotel

600 - 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • 628-5425
Mrs. G. L. Warner, Manager

Why Foreign Service Personnel Prefer the Francis Scott Key Hotel

- It is only two blocks from the State Department
- Offers family accommodations • One room, kitchen, dinette and bath
- Completely furnished efficiency suites • Completely air-conditioned
- Restaurant with excellent food at moderate prices

ROOMS

One Person \$14.00—Two Persons \$17.00
Efficiency Suites—Double Beds or Twin Beds
One Person \$15.00 & Up—Two Persons \$18.00 & Up
Additional Persons \$1.50 each


10% discount for weekly occupancy

RETURNING TO WASHINGTON? BEING TRANSFERRED ABROAD?

Let me know your requirements and I will send you an up-to-date realty analysis without obligation. I believe my Departmental and Foreign Service experience in administration has given me unique qualifications to help you with your transition.

SALES—RENTALS—PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

ROBERT E. PECK
representing

 Routh Robbins
Realtors

1359 Chain Bridge Road,
McLean, Virginia 22101

Office: 703-356-700 Home: 703-356-3864

COMING or GOING

You can count on

PERSONALIZED SERVICE

from

W. C. AND A. N. MILLER
DEVELOPMENT CO.

A Complete Real Estate Service Since 1912

NEW HOUSE SALES • BROKERAGE SALES
RENTALS • PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

4701 Sangamore Road, Washington, D. C. 20016

Phone 229-4000

Phone 229-4016



REAL ESTATE

Specialists in

TOWN HOUSES

CAPITOL HILL • GEORGETOWN
FOGGY BOTTOM • MT. PLEASANT

202-546-2676

RHEA RADIN, Inc.

REALTOR

220 SEVENTH ST., S.E.

PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR

from page 12

under the strain of time urgency, even without nuclear damage. Priority messages to execute alert measures would pile into message centers like an avalanche; other priority messages explaining errors and correcting oversights might well be buried and unread.

The Hot Line between Washington and Moscow might, of course, be useful in helping to keep an American-Soviet crisis reversible. But additional arrangements ought to be invented to make crises more easily reversible, and some of these arrangements might sensibly be the topic of arms control negotiations. This is a rather neglected field for constructive contributions by arms control experts.

Third on my compressed list of what needs to be done on many fronts, let us not underrate the more traditional arms control agreements to limit specific weapons. Such agreements, apart from their immediate impact, can also advance our long-term objectives. For example, by beginning a proc-

ess of reductions in the levels of nuclear armaments, we bring down the potential destructiveness of the accumulated arsenals. In the long run, moreover, a process of reduction could help to throttle the bureaucratic drives for the quantitative and qualitative arms competition.

We would have to reduce without, of course, shutting our eyes to political realities or the requirements of strategic stability. Indeed, reductions should lead toward safer deployments of nuclear forces.

Finally, we have to place our efforts to prevent nuclear war into the larger context of international affairs. Here, again, we ought to pay careful attention to the uncertainties of the real world. What are the changing local sources of conflict that could entrap us in dangerous nuclear confrontations? What are the risks of shifting alliances? What are the problems of several national nuclear forces that will increasingly intermingle in various oceans and continue in hostile juxtaposition on the Eurasian continent?

In summing up my message to you, I would say that we must re-examine our premises rather than simply preserve them as if they were articles of faith. Sometimes I think we have behaved like missionaries, driven to intense exertions by our belief in an abstract world of certainty.

Perhaps it is time for us, instead, to behave like anthropologists, sensitive to the uncertainties in our views of the world, and willing to study our own cultural strait-jackets as well as those of our adversaries. Such relativism will permit a deeper understanding of the limitations of calculations and analysis, and permit us to develop arms control policies that pay more attention to uncertainty. Comfortable notions such as "mutual deterrence," strategic "stability," and "safe retaliatory forces" should be regarded as hypotheses in a continuing search for better solutions—not as declarations of faith. A declaration of faith, according to an old Portuguese expression, is an *auto-da-fé*, an act that ends in a mass burning. ■

Fine Stationers and Engravers

Members of the Foreign Service of the United States of America can depend on **Copenhaver** for quality, service and correct counseling on questions of protocol for their calling cards, informals and invitations, etc.

Urgent requests filled promptly

ADams 2-1200
Connecticut Avenue
Courtesy Parking

1518 CONNECTICUT AVE.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

BEING ASSIGNED TO WASHINGTON? OR BEING TRANSFERRED ABROAD?

LET US HELP YOU!

Write us for an up-to-date realty analysis!

**Routh Robbins
Realtors**

SUZANNE MADDEN
3141 Lee Highway
Arlington, Va. 22201
Office: 703-528-3141
Home: 703-533-7663

ANN STEELE
7920 Woodmont Ave.
Bethesda, Md. 20014
Office: 301-654-3222
Home: 301-649-1995

SALES—RENTALS—PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

WELCOME BACK TO THE USA

You have served in locations and under conditions that set you apart. You now DESERVE personal and professional service in finding your new home.

RE-ASSIGNED TO WASHINGTON?—Write now for: (1) Current list of homes to buy in your price range in Northern Virginia (suburban Wash. D. C.), (2) Homes For Living magazine, showing pictures, prices and details of homes for sale, (3) Information brochures on schools, transportation, etc., (4) Financing information.

GOING ELSEWHERE IN THE USA?—Our unique Homes For Living Network spans the country! A member Realtor of this network is waiting to serve you in key cities throughout the nation. When you wish to see a preview of the homes for sale in your destination area, write to me for a Homes For Living magazine for that area.

For either of these free services, write to or call:

Walt Waclawski

BETTER HOMES REALTY INC.

6045 Wilson Blvd, Arlington, Va. 22205

Office: (703) 532-5100 Home: (703) 560-7555

**DERY
ASSOCIATES INC.
Realtors**

JEAN-M. DERY
Realtor

JOHN RALPH BARROW
Realtor-Associate

Retired Foreign
Service Officers

MOVING TO FLORIDA? WE ARE SPECIALISTS IN FLORIDA SUN COAST

Waterfront, Inland
and Condominium Properties
for Retirement, Residential
and Investment purposes.

6358 SOUTH TAMiami TRAIL,
SARASOTA, FLORIDA—33581
PHONE (813) 921-3262
After Hours: (813)349-6177
After Hours: (813)349-6981

Realistic Annuity

■ It has come to my attention that the maximum annuity granted a Foreign Service dependent child in the event of the death of both parents is approximately \$1,300 per annum. If this information is indeed accurate, it would seem that the Foreign Service Association might well consider using its good offices in the interest of obtaining the necessary administrative or legislative changes allowing for a more realistic and more equitable sum.

ROBERT O. WARING

Beirut

COUNSELOR'S NOTE: This was one of the 11 specific changes proposed in AFSA's testimony before the SFRC in November. The proposed change in Section 821(c) (2) of the Foreign Service Act called for each surviving child to be paid an annuity equal to either the annuity which would have been payable to a surviving spouse, divided by the number of children, or \$2,400 for each child. The Department opposed this change but the Senators were more sympathetic. The fate of this proposed change is still in doubt but further reports will be forthcoming.

Political Will and Won't

■ Archie M. Bolster has written a very perceptive article on land reform appearing in the March JOURNAL. I very much agree with his emphasis on the importance of land reform in economic development. He has hit the nail on the head in noting that political will is critical for land reform to succeed.

I cannot agree, however, that more US or other outside involvement can have much effect on creating the vital political will to bring about a successful land reform program. While some of the AID and Embassy officers in Vietnam at the time may be faulted for not urging that the GVN adopt a meaningful land reform program earlier, I doubt that the lack of American support for land reform was the decisive factor. In 1968-69 the Vietnamese on their own went ahead with land reform, apparently with some success. The point is that the political will for land reform did not exist in Vietnam a decade earlier.

When requested by another government, we certainly should provide expertise and encouragement for land reform wherever we can. However, in most cases I do not believe US involvement to the extent of providing AID funds for a land reform program would be wise. Land reform is an issue in most countries with very sensitive political overtones. Should it fail, the outsider involved becomes too easily a convenient scapegoat. Developing countries must decide themselves that they want land reform and carry most of the burden of bringing it about.

WALTER A. LUNDY

Tehran

Land to the Landless

■ I found Archie M. Bolster's article titled "Imperatives of Land Reform" intensely interesting and informative, but I regretted the omission of one important point in favor of transfer of land to landless persons when seemingly marginal or sub-marginal on economic grounds, viz. small parcels transferred to part-time farmers may sufficiently supplement their income from other sources which may be seasonal and/or unstable, e.g. fishing, harvesting other people's crops, building construction, seafaring, etc., to be fully justified on economic grounds.

F. ROYT

Bethesda

Implementing Reform

■ I found the article in the March 1974 issue, "Imperatives of Land Reform," extremely interesting. However, I think that an important aspect of this or any policy was left out. The article did not discuss the "how" of land reform; how do you convince those in power to implement land reform? This is a major practical difficulty which might be added to the list of reasons stated in the article for lack of US support for land reform.

C. SILVA

Alexandria

Lebensraum for Wives

■ Thanks to June Bingham for her idea, in "Diplomats in Striped Pant-Suits," that there should be space enough in the Foreign Service for wives to express either "rebel" or traditional attitudes to-

ward their function overseas. As a younger wife whose thoughts on this subject lie somewhat closer to "rebel," I sympathize with wives who want the best for their husbands without wanting a backstage career for themselves. A problem still remains for us in that, despite the new regulation prohibiting any mention of wives' performance on husbands' efficiency reports, the super-hostess role still prevails (and is encouraged) overseas. The higher husbands go, the more supportive activities that are tacitly expected of us. The attitude of some officers is that "Someone has to do it" or "The system works this way; why change it?" And so the standard of infringement on wives is perpetuated. Just how much is expected of us may be illustrated by asking this question: What are the responsibilities of the husbands of women officers overseas? Wives who want to change rigid established patterns might substitute alternatives of their own. (Instead of giving a tea, give a music lesson; instead of supervising hors d'oeuvres for 200, supervise an exhibition of painting.) An independent status for wives may not only boost feelings of personal worth, but actually enrich our representational practices overseas.

PATRICIA TUA

McLean, Virginia

Ordering Priorities

■ It seems to me that Foreign Service wives are an intelligent and creative group, able to make the adaptations that life abroad demands. Certainly they can best make their own decisions on the priorities of their lives—the needs of their children and husbands, their own needs for intellectual stimulation such as language learning, meeting different groups of people, and also for the relaxation of sports, reading a book, or catching a nap—all fitted in with the cooking, household maintenance, errands, chauffeuring, and pet care.

Priorities differ from person to person, ages and needs of children, a woman's wish for company or solitude, for cultural excitement or sometimes for just catching up on rest. This may vary at different times in her life and at various posts with their differing climates and tempos. I may sound Vic-

torian, but I like to be home when my children come home from school and I want to be able to spend time with them during their vacations.

Sometimes there is so much required or semi-required or strongly suggested in-group assembling and committing that the woman who wants to pursue the unique opportunities of study, friendship, and travel offered by the culture of the country where she lives must drive herself to extreme limits or give up many of these chances because she hasn't the hours or the strength. Frequently there is also much pressure on wives to perform time consuming chores in the established, largely English-speaking organizations when they might make more unique friendships with non-Americans sharing their specialized interests. Foreign Service wives in the long run probably contribute a great deal to international relations when they go their own ways as they find time within the frame of their individual interests and what they feel are their family's needs.

Communications can be much more enjoyable and more honest friendships possible if a wife doesn't dread a phone call or a chance encounter that may mean someone wants you to do a job that doesn't suit your particular talents and interests, and you're supposed to say yes. Certainly the activities one person deems useful may appeal to some wives, while others may lean in different directions. For women whose husbands are higher ranking there can be an opening up of friendships based on honest relationships and good feelings, not on an automatic yes-saying by one wife, no matter what she thinks or feels. I should think wives of higher ranking husbands could be much happier with this two-way street to friendship.

ROBIN TENNY

Washington

AAFSW News

■ The Association of American Foreign Service Women held a luncheon on April 9 at the Army Navy Country Club and had the pleasure of hearing Roger L. Stevens, Chairman of the John F. Kennedy Center, talk about the Center and about the theater scene in America today. It was interesting to learn that although new

American playwrights are hard to find, theater itself is flourishing. New York is fast becoming just one of several important theater centers as other cities such as Atlanta, Denver, Los Angeles and Milwaukee, as well as Washington, D.C., are attracting actors and becoming excellent centers for the performing arts. Equally illuminating were Mr. Stevens's comments on the Kennedy Center: its focus on providing the best for the performers and audience in facilities backstage, space arrangement and acoustics; its problems of costly overhead due to its being both a memorial and a theater center resulting in its being open 16 hours a day instead of the normal theater time of just four or five hours; and the important fact that the theaters are self-supporting, not tax supported, while the grounds, security and some of the building maintenance come under the National Park Service.

Mrs. Roger L. Stevens came to the luncheon with her husband and several other distinguished women were present. Among those welcomed by AAFSW president, Mrs. William Leonhart, were: Mrs. Kenneth Rush, wife of the Deputy Secretary of State; Mrs. James Keogh, wife of the Director of USIA; Mrs. Eugene Kopp, wife of Deputy Director of USIA; Mrs. Robert S. Ingersoll, wife of the Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs; Mrs. Donald B. Easum, wife of the Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs; Mrs. Henry E. Catto, Jr., wife of the Chief of Protocol; Mrs. Nathaniel Davis, wife of the Director General.

Special congratulations were due AAFSW member, Francine Faulhaber, for the marvelous table decorations she created. The speaker, attractive Club, good food, and decorations made the luncheon a happy event for all.

The Association will have an evening at the Wolf Trap Farm Park for the Performing Arts on Thursday, June 27, for a picnic and for the performance of the Alwin Nikolais Dance Theater. It is open to members and one guest per member. For information, please call Laura Jenkins, 536-5605. This will be the last AAFSW event of the 1973-74 season.

Washington LAURA JENKINS

"Where Do You Come From?"

■ My wife and I were instantly intrigued by Robert F. Miller's article in the April issue of the JOURNAL entitled: "Where Do You Come From?" I was going to set down here that it was the best written of any article of its kind I'd ever seen and then recalled with certainty that never before had I seen in any publication anything at all like it. Complete originality often enjoys downright advantages.

As I read Mr. Miller's conclusions, my memory leaped back some years—never mind how many—to the time my wife and I were formally presented to the then Princess Elizabeth and her husband. The very first words she spoke to me as I made my bow were "Where do you come from?" Now, all the world knows that on such an occasion one answers quickly, succinctly and to the point with a smart "Ma'am" at the close. Now exactly where *was* I from, anyway? I'd never really thought about it before. After a second or so of what must have appeared to be obvious uncertainty, I answered carefully that I was a native of the state of Maine but had recently been transferred to my present post from Lyon. I perceived a slight shade of annoyance pass over her youthful brow. Had I given too much information or not the kind she expected to hear? In any case, Her Highness soon passed me over to her husband on whose face was a warm and understanding grin and whose hand-clasp was agreeably reassuring.

I still wonder where I'm *truly* from? So many countries and so far apart with good friends in them all and their languages which they tried so hard to teach me. All this with two years a prisoner of the Japanese during the last war *par-dessus le marché!* Yes, we did so much enjoy that article!

H. T. MOOERS
FSO-Retired

St. Petersburg

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

Send to: Letters to the Editor, Foreign Service JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

THIS MONTH IN WASHINGTON

By Rick Williamson

In case you don't follow these things, the "Tonight Show" seen this evening was actually taped yesterday. Or, viewed the other way around, the "Tonight Show" taped today won't be seen till tomorrow night. On the other hand, the "Today Show" is shown live this morning, but the "Tomorrow Show" seen tonight was taped today.

The only reason for bringing all of this up is that several people have asked what month "This Month in Washington" is. There is no easy answer to that question. It would be nice if "This Month in Washington" could be the month that you receive the JOURNAL, but the vagaries of the pouch and the Postal Service make that impossible. Furthermore, the requirements of the printing industry necessitate fairly long lead times. For the May edition, for example, the absolute cutoff date is April 15. If I wait any longer than that, AFSA's highly competent professional editor, Shirley Newhall, is ready to wring my neck. So, "This Month in Washington" is actually the 30 days prior to the 15th of the month prior to a given issue. I hope that isn't any more confusing to you than it usually is to me.

Our major activity this month was testifying on the nomination of Leonard Firestone to be Ambassador to Belgium. By testifying on Mr. Firestone's nomination, the Association broke a long-standing tradition and for the first time testified on the nomination of a non-career ambassador. Our testimony is quoted in full in this month's editorial. Our remarks were not directed against Mr. Firestone personally who, by all accounts, is a fine, well-liked and respected individual. In fact, it appears likely that Mr. Firestone, who has many friends in Congress, will be confirmed. But we felt it important to re-focus the Senate's attention on

the problems of non-career ambassadors who are not nominated because of particular foreign affairs competence, but rather because of heavy contributions to the party in power.

We will be working with individual Senators on the Committee on Foreign Relations to get established criteria along the lines proposed by the SFRC last summer, which would assure that only those qualified to serve as ambassadors, whether career or non-career, would receive Senate confirmation. In any case, Tom Boyatt's testimony was well received by the Committee, and was complimented highly by several Senators and key committee "staffers."

"GLOP" and What To Do About It

In State, the major event was the Secretary's announcement of a new assignment policy designed to bring about more varied geographic experience among Foreign Service officers to permit them to participate more effectively in global foreign policy. This policy was immediately tagged by some as the Global Outlook Policy or GLOP. Providing wider geographic experience for Foreign Service officers is supported by the Association, and we therefore agreed with Secretary's goal. However, the decision was taken without consulting with AFSA. We have made our concern known to the Secretary that such a procedure violates the spirit and letter of the Executive Order. Moreover, we informed administrative management that we expected to begin immediate consultations on the specific policies and procedures to implement this general policy, and put the Department on notice that we would not permit our rights to prior notification and consultation to be derogated by action of the Department.

At the same time, we sent a circular cable to AFSA representatives and chapters at all overseas

posts, requesting their views on the specific provisions we should press for during the negotiations. We received nearly a hundred cable replies. In general, the replies indicated support for the Secretary's goal, great concern over the lack of prior consultation (with a significant minority expressing the belief that we should have filed unfair practice charges against the Department), and considerable concern over the possibility that this policy would work personal and career hardships, would undermine hard-fought gains in language and area expertise, and would be utilized by the geographic bureaus to unload their "turkeys" on each other. We also held an open meeting in Washington, attended by over four hundred officers, at which the Director General explained the new policy and how he intended to carry it out.

As this is being written, we have had a number of productive negotiating sessions with State management and we appear to be on the verge of a formal agreement which would meet most of the concerns expressed to us, and thus assure that this policy works to the betterment, not the detriment, of the Service.

The New Efficiency Report Form

The other agreement reached this month was on a new officer-level efficiency report form. Two years ago, an AFSA committee had concluded (and meanwhile almost everyone else has also concluded) that the form currently in use is a abomination and urgently needed changing. A follow-on committee, headed by Bill De Pree, after consulting with overseas chapters recommended to the Board, and subsequently to management, a new form which was far simpler than the present form, and which provided for "goal-setting" by the rating and rated officer prior to the beginning of the rating period. We felt it was essential, if

we were to have a fair evaluation system, that officers know in advance what was to be expected of them, and be judged according to how well they met those goals. State management, after dallying for months, suddenly decided it was essential to devise a new form, and wanted AFSA concurrence on a management suggestion which, we felt, was even worse than the present form.

In the subsequent negotiations, we got management to make major modifications in their form, and in particular, to accept our concern of "goal-setting." Management insisted, however, on utilizing a new feature called "Officer's Qualities," under which rating officers will select, from a Boy-Scout-like catalog of virtues, those which the officer possessed most strongly and those least in evidence. On balance, we felt the new report was a considerable improvement over the old one (and over the original management draft), in spite of this checklist feature, and decided to approve it, but subject to the stipulation that this one feature be reviewed this fall. We hope, however, to receive as many comments as possible on the new form, particularly on this "officer's qualities" feature, so that when we reevaluate this question, it will be on the basis of considerable Service-wide experience.

Agreement With AID On the Conversion of "L's"

In case you haven't seen AID's telegram, or AFSA's Red Top, we are pleased to announce AFSA has finally reached agreement with AID management on a policy for the conversion or termination after a three-year period of employees who have time-limited appointments. This agreement will, over the course of the next three years, bring to an end the unjust and absurd situation in which many AID employees with more than three, and in some cases over ten years of service in the Agency were left in a limbo-status with few rights and without eligibility for Foreign Service retirement. Obtaining such an agreement has been a major AFSA goal since certification to be the exclusive representative of Foreign Service employees in AID, and is the result of months of difficult negotiations. Among other things, the agreement provides that the

Agency will maximize utilization of time-limited employees before resorting to outside hires, which should end a long-standing abuse. Still to be negotiated are the procedures to be followed by Agency management in making its decisions to terminate or convert time-limited employees. In the meantime, we are moving forward to address a number of other long-standing abuses in AID, including misuse of administrative promotion, misuse of the Complement, and the placement process.

The R&R Dispute Apparently Resolved

As we reported last month, AFSA had filed unfair practice charges against the three Agencies for renegeing on their agreement in principle last summer to reduce and finally eliminate the "deductible" on Rest and Recuperation travel. Shortly after we filed our unfair practice charge, the Department, acting on behalf of all three Agencies, informed us in a letter that they would eliminate the deductible on R&R travel beginning July 1, 1974 and would inform employees of the change, once it actually went into effect, by cable. Although months overdue, we are delighted that the Agencies have finally agreed to take this step, and we have accordingly informed them that once the change actually goes into effect, we will consider our unfair practice charge to be satisfactorily resolved. We hope, however, that it never again takes so many months for the managements of the three Agencies to agree to implement a change after agreement in principle has already been reached with us. If it does, we may again have to resort to filing unfair practice charges to get action.

AFSA and the Thomas Fund

In this issue, we have run an ad paid for by the Thomas Fund, soliciting contributions. The decision to do so was controversial, and was taken by the Board only after protracted discussion and debate. The larger issue was the circumstances under which the Association should permit paid political and special interest advertising in its own publication, especially when the ad takes a position which may be against the best interests of the Service and/or the Association. All agreed that we should err on the

side of openness. Many on the Board felt, however, that by publishing the Thomas Fund's ad we were in effect assisting an organization which we not only disagreed with, but which we feel was seeking to undermine the independence of the Foreign Service, and AFSA as the Foreign Service's employee representative.

In the past several months I have received a number of inquiries from AFSA members asking whether they should contribute to the Thomas Fund, and if we support or endorse the Fund's activities. To answer this question, a few basic points should be made:

In the first place, the Thomas Fund is not in any way connected with AFSA and we have neither supported nor endorsed the Fund. The Fund is sponsored, controlled and largely funded by the AFL-CIO's American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE).

Second, most of the actions of the Thomas Fund, in our view, are not in the best interests of the Service. The AFGE/Thomas Fund's announced intention to attack selection out by time-in-class will be harmful to a competitive Foreign Service separate and distinct from the Civil Service. In addition, the Thomas Fund suit on FSRU conversion, whatever its benefits to AFGE's GS constituents, was damaging to many Foreign Service Staff Corps personnel who wanted to convert to FSRU.

In the third place, the Thomas Fund has been highly selective in supporting due process and equity matters which are of direct benefit to the Foreign Service and has without exception maintained a deafening silence on those issues where the interests of GS and Foreign Service employees are in conflict, such as the growing GS-ization of AID and USIA, and the discriminatory treatment of Foreign Service personnel vs. Civil Service people in AID in bidding for Washington jobs or being placed on "complement."

Finally, the Fund obtains most of its financial support from AFGE, which maintains effective control over the Fund's activities. We continue to believe that the only reason for this is that AFGE is trying to keep a hand in Foreign Service matters in spite of the fact

that it was resoundingly defeated by AFSA in the exclusive representation elections. It would appear that AFGE's goal is to bring the Foreign Service employee-management system under Civil Service laws, concepts and procedures as a step toward the elimination of a separate Foreign Service.

The Fund's attack on selection out for low performance has had some beneficial impact on the Foreign Service by bringing the issue before the courts. The Courts then closely followed the AFSA brief in ruling that selection out, as practiced by State and USIA, failed to provide due process safeguards. On balance, however, we believe that most of the Fund's goals and activities are antithetical to the interests of the Service, particularly the goals of GS-ization of the Foreign Service and establishment of a labor management system for the Foreign Service under which only AFL-CIO affiliates could qualify to represent Foreign Service people. In making up your own mind about whether or not you wish to support the Thomas Fund, we think you should do so on the basis of what their goals mean for the Foreign Service

NOMINATIONS NEEDED

It is again time for nominations for AFSA's three awards honoring Foreign Service people who tell it like it is and who have the courage and integrity to question the system's conventional wisdom. This is one of AFSA's most important professional activities.

The three awards are the Herter Award for senior officers (FSO 1 and 2 and equivalents), the Rivkin Award for middle-grade officers (FSO 3-4 and equivalents), and the Harriman Award for junior officers (FSO 5-8 and equivalents). They are given, **not** for all-around good performance or super-efficiency reports—this is the Agencies' area—but for outstanding intellectual originality, courage, forthrightness, and "constructive dissent." Although past recipients have often been chosen on the basis of their contributions to the debate on general foreign policy issues, this is not the only field in which these characteristics can be displayed. The awards themselves are \$1000 each.

Two copies of each nomination, unbound on regular size paper,

marking each page with the name of the nominee and numbering each page, should be sent to:
AFSA Awards Committee
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
in time to be received by July 15, 1974.

The format for nominations is as follows:

PART 1:

Biographic Data — NAME;
BIRTH DATE; GRADE;
AGENCY

PART 2:

Association with Candidate
(Strictly limit to 250 words).

PART 3:

Justification for Nomination
(Strictly limit to 500-750 words).
Summary of specific reasons for nomination. The narrative should discuss:

- a. Qualities of mind and spirit which qualify the Nominee for the award;
- b. Examples of the Candidate's accomplishments, particularly evidence of outstanding initiative, integrity, and intellectual courage.

Anyone with knowledge of a Foreign Service colleague's accomplishments can nominate for these awards—in fact, the idea is to emphasize peer nominations rather than nominations by superiors. This is where you come in: the more nominations AFSA receives, the more certain we can be of having sought out and found the most deserving candidates. We hope that some person at each post meets the specifications for one of these awards, that you AFSA representatives will pass the word to others at the post, and that each chapter will send in at least one nomination as soon as possible.

We want to emphasize that the awards are open to any Foreign Service employee, irrespective of Agency, rank or pay-plan.

MEMBERS' INTERESTS

AFSA has received the following communication from the Franchise Tax Board of California, the state agency responsible for individual income taxes.

"Generally, a resident who accepts employment outside California on a permanent basis becomes a nonresident for income tax purposes when he leaves the state. Nonresidents are taxable only on

income received from a California source. Examples of income from a California source are rental income and gain from the sale of real property or tangible personal property located in this state. Income from intangibles, such as dividends and interest, is not income from a California source if received while a nonresident."

AFSA's interpretation of the foregoing is that a Foreign Service employee may keep a legal domicile in California for voting purposes without having to pay California State income taxes on income earned while employed outside the state, except for any income coming from sources inside the state. Your Foreign Service salary would therefore not be taxable by the State of California even though you maintain a legal domicile there and vote there by absentee ballot. Those who have legal domiciles in California would have an advantage in keeping that domicile so as to be able to prove to the District of Columbia, Virginia and Maryland that they have not acquired legal domiciles in those jurisdictions.

Profits on Sale of Cars Abroad

The March issue of AFSA News claimed that the original regulation on the sale of cars and other personal property abroad (FAMC-378) had lapsed because it had never been codified in the Foreign Affairs Manual. Some alert readers in the field called our attention to the codification of this regulation in 3 FAM 620 which contains a code of "Employee Responsibilities and Conduct." Sorry, we goofed.

Scholarships

The Governing Board of the Association and the Committee on Education wish to thank the following for special contributions to the Scholarship Fund during the past year: American Women's Group of Bonn/Bad Godesberg; American Embassy Wives of Vienna; James M. Byrne; Timothy W. Childs; Weikko A. Forster; Townsend B. Friedman; Holsey G. Handyside; Honorable Robert S. Ingersoll; Honorable Clinton E. Knox; Donald Kriesberg; Charles D. Matthias; Honorable Jack K. McFall; Harvey F. Nelson, Jr.; Honorable William J. Porter; Robert C. Ribera; Honorable Kenneth Rush; Moffitt Smith; Orme Wilson, Jr.

Listings in this Special Services column are 40c per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail to Special Services, FSJ, 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

REAL ESTATE

RENT LARGE four-bedroom furnished home near bus and tennis. A/C, utilities included. Off River Road. \$1,600 July and August. George Jennings, 8214 Beech Tree Road, Bethesda, Md. 20034.

HOME FOR SALE: Would be particularly attractive to retirees. Quiet, serene resort area 100 miles from San Francisco on Clearlake, the largest natural lake in California. Has three bedrooms, 2½ baths, situated on landscaped, ¾-acre lot on knoll with panoramic view of Clearlake. Completely electric; air-conditioned throughout, 2700 sq. ft. under one roof (1700 sq. ft. living quarters), drapes throughout and bedrooms wall-to-wall carpeted. Hunting and fishing country with sailing and water-skiing on lake. A gracious home for \$49,950—low taxes of \$419.76/year. Write Mrs. Kaye Garrison, Box 882, Clearlake Highlands, Cal. 95422 or telephone 707-994-2705.

BEGG INTERNATIONAL, INC. is the sister company and international real estate counterpart of Begg, Inc., Realtors, who have for so many years assisted FSO's to buy and sell their houses in the Washington area. Begg International specializes in best quality real estate overseas. For your retirement or holiday home in Portugal, Spain, the Caribbean, etc., consult: Begg International, Inc., Realtors, 1714 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 Tel: (202) 387-4805.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

As General Manager, American Embassy Association, Bonn. The AEA runs 14 different facilities, including an Embassy Club, PX, Commissary, Service Station and Guest House. Position of General Manager is top executive position for operations under a Board of Trustees. Operation grosses 4 million a year, has about 180 employees. Applicant should have solid background in budgeting, financial management, personnel and/or general services. Salary in GS-13 range with free housing, under renewable 2 year contract. Apply to Administrative Officer, American Embassy, Bonn, APO New York 09080. Cable inquiries or interest to Amembassy Bonn.

EDUCATION

DARROW. A COED COUNTRY BOARDING SCHOOL. Flexible college preparatory curriculum. Student-Faculty work program helps preserve National Historic Landmark Site. All sports, art, music. Concern for each individual within a structure balancing proven responsibility with freedom. Grades 9-12. Darrow School, New Lebanon, N.Y. 12125. (518) 795-1501. John F. Joline, III, Headmaster.

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.

John Hancock Insures With AFSA



AID engineer John Hancock is signed up as AFSA/Saigon's 200th member by Steve Wallace, as Membership Committee Chairman Bob Zigler looks on.

Foreign Service People

BIRTHS

O'Neill. A son, Patrick Francis, born to FSO and Mrs. Joseph P. O'Neill on March 13, in Washington.

DEATHS

Adams. Elizabeth B. Adams, wife of FSO-retired Ware Adams, died on March 25, in Washington. Mrs. Adams accompanied her husband on assignments to Vienna, Stockholm and Dublin before his retirement in 1958. In addition to her husband, of 4000 Cathedral Ave., N.W., Mrs. Adams is survived by a daughter, Elizabeth Graves Barthlow, of Scituate, Mass. and two grandchildren.

Bailey. E. Tomlin Bailey, FSO-retired, died on February 23, in Old Lyme, Conn. Mr. Bailey entered the Foreign Service in 1935 and served at Southampton, Warsaw, Kaunas, Prague, Berlin, Munich, London and Hamburg. He retired in 1957. Mr. Bailey is survived by his wife, Elizabeth, Rose Lane, Old Lyme, Conn. 06371.

Bailey. Margaret K. Bailey, wife of FSO-retired John W. Bailey, Jr., died on February 5 in Sarasota,

Florida. Mrs. Bailey is survived by her husband of 6005 Midnight Pass Road, Sarasota, a son, John, a daughter, Marguerite, both of New York and a sister.

Elting. Marjorie Mayland Elting, wife of FSO-retired Howard Elting, Jr., died on February 25 in San Rafael. She is survived by her husband of 377 Margarita Dr., San Rafael, California.

Goold. Cora Goold, widow of Herbert S. Goold, FSO-retired who died three years ago, died on March 26 in Washington. Mrs. Goold is survived by two daughters, Louise Goold Green, of St. Louis and Mary Goold Appelman, of Chicago, and six grandchildren.

Wolf. Victor Wolf, father of FSO Victor Wolf, Jr., died on February 20 in New York City. He is survived by his wife, Rose, and his son, assigned to the American Embassy, Copenhagen.

MARRIAGE

Pennington-Zane. Carolyn Anong Pennington, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Pennington, AID, Vientiane, was married to Andrew Charles Zane, on December 27, in San Francisco.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS D. BOYATT

President, AFSA

on the Department of State Appropriations Authorization Act
before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearings

March 12, 1974

The American Foreign Service Association is the professional organization of the more than 11,000 men and women of the Foreign Service in the Department of State, AID and USIA. Our 7,000 members come from all ranks in all three Agencies.

Last year, the Association defeated the American Federation of Government Employees (an AFL-CIO affiliate) by large margins, winning the right to be the exclusive employee representative of all Foreign Service personnel in dealings under E. O. 11636 with the managements of the Department of State, USIA and AID. I am pleased to be able to report to this Committee that through negotiations with management the Association has been able to bring about some important reforms in the Foreign Service—a goal I know the Congress shares with us. Among the reforms achieved are a substantial improvement in the promotion process in all three Agencies, greater equity for those identified for selection-out in State and USIA, and an important new agreement with the Department of State to safeguard the promotion process from tampering or abuse. I do not want to present you with an overly optimistic picture of the state of employee-management relations in the three Foreign Affairs Agencies: A great deal more must be done before we will have established personnel policies and procedures which are not only fair and equitable to Foreign Service personnel, but which are also attuned to the needs of this country for the best possible representation of its interests abroad. However, we have made a start.

Before moving on to new items, I would like—on behalf of the Association and the entire Foreign Service—to take this opportunity to thank you, the Congress generally, and this Committee specifically for several constructive legislative actions enacted last year.

The Congress extended Foreign Service retirement and annuity provisions to career AID employees. This measure not only served to eliminate a long-standing inequity, but at a time when AID is rapidly shrinking, also constitutes wise public policy by permitting the accelerated retirement of a number of senior AID employees.

We were especially pleased that the Congress enacted the "Pell Amendment," to require the Secretary and the Director of USIA to base their recommendations to the President for promotion of Foreign Service officers and Information officers strictly on the merit ranking of impartial selection boards. This action by the Congress eliminated a major loophole in the Foreign Service Act.

We were also pleased and grateful that the Congress authorized education allowances for kindergarten schooling abroad. The lack of such allowances was costing Foreign Service personnel heavily for the kindergarten education that almost all children in the United States receive free.

Mr. Chairman, I would like now to turn to several problem areas which the Association wishes to bring to the attention of this Committee in the context of these Authorization hearings.

I. The appointment of non-career Ambassadors.

Mr. Herbert Kalmbach's recent admission that he proffered Ambassadorships in exchange for political contributions has again focused public attention on the need for urgent action to ensure that only those best qualified are nominated and confirmed to be American Ambassadors abroad. Last summer, this Committee proposed a series of guidelines for its own use in assessing Ambassadorial nominees proposed by the President. The Association strongly supported this initiative. We have commented in some detail on the proposed guidelines. We greatly appreciate the fact that one of our suggestions—mandatory disclosure of all political contributions by the nominee—has been incorporated into law. However, in our view, though this measure was helpful, it has not solved the problem of the sale of Ambassadorships—particularly at large and attractive posts.

The Association, of course, has a parochial interest in this question. Ambassadorial positions filled from outside the Service are positions which cannot be filled from the career ranks. This self-interest factor is not the only grounds for our concern, and indeed not the most important of our concerns. The fact is that almost all political appointees who lack relevant professional qualifications have failed to make positive contributions to American foreign policy, and a number have done grave damage to our relations with various foreign countries. Over the years, several of these incidents have come to public attention and are well-known to this Committee. There are an even larger number of

incidents which have never come to the public light.

Finally, speaking as an American citizen rather than a Foreign Service officer, the matter of the sale of embassies is disturbing in that it detracts from the credibility and integrity of government as a whole. In short, what is at stake is not simply the career interests of a few senior officers, but rather the caliber of US representatives abroad and to an important degree the integrity of governmental processes.

I want to make clear that the Association differentiates between those individuals from the private sector nominated to be Ambassadors largely because of their political contributions, and those distinguished individuals from outside the Service who have shown high promise or demonstrated capacity to serve with distinction as American Ambassadors abroad. The Association strongly believes that only the best qualified individuals, whether career or non-career, should serve as Ambassadors, and therefore strongly urges the Committee to take the following actions.

A. Issue the guidelines which the Committee has proposed for its own use in assessing the qualifications of individuals proposed by the President to be Ambassadors or Ministers.

B. Amend Section 6 of PL 93-126, which calls for the disclosure of campaign contributions by nominees (and their families) for posts as Ambassador or Minister by adding the following sentence:

"The report of contributions filed with the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall be published in the Congressional Record."

C. Further amend Section 6 of PL 93-126 by adding a new subsection (b) as follows:

"Persons who, together with members of their immediate families have contributed more than \$15,000 as defined by Section 301 (e) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 shall be ineligible for consideration as Ambassadors and Ministers."

We believe the prompt adoption of these measures is essential to the conduct of American diplomacy.

II. *Personal Hardships—Separation of Foreign Service parents and children.*

Foreign Service people, as good

Americans, naturally want their children to have American educations. However, under present law Foreign Service children who are separated from their families in order to attend secondary school or college in the United States are permitted government travel to visit their parents at posts abroad only once in every four years (once during high school and once during college). As a result, Foreign Service parents and children are faced with the untenable choice of either not seeing each other for periods of two years or more, or having to pay full international airfares which to some remote posts of the world can amount to hundreds—even thousands—of dollars. Parents with more than one child in school or college find that they must meet extremely high expenses for educational travel or deal with difficult emotional problems of long term separation from their children. These are heavy and unfair burdens which arise solely because our Foreign Service people are serving their country abroad.

Recent studies done by outside consultants for the Foreign Service Educational Counseling Center sponsored jointly by our Association, the Association of American Foreign Service Women and the Department's Medical Division indicate that special strains and hardships are imposed upon many Foreign Service children because of constant moving, loss of friends, lack of ties to their American cultural roots, and, above all, separation from their families in order to obtain a decent education.

In AFSA's view Foreign Service parents are penalized enough by the fact they must be separated from their children—often by enormous distances—simply because American caliber high school and college facilities at their post of assignment are inadequate or nonexistent. To compound this personal hardship by a choice of long separation or major financial outlay or damage to the children makes the present situation completely unfair in human and financial terms.

The majority of other governments have long since solved this problem for their Foreign Service employees by providing for a minimum of one annual trip for dependent students. Some, like the

United Kingdom, are already providing for two roundtrips per year at government expense. To alleviate this intolerable situation we strongly urge that the Congress provide for one annual roundtrip for each Foreign Service child who is studying at the secondary or undergraduate college level away from his family. To this end, we respectfully request and strongly urge that you incorporate in this bill an amendment to Section 5924 (4) (B) of Title 5 USC so as to read:

"The travel expenses of dependents of an employee to and from a school in the US to obtain an American secondary or undergraduate college education not to exceed one annual trip each way for each dependent for the purpose of obtaining each type of education."

III. *Foreign Service retirement after 20 years of service.*

As we indicated to the Committee last year, one of the greatest challenges facing the Foreign Service is identifying the best young talent in the Service, and moving these individuals forward at a rapid rate. I know this is a goal the Congress, the Association and the Secretary all share. This country requires a relatively young and vigorous Foreign Service. Yet, the Foreign Service is getting older, and each year sees individuals remaining longer and longer in grade before they can be promoted. The Association believes urgent steps should be taken to alleviate this situation. We believe the best approach would be to provide for a limited form of 20-year retirement for Foreign Service personnel. Those who would retire earlier would thereby make room for the ablest who wished to stay.

The Association does not propose that we should receive 20-year retirement of the sort presently granted to military personnel. Instead, what we are proposing is a far more limited form of 20-year retirement, under which an employee could retire after 20 years of service with the same annuity to which he or she would otherwise be entitled, namely 40 percent of the "high three" year average and, as at present, with the employee making contributions to the system. We have done considerable research to determine the cost of this provision and have found that with the exception of a handful of individuals who now leave the Ser-

vice without qualifying for an annuity, this proposal would actually be in the financial interests of the government, since employees who left after 20 years would draw a far smaller annuity than they would if they chose to remain to age 50 as is presently required. Accordingly, the costs for most individuals to the retirement fund would actually be lower than at present. Since there are no substantial costs to the government attached to this proposal, and because of the salubrious effect it would have on the vigor, well-being and vitality of the Service, we urge this Committee to give this matter careful attention this year. We have attached a specific legislative proposal to this testimony.

IV. Grievance legislation.

Last year as part of the State Authorization Bill this Committee and Senate passed the Bayh-Cooper Bill guaranteeing basic rights of due process for Foreign Service employees in grievance and appeal hearings. However, the House conferees requested that Congressional action on grievance and appeal legislation be deferred to allow the Foreign Affairs Agency Administrators and AFSA to work out a joint legislative proposal. For a year, until early this February, we have been engaged in fruitless negotiations on this issue with the Agencies adamantly refusing to discuss legislation. However, the new State Department Administrative leadership, reacting to continuing Congressional pressure and a recent Federal District Court decision which found the State and USIA selection-out appeals procedures to be constitutionally defective, have informed the Association that they will make major substantive proposals on grievance and appeal procedures a week from today *and*, most importantly, will work constructively on a joint legislative proposal to the Congress.

Consequently, we are not today proposing a grievance and appeal legislation. We will try to work out a joint proposal with the Agencies. But, if the Agencies' actions do not square with their promises, we will return on an urgent basis to both the Senate and the House to request legislated due process guarantees for the Foreign Service.

V. Strengthening the professionalism of the Foreign Service by improving language competence.

As a professional association, AFSA has long been dedicated to raising the professional caliber of the men and women of the Foreign Service. We believe it is only appropriate to expect that strict and demanding standards be applied to Foreign Service personnel. The Foreign Service Act of 1946 expresses the clear intent of Congress that Foreign Service personnel to the maximum extent possible should speak foreign languages and dialects necessary to the performance of their functions. The Department of State and USIA have repeatedly failed to give this matter sufficient attention. Illustrative of this problem was the Department's response to Section 578 of the Foreign Service Act. This Section provides that "The Secretary shall designate every Foreign Service officer position in a foreign country whose incumbent should have a useful knowledge of a language or dialect common to such country. After December 31, 1963, each position so designated shall be filled only by an incumbent having such knowledge." In 1973 a study of the situation showed that only 50 percent of such positions were filled by language officers. The Department's response was to reduce the number of positions so designated, so as to reach 75 percent compliance with this provision of the Act while obliterating its intent instead of increasing the number of language officers in language jobs. The Association has consistently shared with this Committee the view that a knowledge of foreign languages is an essential requisite for Foreign Service officers and Foreign Service Information officers. We believe that the time has come for the Congress to take effective steps to accomplish this end.

The Committee may be aware that by regulation each incoming junior officer may receive only one promotion until that officer has satisfied the professional language requirements. No such requirement, however, is imposed on those who enter the Service laterally in the higher ranks. An inexcusably high percentage of those who lateraled into the Service in

recent years do not have a useful command of any foreign language. We have proposed for the Committee's consideration a revision to Section 578 of the Foreign Service Act which would eliminate this long-standing abuse by prohibiting any Foreign Service officer from receiving more than one promotion until he or she achieved language competence. We would also urge the Congress to provide additional funds for language training so that the Department will be able to comply with the will of the Congress. Section 578 would be changed as follows:

"(b) No Foreign Service officer or Foreign Service Information officer subsequent to June 1, 1974 may receive more than one promotion unless such officer has attained such minimum competence in a foreign language as the Secretary, by regulation, shall prescribe."

VI. Reimbursing extraordinary costs for certain Staff Corps members.

For the vast majority of Foreign Service officers and Foreign Service Information officers, service abroad carries with it certain minor benefits resulting from the employee's diplomatic status. These generally include duty free entry of personal effects, preferential treatment for automobile registration, etc. In a number of countries, however, Foreign Service Staff personnel not on the diplomatic list do not enjoy these benefits and, on the contrary often face extraordinary costs, particularly upon arrival at post, not normally paid by government employees or private citizens in the US. These extraordinary costs are not covered by cost-of-living or other allowances.

The burden of these extra costs falls almost exclusively on the lowest paid Foreign Service employees. For a Staff-9 secretary making \$8,000 per year, or a Staff-8 communicator making \$9,000, to pay several hundred dollars duty on the importation of an automobile or on household effects, or \$150 to register a car, constitutes an unusual and heavy burden not imposed on their other Foreign Service colleagues, and considerably in excess of the costs other Americans working in the United States have to pay.

The Department has sought to

alleviate this problem by pressing for greater reciprocity. However, representations here have not provided sufficient leverage on other countries to alleviate this problem. The Association hopes that over time the countries which impose the heaviest of these burdens can be persuaded to adopt fairer rules. In the meantime, however, this situation is causing unnecessary inequities and hardships on Foreign Service Staff Corps personnel, and since these personnel are serving abroad in the interest of the United States government, we believe there is an obligation on the part of the government to reimburse them for those extraordinary costs above and beyond those costs paid by employees in the United States. Since the number of employees so affected is fairly small, authorization for a special allowance to cover these extraordinary costs would not impose any serious financial burden. To alleviate this situation, the Association proposes that the Secretary be authorized to reimburse Foreign Service employees for costs solely attributable to their lack of full diplomatic status which exceed comparable costs in the Washington, D.C. area. Proposed language follows:

Foreign Service Act of 1946
Title IX—Allowances and Benefits
Add section 915 as follows:

Payment of Foreign Taxes
"Sec. 915. The Secretary may, under such regulations as he shall prescribe, pay import duties, automobile registration and licensing taxes and other similar charges by foreign governments payable by officers and employees of the Service who are not granted diplomatic immunity from such charges in the countries in which they are stationed."

VII. *Terrorism directed against Foreign Service employees.*

As we informed the Committee last year, the men and women of the Foreign Service and their families continue to be prime targets of terrorist groups around the world who desire to call attention to their political aims. Recent years have seen kidnappings, murders, hijackings, and other terrorist attacks grow at unprecedented rates. In the past six years, there have been 24 kidnap attempts against members of the Foreign Service, 10 people have been murdered, and 12 wounded. In the past

year the Department of State has undertaken a commendable effort to increase the protection available to Foreign Service employees who serve abroad, but the benefits available to Foreign Service personnel or their families who may be killed, disabled, taken prisoner, or wounded remain shockingly inadequate. We, therefore, urge this Committee to again give consideration to the Bill the Association submitted a year ago entitled "Terrorist Victims Benefit Act of 1973," which is attached to this statement (Attachment B) and to include this package of benefits in the 1974 State Authorization Bill.

VIII. *The USIA Authorization Bill.*

Mr. Chairman, as a result of the efforts of this Committee, a new Commission entitled "Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy" has been established by law, and is effectively carrying out its mandate. One of the major tasks of that Commission will be to make recommendations concerning the future roles of the Foreign Affairs Agencies. This is a matter of particular interest to AFSA and we are giving the entire range of questions facing the Murphy Commission the most careful consideration. One of the major questions which the Association intends to address is the future of the information and cultural affairs functions. A Committee of the Association composed of active AFSA members in USIA is currently preparing a detailed report on the entire range of questions dealing with the role and mission of USIA and how the public affairs functions of the United States government overseas can most efficiently be managed to serve national interests. This AFSA Committee of foreign affairs professionals in the information and cultural fields has not yet completed its work. Nevertheless, certain preliminary conclusions have already become clear which are of direct interest to this Committee in the context of the USIA Authorization Bill.

• USIA was largely the creature of Cold War concerns. In an era of negotiations, changes in the mission and modes of operation of the Agency are not only desirable

but essential. Nevertheless, the tasks of explaining American foreign policy and of improving cultural relations continue to be important elements in the overall framework of American diplomacy.

• The entire operation and structure of USIA are overdue for major reform. The AFSA Committee is investigating a number of options for the future, among them a complete top-to-bottom reform of all aspects of the Agency's work, an amalgamation of the USIA and the State Department along the lines of the Brookings recommendations, and the establishment of a quasi-governmental organization to carry out the bulk of USIA's and CU's functions. To date we do not know which of these or other options would best serve the national interest, but we can inform the Committee that among many career professionals in the information and cultural fields and others in the foreign affairs community, there is little sentiment for maintaining the status quo.

• In recent years, particularly since 1967, there has been an unhealthy trend toward trimming overseas operations with no corresponding reduction in the Washington bureaucracy. The Association believes this is a serious miscalculation of priorities. While there can be honest disagreement on the exact mission which USIA should perform, there can be no doubt that the people we should be reaching abroad are the intellectuals, media representatives, educators, students, business leaders, government officials, artists and other leaders of public opinion. The proper place to carry out this mission is overseas, not in the Washington-based bureaucracy. We urge the Committee to give careful consideration this year in its authorization to reversing the trend of recent years and to provide USIA with adequate funding to carry out its tasks, but with far more money for overseas operations, and with considerably less to support the Washington management base.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to reiterate that the Association and the men and women of the Foreign Service appreciate this opportunity to express our concerns to the Committee.